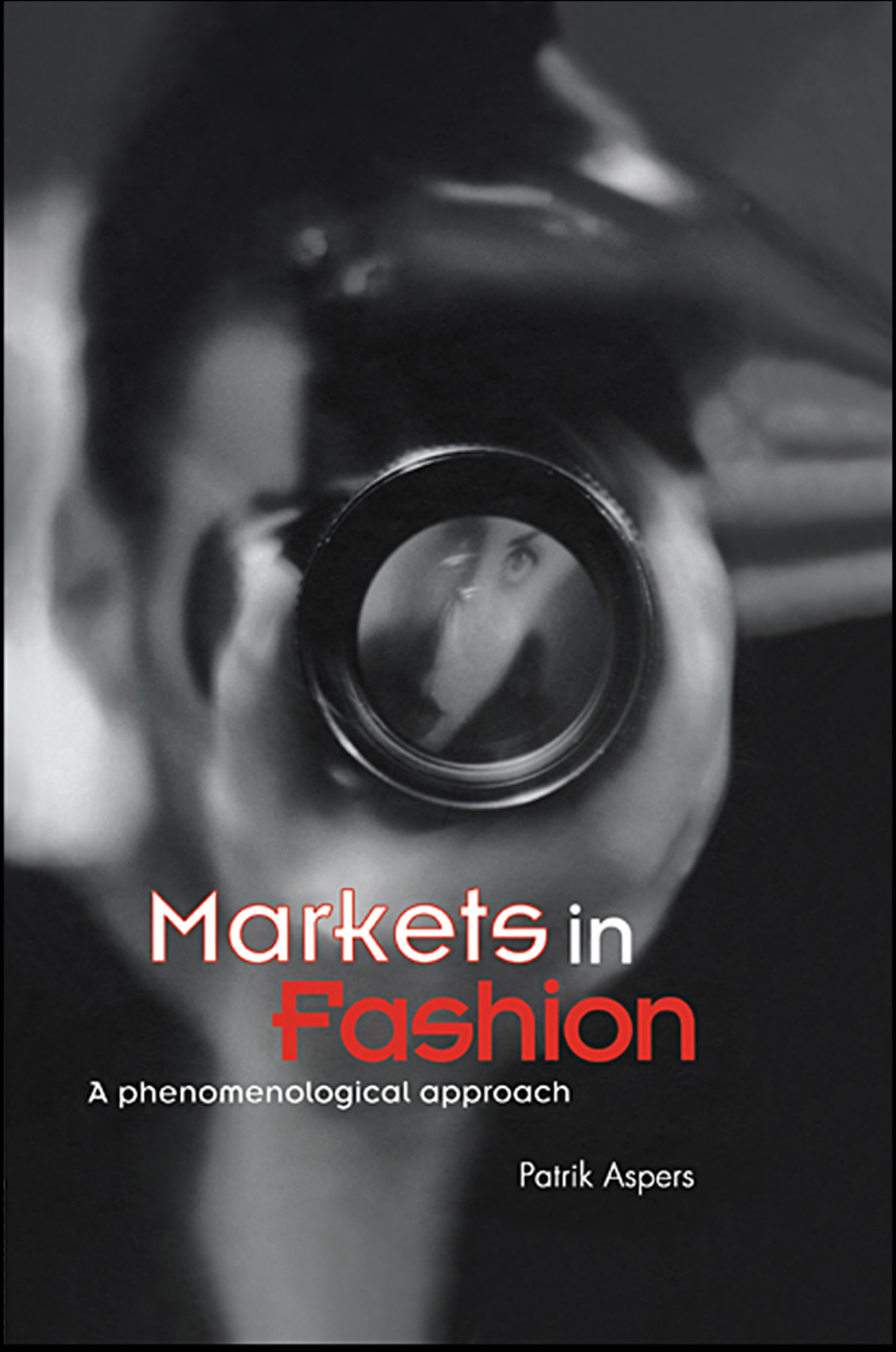


Markets in Fashion

Interest in contemporary cultural industries has continued to grow in the past decade as they have taken on a greater significance within an increasingly consumer-led society.

Markets in Fashion focuses on the world of fashion photography in addition to identifying and examining the complex relationship it has with other markets such as advertising, modelling, arts, music and others.

The markets in which these aesthetic industries operate are different from the type of exchange markets depicted by neoclassical economists and as such cannot be analyzed using that mode of analysis. Instead, Patrik Aspers presents the reader with an interdisciplinary approach in which to view these markets, utilizing original research to present an empirical and theoretical overview.

Patrik Aspers is a researcher in the Max-Planck-Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne, and Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Stockholm University.

Routledge Studies in Business Organizations and Networks

1 Democracy and Efficiency in the Economic Enterprise
Edited by Ugo Pagano and Robert Rowthorn

2 Towards a Competence Theory of the Firm
Edited by Nicolai J.Foss and Christian Knudsen

3 Uncertainty and Economic Evolution
Essays in honour of Armen A.Alchian
Edited by John R.Lott Jr

4 The End of the Professions?
The restructuring of professional work
Edited by Jane Broadbent, Michael Dietrich and Jennifer Roberts

5 Shopfloor Matters
Labor-management relations in twentieth-century American manufacturing
David Fairris

6 The Organisation of the Firm
International business perspectives
Edited by Ram Mudambi and Martin Ricketts

7 Organizing Industrial Activities across Firm Boundaries
Anna Dubois

8 Economic Organisation, Capabilities and Coordination
Edited by Nicolai Foss and Brian F.Loasby

9 The Changing Boundaries of the Firm
Explaining evolving inter-firm relations
Edited by Massimo G.Colombo

10 Authority and Control in Modern Industry
Theoretical and empirical perspectives
Edited by Paul L.Robertson

11 Interfirm Networks
Organization and industrial competitiveness
Edited by Anna Grandori

12 Privatization and Supply Chain Management
Andrew Cox, Lisa Harris and David Parker

13 The Governance of Large Technical Systems
Edited by Olivier Coutard

14 Stability and Change in High-Tech Enterprises
Organisational practices and routines
Neil Costello

15 The New Mutualism in Public Policy
Johnston Birchall

16 An Econometric Analysis of the Real Estate Market and Investment
Peijie Wang

17 Managing Buyer-Supplier Relations
The winning edge through specification management
Rajesh Nellore

18 Supply Chains, Markets and Power
Mapping buyer and supplier power regimes
Andrew Cox, Paul Ireland, Chris Lonsdale, Joe Sanderson and Glyn Watson

19 Managing Professional Identities
Knowledge, performativity, and the 'new' professional
Edited by Mike Dent and Stephen Whitehead

20 A Comparison of Small and Medium Enterprises in Europe and in the USA
Solomon Karmel and Justin Bryon

21 Workaholism in Organizations
Antecedents and consequences
Ronald J.Burke

22 The Construction Industry
An international comparison
Edited by Gerhard Bosch and Peter Philips

23 Economic Geography of Higher Education
Knowledge, infrastructure and learning regions
Edited by Roel Rutten, Frans Boekema and Elsa Kuijpers

24 Economies of Network Industries
Hans-Werner Gottinger

25 The Corporation
Investment, mergers and growth
Dennis C.Mueller

26 Industrial and Labour Market Policy and Performance
Issues and perspectives
Edited by Dan Coffey and Carole Thornley

27 Organization and Identity
Edited by Alison Linstead and Stephen Linstead

28 Thinking Organization
Edited by Stephen Linstead and Alison Linstead

29 Information Warfare in Business
Strategies of control and resistance in the network society
Iain Munro

30 Business Clusters
An international perspective
Martin Perry

31 Markets in Fashion
A phenomenological approach
Patrik Aspers

Markets in Fashion

A phenomenological approach

Patrik Aspers

LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2001 by The City University Press, Stockholm

This edition published 2006 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX 14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group
This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.
"To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to http://www.ebookstore.tandf.co.uk/."

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-02374-9 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN10: 0-415-34619-3 (Print Edition)
ISBN13: 9-78-0-415-34619-1 (Print Edition)

Contents

Foreword

Let me first of all state that I like Patrik Aspers' book. It is an intricate, in-depth, empirical study of fashion photography in Sweden, based on a New York prestudy. I appreciate the fact that it weaves together more than one approach in the effort to come to grips with the multifaceted and diverse nature of fashion photography's agencies and meanings. And I enjoyed the fact that the study is well written; actually conveying a sense of the pleasure the author himself must have taken in dealing with this material. I want to present the work in more detail, starting with the empirical part and then proceeding to the theoretical approach Aspers used.

The empirical study

Markets in Fashion is an investigation of an understudied market, and Aspers has chosen the most productive approach possible in such a situation. He conducted what I would call an in-depth study, which is a study not based on statistically significant numbers of respondents and stochastic selection procedures, but on theoretical sampling (the selection of informants and respondents based on theoretical criteria) and on the detailed explorative interviews with those interviewees that are chosen. In any not well-known area, this is the way to go about finding out more. Those interviewed are, when they are chosen correctly, experts in the area about which they are questioned, and their knowledge of things and view of a field is based on first hand experience and survival in an area. We know that we can always learn much, if not all, from knowledgeable actors. Aspers' study is by and large and formally speaking an interview study, though he also draws on participation in the field, on his reading of magazines and other materials, and on information from informants, that one gets when one is engaged with some actors in friendly relationships. The particular theoretical sampling the study chooses is based on the notion that a variety of actors are relevant to understanding these markets. This includes not only fashion photographers, but also their agents, the editors of fashion magazines and art directors. Whilst the first group dominates the interviews, the other categories are also well represented—enough in any case for Aspers to claim theoretical saturation (which he actually doesn't claim, this is a notion from a grounded theory), meaning that he has learned most of what he wanted to learn about the structure of the markets. It is important to note at this occasion that the work not only presents a study of one market but of several interconnected ones, if markets are understood as forming around a particular product. This is a point to which I shall return, the relevant issue here

being that the depth interviews cover, and actually must cover with the topic chosen, a multiplicity of actors in diverse and fragmented roles. In addition, the study also draws on data collected by others on photographers, who are less dedicated to the fashion market topic, but from whom information in this respect could be extracted.

The phenomenological approach

From the in-depth study design and interviewee-based results we can jump right into the phenomenological approach, the second important key word in the title of the work. What the phenomenological approach means in regard to data collection and data treatment is first of all a focus on actors' meanings, that which Husserl called noema, and which Aspers redefines in somewhat more empirical rather than philosophical terms as the intentional side, the constructed intentional object to which actors are oriented. The study has a clear subject-focus, somewhat uncommon for a study of markets, but in line with the radical subjectivism of consciousness and perceptions that Husserl worked out, and with which Husserl was preoccupied even when he studied objects.

To bring out the flavor of Aspers' investigation one needs to recognize the marriage he seeks and brings about between an interview approach and phenomenology as centered on subjective meanings. It is one of the distinctive characteristics of this book that it focuses on the subject not only as a source of information with regard to our questions about fashion photography and markets, but also as a center of meanings from which the respective markets are constructed by participants. Not only conceptually constructed but also practically or performatively constructed, one must add, since these meanings give rise to (direct as intentions) practical action. The subject as source (as in spy movies) and the subject as meaning center roles differ crucially, needless to say. The subject as source idea underlies most quantitative, objectivist research (in Bourdieu's terms) which construes the subject as a spy we have in an objective world to which we have no access, or which we have no time to enter, a spy who can report to us what goes on in this world. The subject as meaning center idea construes the social world as never just objectively given but as construed and reproduced in terms of meanings, and our task therefore is to learn about the meanings that make up the world. The trick in this second case is to "sample" actors' meanings cleverly, so to speak, since a world is never just composed of individual actors' intentions, even if these actors are powerful. This is what Aspers' study attempts to do by paying attention not only to photographers but to other market actors, in particular those on the producer side of photographers (photographers' agents are in a sense their producers in a labor market, and the financial and institutional producers of fashion photography are magazine editors and advertisement agencies' art directors).

The book is a study of markets, and this is what I called the "world" about which we learn how it is constructed. It should be noted that the producer side about which I just mentioned does not consist of individuals; it consists of collective entities, firms, and sometimes even multinational corporations. These firms are *represented* by the market actors chosen, like magazine editors and art directors. What Aspers does in extracting meaning from these actors is getting at the role of the respective firms in the market, he gets or tries to get at the roles, the status, and the *processes* of magazines, advertising

agencies and artists agencies which are part of markets. He also extracts meanings regarding the interrelationship between these positions and concrete firms. In a phenomenological idiom, these are the *reciprocal* observations and expectations, the *thousand-faceted mirroring of each other* about which Schütz spoke. These reciprocal meanings (what one party thinks about the other) is important, since it is, in my view, perhaps the one most pertinent to bring about the web-like (rather than atomistic) structure of a world; worlds do not consist of atomistic units unrelated to one (in a more Parsonian idiom, to speak to non-phenomenological social scientists, this is double contingency). Thus the marriage we find in the book between an interview methodology and phenomenological subjective meanings includes, via the representational assumption and by implication, a third party, that of institutional actors. The existence of corporate actors, collective actors and institutional actors is a complication in any phenomenological approach, as discussed by Aspers in Chapter 5.

Here I want to add one more detail about Aspers' empirical approach, which is that he diligently explains, in the Guide to Phenomenology Appendix, the difference between actors' meanings which Schütz called first-order constructs and analysts' meanings which Schütz called second-order constructs. The distinction is taken seriously in Aspers' work, and it points to the second part of any empirical approach which does not only consist of (clever) data collection but also significantly of data analysis. Aspers treats the distinction between first and second-order constructs as a leading methodological distinction of his work, bringing it up repeatedly to clarify which is which, where the meanings originate and whose they are. Thus, we can almost always tell in this study where the analysts' interpretations start, and how they connect to an actor's meaning. This adds a certain precision to the approach, which it is important to have in qualitative studies.

Markets in fashion

One of the great achievements of this work is that Aspers constructs a number of theoretical notions and distinctions, which should be useful to other market theorists as well as to those looking at art. This is perhaps not quite a theory yet, lacking some of the coherence and indication of dynamic mechanisms one would expect from the latter, but it is nonetheless noteworthy.

First, Aspers makes us aware of the fact that when looking at fashion photography, one is not only confronted with one market, but with several—and this I suppose is something that can be generalized to most market situations. For example, an actor who is a producer in the market of fashion magazines is also a consumer in the market of fashion photographs and other products and services needed to make the magazine. Though this may sound commonplace, it is not something most market research pays any attention to. Unlike Aspers, one is usually not looking at a whole interconnected area but only at one exchange system. The notion Aspers also utilizes here is that of upstream markets, those whose products one consumes, and downstream markets, those to which one contributes products. These notions lead to a further distinction, that between final markets at the end of a chain that confront only consumers, and markets upstream on the production chain such as wholesale or industrial markets.

Second, Aspers develops the distinction between what he calls role markets and exchange markets, with the former being markets where producers and consumers occupy fixed roles (that of producer or consumer), while exchange markets are the ones where these roles can be changed at any moment, as when a buyer of currencies in institutional foreign exchange markets, which I study, becomes a seller. The effect being that participants are constantly occupied in finding out whether someone is a buyer or a seller. Production markets are role markets, whereas financial markets are not. Again, this distinction may look obvious, but most research on markets ignores what Zelizer calls the multiple market hypotheses, the notion that there exist distinctively different kinds of markets, and proceeds, in the wake of White, to talk about production markets as if this were the only kind of market.

Third, Aspers also develops the distinction between associated markets—those where producers and consumers cooperate, for example, in producing a product—and those where they do not, which are dissociated markets. This too, is a useful and important distinction; for example, it focuses the attention on how this cooperation not only shapes the product, but may determine or change its value and the value of the producer.

Fourth, based on all of this, Aspers conceptualizes aesthetic markets as "status distributors" of identities. Prices, in these markets, according to Aspers, are epiphenomena of status distribution. He comes to this conclusion, I believe, on the one hand because participants (photographers) frequently do not seem to care about their fee that much and appear to be intrinsically motivated by their art, and second, because high status tends to fetch higher prices, though there is no one-to-one correspondence of this sort.

With this we have, in a nutshell, a theory of aesthetic markets, and this theory confirms, in Aspers' writings, many of White's notions. For example the one that producers orient to each other, that much of the competition occurs through the interface with customers, that actors hold niches in their own production markets and differentiate themselves from each other (Bourdieu's ideas about gaining distinction are relevant here too), that identities derive from actors' niches in their production markets, and that markets are embedded in each other. But there are also differences, for example market share and production volume play no role, according to Aspers, in the markets he studies, whereas style and status do. Moreover, as he says, the aesthetic markets he considers are associated markets in which consumers are not merely reacting to producers' work, but take an active role in creating this work. In Aspers' study, by the way, the distribution of status mostly occurs in the market for editorial photography and not in the one having to do with advertisement. This points to another result of the study, the differentiation between markets, which Aspers accomplished by seeking out actors' meanings and finding strong, pertinent and pervasive contrasts in the meaning structures of fashion editors and art directors. Aspers concludes from this that the best way to find out whether or not people are actors in the same market is to learn about their meaning structures and their status as competitors to those already in the market (the latter is relevant for young people who may not yet be taken seriously as market players).

All in all, this is an excellent study. By this I do not want to convey the impression that it is a perfect study—but it is a very fine work, and it raises a series of highly important and interesting questions that are of much importance to sociology. One of these is the general relevance of the phenomenological approach, and how far it is

possible to go with Schütz's approach. Another has to do with the need to develop a sociological theory of markets. In both cases I find that Aspers has made fine contributions, but also that much remains to be done.

Professor Karin Knorr Cetina
Department of Sociology, University of Konstanz
Department of Sociology, The University of Chicago

Preface to the second edition

I am very pleased that this book is republished. No major changes are made, though I have updated the literature, and made some minor alterations. The discussion of the pictures is more extensive in this second edition. Most of the changes, however, are made to clarify the phenomenological position. A Foreword that introduces the text by Professor Karin Knorr Cetina is also included.

In the work with this second edition I have benefited from the positive reviews the first edition received. My research has also been discussed at several seminars and talks since the publication of the first edition. I have, for example, presented my research at the University of Lund, where I was invited by Antoinette Hetzler, and also the role of phenomenology, at the Methodology Institute at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), where Martin Bauer invited me, and at the lifeworld seminar at Gothenburg University, where I was invited by Jan Bengtsson. These seminars have especially contributed to the improvements I have made to Appendix A, on the empirical phenomenology developed in this book. The three anonymous reviewers have also made valuable suggestions about improvements that I have incorporated into this edition.

It is my pleasure to have finished this edition as an academic visitor at the Department of Sociology, the LSE during the year 2003–2004. Nigel Dodd and Don Slater have been my very generous hosts. The visit has been made possible by a scholarship from the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education (STINT). Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support from the Axel and Margaret Ax: son Johnson Foundation.

I have been encouraged by Robert Langham, senior editor at Routledge to publish this edition. This has made it a pleasure to work on the text. Caroline Dahlberg has given me many valuable suggestions, and constant support, which I am extremely grateful for.

Patrik Aspers, 2005

Preface to the first edition

When I enrolled at Stockholm University I aimed to become an economist; I did not intend to study sociology. But after two semesters of economics, I saw its type of analysis as a dead end. I questioned the deductive approach of economics, the economic man, and the restricted assumptions that economics in general was using. My teacher in economics, Professor Mats Persson, contributed to this decision, but presumably without intending to do so. He also did it with humor. At the beginning of a class, with the blackboard full of words and figures jotted down by other classes, he always blamed the sociologists. Sociologists must be of a different species, I thought. A year earlier, while I was enrolled in the military, I had the opportunity to take a class with the sociologist Lars Ekstrand. He more than prepared me for the fact that sociologists were a species of their own. During my second semester of economics I went over to the Department of Sociology and asked if there was anyone there who did research on the economy. I left my first visit at this department carrying a text co-authored by Richard Swedberg (Swedberg, Himmelstrand and Brulin 1987). Without Richard, I would not have started with sociology. But another academic subject has also affected me deeply, namely philosophy, and my classes at the Department of Philosophy constitute my best memory of undergraduate classes at Stockholm University.

I have learned much from many different people. In addition to those I mention, I remember many more: friends and relatives, but most of all my family. Among academics, in addition to Mats Persson, I would like to mention Paul Needham. Sociologists, however, have affected me more; especially my teachers: Göran Ahrne, Peter Hedström, Richard Swedberg, Aage Sørensen, and Harrison White. At Harvard University Aage hosted me for a semester, and at Columbia University Harrison did the same. One can never pay back such courtesies. A shorter visit in Leipzig at the invitation of Karl-Dieter Opp was also stimulating, and gave me time to study phenomenology in more detail. In New York I began my fieldwork under the auspices of Harrison White. Harrison White has also contributed with substantial and insightful comments on the text. Though he never has been my teacher in a formal sense, I have also learned much sociology from Hans Zetterberg. Other people have helped by reading this text or discussing my research, including: Michelle Ariga, Reza Azarian, Magnus Haglunds, Carl-Gunnar Jansson, Jan-Inge Jönhill, Ulf Jonsson, Erik Ljungar, Thomas Luckmann, and Maria Törnkvist. Olof Dahlbäck deserves a special thank you for his suggestions. Emil Uddhammar has been very helpful and supportive throughout my work. Per Dahl, my editor at City University in Stockholm, deserves praise for his persistent work with this book. Arni Sverrisson has read the entire text, and our many fruitful discussions on

photography and sociology have improved this text. Árni gave me considerable help and support, especially with the empirical part of the study, and let me use his database on photographers. During the spring of 2001, The Department of Sociology at Stockholm University funded most of the research reported here. I am also grateful for funding from the Estrid Ericson Foundation, and from the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education (STINT). Obviously, this study could not exist without the kindness and help of the people in the field of fashion photography. You deserve my greatest gratitude for allowing me to interview, observe, and gain access in other ways to the world of fashion photography.

One person, more than any other, has made me a social scientist. He has guided me through all the stages of this intellectual exploration, which were initially like unknown streets in a foreign city: interesting, fascinating, scaring, bewitching and bewildering. I can think of no one better to have by one's side while writing a dissertation. He has given me an ideal combination of complete academic freedom to choose an interesting topic, and high expectations. His sincere interest in sociology, and in my work, has always pushed me further than I would ever have imagined. He has also identified many of the pitfalls and helped me to avoid them. I have never been worried when I have had Richard Swedberg as a teacher, supervisor, and friend.

Finally, I wish to thank my mother, father, and brother for their love. My mother also has helped me with the transcription of the interviews. Their constant support is like a secure harbor. I dedicate this work to them.

Patrik Aspers
Stockholm, June 2001

1
Introduction

This book has three purposes. The first is to understand and thereby explain the market for fashion photography in Sweden. The second is to present an ethnography of this market. The third, and more general, purpose is to incorporate the phenomenological approach to the social sciences, which I believe to be useful for ethnographic studies. Moreover, only through phenomenology have researchers seriously approached the subjective perspective of the actors, a task I take to be essential for a scientific explanation in the social sciences.

I address a phenomenon that I conceptualize as a market. A market means, in brief, that people buy and sell certain goods or services. In this case it is fashion photographs that professional photographers produce and for which customers pay (cf. Leifer 1985:442). A further reason to conceptualize this phenomenon as a market is that this is what the actors themselves do. Markets today clearly constitute an important topic in the economy. Though sociologists have conducted some research on markets, much more remains to be done. One important task is to analyze different types of markets. I will study a real market in which aesthetic values are central: the market for fashion photography. In this study I do not aim, but rather hope, to illuminate other markets of a similar type, such as those for designers' work, clothes, furniture or other products.

Other examples are the markets for art directors, copywriters, stylists, or models. Naturally, this study will also be useful for understanding the markets for photography, and especially fashion photography, in other cities and countries. In sum, my hope is that the study will be especially useful for studies of all markets that include aesthetic values. Henceforth I call these markets aesthetic. These markets are typically found in the so-called cultural industries.

Over time, aesthetic markets have become more common and more important in terms of turnover. Moreover, these markets fit in very well with discussions of the "New Economy," which can be characterized, for example, by highly skilled employees, quickly changing conditions, service work, relatively low costs of capital and an increased number of self-employed persons. The market for fashion photography, as I will show, shares some of these traits. Consequently, a study like this may contribute to the understanding of the New Economy.

In this introductory Chapter I will discuss some of the research questions, which are best addressed by first explaining the market for fashion photography. After that I briefly turn to fashion and fashion photography, and then discuss photography in relation to art

and craft. The following section gives a view of the practice of fashion photography. Finally, I outline the structure of the book.

Research questions

To understand the market for fashion photography may require the researcher to address a series of questions. One of the most intriguing questions—though not necessarily the most important—has to do with style. How does a photographer's style become "hot" and create a trend in the market? But there are many more questions. How can a photographer who cannot change the lens in his camera shoot for some of the most highly regarded fashion magazines? How is it that a photographer has to pay to get some assignments, but earns more on other assignments, though she does the same thing? Why do some photographers' names appear in the bylines of advertisements when others do not? How can magazines be produced every week with fashion pictures that rarely allow the viewer to see what the clothes look like? How can a magazine that sells very few copies still set the tone on fashion photography for the market? How is it that the buyers of the magazines and the wearers of the clothes are between 12 and 100 years old but most models range in age from 13 to about 23 years old? How do producers see differences among themselves as well as among the customers? How is it that fashion pictures look differently (compare, for example, Plates VIII, X and XV)? As the study proceeds, it will become clear that questions like these cannot be answered in isolation. I will answer them by focusing on the essential question of this study: how does one understand the market for fashion photography in Sweden?

Photography and fashion

That pictures today surround us is obvious to everyone who can see. We take pictures with our own cameras and we see pictures taken by others—both amateurs and professionals. Photographs are used by both artists and professional photographers. Many photographic genres exist, but few get more attention than fashion photography, which is taking photographs of clothes. Fashion, a topic in its own right, has attracted people for centuries. Nearly everyone relates to the fashion of the time, either by adopting or by rejecting it. Thus fashion photography itself is subject to the whims of fashion.

Fashion photography

This study is not about fashion per se, nor is it about fashion photographs as such. As a topic that has been discussed by many sociologists fashion is naturally a part of the study. Fashion photography is about fashion, and its simplest view would stress that the pictures aim to present the clothes to potential buyers. But the focus of this study is not fashion photography in a "cultural" sense.[1] That is, my primary focus is not the content of the photographs. The photographs are of course part of the study, but it is not a study of the artistic development of styles of different named photographers—that is a topic more relevant to art historians or psychologists than to sociologists.[2] What is presented here is

rather an understanding of the processes that make fashion photography look the way it does.[3]

To see the prominent place fashion photography has acquired, one need only open a life-style magazine or a fashion magazine, which present photographs in a wrapping of luxury and, quite often, of exclusiveness. Many magazines have sections on fashion or are entirely focused on it. The idea of fashion magazines is not a recent invention, though the number of magazines has increased over time. Around the end of World War I it became possible to print at an affordable cost and with a quality that enabled reproduction of photos. Since then the market for publications of fashion pictures has increased dramatically (Gunther [1994] 1998). Today computers have greatly lowered the cost of producing a magazine, making it easier to start a magazine, and explaining the growing number of magazines available. Fashion photographs do not only appear in magazines. There are huge billboards in subways and buses also carry pictures. At least in Sweden the director of commercials is often a photographer who also takes still fashion photographs.

Fashion photography is related to the status of photography in general. Photography as a medium was officially born in 1839, but it was not commercially exploited for some time. In Sweden, the market for fashion photography emerged much later. Not until the late 1980s can one say that photographers could define themselves as fashion photographers in any modern meaning of the word. To be a fashion photographer is connected to the very idea of having an identity as first a fashion photographer, and not as a photographer who sometimes does fashion. Besides the large changes in society that have also affected this market, such as globalization and internationalization, some effects are more specifically related to this typical market. Since the market for commercial photography became established, the available techniques to the photographers have developed greatly.[4]

Fashion photography is very much in vogue in Sweden as well as internationally today. The introduction of commercial TV in Sweden in the late 1980s greatly increased the demand for people capable of working with the media. Still photographers could work on TV commercials, and the production of music videos has often involved photographers. Moreover, the number of fashion-orientated magazines has also increased. Today the number of fashion editorials—the fashion stories that are produced by magazines—is much higher than 15 years ago. The demand for fashion photographers has increased comparably.

Though there is a long-term trend of greater importance of photography, one should note that this study was conducted during a booming economy. Though this fact has probably not affected the general results of the study, it may very well have pushed this market in a somewhat extreme direction. For example, one might have expected fewer magazines to emerge in a non-booming economy. That the market has grown can also be seen in other ways. One is that many of the most established photographers in Sweden are relatively young. The market for fashion photography is not big and this may be one reason why Swedish assistants and photographers are tending to work abroad.[5]

A further reason for calling photography “hot” today is the general trend among young people to work within the media. Among other things, media includes the field of photography and strongly related fields such as styling, magazine production and advertising agencies, as well as the Internet. The number of photography schools has also

increased dramatically in Sweden. Few, if any, of those students dream of careers in medical photography; glamour and people are more valued photographic genres (Newburry 1997). Photographers have long been attracted to fashion photography because it has allowed them more aesthetic freedom than other photographic genres (Tellgren 1997:103).

Art, money and craft in photography

There are many reasons for studying this market. The distinction between photography as a craft and photography as an art makes this market particularly interesting. The distinction on which I focus is between photography as a commercial activity that is completely incorporated into the economy, and photography as a form of art, and hence part of the aesthetic sphere (cf. Weber 1946:323–331; Becker 1978, 1982; Faulkner 1983:122). Howard Becker distinguishes between art and craft in the following way:

> The person who does the work that gives the product its unique and expressive character is called an "artist" and the product itself "art." Other people whose skills contribute in a supporting way are called "craftsmen." The work they do is called "craft." The same activity, using the same material and skills in what appear to be similar ways, may be called by either title, as may the people who engage in it.
>
> (1978:863)

The craftsman has less ambitious goals than the artist, and looks more to the function and less to the aesthetics of what is produced (Becker 1978:864–867). Commercial photography has long been seen as primarily a craft. In the beginning, photographers had to be skilled chemists. Only later did photography become more widespread.[6] It was also a long struggle to establish photography at major museums.[7] But today fashion photographers exhibit their photographs in galleries, and thus "become" artists (cf. Giuffre 1996, 1999). A connected trend is that many books of fashion photography are being published, and almost every famous fashion photographer compiles a book of his or her photographs.[8] This is most likely caused by a combination of two factors: the field of photography has developed more in the direction of art, and artists tend to use the photographic medium, so that it invades the field of photography (Becker 1978).[9] These trends, if interpreted at a more abstract level, point to another trend: of less firm boundaries between the aesthetic sphere and the economic sphere.

Weber was one of the first thinkers to write on the clashes between the economic and the aesthetic spheres, though he followed Nietzsche in exploring this idea. The idea of spheres provides a useful background to contemporary discussion in the sociology of art literature. A substantial part of the literature on the sociology of art deals, to some extent, with the economic aspects of art and the art worlds (e.g. Becker 1963:79–119, 1978, 1982; Bourdieu [1992] 1996; DiMaggio 1994; Faulkner 1971, 1983; Forty [1986] 1995; Giuffre 1996, 1999; Jensen 1994; Rosenblum 1978a; White and White [1965] 1993; White 1993a). To summarize the relationship between art and economy, it studies the

various ways that the economic dimension affects art. From this literature, it seems safe to say that the economic dimension plays a major role in the aesthetic sphere.

Less research has started out from the opposite perspective: asking how the aesthetic dimension and the aesthetic value system permeate the economy (DiMaggio 1994). Becker, however, describes some formal traits that account for the way that art invades craft (1978). He describes how newcomers who bring prestige to a certain craft from an art world thereby redefine activities that previously were seen as craft. They may also bring new techniques, and as a result redefine the processes of the domain.

That photography is seen both as a craft and as a form of art makes this topic even more interesting to study. Does it have any consequences for how the market is constructed? Is there a conflict between art and craft in fashion photography? How do the actors themselves view it, and what is the relationship between the art market and the commercial market? One may, for example, assume that the different organizational principles and the different cultural meanings that are applied in these two spheres are likely to generate distinctions and possibly conflicts in this particular market.

The production of cultural products, it has been argued, has a special characteristic (Hirsch [1977] 1992). Hirsch defines a cultural product as "'nonmaterial' goods directed at a public of consumers, for whom they generally serve an aesthetic or expressive, rather than a clearly utilitarian function" ([1977] 1992:365). Examples of cultural goods are "Movies, plays, books, art prints, phonograph records, and pro football games; each is nonmaterial in the sense that it embodies a live, one-of-a-kind performance and/or contains a unique set of ideas" (Hirsch [1977] 1992:365). Hirsch sees a similarity in the way the production of cultural goods and construction projects are organized; he builds his argument on Stinchcombe's idea of craft organized production (Stinchcombe [1959] 1992). Stinchcombe's key idea is that the uncertainty and flux that are characteristic of these products lead to non-bureaucratic organizations (cf. Zuckerman 1999). Often many subcontractors come together to work on unique projects. This means that the central organization hires the special kind of "knowledge" needed for each unique production. Hirsch then applies this idea to cultural production. This idea is supported from studies of cultural production (e.g. Faulkner 1971, 1983). A problem with the Stinchcombe-Hirschian approach is that it downplays the role of the market. Hirsch does not relate the organizations—which he takes to be the prime units of analysis—to the markets in which they operate. All of the subcontractors are hired in markets. One may say that markets, or more generally speaking interfaces (White 1992), provide a "solution" to the insecurity that characterizes production of cultural items. Production may be handled within a single organization, or by hiring different subcontractors operating in different markets. Moreover, Hirsch does not discuss the central role of identity for the actors who get to sign a contract for the production nor does he discuss the results of the process between the central organization and the subcontractors. I argue that only by using the market and ideas of differentiation and comparison, which are conditions in all production markets, can one make the decisions that are so crucial in Hirsch's discussion. I assert that Hirsch's problem should be addressed from the perspective of the market; the organizational principles will fall out from such an analysis, rather than the other way around.[10]

An additional reason for studying this topic is that, as a rather extreme market, fashion photography provides insights that are less obvious in other markets. That the market is

extreme will become clear as the study proceeds. The fashion business in general has an aura of beauty, sex, drugs and distinctions.[11] Furthermore, this market seems to be running on a turbo engine; it is like a social life at double speed.

The production of pictures

Like most social phenomena, this market can be analytically separated into different categories of actors. The most notable distinction in this market is between the photographers—the producers of the photographs—and the consumers of the photographs. In a wider circle of actors are the sellers of the products and services that the photographers use in the process of producing the photographs. At the same time, one can analyze the production chain on the buyers' side, which consists of buyers of the photos, the buyers of the magazine, and the buyers of space for advertisements in the magazine (cf. Sverrisson 1998). One can go even further and identify a net of actors who take part in the production of advertisements. However, I focus on two key-categories of actors in the market: photographers and consumers of these photographs. However, I do not ignore actors like stylists, hairdressers, make-up artists, and models—all of whom may be represented by agents, yet another type of actor in the market. To make my discussion of fashion photography a bit more tangible, I now present an example of the market's operation and some of its actors.

An example from the business

In the following idealized example of how a fashion story for a magazine is shot (photographed) I aim to give the reader some understanding of the practice among actors in the fashion business, including some of the context. A fashion story is a series of pictures that are published as a unit in a fashion magazine. There is an idea behind such a story; that idea can, for example, be to visualize a mode or a virtue. In the following example, I focus on a photographer who is still working his way up to become better known, to publish in more prestigious fashion magazines, to shoot fashion campaigns, and to make more money. Naturally, this short presentation cannot cover all of the aspects that actually occur.

The pictures are shot on a photographic set. The set may be in a studio, or it may be on location (inside or outside), which means that it is a real milieu. At the set, in addition to the photographer and his assistant, one finds the fashion editor of the magazine and possibly her assistant, a hairdresser, a make-up artist, and one or more models.[12] All of these take part in the production of the photographs.

Though much of the action takes place at the set, the production process may have begun weeks before the day the photographs are taken. The photographer chooses to contact fashion magazines from among the many available. His choice is based on several considerations: the style of the magazine (and thus the likelihood that the magazine will accept his particular style), the prestige of the magazine and the quality of the printing. He compares all this, and more, to how he perceives his own situation, in terms of the quality and style of his own pictures.

The photographer is usually the one who contacts the magazine, and a meeting is set up. The photographer brings his portfolio to the meeting with the fashion editor (the portfolio is often also available on the Internet). The book, usually made of leather with the photographer's name engraved on it, contains a collection of pictures (about 25) that the photographer believes will make the customers choose him for the job. The fashion editor who looks at the portfolio may ask the photographer questions about the pictures. The photographer's presentation may include his ideas of fashion photography, why he would like to work with the magazine in question and so on. The fashion editor will in any case—regardless of her true opinion of the photographer's book—be rather positive, or at least neutral, towards the photographer. She is also likely—if only to be polite—to take his "leave-behind" card (also known as a "business" card), which includes one or more pictures taken by the photographer, and his name, telephone number, web site and e-mail address. The fashion editor has more offers from photographers than space available (or budget) to publish in her magazine. She will usually not decide to work with the photographer on the spot, but may phone the photographer later, or wait for him to phone her again.

The fashion editor is responsible for producing one or more fashion stories for each issue of the magazine. A single story generally contains about eight pictures. If the editor works at a more "avant-garde" magazine, she is more likely to use an external stylist, than if the magazine is more "commercial." This means that a stylist and a fashion editor have similar functions at the set. The fashion editor, however, is in charge of producing the story, and she has more power *vis-à-vis* the photographer than an external stylist who is a subcontractor. The commercial fashion editor comes up with a story and discusses it with the photographer during one or more meetings. They consider how the model should look, the type of fashion they will use, the colors of the backdrops they will use, the kind of feeling they wish to present and the like. During this process, the fashion editor is restricted to the "commercial frame" by her magazine; its identity must not be transcended by the story. That is, the reader must be able to recognize the magazine from one issue to another. Furthermore, she may face restrictions on the type of clothes that can be used, the way the clothes are presented, the look and age of the models, and so on. Within this frame the photographer usually is allowed to choose the make-up artist, the hairdresser, and the models. The budget can make additional restrictions.

The photographer tries to book the models he wants to use for the job. The model agencies have books on all the models they represent, which look very much like the photographers' books. The photographer can pick his models by simply looking at model cards supplied by model agencies. Sometimes he even arranges a casting, which means that the photographer arranges a meeting with a number of models during a couple of hours, perhaps at his studio. The photographer looks through their books and takes a leave-behind card from each of them. He can also take a few Polaroid, or digital, photographs if he thinks a model looks different in person from her image on the card. Depending on the photographer and the magazine, different numbers of models may be available for the photographer to shoot. More established magazines and photographers find it easier to get good models.

A day or two before the shooting, the fashion editor and her assistant must pick up clothes from various showrooms and stores. They aim to find clothes that go with the story. They usually bring more clothes, shoes and accessories to the set than will be seen

in the finished story. The brands chosen correspond to the style of the magazine, and are often from companies that advertise in the magazine. The clothes come only in one size. In the world of showrooms and design, virtually everything is made for the model.

It is the photographer's task to prepare the set. He either uses his own studio, rents one, or tries to get access to a good location. The magazine, and his agent, if he has one, can sometimes help in this process. The photographer must order the film, rent the appropriate lighting, and so on. He often hands these practical tasks over to his assistant.

On the day of shooting, the photographer and his assistant arrange the set. As people arrive at the set they talk to each other, ask about the others' recent jobs and generally try to get familiar with each other. Usually, some have worked together before. The model is normally the youngest person at the set, and often has the least to say about the final result. The photographer and the fashion editor are the two most influential actors in producing the photographs. They give orders to the hairdresser and the make-up artist. It may take an hour or so to prepare the model for the shooting and then some of the clothes are tested on the model. The fashion editor and the photographer make the final decision on what clothes to use for the shoot.

The first picture is taken using Polaroid film and develops within approximately one minute.[13] The assistant takes the Polaroid picture, develops it, and shows it first to the photographer, then to the editor, the hairdresser, and the make-up artist. The model is usually the last one to see it. Each actor orients to the part of the picture for which she or he is responsible: the hairdresser looks at the hair to make adjustments and the make-up artist looks at the make-up. The editor and the photographer look at the styling and the overall result. The changes are usually based on how the Polaroid looks. If necessary the light may be changed, and the model may put some clothes on or take them off, and the model's pose can also be changed. This process can go on for some time until the editor and the photographer are pleased. Then the Polaroid is normally put on the so-called storyboard, which is the visual representation of the intended layout of the story to be published.

Only after the picture is accepted is the camera loaded with film. It is usually negative color film, but sometimes black and white. The digital technique is also an alternative. Each picture to be published normally requires between 2 and 10 rolls of film (about 20 to 100 exposed frames). Then the process is repeated for the other seven pictures that the team shoots in a day. The photographer's working day is often longer than eight hours.[14] One reason for the day being long is that it is difficult to find the right feeling, and to get the different people on the team tuned in to the same wavelength. Once they are in tune, the pace of the shoot usually increases.

Most of the negotiation of how the pictures should look takes place before and after the shooting. Though all the pictures are taken in one day, the final decisions on the published pages take longer. After the actual shooting the photographer has a lab develop the films, perhaps taking "clip-tests" to make sure that the results are acceptable.[15] Contact sheets of all the rolls of film are then ordered. The photographer may then suggest to the fashion editor which frames to use for the printed story. He may also suggest the order of the pictures, and thus a possible layout for the printed pages. He meets with the editor, who makes the final decision on which frames to print enlargements of. The lab or the photographer's assistant will make the prints. Printing the photographs is not merely a mechanical process; it involves some interpretation of the

negative and retouching of the prints, but today's computers substitute for much of the wet work that used to be carried out partly by the laboratory. The skills needed for printing the photographs are essentially the same, though the tools are different. Many changes can be made; for example, skin blemishes can be removed or a model's leg can be made slimmer by using a program such as Adobe PhotoShop.

When the magazine receives the photographs it takes full control of them; the photographer has little, if any, power to affect the printed result. The magazine does the layout, cuts the pictures to fit the size of the magazine, writes informational text about the clothes and includes a byline listing all of the production staff Finally, the magazine is printed, and sometimes in the reproduction and printing process the photographs can change in color, contrast, and tone. This means that all involved are curious to see the result. The photographer is seldom pleased with his pictures in print, since they rarely look the same as the prints he delivered.

A magazine has to pay about 25,000 SEK ($2,500) for a fashion story of eight pictures. The photographer gets paid roughly a third of that sum. Sometimes the photographer will earn a better rate for a more commercial magazine and less for a more avant-garde magazine. This means that the actors involved do not make much money. Some may even lose money because the costs are higher than their earnings. If the photographer rents special lights, or uses too many rolls of film, the magazine will not always cover these extra costs. What he gets paid is a fixed sum that he may use as he wants.

This description is only a glance at the market, not an explanation of it. Nothing, for example, has been said about advertising photography. Furthermore, if the photographer only does jobs for which he may not even cover his costs, a market could hardly be sustained. It would at least have to be constructed very differently. What part does a shooting like this play in the market? What is the importance of this for the people involved? These and other questions can be addressed by focusing on the question of how one can understand this market.

A note on the organization of this book

To fully understand this market requires several steps. My first step is to look at what social scientists, in this case economists and sociologists, have said about markets. In Chapter 2 I discuss some theories of markets, with the focus on Harrison White's production market theory. The reader who is unfamiliar with academic texts, or only interested in the field of fashion photography, may omit Chapter 2. Before turning to Chapter 3, however, I suggest that the academic reader look at Appendix A, which includes a thorough discussion of phenomenology, and its use in conducting empirical studies like this one. The phenomenological approach represents a severe critique of the objectivist approach in the social sciences. Phenomenology, in contrast, is the strongest form of subjectivism in the social sciences; it requires that any explanation include the meaning for those involved in the phenomenon.

I begin Chapter 3 with a short summary of the seven steps of empirical phenomenology described in Appendix A. The bulk of Chapter 3, however, is an ethnographic presentation of the important types of actors in the market. In Chapter 4, I

analyze in detail the producers' side: the photographers. In Chapter 5, I do the same with the consumers' side. In Chapter 6, I combine the two perspectives, i.e. the producers' and the consumers', concentrating on their interaction and how change takes place. In this chapter I discuss the main dynamic aspects in aesthetic markets, and discuss the relationship between this study and the theories employed. In the final Chapter 7 I relate this study to some aesthetic aspects in society, and particularly in the economy, and discuss the more general idea of interfaces. Finally, I touch upon the role of phenomenology in the light of this study.[16]

2
The study of markets

In this chapter I discuss theories of markets, primarily the sociologist Harrison White's theory of production markets, providing a scheme of reference for the rest of the study.[1] Theories of markets usually focus on firms; less often is the focus upon self-employed actors. White's theory, for example, focuses on firms. However, by instead thoroughly analyzing the photographers, who are individuals, one gains some advantages. The principal-agent problem does not normally appear (Miller 1992), since the actor is an individual and not a firm. At the same time, the magazines and advertising firms included in this study represent the "traditional" firm, though they appear here mostly in the role of buyers.[2] In this section I discuss the market, first by making some general remarks, then by discussing economic theories and finally by presenting and discussing sociological theories of markets.

Types of markets

Historically the market was a physical locality where people met to barter goods, e.g., a number of apples could be bartered for a chicken.[3] Today we can buy and sell on the Internet, which means that one may speak of virtual markets, and the idea of physical markets becomes less important. The idea of pure barter is less important today. A great change in the market structure occurred when money was introduced as a means for barter; only then can one speak of actual "buyers" and "sellers" (Marshall 1920b:271). Many different aspects of markets are relevant in this context.[4] There exists, for example, different types of markets of which the exchange market is one type. According to White, in an exchange market, such as the market for stocks or bonds, the buyers and the sellers do not take on separate roles (cf. Swedberg 1990:83). In exchange markets, an actor can be a seller one second and a buyer the next. The exchange market is the archetype of the neoclassical model, and probably the only type of market for which neoclassical analysis is most suited.[5] But few real markets, relatively speaking, are exchange markets.

To differentiate between markets requires looking for a connection between the actors, be it individuals or companies, and their roles in the market. This connection exists in a market where some actors operate as sellers and others as buyers. If the actors in the market identify these two categories as being stable, one may speak of a role market, where it is clear whether an agent is a buyer or a seller of the commodity traded in the

market. This is the case with the market for fashion photography, and for most other markets. Labor markets, for example, are a well-known kind of role market. Sociologists also discuss production markets, those with few producers and (many) anonymous consumers (White 1981). The important distinction between exchange markets and role markets is theoretically as well as empirically clear.

The role of the producer (who is usually a seller) or the consumer (who is usually a buyer), however, is only fixed in one market at a time. For example, a photographer is a consumer of film and other photographic material, but she is of course also a producer of pictures. Actors are consumers when they look up the production chain, and producers when they look down the production chain. This is true of every actor in the entire chain (cf. Gereffi 1994:219–222; Weber [1921–22] 1978:157–9; White 2002a and b). Different markets are interconnected in networks via the actors who are consumers in some markets and producers in one, or sometimes a few markets (White 1993b:161–2). That a market is defined as a production market is reasonable because the producers only take part in one, or sometimes a few, markets as producers. Moreover, as will be evident, the identity of an actor is generated in her own production market. As a consumer, in contrast, the same agent is often active in more than one production market at a time in order to buy the goods that the consumer uses to produce what she is selling on its own production market.

An additional analytic distinction involves the joint production of goods in production markets. If a producer makes a product without the consumers participating, then it should be defined, I argue, as a disassociated production market. A producer of standardized screws usually makes these without any co-operation from the consumers who use the screws. A haircut, in contrast, normally requires the producer and the consumer to work together. When the producer and the consumer both take part in the production of the good or service, one should speak of an associated production market, since they both contribute to the results.[6]

One can also characterize a market according to its competitive structure, which is applicable to both exchange and production markets (though the implications are not identical). The neoclassical economic model assumes perfect competition in the market. But this model of market refers to exchange markets. When there is no perfect competition, i.e. when a Pareto sub optimal situation exists, economists speak of imperfect competition. Monopoly (one seller), oligopoly (few sellers), and monopsony (one buyer) are examples of power structures, in which there is no perfect competition (cf. Lipsey *et al.* 1990:264–268). These contributions are of course important to the understanding of markets, but are well known and will not be discussed further.

So far, I have discussed the market for fashion photography mainly in terms of production markets but is not this market, after all, best conceptualized as a labor market? In a labor market, which also is a kind of role market, firms hire individuals to work for them. Broadly speaking, three different economic theories on labor markets can be recognized: neoclassical theory, Keynesian theory, and institutional theory (Haartog and Theeuwes 1990). The neoclassical model stresses the role of the actors' flexibility in the market, the Keynesian approach emphasizes the role of politics, and the institutional school sees the rules of conduct as important for understanding the market.

None of these schools of labor market theories, however, seem directly applicable to the market of fashion photography.[7] The actors in a labor market usually have long-term

contracts, and differ in other ways from self-employed people: in terms of social security, job relations, autonomy, etc. A labor contract is typically made between an employer and an employee, but actors in many markets for artistic goods, like the market for fashion photography, are self-employed. Most of them have one or two employees, and are consequently employers themselves, and can be described as subcontractors (cf. Hirsch [1977] 1992). Furthermore, in many markets the photographers are known to the buyers of the photographs, and thus are not anonymous as most potential employees in a labor market are assumed to be in economic theory. In addition, several other differences can only be indicated at this stage, such as the role of identity, style, and status in production markets. Finally, the actors themselves do not see the market as a labor market. Because of all these reasons the market is best viewed as a production market. To approach the "artistic labor markets," I argue, from the perspective of production markets it may help to understand these "puzzling" markets (Menger 1999). After reading Menger's survey of the work done in this field (1999), one may argue that the economist's labor market theories have not been able to explain artistic markets in which aesthetic values play a key role. Examples of markets that are "artistic" include musicians and actors. Moreover, I believe the labor market approach is less successful because it fails to account for the fact of identities and status, two notions of key importance in the artistic market. Nonetheless, there are different types of markets and the distinctions made above may be useful for distinguishing among them. In Figure 2.1 I present a typology of what I see as the most important distinctions regarding different markets.

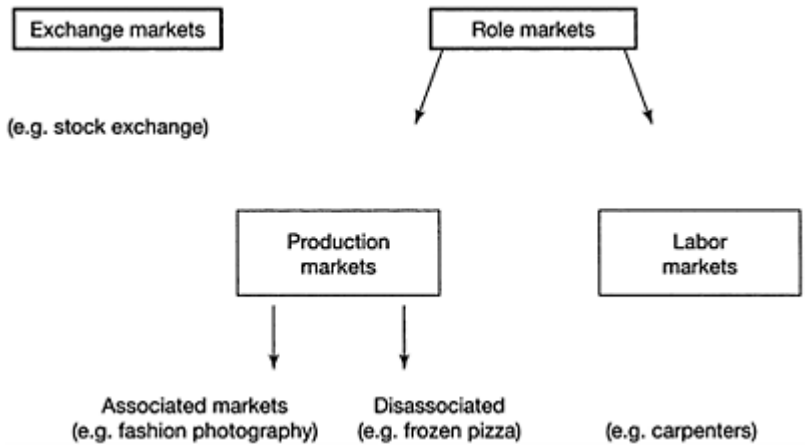


Figure 2.1 Typology of markets

The distinctions made so far, and presented in Figure 2.1, are important for analyzing a market, and a theory of markets must consequently deal with them. These distinctions cannot be seen as independent variables. Rather, they call for explanations themselves. But any theory of the market must also identify the boundaries of that market. Boundaries can be defined in relation to the product and to the pattern of buying and selling the relevant commodity (Burt 1988:358). As indicated, some markets may show "spatial"—mainly geographical—boundaries. At the same time, a certain market may be the local

one for many different goods, some of which are close substitutes, but other goods are not a suitable substitute (Wang 1999). Furthermore, the construction of the market cannot be reduced to some asserted traits of the commodity. The product produced in a market is not fixed over time and it may change quite considerably. The commodity itself is to some extent a result of the market and cannot be understood as extrinsic to the market. Hence, it is not possible to say that the material conditions determine the way the market is construed; what the product or service is may differ, and this change is normal in a market. A purely material explanation must be rejected. Still, it is clear that the markets are named for the product. Even more important, a theory must be able to explain how the market is organized and how it works. These are pressing questions, and it is time to look more closely at studies of markets. Both economists and sociologists have studied markets. It is natural to start a study with economic theories, where one would expect to find a comprehensive theory of markets.

Economic theories of markets

How have economists approached markets? Moreover, how, if at all, can the economic perspective be useful to sociologists studying markets? The economic tradition of studying markets goes back to the founders of economic theory. Adam Smith was the first economist to bring together the disparate knowledge that existed during his time in economics and made a comprehensive presentation of the field (Ekelund and Hébert 1990:100). Though Smith also presented an idea of the market, he unfortunately clouded the notion by using concepts like "the invisible hand" and the "natural price" that hint at a natural order ([1776] 1981, especially Book I, Chapter V–VII). The idea of an invisible hand is an example of unintended consequences; the maximizing individual is "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention" (Smith [1776] 1981:456). The idea of natural price is deduced from the objective theory of value, that is, the natural price of a commodity can ultimately be explained by the amount of labor used to produce the commodity. The objective theory of value can be traced back to John Locke's philosophy of natural rights. Smith's theory of the market is thus seen from the perspective of the scientist: the maximizing agents will eventually produce a market, and the prices are determined by objective facts. The market is almost seen as a part of nature, and the idea of a self-regulated market must be understood in this light (cf. Neale 1957). The idea of a natural process that is also present in the thinking of the neo-Austrians (Swedberg 1994:260–1), may be one reason why markets are not well studied by economists (cf. Lie 1997; Baker, Faulkner and Fisher 1998).

Today, theories of the market in mainstream economics can be found in simplified versions in textbooks for undergraduates (e.g. Lipsey *et al.* 1990). Though the theory has a general claim, it must be remembered that it was modeled on the stock exchange (van Daal and Jolink 1993:110). Moreover, the neoclassical theory takes its departure from the economic man or the economic firm, i.e. the "agent" endowed with a set of characteristics. A market, in this case, is the outcome of profit maximizers who act rationally. The actors in the ideal market—both sellers and buyers—are faced with a market that they cannot affect, so they are "price takers" if enough actors operate as sellers and buyers in the market. The market mechanism implies that demand equals

supply and a price of the commodity is reached.[8] Economic theory, in this case, connects the market intimately with price formation (Neale 1957; Hausman 1992; Swedberg 1994:263; Lie 1997; McLean and Padgett 1997:216–223). In economic theory, the market is a means for effectively allocating resources because the prices that evolve in markets indicate the relative scarcity of resources in the economy.

Economists seldom discuss the social world to which a market is connected, nor do they usually call other social aspects into question.[9] The economic view on the market is simplified, and downplays the social aspect on three analytic levels: the action level, the organizational level of a single market, and the aggregated level (society and the global). This view means that economists fail to see the market as a social phenomenon—that actors orient their activities to other actors in the market—economists cannot account for the core idea of a market like that for fashion photography, in which actors try to differentiate by creating a career built upon an independent style that is their trademark, and in doing so relate first and foremost to other photographers, and not to the customers. Second, markets are organized differently, due to social forces, such as unions, trusts etc., and because of the type of commodity. Finally, markets are embedded not only within other markets, but also within a broader social frame. However, a theory of markets must not necessarily include all aspects of the socially embedded real market. Obviously, the political system can affect the structure of markets, due to different rules of various political capitalisms. This aspect is downplayed in many studies of the market, including this one.[10] It should be emphasized that the theories of markets discussed here are primarily related to the Western capitalist system. This study, in short, focuses on the market, and not on the net of social relations that are deemed necessary for the very existence of markets. For example, all Western markets are supported and constrained by laws, as pointed out by institutional economists, but these do not differ substantially between liberal capitalist economies of today.

Further problems arise when one tries to apply the neoclassical theory of markets to the market for fashion photography. The ideas of production volume and market share (often measured in terms of actors' sales volume, or the number of items sold or gross input) do not apply. Neither can one speak of a quality standard of the products that can be easily measured. To sum it up, I will show how the notion of quality is not appropriate to this market. The very product itself is constantly being redefined, and thus also the "standards" or conventions for how the product should look.

Harrison White summarizes much of the critique that can be directed at the neoclassical theory when he argues that economic theories simply do not fit reality (1992:42). Economists have contributed to our understanding of some aspects of markets, but as this study proceeds it will become clear that even the core assumptions of neoclassical theory, those used in practice, must be questioned, such as the idea that people act rationally to achieve financial goals.

Some economists do provide useful sociological insights with regards to markets. Important contributions to a sociological theory of markets, for example, comes from the classical economist Alfred Marshall (1842–1924). Marshall's thinking has a strong overall sociological dimension (Aspers 1999a), which also comes through when he writes about the market. His thinking, for example, helps to pinpoint the central idea of the market as a social construction. He has taken the issue of the market seriously, both theoretically and empirically, partly because he rejects the purely deductive approach so

characteristic of today's economists and rational choice theoreticians, and says instead that induction and deduction must be connected (Marshall [1920a] 1961:770–781). This means that he combines theoretical analysis with empirical studies. Moreover, he clearly recognizes and develops this idea better than most other economists. This is so because Marshall views the market from the perspective of the singular actor, whom he essentially treats by using ideal types.

Marshall made a partial equilibrium analysis of the economy, in contrast to the general equilibrium model of Walras that is recognized in mainstream economics of today. Though Marshall often directed his analysis to a single market, he never downplayed the social aspects of the organization of the economy. Marshall saw organization as the fourth factor of production (in addition to land, labor, and capital). The idea of organization implies that there is not just one way to organize a market, and Marshall provides several empirical examples of ways to organize the market ([1920a] 1961, 1920b, 1923).

Marshall changed his definition of the market slightly over the years, but the sociologically most interesting definition is the following:

> Theoretically a market is a district, small or large, in which there are many buyers and sellers all so keenly on the alert and so well acquainted with one another's affairs that the price of a commodity is always practically the same for the whole district.

Marshall continues, relating this theoretical market to reality, "But the facts seldom correspond exactly to this description. Those who buy for their own consumption, and not for the purpose of trade, are not always on the look out for every change in the market: they have other things to think about" ([1890] 1961 (II):251). Thus, a consumer may act rationally, but the result may be that the market becomes less efficient.[11]

It is fair to say that Marshall argues for a separation of production (or wholesale) markets, and consumption (or final) markets, and this is because the latter are populated by people who do not have to know markets as well as professional actors must. Also of interest is his idea that in real life very few markets are of the ideal type. Markets, Marshall argues, are organized, though not in the same way. The stock exchange is often seen as the ideal form of a market. Recently, the stock exchange market has been seen as a construction (Abolafia 1996). Abolafia repeats what Marshall said, though in much more detail.[12]

Underlying the continuum of markets that Marshall discussed are several factors; all of them are best summarized under the more general heading "organization." The period the market exists, and the time the commodities survive are examples of such aspects. Other examples are the area ("district") the market covers, the formal regulations, and the informal regulations that can change according to the social relations in the market, which includes power relations and the idea of "partial markets" (cf. Swedberg 1994:260).[13] Marshall also discusses the common tendency for the actors, both individually and collectively, to organize the market so they hinder competition, which is another way of saying that they try to control the market (Marshall 1920b:400–402).

Both Marshall and his student Pigou stress the role of price and price competition, regardless of whether they are referring to pure competition or monopolistic competition

(cf. Pigou [1920] 1960:266–268). Thus, to make Marshall's idea of a market fit contemporary production markets that show differentiation among products, one must say either that each producer has its own market or that the price of a commodity varies. Or one must make the even more awkward measurements of an *ad hoc* type and speak about the size of the district etc. The interpretation from a sociologist's standpoint is that even one of the most prominent economists has not presented a theory of production markets.

Marshall is not the only economist to write on markets. The so-called Industrial Organization school works in a Marshallian tradition, though making few direct references to him.[14] This school works within the broader neoclassical economical framework, often taking the idea of a market as the point of departure for economic analysis (Scherer and Ross 1990). It studies, among other things, how markets are organized, and the consequences of different ways of organizing economic performance. The biggest difference compared to microeconomic theory, is the number of variables analysts take into account when analyzing markets. A similarity between the two theories is the pivotal role of prices: markets in the economic tradition are a mechanism for generating prices. This is not pointed out by Scherer and Ross, and this is probably because economists take for granted the centrality of prices.

Scherer and Ross argue, in contrast to microeconomic theory, that Industrial Organization theory follows Schumpeter's idea that the economist must know history, theory, and statistics (1990:2–3). But as Smelser and Swedberg have pointed out, Schumpeter also stresses a fourth pillar for the economists: sociology (Smelser and Swedberg 1994:13–14). This is an important pillar. As the economy is first a social sphere, it calls for a sociological approach. Despite this obvious sociological deficit, the Industrial Organization approach discusses some sociologically interesting topics, such as organization, structure, market types, and brand names. Members of the school make an interesting distinction between "competition" and "rivalry" (Scherer and Ross 1990:16).[15] Competition occurs when small producers act rather independently, without knowing other producers, and sell to a market. Rivalry, they argue, occurs when producers who know of each other's existence are "jockeying" for positions. Role markets are presumably better characterized by rivalry than by competition, since producers know both the other producers, and of the consumers of their product.

The Industrial Organization approach to markets argues that several factors are important in determining the structure of a market, on both the supply and the demand side. Examples are technology, the type of good being produced, unionization, business attitudes, character of the trade, purchase method, marketing method, and not least the legal framework. These, broadly speaking, are seen as determinants of the market structure. The behavior in the market is then affected by the structural components of the market, though the causality goes both ways.[16] It is clear that the approach is structural. But how can change in market structure be accounted for? And what about identities in the market? Anyway, it is obvious that economists have contributed with important insights on markets. But what about the sociological theories of markets?

Sociological theories of markets

Even though Marshall saw sociological aspects in the economy, he did not develop a sociological theory of the market. Sociologists, quite naturally, have paid less interest to markets than have economists (Swedberg 1994:264).[17] The sociology of markets became a field of interest to sociologists in the late 1970s, mainly due to the works of Harrison White. White (1981) published the first modern sociological statement on markets. White argues that neoclassical economics has only developed a theory on exchange markets, whereas real markets are often production markets (White, in Swedberg 1990:83). He also criticizes neoclassical economics, especially the version that emerged around 1940, and says, "main-stream economics has lost its nerve" since Samuelson published his *Foundation of Economic Analysis* in 1947 (White 1988:232, cf. Swedberg 1990:86). White's theory of the market is a point of departure for sociologists who study production markets, and much of the sociological discussion on markets is built upon his works. What follows is an interpretation of White's theory, which will be the theoretical framework for this study. I do not cover all aspects of White's theory in the discussion.[18] Naturally, other sociologists besides White have discussed markets from other perspectives, including Fligstein and Bourdieu.[19]

Harrison White's theory of production markets

White's theory of markets is aimed at explaining the kind of markets that he considers the bulk of economics: production markets. This approach has already been used as an argument in this study. White is inspired by people like Alfred Marshall and Edward Chamberlin. He refers mainly to Chamberlin ([1933] 1969) who, he argues, has presented a more realistic theory of how markets operate (White and Eccles 1987:986).[20] Leontieff's idea of input and output has also influenced White (White 1995:59). To focus on the market does not mean downplaying the social institutions in which a market is embedded. (White 1993b:164–165 170) As White says, every market is embedded in other markets. Furthermore, every market is connected to upstream and downstream markets, and the products must be seen within the intermittent downstream (or upstream) flow of production (White 1995:60, 2002). In capitalist economies markets, or to speak with White's words, interfaces (see below), "break off" the production flow and functions as shunts in the process of redirecting and affecting the flow. Moreover, one cannot predict where in the production flow the interfaces are located (cf. Stinchcombe [1959] 1992; Hirsch [1977] 1992), nor how many interfaces (markets) a certain flow contains.

That markets are embedded is not a new insight; Marshall was already well aware that markets do not exist in isolation. White, however, goes much further than other economic sociologists and views the production market as a species of social discipline that he calls an interface (White 1992, 1993b).[21] Each production market is an example of an interface, which also includes, for example, "Children competing in hopscotch or reciting for a teacher, mathematicians in a test for a prize, actors in a play" (White 1993b:165). The idea of comparison underlies all these examples of interfaces, and not only markets. Furthermore, a market can only operate if comparison is possible (cf. Callon 1998).

White argues that the theory of markets used by economists does not account for the empirical facts of production markets, that the number of firms in a market seldom exceeds a "dozen or so," or the way that firms maneuver to get market shares in a specific market (1981:517–8, cf. 541). The theory White has developed, consequently, takes a different point of departure than neoclassical economic theory. His theory proposes to embed "economists' neoclassical theory of the firm within a sociological view of markets" (White 1981:518). White defines markets as "self-reproducing social structures among specific cliques of firms and other actors who evolve roles from observing each other's behavior" (1981:518). The market is not defined in terms of the product that is the object of transactions, nor is the product defined in terms of the market. Furthermore, as new producers enter the market, and others leave it, the identity of the product (as well as the market) is modified. White does follow classical economics in identifying two sides in the markets: producers and consumers. Though White's theory is mostly occupied with the producers' side, the consumers' side intimately affects the undertakings of the producers; in this sense, the consumers play a key role in his theory (e.g. White 1988, 2002a).

White's theory is highly sociological, and it assumes—as does neoclassical economics—that producers are essentially rational and self-interested (White 1981). He rejects the neoclassical notion of homogenous products and says that producers differentiate their products, which he sees as a more realistic description of markets. Included in the argument is that the firms in a market have identities. The driving force behind the evolution of markets is this differentiation of the producers' products, and via that their identities (White and Eccles 1987:985, cf. Zuckerman 2000). A key point in the proposed theory is that producers relate to each other; or as White and Eccles express it, the producers' "primary focus is each other" (1987:984), which includes the idea that they are "comparable peers" (White 1993b:165). Each firm focuses on holding a niche in its own market, which it does in relation to other firms, some of which become known as high-quality producers, whereas others tend to be low-quality producers, who sell their product for less money (White 1993b:162). The important decision the producers make regarding the production volume and price is reflected back in the mirror. This means—to make the argument explicit—that the producers see themselves, the competitors and the results of their decisions, in the mirror of the market.

Of particular interest—as firms decide on quality, price and volume—are the "terms of trade" of other firms. White sees a trade-off within the market function, which is expressed in the following way: revenue (W) as a function of the shipped volume (y). The terms of trade, seen from the perspective of the producers, are the revenues received for the various volumes shipped of the different firms operating in this particular market (White and Eccles 1987:984). This is one source of information. Firms may also differ due to abilities, affected, for example, by the costs of production (White 1992:43). The cost structure of firms may differ, for example due to the quality and character and the location of their plants. Thus one can distinguish the producers not only based on the location of plants, and plant investments, etc., but also on the quality that the consumers perceive (White 1981:519).

Given these facts, can a firm choose a combination of price, volume, and quality and then start to produce? No, the firm's cost structure determines the price at which it can produce, but it must also know how the consumers perceive the product. Quality

underlies the terms of trade, of which the consumers' evaluation is part. The consumers discriminate between the different producers in the market "in ways summed up as quality, but no one can quantify this in advance or independent of volumes shipped" (White and Eccles 1987:984). Put another way, the firms hold niches, and every firm—interpreted in the light of White's later works—an identity (White 1992, cf. 1993b). Each firm tries to control its identity, but can do so only in relation to other producers, who also try to control their niches (White 1998).

One reason for each firm's preoccupation with its "competing" firms is that this is how it acquires knowledge. The producers see themselves and their competitors in the market "mirror," but the producers cannot see through to the customers (White 1981:543–544). The market is the mechanism that provides them with feedback; it is "a mirror" since the result is only seen after the firm has presented its terms of trade for the customers. It must be emphasized that the firms' competitors also see the decision. As a consequence, the producers, according to White, do not think of a demand curve, but observe competing firms, i.e. other producers within the market (1981:518). The outcome of the market, White says, is an unintended consequence of this "internal" orientation among producers (1993b:168).[22]

White contrasts his theory to neoclassical theory, and says that the famous equilibrium of supply and demand always being equal, is a "tautology" that is true in every case (1993b:170). Therefore, supply and demand are only by-products of the process of finding and reproducing identities in the market. By talking of supply and demand the scientist is not addressing the important process of how that value (and price) comes to differ between producers. Nothing is said about the process of actors sorting themselves out. This is because according to the neoclassical model of the market, there is no such thing as identities connected to what I call here role markets, that is, identities related to only one of the two sides (roles) of the interface: consumers and producers. The neoclassical approach assumes that only exchange markets exist. Moreover, it assumes only anonymous actors, who act rationally and independently and thereby produce the price as a result of demand and supply. Since a market in the neoclassical model is defined in terms of an identical product, together with the existence of producers and consumers, there is always a price. Demand always equals supply; the only exception is when there is no market. Thus White's theory is very different from the neoclassical model.

White's theory includes much more than I have discussed so far. White also addresses the stability of markets. A stable market reproduces itself; this is possible if the producers have knowledge about other actors, and if they perceive the market situation in a similar way. They will then reproduce their niche by choosing the same terms of trade they did in the last period. But if they do not choose the same terms, a market may become unstable. Actors may also cause turbulence within a market if they start to act in ways not established by the "rules of the game" (White and Eccles 1987:984).[23] This information is also crucial to market functioning; an unstable market may result if the actors misapprehend the situation, for example if many actors see themselves as differing from each other, when they in fact do not (White and Eccles 1987:984).

Consequently, information and knowledge are important dimensions in White's model. The information firms need to make decisions, such as the situation in the market and their position, comes not only from observations within the market, but is also

obtained "over luncheons with others in the trade, from trade associations, from one's own customers, and so on" (White 1981:519), what White later called "gossip" (1993b:167, 1995:62). According to White, this information problem is also a reason why a market seldom exceeds a dozen or so producers; it is difficult to keep track of many competitors at the same time, and the risk of an unstable market increases when this threshold is exceeded. But White assumes that producers are well informed, and know whom their competitors are. This is how the market is defined in terms of its boundaries: the producers can tell who is in the market and who is not (White and Eccles 1987:985). They can do this by identifying the firms with which they have relationships, some of which may be characterized by rivalry. White assumes actors will make unified judgments about the boundaries of a market. Because markets contain niches, one cannot speak of the free entry of a firm into a market in the neoclassical economic theoretical sense. A producer always has to squeeze into a niche or define a new one, but both these processes demand a social struggle with the existing actors in the market.

But what about the other side of the market, which so far only has been discussed indirectly: the consumers? White assumes that the producers, whose numbers are limited, are all aware of each other. The consumers, on the other hand, do not know each other, nor do the producers know them. The consumers basically can say yes or no to what the producers offer, i.e. their terms of trade.[24] This means that consumers react passively to the acts of the producers. They react based on what White calls the quality of the products, since they can compare the commodities of the producers in the market. Thus, White says, quality is related to what is in "the eye of the beholder" (1981:522). The producers are distinguished in the eyes of the consumers by a number of attributes, possibly the same attributes that producers use to distinguish among themselves. These attributes are summarized by the notion "quality," and the consumers' decisions of course affect the terms of trade, i.e. the W(y) function of the market. In this way, the consumers affect the producers. A consequence for the producer is that quality is an "exogenous 'social fact'" (White 1981:522). But no producer can know and quantify the quality in advance; as I said above, the producer has to wait until its decisions are reflected back in the mirror of the anonymous consumers' decisions, though market research is a means to get some information on the customers.

Prices are set in relation to the relative competition of the producers within a market. The profit may be higher in some markets than others. That is, actors within the market cannot affect the absolute level of prices, they can only negotiate the relative prices. Absolute prices may be due to price conventions and historical aspects of the ways prices are set in the particular market. Service and transaction costs may also result from historical traditions. As White and Eccles put it, "prices are not something that mysteriously emerge from 'the market.' They are part of the terms-of-trade and are socially constructed by the actors involved in the exchange" (White and Eccles 1987:985). Price conventions, to interpret White, can then differ in different local markets, even though they deal with the same commodity.

In addition to the general notion of interface, which includes production markets, White speaks of two other social species of discipline, the arena and the council.[25] Both are types of markets, though comparatively little is written on them (White 1992). In the arena market, actors are both sellers and buyers, in contrast to the interface market. Exchange markets, such as the New York, London or Stockholm stock exchanges, may

therefore be examples of the arena species. Production markets are not arena markets, because, as White says, "All those present in an arena are equivalent, rather than 'marked' by side and fixed in niche by quality" (1992:52). The council species, finally, "are disciplines centered on a process of balancing contending but ever-shifting coalitions" (White 1992:31). They are characterized as a process of mobilization, "such as an annual in-gathering of a kinship group to reallocate turfs and settle disputes" (White 1992:31–32). The council is also characterized by "the formation of alliance and counteralliance in mobilization to retain existing formation in terms of prestige" (White 1992:30). Examples of these markets are procurement and suppliers' networks. Hollywood's film production system seems to be an example of the council species (White 1992:104). White refers to Faulkner's studies of Hollywood studio musicians and film composers (Faulkner 1971, 1983), which I discuss further below. The idea of a council appears to be relevant for an analysis of a market like fashion photography. At the same time, it must be said, and White seems to agree, that the notion is not very well developed (White 1992:103). This means that at the most one can use some of the ideas of the council disciplines as an inspiration, but not as tools.

It is now possible to summarize White's theory. A production market, White says, is an interface where producers are "jockeying for relative positions" (1993b: 166), which means that the market is made up of actors who hold positions fundamentally relative to each other. This fact is recognized by both the producers and the consumers in the market (White 1993b:164). The market is a social construction, which is unintended and self-reproducing; producers reproduce the niches they have created. When the actors orient themselves to the market, they also reproduce the "social fact" of the market (White 1988:227–229). But not only does the market reproduce itself; the actors also reproduce themselves in the network of interaction of the market (White 1995:67–71). On a more general level White is talking about a social order, which is driven by a wish to control identities. These wishes produce a kind of pecking order. In the case of a market the order is related to quality: consumers identify certain producers in a market as high quality and others as low quality producers (White 1993b:162). Thus a social order is created within a market, with actors holding identities related to the niches they occupy along the W(y) curve. Actors, who can be persons, organizations, or firms in White's terminology, are produced in the process of controlling their identity.

White's theory of production markets is very innovative and is the most developed sociological market theory. But is it also possible to apply this theory to the market of fashion photography? Several aspects of White's theory seem not to fit. One is that the photographers in the market know both other photographers and the consumers of pictures. Another is that the producers are definitely more than White's "a dozen or so," and do not hold market shares in the sense that he suggests. Moreover, to some extent they can see through the mirror that White describes. This has implications for the distribution of knowledge and strategies available to the actor, since it restricts them in their activities. The idea of the producers' quality being external to the production process (White 1981:522) also seems to be problematic when applied to the world of fashion photographers. White's theory is applied to disassociated production markets, which the market for fashion photography is not. Finally, I study individuals, not firms. I will naturally discuss more of these issues throughout the rest of the book. I am interested

to know if there are any sociologists who share commitment to the basic ideas presented here, but who have studied markets with aesthetic values.

The intersection of markets "with status, role and career

Several authors have studied how status, roles, careers, and markets have been integrated. Among them Faulkner (1971, 1983), Faulkner and Anderson (1987), Baker and Faulkner (1991), Benjamin and Podolny (1999), Podolny (1993, 1994), and Zuckerman *et al.* (2003). Some of them have approached markets in which aesthetic values are important, like the music and the film industry. The most developed theoretical statement is made by Joel Podolny, with whom I begin. Podolny stresses the role of status in generating a hierarchy among producers in a market; he says positions in the market affect the opportunities open to the producers. It is noteworthy that he follows White in focusing on the producer's side, and sees the differentiation of products as reflected in (status) positions. A central premise of Podolny's theory is that roles are separate from positions in markets. Thus, he acknowledges the influence of White's seminal work, *Chains of Opportunity: System Models of Mobility in Organizations* (1970). However, Podolny says that "Like White, I conceptualize the market as a structure that is socially constructed and defined in terms of the perceptions of market participants, but my focus is not so much on roles as it is on status positions" (1993:830).

To Podolny status is what differentiates the producers, and he defines status as "the perceived quality of that producer's product in relation to the perceived quality of the producer's competitor's products" (1993:830). Podolny does not say that status is a value in its own right for the producers; instead status signals the underlying quality of the products the firm produces. Status is affected by what the producers do, that is, the signaling effect is manipulated by the producer's way of producing and selling the product. Quality, he says, is unobservable "before the consummation of a transaction" (Podolny 1993:832). Podolny does not entirely clarify the separation between actual and perceived quality, though he elaborates some on the distinction. The lack of clarity comes from his use of the now rejected objective theory of value. It is not easy to think of a way to objectively judge the "actual" quality of a good, especially in aesthetic markets. Of course the consumers may not know all the traits of the commodity (or service) because of the lack of information. But still, consumers cannot pin down the quality of a commodity without an interactive process that includes comparing of the producers and their products, like that in a market (cf. Simmel [1907] 1978). Moreover, the notion of quality is likely to be produced (and reconstructed) in the market, and quality cannot be seen as an externally determined value. All in all, quality itself calls for an explanation, and one cannot assume it to be an external and independent variable in all markets, though in some markets it can be treated as an independent variable in the short run.

Podolny indicates how quality may be related to status in markets (1994). He argues that in markets where it is not easy to define the quality of products objectively, actors are faced with uncertainty. To deal with the situation they seek other actors with whom they have interacted in the past: they are also more likely to interact with firms that hold the same status as they do (Podolny 1994:459–461). Podolny ties the idea of status not only to what is produced by the producer, but also to the "exchange relations with consumers, ties to third parties associated with the market, and affiliations with other

producers" (1993:833). This means that the social net of interactions with other producers and with consumers, is important in determining how customers perceive the commodity or service is perceived in relation to those of other producers (Podolny 1994:460). Thus he connects the idea of a relational foundation, which is so central in White's model, with the idea of status. Podolny assumes that to be able to talk of status, know the "actors" who are holding positions, both those on the same side and those on the other side (i.e. producers and consumers).

Podolny distinguishes between the producer and the producer's status position in a market because of the weak link between status and quality. Thus he follows White (1970) and Sørensen (1977) and bases his thinking on the idea of the vacancy chain models (Podolny 1993:834–5). But Podolny's argument presupposes an idea of space that, so to speak, exists in the minds of the actors even though no actors hold these positions: "Consumers remain aware of upper-end status positions that have been vacated because of the decline in the quality level of one or more producers" (1993:867). However, what the actors see and orient their behavior to is of course what determines the outcome. The consumers may see that a firm is producing goods of lower quality than before, but they do not necessarily remember a structural space with definite structural holes that are empty or filled. Podolny argues that a niche emerges out of the separation of quality and status position, and he focuses on the relational aspect of quality (1994), bringing him close to the idea that a status market is what I have called associated, e.g. the "product" is the result of a somewhat joint effort of the two sides, producer and consumer. According to Podolny, the producers form a status order; some producers are endowed with more status than others; put differently, the identities in the market are different. This resembles White's ideas. The status of a producer has consequences for the price level of that producer. Thorstein Veblen presented a similar idea; he argued that a high-status product could be sold for a higher price ([1899] 1953).[26]

Podolny admits that his model lacks certain dynamic dimensions, and he thinks it is less structural than the model developed by White. It can, however, easily be contrasted with the neoclassical economic model. For example, a producer stops producing at the point where its identity is threatened, rather than as the economists argue, because it has reached a point where marginal costs equal marginal revenue (Podolny 1993:847). The model, to summarize, is based upon three assumptions:

1 that quality is unobservable;
2 that status is regarded as a signal of quality; and
3 that perceptions of a producer's status depend on the identity of those to whom the producer is tied.

Podolny also shares the central assumption of both neoclassical theory and White, namely that actors are profit maximizers.

Others, most notably Robert Faulkner (1971, 1983), and his associates (Faulkner and Anderson 1987; Baker and Faulkner 1991), have approached "markets" that are oriented to aesthetic values, such as the market for a studio musician in the Hollywood film industry. These markets are examples of what I have called associated production markets. An additional reason for my special interest in these works is that they focus on single individuals, not on firms like the models discussed above. These works are less

focused on theory than White's work; I therefore suggest that one can read the presentation here with White's thinking as a background.

Faulkner and Anderson argue that market, mobility, and career must be interconnected in order to understand the Hollywood film industry.[27] They define careers as "lines of occurrences resulting from a dual process in which both sides of the market are recurrently matched" (Faulkner and Anderson 1987:880, cf. White 2002:274). Each project is unique in the sense that the purpose is to produce a new product each time. Furthermore, "careers are produced by projects (and their controllers) making distinctions among individuals," and, more concretely, "a career is a succession of temporary projects embodied in an identifiable line of film credits" (Faulkner and Anderson 1987:881, 887). If a project is successful, those taking part in it find that their careers are enhanced due to their attributed contribution to the result. The attribution is turned into reputation, which leads to a "distinct industry identity" (Faulkner and Anderson 1987:889). They emphasize the wisdom of an old saying that is quite true, "You're only as good as your last credit" (Faulkner and Anderson 1987:906, cf. Faulkner 1971:107, 111). Those who get more credit increase their chances of co-operating in projects with other people with good reputations (Faulkner and Anderson 1987:907).

Thus, reputation (status) is produced as people from both sides of the market interact. This is a clearer statement than Podolny's of how status is produced though similar in substance. For example, a film project is successful when a huge audience sees the film and it generates profit. This means, Faulkner and Anderson say, that markets and careers intersect. They argue that the film producers primarily orient themselves to other producers when they make decisions on what films to produce, but producers also rely on information about the success and failure of previous films. Two issues must be understood here. First, the ultimate feedback mechanism is the film's profit. Second, the process is very stochastic in nature and the possibility of predicting the film's success seems very limited. Faulkner and Anderson support their thinking with empirical evidence and show that sellers with high credit seek buyers with good credit and that directors with good credit seek cinematographers with good credit (1987:901).

In relation to the production of music, Faulkner discusses the consumers' role in the product's quality (1971:108). Thus, Faulkner stresses the associative process of production. The production in the "market," he says, is made collectively; a team joins up to perform music with a conductor. This is not the only way in which the studio musician's situation resembles that of a photographer. Faulkner has the following to say about the studio musician: "Like other freelancers (writers, photographers, detectives), he competes for jobs in a market where his ability, reputation, tact and social contacts determine the nature and volume of his work. He is a musical entrepreneur—a musician for hire" (Faulkner 1971:44). Faulkner later placed more emphasis on the idea of markets (1983:10). In the two works, however, the basic approach is similar; both focus on the collective production of cultural products (Faulkner 1971, 1983). Works that combine a study of the market with notions like career and status are relevant to anyone conducting studies on aesthetically oriented domains. Furthermore, I suggest that the market for photography is similar in many ways to the markets that Faulkner discusses.

Before summing up this chapter I would like to mention some studies of art markets that also may have implications for this field (e.g. Giuffre 1996, 1999; Moulin [1967] 1987; Plattner 1996; White and White [1965] 1993; Velthuis 2003). The markets for art

objects have been found to have some peculiar characteristics. The first is the dual structure, with museums or salons typically functioning as status distributors, and with galleries as the mediating institution for selling the item on the market. The role of status is central in many of these studies.[28] At the same time, they do not present theoretical frameworks that enable a student to understand aesthetic markets with the same rigor as White, Podolny or Faulkner.

Summary

In this chapter I have discussed both economic and sociological theories of the market. The result of the discussion is that markets should be seen as social constructions. It is also clear that different types of markets exist. Furthermore, the idea of a pure exchange market is rejected by important economists like Alfred Marshall and almost unanimously by sociologists. Any discussion of sociological theories on markets must include Harrison White. His theory is not a minor "correction" of the neoclassical model; but a theory developed from a sociological perspective that connects markets with other social phenomena. Some sociologists have applied his thinking to markets. Podolny's model, with status as a central concept in studying markets, is one such example.

I have argued that all of the sociological theories discussed above share the relational basis of thinking: actors relate themselves to other actors, most notably to other actors on the same dividing line of producers and consumers. A key idea of the sociological theories, most clearly seen in White's thinking, is the idea of production markets, which I place under the more general heading of role markets. In this chapter I have also developed the idea of production markets as being either associated or disassociated.

Finally it is worthwhile emphasizing yet another shared aspect of many of the theories I have discussed here. The sociological theorists discussed so far assume the observer model; that is, the social scientist observes reality and ascribes "mental content" to the actors, except for Faulkner. Furthermore, they study structure and little is said about action. Network is a primary type of structure that is discussed (cf. Granovetter [1985] 1992). But how can one explain markets without referring to individuals? The role of the individual is downplayed in structuralist theories, which say little, if anything about the actors, though some see the actors as rational. A key idea in the rest of this book is that one cannot explain phenomena without taking the meaning of individual actors into account. One must ground the theory in the actors' meaning structure. White's theory tends to include the subject's point of view, for example when he says that quality is in the "eye of the beholder," but does not apply it to real actors, only to objectively constructed actors. In White's studies, meaning construction is not central, though he acknowledges the importance of Edmund Husserl (White 1992:21). White has also told me in an e-mail that he personally spent some time with Schütz in New York, circa 1955 at meetings. To find an approach that brings in the perspective of the actors who actually run the show, I turn to phenomenology. I have developed an empirical sociological phenomenology, built upon the works of Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schütz, and outlined it in Appendix A.

3
An overview of the fashion photography business

In the first two chapters, I introduced the research questions and discussed theories of the market. I now turn to the empirical part of the study. I began with a prestudy (see Appendix B), based on which I decided to conceptualize the market for fashion photography as an associated production market (see Figure 2.1). The prevalent market theories, typically based on economic ideas, are objectivistic. That is, the researcher ascribes meanings to the actors, and creates hypotheses to be tested empirically. Though theorists have studied how actors orient to other actors, they have rarely focused on how this actually happens. My focus is precisely this orientation between actors. Because I seek a scientific explanation—which must be grounded in an understanding of the actors' perspective—I have developed an approach that can do so (see Appendix A). I argue that phenomenology is the approach through which I can best develop an explanation grounded in the actors' understanding. In Appendix A I present the history of phenomenology and its central traits, and a guide to conducting empirical phenomenology in sociology. So far few have taken this approach in the phenomenological tradition. The reader who is interested in a more complete understanding of the approach is strongly urged to read Appendix A (especially the latter parts on Schütz and on empirical sociology). Though the approach is an important part of the study, I have placed it in an appendix to avoid losing the focus on the market for fashion photography.

The phenomenology tradition of Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schütz, which I follow here, states that the actors' mental states must be included in a scientific explanation. This means that the researcher must explain actors' meanings. The research approach I have developed to use in sociology is built on phenomenology, and especially on the works of Alfred Schütz. Below I present a very simplified summary of the seven steps in conducting empirical phenomenological sociology. These steps are discussed in much more detail in Appendix A.

The first step is to define the research questions. The research questions also serve as the point of departure for the prestudy, which is the second step. During the prestudy the researcher, amongst other things, investigates the field, and begins to test theories and methods to be used. The third step is to decide what theory to use, in light of the prestudy and readings in the relevant literature. The chosen theory gives the study a clear focus since it functions as a scheme of reference. The fourth step is to bracket the theory used

to approach the field of study, in order to study the meaning of the actors in the field. The words that cover the actors' meanings, and that the researcher includes in the study, are called first-order constructs. They cover the way the actors understand, for example, markets and how they orient themselves according to their structure of meaning in the field. These constructs constitute the basis for the study. The first-order constructs are connected with the so-called second-order constructs, which are theoretical notions constructed by the researcher. In step five the researcher makes second-order constructs, building upon the first-order constructs. It is crucial that the researcher links the second-order constructs back to the theories that provide the point of departure and also connect them to the first-order constructs: the actors' meanings. The meanings must also be understandable to the research community. Moreover, the researcher must check for unintended consequences of the actions and interactions (step six). The seventh and final step is to relate the evidence gained to the scientific field.

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide an ethnographic account of this market. Furthermore, this chapter will serve as a background to the more explicit phenomenological analysis that is presented in Chapters 4 to 6. Most of what I say in this chapter is not meaning-oriented analysis. I begin this chapter by relating the market for fashion photography to other markets to which it is interconnected. I then present and discuss the other categories of actors with whom photographers have many contacts, such as their assistants and models. I next present the consumers' side: the magazines and fashion editors, the advertising agencies, and the art directors. To end the chapter, I briefly discuss the most typical interactions that take place in the market. The methods used to gather the information, the description of the fieldwork, the categories of people interviewed and so on are described in detail in Appendix B.

The markets

The production of fashion photography can be conceptualized as a collective process (cf. Becker 1974, 1982). This is not to say that the roles are confused; strictly speaking, there exist markets for models, hairdressers, make-up artists, assistants, etc. There also exist markets for the magazines, cameras, computers, film, and many other types of goods and services that the photographers use to produce their pictures. These markets comprise of what I call "the business." One can say that these markets are connected in a network; they are "embedded" in each other, as White says. It is also useful to mention the markets (or at least the actors in them) that are connected to the fashion photography market. In the introductory chapter of this book I briefly discussed photography, fashion and fashion photography. I now turn to the more practical side of fashion photography and discuss the aspects that are most relevant to a market-oriented study. First, however, I will discuss the market for fashion photography in relation to other markets for photography.

Markets of photography

A market is often defined in terms of the products made in it. The "name" of the market corresponds to the product handled in it. A photographic genre normally covers a certain type of object, such as sport photography or landscape photography. The different genres

of photography can be seen as differentiated within a social "space," to borrow a notion from Bourdieu (e.g. Bourdieu [1979] 1984:169, [1994] 1998:6). Some markets are located close to each other. A photographer employed at a museum, for example, may find herself to be similar in many respects to a medical photographer: they can have similar work-roles, and may to some extent compete for the same jobs. At the same time, a fashion photographer may find herself to be rather different from a nature photographer, and not in competition with her.

Among the different genres of photography, it is fair to say that the status of fashion photography has improved over the last couple of decades. Over time, it has become an even more important genre for the development and status of the entire field of photography; it receives recognition both inside and outside the field of photography. Most of the world's famous living photographers are fashion photographers and fashion photographs are exhibited in art museums, and sold at auctions. Moreover, fashion photography attracts many students, and aspiring photographers often seek to work as assistants for photographers or go to photography schools (Newburry 1997). What I describe is a trend in international photography. Many factors explain why fashion photography today is more influential and is regarded as a valuable genre of photography, but it is outside the scope of this study to speculate on these factors here.[1]

Even if many people wish to become fashion photographers, the business is too small to accommodate everyone's wishes. Furthermore, with no official statistics available, the number of fashion photographers in Sweden cannot be stated objectively. But a database collected from a survey of Swedish photographers, makes it possible to estimate both the total number of photographers and the number of fashion photographers,[2] and to roughly describe the different photographic genres in Sweden, and how these are related. In the survey the photographers were asked to state which photographic categories best described their photography (multiple choices were allowed). Table 3.1 (p. 32) shows the frequencies of each category.

The 710 photographers who answered this question marked many different choices.[3] Some choices describe the form of publication, such as "advertising," and others the technique, such as "digital." Other choices can best be described as photographic genres, such as fashion and architecture. Advertising photography, for example, can cover many photographic genres. Though it is more common to advertise products, such as cars and clothes, one cannot say that it is a category with the same logic as a photographic genre. Nevertheless, fashion, which 100 photographers marked, is neither the most common nor the least common photographic genre.

Table 3.1 Photographic categories

	Number	*Percent*
Advertising	365	51.3
Portrait	354	49.7
Other, reports (not newspapers)	325	45.7
Documentary	302	42.5
Products	285	40.1
Newspaper	251	35.3
Art	244	34.3
Travel	218	30.6

Industrial	203	28.6
Culture	199	28.0
Interior	162	22.8
Nature	152	21.4
Sport	142	19.9
Landscape	136	19.1
Food	130	18.3
Digital	129	18.9
Architecture	127	17.8
Environment	110	15.5
Fashion	**100**	**14.0**
Outdoor life	84	11.8
Museum	55	7.7
Collage	35	4.9
Medical	31	4.4
Scientific	29	4.1

Note: These are percentages of respondents who indicated that they work in a given photographic genre (multiple choices are possible).

Photographic markets, however, are related not only to other photographic markets, but also to other production markets. As stated earlier, this means that fashion photography does not exist in a vacuum. To the contrary, the fashion business is of fundamental importance for the existence of fashion photography. The industry needs the photographers, and the photographers need the industry.[4] For example, large commercial accounts, such as H&M, make it possible for the photographers to hire well-known models, and to get worldwide exposure for their photographs. This means that at least some Swedish photographers can work with large customers in Sweden; then the step to work outside the country may be less dramatic.

Fashion photography in Sweden is not a very large business, especially if compared with the size of the business in New York or London. Both of these cities have more photographers, agents, magazines and almost anything else that can be counted compared to Stockholm. However, the market structure seems to be largely similar.

A young business becoming more institutionalized

In the strict sense of the word, fashion photography has existed for a long time in Sweden (Tellgren 1997), but as a business it has gone through rather dramatic changes since the mid-1980s. The number of magazines with fashion sections has increased. The Swedish edition of *Elle* was first published in 1988. *Clic* was published between 1981–1991 and was probably even more important for the development of fashion photography. *Clic* was the first Swedish magazine to take photography seriously, and saw it as a form of expression in its own right. Some issues of *Clic* not only mentioned the names of the photographers, but even included some background on the photographers. This clearly indicates that the photographer was not just seen as a craftsman.

That fashion photography is a rather young phenomenon becomes evident when one talks to people in the business. Few actors are above the age of 50 and many are much

younger. The average age of Swedish non-fashion photographers is 44.9 years, while the average fashion photographer in our sample is 40.2 years old.[5] As an indication of the change in the Swedish market today, many photographers work with international clients. One reason was mentioned above: that major Swedish clients "prepare" Swedish photographers to work for international clients. Another reason is that people interested in photography commonly move abroad, usually to New York or London. They may seek out a photography school, such as the International Center for Photography (ICP) in New York or try to work as an assistant. Since the first wave of Swedes left for New York to work as assistants in the late 1940s, Swedes have had a reputation for working hard. It is an advantage to be a Swede when applying for positions, or when working as a freelance assistant. Today, the business is more international, and Swedish photographers regularly publish in European and American magazines. Some are established as photographers abroad, for example in London, and others have agents representing them outside of Sweden. Agencies represent various types of actors, for example photographers and stylists. Moreover, today a stylist, a hairdresser, and a make-up artist are used for almost all fashion shootings. In sum, over the last 20 years the Swedish market has largely adopted the same organizational structure as larger international markets.

The actors who produce fashion photographs

The key elements in a market are its different actors and their activities. Each category of actors is a tangible example of how this market is embedded in other markets. The most interesting are the different categories of actors with whom the fashion photographers have frequent contact. The categories I will discuss here are the photographer's assistant, the photographer, the photographer's agent, the stylist, the model, the make-up artist and the hairdresser. An overview of the photographers' situation comes from watching those with whom they frequently have contact. The question they were asked in the questionnaire is "Which of these professionals do you often have direct contacts with?" The result is shown in Table 3.2.

Photographers have the most contact with other photographers. This can be seen as an indication of White's idea that producers primarily orient themselves to other producers in the same market. It is noteworthy that these are the

Table 3.2 Photographers' contacts

Category	*Other photographers*		*Fashion photographers*	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
Photographers	401	68.1	72	72.7
Models	71	12.0	66	66.7*
Journalists	364	61.7	61	61.6
Art directors	234	39.7	59	59.6*
Stylists	51	8.6	47	47.8*
Picture editors	287	48.6	47	47.5
Delivery services	168	28.5	45	45.5*
Model agencies	32	5.4	41	41.4*

Salesmen	156	26.4	33	33.3
Graphic artists	150	25.4	31	31.3
Photofinishers	146	24.8	29	29.3
Artists	150	25.5	28	28.2
Gallery owners	61	10.4	16	16.1
Carpenters	46	7.8	13	13.1
Engineers	52	8.8	8	8.1
Electricians	20	3.4	8	8.1*
Own agent	11	1.9	5	5.1
Digital service agencies	41	7.0	5	5.1

Note: A * indicates that the difference is significant ($p<0.05$), tested with Pearson's chi-square test. The chi-square test evaluates whether the column and row variables are independent. In this case it tests if *Other Photographers* and *Fashion Photographers* and the different categories are independent.

photographers' *direct* contacts. As I have mentioned, and will continue to show, they often orient themselves through indirect "contacts," such as photographic laboratories, but also through what they see of other photographers' productions in magazines and advertising campaigns.

In the discussion below I focus on the more central roles in the business of fashion photography. This does not mean that what I say is only valid for a handful of actors. It might be true, however, that not all of what is said is equally valid for all of the actors. In the next chapter I outline two ideal types of photographers to provide a more detailed phenomenological analysis.

The photographer's assistant

A photographer often begins her career as an assistant to a photographer (cf. Rosenblum 1978a:25–29). At this stage the assistant is usually between 20 and 30 years of age, and has likely been enrolled in a program at a photography school, in Sweden or abroad. However, she may have begun years earlier as an amateur photographer (cf. Faulkner 1983:49). To work as an assistant is often an affective and simple way to get into the business. The assistant gets to know people, learns the business talk, the names of the important customers, the stories of the business, etc. The assistant also learns the names of the important actors on the "same side"—especially the top photographers. This form of secondary socialization (Berger and Luckmann 1966:138–147) pertains not only to the technical aspects of being a photographer. The assistant acquires much knowledge just by being present on the shoot. For example, she has to go to the lab with the film or to order backdrops and flashes for the jobs that her photographer has been assigned. Thus she learns where to buy the film, but also learns a lot about the different films, including how to store the film, how to rate the film and process it. She also learns which laboratory can develop film in the middle of the night, where to get credit when renting a camera, and how to use similar opportunities that are available for the photographers.[6] Practical skills—like how to change a backdrop, use flashes, load different cameras, and set up different lights—are important to the assistant. She learns how to treat the models and how to interact with the customers, and the complicated matter of how to set prices,

including what items one charges for. Of special interest is the visual socialization: the assistant gradually learns to take photographs that look like the established photographer's pictures. Though this process is crucial, it is difficult to speak about. Plates II to VII show the development over time of one person's photographs, from pictures taken as an assistant to contemporary pictures when he is a photographer. In brief, while being an assistant she learns the tricks of the trade, of which the visual side is only one aspect.

Some assistants also work as freelance assistants. This may be a useful strategy, since she then learns from different photographers. Freelance assistants, however, only learn some aspects of the photographer's link in the production chain. Therefore, it may be useful to first work as an assistant for one or two photographers for a couple of years, and then perhaps as a freelance assistant. Photographers can find it useful to occasionally hire a freelance assistant. By letting the freelance assistant, for example, make prints, the photographer can learn a few of the tricks of the trade that the assistant has acquired by working for other photographers. A photographer describes this strategy: "It's really useful to bring freelance assistants here. Just put them in the darkroom and have them do some prints, and squeeze them for information about what type of camera others may have and so on, without being too inquisitive."[7]

Those who want to be photographers usually try to become a photographer's assistant to learn the business. As they begin their careers as assistants they usually focus on the technical issues thinking less frequently of the non-technical aspects of the market. But they will learn these aspects as well. They acquire theoretical knowledge and practical skills, both of which serve as lubricants to interaction and business operation.

The skills, conventions, and trust learned by the newly established actors constitute a form of social capital, becoming an asset that is more or less incorporated in the actors.[8] The forms of capital, in terms of the knowledge of conventions and certain virtues that one should hold, are mostly general. Knowledge related to the business conventions, such as "this is how we do it here", is vital. In other words, the assistant learns how to do the many practical things that are the taken-for-granted knowledge of the actors in the business, but which are unknown to the outsider. It is a kind of knowledge that is "in the air," as Alfred Marshall puts it ([1920a] 1961:271), and to have it signals that one is in the business.[9]

To get inside and acquire this knowledge is not always easy. Some of those who want to be assistants to a photographer may already know someone who works as an assistant; they may be close friends or have gone to the same school together. Such contacts may help the person find out when an assistant is leaving a photographer and that a position is available. From the photographer's perspective, having contacts means not always having to advertise to get a new assistant, but merely letting people in the business know that she needs one. In this case the gossip, which White describes, functions as a lubricant in the fashion photography business. In other words, the transaction cost is decreased for the photographer (cf. Williamson 1994).

Photographers are fairly unanimous in what they demand from an assistant. Since the assistant works very closely with the photographer, the two must like each other. If the two do not get along, the assistant's skills are irrelevant. Photographers will hire both assistants with little or no practical experience and others with years of experience. An assistant usually stays with a photographer for a couple of years. The job of an assistant is

also less glamorous than many would expect. It is not a matter of spending time with beautiful models and going to fancy parties, though this may happen. Discipline is much more important. A photographer describes his first meeting with an applicant for the position of an assistant:

> If we have set an interview for nine a.m., some may come at ten o'clock. One person said "I overslept, I was at a party—you know." They want to impress [me]. The same person said, "We were at Cafe Opera [a fancy restaurant in Stockholm] yesterday, you get it, don't you?" "No, I don't get it," I said. Then this person asked, "Shall we not look at my pictures?" I answered, "No, we shall not; you are not interesting." I think they need to hear someone tell them, so they understand that they should take it seriously.

The assistant's work is usually hard, and their world does not include "overtime" or a structured labor market with rules and unions. The assistant does many different things, including carrying equipment, setting up lights, loading cameras, developing the film, cleaning the studio, making coffee etc. Most photographers do not have assistants, and only a few have more than one. Among those who do, assistants see a clear hierarchy. It is normal to work one's way up in the hierarchy or to move to another photographer. Therefore, the photographer with the most prestige in the business is also most likely to have the experienced assistants working for him. Thus, the hierarchy among photographers is reflected in their assistants.

The pressure on the assistants is tremendous due to the many hours they put in, and to their subordinate position; some refer to the assistant as the "darkroom slave." The assistant is like an old-time apprentice, with only modest economic rewards. Some earn a salary below the minimum wage, while others are paid partly or entirely by government subsidies. Some assistants may not even get paid. One person I interviewed had lived in his photographer's studio, sleeping on a sofa to save money, and eating food from the refrigerator in the studio. Assistants, however, may have access to the studio and camera equipment on weekends and in the evenings, and may also have free access to film and printing materials. Many photographers give their assistants a gift when they leave: a ticket to New York or an exposure meter.[10]

The case in Stockholm is that with a faster cycle of entrance for assistants than of exits for photographers, the number of photographers continues to increase. One photographer describes the situation as follows: "most fashion photographers have quite a number of assistants. And after some years, they will be photographers, and then they will have a few assistants—it becomes a kind of avalanche." An agent describes the same phenomenon:

> In the '80s everyone was not only supposed to have one assistant, but suddenly one should have three or four assistants, and in due time all these assistants will become photographers, and then one has educated too many. I think the situation is more relaxed now, and I believe the photographers themselves have felt "help, what's happened?"

Of course, not all assistants become photographers.

The social network of which the assistant becomes a part of is also important for making further contacts; it is a form of social capital, *"a portfolio of connections"* as Bourdieu says ([1989] 1996:360). Therefore not only it is the visual portfolio that is important for the assistant trying to become a photographer. When a person works as an assistant she often comes in to contact with other assistants that work for fashion editors, stylists and art directors. The interaction with other assistants is of special interest: the assistants' reference group consists of other assistants, and of course the photographers.

This orientation to their peer group is evident.[11] Assistants interact with other assistants or with people who are still at photography schools. The orientation is recognizable in the talk, in the dress, and in the manner—components that are part of one's identity (cf. Bourdieu 1987). The dress of the assistants is of course subject to the vagaries of fashion, but one can still identify a style of dress that is fairly typical for assistants. Though an outsider may find the style hard to detect, it is not a problem for an assistant.[12] The assistants meet in the public sphere, but some places—certain clubs and bars—are more popular than others and serve as meeting grounds for people in the business. It is in these places that information spreads.

The talk among assistants is often oriented to the business: what "their" photographers do, what models they have seen, and the latest editions of magazines. Who has been published in which magazines? Which Swedish and international photographers are hot and those that are not. Many stories come from "within" the business, including stories of what one should not do. There are also stories about photographers who beat their models to make them look angry, about photographers who lie to their models, and about special techniques that the photographic masters use. Those I will later call "icons" in the business are especially targeted as subjects in these stories.[13]

The assistants also talk of their own photography. However, they cannot really compare themselves with each other in terms of photography. What they can do is to compare how many hours they work. The identity of an assistant is strongly tied to the idea of hard work; working also provides a certain prestige. Most comparison among assistants is indirect; they compare the status of "their" own photographers. That is, being an assistant to a well-known photographer gives the assistant an elevated position among other assistants. I noticed this when I was interviewing a high-status photographer. I asked him if he could feel that he was respected in the business and he answered that he did feel respected. One of his assistants who was serving us coffee, heard what we were saying and interrupted our conversation to comment on the subject. I then asked the assistant if the respect for her photographer was noticeable. She said, "I notice it with all the people I meet, when I say that I am an assistant for [the photographer's name], I get respect. The name is very strong." This indicates that the assistant's respect, or status, is a function of her photographer's status. Furthermore, she said, other assistants notice that she works for a famous photographer, which reveals that her orientation is toward other assistants. Talking with the assistants reveals the stratification among the photographers. Moreover, the ranking of fashion photographers by status is reproduced in the interaction among assistants. To learn this status order is part of the process of "adult socialization" and hence of gaining a new identity in the world of professional photography (cf. Becker and Strauss 1956; Berger and Luckmann 1966).

But how can the comparison be so much a function of the status of the photographer for whom the assistant works? Often assistants do not talk about their own photographs because they have not yet had the time to build up a proper portfolio. However, others who have portfolios, may have not have been "sorted out" among the photographers in the market, and they do not have distinct identities as photographers yet. As will soon become clear, having an identity as a photographer means having been sorted out in competition with other photographers in the interface of a market, having been picked by a consumer, and thereby having been endowed with status. What the assistants do have is an identity as being inside the market, but not through their own efforts. The process revolves around the photographer, and also depends on cultural attributes and knowledge. To be in the market is to understand what is known by those who know. By being oriented to the market, which they help to reproduce, the assistants also internalize the market and its structure of meaning. In short, one can view their activities as a process of socialization. One may say that they learn the stock of knowledge of this particular business (Schütz 1964:29–30).

The presentation of the assistants is somewhat biased toward the situation of men; a "bias" that reflects the current situation and opens up a discussion of the role of gender in fashion photography. There are many indications that men dominate as assistants to a larger extent than one would expect, given their percentage at photography schools.[14] What are the reasons for this situation? I can suggest two reasons: the social situation and the physical demands. Both say a lot about the business and how it operates. Rarely will a photographer give his true reasons, if he gives any reasons at all, about why he chooses a particular person as his assistant. But the following story sheds some light on the logic behind the decisions. A female assistant who wanted to work for another photographer got help by her current employer (a photographer) to make the move. The photographer phoned a few colleagues and recommended the woman. She was given several reasons why she would not get a position, including that it is easier to give orders to a man, and that she would have to carry a lot of heavy equipment. One photographer also said that his wife would be jealous if he had a woman as an assistant. Some of this is accurate: the equipment can often be heavy, and women may especially be prone to having men as assistants to carry the equipment. Other photographers do not think that the physical aspect is important. Everyting considered, women probably do have more difficulty in becoming assistants, and this may be one reason why they go to photography schools more often than men. This fits well with the empirical material about photography in general; women have more formal education than men, while men have more experience from assisting photographers (Urban 2000:57–58). Interaction with people in other categories in the business is important for the assistant—especially interacting with those who want to get into the business. The assistant may take on some smaller assignments, for example, taking test pictures of new models.[15] The assistants often form teams with other actors, such as stylists and hairdressers who also want to get into the business to produce a fashion story. The team produces pictures for the respective portfolios of its members.[16] It may also take pictures, to present to magazines in the hope that they will be accepted for publication.

If the photographer on such a team is an assistant to a well-known photographer, this is a great advantage, because her status is very much a function of the photographer's status. One photographer describes this procedure:

> The assistants I have had, when they leave, they get many jobs, just because they are my assistants. In this case it's perfect to work with a photographer, because then they get to know my customers and develop a personal relationship with them, and many of my assistants have been allowed to do their own jobs while they are working for me.

Thus, an assistant can also get additional income from her own jobs. Once she has enough jobs, or thinks she can make it on her own, she starts her own business. Her former employer can provide some contacts and small assignments. This is one reason why many photographers today do not see it as a big step to start out on one's own; another reason is that new photographers do not need a large budget. Though most have a suitable camera, a few lenses and so on, they do not need to invest much money in a studio, lights, darkroom, or computer equipment as they can all be rented. In the beginning, a fashion photographer needs a portfolio to present to potential customers and a cellular phone to be reached. Later on, the photographer can buy a computer, rent an office, a darkroom, and perhaps a studio with other people.

Financial obstacles were once significant for the prospective photographer, but this is no longer the case. Ten years ago, for example, a studio, a darkroom and other photographic equipment were considered necessary to a fashion photographer. As a consequence of this change, today a photographer who does not yet have a studio of her own can survive on fewer assignments than before. This is also a reason for today's great abundance of fashion photographers. The technological and economic aspects of the process have become less important, and the aesthetic aspect has become more important. As a result the photographer today has to develop a distinct style. No longer can a high-status Swedish photographer photograph cars today, dogs tomorrow and fashion the day after tomorrow. With the number of photographers increasing, specialization in one or a few genres and personal style has become more important.

The photographers

In a study of a production market, the natural point of departure is the producers, in this case the fashion photographers. As the discussion above showed, the assistants orient themselves directly and indirectly to the photographers. Some will eventually become photographers. I now turn to the photographers and describe their situation and work. I begin by studying where the fashion photographers live.

Only in the county of Skåne in the south of Sweden are fashion photographers significantly over-represented compared to other types of photographers.[17] One would expect a similar situation in Stockholm, where most of the magazines and advertising agencies are located, but this is not the case. Though the response rate was lower in Stockholm than in other counties (Sverrisson 2000:69), there is no a priori evidence of a bias in which, for example, a small proportion of fashion photographers living in Stockholm responded compared to portrait photographers. Still, in terms of numbers, three counties comprise the bulk of the people who work with photography in Sweden (386 of the total of 615 non-fashion people), and an even larger proportion of the fashion photographers (76 out of 100). These are Stockholm, Västra Götaland (which includes Göteborg, Sweden's second largest city, and Borås the center of the mail-order industry),

and Skåne (where Malmö, the third largest city is located). Furthermore, by comparing these regions (and treating them as one "large city region") with the rest of Sweden, one finds a significant overrepresentation of fashion photographers.[18]

The majority of those who have answered that they do fashion photography are men. This is not surprising, since they constitute the majority of the photographers (83 percent of those in the sample are men and 17 percent women). A similar proportion of men and women are fashion photographers. The general trend, however, is an increasing proportion of women among photographers, especially younger ones. Women comprise 26 percent of photographers up to 40 years old but only 11 percent of those are over 40 years old. The following story, told by a woman photographer during an interview, clearly illustrates the situation for a female photographer in the late 1980s. During this period, the people she met often thought that she was the assistant, and that her (male) assistant was the photographer. This, she says, does not happen today, though she is not sure why: "I'm now so old that it would be strange if I still was an assistant—a 40 year old assistant, so that might be the reason, I don't know."

Even though I focus on the market for fashion photography, most photographers do not focus exclusively on fashion. Only the most established fashion photographers in Sweden can be that specialized. It is common, for example, to combine advertising photography and fashion photography. Some photographers combine fashion with still-life photography, as still-life photographs are often of clothes. Portrait photography is also within the same horizon, since every perception has an "a horizon belonging to its object" (Husserl [1954] 1970:158). To an outsider some pictures in a fashion story look more like portraits than fashion.

Photographers take their market identity from their photographic genre (or genres), and also from how established they are and their status within the market. The Swedish Association of Photographers (SFF) uses a set of categories, including architecture, commercial, fashion, documentary, industrial, journalism, museum and portrait. These terms or categories are generally reproduced in their everyday language, but as will be seen, the meanings attached to these terms may vary considerably. Some combinations of genres are more common than others, but most photographers typically define themselves by using only one or a few categories. What photographic genres are connected with fashion photography? The single strongest correlation is with advertising photography.[19] This correlation is supported by qualitative evidence: many fashion photographers define themselves as both fashion and advertising photographers.

Given this finding, should all photographers who have answered that they do fashion photography be treated as a group? This is not necessarily the case in research following the phenomenological approach which takes the meaning of the actors as the starting point. Such research cannot focus on a single question (which in this case allows for multiple choices of photographic genres), and from it one can analyze complex phenomena such as identity. That is, one cannot infer the meaning structures of these actors based upon a single choice (variable). Phenomenology demands more complex evidence and in Chapter 4 I raise this issue again. In the next section I begin my analysis by looking at the meaning structure of those who define themselves as fashion photographers, and not only as photographers who occasionally create some fashion pictures.

The photographer's situation

A presentation of the photographer's situation could cover many aspects: aesthetic, social, cultural, technical and economic. All of these aspects have implications for the market, but to various degrees. These aspects also appear throughout this book. It is useful to introduce several aspects crucial to the core group of actors in the study: the photographers. Rather than defining each aspect, I will let the discussion and examples reflect my findings.

The general social situation for many photographers can be described as "lonely," despite their contacts with many other actors in the business, including customers, suppliers, and other photographers. Although the situation varies, many see a distinct dimension of loneliness in their work. Of those who define themselves as fashion photographers some have an assistant, and she is often the person with whom the photographer has the most intimate contact.

For some the relationships with colleagues can be friendly and mutually supportive, while others may find them a source of pressure (cf. Ingram and Roberts 2000), as they are both colleagues and competitors. Competition is sometimes easier to tolerate if one knows the competitor only vaguely; I have found several empirical examples of this. One informant, a photographer, told me about the occasion when he visited a fashion editor with whom he had worked. The editor spoke of the good work of another of the magazine's photographers. The informant did not comment, and the fashion editor then said, to excuse herself, that she had learned that one should not talk about photographers in the presence of another. She is probably right as photographers seem not to like rivalry. Similar findings exist for other studies of aesthetically oriented work (e.g. Faulkner 1983:108). Thus, the competitive structure can hinder the discussion of certain topics among photographers.

On the other hand, many photographers share studio space with one another; this is common particularly among younger photographers. They do so partly for economic reasons, but also for social reasons, such as the wish to have people to talk with at the workplace. Furthermore, if two or more people share a studio, they can also share an assistant. Some photographers also have sub-tenants who are not photographers, but art directors, web-designers or stylists.

Photographers face many social problems simply because they have no one to call in as a standby. For example, a woman who has a child will find no social security system to guarantee new assignments when she returns to work. A woman photographer describes her experience of having children and trying to keep up with the market:

> If I'm going to have a meeting, it has to be before three, because then I pick up the children from the day-care center. I don't pick them up on the days when I am shooting, but I care more [for my children] than a male photographer does. Now I'm generalizing; but that's the way it is. The men can stay at work till eight or nine in the evening, because they have others—women—who take care of their children. I cannot travel as much, or I don't want to, because I don't want to be away from the children so much. So these are the disadvantages.

Clearly, women face exceptional problems in the small business enterprises. This problem, however, is more general and not only a part of the photographer's situation.

The photographers' agent

The agent, or representative (abbreviated as "rep"), as a phenomenon was imported to Sweden in 1990, since then they have affected the market in various ways. There are relatively few agents (about ten), and only a fraction (2.5 percent) of the photographers who work in Sweden have an agent.[20] All of the agencies are located in Stockholm. This is one reason why the great majority of photographers with agents work in Stockholm (12 of the 16 who answered in the survey).[21] This fact also indicates the centrality of the capital in this market.

What does an agent do? The role of the photographers' agency is not entirely different from that of a models' agency, but while a models' agency may have hundreds of models on their books, most photographers' agencies have 5 to 15. An international photographers' agency may represent as many as 30 photographers. Some agencies represent not only photographers, but also, for example, stylists. At the turn of the second millennium, a few agencies have established themselves as the leaders, booking the best known photographers. All agents in Stockholm are women, and to my knowledge none has a background as a photographer, although many of the agents have worked in aesthetically oriented jobs. Many agents earned work experience in another photographer or modeling agency before opening their own agency.

What does it mean to represent a photographer? The agency helps the photographer to find jobs and also with other practical and economic issues (cf. Bielby and Bielby 1999), such as showing off the portfolio. The agent is also involved in promoting the photographer, especially to magazines and advertising agencies. Promotion includes meeting potential customers, selling jobs over the phone and sending out promotional material. In the hiring process, the agent acts as a middleman between the photographer and the customer. She negotiates on behalf of the photographer to improve the photographers', and thereby her own, economic condition.

There are different processes for different jobs. If an art director has decided that she wants a specific photographer, she contacts the agency to see if the photographer is available for the job. If the art director has worked with the photographer before, there may be little to discuss; both parties know the price of a day's work, which the agency charges to the customer (although an offer may still be made). For long-term jobs, the agent may offer a discount. Sometimes there is competition between a few photographers that the customer finds interesting; then the agency has to prepare an estimate for the cost of the job. A third type of arrangement—which can be initiated by an old customer or a new one—is that the advertising agency essentially says, "This is how much we have got for you. Are you interested?" The photographer can simply reply yes or no.

The agent tells the photographer how the negotiations are going, but the photographer usually makes the final decision.[22] The photographer does not have to talk about the economic aspects with the customer as this is the agent's job. A photographer says this without hesitation: "I have very little control of how much I get for a job. I trust them that they squeeze out as much money as they can. Because that's what makes money for them too: the more I get, the more they get." The photographer and her customers talk mostly

about practical and aesthetic issues related to photography. From the photographer's perspective, this seems to be one of the greatest advantages of having an agent. Moreover, the photographer need not discuss the economic conditions of the job directly with the customer. Another advantage is that the photographers do not have to deal with paper work.

Thus the photographer usually sees having an agent as an advantage because the agent shields her from the customers' demands. The advertising agency represents the final customer, on both economic issues and the aesthetics of the job. From the perspective of the advertising agency, however, dealing with the photographers' agency may not always be seen as something positive; it is a "filter" between the photographer and the advertising agency. The filter is likely to protect the photographer, and diminish the influence of the art director. The situation of the photographer resembles that of an artist who has a gallery owner who deals with her art work. Just like the photographer such an artist does not have to engage in the often tiresome and difficult discussions over the worth of her products (cf. White and White [1965] 1993). The discussions of economic conditions and of aesthetics are separated through the acts of the agent.

The agency gets its income as a percentage (about 20–25 percent) of the income of the photographers. Thus, the agencies' costs i.e. salaries, rent, etc., must be covered by the income that the photographers generate. Normally, agencies do not charge fees when the photographers join them. Many agencies outside of Sweden have contracts with clauses to handle the two partners separating and what the responsibilities each partner has in that case. In Sweden signed contracts between the agencies and the photographers are rare. The criteria for what the photographers can and can't do, and what agencies should and should't do are essentially based on mutual trust.[23]

The emergence in Sweden of photographers' agencies has also raised the price of commercial photography. Hiring a photographer is more expensive today than before the presence of agents. Both those photographers who have agents and those who do not have been able to charge more for their services. This has not, however, affected the fees a photographer earns when working for a magazine.

A further result of the arrival of agencies is that they usually want to represent several genres. This has consequences for the photographers; one agent says, "Thus, today one has to specialize. One has to be in a niche; before one could be a really good photographer and know the entire span. Today you have to decide: 'will you work with people or will you work with still-life.'" For this reason most agencies have photographers who specialize in only one or two genres, such as fashion, advertising, portrait, still life, and architecture photography. In this sense the agency covers most of the genres that exist in the various markets for photography. But it is clear that fashion photographers are over-represented amongst those who have an agent.

The centrality of style is also noticeable, for example, when a photographer who is represented by an agency changes style or switches genre so that her work is similar to another of the agency's photographers. This may cause problems for the agent, who then has to mediate between the photographers, but also must try to convince at least one of them to change her style or switch genre. I asked one agent if she tried to draw the photographers' attention to the trends in vogue. She replied,

> No, quite the contrary. I think it's really important that one holds on to one's character. I actually stopped working with a photographer, just because he wanted to do work in a different direction…a pure adaptation of [the style of] another photographer who then did very well.

Another agent shared the following episode. The agent represented a photographer, whom I will call Joe. When she decided to also represent a photographer that Joe saw as a competitor he left the agency saying, "If that fucking [name] comes aboard, I will leave the agency." Joe did leave the agency but some time later, he decided to return to the agency. Upon his return he asked the agent to find out how his "competitor" made his pictures. Joe actually thought that they were "damned good."

Two types of rivalry may be found in an agency. Photographers compete to do the most popular jobs overall, though not everyone competes for the same jobs. The stronger form of rivalry, however, is between photographers who compete for the same customers. Also the agent may feel the rivalry between her photographers, for example, when she talks with them. It is also possible to trace the rivalry through the sometimes limited social interaction among the photographers in an agency. I asked agents if they held social occasions like an annual party. One agent said: "We did in the beginning. But the photographers are not interested in playing with each other. They are after all competitors, in one way or another." The first step to avoid conflicts and competition—two strongly related phenomena, as discussed above—is to limit the number of photographers who work within each genre. But an agency may have many photographers who work within one genre. It is therefore especially important that photographers who work for the same agency have styles that are not too similar. The emphasis on style that is typical of the agencies is also likely to affect the market. Agencies demand that the photographers they represent have distinctive personal styles. So the photographers orient themselves to this demand. Since the most well known photographers tend to have an agent, other photographers check them out, and in this sense one may speak of a "trickle down" effect in the market (Simmel [1904] 1971).

To assemble a team of photographers the agent must make decisions based on their styles. I will discuss style in more detail in the next chapter; here I point to its complex nature. The agent can ease the decision as to which photographers will join the agency by negotiating with those already in the agency and this will diminish the risk of conflict. But in the end the agent must choose those photographers she believes in. Otherwise, agents say, it is difficult to sell the photographers. Besides getting along with the photographer the agent must consider aesthetics and make an economic evaluation of their styles. This decision is not easy, and it is related to the complexity of style. Several agents spoke of having a "gut-feeling" for what decisions to take. That is, the agents have an almost physical practical knowledge of what photography is good or not. This knowledge includes a strong component of judgment.[24]

All of this shows that the agent does not affect the style and the aesthetics of the jobs the photographers do for their clients. Especially important is the division of labor; the photographers do the aesthetic part and the agent takes care of the economic side of the contract with the client. The agent still has to relate extensively to the styles in the market. Her work with the aesthetic dimension, however, is mostly directed inwards, and is not directly observable to actors outside of the agency.

The agent's internal and external relations can be further illuminated by a discussion that brings up the issue of information. The agency can be described as a form of command central through which all information flows. A large agency for photographers operates in very much the same way as a models' agency. For example, all agents are located at a table; they talk on the phone and with each other to co-ordinate meetings and jobs, and to answer questions. An agent can engage in 40 phone calls a day. It is often frenzied work and the agent juggles many projects at the same time. This demands a great service orientation from the agents. They must help the photographers to buy airline tickets, arrange for models, and at the same time attend to the demands of the customers. The business is lubricated as gossip passes through the agencies. One agent said: "One has to have big ears." I then asked how one finds out the gossip. She responded:

> One has it…oh…the magazine *Resumé,* which is a media magazine. And between us, one is at parties, and someone says "have you heard that there's a new magazine?". The stylists talk, because at a set there are hair and makeup, stylist, photographer, assistant. Everyone talks. Thus, rumors get spread really really quickly. Rumors, I mean good as well as bad.

The information comes from all those whom the agency represents, and from contacts with customers. Agents maintain contact with customers on the phone, meet people at parties, and they frequent the same bars as other actors in the business. The people they represent talk and work with many others, and a simple calculus means that each agent always knows someone who, even if she has not worked with an actor, at least knows someone who has. The "debriefing," when those whom the agency represents return from a "mission," leads to valuable information on how the people behave, on upcoming trends and so on. This represents an example of the role of gossip in markets and how easily information can spread in what has been called "small worlds" (cf. White 1993b:167, 1995:62; Faulkner 1983:95; Watts and Strogatz 1998).

The market for photographers' agency services is dependent on the market for photography. Thus the agency is essentially to be understood as a function of its photographers. It is a function of the position of those that the agency represents: the photographers and, though less important, also the stylists, the make-up artists and the hairdressers. If, for example, an agency's photographers are established and seen in the market as high-status photographers, the agency's status rises. At the same time it is prestigious for a photographer to have an agent; to be a member of a high-status agency adds prestige, of course. Obviously, the prestige relation may be reversed in other markets, e.g. the agency may endow the photographers with more status than the other way around. This indicates the contagious character of status. Others have used the "exchange-approach" to describe similar processes (Blau 1964:47, cf. Faulkner 1983; Podolny 1993). The prestige of the agencies is especially noticeable among young assistants who often talk about how to get an agent. Of course they talk not only of prestige, but of opportunities for commercial assignments. From the perspective of the agents, they can measure interest in the number of calls they get from photographers who want to come and show their portfolios. The prestige of having an agent is similar to that of being published in a magazine; in both cases the market identities of the actors are affected. One might say, as Bourdieu does, that the actor has been appreciated by the

audience. Thus the relationship to the audience, "constitute [s] one of the bases for evaluating the producers and their products" (Bourdieu 1993:46).

One cannot fail to notice that each agency is oriented to other agencies. In the interviews agents constantly referred to and compared themselves with other agencies. This is not to say that they spend most of their time looking at and gossiping about other agencies, as largely the agency is simply involved in "business as usual." However, comparisons do arise when agents consider prices, what an agent can and can't charge for, and how much the agency may take in cuts from the incomes of those it represents. They also talk of opening hours, locations etc. These are evident examples that actors in this production market are also very much oriented towards their own peers.

The agencies are involved in a kind of indirect competition; it is more obvious that the photographers compete. An art director does not first choose a certain photographers' agency and then the photographer. Competition between agencies is more likely in cases when a "promising" photographer is looking for an agent, and more than one agency is interested. The agencies know, for example, when an assistant to a well-established photographer is about to leave and start a career of her own. They may also already know something about her, especially if she is an assistant to one of "their" photographers. Sometimes one of the agency's stylists may have worked with her or one of their photographer's assistants may know her. Although I have discussed the agents quite thoroughly, it must be recalled that the majority of fashion photographers do not even have an agent. Agents have nevertheless affected the market considerably, especially because the agents work with the most prestigious photographers, who in turn work with the most prestigious customers. Though some actors in the business were somewhat skeptical in the beginning, and though some still hesitate about their usefulness, agents have considerably reconstructed the market. I noted that the price conventions, as well as the price level, in the market changed with the appearance of the agencies. Today's actors orient to the agencies; having an agent has become a sign of status in the market.

In addition to the general information about the market provided by this study of the photographers' agencies, this small section also supports the general theoretical perspective of the overall study. White's idea of actors being oriented to their own peer group is supported not only by the evidence from the assistants and the photographers, but also by my empirical study of photographers' agencies. The aspects I have discussed give a good indication of one demand placed on a theory of the market: to identify its boundaries, or judge who is involved and who is not. The special characteristics of an aesthetic market are also indicated by the division of labor between the agent (who deals with the economic aspects) and the photographer (the aesthetic interface that the customers meet). This has also been found in other markets (e.g. Faulkner 1983:38; Baker and Faulkner 1991:280; Bourdieu [1992] 1996). The central role of the status of the photographers is also reflected in the market for the photographers' agents. I now continue to present the categories of workers who are more directly involved with the production of fashion photographs, such as stylists, models, make-up artists, and hairdressers.

The stylist

The stylist is an important member of the production team. The stylist, the photographer, the model, the hairdresser and the make-up artist all work together to produce fashion photographs. As explained in Chapter 1, a fashion editor carries out the same tasks as a stylist, but they operate on different sides of the interface. Thus the fashion editor decides which photographer to use, while the stylist is usually picked by the photographer. A stylist, moreover, has less influence on the set than the fashion editor. The very idea of using a stylist was imported to Sweden in the 1980s; before that the photographer or someone else was responsible for styling. In those days the model often styled her own hair, applied her own makeup, and even brought her own shoes to the photographic set. The task of the stylist is to put the "right" clothes on the models, steam the clothes, and ensure that the right clothes are chosen, picked up and returned. To sum it up, the stylist takes care of everything related to the clothes. In commercial campaigns, the client's brand of clothes must be included in the picture, but in shooting for a magazine much more freedom is allowed, and the stylist may even allow models to wear privately owned clothes and accessories.[25] This, however, does not mean that the stylist herself always decides what clothes the model should wear.

Much can be said about the stylists. I firmly believe that most of the theoretical points made in this study not only apply to photographers, but can also be applied to the stylists. Naturally, some differences apply. Most stylists, for example, are women. Above I described how it sometimes can be difficult for a woman to work as a photographer's assistant. The work of a stylist is also a physical job. Only with great difficulty can a single person carry the amount of clothes a stylist brings to a photographic session; there are often five to ten different pairs of shoes, several dresses, skirts, and other items from different showrooms and stores. These items may be both heavy and large. Furthermore, if the stylist works as a freelance she is often personally responsible for the clothes. If a pair of shoes is scratched during a shooting, she will have to pay for them.[26]

Stylists and fashion editors have the closest contact with the fashion business. The clothes shown in editorials or in advertising are often not available for sale in the stores, as the fashion industry must be ahead of the market. As the time between a shooting and the pictures' actual appearance in print can be several months, the clothes that are used are often in the "pipeline," and are not for sale in the stores. Only the test series of the collection are available, and these are only made in the size that the models take. To gain access to the test series the stylists have to go to showrooms open only to insiders, such as retail buyers, stylists, and fashion editors. The stylists must also ensure that they have the correct information about the clothes when, for example, a fashion story is printed in a magazine.

Most people in the fashion business relate to the current fashion. The clothes that photographers and especially their assistants wear can to some extent be used to identify the groups. Although these two categories do not necessarily dress in an extreme way. Models are likely to dress in the latest fashion, but they often "dress down." A model is more likely to be recognized for her tall slim body, than for the clothes she wears. The stylists, in contrast, often dress in conspicuously fashionable ways.

The model

The choice of stylist is important to the photographer, and so is the choice of model. The model is absolutely central to the business of fashion photography, and given the logic of fashion, it is always important for a photographer to use a model who is in vogue (see Entwistle 2002, for an analysis of the aesthetic economy of modeling). Today many models do not look like "classical beauties," and a model with a special look may be popular for quite a limited period, perhaps only a few months.[27] A model must fulfill many formal demands. The mainstream range of models are a height of 175 to 180 cms (5′9″ to 5′11″), aged 13 to 20, and must wear USA dress size 6 to 8.

Photographers want to work with the most famous models, who in turn only want to work with the most famous photographers. This is why it is so important for a model to get test pictures from a well-established photographer. The model's wishes have never been better described than in the photographs of the famous fashion photographer Juergen Teller. Teller photographed models on so-called "go-sees" for a year, and made a book incorporating all of the pictures (Teller 1999).[28] That the model to a large extent is "made" by the photographer is apparent. For example, one model in a rather small Stockholm agency worked for Mikael Jansson, the most famous Swedish fashion photographer, on a job for one of the most prestigious Swedish magazines, *Stockholm New,* which is published in English and sold internationally. The agency used one of Jansson's pictures as the first picture that a visitor to their home page could see. They did not need to state that Jansson had taken the photograph as this was known to almost everyone in the business. In other cases, typically when the photographer is well known, the models' agency may print, not only the name of the model, but also the name of the photographer who took the picture, on the model's leave-behind card. Moreover, since the same picture can be found on more than one person's leave-behind card, the pictures become like nodes in a network, which allow one to "observe" at least parts of the network structure.

A question that not only addresses the situation of the models, but also that of the model agencies, is related to the number of models an agency represents. Why can a model agency represent hundreds of different models, when a photographers' agency does not? The reason seems to be related to the model's role; she is more of an object than an artist who contributes to the result. The model is important, but she is still treated more like a component that one chooses whether or not to include in a picture. One model was outspoken about this in an interview: "I am a clothes hanger," she said.

The agency "directs" the model. If a model's appearance is considered suitable for catalogs, her career may be oriented to catalog customers. Others, who have a stronger "character," have more potential, though their career is less predictable than in markets where the customers' preferences are more "stable", e.g. catalogs. As I have shown, if a famous photographer uses a strong character model, she can significantly boost that model's career. Also the model agencies know of the status order, which is a form of ranking, among the photographers and orient their actions towards it. From the photographer's horizon, as I will discuss further below, it is "cool" to be the first one to use a new model. This is an example of how innovation, novelty, and uniqueness are celebrated values in the business. This is also why it is so important for models to be seen by high-status photographers. A modeling agency can therefore serve these high-status photographers much better than photographers with a lower status. The same pattern that

was found for the photographers is also true for the models: an international career will also boost one's career in Sweden. Thus, in being oriented to the market structure, the agencies reproduce it.

The make-up artist and the hairdresser

The hairdresser and the make-up artist are usually less important in the production process than the stylist. In the market for fashion photography, the photographer customarily decides who will be part on the production team. In smaller or less ambitious shootings, a single person may even hold both roles. When the hair is made up in a special style and/or is a dominating feature of the photo, the hairdresser becomes much more important. Though status is important for photographers and stylists, and is constantly considered in getting work, it is less influential among hairdressers and make-up artists. This is clear in the following excerpt from an interview with a photographers' agent who represents photographers as well as people in other categories. I asked why status is less apparent among hairdressers and make-up artists than among photographers. This is her reply:

> Hair and make-up is not, how should I put it? Hair and make-up is a bit different—they can do many advertising jobs and at the same time mail-order catalog, but [it is different] for photographers, it's the style-language… Do you understand? …It can burn a photographer. If he should work for *Allers*[29] tomorrow, then he couldn't do H&M [the largest fashion company in Sweden]. That's advertising; the editorials one does goes hand-in-hand with the advertising one does. While hair and make-up…it doesn't burn one in the same way.
>
> Q; How do you mean "burn"—could you say more about that?
> A: Well, how shall I put it? If [one of the agency's photographers] were to shoot for *Vecko-Revyn,* and his name were to appear in it, then people would say "But why does he do *Vecko-Revyn,* he's much better than that." He should do something up to his talent. […] One cannot fly and then—boom—drop down and do Vecko-Revyn. Then one has burned every bridge.

She then discussed her agency's policy:

> [W]e want to work with H&M, Indiska, Peak Performance [clothing companies]. We want to work with JC and MQ [clothing companies]… these jobs pay well. To do these jobs the photographer has to do good picture language in fashion magazines, in editorials; and this is seen by everyone, AD's [art directors] and such.

I was also told what magazines a photographer should work with: "*Plaza Man, Damernas, Elle* and all these magazines: then one sees the magazines and the AD asks

for the books [portfolios of the photographers] and so on to see…'here is someone who is on the way up' and…[who has] good material."

Q; When you say that [the photographer] shouldn't work with *Vecko-Revyn.* Even if he takes good pictures, do you still mean that it is not important?
A: No.

Q; Can you explain this?
A: How should I say this…it's more that *Vecko-Revyn* is a youth magazine. Think of this: the photographer may have a really nice picture, which he wants to keep clean. *Vecko-Revyn* has a cover with a lot of text, which ruins the feeling, because he just wants to show the picture—forget the text. One doesn't want to ruin a picture with ugly things […] Most [photographers] would just like to have the pictures, and [the text] at the bottom [of the page]. That's how it burns, how it's printed, the paper in the magazine, that's what makes the difference.

She then continued to discuss the difference between publishing in various magazines: "One doesn't need the same high quality on the models in *Vecko-Revyn* as in, for example, *Elle* or *Damernas*. It also goes hand in hand, that you always see the best photographers working with the best models. They always work with the best stylists, the best hair and make-up." This rather long excerpt not only provides evidence that the logic of hairdressers and make-up artists is different from that of photographers; it also suggests that status is relational. It also shows how difficult it is to describe what it means to get "burned" as a photographer. "Burned" is a first-order construct, connected to the status of the photographers. The photographer cited had too much status to appear in *Vecko-Revyn.*

The culture of the business

Business insiders know about the status order of photographers in the business. Their very knowledge is a reason to count them as belonging to the business. There are, however, many more examples of what actors know, and what they use to judge if actors are part of the market or not. To know who is and who isn't in the market, as mentioned earlier, is an important issue according to White's theory. Thus one cannot neglect the culture of markets, or more broadly, the entire "business." The cultural aspects are important for the idea of a market and a business (e.g. Abolafia 1996, cf. DiMaggio 1994), and they are aspects of what help to constitute a market. That is, the cultural symbols and conventions of a market or a business make it unique, which separates it from other markets. These aspects include how things are done, what is valued, and other things that decrease uncertainty of the market. To know about these things, and to take part in this "game," is partly what makes one an insider—a "member" of the market.

In the following examples I do not restrict myself to fashion photography, but also include examples that pertain to adjacent markets. I describe the culture of the fashion business. I have already, for example, talked of how the assistants dress, how they frequent certain bars etc. Photographers also have their favorite hangouts in Stockholm. Moreover, photographers are not evenly spread across Stockholm. Many have their

studio or office in the area called "the South" (Söder). Some restaurants, such as Il Tempo, are known by some photographers as a place where other photographers go for lunch—although the owner of a restaurant may not always know of this. Stylists, photographers' agencies, models' agencies and photographic laboratories are also located in this area. Thus it should rightly be called the Stockholm Photo District to use a second-order construct.[30] With so many people working in the district they run into each other in the streets, especially at lunchtime. Therefore one may speak of a distinctive socially interpreted physical space, also described as a sociophysical space. People in the business have endowed this area with a special meaning. It is a different meaning to that of the average visitor to this physical space who does not know of the many photographers and other people in the industry who work in this area (cf. Pratt 2002). The meanings are different, though they apply to the same object.[31]

Some cultural phenomena of this business deserve to be mentioned. The first is linguistic. Most ordinary people and photographers use the word "photographer." When I interacted with several Swedish assistants during my fieldwork in New York, I never heard any other word. Only when I came back to Sweden did I eventually meet a photographer who used a synonym that to my knowledge is not used in the United States: "framer" ("plåtis"). This term refers to the glass frames used in an earlier era. The point here is not so much the specific word as the fact that it actually exists. Professional groups develop their own key words, and sometimes almost a language.

Another example of the cultural aspect—and thus the boundaries—of this business, is the convention on how a studio should look. Great variation is possible of course, but the general and not surprising aim is to have a clean studio. Less obvious is the idea of having a special kitchen, sometimes situated in a corner of the studio, and often quite conspicuous. Espresso machines are also common in the studies. A third example, which a few respondents raised themselves, is the tendency to have large four-wheel-drive cars, such as a Jeep Cherokee. One photographer said, "The guys are really obsessed with things. They compete with each other…one should have one of these Jeeps to drive around in."

The cultural aspects of the business are also evident in many of the agencies' activities. Though not difficult to understand, most work the same opening hours, this is nevertheless a social process that has generated what I call "the rhythm of the day" in a business. I asked one agent when she gets the most phone calls. She told me that she gets about 35 calls a day, mostly in the afternoon. In the morning people have business meetings. This aspect is also apparent when one discusses what time in the day people like to be interviewed and so on. She also says that foreign customers often work later in to the evening, until 7 to 7.30 p.m. This indicates how much work is being done on the phone, but it also gives a strong indication that the Swedish market is a separated market, because if it were part of an international market for fashion photography its opening hours would be virtually the same as for the international market.[32] I will not focus here on the most obvious examples of construction of social conventions: prices and price conventions. But the structure of the market often contributes to the generation of stiff prices. A fashion editor explained her view on the culture as we discussed "rules" of her world: "Rules are created. In our reality it's in this way, but in someone else's reality it may be totally different." This quotation indicates that the actors themselves are aware of the peculiarities and the "rules" of the particular game they take part in.

The point, to repeat, is not that these are the most important examples of cultural bonds, but rather that they are instances of the market's cultural aspects.[33] One must remember the connection between the internal logic of the aesthetics of photography and the external expressions in terms of dress, music, design and the place where one has a studio. All of these aspects are connected.

The technological aspects and techniques are among the least important for the formation of a specific market. Photographic technique, and the underlying technology, are of course preconditions for the very production of fashion photography. But the same is true of all genres of photography. Different techniques are available, but most should primarily be seen in relation to the aesthetic demands and to the aesthetic expressions. For example, when the electronic flash became available, it opened up new opportunities, but it was in no way crucial for the aesthetics. It was, and remains, simply one possible tool among many for taking pictures. Many photographers still work almost exclusively with natural light.

The magazine

Thus far I have discussed only the producers' side of the market. What about the consumers' side? How do photographers get their assignments for magazines and advertising agencies? These two types of customers—magazines and advertising agencies—deserve separate treatment.

A magazine can be conceptualized as a publishing firm with a staff that perform different tasks for which different types of actors within the magazine are responsible. About 25 magazines have sections on fashion in Sweden, but only a few can be characterized as focusing primarily on fashion. Some regularly include fashion sections; others do so occasionally. A magazine is a buyer in many different production markets, of which the market for fashion photography is only one. Different actors within the magazine orient to different production markets. My focus is on the magazine's relationship with the fashion photographers, which is the task of the fashion editor.

The magazines hold what can best be described as niches in their market: the market for magazines. This means that each magazine has its own identity in the market. Identity is a complex structure that cannot be expressed in a simple formula, but combines many values and elements. Among the tangible examples of what is valued are sales volume, texts, pictures, the paper quality, layout, the topics discussed, the kind of music reviewed, the target readers (in marketing and demographic terms), the type of ads, the prestige of the writers, the cover photo, the photographic style, and the sexual identity. All of these elements, and more, constitute the magazine's identity. The magazine's history of past interactions with customers, advertisers, writers, and the subjects of the articles and photos affect its identity. From this also follows that the photographer is only one part of what makes the magazine's identity.

The magazines define themselves in relation to other magazines. Their identities are ranked in status in relation to consumers and insiders (people working at other magazines). Each may have an overall status, and a somewhat separate status as a fashion magazine; these are often highly correlated. In this study the status order as a fashion magazine is most interesting, and is the primary focus for fashion editors. Generally

speaking, at the lower end of the status order one finds magazines directed at young girls and at older women. In both of these groups one finds "basic" clothes, which are often rather cheap. Some magazines even have fashion stories with clothes from mail-order companies (see Plate XIV).

A magazine, of course, has many external contacts, and here I focus on those related to the production of pictures, in particular the assignments of the photographers and the usage of photographs. This role can be assigned to people inside the magazine's hierarchy. Some magazines have a fashion editor who handles relationships with photographers. But this person is related to other actors inside the magazine and cannot be analyzed as an independent decision maker. She holds a position inside the structure of relations that constitute the magazine, and her situation is in this respect similar to that of the art director.

The fashion editor and her tasks

Magazines are often published for decades. This means that the fashion editor often is "born" into a world that existed before her entrance, and often takes this world of magazines very much for granted (cf. Schütz and Luckmann [1973] 1974). One example of this world is that most fashion editors are women, and most magazines that have sections on fashion are devoted to women's fashion. This also means that each new editor not only inherits tasks from her predecessors, she inherits a role. It is her task to make sure that the photographs the magazine publishes are in line with its style, and that only the "right" clothes are used. This can depend on whether the clothes are supposed to be mostly cheap, mostly expensive or from certain clothing companies. Furthermore, she must ensure that the model is of a certain age, has the typical look, etc. Some magazines are quite strict in terms of the clothes they show, the look of the model, etc. The fashion editor must organize all of this so that the pictures actually fit the identity of the magazine.

To sum it up, the fashion editor's job is to pick the photographer she thinks can produce the best picture for her magazine. The magazine's identity in the market for magazines (or in a segment of it) strongly affects the possibility of her publishing pictures that deviate from what the magazine has published in the past. The fashion editor—as one staff member of the magazine—must account for this. Therefore, even if she works for a magazine that publishes photographs directed at, for example, very young women, she may prefer those published in an avant-garde French magazine. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, magazines may choose different themes for the different issues. This imposes further restrictions on the appearance of the fashion pages. Naturally, the fashion editor can also affect the overall look, and hence the identity of the magazine as well as her own identity.

The role of the advertising agency

Advertising agencies run commercial campaigns for clothing companies.[34] They promote the customers' brand names and products. This might be a single product or a promotion in a specific market. In doing so, the advertising agency makes use not only of

photographers, but also of film directors, designers, and others who it subcontracts for the production. This is in addition to its own staff. Depending on the size of a job, the agency may organize the work to include a leader of the project, an art director, and a copywriter, of whom all may have assistants. The project leader has overall economic responsibility, the art director has overall aesthetic responsibility; and the copywriter takes care of the written text for the commercial campaign. Naturally, many different combinations can be found in practice.

The advertising agency is oriented to its own peers. But—as in other production markets—this is done indirectly. The most important interaction is with the customers.[35] An art director at the agency handles most of the relationships between the photographers and the agency. Swedish advertising agencies are normally not, like some of their foreign counterparts, managed by an economist. They are instead managed by an art director.

The customers of the advertising agencies who work in fashion are clothing companies. The agencies compete for work from about 15 rather large clothing accounts. These have shops nationwide and sometimes also abroad. The best known, and the largest, is H&M. Some smaller firms may have one or a few stores. Garment retailers hire photographers indirectly, via the advertising agency. These are the Swedish customers who pay the most to promote fashion, and to get a contract with one of them is a solid achievement for a fashion photographer.

The agencies naturally try to get the large and prestigious accounts.[36] The prestige of the customer functions as one pillar in the status order of the directors and agencies. The other pillar is the competitions for advertising that the agencies arrange. These two pillars are, of course, mediated through talk in the market. The art directors, like the fashion editors, are ranked by a status order. Their status is mostly due to their customers, the campaigns they have created and the number of prizes they have won in advertising competitions. They are oriented to their production market. These aspects are part of what they turn into a niche in the status order, as a result of how these are interpreted by other actors holding the same role within this production market. The result of advertising is uncertain (e.g. Baker, Faulkner and Fisher 1998:158), and it is not easy to evaluate the economic effect of a certain campaign. In this case, the status of each agency functions as a signal of the "value" of what it produces.

One must, however, separate the status of the advertising agency from the status of the art directors, much as I did with the magazines and the fashion editors. Among the people who work for advertising agencies and similar companies (e.g. those in media promotion and event planning), it is known who are the most successful art directors. These are the people who work with the most prestigious customers. Status is also generated and distributed through the competitions that the industry arranges.[37] The Swedish magazines that cover the advertising industry, *Resumé* and *Vision,* have made attempts to formally measure the success of the different agencies and art directors. *Resumé* has an Internet-based service through which one can find out which agency has the highest rank in terms of human capital. "Human capital" in this case is not the same as its academic definition;[38] as used by *Resumé* human capital is a component of what sociologists would call status. What is measured is the success in four different advertising competitions. According to the rules, a person gets credit for scoring in first or second place. Thus, credits are only given to individuals. When an individual moves from one agency to another, those points follow the individual and not the agency. In this respect the

advertising agencies function like the photographers' agencies: the status of an agency is essentially a product of those who work there. Both *Vision* and *Resumé* rank the agencies every year, based on questions to both agencies' employees and to their customers. They are asked about the agencies' levels of creativity and other measures. The status ranking, which is established by the insiders, seems to be reproduced by the customers the next year. But by that time the insiders may have generated a new order.

This finding also suggests that knowledge is diffused mainly among insiders, that is, among people who work on the producer side of the interface. The customers are especially interested in knowing which are the hottest agencies. I have, for example, heard customers brag that they "are working with one of the best agencies in Sweden." This must be taken in the context that the customers' marketing departments are less "hot" places to work than the advertising agencies. They also pay lower salaries.[39] Furthermore, customers know less than people inside the advertising business.[40] What they know is the official picture of the successful agencies, but not who the successful art directors actually are.

In addition to the clothing companies that have their own stores, there exist a handful of mail-order companies, almost all of them are located in the city of Borås.[41] The mail-order companies hire photographers to shoot sections of their big catalog, which are then sent to potential customers. A catalog is divided into sections, and a team organizes the production of each section (though not the printing). "Men," "women," "kids," "underwear" and "sportswear" are typical sections (see Plate XV for an example of this type of fashion photography). Each section needs one photographer for each catalog, and most companies produce two big catalogs a year, plus a few smaller ones. The team manager for each section hires a photographer. Since the spring and summer clothes must be ready for sale in the late winter, and the catalog must be ready for distribution, the actual shooting of the photos has to take place in the fall. The Swedish climate is not suitable for shooting summer scenes in December, so the teams have to go elsewhere, for example, South Africa or Miami. The beaches of Miami may look quite busy during these weeks, when Swedish companies and companies from Germany and other countries practically stand next to each other shooting. American photographers use the same scenes.[42] The time schedule means that most of the shooting takes place at the same time during a period of 10 to 15 days.

To get a better picture of the situation, it would be useful to know how many art directors do fashion campaigns. Unfortunately, no such empirical material is available. It is difficult to estimate the number of advertising agencies that compete for assignments from clothing companies. A reasonable estimate, however, is more than 30, and less than 50. A better estimate would be on the level of single individuals, since these make up the agencies, rather than the other way around.

The work of the art director

It is the art director who decides which photographer to use. The art director's job is to come up with an idea for the best way to promote a certain company. She does this in consultation with others on the production team. Since a series of campaigns of various types (commercials, photographs in magazines, posters in stores etc.) often go together, many different photographers can be involved in the process over a period of time, which

can even extend to years. The art director's task is to present a concept that covers all the aspects of the customer's demand, and clearly promote the core values of the clothing producer's brand name. These values must be communicated in the advertisements, the commercials, and the displays in stores. The communication relies on the choice of models, the music, the channels used to communicate, but also the style of the photographs.

The great majority of art directors are men.[43] The art director is the person who is in contact with the customers. She is mostly oriented towards the interface downstream from the agency. The photographer is one among many subcontracted actors on the production team. In some cases the art director looks at the portfolios of many photographers, but in other cases she decides beforehand which photographer to use. In editorial fashion photography the price is the same for everyone; but it may be only a third, or even less, of the going rate in advertising photography.

The art director has a budget at her disposal. This sets the outside limits on what she can do, and whom she can hire for the job. But even within this economic frame, she is not entirely free. She also has to make a compromise between her own ideas and the demands that are inherited in the project. Only rarely is the art director allowed to participate in constructing a totally new brand name. In most cases her job is to make minor changes, or just continue to reaffirm an existing brand name. This is just a small example of how the art director—like most other actors—enters a world that by and large is already endowed with meaning. Her predecessors have done this. Nonetheless, she takes much of this world for granted.

Summary

Though this chapter is relatively detailed when it comes to description, it does not explain the market for fashion photography. However, the ethnographic account, the limited analysis and the empirical material presented in this chapter provide background for further analysis of the market. I have discussed important notions such as status and identity, but I have not thoroughly analyzed them. This must be done in order to understand this market, and a closer scrutiny of the actors' meaning structure must also be undertaken.

In this chapter I have indicated that the role of status is important. I suggested that the interface between the sellers (who often are the producers), and the buyers (who often are the consumers), is crucial for generating status. I have also suggested that interaction is a precondition for identities to emerge in this market. However, I have not discussed in any detail how the identity of the photographers is generated and I will return to this in the next chapter. The idea that fashion photography is a collective process must not be neglected. In one sense the essence of the market is the product, which is often produced in the interaction between producers and consumers.

So far I have assumed that only one type of photographer operates in the market. But a deeper phenomenological analysis may delineate more than one ideal type of photographer. To speak of different types of photographers, from the viewpoint of phenomenology, is to say that they face different meaning structures. Do two markets for fashion photography exist? Questions like this will be addressed in the next chapter. The

phenomenological approach, I argue, makes it possible to better understand the perspective of the photographers. The next step, then, is to study the meaning structures of the consumers. This means, among other things, addressing the question of whether fashion editors and art directors hold different meaning structures. By addressing this question one understands the perspective of the consumers. I will deal with this question in Chapter 5. The final step will be to connect these two meaning structures; studying both the intended and unintended consequences of the actions of producers and consumers. These are tasks that I will deal with in Chapter 6. Only then can one speak of a true understanding of the market.

4
Fashion photographers as producers

Followers of the objectivistic approach, used in economic and sociological theories of markets, would argue that only one market exists for fashion photography. Whether a photographer interacts with a magazine or an advertising agency she is expected to produce photographs. She will get paid and the photographs will be published. The pictures show clothes on models. The objects produced, it can be argued, look the same in either case. Thus, an objectivistic position will lead most observers to the conclusion that customers simply differ in the market; some have more money than others, and hence can pay the photographer more. However, it is premature to conclude that only one type of item is produced in this market, and that only one type of market exists.[1] In this chapter I will explain my reasons for believing this. The first major question that I address in this chapter is: what is the meaning structure of the market from the perspective of the photographer? To answer this question is a condition for understanding the markets for fashion photography.

To provide an answer I will examine whether the two types of interaction that take place—between the photographer and the magazine, and between the photographer and the advertising agency—have different meaning structures for the photographer. To conduct this study I will start from the subjects' perspectives—in this chapter the perspectives of the photographers—and their first-order constructs (the meanings and horizons they use). I then move to the second-order constructs of the scientist. The second-order constructs, as stated in Appendix A, pertain to the theoretical level, but they must always be constructed in relation to the first-order constructs of the actors. The second major question I address in this chapter is whether all photographers face the same situation in the market. That is, do they experience different meaning structures? My focus in this chapter is those aspects of their meaning structures that relate to fashion photography.

I will begin by describing the market and the situation as it appears for the photographers, whom I call high-fashion photographers. I will start by analyzing the situation of those fashion photographers endowed with the most status, and who are the most influential in the market. Later in the chapter I will analyze some photographers who are less well known, whom I call low-fashion photographers. There is no evaluative element in these terms beyond the positions the two types hold in the market. High and low refer to the amount of status the photographers are endowed with. Both these ideal types are part of the market; they are both fashion photographers. As I will show, they are

grounded in the first-order constructs of the photographers. That is, the actors themselves use these two ideal types, though they do not use the terms (which are second-order constructs). In the latter part of this chapter I compare the two ideal types, and also contrast the two types of fashion photographers with the non-fashion photographers.

The meaning structure of the producers

As is true for most other occupations, to be a photographer is part of the actor's personal identity (Becker and Carper 1956). But the actors also need food to survive, they have friends, and they fall in love. They also need leisure time, they have children and relatives, and are in most ways like other people. These aspects are of course important to the actors, but are only considered in this study if they are relevant to the market for fashion photography. In other words, these aspects are largely what I refer to in Appendix A as bracketed. I begin the analysis of the photographers' meanings and horizons, and how these are related—in other words their meaning structure—by discussing the reasons why people become photographers.

Why become a photographer?

I discussed the situation of the assistants above. Most assistants want to become photographers; some eventually succeed in doing so and may even get the chance to work with a high-status magazine. Though the goal for most assistants is to shoot for the *Italian Vogue*—which means that you are "home," to quote one assistant—very few assistants reach this goal. Most assistants "cool down" and settle for goals that are more "reasonable" after a few years (cf. Faulkner 1971:58; Becker 1982:77–80).

The idea of becoming a photographer and later entering the market are two empirical examples that also illustrate a more theoretical point about how actors make decisions. Economic theory views entrance into a market as a decision based upon a rational calculus with the aim of making a profit. This decision is made prior to the entrance and in relation to the profitability of other markets.[2] Reality, however, provides a different picture. A photographer describes how she first came into contact with photography, and her story is not uncommon:

> Well…it just happened. Maybe it was that one—the first camera. I liked it, and then I wanted to continue with it. At that time I didn't know any photographers, I had no idea of what it was like to work as a photographer.

The early "decision" to be interested in photography is of course not decisive for all actors; the majority of those interested in photography never become professionals. Nevertheless, she has developed preferences in the process of working as an amateur and assistant (cf. Marshall [1920a] 1961:86–91; Aspers 1999a: 655–658). Thus she can make her final decision on whether or not to enter the field from a position in which she has an interest in the activity itself (Newburry 1997). Her decision is not only about the possibility of making a profit or not (cf. Bourdieu [1994] 1998:32).[3]

There is, however, more than one road into photography. Some people make up their minds early on; others enter more as a result of circumstances that they encounter. There are a few notions, however, that many photographers mention when they are asked to explain why they are photographers (in addition to the pure joy it generates). These are typically the same reasons as for their becoming photographers in the first place. Two such reasons are the desire for personal expression and creativity. Some mention the pleasure of working in the darkroom, and working with others, though the latter is not likely to be a specific reason for this particular job. However, many photographers like working with creative people. The photographer may not always use the word creativity. They'd rather describe how they like the practice, and especially how they like the feeling of taking a "great picture." One photographer describes this as follows: "A picture that you really feel that you are working with, and then you think 'damned good picture' …that's a fantastic feeling." This example of words used by an actor—a first-order construct—is centered on "creativity." These aspects stand out in the actors' "stream of consciousness" and are endowed with meaning (Husserl [1931] 1960: §§ 30–33; Schütz [1932] 1976:45–96). The words they use refer to the meanings, and are signs of the meaning; actors use them to describe what is meaningful to them. Thus they explicate the meaning of "creativity."[4] The notion of "creativity," is thus a second-order construct that "covers" the first-order constructs of the actors. In this case I also use one of the first-order constructs, "creativity," as a second-order construct. As the study proceeds, I will drop such explanation of how I move from first-order constructs to second-order constructs.

Clearly, photographers have a will to express themselves aesthetically, but what about money as a motive? It is only one motive in the market; all actors need it to live and they must pay both their private and business bills. But there is a trade-off between aesthetic, social, and economic interests. This is evident from the way the actors think of their entrance into the market. One photographer described how he thinks: "One must have some integrity, and stand up for something. I mean one should at least bring one's pictures along, when leaving this." He also says that he does not want to feel that his work life is just a rat race. He thinks that photography involves much more than being a tool that produces pictures.

Another photographer experienced an even stronger connection between her own personal identity and her role as a photographer. In our discussion, in which it was clear that she felt strongly about her pictures, I asked whether she viewed herself as a photographer or was only a photographer during work. She replied:

> No, no, no. It's not at all like that. The problem was that for rather a long long time I didn't see that I never could see photography as a job. Instead it was me—if one criticized a picture then it was a critique of me. It was a problem that I could never turn off. I was the same in the morning as I was in the evening. Everything was very personal.

Though this is a rather extreme example, many photographers express a strong personal attachment to their pictures. This indicates that it is not only a strong identity in the business, but also an important dimension of their personal identity.

Getting a job and an identity

It is clear that photography and photographic expression is an important dimension of the personal identities of fashion photographers, but how does a person become a photographer? In other words, how does an assistant gain an identity among other photographers in the market? It is important to recognize that the person who has been an assistant, or comes from a photography school, has only seen photographers work, but not really done it herself. She has a different meaning structure and horizons than an experienced photographer. The newcomer's meaning of a first-order constructs like "the market" is not the same as that of an experienced photographer—even though she may have observed and participated in similar situations as an assistant. To take another example, the meaning of competition is not the same for an established photographer as for a newcomer. The newcomer, who often is an assistant, is likely to perceive other photographers as competitors, something which is less common among more established photographers.

Clearly, there are differences between assistants—as an example of the typical newcomer—and photographers. But when does an assistant become a photographer? Not all of those who view themselves as photographers are considered to be photographers by people in the business. It is not enough to say, "I am a photographer" to be accepted as one. With her family and friends she may get away with it but probably not with photographers. The statement "I am a photographer" is not enough for her reference group, the photographers in the market.[5] It would be convenient for the researcher to define a photographer objectively, such as "a person who takes photographs and does so as a major source of income." It is possible to proceed along this line, but one would risk losing contact with the photographers' first-order constructs. That approach could produce a meaningless definition since it does not relate to what the actors think, i.e. their natural attitude, and thus their first-order constructs.

The following example, in contrast, shows quite clearly what it takes to be a photographer. The example shows how a photographer reacted to a question in which I used the word "photographer." My question was: "Do you meet photographers who want to work as your assistant, and come and show their pictures?" He answered: "Not *photographers,* but those who still are in school and are assistants, and want to become photographers, that happens quite often." Apparently, the distinction between an assistant and a photographer is very clear. This is also an example of how the meaning of a photographer is explicated. To be a photographer, it is not enough to take pictures and put them into a leather portfolio; it also takes interaction with the "other side." This means that the meaning of professional photography is bound to the idea of having customers. The person must either have published in a magazine, have had other commercial customers, or exhibited photographs. Identities in the market for fashion photography are generated by interaction with a photographer and magazines, customers or museums. In other words, the photographer does not have full control of her own identity in the market for fashion photography. Her identity in the market—which is a second-order construct—is a result of her interaction with the other side. I will have more to say below about how a photographer gains an identity, because it is a complex issue that involves her style and her photographs.

The identity of a fashion photographer

To become a photographer, it is crucial to interact with the other side. Many more aspects are also bound to the meaning of a fashion photographer. Three dimensions make up the identity of a fashion photographer. The first dimension is interaction with actors on the production side: photographers, stylists, assistants, etc. The second dimension is interactions with the consumers' side. The actor has to work with customers whom photographers view as fashion customers in order to be accepted as a fashion photographer by her peers. Finally, she must, in one way or another, take pictures that include clothes. These dimensions are evidently what make up the identity of the fashion photographer. I will discuss these dimensions in more detail below, and then in relation to key notions in this market, I will also talk about style and status. What the fashion photographer considers as being the core of fashion photography are its first-order constructs. In order to count as a fashion photographer, she must also have contact with models and model agencies, and she has to use stylists, make-up artists, and hairdressers. These first-order constructs are associated and constitute part of the meaning of fashion photography.

The meaning of a fashion photographer includes the pictures the photographer takes of course, but it also includes the fact that the photographer is more or less specialized in fashion photography. A photographer who does "everything" will not be seen as a fashion photographer by other photographers, and especially not by other fashion photographers. Though the market for fashion photography in Sweden is small, people still specialize. As a result, a photographer who does "everything" is not likely to be a competitor with one who specializes in fashion photography. In the process of identifying competitors, and more generally speaking, to keep themselves informed, the photographers look at each other.

Looking at each other

In order to be accepted as a fashion photographer, one must get one's pictures seen by others, especially peers, in the market. White's theory also stresses this need. Similar circumstances have been found in other empirical studies of markets (e.g. Faulkner 1983:80–81, 85). I will now discuss this issue in relation to the market for fashion photography. Observations—the tangible form of looking at each other—are the prime means for judging the status of various photographers, what kind of fashion photography is hot (cf. Faulkner 1983:10), what type of models to use, what sort of locations to opt for, etc. Photographers can see the manifest results of the interaction between photographers and customer, for example, in magazines.

A photographer's interest, as stated in Chapter 3, is mainly directed to her peers on the same side: other photographers. Each photographer has a horizon of interest in other photographers, which includes comparisons with other photographers and an evaluation of her own situation (cf. Faulkner 1971:98, 154). This horizon includes the magazines as well as other photographers. But the orientation to the magazine, if one studies it more carefully, is almost indirect. Photographers who read a magazine usually begin by looking at the fashion stories, and checking out the name of the photographer involved. The photographer is generally more interested in the pictures that others take than in the magazine as such. This is an example of how the mirror that White speaks of functions,

but also of the logic of competition (cf. Simmel [1908] 1955:57–85). As I will show, there are aspects that separate it from White's idea of the mirror, namely that the consumers are not anonymous; in fact, the producers know a lot about them. They can, for example, discern the status order of the magazines. Thus, they have this knowledge when they, so to speak, are looking downstream at the production chain (cf. White 2002).

What, more specifically, do photographers observe? They observe the pictures and how they are taken and they observe the results of the matching process that takes place in the interface. They see what photographer and what style suit which magazine. A central point when photos are published in a magazine is that the byline indicates the names of all those involved on the set during the production of the fashion story. If the magazine has a staff, headed by the fashion editor who takes care of the styling, her name will usually appear first, before the name of the photographer. At magazines where the fashion director only hires people for fashion stories, and thus does not take part in actually producing the photographs, the photographer's name is printed first. Therefore, it precedes the names of the make-up artist, hairdresser and model (see Plate VIII for an example of this).[6] This order represents a kind of status order of the actors involved. Joel Podolny has found a similar pattern among investment banks; the biggest players are printed on top of what is called the tombstone (Podolny 1994).

The orientation to other photographers is also noticeable in the way photographers compare themselves with each other, including their interactional patterns. To examine their peers and their activities is important. The following example shows the first-order constructs photographers use as they look at each other. They "read" other photographers' pictures very carefully to see how they have used the light. Naturally, this is only a part of what they read in each other's fashion photographs, but it shows the general logic of looking at each other. The way the photographer uses light is very important for the result of the photographs.[7] There are essentially two sources of light; natural (the sun) and artificial, such as Hmi and electronic flashes. The way the photographer uses light is often one component of her style, which I describe below. It is a distinctive way of making pictures with a special look. If one can use a certain type of lighting, or generally speaking a technique different from what others use, one's pictures may also get a special look. The "special" light that can be recognized in a certain photographer's pictures can be a combination of a certain light and her studio (which of course is hard to imitate), or it might be a combined effect of a film and a special technique of development or digital treatment and printing.

There are some very commonly known ways of using light. The average amateur photographer can sometimes identify the main source of lighting and, usually, they can tell if it is natural or artificial light. A skilled photographer can also see what type of artificial light it is. Drawing on her experience she can make conclusions about the light from the colors in the shadows, the reflections on the model's skin, the sharpness of the picture and many other details. It is a form of tacit knowledge. One of the best sources for reading the light is the pupil of the model's eye. The pupil and sunglasses reflect the sources of light as white areas (see Plate IX for an example of this). If a photographer uses a soft box, which is about the size of a square meter and produces a rather soft light, this box is reflected in the model's pupil, as is the direction of the light. If, for example, the photographer uses a soft box in front of the model, and stands between the box and

her, his shadow will show a dark area in the white reflection. In this example, White's metaphor of the mirror actually implies that the actors see each other.

Reading the lighting of other photographers is something that all photographers do. A photographer has a very practical knowledge of lighting.[8] Even if a layperson learns about the possibility of reading the lighting, it is of little use to her. It is useful only if the reader knows how to set the light. Thus, the photographer needs an extensive knowledge of the different ways one can modify, for example, the available electronic light sources. She is likely to know the different types of available light banks, such as octa banks, soft boxes and umbrellas, and how these affect the result.[9] Only with this background can she read how other photographers use these combinations, and use this information to copy their lighting, or to modify her own. Probably the best way to learn different lighting techniques is to work as a freelance assistant for many different photographers. Photographers are also familiar with this fact. They realize that by hiring a freelance assistant, as discussed above, a photographer can learn some techniques and trends she may find it difficult to ask her colleagues about. These are only a few examples of how photographers look at each other. The fact that one may see the lighting of her competitors as meaningful and central to the actors makes it an example of a first-order construct that the researcher must account for.

The idea of producers who look at each other is a central idea of White's market theory. As the discussion here has shown, the everyday practice presents vivid examples of how the photographers' horizons include meanings that are empirical evidence of White's theory. Alluding to White, I call the second-order construct, which covers this first-order construct, "looking at each other." I stress photographers' orientation to the same side. How, then, do the producers think of the consumers, with whom they also interact?

The customers

As has been indicated, photographers have two main types of customers: magazines and advertising agencies. From an objectivistic scientific position, these may, as stated above, not differ much. However, to examine this, one must study the role of the customers in the photographers' meaning structure. In this section, I outline the two meaning structures, focusing on the dissimilarities not the similarities, for example the life-world they share. The first task is to see how photographers comprehend magazines, and their interaction with them. I will also explain how status, style and identity are interconnected in the market. The next task is to examine how they comprehend advertising agencies. The final task is to compare these two meaning structures. If they are different, are there in fact two different markets?

To work for a magazine

Magazines are consumers of photographs and represent opportunities for the photographer to publish her pictures. The photographer tries to get assignments, and in the horizon of possible customers, the magazines stand out for many of those who want

to become fashion photographers. One may speak of a horizon of magazines that the photographer perceives. She knows the names of the different magazines and understands how they are different. This means, most of all, that she knows what kind of fashion photography each one publishes. When a photographer thinks of a magazine she has its status in mind. She wants to publish in the magazines with the most status.

Photographers have different strategies; some try to get published in the most prestigious magazines first, while others start from the bottom and try to move up in the hierarchy of magazines. Fashion photographers have almost identical ideas about the status order of the magazines.[10] Their knowledge is contained in the first-order constructs "status" and "prestige." As these two notions have the same meaning, I will use the word status as the second-order construct. How can one understand the second-order construct of status? The status order of the magazines is not related to the amount of money that the photographer earns. On the contrary, some magazines considered having a high status pay the least.

Why do photographers think it is so important to publish in magazines? I suggest several reasons. They see magazines as the vehicle to enter the market for fashion photography. Friends and colleagues will also see the pictures and the publication of them means that the person is seen as a photographer. Furthermore, a photographer's first published picture is like a first kiss: easy to remember. This gives an indication of the meaning of the magazine. Indeed photographers need to interact with the other side, manifested in published fashion pictures, to gain an identity as a photographer, especially the photographer wannabe.

The other reason for publishing in a magazine, which applies also to people with years of experience in the business, is that magazines function like billboards for photographers. Not only do other photographers see the pictures, but customers also read the magazines. Anywhere that one visits—photographers, agents, magazines or advertising agencies—one finds piles of fashion magazines. In this sense the publication is clearly an intermediate step in the project of getting jobs that pay well. This also reveals that to many photographers money is not the immediate reason to publish in a magazine. A photographer who does not publish in magazines, is more likely to "disappear," and this is because she gets fewer calls. One photographer said that she once stopped working for magazines for over a year; she worked with artists and took on many other jobs, but she did not publish in magazines. She explained: "But then not many saw that I had taken the pictures, and people thought I had moved abroad. The result was that many people didn't call me in the same way as when my pictures were published, and they saw me all the time."

Photographers have a third reason to work with magazines: such work is generally seen as a free form of photography that allows the photographer to express herself. This degree of freedom differs among the magazines. Some give the photographer and her team almost complete freedom, but only a few in Sweden do this. They drawback is that they also pay the least. Many photographers would actually pay to have their pictures published in a high-status magazine, though I have no evidence that this has actually happened. However, in the case of at least one Swedish magazine, some photographers do not even bill for the pictures they deliver, probably because they want to appear in it again.

A fourth reason why photographers work for fashion magazines is that they want to develop their way of taking pictures and their style. Style is more important for fashion photographers than for other types of photographers, and working for magazines is a good way to develop one's style. It is also fairly convenient for the photographer because she has essentially free access to models, styling, hairdressing and make-up artists—who also need these pictures in their portfolios. Thus the photographer need not devote as much time to the kind of photography that is more "experimental" and also a normal part of developing her photographic skills and style. Thus, she gets her "own" pictures at the same time as she gets published. Some very successful photographers can more or less do what they want at their jobs, as one explained about his colleague, Mikael Jansson: "I talked to him the last week; he said he framed very few [private pictures]. But on the other hand, he does whatever he wants [laughing]. That's what he does, and then he does not need so much." What is interesting besides the answer itself, is his reference to Mikael Jansson, an icon in the market for fashion photography in Sweden.

Some magazines are seen as having higher status than others. For example, the Swedish edition of *Elle,* draws on the fact that *Elle* is a very big international magazine. Generally speaking, foreign magazines comprise a group that, so-to-speak, endows the published photographers with status. In addition, most foreign magazines have more readers, advertisements, established photographers etc. These factors also count as distinctive traits in the overall concept of status among Swedish magazines. Many Swedish photographers try hard to publish in magazines in the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy and France. This is evident from many sources, but seldom as clear as in the answer from a photographers' agent who answered my question of whether the photographers want to work for foreign magazines: "Oh yes! Oh yes! [laughing] They do, that is the goal for everyone." I then asked her why. She said, "Well, it's kind of small here at home, and then it is more money if one works with foreign customers, and it gives some prestige to have worked with foreign customers." Since other photographers and customers, both Swedish and international, see what they do, it acts as an even larger advertising medium for the photographers. This large difference between a publication in a Swedish and a foreign magazine indicates that photographers have two different meanings, though both the Swedish market and the foreign market are included on the same horizon of potential publications. That they have different meanings indicates that there are two separate markets: the foreign and the domestic, and not one global market.

However, some advertising photography resembles traditional editorial photography. For example, if a small designer is just beginning her career or launching a new brand name, without economic resources, an art director and a photographer might work without getting paid. As a form of "payment," the photographer's name is published in the byline of the ad, a practice which is far from standard in advertising. This may also lead to future jobs if, for example, the designer becomes well known. A more structured form of advertising is so-called adversarial. This is a form of advertisement that looks like editorial material, but it is paid by the firm that advertises (cf. informercial, which is a television commercial that is presented to look like a documentary). In this case, the photographer earns less than for regular advertising, but gets "paid" by having her name printed in a very visible byline.

There are yet other ways of promoting photographers. I have already mentioned one way especially popular among photographers in the beginning of their careers; to take

test pictures for models. The photographer's name may be printed on the model's cards. Also stylists and make-up artists have cards they use when they show their portfolios to potential customers. The photographer is thus promoted. Naturally, the process also goes the other way and the photographer helps to promote the stylists and models.[11]

An even more "free" form of fashion photography is oriented to the magazines and future publications. In so-called speculation photography, the photographer puts together a team to produce a fashion story. The team contacts a magazine, which then writes a letter saying that these people will shoot photographs for it. This letter can be shown to the model agencies, and will gain access to showrooms. The magazine usually makes no commitment to actually publish the story; it promises to consider the finished story for publication. Sometimes the magazine will not even pay the producers for the pictures. The photographer, as the leader of the team, usually covers the bulk of the costs, for film, renting equipment and printing. She may earn money if the stylists, the make-up artist, the hairdresser and the models buy her prints to use in their portfolios. All the actors involved naturally hope that the story they produce will be published. Then they can use this fashion in their portfolios as an example of pictures that have been accepted by the "other side." Obviously, it is a risky business, and few in Sweden try it. Those that do are mainly people who are new to the business. One photographer said gratefully: "I haven't had to do it."

Status and the distribution of status

Photographers take the status order of the magazines for granted. All photographers want to work with the most prestigious magazines, but not all get a chance to do so. Depending on which magazines a photographer publishes her pictures in and also which customers (i.e. what advertising accounts) a photographer gets, she is endowed with different status. The interface between the photographers and the consumers is a precondition for status distribution, though it is less clear how the distribution actually occurs. In this section I analyze the meaning of status, the status order and how status is distributed. My analysis is from the photographers' perspective.

What meaning creates a magazine's status? Some aspects are quite straightforward, such as the quality of the paper and how the magazine is printed. However, photographers consider factors beyond the fashion section. These factors include the style of writing, the topics covered, and the status of writers and the advertisers as well as the final reader. Young urban readers, for example, are preferable to rural middle-age women.[12] More important for the photographer, however, is the way the photographs are treated. Such as how much space a picture is given in relation to the text, how much a photograph is cropped, whether the magazine places text over the pictures, the page layout etc. These are examples of how photographers think the magazine respects their work, and how they are allowed freedom. At the center of the meaning of status is which photographers the magazine publishes. From the perspective of the photographer, the magazines with the most status are largely those for which the "best" photographers work. Thus, the status order of "the other side," that is the magazines, is largely determined by the status order among the actors on the same side, the photographers.

This is almost paradoxical: how can one say that the magazines of the highest status are those that employ the photographers with most status—and at the same time say that

the magazines endow the photographers with the status? The answer is that the photographers perceive the magazine's identity (a second-order construct) like all identities, as made up of its relationship with various photographers over time. That is, the identity of a magazine is the result of its interactions with the various photographers in the past and the status of those photographers. Status is contagious in both ways: the magazine is also affected by the status of the photographer.

A logical problem remains, however: the photographers both create and orient themselves to the status order. The solution to this puzzle is the dimension of time. The new photographer, to quote Schütz, is born into a pre-existing world: the market for fashion photography is already endowed with meaning due to the past activities of former and present actors in the market. This must be understood as being part of the same process described above: in the process of socialization the photographers learn what the market is. The photographers internalize the status order, and the type of fashion photography that is connected with it. The magazines are larger and have also more stable identities than the photographers. They are also fewer in numbers. Finally, and most importantly, the magazines are legitimized by the photographers as distributors of status. Thus, there are basically two status orders: one for the photographers and one for the fashion magazines. These orders are not fixed structures, but they are fixed enough to make actors agree on them.

I will now give a more concrete example of how the photographers orient themselves to the magazines. During interviews they frequently referred to the level of "prestige" or "status" (the two most commonly used words) a feature in a magazine had. However, when asked to specify the reasons for the status they gave a publication, the respondents often found it difficult to say. It may seem paradoxical that the actors have problems explicating the meaning of "status." However, they would give examples of what they meant. As they discussed magazines, one stood out from the others, making both the idea of status and the horizon of magazines easier to understand. The magazine called *Bibel* ("The Bible") was published for only a short time (1999–2000), and will be discussed further in the next chapter. This magazine came up in several interviews, usually introduced by the interviewed. It was printed on glossy paper, had a well-known staff, and mostly urban readers. The status associated with the staff of *Bibel* when it was launched made it much easier for it to be accepted among also the photographers as one of the best Swedish magazines to be published in. The writing was on the cutting edge in music and in the type of fashion shown. From the photographers' perspective, however, of all the advantages *Bibel* provided for them, the most important was the great aesthetic freedom it allowed the photographer and the rest of the production team. As some of the most avant-garde photographers worked for *Bibel* it not only allowed aesthetic freedom, but had a line-up of new photographers like no other magazine. This was also the reason why "everyone" in the business read and talked about it, making it a highly desirable place for photographers to publish. Resentment was also revealed when colleagues and competitors publish in such a magazine; I noticed this among both interviewees and informants (cf. Faulkner 1971:91).

Bibel did not publish the most established photographers, but rather the photographers who were waiting in the wings and on their way up. Of course, this also meant that *Bibel* in some way "made" these photographers. Not only was it an advertising medium that "everyone" in Sweden looked at; it was also the best place to "come out" as a

photographer. A very well-established Swedish fashion photographer said spontaneously while we were discussing different magazines that he would like to work for *Bibel.* I asked him if he had worked for the magazine before, and this was his answer.

> No, that's a pity. I don't make the kind of pictures they are interested in. It's a pity that they lock themselves up with their values. I think it could be a total fucking success, if they could look more broadly on pictures. I think this will make them fall. Unfortunately, one cannot make such a product in Sweden, one cannot be that narrow in Sweden. I know that *Bibel* is really hot in France. There they buy the magazine, though they don't understand what's written in it.

The photographer was right in his prediction.[13] To some extent, one must view the photographic style and identity of this photographer, as factors that diminish his chances of ever publishing in a magazine like *Bibel.* I asked the same photographer about this: "Can you speak of [styles] having a kind of lock up effect?" He answered, "Yes, you really said something…that one…locks up oneself in a way of thinking of one's prestige?" This has to do with the problem of his status, style and identity in this market. Though this may appear to contradict what I said above about the photographers' status position, it does in fact support the crucial notion of identity in White's production market theory. It shows that the positions that actors acquire as they interact affect their opportunities. Moreover, the opportunity structure is not always "better" for the established photographer, who may be somewhat locked into her own style. Moreover, a high-status photographer may feel that people look more carefully at her, and she can feel the pressure. The other aspect, beside interaction with "hot" photographers, that made *Bibel* rather special, but not enough to make it the most desirable magazine for publication, is the aesthetic freedom that it allowed the photographers. The fashion editor did not work as a stylist in the fashion stories, giving the stylist the freedom to use almost whatever clothes she chose. It was easy to get good models for a photographer who told the model agency that she was going to shoot for *Bibel.* The meaning of aesthetic freedom is that the photographer can express herself by using her own style, without having to compromise with a customer. To summarize, the magazine let the chosen photographer and the other members of the production team use about eight pages for a fashion story, although the fashion editor had the final say on whether to publish the story or not. In these pages the photographer was allowed to "exhibit" her work and her style to the audience.[14]

Obviously, the status order of the magazine is important, but it is not easy for a novice to understand. In one interview, I asked a question about status of a student at a photography school, who could not be expected to know much about the status order, and its logic. From her answer it was clear that her knowledge was limited compared to the photographers in the market. The same phenomenon can be found among others who are only at the verge of the market, such as new models. When beginning their careers models know little of the status of the magazines and the photographers, and like most people not involved in the business, seldom know the names of photographers. But gradually, through the process of socialization described above, they also learn who is hot and who is not. This clearly shows that even people who are reasonably close to the

market do not know, for example, the magazines' status order. I have already noted the common meaning among photographers of the status of Swedish magazines that have sections on fashion. As I will describe in more detail in the next chapter, the fashion editors, photographers' agents and almost everyone who knows the market rank the Swedish magazines similarly in terms of status. This can be connected to White's idea of the demarcation of the market: only those who have this common knowledge are likely to be seen as members—whether competitors or colleagues—in the market. It seems to take a certain "stock of knowledge" (Schütz 1964:29–30, [1966] 1975:123) to be a player in the market.

Even though the insiders in the market, especially the photographers, have essentially the same ideas on the magazines' status, they may not act in the same way. Photographers have different positions as the result of their past interaction with the consumers' side. Generally speaking, the lower the status the worse the situation is for the actor. In fact, appearing in some magazines may actually be bad for a photographer, as one told me when I asked.

> Yes, well… *Slitz* can be seen as a bit special, and if you talk with prestigious photographers, then [there] is *Amelia,* and, you know, plenty of these, well, *Vecko-Revyn, Solo, Silikon, Plazerna* [*Plaza man* and *Plaza kvinna*], *Hennes, Frida, Habit*. It is not so good to be seen in these, it is difficult to combine and work for both *Amelia* and *Elle* for example.

When I asked him "why is that?" he answered: "Because… *Amelia* would probably accept it, but not *Elle*. They want the sole right in that case, and feel that it is something special." This shows how the producers are aware of the consumers' effort to "control their identities," to use a second-order construct. When I talked to each photographer I showed them a list of magazines and I asked the photographers to rank them. One photographer said the following as we discussed a magazine for young girls, *Frida:*

> *Frida* [snorts] is like…now it is too late. *Frida* is something one does in the beginning. It would feel like taking a step back. Other photographers would say "so you do *Frida*" [in a negative voice]. My agency would not be happy if I did *Frida*. They don't want their photographers exposed in B-magazines… down there, so-to-speak.

Thus, to work for a low-status magazine could actually be harmful for a more established photographer's career and identity. The actors direct their identity (to use a second-order construct) by being careful with whom they interact. Do they employ any more specific strategies?

Controlling one's identity: saying "yes" and "no" to jobs

White's theory assumes that actors control their identities (White 1992). The most straightforward way to control one's status, and thus one's identity, is to say "yes" and "no" to proposed social relations (cf. Faulkner 1971:148–149). The photographer can do this, as was shown above, by not publishing in certain magazines.[15] One photographer

described his view on how young photographers can be affected if they take on many jobs and customers: "[T]hey wear themselves out fairly quickly because no one can be that good in the beginning… Eventually things come out that don't look good, and that's not good." He suggested that it is better to produce a few good products, and to slowly build one's name. An important aspect in this process is to say no to certain job proposals—which of course also means saying no to money. The same photographer gave reasons for doing so: "[I]f one takes the job just for the sake of it, to get the money to pay one's salary, I think one…does not get a chance to develop mentally or stylistically. You can be destroyed." Another photographer answered as follows about turning down jobs: "Yes I do. There are those who want horses framed [laughing]. Then I actually say no. And…weddings, horses and stuff like that. Of course one says no. One has to keep a line in what one does, that's quite important." When I asked what he meant by "quite important." He explained, "Well, as we said [earlier], some jobs have status, and if you work with products that have the wrong status …then it may be difficult to stay with an agency or that magazine because it isn't status [to do these jobs], that's the way it is."

These quotations express a generally accepted idea about the importance of saying no to jobs in order to avoid doing them poorly. Thus the saying, "You're only as good as your last picture" is not unique in this market (Faulkner 1971:107; Faulkner and Anderson 1987:906). I will discuss this further in relation to photographers' styles.

Another approach is to work only with those who can advance one's career. This means choosing the right stylists and models—usually those more established than oneself. This is much easier for a photographer who is already established and works for a more recognized magazine. One photographer raised this issue in discussing the status of magazines: "*Elle* has been considered better to work for. Those who have worked for *Elle* have not worked for *Damernas*" I then asked him: "Is it also economic? Does one earn more by working with *Elle*?" He gave the following answer:

> No, one doesn't, or only a little. But there is another thing. If you work with *Elle,* for example, then you have a greater opportunity to bring better models to the jobs. Because if you call a foreign model agency…and say "We're going to do a job for *Damernas*" they hardly know what that magazine is. Then they say "Why should our model go to Sweden, and do it for no money?" Instead, if it is *Elle* they know about it.

Thus, by working with some magazines and not others, at least a few photographers can control their identity.

Before addressing the wider implications of status, let me further clarify what I mean by status. What do photographers perceive in addition to a photographer's name and status? The name in itself cannot be enough to distribute status. Obviously, if photographers took identical photographs the status order would be a purely "social" construction, but this is not the case. In this market status is closely connected with aesthetic differentiation. The photographers differentiate themselves aesthetically by having different photographic styles. The photographer's name, status, and style intersect in the market as I describe in the next section.

Style as a means of aesthetic differentiation

So far I have discussed how photographers get jobs, and their interaction with magazines. To get a job the photographer needs basic social competence, and being known to the customers is surely an advantage.[16] These aspects are definitely important in the market for fashion photography and should not be neglected in this discussion. However, they are important in all social interactions, and in most markets. A photographer with this type of social skill is more likely to find opportunities for work. Still, these assets are not enough to sustain her career. No one with high ambitions will hire a photographer just because she is a nice person; she must be able to "score." My focus in this study is on the crucial dimension that separates this market from some other markets, namely its aesthetic dimension. This means I bracket some other reasons why people get jobs, such as those already mentioned.

The photographer's portfolio is the best way to see what the photographer does, and wants to do in the future. The photographer brings her portfolio (which in many cases is available also on the Internet) to the meetings with the potential customers. The portfolio is composed by the photographer, reflects her past work, and is a visual presentation of what she is capable of doing. This is an aesthetic narrative, which is a second-order construct of the photographer's meaning of a portfolio. Photographers differ in their opinions as to what type of pictures they should include in a portfolio. Some have a portfolio that is more personal and reflects their personal preference for taking photographs. Others include past jobs, and show the variety of photographic genres, tasks and styles they can handle. Naturally, many are a combination of these two approaches.[17]

The key word in discussing aesthetic differentiation is style; some use the word "maner" (in Swedish) to denote the same phenomenon. That is, "style" and "maner," as the two first-order constructs have the same meaning, and I will use style as the second-order construct. What the magazines publish, from this perspective, are styles of photographers. But what does style mean? Above I discussed how photographers specialize in certain genres. Within a genre, they have different personal styles. Furthermore, a given style can be used in more than one genre; for example, one can have the same style as a fashion or a portrait photographer. Although the idea of style is applicable to all photographic genres, it is very complex (cf. Gombrich 1968:353). Style is a personal identification marker of the photographer. Style, I argue, is a multidimensional self-referential picture system produced and extended over time (cf. Bourdieu 1993:229).[18] A style may include such aspects of photographs as angle, choice of model, pose, background, composition, lighting, styling, make-up, tone, and references to the content of the picture. Photographers take pictures over a long period of time, making it hard to see a distinctive personal style in a few pictures or sometimes even in a single job. A style has to be connected to an individual over time so that people can recognize the connection. In this way, it refers back to a photographer's past production. Wittgenstein's idea of family likeness offers a useful metaphor for this phenomenon (Wittgenstein [1953] 1968: §§ 66–67, 72–73). Several photographers mentioned the notion of style spontaneously in interviews in addition to my questions on the topic, but when I asked to explain what they and other respondents mean by "style," they typically showed pictures, or had trouble describing what they meant. It is easier to speak of other peoples' styles. Despite the problem of verbally describing style, many of the choices an art director or fashion editor makes are based on it. Even if it is not easy to talk explicitly

of style, it is becoming even more important in the market, a fact easy to see in the work of the photographers' agencies: to join an agency the photographer needs a distinctive style. Since a photographer gains status by having an agent, this helps to propel the tendency to a more style-oriented market.

It must be emphasized that the notion of "quality," which is used, for example, by White and Podolny, cannot cover the idea of style (White and Eccles 1987:984–5; Podolny 1993). Quality refers to a reasonably standardized and measurable trait of a good or a service. Style does not fit into this picture. Two photographers may have the same "quality" in terms of how they treat their customers, and the quality of the prints they deliver, though they take pictures that look completely different, due to their styles. Thus they may occupy different positions in the status order, due only to their styles. This analytic distinction can be less clear in reality. Nonetheless, status is a sign of what is seen as "good" in the market. This trait is especially typical of aesthetic markets in which no fixed values exist, and where the actors' aesthetic values define the product. Strictly speaking, in a market where a fixed set of standards is used to evaluate the products' quality, there is no need to bring in status. White's theory does not include status, whereas Podolny's theory, as shown in Chapter 2, is centered on status (Podolny 1993). But Podolny's theory is unfortunately built on a mixture of status and quality, so it confuses rather than clarifies types of markets. I will return to the relationship between uncertainty, status and aesthetic values in Chapter 7.

Photographers and other actors in the market also talk of trends, though they may also use other first-order constructs, such as "style," or simply describe what is in vogue. A photographic trend can be defined as a collective phenomenon, in the sense that many photographers' pictures and thus the photographers themselves are grouped together by an audience (typically photographers and other actors in the business, such as stylists and photographers' agents). These people are seen as having styles that are similar enough within the group, but at the same time are dissimilar enough to not look like other people's styles. The so-called "heroin chic" photography is an example of a trend (see for example Nickerson and Wakefield 1996). A style may, consciously or unconsciously, be turned into a trend if enough people start to use it. If a certain type of picture becomes prevalent, one may start talking of a trend. Some photographers may be affected even if they have not changed style. It may just happen that their style comes into fashion.

Trends often lead photographers to imitate each other. Imitation is of course a basic social phenomenon (Hedström 1998). A new idea, for example, about how to use a backdrop can become a trend through the processes of imitation. However, imitation is not celebrated among these actors. Even though a photographer may say that other photographers and their work do affect her and that she has to please her customers, her horizon includes the idea that one does not copy others. An agent had the following to say about those that she calls "trend leapers": "Well, honestly, one thinks that 'oh, now he is into that style.'" In other words, if a certain type of style becomes popular and if a photographer takes up that style, and thus leaves her old one, she is likely to be seen as an imitator by actors in the business, especially if it occurs frequently.

There are many kinds of trends, as the following quotation shows: "Then there are also these technical trends that sweep in. You know, Annie Leibovitz shoots with a flash in daylight for like 100 years, and then it turned into fashion and now every shooter does it."[19] It is also interesting that he relates the trend to a single photographer's style. Trends

are of course noticeable not only among clothes, but also among models, make-up, and styling.[20] In Chapter 6 I will return to this idea that people with a high status are more likely to trigger trends. The photographers read the same magazines, live in the same contexts, see the same movies, and are affected by the same social ideas. In addition, in a small market like the Swedish one, they work with the same models and the same stylists, hairdressers and makeup artists. All this affects their pictures, and will most likely lead to increased similarity among the pictures that are published.

Style may follow trends. Some photographers may surf on a trend, but drown as the wave declines. To have a strong identity in the market one must survive several waves of trends. I asked one photographer what other photographers he admires. He answered, "Mikael Jansson. Calle [Carl] Bentgsson is also good because he is consistent. He has always done the same things." These photographers gain respect and status from colleagues and others in the business because they do not change style with the winds of a trend; instead they stick to essentially the same style, though it naturally develops over time.

Even if style is important, it cannot be understood in isolation. A photographer's identity has, as I have tried to show, different dimensions, it is made up of the photographer's name, style and status, a combination photographers perceive when they look at each other. These are also the essential aspects of the meaning of competitors. Naturally, photographers know much more than the name, status and style of some of their competitors. Some may even be friends. Other aspects within the horizon of the meaning of the photographers include, for example, stories about photographers, but also their age, sex etc. These aspects are still less important than the photographer's status and what her photographs look like (her style). A photographer knows other photographers' names, styles and general location in the status order. This knowledge becomes central in their meaning structure to which they orient their activities. Through their activities the meaning structure becomes "objectified" (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

The photographer has some freedom to develop her own style.[21] She can produce a portfolio entirely according to her own preferences, but she has no control over its success. That is, will it lead to any jobs? The photographer may feel a tension between her own preferences and the market's demands. I asked one photographer if she felt that she had to adapt to the customers' demand, and she answered: "Yes, one feels one should, when there is no money left. Then one sometimes feels, 'perhaps one should.' It is so easy [laughing]. But it is somehow too easy." I asked her if this might be a strategy to make more money in the future, but she said she did not think that she would make more money in the future, although she would like to. An older and more successful photographer had the following to say about changing styles:

> I hope that I honestly will make it in the end. I don't believe in changing styles after [the trends]. I think one screws up. To follow trends, I mean, I can follow trends; I follow trends in clothes, in hairdresser and choice of models, but not so much in technique. My base is very traditional. I have thought that if one is to survive in this tough industry, one probably has to have a style, which one can stretch a bit.

Does this mean that one should not develop a distinctive style? This photographer is making a different, and important point: that a style must be flexible enough to cope with the changing trends in the market. In a small market like the Swedish one, flexibility is more important than in a large market. Photographers both criticize those who change styles often, and celebrate those who are consistent in their work. This is further evidence that imitation is not valued in the business; it also confirms what I have said about the role of style in the market for fashion photography. The problem with changing style too abruptly and often is that the photographer's identity in the market can become diffuse. Customers may begin to wonder what they will get if they hire a photographer who may appear insecure in her aesthetic expressions. She may appear to be "out of control," to allude to White's general theory.

The differentiation of styles is what separates photographers from each other, and makes it possible for a magazine to choose from among all those who want to work for it. To some photographers it is the self-evident reason why photographers are hired.[22] I asked one photographer: "You say that you get jobs exclusively depending on your style, right?" She replied, "I guess everyone does, right?" In this market, it is to a large extent style and not price actors use to compete. This implies that the meaning of competition is not primarily oriented to price. Competition is more related to photographers' styles and status. Furthermore, given their meaning of competition photographers accept that the other side distributes their status. In other words, they differentiate among themselves by having different styles, but no style is itself "better" than any other. Thus it is a form of vertical, or non-stratified differentiation. Only when photographers, and their styles, are endowed with status through the evaluation that takes place in the interface of the market does a horizontal or stratified differentiation occur.

What has been shown so far is that the photographers' identity in the market for fashion photography is relational. Thus, to reiterate, status is "contagious," and all interaction that occurs across the market interface is reflected in the mirror of the market. A photographer who interacts with low-status magazines, and only uses low-status models and stylists, may eventually get "burned," to use a first-order construct. What has also been shown is how the name of a photographer travels with her style and how these are connected with status, the photographer's source of an identity in the market for fashion photography. Furthermore, the photographer's identity in the market is often strongly connected with her or his personal identity. To have an identity is valued in itself. Through it one becomes "someone," and is accepted in the important reference group: fashion photographers. I will now analyze how the fashion photographer sees her market identity (which is a second-order construct) as a means to get jobs that include the more economically beneficial advertising photography. This will make it possible to address an important question in this chapter: is editorial fashion photography embedded in a different meaning structure than advertising fashion photography?

Working for an advertising agency

In the sections above I have presented a phenomenological analysis, focusing on the photographers' meaning of some aspects of the market, such as fashion photography and magazines. It is worthwhile to remember that this analysis centers on the well-established

photographers who publish in magazines. However, not all photographers work with magazines. Some only take pictures for advertising campaigns. The status among photographers is nevertheless strongly tied to the idea of publishing pictures. For example, a photographer who never publishes editorial pictures is less likely to find opportunities to work for the largest fashion companies. Shooting for magazines, as I said, is also an advantage for the photographers' aesthetic development. A photographer may choose magazines because they allow her freedom to take the kinds of pictures she prefers. One photographer put it as follows, "It is pretty pointless to work for magazines unless you get to do what you want to do, because you don't make any money doing it. Then it is better to spend time on doing advertising, and make money. In editorial [photography] you want to do what you can stand for." This is a rather typical attitude among producers of aesthetic products (e.g. Faulkner 1971:178–180). At the same time she says, one has to adapt to what the magazine wants; there is no such thing as complete freedom. Nonetheless, most photographers accepted the difference between editorial and advertising photography. One photographer said, "I do magazines to be seen, and hope to show them to the advertising agencies. So then one gets jobs if they like the stuff. But then, advertising is so controlled, then it is an AD [art director] who comes up with the ideas." Later in the interview she said, "I have done advertising which wasn't my type at all, but since it is advertising one can do it. But if I do editorials, I want it to be my way, my style and so on." Commercial work often dictates that the producer must adapt (e.g. Faulkner 1983:95).

Clearly, actors view advertising as being different from editorial fashion photography. This finding was also accidentally supported in one interview, when we were talking about different genres of photography. I asked whether "fashion photography is separable from other forms of photography?" I was told, "That is difficult, because it all depends on if you are talking about magazines or commercial." The point here is that she saw more than one answer to my question; it depended upon the distinction between fashion photography for magazines or for advertising. I then asked her about advertising photography, and she responded:

> The customer has a basis from which they want to start, and most have the same one. It must be warm, and it must be nice, and have a positive attitude. Then there's really not much one can add. It is the choice of the model. The choice of who you photograph is really important, because that is the working material. But besides this one cannot add very much in advertising. Much of it looks the same.

I then asked about the words that she used: "nice," "warm," etc. "Do you then get a picture in your mind, or is it that they give you a picture and say 'we would like it to be something like this'?" She answered, "Yes, in many cases, they have these theme words. And you have heard them x number of times, regardless if it is fashion or toothbrush advertising. The same thing goes around." She then told me how she usually replied, "Oh how funny—something new," and began to laugh (cf. Faulkner 1983:140, 144). Next I asked her about the other part of my first question, namely the magazines: "What is the big difference between working for magazines, compared to advertising?" She replied, "Then one is much more free, much freer, because there one can freak out in another

way." At the same time she said that a magazine would also imply restrictions, for example, in the clothes it would allow the stylist (and indirectly the photographer) to use. This may have to do with the companies that advertise in the magazine.

This difference between magazine and advertising work is also seen in the ways photographers view the bylines of the advertisements. In one interview I said that the photographer's name sometimes does not appear in the byline, and the photographer replied, "No. Well, I think mostly it is good that it doesn't appear." When I asked why, he responded:

> Because it is not 100 percent my picture, which it may be in an editorial. Instead one has solved an advertising task. Then there are of course cases when one would wish that it should appear "this is super, it really looks nice." Then it would be like an editorial: there is my name, people see it, "God it's nice." And then they would call me and book me, so maybe it is good in some advertising too.

Thus, advertising implies less freedom. At the same time it must be remembered that a high-status photographer's name may be an advantage in itself (see Plate XII for an example of how an iconic photographer's name, and picture—which shows little direct connection to the designer clothing that the firm sells—are combined with the name of the designer). The byline of ads normally includes the name of the advertising agency, but sometimes only the name of the photographer.[23] This is also an example of how advertising photography is less aesthetically oriented than editorial photography, where the name of the photographer is always included. In advertising the photographer is sometimes seen more as a part of the machinery or a craftsman than an artist. Photographers' names, however, seem to appear more often today in the byline than they did in the past. Nonetheless, it is clear that photographers see a difference between advertising and editorial fashion photography when it comes to aesthetic freedom. One reason is that the art director, as the title suggests, directs the photographers, and thus has the final say about how the pictures should look.[24]

Though status is mainly distributed in the market for magazines, advertising photography is not void of status. It is often not connected with the advertising agency and only sometimes connected with the art director, but it matters who the final customer is. To have an international account or to work with a large Swedish clothing company, especially H&M, means that the photographer is endowed with status. But to have a large clothing company as a customer does not automatically endow the photographer with status; it has to be a company that allows the photographer to add something to the account, and not just work as an artisan. It is fair to say that in this case the photographers' horizon of advertising customers includes not only the advertising agencies, but also the "final" customers, the clothing companies.

Catalog photography

Not all customers use advertising agencies as middlemen. Mail-order companies, as indicated above, have their own production units within the companies that essentially do the same job. To work with mail-order companies does not give a photographer status

among her colleagues. Few photographers would brag about working with the mail-order companies. One photographer put it this way:

> I mean, many photographers would die to do Ellos, but never tell anyone that they have done it. Ellos is two weeks on a hot beach and you get lots of money. Many live off just these two jobs [spring and fall collection catalogs], but then it's hard work. But no one would boast, and say, "I have done Ellos." But I wouldn't mind doing Ellos.

I then asked, "Have you tried to." He interrupted me and said, "No, no, no, they are the kind of jobs one makes fun of, the Ellos jobs, but they pay…so to speak." One may speak of a first-order construct of "Ellos photographer," which applies to all the mail-order companies for which photographers work; Ellos is the best known. Mail-order companies pay the photographer less than some other forms of advertising. The daily rate is about 12,000 SEK ($1,200). But since a job can last 10 to 14 days, it is a lot of money. Thus, these jobs are economically advantageous for photographers. Despite the money, there are no signed contracts, and the photographer never knows if she will be involved in the production of the next catalog. She has to wait for a call from the mail-order company.

Photographers do not view catalog production for mail-order companies as sophisticated or demanding photography. Long lenses that make the background fuzzy and with sharply defined details on the clothes are typical traits of this kind of photography (see Plate XV). It is nevertheless demanding, they must produce about 20 pictures a day, more than twice as many as is standard for fashion advertising photography. Thus, the photographer has to be able to work rather quickly and take care of a lot of logistics. The work is usually very hard during the journey the team undertakes. In brief, the major requirements are not aesthetic skills, but social skills, experience, and productivity. The following conversation with a photographer who has done much catalog work summarizes how photographers view this work:

Q; Do these catalog jobs give you much money?
A: It…it is good business to do these jobs.

Q: Is that the reason why you do it?
A: Yes.

Q: Do you think that they are photographically exciting [?].
A: [interrupts] No I don't, there's no excitement at all; I think it's more like problem solving.

Thus, from an aesthetic point of view the job does not appear as interesting. Several photographers complained about how their pictures were treated by the mail-order companies. The photographs, so they say, are not seen prior to the publication; they are cropped so that the photographer's intention is lost, prices are added over the pictures etc. Furthermore, their names are invisible—it is the company that produces the catalog. Finally, the photographers have to adapt to the style of the catalog.

Clearly the money is good, so that cannot explain why mail-order fashion photography is so officially despised among photographers. Instead its limited aesthetic dimension makes it a form of low-status work. This is an example of how "art" and the economy conflict (cf. Bourdieu [1994] 1998:110). Furthermore, this says a great deal about the logic of the business and its underlying values. What is highly valued is not money but aesthetic expression. Fashion catalog photography represents values that directly contrast with what is valued in the market: personal style, innovation, uniqueness and creativity, which are typical of art-works (cf. Simmel [1908] 1991; Becker 1978; White 1993a:55). Catalog photography is connected with predictability, adaptation and imitation. This work is suitable for for the craftsman photographer, but in the market it is the artist, and her work, that is celebrated.

Working for these catalogs may affect photographers negatively. That is, this relationship lowers the photographer's status. Thus, the identity of a photographer is contaminated by her contacts with low-status actors, and a photographer who only does one type of picture may have trouble getting other types of jobs. One photographer, for example, said that a colleague, "did all kid-jobs for perhaps one to two years. So, he only got those jobs, and no one called him for anything else but kids." I later talked to this photographer, who confirmed the story.

Mail-order photography affects photographers' opportunities in other ways. Those who operate from Borås, where almost all of the mail-order companies are located, may face special problems. One photographer there said that she had been in contact with modeling and advertising agencies, but she could not get the models she wanted and found it hard to "get in." Another said, "we live in different circles" when he described the differences between Stockholm and Borås; they are like two different industrial districts. When it comes to fashion photographers, Borås is strongly connected with the production of catalogs, which may be a disadvantage for photographers who want to break with the traditional perception of an "Ellosphotographer," to use the first-order construct several photographers use. Thus, they can get somewhat "frozen," to use Faulkner's word, in their positions because they are associated with a certain type of fashion photography. Then, they may find it problematic to move upward in the hierarchy of status among fashion photographers (cf. Faulkner 1971:160, 1983:23, 136).

Can a photographer possibly combine catalog work with an identity that is not primarily connected with this type of photography? It is possible. Photographers who regularly publish in magazines or who do exhibitions are less likely to be seen as catalog photographers (cf. Faulkner 1971:84). Their identity is affected by their connection with actors outside the catalog world; these connections are enough to prevent them getting an identity as catalog photographers.

Given this discussion one can point to two types of jobs in advertising fashion photography: those that go via an advertising agency and those that do not. Among fashion photographers it is mostly catalog photography that is done without an agency.[25] Photographers say that one aspect of the meaning of advertising photography is that it provides less aesthetic freedom; the photographers have to comply with the demands of the customer. I have raised several other issues, including the role of money. Every photographer knows that there is money to be found in advertising photography.

To make money

As has been said above, all photographers who work with a certain magazine earn roughly the same amount. Moreover, the different magazines pay about the same. In advertising photography, they face a very different situation. Some photographers may make five, ten or occasionally even 50 times as much as those who get paid the least amount. Photographers' daily rate—what it costs to use their services for a day—is the baseline for comparing their prices. Of course, negotiation of prices is common and exceptions do exist. No official statistics are available for the daily rates, so I cannot give any exact numbers, only qualified estimates. The lowest daily rates are about 5000 SEK ($500), and the highest may be up to 40,000 ($4,000) in Stockholm; rates are lower in other parts of Sweden. Many photographers in Stockholm charge about 18,000 ($1,800) per day, and more if they have an agent.

How can the daily rate differ so much? The photographers find this somewhat difficult to explain. They use several first-order constructs when they talk about the daily rates, saying that certain photographers are more "experienced," or simply "better," have been working longer in the market, and have done larger jobs. The following excerpt shows how problematic it can be to describe the reasons:

> Q; The daily rates differ among photographers. What is the main reason for this?
> A: It is…it…it is how good one thinks one is. How much one [gets], and what jobs one has done, and where one is published, there are a lot of things like this that matter, and perhaps how long one has worked. Simply an evaluation of one self, in comparison with other competitors—it's so strange.
>
> Q: How do you mean "strange?"
> A: Well, how can one evaluate such things? It's a bit odd.
>
> Q; How do you [do it]?
> A: How do you? Really, how do you? I really don't know.

Many people in the business have the same kind of problem when they are asked to explain what status or prestige means. I argue that the first-order constructs that the actors use in this case fall under the second-order construct of status. To describe this phenomenon some actors also use the word status in answer to the question of why some photographers get better paid than others. The possibility to transform status into money exists only in advertising fashion photography, not in editorial fashion photography, where the prices are consistent for all photographers.

A further aspect of the economy of photography is the photographer's legal and economic right to the picture. Though the practice differs considerably, the rule is that the photographer owns the pictures he has produced for a certain campaign. If the pictures are used again, it will result in more money for the photographer. The photographer's income from a large campaign can sometimes exceed her income from the daily rate for actually taking the pictures, especially on an international campaign. Furthermore, by being connected to a stock photo agency a photographer can make more money on the

same pictures. That is, the agency can sell the right to use her pictures for certain purposes, thus extending the economic lifetime of a picture.

Two meaning structures—two markets?

In this section I will provide a rather straightforward summary of my findings so far in respect to the meaning structures of editorial and advertising photography, drawing on the information from this chapter and also from Chapters 1 and 3. The summary is not a long text; instead I present a table to facilitate comparison. I compare the relevant aspects of the market, seen from the photographers' perspective, but use the second-order constructs.[26] It must be remembered that many similar aspects have not been included in Table 4.1.

The motives for being a photographer have already been covered in the text, along with the underlying values of the two markets. Most of the other topics mentioned in Table 4.1. have also been discussed thoroughly. What I mean by

Table 4.1 Magazines and advertising: the meaning structures

Topic	*Magazines*	*Advertising*
Motives	To be published To express oneself To develop one's style and photography	To get money
Key values	Aesthetic	Money
Price	Identical for everyone	Depends on one's status
Aesthetic freedom	Great	Limited
Effect on status	Great	Limited
Choice of photographer based upon:	Style (status)	Style and skill (status)
Call order for jobs	Photographers call (supply driven)	Art directors call (demand driven)
Byline	Always	Sometimes
Examples of visual expression	See Plates IV, VII–IX, XIII–XIV	See Plates X–XII, XV

Note: In a supply-driven market the producer initiates the connection that leads to production. In a demand-driven market the consumer does so.

"effect on status" (Table 4.1) is that to work for a magazine affects one's status considerably, while advertising photography has only a limited effect on status. The main differences between the two meaning structures are clearly seen if one compares the extreme cases, such as working for *Bibel* and for a mail-order company. Here one clearly sees the different meanings and horizons. As I have pointed out, advertising fashion photography is rather free on the aesthetic dimension, although not all magazines give great aesthetic freedom. Work for certain magazines resembles catalog photography, as photographers know and say. The high-status photographers do not identify with this type of photography. But it does exist; who does it? Those who do this kind of work are also

fashion photographers. They too identify themselves as fashion and advertising photographers, but they have less status in the market. I will now discuss the meanings and horizons faced by these photographers who are less endowed with status.

The low-fashion photographer

What was said above about the meaning structures of those I call high-fashion photographers, for example, regarding advertising and editorial photography is valid also for those I call low-fashion photographers. My focus above, however, has been the meaning structure of those who are clearly seen as fashion photographers: successful photographers who are the leading names in the business. By their very activities they define the meaning of fashion photography for most actors; they are "authorized" to do so (cf. Bourdieu 1991:111–113). Faulkner (1983) has used the notion of an "inner circle" to describe a similar phenomenon. Other fashion photographers, however, whom I call low-fashion photographers, experience a somewhat different meaning structure. I must emphasize that these ideal types reflect the discussions in the market. Thus, there is a connection between what photographers say and think (the first-order constructs), and the account presented here (the second-order construct). My focus in this section is to give examples of how the low-fashion photographers' meaning structure differs from that of the high-status photographers. However, I will provide less detail than in the discussion of the first category, mainly because the same underlying logic applies to both categories of fashion photographers.

The presence of some differences does not imply that these are two totally different worlds. It is obvious that these two ideal types of fashion photographers share many experiences and conditions, both as photographers and as fashion photographers. Most tell the same stories of how they got involved in photography, and describe similar motives. In addition, both types strongly emphasize that they want to stand behind what they produce. However, high-fashion photographers, in my opinion, identify more strongly with photography as an aesthetic expression than do the low-fashion photographers.

I have already listed some characteristics of the low-fashion photographers, and their situation. One example is high-fashion photographers who do not see as competitors those who work for some low-status magazines. The latter category of photographers have been called "Ellos photographers" or "catalog photographers" to describe mail-order photography in general. But they are still seen as fashion photographers.

Examples of the meaning structure of low-fashion photographers

I showed above that publication in high-status magazines is the best way to generate an identity in the market as a high-status fashion photographer. Those who do not publish in these magazines, or only publish in low-status magazines, do not really "exist," from the high-status photographers' perspective; their names have never, or seldom, appeared in the bylines of the "right" magazines, i.e. those that endow the photographer with status. The low-fashion photographers have not published at all in fashion magazines, or only in

low-status ones. The difference is that the market distributes less status to these actors, due to their interactional pattern with the consumers' side.

Photographers with less status orient their activities to those with more status. They are "born into" the business, are socialized, have learned what is valued in the market, and so on. They know that they are not included among the high-status photographers. This is clear in many different ways. One tangible example of this is when I phoned one photographer, who worked for a low-status magazine, to seek an interview with him. I explained my project and then I said: "I talk to people in the business and I think you are one of them." He replied: "Do you really think so?" His answer probably reflects two emotions: he felt flattered and also insecure about his own identity as a fashion photographer.

Above I described the "contagious" effect of catalog photography that makes it more difficult for these photographers to make contact with models and so on. Further examples include the "inferiority complex" among photographers in Borås. They know that the high-status photographers and magazines are located in Stockholm. The physical distance makes it harder for photographers outside Stockholm to make contact with others in the business. Moreover, they do not meet as many different people in the business at parties and in bars and through mutual colleagues as people in Stockholm do, which also affects their situation. Naturally, many low-fashion photographers work in Stockholm, so the distance alone cannot account for all of the differences.

Low-fashion photographers have a different identity from their high-fashion peers, not only because of their lack of prestigious advertising jobs. Almost equally important is the photographer saying "no" to some interaction with the other side. Above I showed that high-fashion photographers regularly control their identities by saying no to jobs; they do not want to produce pictures that look bad or appear in the wrong magazines. Low-fashion photographers, in contrast, seldom say no. One photographer who rather recently acquired an agent now finds it much easier to say no: "It's easier now when I have an agent, because they function as a kind of filter…but I've had, or still have problems saying 'no' to jobs, if someone calls and starts asking—I've always been the nice guy who does it, stupid in a way." Another photographer responded with laughter about saying no to customers: "No, I'm not at that level yet." This photographer who aims to "make it," sees the way up as a climb. Many of the high-fashion photographers, however, said "no" earlier in their careers.

An economic aspect is involved in decisions about saying no. Those who have large fixed costs, such as a studio rent, have to take on more jobs than those without studios, who often are younger.[27] It is much easier to turn down work and to specialize if one does not need to cover the high fixed costs. This is connected to the development of more personal styles that is evident in the market. In the mid-1980s a photographer could have high status and still do many different kinds of work. Some older photographers, who accepted almost any kind of photographic work, find this trend towards specialization problematic. Often these are also some of the photographers who have large studios. Furthermore, a photographer who says yes to everything may develop a fuzzy identity in the market, and also risk becoming "frozen," to use Faulkner's word (Faulkner 1971:160, cf. 1983:23). From this position it may be difficult to move up along the segment of high-fashion photographers.

A further difference is that low-fashion photographers have fewer opportunities when it comes to choosing stylists, models, make-up artists, etc. It may also be more difficult to get access to a location. For the high-fashion photographer it is rather easy to get models, but this is not always the case for his low-fashion colleague. For example a photographer spoke of starting a job for a low-status magazine. He went to a model agency to look at the models' portfolios; when the agency learned which magazine he was working for, they told him which models he could and couldn't use. In another example of this problem a photographer had met a stylist in New York when they were both just beginning their careers. At that time she was willing to work with him, but she lost any interest in working with him when she had succeeded in Sweden whilst he was still struggling. Without chances to work with the best people it is more difficult to develop as a photographer. Thus, what may be easy for a high-fashion photographer is not always the case for a low-fashion one. These are examples of how the identity of the actor affects her opportunities.

The two types of photographers look at each other

Several of the quotations I have used so far clearly indicate that the photographers not only perceive these ideal types, but also use them in discussions amongst themselves. I will now provide a few more examples of how photographers make use of these ideal types and other first-order constructs, when they interact and when they look at each other.

The discussion of "Ellos photographers" above is one example of how high-fashion photographers talk of the low-fashion photographers. Some low-fashion photographers also feel that they are not treated the same as more established photographers. But how does one see that the photographers differentiate between themselves? For example, I asked one high-fashion photographer if he belonged to the group who imitate. He said: "I really hope not, I really do. I've never imitated. But I've heard stories about people who have had double-page spreads open at the photo set. That's where I draw the line."

In another example, a photographer suggested, in contrast to his own situation, that I also should study "those Ellos photographers," as he called them, to find out their dreams for the future. When I told him they were included in my study, he was both surprised and pleased. He commented,

> They probably make ten times as much as I do, but I couldn't last for a day. I would feel imprisoned. When I have quit doing this, I want to be able to pick up a picture and say "I took this picture, and I stand behind it, I can put it on the wall." That's important. It's important to be good at what I'm doing. I have always thought that one then makes lots of money automatically.

Yet another example comes from an interview with a very experienced photographer speaking of those who make the standard mail-advertising pictures; he said: "If you do this kind of work, you would have to jump from the Tranebergsbron [a bridge in Stockholm]. I don't think it's so damned funny. It's not creative, it's not advertising. It's

something else." I asked: "Did he see these people as photographers?" He replied: "Yes, of course I do, I understand people; one has to live. You cannot look down on people. Everyone has to pays one's rent and have clothes for the children. I only said that I protect my freedom." He was aware that he was in a very different situation from many others. As we continued to talk about this, he described the situation of a photographer he knew:

> I was in the studio I will be using next week; it was a mountain of Marabou chocolate bars and all this, for catalogs. It was supposed to be some fucking … Åland ferry.[28] There were so many chocolate bars, you know, that it's impossible to describe. I thought, how in hell, what the fuck is this… I mean, one cannot be too severe in one's judgments—such things must also be done.

The way the representatives of the ideal types look at each other is also visible in relation to rivalry among photographers. At first they may seem to look at each other as colleagues. I asked established photographers if they had any competitors, and if so who. One established photographer said that "everyone" was a competitor. Somewhat later in our interview I showed her a typical fashion story from a low-status magazine, without naming it. I asked for her opinion of the story. She laughed and said: "Terrible, it is one of the ugliest I have seen." Our conversation continued.

Q; What do you mean?
A: Everything is ugly…it looks so, it's some kind of digital printouts, and then printed after that…and these printouts must have been damned ugly… [laugh, turning to an assistant]… Check this out! The poses are terrible, the clothes are ugly as shit. [The model] looks awful, the make-up looks ugly, the hair looks ugly. Everything is ugly. What magazine is it? …no, it's ugly. I have never heard of [the photographer].

Q; Do you feel that this would compete with you?
A: This?

Q: Yes.
A: No. This is so fucking bad that it actually doesn't compete.

This episode shows that it is difficult to speak of rivalry or competition in an abstract way, and how central pictures are for defining actors in this industry. It also indicates that the group she thinks of as competitors does not include the photographer whose pictures I showed her. I also asked if she saw these pictures as fashion.

Q; When you think of fashion photography, do you include this?
A: Yes, it's an attempt to do fashion. It was fucking ugly, though [the photographer] probably thought it was beautiful. I really think it's ugly. But of course, it is fashion photography. She has tried [laughs].

Q; Ellos, Hallens and Josefssons [mail-order companies], are they fashion?
A: No, dear God! This is difficult. It actually is. At the same time it isn't.

Q: What do you mean by saying "actually" it is?
A: They sell clothes, they really do. But they shoot like 30 to 40 pictures a day …and then it's pure reproduction of the clothes. And it doesn't really matter how it looks on those who wear it. It's only pictures of the products. Then there's a totally different form of fashion photography. Fashion can be an art, depending on how you do it. You cannot always tell the difference, how should I put it? A fashion picture might be a piece of art. It may be a sign of the time. It may be incredibly beautiful…but it just happens to be a fashion picture. It's so wide, so enormously wide.

I also asked this photographer if she had any personal experience of mail-order photography. She had worked for one such company, though not a Swedish one, and she described it like this: "One got some instructions. The background should be out of focus; there must be a light background. That was what was important. And that it wasn't green in the background, because then it didn't sell" [laugh]. A photographer like this clearly viewed these mail-order photographers from "above." She worked with international customers and had published in the high-status Swedish magazines. The meaning of competition did not include these less well-established photographers. This separation into different photographic types also came up in other interviews.

For example, one photographer describing the economic situation for advertising spoke in detail about a face-to-face meeting during a photographers' conference:

> It was really funny, for example, when we had a lecture for a lot of photographers at a photographers' association on the west coast. There were so fucking many fancy cars outside this place; they are at a luxurious manor, and one of the photographers—who has a large car outside this place—and has this coolest wrist watch which costs as much as it can. When he introduced himself afterwards, he said, "We play in totally different leagues, you and I, I only do such and such things." I mean he saw me as someone who really knew things. I really was so much better than him, but he is the one who makes all the money. I drove my Volvo there, and I make about 150.000 [$15,000] a year. But it was still good to hear [laughing] that he came, scraped his feet and thought it would be really fun, and that he would like to give me a scotch in his room. That we played in different leagues, and it was I who played in the elite.
>
> Q: But did you understand that he meant it?
> A: Yes I did. He was very humble and nice. And he made a hell of a lot of money. He had a big boat, [and he] showed me pictures of the boat, the large summerhouse, and the house down in Gothenburg.

This example shows not only that photographers value aesthetic aspects most, but also that these two photographers saw each other as two different types. Naturally, one

condition for this is that they are playing the same game and that they find it worth fighting for, a notion Bourdieu has called *illusio* (e.g. Bourdieu [1992] 1996:227–231, [1994] 1998:76–78).

In the final example in this section, I asked a low-fashion photographer, "What kind of photographer would you describe yourself as being?" He said: "Well, the kind of photography I do…is a kind of customer-satisfying photography. Some photographers have a small niche, but I view myself as being totally different. I think I can do almost any kind of pictures." He also described himself as "incredibly adaptable." He said that his photography, "is built upon the idea that at the end of the day, the customer should be pleased." In other words, he places emphasis on pleasing his customers. He also sees his position as being different from that of other photographers.

Other examples of differences in the meanings emerge as photographers thought of the customer and of prices. These are just a few out of many examples showing that the actors do not have the same understanding of the market, its competitive structure, and so on. The horizon of relevance is different for these two ideal types of photographers. As a consequence they will act differently in the market, e.g. approach customers in different ways, talk in different ways, and naturally presenting different kinds of pictures.

It is also clear that the relationship between them is asymmetric. The low-fashion photographers know more about the high-fashion photographers, than the other way around. Both groups also look to the international market. There is a major difference between the way that the two groups look at each other: the low-fashion photographers look to the high-fashion photographers, who do not look back at them. The fact that low-status actors (e.g. photographers) watch the activities of high-status actors confirms the high-status actors in that role. In one sense, less successful photographers function as a seamless background, onto which the more successful photographers flash their fame. Moreover, some of the low-fashion photographers do not appear in White's mirror. As photographers think of status, those they compare themselves with are primarily other Swedes. This is a further indication that one should speak not of a single international market, but of the Swedish market as connected to the international market. To sum up this section, Table 4.2 outlines some of the differences between the two ideal types: the low-fashion and high-fashion photographers.

Most of the differences between the two types of photographers are discussed above. The idea is that the types, low- and high-fashion photographers, are separated based on their meaning structures. This means that what some sociologists call social structure, often conceptualized as objectified positions measurable by the means of positivistic science, is always phenomenologically grounded, in the life-world of actors and their province of meaning (Schütz 1962:220). The empirical phenomenology used here, in other words, does not disregard social structure, but claims that it must be connected with the meaning structure of the actors studied. Hence, social structure is just one aspect of the meaning structure, and to simply suggest that one can explain the meaning structure as an outcome of the structural position an actor holds in the field is erroneous. Such an approach cannot encompass the dimensions of time, entry of actors and change in this industry. Ultimately, only an explanation that achieves understanding, i.e. manages to connect the theoretical notions to the life-world and province of meaning—manifested in the first-order constructs of the actors studied—satisfies the condition for a scientific explanation.

The visual expressions of the two ideal types are thus only one aspect of the total difference between them, and a few more words on the visual expression must be

Table 4.2 Meaning structures of the two ideal type photographers

Topic	*High fashion*	*Low fashion*
Motives	Expressive-economic	Expressive-economic
Key value	Creativity	Please the customer
The portfolio	"What I want to do"	"What I can do"
Get job through	Style and price	Price and skills
Logic	Artistic	Craftsmanship
Important contacts	Stylists, models etc.	Stylists, models etc.
Access to models	Great (supply driven)	Limited (demand driven)
Publications in Magazines	Often	Seldom
Style	Personal	Adaptation/personal
Examples of visual expression	See Plates VIII–IX, XIII	See Plates XIV–XV
Say no to jobs	Does	Does not

Note: This comparison of meaning structures shows the difference in terms of aesthetics, status, and also control of one's identity. Some similarities between the two ideal types' meaning structures are also shown.

said. If one compares Plate VIII and Plate XIV, some of the things that have been mentioned are present in Plate XIV, but not in Plate VIII, such as much text, and product display. If the pages were put into another context, for example in a frame in an art gallery, Plate VIII would probably be seen as "acceptable," but it is unlikely that Plate XIV would fit in this context. This kind of "empirical variation" of contexts, in contrast to Husserl's eidetic, or a priori variation, is just one way to indicate how one may analyze pictures.[29] There is, of course, much more that can be said about how the pictures differ, in terms of lighting, mode, the look of the models, gender typification, how the clothes are displayed, etc. I will not describe these items further, since they are largely self-explanatory when one looks at the pictures. It should finally be said that semiotic analysis, which is a kind of armchair activity, is not an accepted method to empirical phenomenology.

In sum, the meaning structures of fashion photography that make up these two ideal types are not identical. But clearly, they are both fashion photographers. To an external observer, who draws on her "natural attitude" (to use a Schützian expression) the differences may appear negligible or even non-existent. To the actors in the market, they are very real, and they are crucial to understanding the market. On the other hand, when photographers compare themselves to others, and when they are jockeying for positions in the market for fashion photography, they highlight their differences and not their commonalities.

Generalizing the results

As is discussed in Appendix B, I have access to a database with information on a number of photographers, which makes it possible to further test the results of my phenomenological study. The standard method of objectivistic scientists who work with quantitative empirical material is to deduce a hypothesis from a theory and then to test it (e.g. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996). Phenomenology, however, takes a different route. The phenomenological approach used here has made it possible to outline two ideal types of fashion photographers. Ideally, one explains whether these two types can also be identified in the quantitative material. Unfortunately, few questions in the survey can be used to test the second-order constructs that the phenomenological study has provided (summarized in Table 4.2).

One can also use the phenomenological evidence to study the difference between those photographers who are and are not fashion photographers. To be a fashion photographer, phenomenologically speaking, means that the actor has one of the meaning structures presented in Table 4.2. The phenomenological approach, in concrete terms, suggests that it is not enough to tell a researcher in a questionnaire that one occasionally does fashion photography to be classed as a fashion photographer. Instead, she must have the meaning structure of one of the two ideal types of fashion photographers. This is so because of the actors, mainly the photographers, who take part in the game, to refer to Bourdieu ([1980] 1990:66–68). They demand more from a photographer before they accept her as a competitor. Thus, the first step is to separate out those who, phenomenologically speaking, are fashion photographers from those who are not. In Chapter 3 I presented some material from the database, taking for granted that everyone who answered that they do fashion photography should be treated as a fashion photographer. Essentially, this is the objectivist approach to quantitative data.

The photographers, as noted above, were asked: "How would you describe your photography? Choose as many categories as necessary" (24 categories were available). To find those who "qualified" as "fashion photographers" I demanded that those who answered that they do fashion also should have the same relationships to other actors in business as the "phenomenological" fashion photographers. This is a concrete way of connecting the result and the database. I used a rather mild criterion to select "fashion photographers," requiring simply that the person must often have contact with at least one of the following three categories: stylist, model or models' agency.[30] This is a radically different approach than starting from an objective definition of fashion photography.[31] Below I will present the general logic of the process. Firstly, in the following section I will analyze the different types of fashion photographers in detail.

First I distinguish two groups: those who, phenomenologically speaking, should be seen as fashion photographers, and those who say they work in fashion but who indicate that they have a different meaning structure. As a result, I get two groups among those who have initially answered that they do fashion photography: those who qualify as *Fashion Photographers* (FP) and those who do not. Of the 100 photographers 69 qualify as FP, while 31 do not. In fact, those who have the meaning structures presented in Table 4.2 do not see members of the latter group as fashion photographers. Thus I call them

non-Fashion Photographers (nFP). Only the FP group has to be verified in the quantitative material. Strictly speaking, the nFPs do not constitute a group, but a category. In order to be verified, the FPs must have a meaning structure that significantly deviates from other groups of photographers. The way to determine their meaning structure is to identify relationships that are characteristic for fashion photographers. In practice one tests the group of FPs to see if it differs significantly from a reference group made up of other photographers. This is the first task in the quantitative analysis.

Quantitative analysis

I conducted the quantitative analysis in two steps. The first was to verify the FP as an appropriate construction. If this type could be verified, it would indicate that the phenomenological study had generated valid results. The second step was to use this verified second-order construct to analyze other empirical materials not included in the phenomenological analysis. In this sense, the phenomenological (qualitative) study can be expanded into a territory using quantitative empirical material that is unknown to the phenomenologist. Here I limit my focus to a few issues, but I intend the presentation to be general enough to show how the same approach can be used in other cases.

I first consider the different photographic genres in which the FPs engage. Using factor analysis, I looked for any unique dimensions in the quantitative empirical material that resembles the type of photography that the qualitative study had shown the FP are engaged in.[32] My hypothesis was that a dimension of "fashion photography" exists. Furthermore, such a dimension should only correlate positively with genres that are part of the meaning of fashion photography, such as portrait photography. At the same time it should not correlate at all (or should show a negative correlation) with genres that are not part of the meaning of fashion photography, such as museum, landscape, and medical photography. Phenomenological fashion photography (FP) should of course correlate with the hypothesized dimension, and non-fashion photography (nFP) should not.[33]

Advertising is in itself not a photographic genre, and I have therefore not included advertising in the factor analysis. Among the FPs, 61 out of 69 (88 percent) do some work in advertising. This means that this group differs significantly from other photographers who do advertising less frequently (51 percent; $p<0.005$ with a chi-square test). This evidence clearly supports the hypothesis that there are differences between the FPs and the nFPs.

Table 4.3 shows the result of the factor analysis. The seven factors with eigenvalue higher than 1 can be meaningfully interpreted as representing types of photographers with three exceptions (numbers 2, 5, 6). The results, for example, show one factor (number 3) that can be interpreted as "press photographers" (with high scores on newspaper photography and sport photography) and another (number 4) can be seen as "technical photographers" (with high scores on scientific and medical photography). "Nature photographers" is another example of a factor that comes through clearly (number 1). The factor analysis solidly confirms the ideal types within the photographers' natural attitude. In other words the photographers think in terms of these ideal types; their first-order constructs are reproduced in the quantitative analysis. That the general pattern of the different photographic genres

Table 4.3 Factor analysis of photographic genres

Photographic genre	*Factor loading*						
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
FP	0.05	−0.11	0.10	−0.06	0.03	−0.02	0.84
nFP	−0.11	−0.30	0.35	0.02	0.52	0.09	−0.41
Portrait	0.04	−0.19	−0.11	0.19	0.53	0.30	0.38
Documentary	0.14	0.27	0.12	0.17	0.62	−0.19	−0.016
Products	0.04	−0.71	−0.18	0.17	−0.13	0.09	0.19
Newspapers	−0.04	0.19	0.81	−0.002	−0.07	0.02	0.01
Art	0.14	0.10	−0.31	−0.15	0.57	−0.29	0.21
Travel	0.43	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.48	−0.01	−0.14
Industrial	0.12	−0.69	−0.08	0.07	−0.12	0.01	−0.003
Interior	0.12	−0.66	−0.06	0.04	0.12	−0.35	0.04
Nature	0.81	−0.06	0.02	0.01	0.10	0.05	−0.002
Sport	0.15	−0.01	0.83	−0.03	0.08	−0.17	0.08
Landscape	0.79	−0.09	−0.11	−0.02	0.09	−0.03	−0.045
Food	0.06	−0.56	0.14	0.03	0.18	0.18	0.01
Architecture	0.16	−0.45	−0.11	−0.002	0.005	−0.58	−0.03
Outdoor life	0.79	−0.06	0.19	0.12	−0.05	−0.01	0.03
Museum	−0.01	0.02	0.004	0.16	0.08	−0.74	0.03
Medical	−0.01	−0.08	−0.02	0.86	0.10	0.07	−0.07
Scientific	0.07	−0.05	−0.002	0.86	−0.02	−0.17	0.02
Eigenvalue	30.00	20.23	10.63	10.53	10.32	10.17	10.01

Note: Principal factor analysis, varimax rotation.

comes out so clearly in the factor analysis also supports the finding that a dimension of fashion photography exists.

But what about the dimension "Fashion Photography?" This is the only factor on which FP loads high (though the eigenvalue in this is just above 1).[34] From this factor analysis it is clear that the phenomenological fashion photography (FP) variable loads high on the same factor as product, portrait and art photography (though the latter two factors do not correlate as strongly with the dimension "fashion photography"). This is the expected result. Advertising photography is part of the identity of a fashion photographer.[35] Advertising is not only clothes: taking pictures of products is often part of the job in a fashion account. Taking portraits is often a natural role for a fashion photographer. The aesthetic values that fashion photography celebrates also come out in this analysis in the correlation with art photography, in a somewhat less expected result. Moreover, the dimension called fashion photography is not correlated with those genres that are not included in the meaning of a fashion photographer, for example, "medical," "scientific," "landscape," "nature," and "museum." Also FP is negatively correlated with this ideal type of "technical" photography. In sum, this quantitative evidence points in the direction suggested by the phenomenological study.

What about the non-fashion photographers, those whom FPs do not count as belonging to the group? The result for this group is more difficult to interpret. The analysis showed no clear tendencies between the variables associated with the nFP and

the seven factors. This is true even after separate factor analyses that include and exclude the nFPs. These factor analyses indicate that the distinction I made also reflects a more fundamental difference between the two groups. Furthermore, the nFP is very much an "average photographer."

In my second step of verifying the FP ideal type, I examined whether the FP, in the quantitative analysis, significantly differs from other photographers on a few aspects that I found in the phenomenological analysis. I tested two additional aspects: the perceived importance of style for getting jobs and the overrepresentation of fashion photographers who have an agent.[36] I then compared the FPs and the nFPs with the reference group, which includes all other photographers. The results are shown in Table 4.4.

As can be seen, the results are in line with what I have predicted. The FPs get more work based on their style and are more likely to have an agent than both the reference group and the nFPs. The result gives a firm basis for saying that the ideal type FP is confirmed.

The next step of the analysis is to examine the FP in relation to variables that were *not* included in the phenomenological analysis. I present two reasons for these results. First, and most important; more knowledge of this ideal type can be generated. Second, I want to show how a phenomenological approach can use quantitative empirical material. With access to these empirical materials one can analyze the different aspects of the fashion photographers' world e.g. the social economic, aesthetic, cultural aspects. Unfortunately, such a vast variety of empirical material is not available in this case. In the analyses I compared both FP and nFP, as described above, with the reference group.

I started with an analysis of the educational background of the fashion photographers. The phenomenological analysis only revealed that many fashion photographers enter the market as assistants, but is this particular to fashion photography? The factor analysis indicated that FP is correlated with art photography, though this is not a part of the phenomenological analysis. Have the FPs

Table 4.4 Verification of the FP as an ideal type

Question	*Group of photographers*		
	Reference Group	*FP*	*nFP*
Importance of style for getting jobs:	n=550	n=67	n=29
		*p=0.037	p=0.36
High	169 (31%)	27 (40%)	6 (21%)
Pretty high	251 (45%)	33 (49%)	17 (58%)
Not at all	130 (24%)	7 (11%)	6 (21%)
Own agent:	n=595	N=69	n=30
		*p=0.009	p=0.43
Yes	12 (2%)	5 (7%)	0 (0%)
No	582 (98%)	64 (93%)	30 (100%)

Note: *=significant result, tested with Pearsons' chi-square test, with percentages in parentheses.

Table 4.5 Test of the two ideal types: FP and nFP

Question	*Group of photographers*		
	Reference Group	*FP*	*NFP*
First education:	n=612	n=69	N-30
		*p=0.000	p=0.24
Assistant/practice	147 (24%)	37 (54%)	10 (33%)
Other	465 (76%)	32 (46%)	20 (67%)
Have you exhibited photographs?	n=558	n=67	n=28
		p=0.49	p=0.85
Yes	352 (63%)	39 (58%)	18 (64%)
No	206 (37%)	28 (42%)	10 (36%)
Have you had foreign customers?	n=612	n=68	n=27
		p=0.21	p=0.58
Yes	373 (61%)	47 (69%)	18 (67%)
No	239 (39%)	21 (31%)	9 (33%)
Who has inspired your work?	n=71, n2=185	n=56, n2=179	n=25, n2=77
		*p=0.000	p=0.93
Fashion photographers	43 (23%)	84 (47%)	18 (23%)
Others	142 (77%)	95 (53%)	59 (77%)

Note: *= significant deviation from the reference group (tested with Pearsons' chi-square test), percentages in parentheses. The respondents were asked about their first education, and were given eight alternatives in total. Since it is not possible to rank them I compare the two alternatives of "assistant" and "practice" with the different types of formal education. The final question was: "What well-known photographers have inspired your photography most?" They were asked to mention between one and five photographers, so "n2" is the total number of photographers mentioned (and thus the number used for calculation). The photographers were coded as "fashion photographers" or as "others." For the reference group only a random sample of answers was made.

exhibited photographs at museums or at art galleries to any larger extent than other photographers? I also examined whether the FPs have a greater proportion of foreign customers. Finally, I looked at the types of photographers that have inspired the FPs' work, see Table 4.5.

The results that are seen in Table 4.5. give further information about the fashion photographers, and how they differ from the non-fashion photographers. It can be seen that working as an assistant is a more common port of entry to the business for fashion photographers than for other photographers. The relation to the art world does not seem to differ between the three groups. Furthermore, the groups have had foreign customers to about the same degree. The result of the final question is very interesting: there is a clear difference between the FPs and the other two groups of photographers. Thus the FPs seem to occupy a different "space" in terms of their aesthetic (visual) references and sources of inspiration. This finding also shows that the nFPs resemble the "average" photographer of the reference group. Naturally, one could also analyze the social relationships and technical (cameras and techniques) "spaces," of both groups, and extend this analysis also to other types of photographers, such as art photographers, landscape photographers and newspaper photographers.

The non-fashion photographer: a glimpse into her world

The discussion above showed that the phenomenological approach to describing fashion photographers is strongly supported by quantitative evidence. But the quantitative analysis says almost nothing about the meaning structure of the nFP. The nFPs do not share the same meaning structure as the FP, which means, among other things, that they do not interact with the actors who do fashion on the consumers' side. What is work like for a photographer who only occasionally does fashion? I will briefly describe such work, using as an example the production of a fashion supplement to a local newspaper. In doing so I will indicate the differences between the meaning structures of the FP and the nFP (see also Plate XVI for a visual example of how this type of photography may look in print). The local magazine, of which many examples exist, uses a local photographer, who may normally take portraits of families, dogs and children, to produce the supplement. It may also hire an amateur or semi-professional photographer. Such a photographer does not have an identity as a fashion photographer.

The local magazine may use a reporter who is interested in fashion as a stylist to choose the clothes from local stores. The stores in question are usually those that advertise in the fashion supplement. A local hairdresser can do the make-up and hairdressing. The model can be a local beauty, perhaps a girl who has won a local beauty contest or become Lucia (the queen of light) in the same newspaper, or staff from any of the partaking stores. Such a model may also have done a few commercial jobs, but if she has been successful she is not likely to take on such work.[37]

Many of the people involved are "chosen" because they know each other or because the person who pays for the advertisements knows someone who might handle a task in the production. Moreover, the pictures that come out of the two meaning structures are different. That is perhaps the most important difference between the two meaning structures; if the pictures that the photographers take are almost identical, other differences are of less importance. It is, in one way, around the pictures the industry revolves. This is a very brief glimpse of the reality of the non-phenomenological fashion photographer who is doing "fashion." But are there any strategies that lead a photographer from this situation to that of an FP?

Elevators of status

How can a photographer become widely recognized within the market? That is, how does one "make it" in this market (cf. Faulkner 1971:95–115)? Obviously she has to be a "good" photographer, but since many photographers are good, this is not enough. Many photographers also stick to their own style and work with it, and eventually may get a chance to shoot for magazines that define what type of fashion photography is in vogue. Still, no photographer can determine by herself if the market will appreciate her style. Without the economic interface, that is through the market interface one cannot know the value of a certain style. Its value is always decided in interaction with the "other side," in particular by the magazines. In other words, factors beyond the actors' control decide her success (cf. Faulkner 1971:97, 115; Faulkner 1983:70–71, 78–9). This is not done intentionally by the magazines, but is an unintended outcome (cf. White 1981:543–4, 1993b: 168). There are few objective criteria for what is in vogue, and since these will

continue to change, the photographer cannot simply imitate which would make her a second- or third-rank photographer. In contrast some fashion photographers who shoot for mail-order companies and low-status magazines view imitation as a natural part of their photography. They say, almost proudly, that they follow the latest trends.

A way to identify the elevators of status is to watch what the most successful actors have done. An actor doing so will associate with those in the business whose identities are endowed with more status than her own, and, by saying no, decouple from those actors who have less status. This is of course not possible without the assent of others, but this part of one's identity is much more difficult to control (cf. Faulkner 1971:115).

Summary

In this chapter I have presented the photographers' meaning structures related to the market for fashion photography. Obviously, everyone needs to earn money from the market, but it is also clear that the different ideal types of fashion photographers view the roles of both money and aesthetics differently. In particular, high-fashion photographers seem to get great satisfaction from their work, which seems to be a common finding in aesthetically oriented occupations (e.g. Faulkner 1971:161–167). In light of their strong personal identification with what they do, it is more reasonable to speak of a form of what I would like to call work-consumption. This will have consequences for the interaction and the construction of the market; money and art are often in conflict among actors in aesthetic markets (e.g. Faulkner 1983:1–2, 152–152, 159, 163–164, 176). I suggest that this is one reason why the market is constructed as it is. I will return to this idea in later chapters.

According to White's theory, the notion of identity is crucial to understanding markets. The photographers' identities are built up in the interface with the other side, the consumers. White's theory was supported by the idea that producers—in this case photographers—primarily focus on each other. I have made a distinction between fashion photographers and non-fashion photographers, two groups that reflect the actors' perceptions. This distinction was verified empirically with the help of quantitative procedures. Among the fashion photographers I also outlined two ideal types: low-fashion photographer and high-fashion photographer. Cultural items and conventions also indicated how actors orient to other actors in the business. A central aspect that was extensively discussed in this chapter is status. In a market where few standardized measurements of quality are identifiable, status becomes the ordering value. This means that it becomes less useful to speak of "quality," as Podolny, for example, does in this type of market. I also showed that photographers keep the same style over several waves of trends to achieve higher status. However, there is another complicating factor: only those who are accepted by the other side gain high status, mostly because of which magazine the photographer is published in.[38] Only photographers with high status can charge the customer much for their work. The status of the photographer's identity is what essentially is turned into money in advertising photography. That is, a photographer's price must be based upon her status and not the other way around.

The analysis so far is of course still incomplete. The evidence I have provided suggests that one should actually speak of two different production markets. One market for editorial fashion photography and one market for advertising fashion photography. Moreover, I have so far presented mainly the perspective of the producers, including assistants and stylists. In the next chapter I will discuss the buyers' side. Only after that description, is it possible to bring the two sides together to say something about the market, and its dynamics. Merely from interaction between the producers and the consumers do we get action.

5
The consumers of fashion photographs

Photographers need to take two essential steps to accomplish their overall goal of succeeding in the market. The first step is to publish in magazines, and the second step is be hired by advertising agencies to photograph commercial campaigns. I have shown that these steps are related, if viewed from the photographers' perspective. Moreover, the photographers have two different meaning structures, one when they interact with magazines and another when they interact with advertising agencies. Thus, from the photographers' perspective, there are two different markets, although they are clearly embedded in each other.

But a market is always made up of two sides: the buyers and the sellers. One must therefore also consider the buyers in order to understand a market. To speak of two markets it should also be possible to separate the consumers into two different groups, each with a separate meaning structure. In this case that means addressing the following question: are the meaning structures of the magazines and advertising agencies the same? This is the central question in this chapter. The literature on markets, as earlier noted, says little about the consumers. To repeat White's theory, it treats them as being anonymous to the producers. In this study, in contrast, I have already shown that the producers have a very good view of the consumers in the markets. Furthermore, I have collected substantial information about the consumers, so I can also present a phenomenological analysis of the consumers' side.

I begin this chapter by asking if in fact there are two different types of consumers for fashion photography. To address this issue I begin by making a few points that pertain to both the magazines and the advertising agencies. I then analyze the magazines. In the next section I scrutinize the advertising agencies. Finally, I compare the meaning structures of the two types of consumers of fashion photographs. This analysis of the consumers' side is admittedly less thorough than that of the producers, because much of what I said in relation to the photographers also applies to the fashion editors and art directors.

Are there two different types of consumers?

To answer this question one may proceed in a number of different ways. For example, the armchair objectivist social scientist might treat magazines as one kind of consumer and

advertising agencies as another kind, reasoning that the different labels of fashion editor and art director is enough evidence of the difference. This objectivist might also treat both fashion editors and art directors as buyers and consumers of fashion photographs, reasoning that they both hire a photographer to produce fashion pictures. Phenomenology, not surprisingly, takes a different approach, which I used in the last chapter. In this chapter I will proceed along essentially the same lines. I will start by explicating the first-order constructs and connect them to the second-order constructs.

To reiterate, how is it possible to address the question if there are two different types of consumers: the magazines and advertising agencies? Or should they be treated as being one single type? From a phenomenological point of view they must have the same meaning structure if they are to be treated as only one general type. To be more specific, one can formulate "hypotheses" that should be confirmed if only one meaning structure exists. One such hypothesis might be that the consumers in the markets should compete with each other to buy from the seller, as Weber suggests (cf. Swedberg 2000a). One could also hypothesize a certain mobility and overlap between actors who hold positions as buyers of fashion photographs in organizations, i.e. fashion editors and art directors. Furthermore, they may orient themselves to "look at" each other. Furthermore, if the two types orient themselves to the same ends and values, and attach meaning to the same cultural attributes is one supported in the belief that there is only one meaning structure?

I raise an additional issue in this chapter. This is that the producers are individuals, whereas the consumers are mostly firms. Is it possible to use the phenomenological approach to study holistic "objects" like magazines and advertising agencies? Or, put another way, can one speak of a mental content of organizations and firms? Of course not. Phenomenologists do not conduct studies that assume organizations to have viewpoints, preferences, and mental content that would allow one to speak of, for example, an organization's meaning of competition. Any research undertaking such a phenomenological study would be thoroughly criticized. As I show in Appendix A, all phenomenological explanations must be grounded in the mental content of individuals.

How does one study holistic entities using the phenomenological method? The single actor—in this case the fashion editor or the art director—can be seen as occupying a role in an organization. It is fundamental that the actors see the organization as a whole, i.e. that it is an organization from a phenomenological point of view. The actor in this role is assumed to perform a set of tasks; a horizon of expectations of certain behavior and activities comes with a role. The organization has resources that the various holders of the roles can and are expected to use. One may say that each actor who performs a role has an opportunity structure of different tools available to carry out her tasks. Naturally, the frames that organizations set are also somewhat restrictive as they imply that other opportunities are unacceptable. Still, actors who work in organizations usually have a window of freedom in which they can affect their role and the tasks it includes. Workplace reorganizations can change the role a person performs, but so can her own actions; she may transcend a role. In other words, she can do things that eventually give her role a new meaning. As a consequence, she and the people around her will expect other things from her. That is, she can affect her role at her own workplace, but if her activities also echo within the business, her peers who hold the equivalent role in other organizations may also change what they do, which will also affect what is expected from

her successors. Thus, a change in one actor's role in an organization may ultimately lead to a change in the general role.

The interplay between roles, actors, and organizations is an enormous topic. Here, I will simply emphasize that the role is typically restricted by the organization and its identity; the role requires certain activities and implies that the actor restrains from other activities. Thus, one cannot just cut actors loose from the institutional framework in which they operate. That framework must be considered; in this case it includes the magazines and agencies for which the fashion editors and art directors work. The entire network in which these roles are embedded can, of course, not be discussed in detail here.

The role of magazines

In this section I first describe the market for fashion magazines, focusing on the magazines' relations with the photographers. In practice, I focus on fashion editors, those actors at the magazines who have the most contact with photographers.

The market for fashion magazines

Magazines that publish fashion photography operate in the production markets, where they buy goods and services. When they turn around, however, and turn their attention downstream, they face their customers. There are two types of consumers; the people who buy the magazines and the companies that advertise in them. These two are interrelated, as will be shown. The economic interface between the magazines and the readers is the market for magazines. It is in this production market that the magazines have their competitors, and it is also where they gain their market identity as a magazine.[1] Though I have not completely analyzed the production market for magazines, it does not seem to deviate much from what I have said above about production markets in general. However, there is one clear difference. The magazines are at the end of the production chain, which means that they face the final customer when they look downstream. This means that they face many more customers than is normal in production markets upstream in the production chain. Consequently, this is the type of production market that White seems to have in mind: one with anonymous consumers.

The magazines I focus on are specialized in fashion or have sections on fashion; I also include newspapers that fairly regularly publish sections on fashion. Only a few of the magazines I have investigated would define themselves as fashion magazines—which suggests an absence of any production market of pure fashion magazines. In practice the magazines that compete usually have sections on fashion, but this does not imply that they are all part of the same production market. For example, there is little competition for final customers between magazines aimed at men and the majority of those are aimed at women. Furthermore, the fashion section is only one of many components that make up the magazines' identities. These identities are distributed in a way that most likely resembles the logic of what I have described in Chapters 3 and 4. Moreover, the aspects of the magazines' status that the photographers believe to be important are essentially the same aspects that buyers of magazines consider. Thus the meaning of status of the magazines is roughly the same for a photographer and, for example, a fashion editor. One

may, in the words of Benjamin and Podolny, say that "where a firm is located in the social structure of a market and who the firm affiliates with may strongly influence the perceived quality of the firm within the market" (1999:585). However, there is a great difference in the horizons of which the meaning is part. For the photographer this horizon includes the interaction with the magazines. But for the magazine and those who work for it, the meaning is part of the horizon of competition with other magazines, and with actors having the same roles at other magazines.

Another crucial aspect can be seen in the market for magazines; the interplay between the status of the magazine, its customers, and its advertisers. The general logic of this relationship resembles the contagious affects of status. That is, a high-status magazine has "cool" readers, high-status brands as advertisers, and high-fashion clothes in its photographs, whereas a low-status magazine has less "cool" readers, advertisers with less status and photos of clothes that are less expensive. Here, as elsewhere, I make use of interpretations made by people in the field. The different magazines show different kinds of fashion and are directed at different age groups. Most magazines have a target group, for example working urban women between 25 and 39; though it can also be expressed in terms of a lifestyle. The people who work at a magazine normally imagine an ideal reader for whom they produce the magazine; often the magazine staff resembles this ideal type. People often find it easier to produce a magazine they would like to read themselves. Through market research they learn more about their readers, but they also enhance their knowledge through direct contacts via e-mail, phone calls and mail.

Some magazines acquire more status than others. I cannot engage in a more detailed analysis of how some magazines like a fairly small alternative magazine might acquire high status. In any case, magazines' status results from what the magazine and its actors do in a field (market), to allude to Bourdieu (e.g. 1991, [1992] 1996).

To summarize this complex process, the people who work at a high-status magazine have succeeded in defining themselves as those who have the "right" to define what is right. Through this they define their own market identity, which often is an important aspect of their personal identity, as well as the identity of the magazine. They do this in relation to other magazines (and the people who work there)—which means that these other magazines are also defined. This "right" is acquired through the process of defining. The magazine *Bibel* (see the example of a cover in Plate I) is an example of a magazine that acquired this right (cf. Faulkner 1983:51–55, 60). By doing this, it reconstructed the structure of the interface between the magazines and the photographers. *Bibel* became a magazine that was talked about in the market, and one to which other magazines could relate. It created its own narrative in the business, and especially among fashion editors. This was part of what affected its status. The relational basis of status, of which niches are concrete examples, also has consequences for other embedded markets, manifested by repercussions upstream in the production chain. The status of a magazine, to refer to Chapter 4, is crucial to the photographers' production market. This is a further example of how markets are embedded in each other.

Regardless of its status, a magazine operates as a buyer of fashion photography. It is also, as mentioned a consumer in many other production markets. It buys articles from freelance writers, and the services of printers and distributors. Most magazines have additional staff who buy services of photographers, perhaps an art director who hires photographers when people are interviewed in the magazine. However, one photographer

rarely does both portrait and fashion work for a single magazine. Furthermore, the magazine also buys from stock photo agencies, for example when they need a picture of a celebrity. Thus, different actors fulfill different tasks at the magazine, and most of them face one or more markets upstream. I will say no more about these production markets of suppliers, except for the market for fashion photography. The task of the fashion editor is to produce fashion stories, making her an actor in the business of fashion photography.

The fashion editor

Magazines have identities and hold niches in the production market for magazines. What is the relationship between the identity of a magazine and the identities of those who work there, for example the fashion editors? First, the fashion editor needs a "window of freedom" to affect her role, and if she has no narrative in the market, her position in the status order among fashion editors would merely reflect the status order of the fashion magazines. This, however, is not the case; normally the fashion editor also has a personal market identity. To provide a better picture of how the fashion editor can affect her situation, I will describe what she does and how she can affect her identity.

To the fashion editor clothes are naturally important. Moreover, most of what she produces is not text, but pictures. She may well have begun her career as a fashion editor's assistant or stylist, and before that she may have attended design school. The fashion editor is usually more interested in fashion than in fashion photography, as reflected in the way she dresses. One fashion editor explained how important clothes are to her own personal identity: "I've tried to work at a few places where I couldn't dress in what's in fashion. I wasn't allowed to express anything but the company—I thought it was terrible. But, of course I did it—I had to. But it was like, I could have quitted just because it didn't work." She also described the role of clothes and fashion in her life: "To me it isn't about being in vogue, that's where my limit is, I'm totally uninterested if it's green, blue, or red that's in fashion. But, I'm totally unwilling to compromise when it comes to choosing my own clothes." Like the stylist, the fashion editor typically dresses expressively. This is apparent when one meets with them to conduct an interview, or at a party. One may almost speak of a kind of dress code among fashion editors, though it is anything but uniform. The dress code of art directors—who are also consumers of fashion photographs—is certainly different. Art directors are less conspicuously dressed.[2] However, on this score art directors and fashion editors are clearly different; the meaning of clothes is different, and the clothes one should wear are different.

The fashion editor is not only oriented to the photographers. Her prime task, especially if she does the styling herself, is to make sure that she knows what is in fashion. To do this she usually goes to fashion shows abroad and in Sweden. On several occasions when I contacted the fashion editors I was told that they were "at a fashion show." The fashion editor is expected to show the clothes she thinks her readers will like. Sometimes she has to consider the interest of the advertisers, who may expect the magazine to use their clothes in the fashion stories. Thus, she cannot just show her own favorite clothes. This does not necessarily imply a conflict between the fashion editor's preferences and the clothes she is "allowed" to use. More likely, she is working at a magazine that is reasonably close to her own preferences, aimed, for example, at readers around her own

age. Thus, by working for a magazine that shows fashion which is in line with her preferences, she can lessen the tensions between her own preferences and what she has to show as a fashion editor. This makes it easier for her to identify with the magazine, because it is closer to her personal identity.

Though the fashion editor is constrained in the choice of clothes, the look of the fashion story etc., she still feels strongly about what she produces. She is responsible, and much like many photographers she wants to stand behind her product. This can put her in a dilemma. As one fashion editor said:

> [I have] to find a kind of mix between making it sales worthy and commercial, but still attractive, so I have to get some inspiration, and mix Josefsson's mail-order catalog (not really, but to make the point) with a kind of pretentious magazine like *Bibel* This is difficult; but I can still stand behind what I do, because I can choose clothes that I could wear myself.

Looking at her competitors

It is clear that the fashion editors look at other fashion editors to see what they do. That is, they serve as a reference group for each other. They tend, like photographers, to look at magazines with more status, both Swedish and international. They also observe fashion editors at magazines with about the same status as their own. Also, since the logic is virtually the same as it is among photographers, they don't look as often at those with less status. At the same time, given the few magazines in Sweden, it is not difficult to keep track of all of them. All of the editors I have spoken to say they get inspiration from other magazines; a few also say that their magazine has one or a few international magazines as models.

I indicated above that competition among magazines is not like an exchange market in which everyone sells an identical product. Product differentiation implies that the magazines hold niches in a production market: a form of what was called monopolistic competition in Chapter 2. This is still a competitive relationship. One fashion editor described it as follows: "Of course, some people at some magazines are somewhat competitors, not really competitors. But of course, one compares, and thinks 'has she done it this way,' that's a good idea, or I don't like it. Of course there is some personal competition, because the circle [of fashion editors] is small." Competition can also be more subtle among fashion editors, as can be observed when they meet at semi-public events, such as fashion shows. But some factors weaken the competition. One factor is that magazine employees often change jobs. As people grow older they move with their readers to other magazines they find more congenial. This mobility makes it difficult to complain too much or too openly about people at other magazines, because someone always has a friend who has worked, or now works, with the person being discussed. Many actors voiced this view. Thus, gossiping lessens the tensions, but it also seems to diminish the competition among, for example, fashion editors.

What about the advertising world? From the perspective of the fashion editor, is there a connection to, or competition with, advertising agencies and the work that photographers do for advertising agencies? The simple answer, from that perspective, is

"no." Of course, fashion editors look at the clothes and the way photographs are handled in advertisements, especially since their own magazine publishes similar work. But it is equally clear that fashion editors and art directors do not compete for photographers. A fashion editor knows that she can provide a photographer with an opportunity to work more freely, but she also knows that her assignments will not pay enough for the photographer to earn a living.

Policy towards the photographers

In their interactions with photographers, magazines have different policies, which must be understood in relation to their identities in the production market for magazines. Among the magazines some show more traditional, or mainstream, fashion and have a stricter frame for the stylist and photographers, while others with a more alternative approach allow the stylists and the photographers more freedom. To reiterate, from the photographers' perspective, status is connected both to the larger magazines and to those with more freedom. Those magazines that sell many copies (in Swedish terms, 50,000 copies or more), usually demand that the photographer follows the magazine's style. For example, there is a special look in the magazine *Elle,* from which the *Swedish Elle* cannot deviate too much; if it did, it would not be "Elle." Often magazines of this mainstream type of fashion and fashion photography have smaller circulations.

Other magazines are more "alternative" or "cutting-edge," to use first-order constructs. An alternative magazine will often have a smaller circulation, and allow the photographer and stylist more freedom. Moreover, these magazines seldom have a fashion editor who does the styling herself. One fashion editor, who never did styling, said he did not know everything about the latest trends—he let the stylists have this form of knowledge.

How can one observe the difference between the commercial and the alternative magazines in the work of those they employ and in their policies towards photographers? Both types of fashion editors—those who do the styling themselves, and those who only use external stylists—talk to the important people in the production team, stylists and photographers, about the idea of the fashion story the photographer and stylist want to tell. The difference has mainly to do with the degree of freedom they allow. A fashion editor at a magazine that allows much freedom, and who never does the styling herself described this:

> It's pretty funny; one discusses things with the photographer and the stylist and [tells them that] they are free to do whatever they want. Because [that is the way] I also like it best…it's not I who should decide what the job should be like […]! have noticed that even though we allow them complete freedom …they often take a shortcut and still go to an ordinary model agency, instead of going out on the street and finding someone who looks really special […] I am surprised in the wrong way: they do not dare to flip out more when they can do whatever they want.

She continued, giving further examples of her policy with the photographer and the stylist: "I always start the talk by saying: 'the clothes don't have to be accessible; you

may use whatever you want. It does not even have to be clothes; fashion is not just about clothes. Try to find models who look different, with many different shapes and sizes, immigrants—any shape and color!'" This editor obviously feels that the photographer and stylist do not take enough advantage of the opportunity to create a story without her interference. Another example of this freedom is that the editor is seldom, if ever, present when the pictures are taken. I asked one fashion editor why she did not attend the shootings. She answered: "It's their thing. I believe it is best for them." But even a very tolerant fashion editor may have to force photographers to follow her intentions. One fashion editor, who gives the photographers and the stylists considerable freedom, described a case in which he had to tell the photographer to change the look of the pictures. He reported to me what he said:

> I explained it exactly; I'm always honest and people know that. I say that there may be problems because… I don't have any problems…but my boss has problems with it. I have to consider it over the longer term too. Even if I could talk [the magazine] into taking this job, it's [still] another job that he doesn't like.

In contrast a fashion editor at a more commercial magazine described her interaction with photographers like this:

> He must know the fundamentals, I demand that he knows the technique and all that I don't know about the photographic stuff, but then I also demand a fashion photographer who can understand the theme [of the fashion story], and can add something to it, once he has got the idea from me.

Fashion editors at more commercial magazines often attend the shootings, in order to control and influence the result. In addition, there are demands on the models, and the clothes, and a demand to adapt to the magazine's rather specific look. All of these demands must ultimately be understood in relation to the identity of the magazine and the restrictions on the fashion editor.

The difference between magazines of these two types, which can be called "avant-garde" or "alternative," and "commercial," is easily seen by a photographer, by a fashion editor or by almost anyone in the business. That is, the pictures will vary more in alternative magazines than in commercial ones. Furthermore, both photographer and fashion editor know how the pictures normally look. That is, in discussing how the job should look, both operate within the range set by earlier photos, i.e. a kind of visual narrative, the magazine has published. To sum it up, the fashion editor develops what can be called a policy towards the photographers, which must be understood in relation to the identity of each magazine.

Choosing a photographer

Having described the work situation of the fashion editor, I now concentrate on her interaction with the photographers. As mentioned, a magazine pays each photographer

the same amount of money; the amount does not differ between photographers, and it does not differ much between the magazines either. The photographer is paid about 1,000–2,000 SEK ($100–200) for each published page. Though the rate, and consequently the budget, is almost always fixed by the magazine, the photographer is quite free to use her budget to get access to more expensive models etc. The sum paid for the job must also cover the photographers' costs for film, printing, etc.

Normally, the fashion editor will receive about two to three calls each week from photographers who want to show their portfolios. This interaction normally occurs in a situation characterized by mutual consent around the appearance of the pictures. I also gave examples of what fashion editors think of photographers. Though style is important, not every editor stresses this point. One editor said this about what she demands from a photographer:

> Since it often goes quickly, they almost have to have a studio. But we do a lot of outdoor pictures too. They must have something to show, but it doesn't have to be a lot of jobs. It is important that they've got an eye. They must also have a view [like ours]. For example, we've been working a lot with [a given photographer], and he can shoot anything.

Thus, she demands a photographer who can do everything the magazine might need: fashion, objects, portraits, etc. This demand is typical of low-status magazines, and it is typically low-status photographers who best feel that they meet this demand.

In most cases, however, the fashion editor looks for photographers with a distinct style. This facilitates her planning; it is easier to plan a fashion story if she has a reasonably clear idea of how the pictures will look. In this way style brings order and security to this interface. A fashion editor at an alternative magazine expressed this idea when I asked her to tell me what she meant by "maner," another first-order construct of the notion "style." She said that every photographer has often a "maner," and "if she doesn't, then something is almost always wrong. It could be someone who always frames portraits in large-grained black and white or that someone does very spooky pictures." She continued on the same topic when I asked her what she demanded from her photographers:

> When they come and show their book, many of them are quite new, they may have been assistants or something. Then I try to see if they have a style of their own. Many may not have done any jobs [before]; they may only have pictures that they have taken for their book. One photographer was a telling example. He said "I hope you can see that I can do anything, that in my book, I have so many styles." To me that isn't something positive; it's completely negative. It's totally uninteresting.

Thus, to do "everything" certainly means different things to different fashion editors (cf. Table 4.2).

A fashion editor will often wish for some continuity among the photographers she uses, but in a market with no formal contracts, there are no formal sanctions. One way to achieve continuity is to demand that the photographer does not work with other

magazines; and threaten to terminate the relationship if she does. The fashion editor can say, "If you want to continue with us, you must not work for this or that magazine." Not all magazines practice this strategy of control, and some only ask their photographers not to do fashion photos for other magazines. Fashion editors are unwilling to say this openly, but actors who have worked at other magazines, who have friends at other magazines or have talked with photographers, are less hesitant to tell about this practice. If a photographer, for example, starts to work for a close competitor, the fashion editor may find it less interesting to continue to work with this photographer. One editor describes the feeling of seeing work by one of "her" photographers in a competing magazine:

> The photographers are freelancers and may take any job they wish. We don't own them. But it's not funny if…it has happened twice that jobs at [a competitive magazine] have appeared, which have been quite similar to the jobs I have done… I almost thought that it was the same job, but with a new model and new clothes.

I then asked her if this behavior affected the photographer's chance of getting more jobs. As one might expect, it did diminish the chances for the photographer. The following story is another example of how a magazine, through decisions of the fashion editor, tries to control its identity by engaging and disengaging with different photographers (cf. Faulkner 1983:169). A fashion editor, who had experience working at one of the low-status magazines, once contacted a high-status magazine to ask about a photographer she intended to hire for a job. She called this magazine because it had hired the photographer in the past. When she mentioned her plan her contact at the high-status magazines became really "pissed off," and said the photographer would get no more jobs. In the flow of photographers who want to work with the magazine, the editor's job often entails saying "no" to their proposals. This represents another concrete way she controls her own identity. Moreover, it is her task to control the part of the magazine's identity that relates to fashion.

The process of saying yes or no to a photographer is related to the type of pictures the magazine has published in the past, which has become part of its identity. Some magazines may have moral codes for the type of pictures they print. But the identity also relates to the photographers' status. Most fashion editors want to work with high-status photographers. Their chance of doing so largely depends on the status of the magazine, and especially of their status and that of the magazine's section on fashion. I have already described the photographers' perspective on this matter. Also the fashion editor knows the status of her own magazine, and is aware of the status order among the magazines. In my interview four Swedish magazines stood out as high-status magazines: *Elle, Damernas Värld, Stockholm New* and *Bibel*. Fashion editors are very aware of the status order among the fashion magazines. The type of clothes the different magazines include in the fashion stories is one tangible example that is telling about the differences between the magazines. A fashion editor at a commercial magazine describes this:

> I have put together a fashion story that is not too expensive, but the pictures should still be decent. We are not an avantgarde or over-

> pretentious magazine, we are still commercial, we are not *Bibel*. Of course we want nice pictures, but at the same time we must sell, and one must see the clothes, [the photos] cannot be too "difficult."

When this fashion editor says, "one must see the clothes," she means it. An avant-garde magazine can easily publish a picture of a model wearing a pair of shoes a nd in the byline mention the brand name and their price without actually showing the shoes (see Plate XIII). This is an example of how commercial magazines and avant-garde magazines have different ways of doing fashion stories. A fashion editor at a commercial magazine is explicit about this: "One has to see the clothes. We cannot have a picture where there is a pair of shoes that costs 1,400 SEK ($140), but where you don't see the shoes—the readers don't get that sort of humor." Even if it is easy to write about differences between magazines, most of them should be seen to be understood properly. Though the number of plates is limited in this book, they present examples of how the differences look in print. The status of the magazines is also noticeable, as shown above, when a fashion editor at a lower status commercial magazine tries to get high-status photographers to work for her. One fashion editor with previous experience at a magazine for young readers had faced obstacles in preparing its fashion pages. I asked her what obstacles she had faced, and she responded: "Everything. It could be the photographers, the clothing companies or the make-up companies that think 'no, this won't work'… I always had to work against it, and I couldn't get the photographers I wanted." Photographers' agencies, she told me, said their photographers "don't work for [the magazine]." She also informed me that everything became much easier when she moved to another magazine with more status.

The fashion editors are keenly aware of the status of their magazines and this comes through in the interviews. I asked a fashion editor at a low-status magazine if she had any problems working with a photographer who normally worked for *Elle*. She replied:

> No, not me. That is, there are these rules that are unstated. The magazines with more credit get off easy. I wouldn't have a problem with a photographer who has framed for *Elle,* but they would have problem with a photographer who has framed for [her magazine] before. This has to do with the hierarchy. We cannot really compare [ourselves] to *Elle*.

In the last chapter I showed that the photographers saw a clear difference between editorial and advertising photography; but do fashion editors also see this difference? Yes, they usually know that photographers do not take editorial photographs to earn money. In the words of one fashion editor, "when one does editorials, most do it because they get more room to play around with than in advertising, but there you make more money." Would someone do editorial photography if not for money? She answered:

> Most photographers love to take pictures. That's [editorial photography] what one must do to work as a photographer, and we have really, really, really good paper, and this is unusual for a magazine like this. So it's good to have one's pictures printed on this paper so that…it's good to have [them] in the book."

Thus, it is clear that the fashion editors are aware of their own status, and they are aware—or become aware in the process of choosing photographers—that status affects their possibilities, not only of getting photographers, but also of getting clothes or make-up.[3] The fashion editor also knows a lot about how the status of the magazine is distributed to the photographers who publish in different magazines. One described how he thinks about the magazines as distributing the status of photographers:

Plate I. Covers of four magazines: Top left: Bibel, 1999 (no. 13). Photo: Camilla Åkrans/Lundlund, styling by Robban Broberg/Link Details, hair by Peter Andersson/Mikas, make-up by

Kajsa Svanberg/Mikas, model: Erika Wall/Stockholmsgruppen. Top right: *Damernas Värld,* 1999 (no. 12). Photo: Olof Cardelús, fashion editor: Catarina Midby, hair and make-up by Catherine Lethonen/Clooning, model: Emma Josefsson/Mikas. Bottom left: *Zon,* 1999 (no. 1). Photo: Jeanette Andersson. Bottom right: *Vecko-Revyn,* 1999 (no. 35). Photo: unknown.

But all photographers know that one does not make money on editorial photography—that's it. Everyone knows this, models, hairdressers, make-up, stylists, everyone. There [in editorial photography] one cements one's status. If one is in *Elle,* then one gets jobs; it may lead to getting an agency…so it's a bit like a window for marketing.

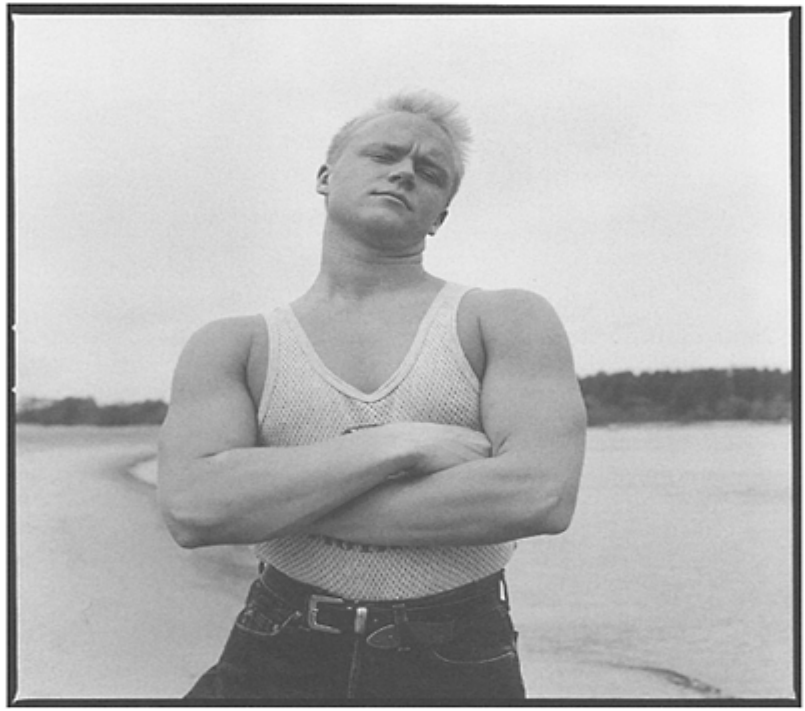


Plate II. Photo: Peter Orevi, 1993. Plates II to VII show a process of visual socialization, from early

pictures (Plates II to III), over transitional pictures (Plates IV to V), to contemporary pictures (Plates VI to VII).

Plate III Photo: Peter Orevi, 1995.

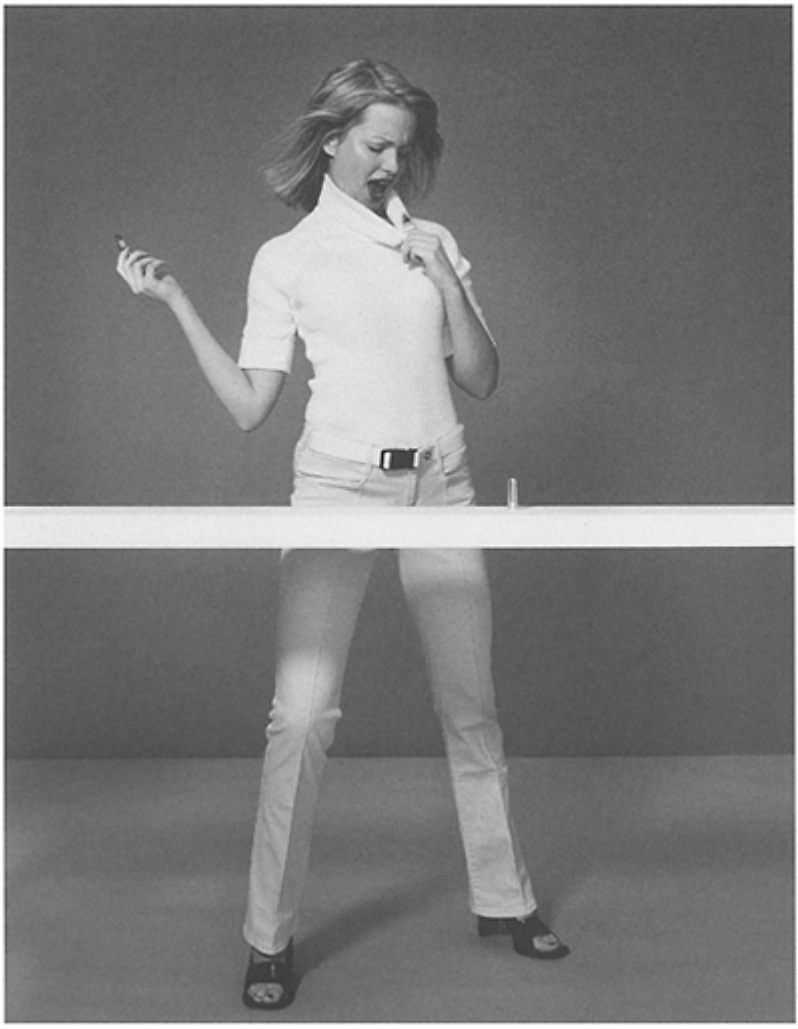


Plate IV. Photo: Peter Orevi, from Vecko-Revyn, 1998.

Plate V. Photo: Peter Orevi, from DN Söndag 1997, cover photo.

Plate VI. Photo: Peter Orevi, 2001.

Plate VII. Photo: Peter Orevi, from Meny, 2001 (no. 2).

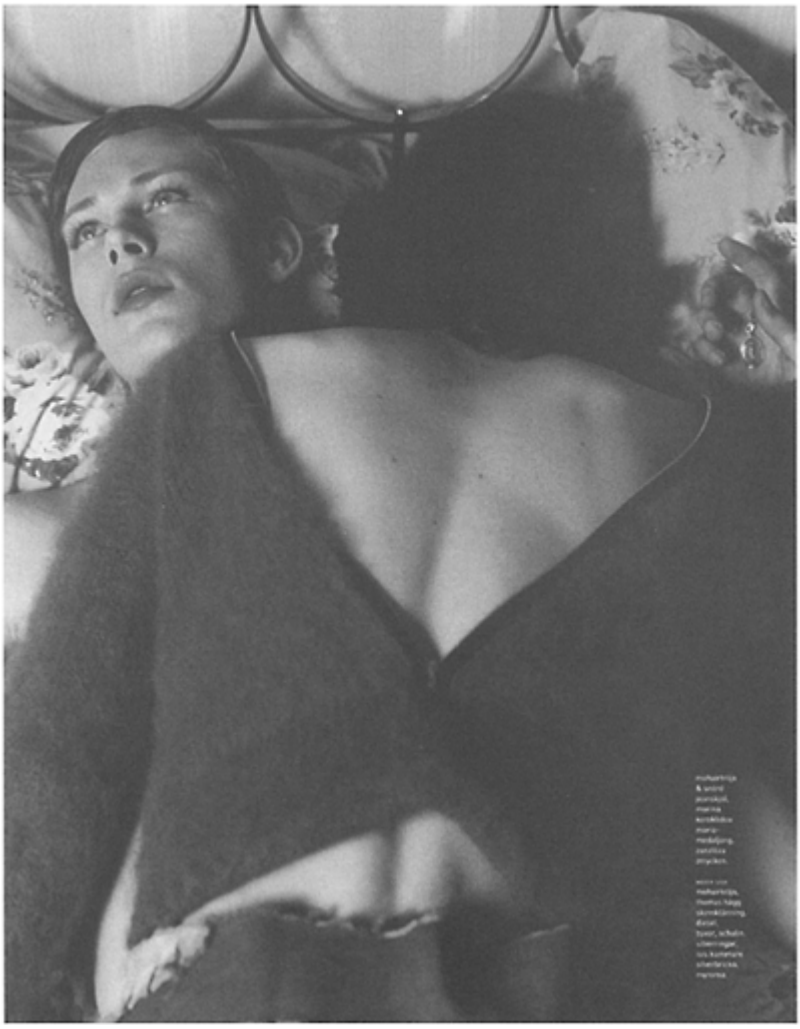


Plate VIII. Photo: Kia Naddermier/Clooning, styling by Pirjo Niemelä/Lundlund, assistance by Rebecca Palmer, hair and make-up by Victoria Sörensdotter/Clooning, models: Chris and Christian/Stockholmsgruppen, from *Zon,* 1999 (no. 1).

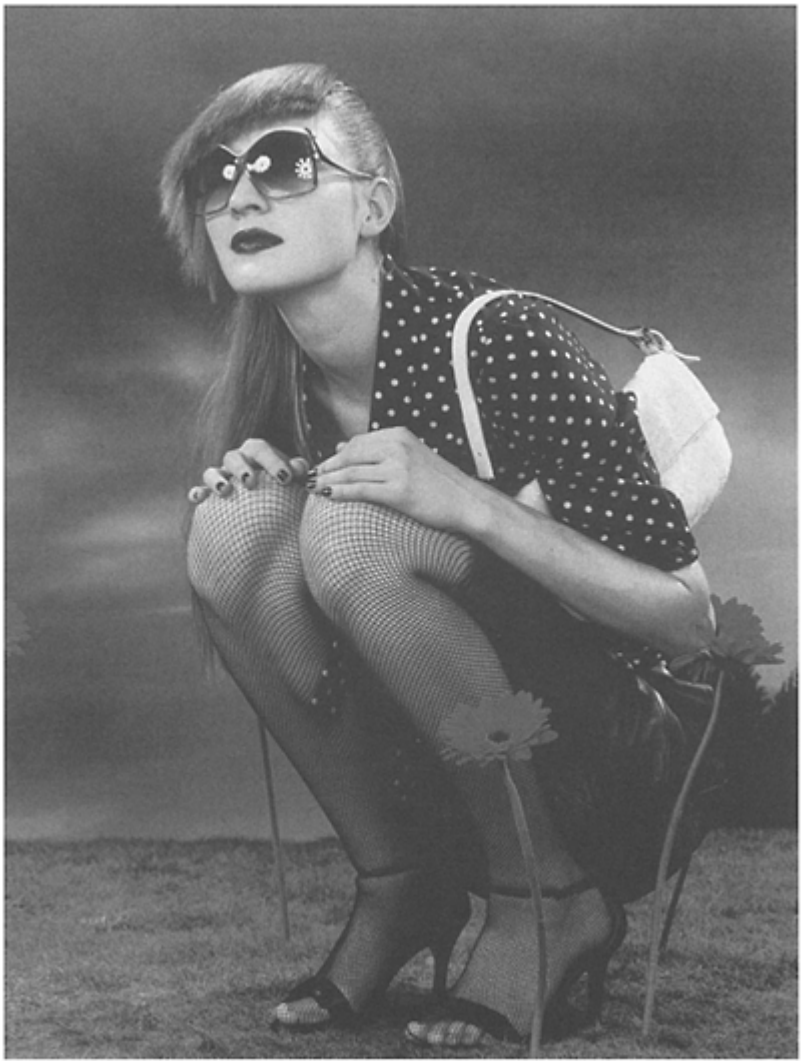


Plate IX. Photo: Ewa-Marie Rundquist, styling by Sussie Lidbeck/Link Details, assistance by Lisa Sundström, hair by Carina Finnström/Mikas, make-up by Tomas Lenneryd/Mikas, photo of the background Kalle Sandell, from *Swedish Elle,* 2000 (no. 3).

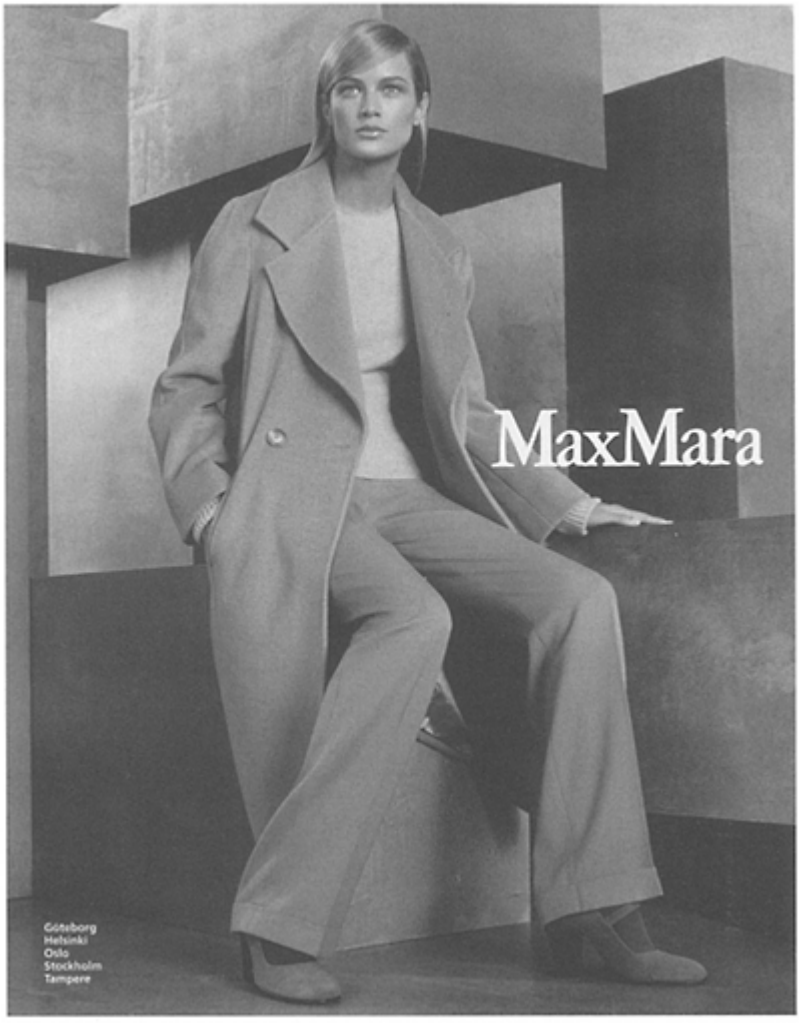


Plate X. Advertising photography, MaxMara (no byline), from Damernas Värld, 1999 (no. 3).

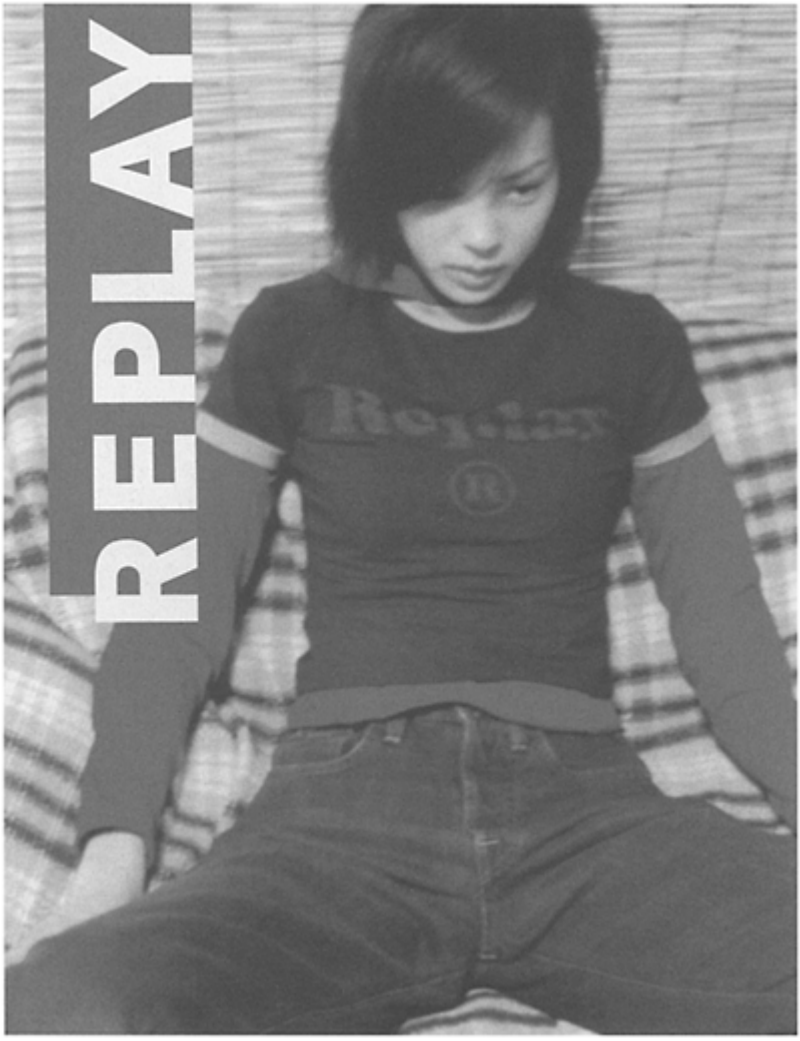


Plate XI. Advertising photography, Replay (no byline), from *Café,* 1999 (September).

Plate XII. Photo: Mikael Jansson. Advertisement for Anna Holtblad, designer of clothes (byline: Swedish still life by Mikael Jansson), from *Stockholm New*, 2000 (no. 9).

Plate XIII. Photo: Mikael Jansson, styling by Kari Hirvonen, hair by Mike Lundgren/Mikas, makeup by Kristina Kullenberg/Mikas, model: Jenny/Atom (byline: X-longsleeve wool sweater and wool panel skirt by Antonio Berardi. Cashmere collar by Louis Vuitton, ponyskin boots by Manolo Blahnik). Evidently, the shoes are not in the picture. From *Stockholm New,* 2000 (no. 8).

Plate XIV. Styling by Anna-Karin Amilon, assistance by Angelica Jönsson, photo: Kerstin Lundberg, from *Allers*, 2000 (no. 4).

Plate XV. From a mail order catalog, Catalog mail outlet, 2000 (no. 2) (photographer unnamed).

Plate XVI. A page from a fashion supplement, NT, 2000 (fall).

I then asked him "if it is enough to be published in *Elle*, or if it matters what one does." He answered:

> Yes, it is good for your wallet, because then a few forces start to move; your name is seen in a context where people who don't have 100 percent knowledge thinks "this must be great" since it's [in *Elle*]. So I mean, *Elle,* along with *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar,* and [people think] "then *Swedish Elle* must also be good. Then those who work with *Swedish Elle* must be pretty good."

This is a concrete example of what I have called the contagious effect of status. To put it another way, this means the context cannot be separated from the product (fashion photographs).

In Chapter 4 I explained how the magazines distribute status to the photographers. As I have shown in this chapter, the fashion editors are aware of their role as a billboard for photographers. They are also aware how they affect photographers' status. A fashion editor at a magazine with less status expresses this idea: "The really good and established photographers in Stockholm, one may have to wait for." Some photographers, however, seem to see her magazine as a stepping-stone: "I believe that for the young, who are not established, but who still are good, it is good to come and do editorials [in her magazine]." Another editor described how the magazines with the most status can choose their photographers, in contrast to her own situation:

> *Elle* is super-careful with its choice of photographers; they have so fucking much to choose from. *Elle* and *Bibel* are the two that have the most choice. [For] those who have been accepted in a magazine with more credibility, to use a nerdy word, one knows more about [the status of the photographer].

The photographers with the most status are not available for fashion editors at low-status magazines. This can be contrasted with a fashion editor at a more avant-garde magazine, who said she will often say no to some of "the really good and established photographers in Stockholm." This happens because her magazine needs to decouple from the more established magazines to be accepted as alternative. Especially when a new magazine starts up, it may wish to find its own niche, and having different photographers to the competitors makes it easier to accomplish the decoupling.

One more opportunity is open to the fashion editor: she can nurture her own photographers. This is a form of coupling through the photographer and at the same time it de-couples the magazine from other magazines. The magazine *Bibel,* to take one example, managed to "make" photographers this way. A magazine can also use a new model first and when she later hits the market those involved usually feel very satisfied. There are further examples of this in the Swedish market. When the magazine *Clic* was being published, it felt almost like a playground for Mikael Jansson (Jansson 1999)—today's foremost Swedish icon in the market for fashion photography. These are concrete examples of how a magazine can create photographers and models, and thereby affect the entire market. Thus, the identity of the fashion editor is affected by the careers of the photographers and models she works with (cf. Faulkner 1983:72–73; Faulkner and Anderson 1987:881, 887). If the photographer succeeds in the market, some of the fame

is also reflected back, at least from the perspective of other fashion editors, on to the editor who nurtured or discovered the photographer (cf. Faulkner 1983:178).

All of this suggests that the context in which a photograph is published is important to the photographer. I asked the fashion editors about this contextual aspect. One said,

> Let's say a guy is new; let's say it's his first job. If this is published in *Bibel,* then the job gets an edge, because it's there. Had it been in *Hennes* [a low-status magazine], it wouldn't have it. It's not always the product that has an edge, it's the context.

Thus, the products, and also the producer of the product, get their identity (to use a second-order construct) from the context, from the actors with whom interaction is carried out and their identities. At a more general level, the discussion in Chapter 2, on careers, applies in this case: not only the photographers, but also the fashion editors know the importance of coupling and decoupling with particular actors (cf. Faulkner and Anderson 1987).

The phenomenon of "creating," actors, for example photographers, is connected to the underlying value of creativity as a second-order construct. It is a central value to the actors involved in the process of aesthetic production (e.g. Faulkner 1971, 1983; Becker 1963, 1982; Fine 1992). Being creative means doing something new and different from what other people do. The following answer from a fashion editor shows how actors think about this:

> It is also a kind of ego thing: it is about being first, as I said. And it can also be like this: well, now *Damernas* or *Elle* has [done this], and then one can feel, I want do something else; then we should be first with something else. It can be the same when a photographer has done ads for three different companies that are in use about the same time and look quite similar. Then I believe that the next fashion company, no matter how much they want that photographer—because she is the best in Sweden at the moment—will not take her. It's the same with stylists, and the same way I feel about fashion jobs.

In other words, when an unknown photographer is published in a high-status magazine, it is positive for the photographer. The outcome for the fashion editor, however, is not that easy to predict. If the photographer later becomes famous, the editor will be recognized for having picked a good photographer before anyone else did. But the fashion editor takes a risk when she works with a photographer with no experience of editorial photography; the photographer may simply be unable to produce at the level that the editor demands.

In summary, fashion editors at high-status magazines try to control their identity in two ways: through coupling and decoupling. The first is to say no to associating with some photographers and to keep them from working with competing magazines, which is a form of indirect decoupling (via the photographers). The other way is to engage with actors by hiring established photographers or by giving unknown photographers the

chance to publish in their magazine. By being the first to use a photographer, the editor expresses the logic of fashion: to be first with the latest fashion.

From the perspective of photographers and fashion editors, publication in a magazine is a "billboard." Several types of actors view the billboard, including the final customers, photographers, people at magazines and art directors. From the photographer's perspective, art directors are important, since they can provide jobs that pay more than editorial photography does. At the start of this chapter I asked if there exist two types of consumers. This question will only be answered by an analysis of the meaning structure of the art directors, to which I now turn.

The advertising agencies

To produce advertising campaigns for clothing companies, the advertising agency needs photographers. A large campaign may involve more than one photographer, and a campaign may often involve more than photographs, including commercials, posters, and many other items. I will concentrate on the relationship between the advertising agency and the photographer, and especially on the art director as a buyer of the photographers' services.

The art director and the world of advertising

The magazines have rather stable identities. Consequently, people who work at magazines have fairly stable market identities, as an employee's identity is strongly based on the magazine that they work for. Among advertising agencies, as I showed in Chapter 3, the reverse is true—the identity of the agency is essentially based on the status of its staff.[4] For example, the advertising agencies arrange competitions for their advertisements and other products, but no fashion editors compete. This suggests that fashion editors and advertising agencies do not conceive of one another as being of the "same kind." As I will discuss further below, the advertising world has its own narratives; these are told by actors in the production market for advertising, but not in other production markets. The commercial establishment and success of the clothing brand Gant is one example of such a narrative. All of the art directors I talked to mentioned Gant spontaneously. Thus, art directors in fashion see the Gant story as a rather extraordinary story that they can use to describe their business.

The art directors produce the advertisements that the magazines print. However, the identities of the employees at both the magazines and the advertising agencies are affected by the advertising companies, but for different reasons. The fashion editor, to take an example of an actor at a magazine, is affected only indirectly by advertisements. The art director, in contrast, is affected directly by the status of the advertising customers, i.e. the clothing company for which she has created a campaign. Furthermore, the art director is evaluated by her peers, not only by the account she has, but also by what she does with it. One art director said, "One cannot just take an account and then work with it, and then get a lot of credit from it. One only gets that [credit] by doing something good with it or, in the worst case, keeping it at the same level as before." This type of story is typical among art directors. In addition, it exemplifies how an interface one step

downstream—where clothes are sold—can affect the identity and status of an art director. At a more general level, it is an example of how markets are embedded. It also shows that the combination of "aesthetic" and economic success is celebrated in this market.

Other examples show that art directors orient to each other, what I call an "internal orientation" among them. I asked one art director who he primarily focused on when making a campaign, and he answered, "For the work-mates, I believe. For the industry, I believe. But it's still a lot of this. One does ads more for the industry than for the customer. Many do it." This quotation shows how much people in the industry are oriented inwards; it also shows how much autonomy they have in the relationship with their customers. Thus advertising has succeeded in becoming what Bourdieu calls a field (e.g. Bourdieu [1992] 1996, cf. DiMaggio 1991; Parkhurst 1998). People in the advertising business have created an internal status system, in which competition is one way of distributing status. This internal status is spread to some of the adjacent markets, but not to the public (cf. Abbott 1981). According to Abbott, internal status is related to professional purity, "the ability to exclude non-professional issues or irrelevant professional issues from practice" (Abbott 1981:823). People in advertising have succeeded in doing so.

In analyzing the photographers I made it clear that several cultural components are important constituents of the market; the Stockholm Photo District is one such component. A similar "district" can be found among the advertising agencies, but not among the magazines, which are relatively few in number). Many advertising agencies are located in the very center of Stockholm, especially around Stureplan, which resembles Madison Avenue in New York, but is smaller.[5] This area includes the city's largest concentration of fashionable boutiques, and many nightclubs. One restaurant, Sturehof, is particularly known for being frequented by people in advertising.[6] One art director explained the role of Sturehof:

> [Advertising] is an industry whose people see each other incredibly often in the restaurant life; that's how it is. You notice this, even if you don't participate. I can go to Sturehof with a couple of friends and see that over there is everyone who works at one agency, and there is everyone from another and there are…

Other examples show how they orient to each other, but not to the fashion editors. Art directors are highly mobile, they move quite often from one agency to another. This they do for several reasons: people switch between agencies or open up new ones; agencies also merge or buy each other up. International agencies, for example, buy smaller Swedish agencies and tie these to one of the worldwide networks of advertising agencies. There are few examples, however, of mobility between art directors and between fashion editors and vice versa.

There are more examples of the different meaning structures that exist in these two groups. Both fashion editors and art directors read fashion magazines and in both groups those I interviewed mentioned the magazine *Bibel* spontaneously. One difference was that the fashion editors knew the name of the fashion editor at *Bibel,* whereas the art directors did not. For other reasons, such as the schools they attend, the art directors constitute a group with a distinct internal orientation. Moreover, advertising agencies

often have similar looking offices; the physical space is reconstructed as a social space that is endowed with a certain meaning. All of the following are examples of how the physical space is socially constructed: a bar at the office, an open office milieu, a conference room with glass walls or large windows. The trends may change, but distinct trends exist among advertising agencies. Furthermore, art directors sometimes own their firms, together with a few other people. This is not the case with fashion editors. The names of the agencies may often include the last names of the founders; a similar practice is found among law firms. Once again, status in the market is attached to actors: by employing well-known people, an agency takes on status. In sum, many differences exist between art directors and fashion editors, and they do not see each other as competitors. Fashion editors and the directors constitute two different reference groups, and they generate their respective identities in different interfaces. For an example of this I asked one art director about any differences between the fashion work done by art directors and by fashion editors. He answered:

> First, if you had asked the question in New York, then it would have been a totally different question. There are no fashion magazines in Sweden that can be called that, therefore…there are no fashion editors either, so it becomes a strange question. I think that the campaigns that I have done or been part of, or that friends of mine in the fashion world have done—are often much more interesting than those the [fashion] editors do; they are of a higher quality.

I then asked what he meant by quality. He answered, "Better models, better photography, better reasons for why you do it, higher demands but not necessarily better resources." This must be understood from within the horizon of the art director: those who work in fashion read many fashion magazines. An art director describes how he looks at magazines:

> I can't look at magazines with the specific purpose of finding a photographer. I look at the magazines because I like to read them and to get inspired. Here in Sweden *Bibel* is perhaps the best example; *Bibel* and *Darling*. Then I may look in all the other ones, *Damernas Värld* and *Femina* and *Vecko-Revyn* and *Amelia* and the like—but they yield little; I am rarely surprised by what I see there.

There are also similarities between fashion editors and art directors. As was true of most people I interviewed, art directors like the creative aspect of their job, and the recognition they receive. Being seen by people—especially other people in the advertising industry—is important. All this suggests that my analysis of the photographers' situation—how they enter the market and how identities are generated—also applies to the art directors. I will not pursue this issue here. It should be said, however, that only a minority of art directors do fashion. Thus one cannot really speak of a separate market for the production of fashion advertising; art directors who do fashion also do other types of advertising and commercial promotion in general.

Art directors' perceptions of photographers

From what I have just said one may want to conclude that the meaning structure of fashion editors is different from that of the art directors. Though the evidence points in that direction, I have said little about how the art directors perceive the photographer. To pursue the question of different meaning structures, I will now raise a few issues that I also raised in the section on fashion editors.

Both photographers and fashion editors see a difference between editorial and advertising fashion photography. Art directors also see a difference. The art directors know of the status of the different magazines. They know that photographers make more money on advertising than on editorial photography; and they also know that editorial photography is freer than advertising photography. One art director said, "Editorial jobs—you don't get any money out of them. I mean you don't do editorials for money. You do it…it's their [the photographers'] advertising. It is internal advertising to be in a magazine." There are further indications of these differences. An art director described what he called "the wrestling match" between himself and the photographer, who had to be sensitive to the fact that they were producing fashion advertising photographs. He continued, "It's a different thing when it's editorial photography—but not when it's commercial. Then it's not the same at all…if it is decided that they [the models] must be happy, then they must be happy; if the models must stand on one leg, then the model must stand on one leg." The same art director summarized his point: "They [the photographers] must understand where we are heading at [company], and want to do it better, and have a sensitive ear—to want to do the pictures the way I want it." Thus people in different categories—photographers, fashion editors and art directors—all view editorial and advertising photography in much the same way, though these groups have different meaning structures.

A second theme I have discussed is the different types of fashion photographers. The photographers distinguish between two ideal types of fashion photographers, which I have called low- and high-fashion photographers. I found a similar pattern among the fashion editors; the high-status magazines were quite uninterested in the photographers who worked for the low-status magazines. Can these different types of photographers also be found among art directors? One art director said,

> In all industries there are A-teams and there are B-teams, so to speak. But I believe there are many photographers in the Ellos world or the catalog world who also, of course, start their career because they are interested in photography. But those who are really competent and who create these great pictures, create something more than just pictures of dresses.

He also described in a bit more detail what he meant by this statement: "The most horrific examples are when photographers shoot German catalogs—mechanically …just shooting pictures. Then you don't try to create a picture, it's just documentation of clothes…probably. This is the 'Ellos world' we were talking about." Thus, also among the art directors one may hear the view that catalog photography is a less interesting form, in other words, a form of fashion photography endowed with less status.

The art director's choice of a photographer

One part of the art director's job that is especially interesting in the light of this study is her choice of photographers. Another interesting part is the relationship between the art director and the photographer. The art director decides what photographer is best for the campaign. But what does she look for when deciding? It is clear from the interviews that the photographer's style is of the utmost importance in this choice, since it makes the first impression on an art director.

Thus, the look of the photographs is the first thing an art director sees, whether in a magazine or the photographer's portfolio. But the personal contact between the art director and the photographer is also important, and not only to help her make her decision about whom to hire. Each art director has a rather limited number of photographers that she prefers to work with. Sometimes this can be less than ten. But over time the names may change, and an art director is normally very keen to test new photographers. Even though each art director may only be interested in a handful of photographers, they do not have the same preferences. Nonetheless, one may speak of a higher stratum of photographers who are considered for the larger fashion accounts.[7]

What the consumer buys is the photographer's style as presented in her portfolio. The buyer expects that the "visual narrative" she sees in the photographer's portfolio will continue in her own projects; she may also hope for a surprise (perhaps a new style) (cf. Rosenblum 1978a: 83–84). In addition to considering style and the social aspect in deciding on a photographer, the director also looks for a photographer who can comply with the demands of advertising; the director has the final word. Several art directors also seek photographers who have already worked professionally; few would risk a large account by hiring a photographer with little experience from editorial or advertising photography. Thus, by presenting pictures from magazines and past jobs, the photographer shows the art director that she is capable of coping with the special pressure that comes from customers.

When the art director competes for assignments in her production market, she may already have a certain photographer in mind; in other cases she may prefer to spend some time looking for alternatives. Naturally, a certain photographer is not always available. When the art director has decided which photographer to use, she wants to talk with the photographer about her idea for the job. And as I said in Chapter 3, she tries to communicate the core values of the clothing company to the photographer. One art director explained this process:

> [The] next step is to supply the photographer with opportunities. It's a lot about giving the photographer opportunities, giving [him] a room to act. I see myself more as a filter between the customer and the photographer. I want to make sure that I choose the right job, that I choose the right photographer [and] then give him complete freedom, so to speak. If I have made the right decision, then this person creates the pictures I want, without me having to say very much. I know that this photographer stands for this type of pictures. This photographer is disposed to understand this language and the idea I have. Then it's time to load him up with all this information—what I think and what I want—and let go.

Communication between the art director and the photographer often focuses on the pictures; they often give examples of what the final result could be like, perhaps by referring to the photographer's earlier pictures. This is an example of the visual culture of this business. Much of the discussion and negotiation goes on at the location, where art directors normally try to be present. Especially at the beginning of the day when it is important to get everyone tuned into the frequency of the art director. This is important since all of the actors, models, photographers and stylists have their own ideas about how the final result should look. But the art director has the overall responsibility to the customer.

The art director also wants to affect the result in a way that may not always coincide with that of the final customer. As I said above, if an art director can make a difference with an account and make it succeed commercially, she is very likely to be appreciated by other art directors. The art directors value this appreciation. She may, for example, choose a rather extreme photographer to make a difference. But she can only do so if she works with accounts that allow such freedom. Few accounts do; instead the art director must compromise between her own preferences and the demands of the brand that the agency is promoting in the campaign. This is important since the identities of clothing companies may take several years to develop. Moreover, the art director's agency promotes the account because of an idea that its customer has accepted. This idea was chosen in competition with other agencies. In this way the art director is "constrained" by the earlier idea.

Moreover, the final customer is normally interested in what photographer the art director uses. But the clothing company—the agency's customer—is not only interested in the choice of the photographer for its campaign; it can also affect the choice of which photographer to use. As one art director said, "I believe that the customer—if the photographers have been abroad—gets a bit of the feeling. They can borrow some of that fame, the feeling of having been abroad." In some cases clothing companies use a very famous photographer to take rather "simple" pictures of famous models. The average reader does not know that a famous photographer took the pictures, and even photographers may not be able to tell. One reason why companies use such photographers is that certain models only want to work with famous photographers.

One additional aspect of the work of the art director should be mentioned. Fashion editors value being the first to use a model or photographer. An art director describes how he sees this aspect:

> In the world of fashion photography you really want to discover a new face, [you] really want to discover a new model. Then you can say, "I framed this model first, then she became a top model." It is also fun to say and "I was [the] first to use the photographer Jon Doe on this little campaign—now he's with *Vogue*." Then you become a bit of a photographer's scout: "I discovered this photographer."

I asked why that is important. He answered, "…it's a proof that you have the 'eye' if you succeed with it once. Then you have proven to yourself or to your colleagues that you have such a good eye that you discovered this guy…it's vanity." This is yet another

example of the underlying value of uniqueness in this business—and how the directors orient themselves to their peers.

So far I have not described the economic aspects. But these aspects are not unimportant. The advertising agencies compete with different solutions and ideas on how to promote the account, but they are restricted according to the budget set by the final customer. The competition is about aesthetics and ideas, but not about costs. The economic terms naturally restrict what models and photographers can be used for the campaign. The basic logic, however, is not affected.

Directing "art" at mail-order companies

Earlier I described the situation of art directors who do fashion advertisements, commercials, etc. I will now focus on the perspective of the mail-order companies, especially the actors with whom the photographers have the most contacts. These actors are the art directors who produce the different sections of the catalog. As I said in Chapter 3, a catalog is divided into different sections, and an art director heads each one. Part of her job is to decide what photographer to use.

The mail-order companies produce the catalogs with little or no assistance from outside. Sometimes a company may have to hire people, for example freelance art directors, but generally speaking the staff take care of producing the catalogs. The catalogs differ little from year to year. Also, the catalog layout differs little between the companies. Moreover, the clothes shown in catalogs usually have low prices.

Mail-order companies normally distribute their catalogs more than twice a year. With only a few occasions a year to present their clothes, and a long production time, these companies cannot include the latest trends. The clothes collection for a catalog is decided upon long before the catalog is produced. The clothes must then be photographed and the catalog produced, printed and distributed. This makes it more difficult for a mail-order company to follow trends than for a company that sells its merchandise through stores. Another peculiarity of mail-order companies is the role the photographers play. Since there is no other way to see the quality, the look, the colors, etc. of the clothes than by examining the photographs in the catalog, the art director must ensure that the details of the clothes are easy to distinguish in the pictures.

The stability in the catalog production process can be seen in several ways. First, the staff produce the catalogs. The catalogs may also use the same models year in and year out. An art director attests to this fact: "All models have their maners, they run their register, so to speak. If they use it year after year they learn it. One can recognize her from an older catalog—'now she's doing that pose.'"

For several reasons catalog production endows considerably less status on actors than if they worked at an advertising agency. As noted, this situation may have repercussions for firms also in other production markets. One example of this is that the photographers tend to view working for mail-order companies as low-status work. Do those who work at the companies share this view? Looking at the statements given by photographers and by art directors who do not work with catalogs, I surmise that there is also a status difference between catalog and non-catalog production.

In examining this issue, I first describe the work of art directors at mail-order companies. These workers are less specialized than the art directors at advertising

agencies. Moreover, the mail-order art director has a larger area of responsibility. In addition to working at the photographic set, she literally produces an entire section of a catalog, she also oversees the copywriting and layout. The mail-order art director earns less than her equivalent at an advertising agency.

Can one identify further differences and similarities between the two types of work? One similarity is that they are both constrained by the identity of their organization. One difference is that people at advertising agencies normally work with several different accounts. A further difference is that the art directors at mail-order companies do not themselves face customers in interfaces; they are part of a production chain inside an organization. They take orders from and are evaluated by people inside this organization. Thus they interact in interfaces as customers, but not directly as producers. They are members of an economic organization—the firm for which they work. People at advertising agencies are also employees, but they are supervised not only by people inside their organization, but also by people at the other side of the market interface (between the agencies and their customers). Moreover, people at mail-order companies do not take part in the competition that the advertising industry orchestrates.

What can be said about the status of the two different forms of advertising? One art director at a mail-order company responded, "I believe that 'mail-order' is almost a word of abuse…in the world of advertising. No one thinks it's cool." Then she described the tensions that can emerge when mail-order companies bring in freelance art directors. Many of the underlying differences in the meaning structure are indicated by the competitive structure. For example, the art directors at mail-order companies and at advertising agencies do not really compete.

Competitive relations are found amongst both the mail-order companies and the advertising agencies. The mail-order companies naturally try to sell as much as possible and to attract more customers than their competitors. But the mail-order companies also compete to get certain photographers and models. I said earlier that the mail-order companies may use the same models for several years. In the same way that magazines compete for photographers and try to control their identity by preventing the photographers from doing fashion work for the competition, mail-order companies will also establish their own turfs and try to ensure that "their" models and photographers do not work for other mail-order companies at the same time. This is a form of competition directed upstream of the production chain (cf. White 2002). An extra dimension of competition exists between the mail-order companies. Since they all operate in the same production cycle, they go away to shoot their catalogs in sunny places around the same time of year. Therefore, although they only hire the photographers and models for a short period of time, it is largely the same period for all the companies, photographers and models involved in this business.

The relationship with the photographer

The photographer plays an important role in the production of a catalog section. What is important to art directors at mail-order companies as they decide which photographer to hire? The social component is crucial as indicated in the following statement by an art director: "We may live together for ten days and work during hard circumstances. Then you've got to get along. It has to be someone you like—that's really important." Given

the intensity of the work when traveling abroad, the personal traits of those on the team are especially important. Art directors also mention style as one aspect they evaluate when choosing the photographer. The photographers must naturally be able to produce the kind of pictures the customer demands. But the photographer must also adapt to the customer. An art director put it as follows:

> We do between 20–30 pictures a day. It's like a factory. I have to choose the one [photographer] who can cope with this pressure, and [who can] put aside some of the artistic ambitions, I think. Well, she must have these ambitions, but they cannot work too much with a picture, because we don't have time for that.

The same art director also repeated what she once said to a new photographer: "You take the picture—we do the artistic work." Another art director expressed it like this:

> It is one thing to have creativity as a photographer, but the photographer [we want] has to be able to switch and do the type of pictures we need. We cannot use a photographer who is really extreme and who only can work in his extreme way. That photographer has nothing to offer us, when it comes to photographing products at our level of fashion.

This art director at a mail-order company described the kind of fashion that their clothes represented and how they compared with the kind of fashion shown in *Elle*. He said, "*Elle* is much more…now I am on a slippery slope…[about] fashion, it's so much more of fashion [in their products] than what we have in our products." The art directors do look favorably on a photographer who has published in magazines, as one art director explained:

> This is of course positive for the photographer, but also from our point of view, because then they have shown that they know that type [of photography]. But this is not everything because it's different to do a fashion story for a magazine where there is no demand that it sell and to do fashion photography for us with a strong demand that it sell.

Another aspect that makes the photographer appear as something like a production tool is the practice of the mail-order company normally buying the copyright for each picture from the photographer. Also, the photographers for mail-order companies remain anonymous as their bylines are nowhere to be found (see Plate XV). I asked one art director why. She laughed and said, "There is no prestige in mail-order photography. I don't think [the photographers] are interested in that. Maybe they don't want it to be there." Moreover, the photographers who work in fashion rarely use digital cameras. But mail-order companies and their photographers do use this technology. Mail-order photography is more suited to the use of digital cameras than other types of fashion photography. This is because it is more cost-effective and one gets to see the pictures at once.

How does the relationship between the art director and the photographer develop over time? A photographer who has done well on an assignment, in the art director's opinion, is likely to get more jobs. This is because the mail-order companies often want continuity in their production. It also provides a form of security for the art director; she knows that she and the photographer can work together. The same photographers are hired repeatedly, although they may be assigned to different sections of the catalog, and they may also work with different art directors. But even though these companies value continuity, they are always interested in having a new photographer.

Many photographers want to do this type of work. They come to the mail-order companies and show their portfolios. The photographers' agencies also represent them. Above I described what is required from the photographers. I will now describe how the art directors at mail-order companies perceive the role of status in the interface between themselves and the photographers. If mail-order photography is seen as low-status photography among photographers, how do the art directors perceive the photographers and their interactions with them? The following excerpt from an interview with an art director indicates what can happen in an interaction between a high-status photographer, who had worked with *Elle,* and a mail-order company. The photographer said "no thanks" when he was told about the kind of fashion photography he was expected to do.

Q; What kind of pictures didn't he want to do?
A: There is more fashion in the pictures he does; and then he thought he wouldn't have to do the kind of pictures we need.

Q: So then people do say no to work?
A: Yes, some photographers don't want to do mail-order [photography].

Q; Is this for economic reasons?
A: No, no, it's mainly…well, that could be the reason in some cases. But in the cases I have come across, when they haven't wanted to do the job it has been because it's a type of photography that doesn't fit their style and creativity. And the status of the job one does for mail-order is not high enough, so they think they are harming themselves… So it's the status of the job. That happens. But not that many can afford that attitude…it's pretty decent pay that the photographers get.

This is a telling example of how the interaction with photographers is affected by the status of both the photographer and the customer, who was in this case a mail-order company. It seems clear that mail-order catalog photography is craft-oriented. The company demand a skilled photographer who can produce the pictures it needs, without showing too much aesthetic ambition. In return the photographer get status, not money.

Comparing the fashion editor and the art director

In this chapter I have analyzed fashion editors and art directors, the two main types of consumers of fashion photographers products. The question I addressed in this chapter was whether or not art directors and fashion editors have two different meaning

structures. I argue that there is strong evidence that different meaning structures do indeed exist for these two groups. I have followed the same strategy as in Chapter 4, presenting a table that summarizes the most important aspects of the two meaning structures (see Table 5.1).

It should be noted that some editorial photography (i.e. fashion photography for magazines) is not as free in terms of aesthetic expression as some advertising fashion photography (compare advertising photography as it appears in Plate XII and editorial photography as it looks in Plate XIV). Thus one cannot distinguish completely between the two types of photography. Moreover, advertising does not always pay more than editorial photography. This is a fact well understood by both producers and consumers. The general view among producers and consumers is of a clear difference between editorial photography and advertising photography.

Summary

I have in this chapter analyzed the consumers' side of fashion photography. Throughout my analysis I have stressed the importance of analyzing *both* sides in a market. The sellers' side (the sellers are often the producers) and the buyers' side (the buyers are often the consumers). To analyze a market, it is not enough to

Table 5.1 Meaning structures of fashion editors and art directors

Topic	*Fashion editors*	*Art directors*
Reference group	Other fashion editors	Other art directors
Interface for status distribution	Final customers, fashion editors and advertisers	Advertising companies and art directors (e.g. competitions)
Constraints	Identity of the magazine (status and money)	Identity of the account (money)
Name printed in byline	Always	Sometimes
Basis for choice of photographer	Style (status)	Style and skill (status)
Chances of hiring a photographer	Depends mainly upon her status	Depends mainly upon the budget
Interest centered on	Clothes	Advertisements
Key values	Aesthetic-economic	Economic-aesthetic

Note: This figure does not cover the full meaning structure; the focus is exclusively on those aspects related to the meaning structure of the actors as photographers.

simply gain access to the meaning structures of the two sides. An empirical study of markets, as well as a theory of markets, must integrate the two sides.

I have shown that both the fashion editors and the art directors were fully aware of one key idea of the photographers: the idea that editorial photography is very much a way to do advertising fashion photography. The buyers are also aware of the role that editorial photography plays as a billboard on which the photographers can display their style of fashion photography to potential customers.

Moreover, I have shown how the two types of consumers orient themselves to their own respective group. The fashion editors orient themselves towards fashion editors, and art directors towards art directors. I also showed how these two types of customers have different cultural attributes and do not compete. Competition exists only within each group. For these reasons and more, I argue that we have been confronting two different meaning structures. Thus, the hypotheses I set out in the beginning of this chapter have not been confirmed. This constitutes a very strong argument for stating that the fashion editor and the art director are not in the same market. To reiterate, to judge this issue one must combine the perspective of both the producers and consumers and this I will do in Chapter 6.

6
The two markets for fashion photography

In Chapter 4 I showed that fashion photographers have developed two different meaning structures in relation to markets. One is connected to editorial photography, and the other to advertising photography. I also showed that the fashion photographers distinguished among themselves by referring to two ideal types, which I called high-fashion photographers and low-fashion photographers. In Chapter 5, I also described two types of consumers, the fashion editors at magazines and art directors at advertising agencies. Each of these has a distinctive internal orientation. Most of the distinctions found among the photographers can also be found among the consumers (for example between editorial photography and advertising photography). In this respect, the two meaning structures of the consumers correspond to the two meaning structures of the photographers.

A major task I undertake in this chapter is to explain how these meaning structures, more concretely, are related to markets. At a more general level, I address the following question: how are we to understand the idea of markets in relation to meaning structures? To answer this question, I focus on how the actors orient themselves to each other and thereby produce, reproduce, and reconstruct markets. At the start of the chapter, I examine how changes in markets occur, discussing, for example, the role of entrepreneurs and icons as actors who produce change. To conclude the chapter, I look in more depth at the constructing and reconstruction of meaning.

Markets through phenomenology

A phenomenological explanation must account for the meaning level of the actors. Thus, holistic objects like states, markets, and organizations must be analyzed and "taken apart" if they are to be explained. In Chapter 5 I outlined the phenomenological approach for studying holistic entities such as firms. A market cannot be understood as simply a holistic entity. It has no soul and no will, because there is no mental content at the level of the market. The market is merely an umbrella term used to include actions that take place between buyers and sellers, and also among the actors in each of these two categories. The term is a kind of shorthand.

In order to give a phenomenological account of a phenomenon like a market, it is not enough to present a simplified description of the words that the actors use. The meaning of the words must also be presented as a structure, as I have done in Chapters 3 to 5.

Meaning is not piecemeal; it is more like a web. As a more concrete explanation in this chapter I will discuss an idea that already has been present implicitly: the idea that an aesthetic market can be conceptualized as a "status distributor" of identities. That is, identities in an aesthetic market are generated in the process of distribution of status, which I have described in detail, especially in Chapter 4. Moreover, prices, I argue, are epiphenomena of status distribution. In this study I say little about prices, instead I have emphasized throughout the book the process that leads to prices and how they come to differ.

The phenomenological approach I employ in this study can be contrasted to the approach that underlies the neoclassical idea of the market. Earlier I equated neoclassical economics to a naturalistic and objectivistic approach to the objects being studied. A study like this can help us to understand the processes that will result in markets that are constructed differently. For example, an economic sociological theory of markets can provide a theory that is empirically valid and reflects real actors, and not only the objectivistic "puppet show" of neoclassical economics (cf. Schütz 1962:41). In the rest of the chapter I will more specifically analyze the production markets for fashion photography.

The two production markets for fashion photography

To be specific about markets one must define their boundaries. The objectivistic approach to this problem is to define the boundaries by referring to what is being produced. This, however, is a rather awkward approach, since it ignores the actors' perspectives on who is "in" and who is "out" in the market. The sociological approach to production markets, spearheaded by White, argues that it is predominantly the producers who compete with one another. Moreover, producers orient themselves to each other in their own production market. Also, individuals and firms gain their business identities in their own production markets too. In many cases, however, consumers also compete with each other to make the best deals with actors in a production market which is "upstream" from their own production market. One example of this is fashion editors who compete with each other to hire photographers to produce pictures in their own production market: that for magazines. The approach used here implies that only the actors themselves know who is a competitor, and only those who see themselves as competitors are "included" in the same market.

What are the boundaries of the market for fashion photography in Sweden? A question that I have raised more than once is whether there exists only one production market for fashion photography, or if there are two different markets. As I have shown, there do exist two different meaning structures among the photographers. One meaning structure is connected with editorial photography and the other with advertising photography. I also showed how these two were interrelated for some photographers, though not for all as some photographers only work in advertising photography or editorial photography. A short answer to the question above would be that the non-fashion photographers I discussed in Chapter 4 are not part of any of the markets for fashion photography. This is because they do not have the same meaning structure as the fashion photographers; hence they are not seen as members by insiders of the market. This answer, it should be noted,

is based on White's propositions, but it is here given a stronger phenomenological foundation. Thus, the best way to find out whether or not people are actors in a given market is to learn two facts about them: their own meaning structure and their status as competitors to those already in the market. This means, for example, that assistants who have not yet had any assignments and who have not yet achieved an identity as a photographer are not in the market but they are in the business.

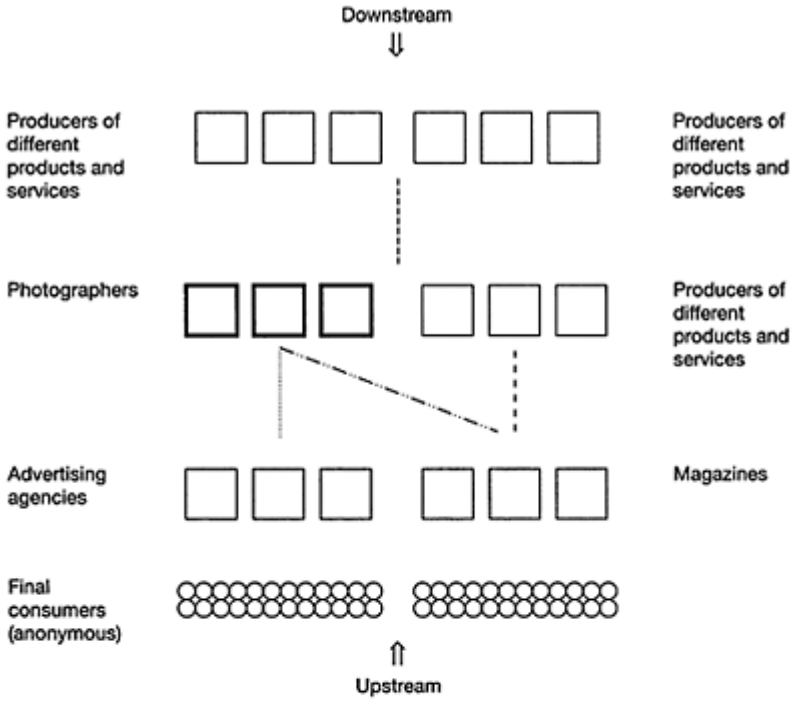
The photographers' perspective is crucial for understanding a market, but as has been shown, the consumers also know about the photographers' perspective, for example how they view the relationship between fashion and advertising photography. The consumers, however, do not share the perspective of the photographers. Two different meaning structures can be identified among consumers; one is held by fashion editors, and the other by art directors. Furthermore, fashion editors are oriented to each other but not to art directors; and art directors are oriented to each other but not to fashion editors. Both groups of actors—the fashion editors and the art directors—operate as consumers and interface with photographers, though they do so at different interfaces.

It should now be clear that from the phenomenological perspective there are two markets for fashion photography, not one. This is the case because two interfaces exist with distinctive roles for the producers and the consumers, and at each of these a service is exchanged for money, which results in products, i.e. photographs. The same photographers can appear in both of the production markets: those for editorial fashion photography and the production market for advertising fashion photography. In contrast, consumers only operate in one of the two production markets. The general situation is graphically represented in Figure 6.1.

I can now draw some conclusions on the two markets, first on the market for editorial fashion photography, and then on the market for advertising fashion photography. I will emphasize the different values that exist in the two markets. Knowing these values, I argue, is central to understanding a market. Furthermore, these values are crucial for understanding the actions that ultimately create the market. In other words, the social structure is identical in the two markets, but the meaning and values in them differ.

Meaning structures in the two markets

It is largely the meaning structures that determine if a fashion photographer operates and in which market(s), as already noted. Crucial to the meaning structure of a market is its values. The aesthetic ambitions of many actors correspond to the underlying logic of the market for editorial fashion photography, roughly the "logic of art." Uniqueness, innovation, creativity, and a consistent personal style are celebrated qualities, especially in this market.[1] Photographers contrast this market with the more economically driven advertising market, in which the photographers are allowed less freedom. Rarely, for example, can a photographer publish a fashion story with eight pictures in a campaign for advertising photography. Moreover, aesthetics are most highly valued overall among photographers. Thus, what characterizes a good photographer is not how much money she has earned, but what she has accomplished "aesthetically," which is connected to the amount of status she has achieved. This is largely measured in terms of which persons and what magazines she has interacted with, typically in the market for editorial fashion photography.



Comment: Every actor holds a stable role as a producer in her own production market (or markets). But she is also a consumer when facing other markets (economic interfaces). She consequently holds at least two roles: as a consumer when looking upstream, and as a producer when looking downstream. The markets for fashion photography are two markets in the production chains of fashion photography. Three main categories of actors can be found in the markets for fashion photography: photographers, advertising agencies, and magazines.

Dotted lines represent relations between types of actors in the markets.

Relation in the market for editorial fashion photography: —·—·—·—·—·—·—·—·—

Relation in the market for advertising fashion photography: ·····

Relation between a producer and a consumer: -

(outside of the markets for fashion photography).

The relations in the two markets for fashion photography, as I have said, can be observed by the actors in the business. In the interfaces with the final consumers (of clothes and magazines), there are no observable relations. Hence no lines cross these interfaces in the figure.

Figure 6.1 The two markets for fashion photography

Status essentially flows from the magazine to the photographers, though, as I have argued, it is contagious and goes in both directions. I have shown that not all magazines

are viewed as "good" to publish in. A fashion photographer who never publishes in magazines, will still be seen as a photographer if she gets assignments, but she will be comparable to a sociologist who has never published in peer-reviewed journals, or an artist who has never exhibited. The most established photographers publish in fashion magazines, both Swedish and foreign. The photographers who rarely or never publish in magazines are not endowed with status; they are likely to end up in the category labeled low-fashion photographers. However, this situation may be less important to the customers than to the photographers. Photographers find it important to publish in magazines, because of their personal interest in publishing pictures, and their increased recognition among other photographers as a result. Thus, some photographers have a personal interest in publication, an interest that is not economic. I argue that this interest is mediated through the market (e.g. through interactions in the markets) and that the aesthetic interest many photographers have is a strong reason why this market is oriented to aesthetic values.[2] The visual dimension is crucial for understanding the aesthetic values in markets for fashion photography. It is clear that the visual dimension is at the center of attention to any fashion photographer. The pictures that are produced are seen as different in the two markets and it is important to realize that the visual expressions that generate from the two markets are different, and part of what makes it meaningful to speak of two markets, rather than one.

I have already pointed to the connection between advertising and editorial fashion photography. The photographers who publish in the high-status magazines are also the most likely to get the best-paid commercial assignments. Therefore, one's position in the market for editorial fashion photography is likely to generate money in the market for advertising photography. Thus, status can be traded for money, or to use Bourdieu's concepts, symbolic capital (status) can be "traded" for economic capital (money). When this happens, the photographers must accept the meaning structure of advertising photography, and work under more restrictions than when they do editorial fashion photography. Note that it is only the photographers who must switch between the two meaning structures of editorial and advertising fashion photography. The fashion editors and the art directors each operate in only one of the two interfaces with the photographers. Plus, as shown, they are not in competition. The fashion editors and the art directors both want to discover new photographers, but the competition is almost exclusively related to their own peers.

Though the markets for both editorial photography and advertising fashion photography fall within the business of fashion photography, they are different. They roughly represent two different logics: the logic of art (editorial photography) and the logic of economy (advertising photography).

The market as an unintended outcome

No single actor sets out to create a market; no photographer, fashion editor or art director is in a market for this reason. Actors in this business want to have their pictures published, become famous, achieve status, earn money, publish photographers, work at high-status magazines, have large and prestigious commercial accounts, hire top photographers, etc. These are typical social actions in which people are "jockeying for relative positions" (White 1993b: 166). How can one describe the market that results

from all of this? A short answer would be that the market is an outcome of various acts. Thus, as I have described in detail throughout this study, actors generate a market by orienting themselves to their own peer group, and through interactions with those on the other side they distinguish themselves. The actors try to pursue their interests. Economic, aesthetic, and social interests are of equal importance for many actors, and this has consequences for the way markets are constructed.[5]

The production process affects the status and identity of the participating actors. Usually the actors' identities are reaffirmed; sometimes they are reconstructed. If, for example, a low-fashion photographer publishes in a high-status magazine her identity is reconstructed and people then perceive her differently. If she has a unique and "new" style, people may even start to imitate her work, thereby reconstructing the meaning of fashion photography. Her actions may, as a consequence, help to reconstruct the market.

Everyone can see the interactions (and the interactional patterns) that occur in the markets, especially that for editorial fashion photography, thus the identities of the actors are observable. All of these relations, as well as the photographs produced are endowed with meanings, which differ little between the actors. The meanings are woven together into a distinct meaning structure of the market. Every week many magazines are published, giving everyone in the market a chance to see the relations between a given photographer and style and magazine. The actors make these observations almost automatically. They do not see their manifold actions and interactions as chaos; instead they are patterns that they can delineate, which give a structure to the market. Since the actors largely see the same things in the market, they have roughly the same meaning and inner horizon of the market (at least those on the same side of the interface).

People involved in interactions in a market often follow the conventions, aesthetic and otherwise. It is rare that they produce pictures that deviate from the type of photography in vogue (e.g. Becker 1974:770–771). In "business-as-usual" interactions, they make few changes in the meaning structure. Though little of the meaning structure is changed in the short run (such as what magazines exist, people's roles and product appearances), changes do take place. Few actions are perfect reproductions of past interactions. In other words, most actions involve an element of change, such as a fashion story that follows a trend, thereby reinforcing it, and thus affecting the meaning structure. Some meanings are changed, and the relationship in the meaning structure is affected. It is quite likely that the horizons of a meaning are changed. That is, those parts of the meaning structure that are less firmly entrenched and further from the core, are more easily changed (cf. Schütz [1932] 1976:80).[4] To put this into concrete terms, only because of roles, positions, styles, status and identities—all endowed with meaning—can one speak of markets having a "structure" and thus stability. Most likely, the best-entrenched meanings are also those which most of the actors take for granted in virtually all of their actions.

Gradual changes and the role of status

Most actions are of the "business-as-usual" type. These actions stabilize the market, though many include an element of change. They prevent chaos, without them actors could not identify the patterns or structures they use to orient themselves. Other actions, however, may transcend the expected pattern. These more entrepreneurial actions, may

ultimately reconstruct the meaning of a market. All of these statements point in the same direction: change, a key issue in sociology, must be accounted for in a theory of the market.

In this section I will continue to discuss how unintended effects can influence the way actors construct the meaning structure. I will also give examples of changes, and present the general logic of internal change in a market.

Though virtually all interactions and all published fashion photographs affect the meaning structure of the business (cf. Elster 1983:135–138), they do not do so to the same degree. As Becker and Bourdieu have pointed out, high-status actors in a market will have a greater impact on the products of a market than low-status actors will (Becker 1978:888; Bourdieu [1994] 1998:111). Some actors simply have more power than others to affect the meaning structure. The work published in a magazine like *ID* or *Italian Vogue*, and the work done by photographers like Terry Richardson, Steven Meisel or Ellen von Umwerth, have a greater impact on fashion photography than the work published in Swedish magazines by Swedish photographers.

It should be pointed out that in many cases trends begin in small and avantgarde magazines, which often work with less established photographers. Also, if enough people begin to copy the type of photography published in such a magazine, or if a photographer is hired to work for a larger magazine after being published in a small one, a trend may eventually begin. But no single actor has the power to determine what is in vogue; fashion is even more complex than Simmel suggested a century ago (Aspers 2005b). The photographer may have applied her style for years and have shown her pictures to many fashion editors and art directors; then, suddenly someone gives her a chance that will greatly help her career. This is a good example of how the photographer needs the interface, and how dependent she is on the views of those on "the other side." Thus, a photographer may have developed a distinctive style, but she always needs to be assigned status by the other side; at the same time she can never really affect the other side. Thus, the whole process includes a degree of randomness, especially from the perspective of the photographer. In a sense consumers function as the gatekeepers of fashion photography (cf. Rosenblum 1978b: 430–3). But it must always be remembered that there exists no "union" of gatekeepers; they are involved in competition rather than cooperation. They compete in order to be "the first with the latest" photographer.

The pictures that result from the association between a photographer and a magazine are, of course, also observable to everyone in the market. Thus, the product develops from negotiations between sellers and buyers. Though a market is labeled according to its products, those products change over time, so that fashion photographs look differently depending on when they were produced.

Radical change: transcending the meaning structure

I have now described the principles behind the gradual change that occurs in a market, which of course also includes change in the products: the fashion pictures. Gradual change is part of everyday business in any market. The actors in the market may find it hard to pinpoint this type of change, except in hindsight (e.g. Schütz [1932] 1976). Different constellations of producers and consumers affect the meaning structure of

fashion photography differently. Though this clearly represents a form of change, it is not a radical one. The more radical form of change I will call entrepreneurial actions following the Schumpeterian tradition.

Many aspects of actors' meaning structures can be changed. These include economic aspects such as price convention, social aspects such as agents' appearances, technological aspects such as the digital technology, and, of course, the aesthetic dimensions of fashion photography (e.g. what the pictures look like). In this section I will return to a few examples I have already discussed as illustrations of how the meaning structure is transcended. I will also provide a few more tangible examples of actions that transcend the meaning structure and discuss the entrepreneur, and the role of icons in the market. Both the entrepreneur and the icon are examples of types of actors that have transcended the meaning structure in a market.

What follows is not a detailed analysis of change in the business of fashion photography; it is more an indication of a more general point. Though the magazine *Bibel* only existed for a short time, it clearly had an effect on the markets for magazines and editorial fashion photography; every fashion photographer in Sweden knew about it. It was not only the very existence of *Bibel* that mattered, it was also that fashion had never been presented this way before in a regularly published Swedish magazine. To use another example mentioned earlier, the Pentax 6x7 camera has to some extent replaced the famous Hasselblad camera in the meaning of fashion photography held by photographers. This trend was not grounded in "technology," but rather in aesthetics. Perhaps it is also an example of the vagaries of trends.

Price conventions in a market provide another example of changing meanings. Catalog photographers had a meaning of price of the films. In the past the photographer would charge not only for the actual cost of buying and developing the film; she would also add a sum that was meant to cover the costs of testing the film, delivering it to the laboratory, and choosing the best shots. Some mail-order companies, however, have changed this convention; they order the film themselves and also cover the costs connected to producing the pictures. The photographers still have to choose the best shots, but they are now paid to do so. Before this change occurred the job of choosing the best shot was included in the cost of the film. So even though little has changed in the meaning of fashion photography, the inner horizon—which includes the price conventions and the work that comes with the actual photography—has indeed altered.

Not only can actors in the market be identified as people who affect the market; social scientists can also accidentally affect it. In the following rather lengthy excerpt from an interview, an established photographer uses my words as an excuse to influence his position. The considerable irony involved in his comments unfortunately does not come through in the excerpt. The episode began with me asking a question.

PA: There is another thing I am interested in, when it comes to bylines. Often in a byline the name of the [advertising] agency is included, sometimes also the photographer's name, but not always [?].

Him: *[interrupts]* Well, [in that case] it's not handled perfectly, I haven't made an effort. Sometimes they do [include the name], sometimes they don't. Well I should change this—I will. Certain photographers have demanded [a byline]. I have not, as you can see.

PA: So you haven't discussed this with your…?
Him. *[Interrupts]* Well, I have, sometimes…. No damn I haven't talked about it. I know that some [photographers] have…. Why don't we call them and say that they must begin doing it from now on? I have thought about it but I have forgotten to do it. I will do it.
PA: Can I call you later to find out what happened?
Him: I will call right now, while you're here!
[Dials the number on his cell phone] "Hi [name]".
[Voice on the other end]
Him: Long time no see…—I'll make it short: where's the genius?
[Referring to the art director].
[Voice on the other end]
Him: Well, I'm here with a person whose name is Patrik and he does…what is it called? What are you doing?
PA: A book.
Him: A book.
[Voice on the other end.]
Him: Yes, a book. He wonders about the full-page ads in the [name]. Why does it only include the name of the agency? It should say [in the byline]: Photo, [name of photographer]. Tell [the art director] that if not, he must go to a plastic surgeon.
[Voice on the other end.]
Him: Yes, to get a surgeon.
[Voice on the other end.]
Him: Tell the fucker that the name of the one who took the pictures must also be written [in the byline].[…]
PA: Well…this was interesting…[laughing]
Him: This is a guy I have worked with. I have just not thought about it as you notice. […] But now we have made a decision.

The next time I saw an advertisement for that campaign, his name was indeed included in the byline. This is a way that a single photographer can change his relationship with an advertising agency. This photographer knew that some other photographers' names were included, and he knew that they had pushed the art directors to include their names, and so had he. But more importantly, this change is seen by everyone in the business: photographers as well as art directors. This means that their conception of the byline is affected; their meaning of bylines is affected. The more frequently photographers demand this, the more common it will be for photographers' names to be included in the bylines of advertising photography. Eventually it will be taken for granted in the business. In fact, over the last ten years or so it has become more common for the byline to be included. It is a very tangible example of how individuals' actions—oriented to previous acts by other actors (the reference group)—are important for the way these individuals act.

Many other examples show how this gradual diffusion of ideas, behavior, and practices take place in a market. One is the diffusion of digital cameras among photographers (Sverrisson 2000). I have already mentioned some of the effects on this market of the introduction of photographers' agencies, such as the separation of the

aesthetic and the economic issues for the photographers. The trend among photographers to lower their fixed costs by not having their own studio is another example. This also shows a change in the economic aspects of being a fashion photographer. A final example is the trend in the 1980s in Sweden toward using stylists—which had long been done outside of Sweden. Today a stylist is included in the inner horizon of fashion photography among people in the business, but this was certainly not the case in the early 1980s. The horizon of fashion photography has been changed, and so have the photographs produced.

Most of the actions in a process of diffusion are, however, best described as a form of copying what others do. Some sociologists have used the notion of imitation to describe essentially the same phenomenon (Hedström 1998). Though some ideas have been suggested, little is known of what makes people actually follow others, or what first triggers a diffusion process (Hedström, Sandell and Stern 2000:150).

The entrepreneur

In this study I have not explicitly tried to locate and discuss the entrepreneurs who have initiated the processes of change that have reconstructed the markets. This task does demand attention, however, since it concerns the very essence of change in markets. Most actions in a process of diffusion are probably best described as acts of imitation or as "business-as-usual," hence not as entrepreneurial acts (cf. White 1993a:48). The notion of "entrepreneurial" action, in contrast, is best reserved for those actions that actually trigger the change. Phenomenologically speaking they are the actions that transcend the current meaning structure and reconstruct it. The notion of entrepreneur is usually connected with the name of Joseph Schumpeter, though others have contributed to our understanding of this topic (Swedberg 2000b: 12; Blaug [1986] 2000:84). Classical economists and sociologists like Marshall and Pare to have also discussed the role of the entrepreneur (e.g. Aspers 200 la), and Harrison White acknowledged the roles of both entrepreneur and general manager in, what he calls, "getting action" (White 1992:262–264, 273–276). I emphasize Schumpeter's definition of an entrepreneur.

According to Schumpeter:

> [T] he function of the entrepreneurs is to reform or revolutionize the pattern of production by exploiting an invention or, more generally, an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source of supply of materials or a new outlet for products, by reorganizing an industry and so on.
>
> ([1950] 1975:132, cf. [1911] 2000:50–51)

Schumpeter also built an entire economic theory based upon the idea of the entrepreneur (Swedberg 2000b: 15). Moreover, Schumpeter's entrepreneur is primarily not a person with certain character traits, as is true of Pareto's entrepreneur (e.g. Aspers 2001a, cf. Zetterberg 1997:79). Schumpeter outlines these motivational factors for the entrepreneur: the dream and the will to found a private kingdom, the will to conquer, and the joy of

creating (e.g. Swedberg 2000b: 16). The last of these three factors seems most applicable to the actors in the production market for fashion photography.[5]

My focus is on entrepreneurial actions rather than the entrepreneur herself. A key component in Schumpeter's theory of the entrepreneur, which seems to allude to Nietzsche, is the idea of "creative destruction" (Schumpeter [1950] 1975:81–86). That is, entrepreneurial actions cause the destruction of old economic structures and generate new ones (Schumpeter [1950] 1975:81–86). This type of phenomenon may be interpreted phenomenologically as a transcendence of the existing meaning structure. As Swedberg has pointed out, many non-economic thinkers have incorporated the idea of the entrepreneur and applied it to areas outside of the economy (Swedberg 2000b:18).

Howard Becker, Pierre Bourdieu and Thomas Smith Spence have used the idea of an entrepreneur in contexts where aesthetic values are important (Becker 1974; Bourdieu 1993:83; Smith Spence 1974; see also White 1993a: 48–49). Some of the key points of their works illustrate the entrepreneur in an "aesthetic context," and make it possible to use the idea of entrepreneurial acts as transcending the conventions of an aesthetic discipline, such as photography.[6] Much of art is governed by conventions: about the material used, or the composition, and the technology or techniques employed (Becker 1974, 1982; Chaplin 1994:169–173). Visual conventions, of special interest in this study, do change over time. These changes are sometimes rather small, but they are nevertheless driven by "inventions" (Becker 1974:773, 1982:40–67; cf. the idea of "style entrepreneur," Smith 1974:726). Furthermore, to adhere completely to these conventions would mean endorsing what is not celebrated in this business: conformity, repetition, and imitation. Breaking with conventions also entails some risks. Only if the consumers, especially the important ones accept such breaks, is a photographer likely to have an impact on the markets and be endowed with the status of a creative person. Furthermore, as production in these markets often involves cooperation, entrepreneurial acts are also "contagious," as I described earlier.

To summarize, then, what the aesthetic entrepreneur does is to alter one or more conventions by presenting new ideas, and she may also destroy the old conventions (cf. White 1993a: 72). The entrepreneur may consequently cause disruption and turmoil in a market by questioning much of what actors take for granted. In such situations meaning is reconstructed; and what the actors in a market once saw as the ideal appearance for a fashion photograph is changed. The new conception of how to take pictures is included in the fashion photographers' meaning of fashion photography. Inventions may ultimately become conventions in the market, once several actors have adopted them.[7] The strongest attack on conventions would be an attack on the entire system of status distribution (Becker 1974:774). Additionally, "cultural entrepreneurs" are likely to operate in a "milieu open to competition among standards and models of behavior" (Smith 1974:739). The market for fashion photography, I argue, is such a milieu, but it lacks objectively existing standards for evaluating what is produced. In the final Chapter I will argue that status becomes the ordering principle in such situations.

From a visual sociology point of view, change in the visual conventions through entrepreneurial action would be an ideal example of change in this business. That is, the very product would be changed. In a visual culture like fashion photography, visual conventions are central, as is their transcendence as perceived by the actors, although examples are hard to provide. The use of a ringlight flash is one example of an aesthetic

innovation which results in a new appearance for the photographs. Naturally, all aspects of fashion photographs are subject to such change: the look of the model, styling, hairdressing, make-up, lighting, background, etc. Explaining this process in detail is beyond the scope of this study. I will, however, offer a brief example of a concrete entrepreneurial action in this business.

The example concerns the appearance of photographers' agents in Sweden. Cameralink was the first true agency to establish itself in Stockholm (and the first in Sweden), in 1990. Above I have indicated how other agencies have followed Cameralink; today agents are included within the actors' natural attitude; they take them for granted in the business. Earlier I described in detail the different results of the arrival of the photographers' agencies. Agencies function to some extent as distributors of status, so they have affected the meaning of status for most actors in the business. Moreover, photographers no longer have to discuss prices with the advertising agencies. Thus the photographers' agencies have enlarged the gulf between the aesthetic and the economic dimension of fashion photography for the photographers. In short the agents have affected the Swedish market to a considerable extent. Even though they were common abroad long before they appeared in Sweden, the opening of Cameralink, by Lena Gullberg and Åsa Gadestam constituted an entrepreneurial action. According to Schumpeter, an entrepreneurial act consists of the introduction of a new product or service in an existing market ([1911] 2000:51). In the beginning agents were not always accepted by others in the business. For example, agents would not have been initially welcome in discussions with customers about publishing rights. In the next section I will turn to the most conspicuous example of actors who performed entrepreneurial actions: the icons in a market.

Icons

Markets are not only places where people exchange products, services, and money. In Chapters 3 to 5, I described other aspects that make up these markets, and especially the production markets for fashion photography. These aspects include a largely shared stock of knowledge; cultural aspects, stories told and known by the actors, and the unique industry social conventions. What I will call "icons" are typically included in the stories told by the industry insiders. A "sibling" of the icon is what has been called a "role model," a point of reference who can be used to evaluate one's success in a market (Faulkner 1971:54, 1983:165). The role models are well-known actors whom people relate to and tell stories about. There are similarities between what I call icons and some other notions that students of markets have used. Fligstein, to reiterate, argues that some types of actors—typically states, but assumingly also large companies—function as stabilizers of markets (1996:660, 663, 667). I argue that icons basically fulfill the same role as large actors. Smith Spence has suggested that the entrepreneur who achieves celebrity, "offers up a model for behavior or biography that, being visible, serves as a fixed reference point of some wide or narrow relevance for the public, in identification with which (or by contrast to which) the members of an audience may selectively pose and define themselves" (Smith Spence 1974:739). An icon may have been in the market for a long time or have achieved extraordinary things, most likely entrepreneurial ones. Other actors have endowed these acts with meaning, and a story has been added that

connects the person with them. These acts become part of the identity of the icon. In short, icons "stick out" from the crowd in the market. Icons do not necessarily need to be active; stories can outlive those who initiated them.

Icons may affect the market aesthetically. Smith Spence speaks of "style entrepreneurs"; I believe their acts can change the actors' meanings in a market, for example, if they introduce a new style that other actors begin to imitate (Smith Spence 1974, cf. Bourdieu [1992] 1996). A style entrepreneur, however, is not likely to look for imitators. This is because of her position in the status order of the market (or what Bourdieu would call a field; cf. Smith Spence 1974:729). Identities are not self-made; entrepreneurs and icons are social constructions, and their identities are distributed with the help of interfaces and are conditioned upon relationships with other actors in the business.

In fashion photography, as in photography in general, there are international icons such as Irving Penn and Richard Avedon. Every photographer has heard of these two photographers and seen their pictures. In the 1950s Penn transcended the meaning of fashion photography when he began to use a plain backdrop (Miller 1998:31). As I have tried to show throughout this book, the Swedish markets should be seen as separate and not yet part of the international market. Furthermore, the Swedish markets have their own icon, in addition to the international ones: Mikael Jansson (see Plates XII and XIII). Jansson is the best known Swedish fashion photographer today and has no competition. People talk about him, discuss his pictures, and relate themselves to him in various ways. In my interviews, several people mentioned his name and others referred to him to explain various phenomena.[8]

From a sociological point of view, the focus is typically not on Jansson as a person. Icons, however, are not ideal types: they are "real," although not everything told about them is true (cf. Smith 1974:730). The logic of being an icon includes being a person whom people gossip about (cf. Smith 1974:733). Rumors can easily spread about icons and I came across several rumors about Jansson while conducting this study. Although most people in a market admire icons, many also like to criticize them. Some people would probably enjoy watching an icon's fall from popularity. An icon easily becomes a target for resentment, as I have noticed among photographers more than once. Whether actors in the market like or dislike icons, however, they all relate to them.

That many speak about Jansson and use him as point of reference when describing fashion photography and talking about changes in the industry, supports the following general thesis: icons have at one time or another been entrepreneurs and have reconstructed the market in which they are icons. That is, change does not only take place through the gradual reconstruction that occurs when old and new constellations meet in the market interfaces and produce new products.

It should be clear that all change essentially comes about through processes of individual actions, but in the case of the icon it is possible to connect a change to the actions of one single person. The actions or one event may then become part of the narrative and, hence, a part of the person's identity and career (cf. White 1993a:45–55). If many of these actions are added up, the person may eventually be elevated to the role of an icon. Thus, at first an entrepreneurial act may cause turmoil, and the actors may even at first be seen as mavericks (Becker 1982:233–246). Later the same act may be a part of the field's convention, and the actor herself may be an icon. Upon which the actor and

her actions may help to bring stability to the market. Of course other people may have performed a similar act, but only when well known and high-status actors perform the act does it also affect other actors in the market. In other words, an act only becomes "entrepreneurial" when people endow it with meaning. Once a person has become an icon, her acts are much more likely to be studied carefully by others in the business. This is a further example of how the status position is also important for the reconstruction of the market.

Clearly, Mikael Jansson, or "Micke" as some call him, is included in the inner horizon of Swedish fashion photographers. Jansson functions as a point of reference, and as a model for what is possible in the market. Through his and other actors' accomplishments, the meaning of being a fashion photographer has changed. Furthermore, the centrality of the icon means, in practice, that an actor who does not know who Mikael Jansson is would be unlikely to be part of the market proper. Icons, in other words, function as cultural demarcation lines in markets.

What are the exemplary acts of the icons in this business? More concretely: what exactly has Jansson done to earn his position as an icon? I provide here only a brief account of Jansson's work; he has published several interviews and a book (Jansson 1999). Already as an assistant to the well-known fashion and advertising photographer Karl-Johan Rönn, Jansson was known. He left Sweden for New York, to become an assistant to Richard Avedon, one of the world's top fashion photographers. Though Jansson was not the first Swedish photographer to work in the USA, he led the present wave of Swedes who work abroad as assistants. As one photographer states: "Mattias [Edwall, a photographer] and Micke [Jansson] worked a bit more professionally and a bit more internationally." This photographer continues, referring to these two photographers' visits to the USA: "People had been there before Micke and Mattias, but not in the same way. When Micke and Mattias came home, a lot happened at once […] so, yes, he [Jansson] has meant a lot [for the business]." When Jansson returned to Sweden, seemingly everyone knew he had been working in the USA. Today, every Swedish photographer's assistant hopes to work abroad as an assistant for some time, typically in the USA, and preferably in New York. Thus this hope is included in their horizon.

When Jansson returned to Stockholm, he rented a space in the part of the city known as the South (Söder), which at that time was a somewhat rough area, where few photographers had studios or offices. Although Jansson was not the first photographer to move to Söder, one photographer, who also has a studio in the "hottest" part of Söder says, "Micke became the great star. He'd worked for Avedon. Well, when he moved in [to Söder], then…everyone started to look for spaces up here." Though Jansson was not the first, he nonetheless seems to have set off the wave of photographers settling in this area.

Both photographers and assistants say that being an assistant for Jansson is the most prestigious assistant position in Sweden.[9] Moreover, no Swedish photographer has been as successful internationally and nationally as Jansson. He displayed his fashion photographs at the Swedish Museum of Modern Art in Stockholm (in the 1993 Catwalk exhibition), and is the first Swedish photographer to publish a huge book of his own fashion photographs, in 1999. With this book, mentioned by many photographers I interviewed during the fall of 1999, Jansson cemented his position even more firmly.

Jansson is the only fashion photographer in Sweden who is what I call an icon. Other photographers may be well known, especially Carl Bengtsson. Two well known women fashion photographers stand out: Denise Grünstein and Ewa-Marie Rundquist (see Plate IX for a photo taken by Rundquist). They have also been mentioned as sources of inspiration, especially by other female fashion photographers (Urban 2000), and both displayed photos in the Catwalk exhibition. They are the first women among the high-status fashion photographers in Sweden. Their presence also seems to have made a difference in the market, especially as a catalyst for other women to work as fashion photographers.

To sum it up, icons in a market are real actors who are (or have been) active and who play important roles. In most cases, I argue, they have been entrepreneurs as they have helped to reconstruct the markets in which they operate. Icons function as lighthouses that facilitate orientation; they also help to set boundaries for what one does in a market, and are part of the market narrative. They also bring structure to markets and people in the market can use them for comparison, for example to see what success means in a market. People outside of a particular business seldom know of its icons. If the production market and the items produced do attract attention from people outside of the business, icons may gain public recognition. Östen Mäkitalo, the father of the cellular phone, and Bill Gates are examples of icons who are also known outside of their industries. This suggests that one may find icons in many different markets. More often, however, they play a greater role in markets in which status is very important, or to put it differently, in markets characterized by insecurity.

This study and the theories employed

In this study I have used Harrison White's theory as a scheme of reference, and it has thus been my main source of inspiration for studying the markets for fashion photography in Sweden. I have of course used additional theoretical insights, but White's theory has been central. In this section I will explicitly discuss my theoretical approach and relate it to my empirical findings. Much of this material can be found throughout the text, but it deserves to be highlighted for theoretical purposes.

In Chapter 2 I presented a typology of markets, in which I conceptualized production markets as instances of a more general type of markets called role markets. The main question in this study, has to do with the relationship between the empirical evidence I have generated and the theories I have employed, in particular White's theory. I summarize my conclusion in one short sentence: the empirical evidence of this study supports White's theory. I will not describe each aspect of his theory that is supported, but simply mention them, and then concentrate on some problematic issues. The empirical evidence of this study supports eight key propositions of White's theory:

- that producers orient to each other
- that much of the competition goes via the interface of the customers
- that actors differentiate among each other and hold niches in their own production market
- that identities in the business are generated mainly in the actors' production market; that markets are embedded in each other

- that identities in the market are a form of order in a market
- that there are several "rules of the game"
- and that gossip is important for the spread of information.

Other aspects of White's theory would also seem to gain support from this study, such as his sociology of prices.

Several other parts of White's theory, however, are not supported by the empirical material of this study. The markets for fashion photography, like most markets, are not part of a chain of production in which the consumers and producers are unknown to each other. Instead, the actors know quite a bit about each other. A further difference is that one cannot really use the idea of "terms of trade" or what White calls the W(y)-function (e.g. White and Eccles 1987:984). In aesthetic markets what matters is not market shares or production volume as White argues, but style and status as part of the photographers' identity. Moreover, the consumers in these markets are not merely reacting to the producers' work, but also take an active role in forming the product. These, as noted, are associated markets: both producers and consumers take part in producing the goods. Finally, the very notion of quality as used by White is problematic in these aesthetic markets since, as I have shown, it does not directly account for differences in, for example, styles.

White's theory of production markets, which I developed in Chapter 2 and which can be further developed in light of my empirical findings about this particular market, must also be related to what White himself has written about other social species, as he calls them (1992). The species that White calls "council" seems—from the limited information that White provides about it—to fit the empirical material on the market for fashion photography (White 1992). Since White himself suggests Faulkner's studies as examples of these councils, it may also be useful to relate this study to the other theories I discussed in Chapter 2, those of Joel Podolny and Robert Faulkner. I will return to White's theory in Chapter 7.

Neither Podolny nor Faulkner provide a market theory as well developed as White's; therefore I will only see them as amendments to his theory (cf. Chapter 2). The great advantage with Podolny's approach is his focus on status; he argues that the relationships between actors in a market are part of what endows them with status (1993:833). Earlier I criticized Podolny for having a naturalistic bias in his notion of status, given the way he connects it to quality. Ultimately, Podolny adheres to an idea of quality that is naturalistic, in contrast to White's much more constructivist approach. For example, Podolny uses status as a signal of quality, and thus blends two different logics of differentiation in markets. Finally, as Podolny himself admits, his approach also lacks a dynamic aspect.

The sociologist who has approached aesthetic markets most persistently, most vigorously and with the most detailed empirical work is without doubt Robert Faulkner.[10] Since he studies markets in which *individuals* operate, his work is of extra interest. The ideas of Faulkner and his collaborators on how careers and markets intersect are confirmed by this study. This topic is important for an understanding of markets in which individuals operate. The way that the producers—in this case the photographers—interact with the people on the other side (i.e. the consumers) is crucial for their identity, as Faulkner discusses (1983).

I argue that the findings of this study are well in line with the key thinking among sociologists who study markets: White, Podolny, and Faulkner. A few gaps exist in their works however, and I argue that they must be addressed. First, the literature needs a typology of markets, as I have outlined in Table 2.1 (differentiating primarily between role markets and exchange markets). I argue that this typology is useful for making distinctions among real markets. Second, where in the production chain is the market located? Broadly speaking, two types of markets can be identified: final markets and markets upstream from the production chain, typically wholesale markets or industrial markets (business to business, or as this is also known, B2B). In final markets the consumers are many and anonymous, which may not be the case in markets that are located upstream. However, I agree with White that the producers' knowledge of their own side is definitely better than their knowledge of the other side. This discussion also suggests that the social scientist, interested in the market from her own point of view, should study both sides to produce theories of markets. A third need is to differentiate between studies of firms and studies of individuals as producers. I also think that changes in markets need to be better accounted for than has been done so far. I have used the entrepreneur as the locus of change in the markets for fashion photography; as I see it, the entrepreneur, transcends the actors' meaning structure of the market, including the natural attitude of the market, or what actors take for granted (cf. Schütz [1966] 1975:116–132). Clearly, more research must be done before we can speak of a phenomenology of the entrepreneur.

One may conclude that actors enter a market and through the process of socialization become used to the order of that market and they soon take it for granted. But they also influence markets through their own activities of differentiating themselves from other photographers. Thus, the processes of achieving an identity in the market, acquiring status and developing a style, and striving for aesthetic expression all contribute to the construction, and of course, the reconstruction of the markets. Historically, these two production markets for fashion photography have been continuously reconstructed, most likely because those who enter them have had a stronger aesthetic interest than their predecessors. Moreover, there are continuous changes in beliefs about how fashion photographs should look, what car a photographer should drive and how an assistant should dress. I have briefly emphasized the actions and interactions that are important for understanding these markets and how they operate. Prices, I argue (following White), must be understood in relation to the construction of the market, not the other way around. Prices in the market—for example the daily pay of a photographer—are a result of historical conditions, which I have not studied in any detail. The differences in photographers' charges are results of their status in the market. Thus, one cannot understand price differences unless one also understands how status is distributed. Price is not a result of objectively measurable quality. The final issue I want to raise, but certainly not the least important, is that a theory must account for the level of "entrenchment" of the meanings, values, standards, etc. of the market being studied (cf. the notions of crystallization and decrystallization, Smith 1974). In many markets the standards or conventions of what characterizes a good product, are fairly stable (entrenched), whereas in others, such as aesthetic markets, the values are connected to the status of the actors. That is, the latter markets contain few stable values (cf. Zuckerman 1999). Furthermore, the values that do exist may rarely be entrenched in other markets

either. In Chapter 7, the final chapter, I will return to this discussion of status in relation to aesthetic and entrenched values.

Summary

To speak of differences between markets, one must know the concrete details of those markets: how they are constructed, what is valued, etc. (cf. Bourdieu [1979] 1984:224). Only based upon this knowledge can one differentiate, for example, between types of photographers who operate in a certain market. The approach I have taken here, however, is not idiosyncratic and exclusively concerned with the markets for fashion photography in Sweden. My aim is rather to develop a theory for aesthetic markets in general. In addition, I hope this study and its theoretical points will contribute to a general discussion of markets. I will also return to this topic in Chapter 7.

How can one summarize these particular markets, and what essential notions compose the core of a theory of aesthetic markets? A market is not only an exchange of money for products or services. Markets appear as interfaces that include economic transactions. No natural law decrees where interfaces appear in the production chain, nor how many there can be. The transaction cost approach may be part of the explanation, but reality is more complex (Hirsch [1977] 1992). The focus of this study has been on the construction of two interfaces and of the identities in these interfaces. These two aspects can only be understood in connection with each other.

I have also made a distinction between role markets and exchange markets. The latter are less common, but they are the focus of neoclassical economics. The majority of real markets, however, are role markets; that is, the actor holds only one role, either as producer or consumer. Production markets are of this type. In these particular production markets the buyers often collaborate with the sellers to produce the result; in what I have called an associated market. I have also described a type of production market that I call an aesthetic market, which is characterized by status distributors of identities. The distribution of status mostly occurs in the market for editorial photography. That is, the producers gain their identity in this market, in the interface, where they interact with the consumers. In this particular market, personal photographic style is a central component of the photographer's identity. Thus, the photographer's name, style, and status comprise her identity as a producer. She can control her market identity, but she never has full control. This is so because the status she is endowed with is conditioned by whom she interacts with on the other side of the interface, e.g. the consumers. Consequently, her aesthetic narrative and her past interactions with consumers and co-producers, such as models and stylists, become important. Status helps to bring order into the myriad of existing producers and styles. One condition for order is that the consumers are viewed as legitimate distributors of status, and that all actors in the market essentially agree. The market, to sum it all up, comes into being as the unintended result of the internal orientation among actors who, to quote White, are jockeying for relative positions (1993b:166).

In aesthetic markets, as their name indicates aesthetic values are important. Success comes to those who act according to the logic of the aesthetic sphere, and this may not always go hand-in-hand with economic reward (cf. Bourdieu [1992] 1996). At the same

time, in this particular case, the photographers can operate in two strongly interrelated production markets: the market for editorial fashion photography and the market for advertising fashion photography. Thus, the traditional conflict between "art" and "money," a leading theme in much of the literature on the sociology of art, has been resolved in the fashion photography business through the separation of two markets: the market for editorial fashion photography ("art") and the market for advertising fashion photography ("money").[11]

7
Towards a phenomenological sociology

In this book I have addressed three main goals: to understand, and thereby explain, the market for fashion photography in Sweden; to present an ethnography of this market; and to incorporate the phenomenological approach to the social sciences. The first two issues were addressed in Chapter 6, in which I analyzed the two markets for fashion photography. The third goal, to incorporate phenomenology, I have attempted to address throughout the entire study, but I will give it further attention in this chapter.

In addition to discussing phenomenology, I will mention a few other issues that I have raised or touched upon in this study, but not discussed thoroughly. One key issue is if one can generalize the findings. Is it possible to use the theory I have employed here to study other aesthetic production markets? Furthermore, what can a study like this add to sociology at large? In order to address these questions, I will begin by discussing this study in connection with the more general notion of social interaction, but I will also relate it to the aesthetics in society at large, and especially to the conflict between the aesthetic and economic spheres in society. I will, in brief, propose that the results can be generalized to apply to other aesthetic markets, though the final proof can only be made in relation to further empirical studies.

Aesthetics in markets and society

I have noted that the markets for fashion photography in Sweden, and especially the market for editorial fashion photography, have gone through a process of change. In other words, the markets have been reconstructed. Editorial fashion photography has changed, and simplified somewhat, from craft to art (cf. Becker 1978). This can be said although relatively little empirical evidence has been provided on the issue. As typical examples of how the reconstruction has taken place, I have mentioned that bylines have become more common in advertising photography; that photographers, stylists and make-up artists now have agents who represent them; and that the people who enter the business seem to have more artistic ambitions compared to 30 years ago. I argue that the last reason probably is the most fundamental; the rest may to some extent be consequences of it. The strongest and most conspicuous evidence for the change can be seen in the way that especially avant-garde fashion photography, but also more mundane fashion photography, look today, compared with how they looked 20 years ago for example.

Furthermore, in a similar way as in art markets, aesthetic and economic issues are separated in these markets. The difference between craft and art can be interpreted as a difference between the two logics: that of money (typically craft oriented work in the economic sphere) and that of art (typically art work in the aesthetic sphere). Markets are typically economic phenomena located in the economic sphere. Even though the markets for fashion photography reside in the "economic sphere" (Weber 1946), they appear to have a meaning structure that in certain respects resemble art markets rather than traditional economic markets (e.g. Giuffre 1996, 1999; Gustavsson 1999; Moulin [1967] 1987; Plattner 1996; White and White [1965] 1993, cf. Wulff 2000). This is especially true of editorial fashion photography.

But what is known in sociology about the different spheres in society, and what conclusions can one draw from this knowledge? The idea of dividing society into different spheres is connected to a profound problem in the social sciences: one needs an overview of society in order to be able to describe how its parts are related. Several approaches to this problem exist; here I will concentrate on the one that stresses the role of so-called spheres. The idea of spheres can be traced to Nietzsche, and possibly also back to Aristotle. Though Nietzsche, as far as I know, never used the notion itself, the idea is present in his writings (Nietzsche [1883–88] 1967:358–359, 383). Simmel also speaks about spheres (1950:342–343). But Weber is the leading social science theorist on the idea of spheres. What I present here is an interpretation of Weber's thinking on the issue of spheres. Weber divides society into six spheres (1946:323–331, 333–357, cf. Zetterberg 1997:94). All spheres, he argues, display a certain amount of "autonomy" *("Eigengesetzlichkeit")*. Moreover, the logic, the meaning, and the ends (values) are different for all spheres. It is the ideal aspects, not the material that defines a sphere. The exact number of spheres is of less importance, since it largely depends upon time and place. Weber's general point of departure is the religious sphere, which he views as the primordial one (cf. Bendix 1962:264–5), out of which other spheres later emerged. The economic sphere and the aesthetic sphere, for example, developed separate logics from that of the religious sphere; and gradually became separate. The spheres have come to clash even more with each other as they have evolved and grown in importance. This is especially true of the economic sphere, which is strongly related to the development of what has been called Modernity.[1]

The conflict of interest in terms of spheres that is at the center of this study is the one between the economic sphere and the aesthetic sphere. The economic sphere is characterized by instrumental rationality, impersonal exchange, depersonalization, objectification, universal measures, calculus, and formal contract (Weber 1946:331–333, [1921–22] 1978). The aesthetic sphere, in contrast, is close to the religious sphere because religion has been the "inexhaustible fountain of opportunities for artistic creation" (Weber 1946:340–43). This also means that art is closer to anti-rational and non-rational activities, according to Weber. Weber especially mentions music as a source of ecstasy and says that icons are religious artifacts. According to Weber, the relationship between art and a religious ethic will be harmonious if the artist's work is seen as a result of "ability" (which is a form of charisma), or if art is a spontaneous play that produces the artwork (1946:341).

However, the rationalization and intellectualization of life also means that art becomes more and more of an independent sphere, with its own values. Weber views art as a

salvation from everyday life, especially from the "increasing pressure of theoretical and practical rationalism" (1946:342). Weber also says, echoing Nietzsche, that there is a trend to transform moral evaluations into judgments of taste. In a sense Weber views art as a replacement for religious experience.

Weber makes another important point in indicating that the "autonomy" of the artistic sphere is a result of these social processes, though he does not explain them in as much detail as he explains the emergence of rational capitalism (Weber [1904–5] 1968). Clearly the world did not come ready-made in six distinct spheres, and we must recognize the historical and cultural events that have created and shaped the current world. Thus the outcome will differ depending on time and place. But once a sphere is established, it becomes important in its own right, because it "views itself as being important (cf. Bourdieu [1992] 1996).[2] This can be seen as a means for understanding change at a societal level. The decline and growth of the importance of the different spheres, and their respective logics tell us something about society at large.

But is not this discussion of spheres simply a detour away from aesthetics and economy? Quite the contrary, as I see it. Among postmodernists the role of aesthetics is fundamental. This is especially so in the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche, who was the first to anticipate much of what today is called postmodernity. According to Nietzsche, the last instance for evaluating moral and political matters among others is aesthetics. No judge of reason can deliver judgments on moral statements, Nietzsche proclaims. This idea, and others like it have been picked up by postmodern thinkers. The role of aesthetics has today become an accepted aspect of postmodern society or what has been called reflexive modernity (cf. Lash 1994). Scientists like Roman Inglehart have also presented empirical evidence for a gradual shift towards postmodern values (Inglehart 1997, cf. Bell 1973; Lash and Urry 1987). Inglehart has argued that in societies where the basic survival elements of life are secure—as they are in Western societies—the aesthetic dimension becomes increasingly important (1990, cf. Gronow 1997). Furthermore, in a review article on the "aestheticization" of society, Fuenta shows how several authors argue that aesthetics is increasingly important in contemporary society, even though the concrete empirical evidence for this thesis is still somewhat meager (Fuenta 2000). I argue that my study supports this thesis on the increased importance of aesthetic values in society. To summarize, if society was completely permeated with postmodern values, one could not speak of different spheres at all. Though I would argue that the evidence of postmodern tendencies is accumulating, it is not the same thing as living in an entirely postmodern world.

The scientific debate about postmodernity contains arguments about postmodern science, knowledge, politics, and morality. Can one also speak of tendencies of a postmodern economy? That is, can one speak of an economy that is at least partly driven by aesthetic values? To approach this question, it may be interesting to recall what the prophets of industrial society, such as Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, wrote about increased industrialization, bureaucratization, and the economy at large. I will, however, not repeat what is common knowledge among sociologists. Instead I will refer to what Thorstein Veblen said about the role of aesthetics in the future industrialized society. Veblen wrote that "[A]ny movement for the reform of industrial art or for the inculcation of aesthetic ideals must fall in line with the technological exigencies of the machine process, unless it choose [s] to hang as an anaemic fad upon the fringe of modern

industry" ([1902] 1945:197). Veblen was clear that art must succumb to the production principles of craft production, typically the production order of machinery. Thus he predicted that cheap and mass-produced products would dominate the supply in the future. In contrast, I argue that aesthetics is more important today than it was when Veblen and others wrote, and that it most likely will become even more important in the future. That people acquire identities, not only due to their positions in the production order but also due to their consumption (lifestyles), is an indication of this. Interpreted a bit more generally, one may say not only that art invades craft (Becker 1978), but that the logic of the aesthetic sphere intrudes into the economic sphere—and as a consequence one may speak of a more postmodern economy.

There also seems to be a connection between what has been called the "New Economy" and the increased importance of aesthetics and the logic of art. The skills, for example, that a photographer possesses are of a strictly personal nature. Furthermore, this situation is the opposite to that of someone who is simply an "appendix" to a machine, who can easily be exchanged for another worker, according to the Tayloristic principles of organization of work (cf. Aspers 1999b). Economic capital also plays a reduced role among photographers, as well as among the actors in the New Economy; "capital" today resides more in the minds of the actors. Thus, one way to conceptualize the differences between the "old" and the "new" economy would be to say that the former is focused on economic capital, whereas the latter is focused on human and social capital (cf. Aspers 1999b). Much more can of course be said on this topic, and more empirical work needs to be conducted to provide a better understanding of the New Economy.

Furthermore, I argue that the theoretical approach employed in this study is more suitable for studying contemporary production markets than neoclassical economic theory, which after all was developed to analyze the growth of industrial society, and modeled upon the stock exchange (van Daal and Jolink 1993:110). If one agrees to speak of the New Economy, or a postmodern economy, one would very likely argue that new theories will have to be developed. I suggest that the sociological approach to studying the economy has much to offer on this score, though there still remains much to be done. To illustrate what I mean I now discuss status, which I argue is a key notion in a postmodern economy.

Status

I have argued that status is of fundamental importance in understanding markets, especially aesthetic markets.[3] People in aesthetic markets orient themselves to status. The key question, however, is why status becomes so important in such markets. I propose that this fact must be understood in relation to the logic of such markets. The meaning of fashion photography is ever-changing. The logic of not only fashion and fashion photography, but of art in general is characterized by flux. I argue that this leads to a situation in which the researcher must emphasize the role of insecurity in markets (cf. Podolny 1993; Hirsch [1977] 1992). That is, if the guiding logic in a market stresses uniqueness, innovation, and creativity the current convention will be subject to a rate of flux that far exceeds the rate of change one finds in most markets; it is like watching a video on "fast forward." Status, status orders, and status positions, I argue, become the remedy to this situation of insecurity; status helps to counteract chaos. Moreover, this

means that the very product is changed. Another way of explaining the situation is to say that the meaning of what a fashion photograph should look like is not entrenched; instead the meaning of fashion photography is changing.[4] This should be contrasted to other meanings that are more strongly entrenched in the meaning structures of the actors in this business, such as the difference between editorial and advertising fashion photography.

In other markets clear-cut standards can remain stable over time. These standards inform people in the market about what is a good product. Crude oil and grain are examples of markets in which there exist well defined and well entrenched standards. The meanings of the product among the actors in these markets do not change as quickly as in many of the aesthetic markets. This means, I would argue, that the products themselves are also much more stable—sometimes the products may even be more stable than the actors in a market. In other words, while the actors may be replaced, the products stay more or less the same. Most markets, of course, show a tendency for both actors and products to change.

In aesthetic markets, which are propelled by a logic of change in the product, a status order among the producers may function as one remedy to the chaos that would prevail if neither the actors nor the product were stable. To phrase it differently, the meanings of the status orders among the actors are more stable than the meanings of the products. For example, this helps explain why mail-order photography, perhaps the least aesthetical type of fashion photography, is so little occupied with the status of its photographers. It is instead propelled by the logic of the economic sphere; the pictures that are produced are similar and the photographers who do mail-order fashion photography can be seen as craftsmen rather than as artists. One aspect of this situation is that they are more replaceable. Since the product (fashion photographs for mail-order catalogs) is rather stable, it is less contingent upon the uniqueness of certain photographers and their styles.

In some markets (such as the gold market) the meaning of what a good product is, and how it should look, is well entrenched in the meaning structures of the actors. One may then speak of a distinct quality of the product. In other markets—typically aesthetic markets—it is the status of the actors that is the most entrenched. To put it simply, in an aesthetic market it is the high-status actors who define what constitutes a good product. In a non-aesthetic market, on the other hand, standards of product quality are used to evaluate the producers.

As a consequence of the importance of status, and its contagious character, emphasis is placed on whom an actor interacts with and judgments by the other side, or by an audience (cf. Zuckerman 1999:1430–1431). I have emphasized this point throughout the study, but it might be easier to understand it in the light of the argument that actors' identities and their status orders are more stable than a monthly style or trend. A further consequence of this is that information becomes more important; people need knowledge about the people they work with. It is therefore likely that gossip, socializing at parties, and the like become more important in a market where the values of what represents good products are less entrenched (cf. Smith Spence 1974:737). This is also why gossip is more important for actors who have not yet acquired an identity as a producer in a production market; they need this information in order to interact with the "right" people, and to know how one does this. Not only are information and status important in interfaces with few entrenched values and propositions; icons are also likely to function as stabilizers in interfaces characterized by flux.

The ideas of uncertainty, information, and status are connected. Moreover, they are connected to Alfred Marshall's idea of industrial districts. I have already discussed what I have called the Stockholm Photo District, and argued that this is part of the culture of Sweden's fashion photography business. The existence of this district is related to White's idea that the producers' "primary focus is each other" (White and Eccles 1987:984). Observation and interaction are two ways of keeping control of one's competitors and of the latest trends in which one operates. The concentrated district in Stockholm in Söder must also be understood in relation to status. Status is contagious and it usually demands direct contact, for example through a temporary association to produce a campaign or a fashion story or through interaction outside of direct market relations, such as at parties. But status is also indirectly contagious: just by being in the neighborhood one is more likely to be seen as an insider. Consequently, it is no accident that people who operate in a market characterized by status are clustered in an industrial district. That is a physical representation of the sociological demands, and, I argue, not the other way around.

Markets as a form of social interaction

The markets for fashion photography in Sweden constitute only a tiny piece of the country's social life. Nevertheless, I chose the subject for this study with care. I have argued that what occurs in these markets can also be valid for other markets, but is it also valid for other social phenomena as well? The brief answer, I argue, is yes. To generalize my point, I will discuss some markets in addition to those I have already analyzed.

I have already touched upon the market(s) for cars, and this is a further example of markets as interfaces. The identity of a certain car brand is not only generated and endowed with status in the market where the brand meets its final consumers. A brand also appears in many other circumstances, and in other interfaces, some of which affect the status of the brand to a considerable extent. Car producers often engage in various car racing competitions. Ferrari, to take the best known example, is engaged in Formula 1, which is associated not only with fast cars but also with glamour. Taking part in this racing circus endows the brand with status.

Another kind of market can be analyzed with the approach used here: markets for art. In these markets status is distributed to artists when they have exhibitions at museums and prestigious galleries and when they are reviewed in prestigious art journals. An artist who has a narrative that is void of this form of symbolic capital, to speak with Bourdieu, is less likely to get a chance to exhibit in a gallery where her items can be sold. I suggest that the various art markets are suitable for the kind of the analysis that I have conducted here. There exist several studies of art markets, but no study has employed the production market approach (cf. Gustavsson 1999; Moulin [1967] 1987; Plattner 1996; White and White [1965] 1993). Moreover, markets like those discussed in this book have usually been studied with the help of the theory of labor markets. To approach markets for artists as production markets may, however, help to understand these "puzzling" labor markets (Menger 1999). Notions such as identity, status, and style are important tools in this effort.

But what about the other less central markets I have discussed in this book, such as the market for art directors? Art directors do not have a separate interface for status distribution. Instead they have competitions for their campaigns and status is distributed in this way. The products they compete with are the same ones that they have produced in their own production market; in competitions they send these products to the jury. I have shown that in the market for art directors, and advertising in general, aesthetic values and economic values exist side by side, and they may often create conflicts for the art director. The difference, compared to the situation of photographers for example, is that there is no separation of economic values from aesthetic or academic values. The distribution of status among art directors occurs in an interface that simultaneously handles aesthetic and economic values. Nonetheless, status is distributed, and this market can also be conceptualized as a status distributor of identities. One may then say that a market, or at least some kind of interface, is necessary for sorting out actors, distributing status, and generating prices.

In an analysis the researcher only studies one or a few aspects at the time. This means, for example, that an actor is only studied in one of her roles. But an actor holds various types of roles in the different interfaces in which she takes part. A person typically takes part in many markets, mostly as a consumer (such as the market for food and the market for clothes), but also as a producer (usually in a labor market). In other situations too, a person acts in an interface. When people seek a partner, they take part in an interface. Most people "hold" the role of either a man or a woman, and orient to the actors on the other side, but also to those on the same side. Actors on the same side of the interface are often rivals, and there are trophies to be won. Many values intersect in this interface: beauty, money, status, intelligence, race, age, and education are just a few of the values involved in the process. Here I speak of this as a single interface; in reality one may find a multitude of interfaces. To relate this and other studies to the more general notions of social disciplines, to follow White, is a way of locating similarities in different domains of social life.

The general point I am making is that status is distributed in interfaces. These few examples indicate the plentiful differences among real markets. Moreover, real markets can be constructed in many different ways. Sometimes status and money are distributed in the same interface; sometimes there are two different interfaces. The reasons for these differences have not been analyzed in detail here, but they most likely result from historical contingencies, power relations, and the autonomy of fields (e.g. Bourdieu [1992] 1996; Parkhurst 1998, cf. DiMaggio 1991). All this of course constitutes strong evidence against the idea that markets are somehow "natural" phenomena. Furthermore, I argue that the approach used in this study, which is based upon White's general approach, with some contributions by sociologist like Faulkner and Podolny, is suitable for analyzing aesthetic markets and production markets in general. That is, the idea of a status distribution of identities in production markets (as an instance of role markets) can also apply to other markets besides fashion photography.

Some sociologists, especially Pierre Bourdieu and Harrison White, have argued for an even more general usage of the form of social interaction that one can find in, for example, markets. Bourdieu's theory can be applied to different fields. But what has the concept of fields got to do with markets? In some of his writings Bourdieu seems to use the notion of markets to express the same thing as the idea of fields, or at least to strongly

link the two (e.g. [1979] 1984:95–6, 1991:56–57). In other words, Bourdieu thinks that one should not simply understand markets as economic phenomena; there are important similarities between markets and fields in other spheres of society, which can be analyzed at a more abstract theoretical level.

Harrison White also suggests that markets should be understood at a more abstract level that he calls social disciplines. There exist, White says, three different social disciplines: arena, interface, and council (which were briefly discussed in Chapters 2 and 6). The markets I have studied here might best be conceptualized as councils, partly because prestige is the means for valuation in councils (White 1992:32), and prestige and status may be treated as interchangeable concepts. But White says little about the other two disciplines: arenas and councils. Furthermore, to me it is not perfectly clear which is the best distinction for understanding markets. Is it between White's three species of disciplines in which identities are controlled, or is it between associated and disassociated markets, exchange and role markets, markets with well-entrenched values (in which quality is important) or those with less entrenched values (in which status is important)? I argue that all these distinctions are important. But it is an open question, which I will not address any further here, exactly what distinctions one should use in sociology at large. My point is that one should strive to accomplish this, and that both Bourdieu and White have taken major steps in this direction.

The role of empirical phenomenology

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the role of empirical phenomenology in sociology. This study has been conducted in line with the guidelines for phenomenological sociology, as suggested in Appendix A. The greatest difference, I argue here, between empirical phenomenology and most other approaches must be understood in relation to the Copernican turn that Husserl initiated (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 61). Phenomenology, I believe, is a radically different approach from the dominating objectivistic approach in contemporary social science. It is the only approach, in my opinion, that takes the subjective perspective seriously. Phenomenology aims to build an entire scientific approach on subjectivism. This should be emphasized, though many of the steps and methods I have suggested can also be found in other non-phenomenological studies.

The major contribution to the phenomenological tradition of this particular work, I argue, is its attempt to outline and pursue an empirical track. This track was not discussed much by Schütz himself, or by his students and later phenomenologists. Schütz planned a book called *The Structures of the Life-World,* but did not live to write it. In it he planned to include a chapter on the methodology of phenomenology (Schütz and Luckmann [1973] 1974). Thomas Luckmann, who actually wrote the book, did not include this chapter. But as I explain in Appendix A, Schütz never conducted empirical sociology. I have developed an empirical phenomenology. But in order for phenomenology to achieve a position among other traditions in contemporary sociology, I think it must move more towards concrete studies, also the "harder" subjects, such as markets. I have tried to do this here, but there is clearly much more that must be done.

It must also be clearly said—and shown in empirical research—that phenomenology is not only a form of philosophy. Of course, many serious difficulties must be overcome to establish a more solid foundation for empirical phenomenology. The theoretical problem of intersubjectivity is one crucial problem; how exactly shall the social scientist study the meanings of the actors in a way that can be firmly validated? A related problem concerns the role of language that functions as both a means and an object of study. These problems, however, are faced not only by phenomenologists: they are fundamental to all social sciences. They are perhaps seen as more serious by phenomenologists who have a propensity to question what is normally taken for granted.

I have studied markets using the empirical phenomenological approach. I hope I have showed that it leads to results that are not self-evident. By taking the perspective of the actors seriously, one sees, for example, that these markets deviate from the neoclassical standard model of markets. Furthermore, the phenomenological approach offers advantages to the researcher who studies what the actors perceive and think; who analyzes the stock of knowledge they use to act and infer, and who studies the different horizons and plans the actors are involved in pursuing. These would have been practically impossible to analyze if I had started from the perspective of the objectivistic scientist who uses a deductive hypothesis.

I also hope that I have showed that empirical phenomenology is not a grounded theory approach. As I interpret Schütz, and as I have tried to work here, theory is given a central role in the scientific work. The theory chosen in relation to the prestudy functions as a scheme of reference that guides the researcher. At the same time, the researcher must bracket the theory at a certain stage of the process, typically when studying the first-order constructs of the actors in the field. It is obvious that this generates problems, and that more attention must be devoted to this issue.

The phenomenological approach points in a social constructivist direction (Collin 1997). I view it as almost a premise for sociology that the social world is a social construction. What else could it be? All phenomena, including markets, I argue, should be viewed as social constructions (Aspers 1997, 200 1c). People are born into a socially constructed world and they take much of it for granted. But as Husserl and Schütz argue, it is possible to question everything in the social world. This means, among other things, that the social world can be changed—reconstructed—but only when individuals act. Consequently, social phenomena, according to the phenomenological approach I have outlined here, are typically reconstructed through acts that transcend the present meaning structure.

As a final point I would like to mention that Schütz's approach may correctly appear static and descriptive. To some extent it is a description of how to do science, and he has provided tools for understanding and labeling social phenomena. His approach lacks a clear dynamic dimension. I have tried to add a dynamic element to the phenomenological approach by incorporating the entrepreneur (essentially a phenomenologically-colored Schumpeterian entrepreneur), but by also discussing gradual change.

In summary, I have argued that sociology should study and use the branch of phenomenology that grows out of the works of Husserl and Schütz, and as a consequence I have paid less attention to other phenomenological branches. I think that a major work Ibn

on how to apply the different branches of phenomenological thinking for theoretical as well as empirical studies in sociology is much needed. The brief presentation, analysis, and application that can be found in this book is not enough. I do hope, however, to have indicated a direction in which it is possible to continue working.

Appendix A:
a guide to phenomenological sociology

In this appendix I have two aims. The first is to introduce the phenomenological perspective used in this study. The second is to develop guidelines for an empirical phenomenological sociology. To do this, I first discuss the general action approach, arguing in its favor. Then I critique the dominating objectivistic action perspective, as used in, for example rational choice theory, and then present the subjective perspective. The bulk of my discussion, however, focuses on the general phenomenological approach initiated and developed by Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) and its more sociological version presented by Alfred Schütz (1899–1959). The main issue I address in this appendix is the development of an empirical sociological phenomenology, but for this purpose one cannot rely on the work of Husserl and Schütz, since they have hardly dealt with this issue. As a result this section is more original than those on Husserl and Schütz. The reader who is familiar with action theory, methodological individualism, phenomenology and the works of Schütz can skip this section and move to the final part of the appendix, where I describe how to work empirically with phenomenology.

The action perspective

The major reason for choosing an action theory perspective is that only actors can make a difference. The ultimate source of change in society is individuals who act. It should be emphasized that this is not the tautological argument that only actors act. Action theories have been around for a long time, but their resurrection can be dated to the 1970s. One central tendency within the field of action theories is rational choice theory. The interest for rational choice is not new in sociology, but with the spread of rational choice in political science, sociologists have also shown interest in the theory. However, classical sociologists like Weber, Pareto and Schütz, and to some extent also Simmel, have written on rational action theories (Aspers 2000). Parsons later took the theory as his point of departure. Contemporary sociologists have adopted Parsons' approach, which is to go back to classical writers. Jürgen Habermas, Anthony Giddens, Jeffrey Alexander and Hans Joas have all returned to classical thinkers (Camic 1998). I will not discuss and critique alternatives to action theories here; instead I present the phenomenological approach and argue in its favor.

Thus, action theory is important in contemporary sociology. But this fact cannot be an argument for the action approach. My aim in this section is therefore to present some arguments for the general idea of action theory. It will eventually lead to a phenomenological approach useful for empirical studies. The subjective point of view is the foundation of the phenomenological approach. The majority of action theories, however, do not focus on the subjective meaning level of the actions. To address the meaning level of the subjects is a task of utmost importance; only by taking this approach can one speak of truly understanding social phenomena. Two major intellectual traditions for conceptualizing actions can be identified: the objectivist and the subjectivist. These will be discussed shortly. However, both traditions, in the sense they are discussed here, have methodological individualism as a premise. This is a reason for beginning the discussion of action theories with a brief account of methodological individualism.

Methodological individualism and scientific explanations

Whether objectivist or subjective, action theorists are methodological individualists. By adhering to the methodological individualist position, the social scientist naturally directs attention away from aspects that other perspectives would stress. Here I outline only the main arguments for methodological individualism. Methodological individualism is not an unusual position. Bernard Mandeville, Adam Smith, Alfred Marshall, Max Weber, Vilfredo Pareto, Alfred Schütz, Ludwig von Mises, George Homans, and more recent thinkers such as Jon Elster, James Coleman and Hans Joas all propagate versions of individualistic theories of action. Furthermore, all of neoclassical economic theory is based on the idea of rational action. But many different aspects of action fall under the heading (e.g. Udehn 1987).

Methodological individualism, in my opinion, depends primarily on what is accepted as an explanation. This issue is related to how the researcher views society. For example, methodological individualists explain the growth of organizations in terms of single individuals and their interactions. Social outcomes are the result of individual interactions. Action theorists use the key notions of preference, means, and constraints. Holists would explain the emergence of organizations in terms of systemic functions, other organizations, institutions, or culture.

Is this, after all, such a decisive distinction? I believe so. The difference is related to the theorist's view of the individual and society. The individualist credits the actor with a capacity to act and change circumstances, whereas the holist stresses the role of social entities. Most methodological individualists argue that the actor has the ability to transcend the structures, rules, or other components that are said to be the scientific laws, or frames, that purportedly govern her life; if there is a purported law, the actors can transcend it. Ultimately, the causal power in society must be connected to the level of individuals. 1 The transcendental power of human action, which is so central to the average methodological individualist, is here called the primacy of transcendental action.[2]

The methodological individualist position thus implies that holistic entities—like organizations and markets—are reduced to explanations based upon individual interaction. This is what the researcher tries to do, though it may not always be practically possible, due, for example, to the size of the object being studied. Hence, there is no contradiction to the fact that social entities like firms or states are part of an

explanation; these are only used as shorthand notes for the individual actions and meanings. It must be clarified that no explanation is self-referential. That is, it cannot explain what it is meant to explain, explanandum and also explain explanans (Nozick 1981:116). Therefore, holistic social entities, like a state, can be part of an explanation. In another explanation explanans of a previous explanation can be the explanandum. Needless to say, explanans and explanandum do not exist in the world; the scientist ascribes them to the world (cf. Weber 1949, [1921–22] 1978).

One may question the idea of reducing explanations to the level of single individuals. Why not continue and reduce that person to atoms, or any other level that may seem appropriate? An explanation could then, for example, start from the atomic level. This idea is the goal of Auguste Comte as well as the logical positivists, and it pops up in sociological discussions even today. The argument is based upon a mistake that arose from an objectivist view: that only those who view human activity as "things," or ready made in clearly observable entities, can fail to acknowledge that intentionality has a role in the social sciences.[3] If the researcher, in contrast to one holding the objectivist perspective, starts from the individual and her sphere of life, she cannot proceed without intentionality. The individual is the unit of study, since it is impossible to think of intentionality without individuals.

Intentionality is a crucial notion for studying human actions and interactions. The importance of intentionality has been stressed not only by Husserl and Schütz, but also by Nietzsche, Searle, Pettit, Weber and many others. It must be pointed out that intentionality is not applicable to groups of individuals; only single individuals have wishes, preferences, and beliefs. Classes, organizations or markets do not have preferences. Obviously, this does not hinder many individuals from having the same intentional content to some extent, for example having the same belief, but it does not follow from this that compounds like classes or a market hold a common belief. The individual as a unit is intimately connected with her intentional status, which cannot be accessed by observation alone (Davidson 1980; Rosenberg 1988, 1992; Searle 1998:55–57). Thus, it is an argument for the non-reducibility of the individual, because only on the individual level can one talk about consciousness and intentionality. This is what I call the intentional primacy. I develop this argument further below, in relation to my discussion of subjectivism and especially phenomenology.

Furthermore, the idea that individuals are relevant in our social sphere is almost self-evident. Individuals interact with other individuals. We see ourselves as acting individuals, with our own wills, feelings, and perceptions. The individual stands out as what counts in social life, she is the actor who is recognized and acknowledged in social life more than any other social unit, such as an organization or a firm. A large company or state is better known, and is likely to exist longer than a single individual; but firms and states are less tangible than individuals. Also, interaction takes place between individuals, even though it may sometimes occur on behalf of an organization. This is what I call the epistemological primacy. These three primacies—the transcendental action primacy, the intentional primacy, and the epistemological primacy—are arguments for methodological individualism, which implies the idea that a social phenomenon like a market should not be understood as a holistic entity.

Objectivism versus subjectivism

It is not the case, however, that all researchers who accept these three primacies will be subjectivists; quite the contrary. Many objectivists, for example Dennet (e.g. 1983, 1987) and Pettit (1993), do use intentionality, but are not subjectivists; instead they ascribe intentionality to the actors. Rational choice theorists adhere to the central role of intentionality but are not subjectivists in the sense used in this study. A subjective perspective means that the actor, and not the researcher, decides on the meaning, the perceived means and ends, and the definition of the beginning and the end of the action.

Action theories often stress methodological individualism and the role of intentionality. But only a minority of action theories take a subjectivist approach to intentionality, and phenomenology takes it furthest. The subjective perspective sees intentionality as a key concept. It takes the single individual's mental directedness as the source of information, and as the object for further analyses. The subjective perspective, however, is less well known and also less used in the social sciences. Therefore it is useful to discuss subjectivism in order to explain its role in the study.

The social sciences are dominated by objectivistic theories, and the underlying philosophy of science—objectivism—is briefly presented, and criticized, below. The objectivistic perspective (or philosophy) is not restricted to theories of action, but my focus here is on this group of theories. As I cannot discuss all the aspects of the perspective here, I will simplify the debate. Therefore, I present an ideal type of the objectivist argument. In general strikingly few action theorists have seriously debated the issue of subjectivism and objectivism. It is obvious that the objectivistic perspective has dominated not only natural science, but also social science. The subjective perspective has so far played a less important role (cf. Giddens 1978:281).

The objectivistic perspective

The so-called objectivistic theories are in fact a rather heterogeneous group of theories.[4] Here the focus is on action theories, which share some basic characteristics, for example, the historical heritage. The natural sciences and objectivistic social science are similar in both philosophical underpinning and the methods used. The connection is discussed by thinkers like Dilthey ([1883] 1990), but most notably by Husserl ([1954] 1970), who explicitly centers the difference between the natural science and phenomenology in terms of objectivism and subjectivism.[5] Husserl argues that the natural sciences emerged out of Galileo's mathematization of nature. The idea is that physical objects in nature are seen as ideal objects. This means, according to Husserl, that the objectivist sciences can say nothing regarding the subjective point of view: "The mere science of bodies clearly has nothing to say [about men as subjects]; it abstracts from everything subjective" ([1954] 1970:6). At a later stage the objectivistic scientific method and attitude were transposed to the human sciences, with the consequence that the human sciences also saw their objects of study as physical objects. At the same time it is worthwhile to emphasize that Husserl is an admirer of the natural sciences (Husserl [1954] 1970:53). Husserl's critique is directed more towards the fact that objectivistic science cannot explain its own foundation. Instead he asserts that a totally different approach is needed, namely phenomenology.

Some of the best known examples of objectivist theories of action are neoclassical economics: exchange theory and rational choice theory.[6] These, however, are not discussed in detail here; instead an ideal type represents the objectivistic position in this presentation.[7] The objectivist approaches actions in basically the following way: the actors are individuals, though one sometimes thinks of organizations in a similar way. Everything that the actors do is first viewed, and then operationalized from the perspective of the researcher. The researcher, for example, labels "a gathering" as "a meeting," and "an event" becomes actions. Thus the researcher defines the beginning and the end of the asserted action. An entire world is made up by the social scientist. The economists have taken this approach the farthest. Not only is the world created; in addition the actor—*homo oeconomicus*—is a creation of the scientific community of economists. The constructed economic man holds a view of the world, and he is a rational man.

But rationality is not about specific ends. Strictly speaking, one can be instrumentally rational in relation to any type of end or value, as long as it satisfies the actors' utility function.[8] However, economists often limit the economic man to one who is rationally striving for pecuniary ends. Some sociologists have accepted the notion of rational choice, and they have also accepted much of the idea of man as oriented to certain values, namely economic values. This implies that neoclassical theory, as a theory based upon subjects acting rationally from their own preferences and this subjective point of view, is not subjectivist in any *meaningful* sense (cf. Zúñiga 1998). What is called the subject's point of view is nothing but what the scientist has ascribed to a single ideal type puppet, as Schütz calls them: the *homo oeconomicus*. The objectivistic theory of economics and rational choice sociology treat rational choice theory as a decision theory, but they also use it as a theory of the actors. Therefore, decision theory is transformed into an assumption of how the actors operate in real life. In practice the researcher uses the hypotheses deduced from tests against data, though rational choice theorists seldom present the beliefs and intentions of the actors. This has also been recognized by thinkers strongly associated with the rational choice theory, such as Jon Elster (Elster 2000).

The underlying logic, whether it is economic or sociological rational choice, is that the actors are attributed not only a world-view, and a defined set of values with clear-cut beginnings and ends, but also a utility function that the researcher has defined. This is the essence of the objectivist approach: the definition is made from the allegedly "objective" perspective of the researcher. There is no, or little, connection to the level of meaning of the actors about whom the theories have been developed; little connects the ends, means, beliefs, and intentions of the actors to the theoretical constructs of the researcher. From a strictly philosophical point of view the social scientist knows as little about the actors as a biologist knows of, say, monkeys. The only difference is that the scientist draws on his or her everyday knowledge as a member of the same community as the actors, what phenomenologists call the life-world.

The contrasting perspective, subjectivism, starts from the viewpoint of the actor and her definition of what the action is, where the action begins and where it ends, what the action is about, and what end-state the actors aim to achieve. The objectivistic perspective produces retrodictions and predictions, but not understanding. The objectivists call their results scientific explanations, and so do the subjectivists, but they obviously mean different things by "explanation." The objectivistic perspective

frequently uses central mentalistic concepts like intentionality, but this is lip service. The mental content of the actors is ascribed, and the intentionality of the real actors never plays a role in the theories, or in the empirical studies.

The implicit argument so far is that the objectivist perspective fails to account for the actors' level of meaning. Thus, the researcher does not discuss either the process of constituting meaning, or the meaning of the action, or the social processes of which they are a part. The actors, and the readers of the report, are presented with a theory and an empirical account of the "event" studied that may be totally void of meaning from their perspective. The consequence is that the researcher does not produce any understanding of the phenomenon being scrutinized, and the reader may doubt what is explained. A theory is presented of how the observed variables are related, but the perception, the means, and the beliefs of the actors are not reported. The objectivist tradition is very much a tradition that takes a behavioral stand, and is thus connected to the attitude of natural scientists. The weaknesses of the objectivist approach are clear, but what is the alternative? In the next section I address the subjective perspective.

The subjective perspective

Many theorists may claim they are subjectivists, though few actually qualify. The best known theorist to make this claim is Max Weber. Unfortunately, Weber's theory is clouded because it is ambiguous on the subjective-objective distinction. To be specific, Weber's objectivist position shows through his subjectivist veil as he defines motive, naturally a key concept in a subjective theory of action, including Weber's. "A motive," Weber says, "is a complex of subjective meaning which seems *to the actor himself or to the observer* an adequate ground for the conduct in question" ([1921–22] 1978:11, emphasis added).[9] What is important here, of course, is that the observer can attribute motives, which he defines in terms of meaning; the translator, Talcott Parsons, stresses this interpretation in a footnote (Weber [1921–22] 1978:59, n 12).[10] The way Weber uses "subjective meaning" is not in line with ordinary usage, at least not from today's perspective, though a few have been led astray by Weber's rhetoric (e.g. Zeitlin 1973:168; Brubaker 1984:53).

Vilfredo Pareto, in contrast, acknowledges the role of the subjective perspective, but Pareto is also talking from an objectivist point of view (Aspers 2000). As Schütz argues, the so-called *Verstehen* approach does not encompass a *subjective* action theory. The empathy and interpretation that are stressed in the hermeneutical tradition are of course important to most social scientists, and the tradition comes out of phenomenology. Schütz refers to this tradition many times. However, this tradition is not directed to questions raised in the social sciences, nor is it empirically oriented (Giddens 1978:279–280, cf. Connolly and Keutner 1988).[11] Later thinkers like Bourdieu and Giddens have also discussed the subjective perspective. There is no doubt what Bourdieu believes to be the most pressing dichotomy in the social sciences: "of all oppositions that artificially divide social science, the most fundamental, and the most ruinous, is the one set up between subjectivism and objectivism" ([1980] 1990:25, see also 1987:1). In the end Bourdieu, who perhaps is the thinker that has taken this question most seriously, favors the objectivistic perspective (Bourdieu e.g. [1992] 1996). Giddens is also clear about the centrality of the subjective objective problem: "Of prime importance in this respect is a

dualism that is deeply entrenched in social theory, a division between objectivism and subjectivism" (1984:xx). Giddens suggests "structuration" as a way to overcome what he calls the dualism of objectivism and subjectivism, but he does not take the argument far enough. Giddens makes his entire argument about action from an objectivist standpoint, basing it on the objectivist idea that there are readymade and observable actions "out there." But one must acknowledge Giddens for highlighting the subjective perspective, and also for discussing actions as part of projects—an idea he takes from Alfred Schütz. Thus both Bourdieu and Giddens see the relationship between subjectivism and objectivism as the key problem in the social sciences, and both argue that they solved it—a view I do not share.

The discussion so far has not included a scientific theory that takes the perspective of the individual actors as its point of departure. Nor have we discussed a theory that acknowledges action as created and defined by the actor, with an attached meaning, means and ends as seen from the perspective of the actor. The objectivist perspective, as shown, is best understood as a form of behaviorism, even though it sometimes is dressed up with intentional concepts. This is so because the objectivist researcher ascribes intentionality from the grandstand, if indeed she ever even attended the game. A conclusion is that many theories—even if claimed to be subjective—are in fact objectivistic. What are the alternatives? Is there a theory that can account for the subjects' intentions, beliefs, and perspectives as key elements in a scientific explanation?

Phenomenology

A subjective perspective is naturally connected with a position that stresses the perspective of the individual actors. The mental set-up of the actors is a key component in the theories of the subjective tradition. Furthermore, it is clear that phenomenology has developed a true subjectivism; in fact, I suggest that phenomenology defined the subjective tradition. Phenomenology goes beyond mere demands to consider the actors' perspective; it represents a new beginning. The single writer who has contributed most to the application of phenomenology in the social sciences is Alfred Schütz. This is the reason why I concentrate on the phenomenological track that Schütz has developed. But as will be evident, his thinking is based on a crucial foundation: the philosophical phenomenology developed by Husserl. But phenomenology, as Husserl left it, is not applicable to social science phenomena as it stands (a view also expressed by Schütz). According to Husserl, (philosophical) phenomenology does not aim at becoming empirical ([1913b] 1989:325–328). Furthermore, Schütz did not present an *empirical* phenomenologically sociology. This is a "problem," since the aim of this work is to apply phenomenology to a specific empirical phenomenon: the market for fashion photography in Sweden. The problem calls for a discussion of how an empirical phenomenological study can be accomplished.

In order to apply the phenomenological perspective to empirical studies, both Husserl and Schütz must be studied. In the sections that follow I will focus on issues relevant to making them applicable for an empirical study. However, the section on Husserl serves a broader purpose, introducing the reader who knows little of phenomenology to this tradition, and stressing Husserl's later writings, where he takes a somewhat more

"sociological" approach. Furthermore, what I present are interpretations of Husserl and Schütz, rather than thorough accounts of their works.

Phenomenology is unique among the approaches used in the social sciences, but it is not completely without predecessors.[12] Immanuel Kant first conceived of a social science not built upon the natural sciences; he said that human action, based on free will, is the means for understanding social conditions (Pankoke 1984:1002). But, following Husserl, one may go as far back as Descartes to find a "subjectivism" (Husserl [1954] 1970:18, 25). Other German thinkers before Husserl, such as Dilthey and Nietzsche, also had anticipated the idea of subjectivism and the critique of objectivism.[13]

The philosopher: Edmund Husserl

Many thinkers, including Wilhelm Dilthey (1838–1911), influenced Husserl, but his teacher Franz Brentano (1838–1917) had the single greatest impression on him (Farber 1943:8–15).[14] Among other things, Brentano introduced the notion of intentionality, which is very important in Husserl's theory. One may say that intentionality is the road to understanding the difference between the natural sciences and the social sciences. To focus the scientific enterprise on intentionality is a major step towards separating the social sciences from the natural sciences. It is a decisive step to leave behind the idea of ascribing intentionality—and its content—to the actors, and instead take the mental content of the actor as the starting point. Phenomenology has aimed to do this, making it a transcendental approach. Ever since Kant, transcendentalism has meant that experiences, such as perceptions, are contingent upon profound conditions for experience, the socalled synthetic a prioris. To Husserl it becomes a transcendental subjectivism (Husserl [1929] 1967:5).[15] This is so since, according to Spiegelberg, Husserl's notion of transcendental subjectivism is a "commitment to a radical subjectivism for which subjectivity is the source of all objectivities, a position which is spelled out explicitly only in the period after the Ideen" (Spiegelberg 1982:113). But it must be remembered that Husserl argued that it was only via phenomenological reductions one could establish apodictic, i.e. necessarily true, knowledge. For this reason one cannot equate Husserl's ideas of subjectivism with those discussed above.

Radical subjectivism

Husserl's critique of the objectivist sciences, as briefly discussed above, indicates his strong subjectivist stance. Husserl thinks that only a "radical inquiry back into subjectivity…can make objective truth comprehensible" (Husserl [1954] 1970:69). He aims to find a scientific foundation for knowledge that can make us understand everything that is taken for granted in the objectivist tradition. In his search for this foundation he turns to the ego and the mental as the most profound sources. The ego is the constituting pole of both everyday knowledge and the knowledge of the objective world of science that is built on that everyday knowledge (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 40, 59). In this sense the mental becomes the foundation, rather than the external world of objects, as in the objectivistic tradition. This is a radical shift, and Husserl himself talks of a "Copernican turn" (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 61).

Phenomenology focuses on the consciousness of the subjects. This means that what Husserl calls the ego ("I") becomes a key concept. To reach the consciousness, he uses the Cartesian method, which he alludes to by entitling one of his works *Cartesian Meditations*. The aim is the same for both Husserl and Descartes—to reach a foundation of knowledge—but Husserl clearly pushes the method furthest. Husserl aims to find a solid foundation, a first evidence of apodictic evidence (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 6). Husserl finds *ego cogito,* the thinking I, to be the "ultimate and apodictically certain basis for judgements, the basis on which any radical-philosophy must be grounded" (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 8). To reach this foundation one must engage in the phenomenological reduction, a form of bracketing of the world we live in. Only by this method can one understand the individual as a pure I, Husserl says ([1931] 1960: § 8).[16] The intentional level which is thus incorporated in the transcendental ego, is more profound than anything else: "In a certain sense it [the transcendental ego] is the underlying basis of which all objective cognitions takes place;" but knowledge, as well as cognition, is based on the transcendental ego (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 12). All sciences, including those that are called objective (objectivistic), are built upon this foundation. This is a foundation because all distinctions and constitutions are made within the conscious sphere (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 46). The importance in the philosophical work of this sphere is deduced from its role for knowledge (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 40, 64). This means that Husserl's philosophy takes consciousness as the starting point. It is also clear that the idea of reduction put the subject in the center of the study (Spiegelberg 1982:121).[17] The role of the ego in the constitutive process of objects (to be understood in the widest sense) is then fundamental (Husserl [1931] 1960: §§ 37–38).

The ego, Husserl argues, is the pole around which the stream of consciousness *(cogitationes)* is organized and constituted; "objects" are constituted within this sphere. Consequently, this takes place in the realm of the subject (Husserl [1931] 1960: §§ 30–33). This process, which can be called construction or constitution, can be either active or passive. In both cases identities are constituted (Husserl [1931] 1960: §§ 17–18). Husserl says, "The world of experience, considered through the phenomenological reduction as experienced, is organized into identical and persisting objects" ([1929] 1967:21). The process of constitution includes all "objects," physical as well as cultural. Included are also the constitution of the individual, and the constitution of the other, which means that the issue of inter-subjectivity is relevant in this context.[18]

The way meaning is endowed must be understood in a similar way. But how is meaning constituted? Schütz provides a short answer, which deviates from Husserl's idea; he says the starting point in constituting meaning is the "pure stream of duration" ([1932] 1976:75, 78–83). The "pure stream" is on a prephenomenal level; only when this stream is an object of one's reflective glance can one speak of "discrete experiences" that have meaning (Schütz [1932] 1976:71). These discrete experiences become connected to each other by the actor who perceives them as their own (Schütz [1932] 1976:75, 69–83). The transformation or reconstruction of meaning is not that different. The different meanings hang together in what Schütz calls layers of meaning, a meaning-context, or a meaning structure (cf. Schütz [1932] 1976:74–83).

To understand the idea of a radical subjectivism, one must consider the notion of intentionality, the single most important notion in Husserl's phenomenology (Føllesdal 1998:576; Gurwitsch 1987:59). Husserl viewed intentionality as "the unique peculiarity

of experiences 'to be the consciousness of something'" (Husserl [1913a] 1962: § 84 cf. § 88). According to Husserl, the object must not exist (cf. Føllesdal 1998:577). This definition means that Husserl deviates from Brentano's line of thought on intentionality. Though Brentano maintained that the object must exist as a physical object, he realized that he could not solve this problem (Føllesdal 1998:576–577).

Reductions as method

In order to reach the level of consciousness, Husserl says, one must use reductions; and he offers many kinds. The basic idea is that reduction is a means to knowledge. Only by reduction can one analyze the transcendental aspects of life, noema and noesis—two notions I will discuss below. Reduction is a method for finding the constituting elements of the object.

The reduction can focus on two aspects of consciousness: the noetic side, or noesis, which deals with the way noema is perceived; or on noema, the intended object as it is intended (cf. Husserl [1913a] 1962: § 96, see below for an explanation of these concepts). When noema and noesis are studied by reduction, the objects are bracketed. This is the transcendental reduction, which is conducted by bracketing the world and what a person naively takes for granted in everyday life; Husserl calls this the *epoché* (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 7).[19] Through the *epoché* the "objects" become phenomena (cf. Husserl [1954] 1970:153). Thus *epoché* is a way to transform everything objective into a subjective thing, at least within the forms of phenomena. Husserl argues that the person who observes the result of the *epoché* is a "disinterested spectator" (Husserl [1954] 1970:157). By performing the *epoché* "the meant" is reached "purely as meant" (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 23). Noema, it should be clearly stated, is not the physical side of the "object," but its intentional side (Husserl [1913a] 1962: §§ 87–96). Furthermore, the reduction means that consciousness is on the one side (the noetic side), which is correlated with the noematic side (Husserl [1913a] 1962: cf. [1950] 1973: § 15).[20] Thus, correlated with noema is noesis, which complements noema by referring to the way consciousness is conscious of something (Wolff 1978:503; Føllesdal 1998:578).[21] Noesis is described as "the act of perception" (Gurwitsch 1987:63).

It is clear that all kinds of phenomena can be analyzed according to the phenomenological method and, as Husserl says, that the transcendental theories of constitution,

> relate to any spatial things whatever…to any psychophysical beings, to human beings as such, to their self-comportment toward their natural and otherwise determined surrounding world, to any social community, any cultural objects, and ultimately to any Objective world whatever—purely as a world intended in possible consciousness and, transcendentally, as a world constituted (in a manner peculiar to consciousness) purely within the transcendental ego.
>
> ([1931] 1960: § 21, 58)

What Husserl says, consequently, is that science can be studied using the phenomenological method (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 61). Phenomenology, then, becomes a study of the transcendental elements by reduction.

Noema and horizons

Noema is a crucial notion in Husserl's thinking, so it is worthwhile to discuss it further. Noema as a form of intentionality implies that what is, is partly constructed by the individual. Thus the meaning of the actor, or actors, is integrated into the object. Husserl, however, is clear about the idea that we do "see" an object. We do not see the parts of a car, the steering wheel, tyres and so on; what we see is a car. But not only physical objects are constructed in this way, actions and events are too. An "object" may then carry many different noemata (plural of noema), or somewhat more intuitively, different persons may hold different noemata of the same "object."[22] There are always perspectives on perceptions. The noema is "the object as it is intended" (Gurwitsch 1987:65), the intentional objects as the person refers to them when thinking of them; the perceived book as perceived, the thought author as thought and so on (Spiegelberg 1982:126–128). Thus noema is related to the constitution of the perceived object; an object "is" what it is perceived to be.[23] The way the world is structured is thus not given. Husserl follows some of Kant's major ideas, namely that the preceptor structures what is there. Later on, Husserl took this to a more social constructivist perspective.

To address the role of noema in Husserl's writing, it may be illuminating to study his notion of horizon, which was inspired by William James's concept of "fringes" (Spiegelberg 1982:117, 146).[24] Husserl was preoccupied with studying objects, and was particularly interested in physical objects perceived by vision, but the notion is also useful for analyzing time, and consciousness itself. We perceive an object Husserl says, in such a way that we "mean more than is offered," because every perception has a "horizon belonging to its object" ([1954] 1970:158). For example, if I see a physical body that looks like a human body, I normally perceive that body as a human, and not as "part of something that looks like a human from my current point of view." We do include all of the object's sides, and in the case of a human, many capacities that we believe humans to possess. Together this constitutes the inner horizon, that which we mean in addition to the noema when we perceive or think of the object.

The outer horizon, in contrast, refers to the object meant as one thing among other objects (Husserl [1954] 1970:158–162, cf. Føllesdal 1998:581; Schütz [1966] 1975:66). The outer horizon includes the rest of the world, which the actor does not think of when he has directed his attention in a particular direction. The researcher can direct her interest to any of these aspects. Consequently, horizons are relative to noema.

Nevertheless, actors are aware of the outer horizon, even though they may ignore it at times. The horizon, Husserl says, includes "an endless and open system of possible perceptions." This leads him a few paragraphs later to say that "Extremely far-reaching and complex intentional analyses are needed in order to explain the structure of these possibilities as they relate to the specific horizons belonging to every individual class of objects, and to clarify therewith the meaning of actual being" ([1929] 1967:23–24). This can be done since the horizons also refer to the possibilities of activity.[25]

The noema may change rapidly at one point in time, just as when we define a situation as an accident, but a closer look shows that it is part of a movie production. A noema also "carries" knowledge and expectations (with the various attached horizons). A situation defined as an accident typically means injured people, rescue personnel etc., while a movie production carries expectations of a director, camera crew, actors and other members of the production staff. By gathering information, and Husserl is mostly talking of perceptions, an individual can determine which noema is relevant. As a situation fills up with evidence, the likelihood increases that we perceive a certain noema.[26] We can seldom be completely assured that we are correct, though the degree of security can increase when more evidence is present. It must be underscored that evidence is subjectively generated and has intentionality.[27] All this means that levels of noema can thus be uncovered. Put differently, by analyzing the meaning structure of interrelated meanings, which provide the basis for each other, the researcher can uncover levels of noema. To connect these different meanings is one reason why Husserl speaks of horizons (Husserl [1954] 1970:149–150, 170). Husserl thinks that the single studies of meanings and horizons ultimately can be linked together (cf. Husserl [1931] 1960: § 22). I will use the general notion of meaning structure to cover the relations between meanings and horizons. In summary, one may say that the "object" itself has meaning; the inner horizon is what is meant in addition to the object (which can be tacit); and the outer horizon is this object among other objects, which still are not thought of at the same moment as when the consciousness is directed to a certain meaning.

Noema, meaning and words

In this presentation, I follow Føllesdal's West Coast interpretation of Husserl's notion noema, which makes a strong connection between the noematic aspects of consciousness and the linguistic expression (Føllesdal 1998). Føllesdal sees a strong resemblance between the notion of meaning (*Sinn,* which is contrasted to *Bedeutung*) as described by Frege, and Husserl's notion of noema. This gives some indication of the importance of meaning in Husserl's thinking. The linguistic approach implies that a word is related to at least one noema. Of course a word may have different meanings. At the same time, it is almost a precondition for an empirical approach that a noema (meaning) can be described using ordinary language.[28]

This issue brings us to some more practical aspects of Husserl's thinking. Regardless of this restriction due to the language, noemata need not be identical; in fact, they are likely to differ considerably (cf. Husserl [1913b] 1989:178–180). A certain term may indicate a noema, but the same word can of course refer to different noemata. As a consequence, the horizons, and thus the meaning structures, can differ substantially.[29] This means, I argue, that a noema cannot be taken for granted, and cannot be inferred simply from the usage of a certain word.[30]

One must understand that meaning in real life is structured not only universally, but often in communities or domains, which Schütz calls "finite provinces of meaning" (Schütz 1962:230–234).[31] A province of meaning may be seen as part of the life-world, which is structured in a way that makes it different from other aspects of the life-world. At the same time it must be clear that communication to a large extent bridges and produces the differences, which makes it possible to talk of a common life-world. As can

be inferred, this opens up many interesting and problematic issues in relation to empirical phenomenology. One such issue concerns basic communication (between two actors living in their natural attitude, and also between an actor and a researcher). If one person talks to another person, and these two refer to different meaning structures, pertaining to different provinces of meaning, they will interpret each other's statements by referring to the different meaning structures. The meaning of the objects, the inner and outer horizons—the entire meaning structure—cannot be communicated in this way. Only by extensive discussion, and probably helped by observations, and/or examples, can the narrator communicate his or her subjective meaning. This dictates how the researcher must proceed to reach the meaning structure of the field of study (as I discuss further in the section on Schütz). Moreover, this issue leads to Husserl's discussion of intersubjectivity.

Inter subjectivity and the taken-for-granted social "world

The horizon is also a notion that Husserl uses to address one of his major problems: intersubjectivity.[32] It is clear that the solipsism sometimes present in Husserl's discussions poses a major threat to the idea of intersubjectivity.[33] But leaving aside the detailed questions of Husserl's theory of intersubjectivity, it is interesting to see some of the roads that point to solutions. Husserl says, "Always standing out against the world-horizon is the horizon of our fellow men, whether there are any of them present or not" (Husserl [1954] 1970:358). Language belongs to this "horizon of civilization." Since language is understood in terms of a linguistic community, Husserl speaks of an objective world that is given to all of us. We are born into this world; it is "from the start the world for all, the world which 'everyone' has as world horizon" ([1954] 1970:359). It is, Husserl says, an "intersubjective constitution of the world," by which he means "the total system of manners of givenness, however hidden, and also of modes of validity for egos; through this constitution, if we systematically uncovered it, the world as it is for us becomes understandable as a structure of meaning formed out of elementary intentionalities" ([1954] 1970:168). Husserl stresses the intersubjective aspects: "Thus in general the world exists not only for isolated men but for the community of men: and this is because even what is straightforwardly perceptual is communalized" ([1954] 1970:163). He believes this is an important issue; in some contrast with his earlier texts he describes a usually existing intersubjective harmony of validity. Husserl describes the location for all of this:

> [In the] consciousness of each individual, and in the overarching community consciousness which has grown up through [social] contact, one and the same world achieves and continuously maintains constant validity as the world which is in part already experienced and in part the open horizon of possible experiences for all; it is the world as the universal horizon, common to all men, of actually existing things. Each individual, as a subject of possible experiences, has his experiences, his aspects, his perceptual interconnections, his alteration of validity, his corrections, etc.; and each particular social group has its communal aspects etc. ([1954] 1970:163–164, second brackets included in original)

Relativism can be seen as a consequence of Husserl's later thinking, and he asks rhetorically, "How can thinking achieve anything but relative truths?" (Husserl [1954] 1970:336). Thus he sees a common world, within which different "communities" may be oriented to the world differently ([1954] 1970:320). Therefore he proposes the existence of different perspectives among people living within the natural attitude (a notion I will discuss below). This is an "intersubjective constitution" of the world, but it cannot be understood unless the meaning structures that have been constituted are grounded in "elementary intentionalities," which of course only single individuals can hold (Husserl [1954] 1970:168, 172, cf. 336).

By discussing intersubjectivity, Husserl is directly addressing social issues, and a notion that is related to intersubjectivity in his works is life-world. Simmel used this notion before Husserl (Føllesdal 1998:582).[34] The life-world is the everyday world in which people live in their natural attitude; it is "constantly pregiven." The natural attitude means that humans take their everyday knowledge for granted, and not as an object for doubt (Schütz [1966] 1975:5, 116–132, cf. Husserl [1913a] 1962: §§ 27–30, [1929] 1960: §§ 3–5). It follows then that the world in which every person lives is intersubjectively constituted and constructed in social interaction (Husserl [1954] 1970:320). Moreover, it is not a "naive world"; it includes some scientific knowledge.[35]

These two "worlds," the life-world and the scientific world, are not unconnected, and Husserl argues that they should be much more connected. Over time more scientific knowledge is collected and incorporated in the life-world (Husserl [1954] 1970:130).[36] Husserl argues that the ideas of objectivist research have cast a spell over humans (Husserl [1954] 1970:58), and the more of this objectivist knowledge humans have, the more difficult it becomes to understand the subjective foundation of knowledge, because the life-world is the foundation for natural science (Husserl [1954] 1970:121, 124).[37] The life-world is a presupposition of the scientific world. Working scientists have their own horizon of work, which includes the ends of science, and focus only on one horizon: the scientific. The scientist is in the "scientific attitude" whereas the other horizons, including that of the life-world, are placed in the background (Husserl [1954] 1970:379–383). But how is the social scientist to avoid constructing a scientific world that naturally is based upon the life-world? For the beginning of an answer one should turn to Husserl's discussion of psychology.

Husserl and the social sciences

At least one question remains to be discussed: How to make a phenomenological approach applicable to the social sciences, or to be practical? That is, how could one use Husserl to study the market for fashion photography? Even if Husserl became more interested in questions that are relevant to sociologists in his later writings, he did not say much on how to conduct empirical research. He did, however, say that "men in community" is the object of object of the human sciences (Husserl [1954] 1970:322).[38] This does not provide much indication for an empirically oriented social scientist. What Husserl has to offer on this issue must partly be understood in relation to his writings on psychology, where he does touch upon the problems of the social sciences. Husserl was among those who rejected the natural science type of "psychologism" common in the discussions of his time. But his critique of psychology must be seen in the light of the

more general critique of the objectivist natural science approach that psychologists take (Husserl [1954] 1970:212). Although phenomenology and psychology often use the same data—mental experiences—they use them differently. Phenomenology works with them as phenomena that are "included" in the different experiences (Husserl [1931] 1960: § 14).

Husserl argues for a science that takes the psyche as a starting point, and this includes the idea that the psyche does not have a physical nature. He speaks about the phenomenological-psychological reduction as the vehicle for psychology, which means that the researcher becomes a "disinterested psychological observer" ([1954] 1970:236, 249). The researcher must leave behind her own meaning structure of the object she studies and instead focus on the meanings of subjects included in the study. This includes the idea that she does not primarily consider the "validity" of a meaning. The crucial step is to study the mental life of others, for example to conduct a study of meaning of the subjects (and not the meaning of the researcher, Husserl [1954] 1970:236–257); an act must be studied in relation to the "horizon-consciousness" (or "horizon intentionality") that surrounds every act. Husserl explains what he means by horizon-consciousness, saying it "contains very different modes of intentionality which are 'unconscious' in the usual narrower sense of the word but which can be shown to be vitally involved and cofunctioning in different ways" ([1954] 1970:237). Though this description refers to psychology, Husserl suggested a similar strategy to the human sciences (Husserl [1913b] 1989).

This process seen through the lens of an empirical researcher, I argue, is shaky at the beginning, but she will gradually understand the horizons of the subjects, if she is able to bracket some of her theories and presuppositions (cf. Denzin 1989:55–58).[39] However, as I will argue, this does not imply that the researcher should work without theory. Theory guides the researcher, but she cannot let the theory ascribe all the details to the empirical study. Husserl's ideas give the social scientist an idea of the direction to proceed in, but says less about the practical side of the matter: how to apply phenomenology to sociological issues. Furthermore, his writings contain only some traces of a phenomenological sociology. To make the phenomenological approach easier to understand, and applicable to the social sciences as an empirical approach, I now turn to Alfred Schütz.

The social scientist: Alfred Schütz

Phenomenology takes the individual as the point of departure for studies, and it can be summarized as being a systematic way of studying the subjective perspective. The individual is the pole for the construction of meaning. This means that the first step is to explicate the meanings of the actors in their life-worlds, and then move on to their inner horizons and their entire meaning structure. To study the meanings of single individuals is of course interesting, but sociology is not a science of individual biographies (Schütz [1932] 1976:241). Sociology focuses on interaction, groups, and collectives of individuals. To take us from the sometimes rather atomistic perspective of Husserl to a more social one, Schütz's thinking is useful, because even though Husserl talks much

about intersubjectivity, he does not explain clearly how one should go about and do sociology based on his thinking, though he hints at it (Husserl [1913b] 1989).

The aim of this section is to discuss the sociological phenomenology, as developed by Alfred Schütz. It has been argued that phenomenological sociology owes him much (Psathas 1973:8). Most researchers who claim to be phenomenologists unfortunately seem to be oblivious about what phenomenology is, and I mention them only briefly. I begin by discussing Schütz's entry into sociology and his relation to Husserl, and then analyze his sociological twist on phenomenology. Finally I discuss how Schütz showed a way to make an empirical science out of phenomenological sociology.

Schütz's thinking can be seen as a merger of the thinking of Max Weber and—more importantly—Edmund Husserl.[40] In his early works Schütz showed himself to be close to Weber, but especially to Husserl (cf. Schütz [1932] 1976, cf. Luckmann 1992). Schütz referred almost exclusively to Weber's *Economy and Society* (Weber [1921–22] 1978), and identified two basic problems with Weber's writing. First, Schütz sees that Weber's theory is not really based in meaning, which is crucially important and bluntly advertised in Weber's thinking (as shown above). Second, Weber omits the subjective dimension, which he also advertised in his *Economy and Society* (cf. Aspers 2000). Schütz's critique of Weber is fundamental. He thinks Weber failed to present a subjective theory even though he called the foundation of his edifice "subjective" (Schütz 1964:227, cf. Gorman [1977] 1997:182–184). This means, to simplify somewhat, that Schütz provides Weber's sociology with a phenomenological foundation.

Schütz is inspired by Husserl on many issues, among them the fundamental ideas of meaning, and meaning constitution, which are at the very center of the phenomenological analysis. Intentionality and subjectivism are other central traits to which both authors share a commitment. No doubt the phenomenological heritage from Husserl is strong; but still they do not always agree. However the main "difference" is not due to different viewpoints, but rather due to their different questions at hand. Schütz was strongly oriented toward the social sciences, though he raised his questions in both philosophical and scientific contexts. Below I will concentrate on Schütz's attempts to generate a phenomenological sociology and I pay special attention to his attempts to make phenomenology empirically applicable. This is one of the questions that Schütz never solved. Instead he "left his successors not merely the heritage of his challenging thoughts and suggestions, but also a series of formidable tasks" (Wagner 1973:68). The time is long overdue to make use of his heritage and develop an empirical phenomenology.

The natural attitude of the life-world as the starting point

Schütz has contributed much to make phenomenology a useful approach to the social sciences and by taking intersubjectivity for granted—as most sociologists do—he left out a complex of problems that Husserl considered carefully. What Schütz downplays in his works is the constitution of the other within the private sphere of the ego, and the constitution of the ego itself. The researcher, in contrast, should start with the life-world, where the person acts within the natural attitude, and which the actor takes for granted (Schütz [1966] 1975:5, 51). Schütz stresses the intersubjectivity of the social world (Roche 1973:31–32), and is clear about this major step: "As we proceed to our study of the social world, we abandon the strictly phenomenological method. […] The object we

shall be studying, therefore, is the human being who is looking at the world from within the natural attitude" (Schütz [1932] 1976:97–98, cf. 43–44; Zeitlin 1973).[41] The starting point of the social sciences has to be the ordinary social life of people (Schütz [1932] 1976:141). More concretely Schütz says that the starting point is "not social action or social behavior, but *intentional conscious experiences directed toward the other self*" (Schütz [1932] 1976:144). Thus, the empirical material is the mental content of peoples' natural attitude; it is also the point of departure for the social scientist. Thus, what people take for granted becomes part of the social scientist's empirical material (Schütz [1966] 1975:116–132). Schütz writes of a "particular level of experience which presents itself as not in need of further analysis" (Schütz [1932] 1976:74). The life-world is accepted as unquestionably given by its members. Schütz says the following of the natural attitude in the life-world, "we can speak of fundamental assumptions characteristic of the natural attitude in the life-world, which themselves are accepted as unquestionably given; namely the assumptions of the constancy of the structure of the world, and the constancy of our ability *(Vermöglichkeit)* to act upon the world and within the world" (Schütz [1966] 1975:116). Schütz, of course, thinks that what usually is taken for granted may in fact be put into question (Schütz [1932] 1976:74).

An example from actors in the market for fashion photography can make this point more tangible. The people living in the world of fashion photography do not doubt the existence of this world when they wake up: they take it for granted. Within this "world," they orient themselves to others and to the systems of symbols and so on that exist within the world.

Thus the life-world, in Schütz's interpretation of Husserl, is important in the respect that it deals with the actors within the natural attitude (Schütz 1962:57–58). Schütz stresses that much of this knowledge is socially and culturally produced, and that to some extent even the horizons are produced this way (Schütz [1966] 1975:119–120, 131; Berger and Luckmann 1966, 1995:13). The knowledge of a certain sphere of society may be much more detailed than the knowledge of other spheres. The knowledge of an individual or group can partly be explained by the idea of how relevant it is to the actors (Schütz 1962:14–15). A photographer usually knows more about her sphere of life than she knows of other spheres; the distribution of this knowledge of the life-word is not equal. Schütz says that "the actual stock of knowledge is nothing but the sedimentation of all our experiences of former definitions of previous situations, experiences which might refer to our own world in previously actual, restorable, or obtainable reach or else to fellow-men, contemporaries, or predecessors" (Schütz [1966] 1975:123). To further analyze the life-world, Schütz introduces the notion of provinces of meaning, which aim at separating provinces with a different "cognitive style." He stresses the cognitive aspects, because "it is our meaning of our experiences and not the ontological structure of the objects which constitutes reality" (Schütz 1964:230, cf. 1996:36–38).[42]

Schütz's position becomes easier to understand if one remembers his critique of Husserl as writing little that is directly applicable to the social sciences (Schütz 1962:146–147). Husserl's great contribution to the social sciences, Schütz says, is connected to the notion of life-world (Schütz 1962:149).

Schütz's proto phenomenology

It is clear that Schütz both enriched and developed the phenomenological approach. He also made it more applicable to the social sciences. One major question remains, however: how is the phenomenological sociologist to go about doing empirical sociology? The scientific approach to understanding actors, whether or not the researcher focuses on a specific province of meaning, should start from an analysis of the actor's perspective. This is Schütz's answer to the Kantian question of the problem of every social science: "How are sciences of subjective meaning-context possible?" (Schütz [1932] 1976:223, cf. 1996:124). Schütz says the problem of the phenomenological social scientist can be divided into two parts. The first part is how to collect empirical material based upon the actors' perspective, and the second part is how to produce valid scientific knowledge based upon the actors' perspectives (Schütz 1962:3–5). To see how Schütz addresses this issue one should look at his postulates for the social science. The social scientist, Schütz argues, should be guided by four postulates:

1 *The Postulate of Relevance.* The scientist decides on the scientific problem, and the scientific perspective (i.e. theories and knowledge) creates a "scheme of reference" for the scientific work (Schütz 1962:35–38, 46, 63, 1964:18, 1996:21).
2 *The Postulate of Subjective Interpretation.* The scientist, in order to explain a social phenomenon must account for what goes on in the minds of the actors. This means that all scientific explanations must refer to the subjective meaning of the actors (Schütz 1962:34–36, 43–44, 62, 1964:84–85).
3 *The Postulate of Adequacy.* The terms used by the social scientist must be understandable to the actors being studied. The type of acts "performed" by the constructed ideal types must be reasonable and understandable (and compatible) to both the actors living in the life-world studied (their experience), and to the scientific experience. This idea is borrowed from Max Weber (Schütz 1962:44, 1964:19, 85, 88, 1996:22).
4 *The Postulate of Logical Consistency.* By constructing scientific thought objects, such as a model, and by adhering to the principles of formal logic, the social scientist produces knowledge that is objectively valid. This is made possible by stressing clarity and distinctiveness (Schütz 1962:43, 64, 1964:19).

These postulates are the guidelines Schütz gives for social scientists, though it is not always perfectly clear how one should use them in practical scientific work. I will first try to clarify these, but since Schütz never conducted an empirical study along these lines, I will have to make some interpretations. These interpretations, and the necessary additions, are the focus of the sections that follow.

To understand the other

How is the social scientist to go about conducting empirical studies; how can the subjective perspective be explicated? The first task for this researcher is to decide what is relevant to study, which is a question that Schütz calls "the scientific problem under examination" (Schütz 1964:83). This determines the realm of the subject matter and

creates a "scheme of reference of all ideal types which may be utilized as relevant" (Schütz 1964:83). This idea falls under the postulate of relevance. The scientific attitude also includes a special attitude for the researcher, who detaches herself from the practical life of the field she is interested in. The scientist does not take part as an actor, but instead he "detaches himself from his biographical situation within the social world" (Schütz 1962:37). This means that the research question propels the researcher's construction of a model of the world. The researcher studies the stock of knowledge that the actors hold in their ordinary lives. But the researcher's own skill draws upon the stock of knowledge of her field. The social scientist may work within the field of study, as a field worker, and establish contact with the actors in the field. Schütz says, "In order to comply with this postulate, the scientific proceeds in a way similar to that of the observer of a social interaction pattern in the world of everyday life, although guided by an entirely different system of relevance" (Schütz 1962:40).

The next and more practical task is how to understand the actors within the realm of the study. According to Schütz, the social scientist proceeds in many ways like an everyday person, though sometimes using a more stringent method. This must to some extent be inferred from what Schütz says regarding our everyday understanding of fellow humans: "The question how a scientific interpretation of human action is possible can be resolved only if an adequate answer is first given to the question how man, in the natural attitude of daily life and common sense, can understand another's action at all" (Schütz 1964:20–21).

The understanding of "the other" is a major topic in Schütz's writings (cf. Schütz [1932] 1976, 1964:20–62). Understanding a person, Schütz argues, means understanding what the other means (Schütz 1996:127). The notion of meaning is crucial in this context. Language is seen as the vehicle of both objective and subjective meaning. That is to say, language is the prime vehicle for subjects expressing their mental attitudes, but at the same time it poses a restriction, since language is socially constituted. In this way the mental life is to some extent objectively structured by language (Schütz 1982:128–131). Or in Schütz's own words, "Objective meaning is the meaning of the sign as such, the kernel, so-to-speak; whereas subjective meaning is the fringe [horizon] or aura emanating from the subjective contact in the mind of the sign-user" (Schütz [1932] 1976:126, see also 1982:140–145, 160–162). To the theory of signs and meaning, Schütz connects a theory of how the interpreter interprets the meaning of the performer (cf. Schütz [1932] 1976:126–132). This implies the view that meaning is not transmitted atom by atom; meaning is more like a web, more holistic. The receiver must interpret the meaning of the sender, which is quite hard to achieve without distortion. Schütz sees the range of the problem: "I bring into each concrete situation a stock of preconstituted knowledge which includes a network of typifications of human individuals in general, of typical human motivations, goals, and action patterns. It also includes knowledge of expressive and interpretive schemes of objective signsystems and, in particular, of the vernacular language" (Schütz 1964:29–30). Schütz stresses in other writings how the world we experience is largely defined by our predecessors, so we need not engage in the process of definition all over again; this would also create problems were we to try. We can use the stock of knowledge, which is mostly stored in the common language, and is the way we think of situations; it defines them (cf. Cox 1978:8).

Meaning is mostly communicated with objectively existing signs, which in practice often means language. But as I discussed above, the meaning of language is objectively structured, otherwise no one could communicate. At the same time, most sign-users hold a subjective meaning (or horizon) for each word. The likelihood of understanding communication will depend upon several factors. Understanding is more likely to occur if the sender and receiver both attach the same meaning to the words, both know the subject matter well, share the same habits of communication etc. (cf. Schütz [1932] 1976:126–127). Another way of explaining this is that actors first grasp the objective meaning of the (communally used) sign-system, and from this and the general knowledge of the situation; the sender interprets the meaning (Schütz [1932] 1976:166). The combination of observation and communication facilitates the understanding of the other (Schütz [1932] 1976:172–176, 1982, cf. 1964:55). By participating in a face-to-face interaction, especially if the two actors knew each other before, they are more likely to get their meaning across than if they do not know each other, or each others' provinces of meaning (Schütz 1962:220).

By this process of sending-receiving and interpretation, the actor reaches the meaning level of the other actors and the way they construct ideal types. The actors construct ideal types relevant to their own life, in their own life-world. In summary, the meanings, the horizons of the actors, photographers, art directors, fashion editors and their ideal types are all what, following Schütz, may be called first-order constructs. The researcher must know these first-order constructs to be able to satisfy the postulate of subjective interpretation and the postulate of adequacy.

The researcher's practice

But what, and how, is the researcher supposed to do? Schütz does not say much of methods, but he does suggest using participant observation (Schütz 1962:40), and also to send out questioners, hear witnesses and also establish test-cases (Schütz 1964:17). All in all, he has very little to say regarding methods, for two reasons: so-called qualitative methods were not well developed when Schütz wrote, and he had limited experience with practical research work.[43] But it is clear from what he says about participant observation, and about understanding in general, that the researcher must study the field empirically, and at a close range. Furthermore, the results must be verifiable (Schütz 1962:62).

By conducting empirical studies the researcher reaches the meaning level of the actors: the first-order constructs. Only on the basis of these first-order constructs can one decide on second-order constructs:

> The thought objects constructed by the social scientist, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men, living their daily life within their social world. Thus, the constructs of the social sciences are, so-to-speak, constructs of the second degree, that is, constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene.
>
> (Schütz 1962:59, cf. Esser 1991:35–6, 1993)

The researcher's second-order constructs are based upon the constructs of the actors in the field, who hold a natural attitude within their province of meaning. In this way the researcher connects the "common sense world" with the scientific world of theories. Thus, Alfred Schütz here gives a tangible and applicable relationship for the social sciences that corresponds to the relationship that Husserl acknowledged between everyday life (the life-world) and the researcher's account of reality. The researcher studies many actors and out of this constructs ideal types of photographers. This includes their horizons and meanings.

In the process of studying the world, the researcher creates a model with "puppets." The puppets of this model—or constructed world—have only certain traits, those relevant to the questions the researcher addresses, and those traits can be found in reality. The puppets are not real people (Schütz 1962:41). Much like a map, the model does not mirror all aspects of reality, only some of its aspects (Schütz 1962:40, 254–255). The researcher ascribes motives and other traits to the puppets. But is this not exactly what the subjective perspective tries to evade? First of all, it is a necessity: a scientific theory cannot be like a map on a scale of 1:1; such a map would be useless. Thus, simplifications are unavoidable and necessary. Furthermore, the researcher can only understand social reality by applying idealtypes. However, it is a mistake to ascribe mental contents to the actors if one does so without referring to the actors' first-order constructs; Schütz's entire project aims to connect the two perspectives, starting from the subjective, which also means that the researcher must bracket her own presuppositions. The ideal type in the form of puppets is a means to achieve the connection:

> So he [the researcher] arrives at a model of the social world, or better at a reconstruction of it. It contains all the relevant elements of the social event chosen as a typical one by the scientist for further examination. And it is a model that complies perfectly with the postulate of the subjective point of view. For from the first the puppet type is imagined as having the same specific knowledge of the situation—including means and conditions—which a real actor would have in the real social world; from the first the subjective motives of the real actor performing a typical act are implanted as constant elements of the specious consciousness of the personal ideal type; and it is the destiny of the personal ideal type to play the role the actor in the social world would have to adopt in order to perform the typical act. And as the type is constructed in such a way that it performs exclusively typical acts, the objective and subjective elements in the formation of unit-acts coincide.
>
> (Schütz 1964:18)

This is actually one of Schütz's major contributions to the social sciences: his bridging of the gap between subjectivism and objectivism. He does this by starting from the subjects' perspective, which means accepting the "postulate of subjective interpretation" (Schütz 1962:34). The puppets, or the *homunculi* as he sometimes calls them, are thus constructions based upon the experience of everyday people. The puppets play a key role in his work. The idea of puppets is connected to his "postulate of adequacy" (Schütz 1962:44, 1964:19, 85), and only in the light of his subjective perspective can one grasp

the full significance of the postulate. Though Weber also used the idea of "adequacy," Schütz adopted it somewhat differently. Weber considers that we have a "correct causal interpretation" before us when we apprehend it causally and at the level of meaning (Weber [1921–22] 1978:12, [1913] 1981:157). But the level of meaning could refer to both the motive described by the actor and that ascribed by the researcher. Schütz sees this as a weakness in Weber's theory (Schütz [1932] 1976:229). The phenomenological researcher "ascribes" motives to the actors, as Weber suggests, but does so out of experience of the world of real individuals. Thus, the real actors should be able to understand the model that the researcher has created (Schütz 1962:44). Naturally, and Schütz stresses this point, the researcher does not describe all aspects of the actors, only those that are relevant (the postulate of relevance) to the question studied. This means that a "scheme of reference…constitutes limits of the scope within which relevant ideal types may be formed" (Schütz 1964:18).

Clearly the question of keeping the subjective perspective was central for Schütz:

> Most of the fallacies in the social sciences can be reduced to a mergence of subjective and objective points of view which, unnoticed by the scientists, arose in the process of transgressing from one level to the other in the continuation of the work… But for a theory of action the subjective point of view must be retained in its fullest strength, in default of which such a theory loses its basic foundations, namely its references to the social world of everyday life and experience. The safeguarding of the subjective point of view is the only but sufficient guarantee that the world of social reality will not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer.
>
> (Schütz 1964:8)

Schütz stresses that once the researcher has chosen her scheme of reference, subjectivism or objectivism, she must stick to it (Schütz 1964:8). The researcher constructs the ideal type only to say that she does what the actors themselves do: constructing means understanding social reality. Schütz, who here takes a different position from that of Weber, says that the actor's perception must be accounted for. Naturally, the only way to achieve a complete subjective understanding is to be identical to the agent under scrutiny. This is the reason why the social scientist always has to speak about constructed reality; the aim of theory is not to mirror reality in its complexity. Instead the researcher must use her best means: the ideal type.[44]

Summing up Schütz

When does one attain an explanation of a phenomenon, according to Schütz? The simple answer is: when we understand the phenomenon. To understand social phenomena, according to Schütz, means to understand the "because of and "in order to" motives of the actor (e.g. Schütz 1964:12). A scientific explanation has to start from the motives etc., as they are seen from the individual's perspective, in order to create empirically generated ideal types. Consequently, what Schütz tries to explain is how the agent perceives the situation of which she is a part, whether or not she acts "correctly"

according to some standards. A consequence of this view, for example, is that only the actor knows when an act begins and when it ends (Schütz 1962:24). Schütz says that it is "naive enough to suppose that the boundaries of the act can be objectively demarcated while the actor is at the same time free to give the act any meaning he chooses!" ([1932] 1976:190).[45] This idea also has consequences for how Schütz views holistic social entities, such as organizations. He says that these are "only understandable if they can be reduced to human activities" (Schütz 1964:12–14).[46] Schütz's idea of an explanation is of course not identical to an objectivist view of what counts as an explanation. A scientific explanation is not something that can be decided rationally; it is tied up with an idea of the world.[47]

The actor's meaning is to some extent lost in the scientific process, even if one uses the phenomenological approach. That is because the researcher can never be like the actors, and the actors in the field are never identical. The process of creating second-order constructs involves some loss of meaning, but still there is a tremendous difference between the phenomenological researcher and the objectivist one when it comes to scientific approach. Most of the differences can be seen in light of what constitutes an explanation according to the two different perspectives.

Two major tasks remain. I have said little about the relationship between the phenomenological approach and existing theories. What is their guiding role in the beginning of this study? Also, what is the relationship between my empirical findings and existing theories? I have not said much about the methods that are suitable for a phenomenological approach, besides what I have added to Schütz's own statements in the text above. In addition, one more issue remains unsolved. That is, Schütz's analysis is largely descriptive, and he puts little, if any, effort into discussing how individual actions can produce a social outcome that was, or was not, part of the actor's intentions. Schütz only alludes to the role of unintended consequence. How, for example, can we analyze and understand a market according to Schütz? Schütz leaves the empirically oriented social scientist without any examples of how to do phenomenology, and a discussion of the relation to existing theories that is not finished. This may be one reason why phenomenology has not yet made a breakthrough into the social sciences (cf. Tyminiecka 1983).

Phenomenologically inspired sociology

Many social scientists have been inspired and influenced by Schütz's writings. It therefore seems reasonable that one can find an extension of Schütz's thinking into the empirical domain. Unfortunately, guidance on conducting empirical research based on Schütz's writings is rather meager in these phenomenologically inspired writings. One reason is probably the critique of phenomenology. Kurt Wolff, for example, justifiably critiques the empirical deficits of phenomenology (Wolff 1978). Phenomenology has also been criticized for being occupied with microanalysis, for not taking proper account of power, and for stressing meaning over praxis (e.g. Wolff 1978:530; Hilbert 1992:197–198). Other social scientists have addressed some of these questions (e.g. Wagner 1973). I will, however, not comment on this debate directly.

Unfortunately, those who have actually found Schütz to be a rich and very interesting thinker have not tried to improve the core of social science phenomenology (by which I mean the Husserl-Schützian stream). Two recognizable streams flow from core phenomenology. These are the theoretical-phenomenological and the empirical, both of which have made use of pieces of phenomenological thought.

The theoretical approach is advocated, first and foremost, by Berger and Luckmann (Berger and Luckmann 1966, 1995). Their work is well known in the social sciences, and they stressed the important sociology of knowledge perspective. They also discussed subjectivity versus objectivity and the construction of meaning. Furthermore, their work has been influential in the debate on social constructivism (Hacking 1999). But their work and that of some others who use Schütz's thinking, has seldom left the theoretical domain. George Psathas (1973, 1989) has put together a collection of theoretical phenomenological essays, as has Maurice Natanson (1973). But few have stressed the empirical, leaving a deficit in the literature. There are also more recent accounts of the diffusion of theoretical phenomenology, for example in the USA (Psathas 2004).

Ethnomethodology clearly finds inspiration in phenomenology. According to Erving Goffman, it was the leading name in ethnomethodology, Harold Garfinkel, who put Schütz on the sociological agenda (Goffman 1974:5).[48] Garfinkel, however, was not the first to make use of Schütz (Heritage 1984:5), although it is clear that he admired him (Flynn 1991:81–82). Phenomenology's strongest contributions to ethnomethodology seem to be the ideas of the natural attitude and the taken-for-granted reality (Turner 1974, cf. Garfinkel 1967).[49] Ethnomethodology, however, has not made any use of the bulk of phenomenology. Though ethnomethodology is inspired by phenomenology, it does not focus so crucially on the mental aspects. Thus ethnomethodology does not represent a phenomenological sociology (Rogers 1983:133). Goffman has also been inspired by Schütz (Goffman 1974). According to Randall Collins, Goffman is more of a realist and at the same time critical to Schütz's emphasis on the constructive dimension (1988:58). Karin Knorr Cetina and Urs Bruegger (2002) make an interesting usage of Schütz: to study the so-called Global Microstructures in financial markets.

In an overview, Holstein and Gubrium focus on the empirical application of phenomenology, and conclude that no research is close to the core of phenomenology (Holstein and Gubrium 1994). Clearly, many studies claim to be phenomenological, or phenomenologically inspired, but few guidelines to an empirical phenomenology for the social sciences can be found in those that claim to be phenomenological, and to my knowledge, few have used Schütz's works (e.g. Zichi Cohen and Omery 1992; Ray 1994; Moustakas 1994, see also Bengtsson 1998 for an overview of phenomenology).

Empirical phenomenology

Husserl clearly made a significant contribution by introducing philosophical phenomenology on the foundation of social science that Schütz established. But one question is not yet adequately addressed: how can one conduct empirical sociology based on phenomenology? This issue is solved by neither Husserl nor Schütz, but must be given serious consideration. The best way to approach the problem is to recapitulate the phenomenological position, focusing on how to do empirical work, and identify the

empty spots on the map. In the following sections, I address these remaining issues, and then summarize empirical phenomenological sociology.

Husserl defines the phenomenological approach: it starts from the mental side of the individuals—their consciousness—which he sees as the prime source of knowledge. It is a constructivist approach with the ego in the center—as the pole of constitution of meaning. This approach implies that no knowledge exists as such; it is always someone who knows, sees, perceives, etc. The notion of intentionality, of mental directedness toward an "object"—which may or may not exist—becomes crucial. The mental side is at the center of interest, and the researcher, for example, can study the meaning—the intentional side of the object thought of, or perceived. It is thus not what the researcher sees or thinks that triggers the acts of the actors within the field of study, it is the perceptions, the meanings, and ends of the actors that they use when they act. To explicate these meaning structures and the horizons of the actors, the conscious side must be studied. But is it possible to explicate how the phenomenologist should go about and do this work in practice, for example when studying a market? To provide an answer I will build upon Schütz's aforementioned four postulates, but will expand the discussion beyond his work.

The problems to be solved

The researcher decides what problem is at hand. This may come from his or her interest, or it can be more directly related to the ongoing debate within a research community, or from any other source. Furthermore, the researcher uses theories as schemes of reference, which give focus to the study. If the researcher is using a theory of monopoly, she will study questions relevant to this theory (scheme). The same underlying phenomenon may then be studied with different schemes (Schütz 1962:45–6). This is related to *The Postulate of Relevance*. But how does one decide what theory to use? Plus, does a theory not lead the researcher to see only some aspects of the field? These issues should be discussed.

The empirical phenomenological approach demands that a scientific explanation is reached only when we understand the actor's perspective. In order to accomplish this, the researcher must find ways of studying the actors that enable her to understand them. Schütz refers to what I call the actors' first-order constructs; that is, the researcher must explicate the actors' meaning structure and the ideal types they themselves use within their natural attitude. *The Postulate of Subjective Interpretation* is relevant here. Schütz has little to say on what scientific methods to use; his guidelines actually come from his general writing on understanding "the other."

Out of the actor's first-order constructs, the researcher produces second-order constructs. The second-order constructs face a two-way communication dilemma. On the one hand, they must comply with the demand of subjectivism: they must be understandable to the actors within the field. On the other hand, they must be connected with the existing scientific theory. Schütz discusses this two-way communication problem under the heading *The Postulate of Adequacy*. The interpretation made here stresses the role of second-order constructs as a way to relate and judge the value of the scheme of reference the researcher chooses. It is not exactly clear, however, how one constructs the second-order constructs, and how the researcher relates her empirical

findings to existing theories. To some extent the creation of the second-order constructs is addressed by what Schütz calls *The Postulate of Logical Consistency*. This postulate demands that the second-order constructs are clear and distinct.

Unfortunately, clear answers to these remaining questions cannot be found in the writings of Schütz; they have instead to be amended, in some cases guided by interpretations. According to Schütz, the main task of the social scientist is to transcend the gulf between subjectivism and objectivism. This must be remembered as I will address these issues.

The role of theory in empirical "works of phenomenology

The guidelines for an empirical phenomenological sociology that I have developed can be summarized in seven points or steps. The first step is to define the general research questions for the study. The next two steps concern the role of theory in the scientific process. What specifically is the relationship between the phenomenological approach and existing theories of markets that I discussed in the first chapter? Put briefly, the existing theories give direction to the questions of interest in the discussion on markets.[50] Schütz got closest to this issue when he spoke of *The Postulate of Relevance* (Schütz 1964:18). The theories used tell the student which aspects are relevant to study, since one cannot possibly study the first-order constructs of every topic. This means that in order to speak understandably of the phenomenon scrutinized in this study—markets—one has to acknowledge the basic traits of markets, such as buyers and sellers, exchange and the product. But there are many theories of the market, and how is one to decide which theory to choose? This is important: all theories provide the researcher with different schemes of reference, and in a sense impose a view and guidelines for what to study.

In order to decide what theories may function as the guiding vehicle of the study I conducted an empirical prestudy of my field of interest. This is the second step. The prestudy provided indications on what theory to use, and how to structure the study; it also affected the research question. The choice of theory is the third step. In addition, after the prestudy, the researcher starts from a relatively high level of knowledge.[51] In my case, I conducted a prestudy in New York, and discovered that the sociological theories of Harrison White and some related works seemed most suitable.

In the fourth step, the researcher brackets the theories while conducting the empirical research. Especially in the fieldwork and in the interviews, the researcher tries to explicate meanings, the horizons, and the general meaning structure of the actors within the field of study—and simultaneously tries to avoid reading in the theories. The focus is on the first-order constructs and not the second-order constructs. But the researcher is not interested in the actors' every first-order construct, only those "selected" by the scheme of reference. While at work, the researcher adopts the attitude, described above, of a disinterested observer. Thus, the scheme of reference guides her as she approaches the actors and gathers information on their natural attitude.

Study the first-order constructs

The aim of the researcher is to explicate the subjects' point of view, but never to become like them or to adopt their natural attitude. This "problem" can be explained with an

example from my own research. When I participated in the field as an assistant to a photographer I took on the role of the assistant, and performed the tasks of an assistant as best I could, but I never adopted the interest of the assistant: to finally reach a level, for example, where I could publish my pictures in *Italian Vogue,* or skillfully set a light like Irving Penn. I never adopted the horizon of relevance of a real assistant; I was always tuned into my own horizon of relevance: that of a researcher. I never exchanged my "scientific attitude" for the natural attitude of the actors in the field. I never took part in the game of the actors, their *illusio* (Bourdieu [1994] 1998:76–78). Thus, the actors' first-order constructs are what interest the researcher, and not her own role (Husserl [1954] 1970, cf. Schütz 1962:40). But in an actual study, the researcher brackets the theories, and thus the theoretical notions. She does not see the market, the seller and the product as objectively existing categories that are there to be found and verified in the light of the theory. Instead meanings, horizons and ideal types constructed and used by the actors are what interest the researcher.

Alfred Schütz, as I stated earlier, described the idea that the researcher should move from the subjective level of the actor's first-order constructs to the objective level of the second-order constructs. The issues that need to be addressed are familiar to some social scientists using qualitative methods. As the first-order constructs help clarify meanings and horizons of the actors, the researcher should investigate the various ideas and presuppositions that go with a certain concept. For example, through questions and observation the researcher clarifies if "a fashion photographer" means something different to the fashion editors of a low-status and high-status magazine. To explicate meaning is crucial. Another illustration is to see towards whom, for example, photographers orient their behavior. This means that sometimes the researcher will find a unanimous meaning among the actors: the meaning may be almost the same for the actors. In other cases, however, more than one meaning exists. Naturally, the same meaning may not be connected to only one term. In gathering empirical material, the researcher starts from a position of knowledge of the field that is likely to be on the same level as the average person in society, or at best slightly above. But gradually this average "natural attitude" towards the phenomenon studied is replaced by a more detailed knowledge, which enables the researcher to gradually explicate the first-order constructs.

The empirical material gathered is what Schütz describes as the first-order constructs. These can be gathered with many of the methods that fall under the broad category of "qualitative methods" in sociology. Many of these are suitable for addressing the demands of a phenomenological perspective.[52] Meaning, which becomes the most general notion of what is studied, is mostly transmitted by words, for which interviews are suitable. In an interview or at a photographic set the researcher's task is to scrutinize the actors' first-order constructs. Naturally, people do this constantly in everyday life, so both ordinary people and the researcher have to understand the meaning of the other in order to *speak* about the meaning of the actors. To start asking questions is the best way to open up the conscious life of another (Schütz [1932] 1976:174).

But not only is meaning transmitted by words; words also take on meaning in interaction and in practical work. Therefore the researcher should observe the situation, and if possible combine interviews and another form of observational methods. This connection is clear in Schütz's thinking; from observation alone it is easy to make

mistakes; understanding demands a combination of observation and questioning (Schütz [1932] 1976:167–176, 229).

From the first' to the second-order constructs

After using the theory and finding the first-order constructs, the next task is to go from the first-order constructs to the second-order constructs.[53] This is what I call the fifth step. Fortunately, sociologists and anthropologists have done considerable work on how to study, code, and analyze the meaning of the subjects. In fact, what is included in the broad definition of qualitative research, both in terms of specific methods of interviewing and participant observation, and in terms of analyzing and coding empirical material is very helpful in these studies. I see a clear conjunction of qualitative methods and techniques coming from different theoretical viewpoints. These issues are to a large extent solved by various qualitatively working social scientists and are discussed in Appendix B.[54]

The second-order constructs must, on the one hand, not lose contact with the meaning level of the actors, and on the other, not be meaningless to the scientific community. Of these two extreme poles—retaining contact with the meaning level of the actors and retaining contact with the scientific community and its theories—the first is the most important, as is obvious from the phenomenological perspective. In order to safeguard this in relation to the actors, one can ask a few actors to read the reported results from the study to make sure that they recognize the field, the ideal types constructed and so on.[55] In respect to the scientific community, one can understand the problem as a matter of "fit" between the empirical evidence presented and existing theories. If it is not possible to relate the empirical study to existing theories, it does not mean that the theory is refuted in a logical sense; the theory is simply meaningless. Obviously, empirical findings can also generate new theories.

Unintended consequences

The sixth step to discuss is how unintended consequences are to be grasped within the phenomenological approach. Schütz does not discuss this. The production of meaning and signs may not be seen as an intended result of communication, but it is nevertheless not difficult to accomodate to the phenomenological approach. The basic idea is that no unintended consequences emerge out of themselves; they are normally effects of actions with intended results as the goal. Furthermore, though countless unintended consequences occur, only a few are relevant.[56] An unintended consequence must first be seen as an object of an actor—either those in the field or the researcher—to become an interesting object to study. The attachment of meaning to (unintended) consequences is not a different process from attachment of meaning in general. The only difference is that a consequence that the actors see as uninteresting may be very interesting to the researcher, because they have different horizons of interest.

The issue of unintended consequences is only an instance of the general problem of explanation (cf. Elster 1989). To reiterate, the demand for a phenomenological explanation is that it is connected with the first-order constructs of the actors. The main difference with unintended consequences is that it is often the task of the researcher to

establish the link(s) between the actors' perspective on the acts, and how these acts relate to the effect. In other words, actors act from their natural attitude position, and these acts are intended and meaningful. The acts have both intended and unintended consequences. Some of the consequences are seen by the actors themselves as connected to their acts, whereas the scientist may connect others to actions of the actors; yet others will remain undetected, though they of course may be powerful and important. Thus actors themselves cannot foresee nor even imagine all the consequences of their acts (cf. Husserl [1954] 1970:237). By maintaining a scientific attitude, the researcher may be able to present a picture of the actors' life-world that connects their meaningful actions with both intended and unintended consequences.

Theory and evidence

The final issue is the relationship between the empirical evidence that a phenomenological study produces and the existing body of theory. The issue of explanation is part of the discussion of the relationship between theory and evidence. What is the relationship between theory and phenomenological evidence, i.e. evidence generated by the phenomenological method? The evaluation of the evidence presented by the phenomenological approach is, as in most cases, likely to be somewhere "in between," that is, the empirical study suggests changes in the theory, or gives some support to the theory.[57] As in all scientific discussion there is always a bit of taste, to refer to Nietzsche, when it comes to evaluating evidence in relation to the theory. This is partly because what counts as an explanation is not always rational. Evidence of the meaning structure is the foundation for scientific explanations of phenomena according to the social sciences phenomenologists. The theories are seen, until phenomenological evidence is at hand, as potential explanations.

Seven steps for conducting empirical phenomenological studies

To conclude this long discussion it is useful to summarize my findings on how the social scientist should proceed. This is done in seven steps that follow from the sections above and correspond to the four postulates of Schütz:

1 Define the research question.
2 Conduct a prestudy.
3 Chose a theory and use it as a scheme of reference.
4 Study first-order constructs (and bracket the theories).
5 Construct second-order constructs.
6 Check for unintended effects.
7 Relate the evidence to the scientific literature and the empirical field of study.

I would like to stress that this process is quite likely to iterate, for example, the researcher will go through steps one to three more than once. Throughout this study I practiced the approach I have described here, and thus provided the theoretical discussion with an empirical example. I would also like to stress that the phenomenological approach presented here is a combination of Husserl's writings, especially his later and more idealistic work, and Schütz's thinking. Moreover, phenomenology, as used here, is

neither a theory nor a method, but an approach. To reiterate, my intention with this appendix is to make it possible to empirically study the subjective perspective.[58] In pursuing this goal, I have found no other approach that has even come close to the sophistication and theoretical richness that one can find in phenomenology.

Appendix B:
empirical work

The methods employed in this study aim at applying the phenomenological perspective at the empirical level; below I briefly describe my empirical work. The first section deals with my background and the development of the study. The second section covers the methods used in the study. This appendix focuses on practical examples of how the study was conducted, and how the actors were chosen, rather than a detailed presentation of the methods used.

Background

I have a background as a part-time professional photographer. I have worked as a photographer of weddings and architecture, and have exhibited photographs several times. My military service was related to photography. Given this background, I encountered few obstacles in approaching photographers and discussing photography in general. The talk of the trade e.g. cameras, lenses, backgrounds, and lighting was not a problem. I soon realized, however, that such discussions are of little direct value in understanding photographic markets. But knowing the vocabulary made the interviews easier. It meant that I could sometimes act as a novice, and on other occasions speak more like a photographer. This knowledge was, of course, less useful when I was interviewing non-photographers. On the other hand this knowledge could sometimes inhibit an otherwise open situation. But since I never intended to create a grounded theory, this was more of an advantage.[1] However, I did not intend to approach the field without some idea of what I wanted to study. By sticking to questions that were economically and sociologically relevant, I dramatically lowered the risk of going native.

I first had the idea of writing a book on the market related to photography in the fall of 1997. I realized that it was possible to combine the important issue of markets with a field that I could access fairly easily. My practical empirical work started in 1998, with discussions with a few friends involved in commercial photography, which often turned into informal interviews about what they were doing. Three friends and some acquaintances became informants. Simple ideas and hypotheses could easily be tested in discussion, and much of the information that I acquired could be transformed into further questions. I was already focusing my interest on how markets operate.

During the spring of 1999 the study entered a new phase, as I conducted a prestudy in New York.[2] My aim was to get some ideas about what was going on, and what theories

would be most suitable. In New York, three informants provided plenty of information, and hours of discussion together with more practical photographic events moved the study forward. As a photographic assistant, I spent time in photographic studios and on the streets of New York taking part in fashion photography, as well as other forms of commercial photographic work. I did not always tell people that I was conducting a study on the market for fashion photography. I conducted a minor study on the market for art photography, which shed light on the difference between different forms of photography. At parties and interviews I gained more knowledge, which I combined with the reading of photographic journals. Thus I laid a foundation in the prestudy. At this stage I read a great deal on market theories, and talked with Harrison White and the late Aage Sørensen, among others, about the project. During the same period I read texts on photography. By combining reading with the prestudy I developed a clearer focus. The prestudy was somewhat biased towards the photographers and their assistants, even though make-up artists, stylists and hairdressers were also included. At this stage I became convinced that I should approach the phenomena as a production market.

The methods

In Sweden, in the fall of 1999, the study entered yet another phase. This part of the study did not start from scratch; the knowledge and insights I had gained in the prestudy allowed me to begin the main study with a relatively high level of knowledge. In addition to reading even more, I began conducting interviews with fashion editors, art directors, photographers' agents, stylists, photographer's assistants, and of course photographers. The interviews were accompanied by discussion with my informants, observational studies, and participant observations.[3] Besides these rich sources of information, various photographic journals—both international and Swedish—proved helpful. These included many interviews with photographers, in particular fashion photographers, and some of these covered themes that I study. Fashion and lifestyle magazines, in fact all magazines that have sections on fashion, have also been of crucial importance to this study. Insider magazines, for example *Photo District News* (published in New York) and advertising magazines like *Resumé* and *Vision* (both in Swedish) are additional sources of information.

The scientific methods I applied all aim at providing information at the meaning level. Informants, general reading and participant observation gave me my first overview of the field, allowing me to paint a broad picture from which I could later analyze some topics in more detail. To study the meaning level in an empirical study, one must begin with the perspective of the actors, using various methods. First one uses the broadest approaches, and then narrows down the study. This is because one cannot determine the meaning level of the actors in advance; meaning cannot be *ascribed* to the actors. Once one has a better view of the field, and knows what is interesting and important to the study, it is easier to focus on specific topics. The more specific research questions begin to change, and sometimes they even emerge in the process of the study. The reading continues throughout the process, and the new ideas gained always interact with the empirical study. But ideas also emerge in the empirical work, which calls for additional readings. This interaction has been called "flexibility" in social scientific work (Silverman 1985:22). Thus, the study becomes increasingly focused over time.

The different methods I have used are best employed at different stages of the scientific process. Moreover, they are complementary. When people only talk about what they do, it is difficult to grasp their meaning. They describe meanings—but these may only be understandable in practical work. Furthermore, as one learns more about the field in general, it becomes more possible to identify and investigate the meanings. Thus, an eclectic approach that uses interviews, observations and documents from the field (such as photography magazines) is preferable to an approach that only uses one method.

On the different sources of information

The study makes use of different sources of information from the field, such as informants, observation, participant observation, interviews (the single largest source), magazines, website homepages, and other informational material produced in the field. My informants had experience of either New York or Stockholm, and one of them has worked in both cities.

The initial informants were all men and of about my own age; they were all assistants or had just begun their own careers as photographers. This was of course not a perfect "sample" of informants drawn from the market. But trust is of key importance among informants (cf. Douglas 1985:44–45). Furthermore, the unfamiliar informant may not be willing to spend much time on discussions that seem very important to the researcher. My informants helped me to gain access to photographic locations so I could participate in, or observe, the practice of fashion photography. At shootings I met more people, thus widening the range of people who were willing to share information with me.

The sample for interviews is different from that for the informants. All interviews took place in Sweden, and virtually all in Stockholm. Since the focus was on fashion photography, I could have used a random sample of photographers—but this would have been wrong for several reasons. First, the population of photographers working in the market for fashion photography cannot be decided a priori. That would have required that I know the boundaries of the market. But no association provided a hint about those who populate the market. Not all fashion photographers belong to a special section of the Swedish Photographers' Association (SFF), and this is especially the case among the youngest photographers, who in number of people is a rather important group.

The solution was to start interviewing some people who work, or have worked, in fashion photography. I found their names in magazines that included fashion pictures. In my interviews I covered various aspects of the market. Some aspects came up as topics in the interviews, but most were already familiar from my informants and from reading. I tried to interview photographers with a range of experience, including some photographers who had recently started up, a number of established photographers, some photographers with an international reputation, and others more oriented to the Swedish market. I also interviewed some less well known photographers in order to identify "negative cases" (Becker 1982:192). Some photographers mass produce pictures for clothing manufacturers and sell their products by mail order. I identified the different kinds of photographers in the process of the research. I might have shown some bias towards fashion photographers who have published in magazines, although it is almost impossible to prove. In total, I interviewed fifteen photographers, in addition to my six informants who were photographers or photographer's assistants, and other

photographers whom I observed at work. In addition to these fifteen, I had access to five interviews with photographers who were not fashion photographers, although these interviews were not focused on the market, and were conducted by others. Finally, I also included as empirical material about fifty fairly short interviews with photographers, of whom the majority are doing fashion, in magazines; these interviews were seldom entirely devoted to questions that I would have asked. Clearly, I used several different ways of picking the photographers.

The magazines were somewhat easier to sample. They are publicly sold and it is not difficult to find those that have sections on fashion as one merely has to open the magazine up. About twenty-five magazines in Sweden have sections on fashion and regularly publish fashion photographs (about three more started up during 1999, and at least one disappeared, so I do not have an exact count of these magazines). During the fieldwork I soon discovered strong indications of a status order among the magazines. Some were considered to be more "hot" than others, seen from the perspective of the fashion editors; or more interesting to publish pictures in, seen from the photographers' side. I tried to cover both ends, and in some cases the area in between. I also chose magazines that had changed direction, or were newcomers in the market.

Having chosen the magazines, I interviewed seven fashion editors. Art directors as the other major "consumers" of photographers are less easy, though not impossible, to find. I could sometimes, though not always, see what agency was directing a certain campaign, and I then phoned them and interviewed the art director. Photographers gave me some names, and to some extent I used the snowball technique to gain contact with art directors. I ultimately interviewed six art directors.

Finally, I interviewed actors in other categories, including photographers' agents. There are about ten agencies in Stockholm, and I interviewed five persons at five different agencies. I also interviewed persons at a model agency, an owner of a gallery, a stylist, a few photographer's assistants and people in photographic schools. My method for choosing the individuals in these categories was "rational" only to the extent that I had an idea that it would be important to have views from people only indirectly related to the market. There are of course many potential actors for these interviews, including: museum curators, journalists, insurance agents, tax authorities, camera stores, photographic laboratories, computer sales people, etc. Of course one has to restrict the study, but there is no "rational" way to do this because one can never a priori determine if unknown information is important or not; one never knows what one misses. When I found that the people I talked to did not provide me with new and relevant information, I stopped expanding the circle of people I interviewed.

Two important factors led me to interview people who are not directly involved as sellers or buyers of fashion pictures for commercial purposes. The first is the general knowledge they have of the business; they have interesting perspectives and insights about the market that the sellers or buyers do not have. Second, this group provided a perspective on what the sellers and buyers said. The idea of a status order that was so evident when I listened to the photographers and to the purchasers of their pictures, also came through in the discussions with these other actors, increasing the strength of the original finding. It also revealed how other categories orient themselves to the market under study, and gave me ideas about how one market is embedded in other markets. Thus, as I interviewed actors in different categories, their stories built on each other.

I argue that the different types of empirical material, i.e. participant observation, documents, observation, and interviewing, all contribute to understanding at the meaning level, though in this case interviews were the prime source of empirical material (cf. Schwartz and Jacobs 1979:45–46). This is a form of triangulation of methods (cf. Maxwell 1996:75–76). The number of people interviewed in each category was fairly small, except for the photographers. In my case I combined many sources of information. Also, because people in all of the categories interact, and some of the actors had worked together, I got information about the same phenomenon from different perspectives. Some of the people I interviewed actually talked about one another, though I did not tell anyone that I had also interviewed the person they spoke about. But the facts of interacting categories and acquaintances gave me many opportunities to check information. If I got identical information from two independent sources outside a given work category, that provided strong support. If it was also confirmed by actors within the given category, I took it as even stronger evidence. This is an advantage of working with different categories. Therefore even if I had only a few interviews from members of each category, I had quite a strong stock of evidence from other sources, including interviewees in other categories, informants, participant observation, observation, interviews published in photographic magazines etc. Table B.1 provides an overview of the different sources of empirical material I collected.

The study proceeded, informants and interviewees on one side would raise questions that I could check by talking to actors on the other side. As Husserl and Wittgenstein have argued (e.g. Geertz 1973:12), meaning is socially constructed. If so, I assume this approach of crosschecking multiple categories is more appropriate than the more traditional approach of some ethnographers who study only one side and report only that perspective. Rosenblum (1978a) and Faulkner (1971), for example, have done this.

But I not only assume this is a valuable approach; I am convinced that single perspectives limit the researcher's possibility of finding interesting empirical

Table B.1 Sources of empirical material

	Informants	*Interviews*	*Observations**
Photographer	3	15	Yes
Photographer's assistant	3	2	Yes
Photographers' agent		5	No
Model			Yes
Stylist	1		Yes
Make-up artist			Yes
Hairdresser			Yes
Fashion editor		7	Yes
Art director		6	Yes
Others		2	Yes

Note:
* In the category "observation" I do not distinguish between participant observation and observation.

material. Markets are not only "one-way mirrors" to the actors themselves; they may become one-way mirrors to the researcher as well, unless that researcher studies both

sides. The disadvantage is the great increase in the number of interviews required to cover each category well. However, I chose to limit the number of interviews in each category and instead study more categories.

Empirical evidence

As I began the project I knew relatively little about the market for fashion photography, my research agenda was diffuse, and the study did not have a clear focus. At this stage informants proved to be especially important. They gave me information I might not have asked for otherwise, and ideas on what to study and how to do so. Simply by talking to them I gained many ideas, and further questions arose. Initially, I had a skeptical attitude towards what I heard. But the more relatively independent informants one has, the better insights one gets. I was able to gain direct contact with people inside the market who have goals in the market, and who orient their actions to other actors within the market. Thus I was able to gain a tangible grasp on the meaning level of at least a few people, and their meanings began to open up, their horizons appeared in the discussion, and they revealed their knowledge.[4] But it was more important to ask questions that would yield broad information about the market.[5] I learned about things that I could not have imagined, simply from reading, though naturally not all of it was useful for this particular study. The enormous amount of unpaid work done by the actors was one such insight.

As I began my fieldwork in New York I took field notes or used a video camera to tape the sessions. The strategy of using a video camera in the early phases of the study turned out to be helpful, and I agree that "audio-visual methods are the Rolls Royces of data collection" (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979:81).[6] The video camera records both sound and pictures. It enabled me to go back and rediscover facial expressions, moments in conversations, and similar situations, which may last only a second or so. These small aspects of the interactive process helped me to interpret the overall situation, but the process also worked the other way around. Videotaped information is in many senses superior to early field notes when one returns to ask new questions that arise later in the research process, since they are less biased by one's current state of knowledge. In addition to the richness of this source of information, it helps the researcher to recall situations.

A video camera may of course be obtrusive—although it is less of a problem when the subjects are used to cameras. Also, if the recording continues for an entire day, people relax after a few hours and think less of the camera and the cameraman. In addition, the recording makes a selection of events, since the camera was not running all the time. In any case, a camera cannot cover everything that goes on at a location, especially since a photographic session can easily continue for 14 hours. Furthermore, being present with a camera is never like mere observation; interaction is unavoidable to any researcher spending 10–15 hours with a handful of people in a rather small studio. Thus, I combined observation with informal talk that served the purpose of making the situation less intense, but also enabled me to learn more.

This was not the only way I combined observation with participant observation. My knowledge of photography, though limited, enabled me to participate as the first or second assistant to the photographers. Participant observation had an advantage in that I learned about the roles, and what is and is not expected of the assistant. But the

interaction meant that I learned the roles of the other actors as well. Sometimes I told the other people that I was working on a book about fashion photography and sometimes I did not. As far as I can judge, this information made little difference in what happened on the setting. In the cases where I did not tell about my role as researcher, I worked as an unpaid assistant to the photographer; the photographer of course knew my status. I could act the role sufficiently well to be accepted as an assistant. One time I worked as the assistant to the assistant of the photographer (i.e. the second assistant), and the hairdresser (a man in his early forties) asked me to order lunch. I simply stared at him because it had not occurred to me that the others on the team really saw me as an assistant, though I had not told them anything about my researcher role. Obviously the others saw me as part of the team and a person of low rank. This told me that I had succeeded in acting the role even though I had not tried to act it.

I often combined observation and participant observation with informal interviews; this enabled me to study more carefully the stories they told and the ideas (hypotheses) that were emerging for me. I was especially interested in watching how pictures were negotiated during the shooting. The different actors' contributions helped to produce the picture, and I could see this in a way that would not have been possible without observation. I also saw more about the roles and status of the different actors, through the observation and participant observation. The actual shooting is an important part of the way the customer and the producer negotiate on the pictures to be used. But negotiation also occurs before and after the shooting.

To reiterate, most of the empirical material was gathered in interviews. My first contact with the person I was interested in interviewing was nearly always by phone. I phoned the person, introduced myself as a researcher at Stockholm University who was writing a book on fashion photography, and in some cases I said it was on the *markets* for fashion photography. Then I usually told the person briefly what I was doing. I said that I was conducting the study by talking to people who work in the field, and gave examples of the categories of actors. I also stressed my interest in talking to them, and said that I hoped to do this, "whenever you feel like it and whenever you have time for it." Of those I contacted, only four turned me down for an interview.[7] I found one group was most difficult to contact, and to gain a commitment for an interview. That group was the photographer's assistants. This was partly because of the many hours they have to work. Through my informants I got a very good idea of the life of the assistant. In general it was not a problem to interview the people I wanted.

I further asked if the subject agreed to my recording the interview, and only a few refused; for those few I took notes.[8] In a few other cases I chose to use notes for practical reasons. I assured them of confidentiality, and most were happy to know that their names would not appear in the book (though I got the impression that some would not have minded or perhaps would have even preferred it). About 40 percent wanted to know who else I was interviewing. I responded that of course they were free to tell anyone that I had talked to them, but that I would not tell anyone about this meeting, and not tell them of any other meetings I may have had. I maintained this kind of confidentiality for ethical as well as practical reasons. These actors are colleagues, competitors, consumers, and producers and have many contacts and relationships with each other, of which I am largely unaware. In some cases a respondent could be speaking of someone I had already

interviewed or planned to interview. Even though I talked with many people who knew each other, few seemed to know that I was conducting this study.

I conducted most of the interviews in the actors' offices or similar parts of their work place. The interviews were informal, and practically all of the respondents seemed relaxed, though some had limited time available. We usually talked for a while before I turned on the tape recorder. We made small talk as well as discussing issues related to photography. Often as I switched the recorder on I said something like "we'll just keep on talking as we are now, but I'd better put this on, so I can remember what we were saying."[9] However, all those who said they had limited time continued to talk with me after our scheduled time had elapsed. Sometimes I asked if we could go on for a few more minutes, and sometimes the respondent made this suggestion. Much information arose after we had "finished" the interview. I usually had the recorder on while we continued to talk in an even more relaxed atmosphere. Throughout the interviews I adopted what has been called "the low profile stance" (Douglas 1985:57). I would in no way try to subordinate the interviewee to myself. One way to do this is to be humble, but one can also establish the situation as a "talk" where the researcher is the listener, rather than a formal interview. This, like much else in interviewing, relies on the interviewer's self-understanding and reflexivity (Douglas 1985). A virtue of the open and semi-structured interview is that it allows the interviewer to be flexible. When I contacted the person I wanted to interview, and especially in the beginning of the interview, I tried to adapt my behavior to the other person. This approach is radically different from the mechanical type of interview that standardized questions demand.[10]

Most people liked the idea of being interviewed, and some said that it was helpful because it led them to "reflect on my own situation." The interviews themselves were organized thematically. I had a prepared set of questions, which were related to a few themes, rather than a fixed set of questions to ask each member of the category. In the process of interviewing, I gained more knowledge. I added new questions, and dropped others, or discussed them less as a result of the new information. The major themes, however, appeared in almost all of the interviews. By preparing, and by knowing something about the person before the interview, I was of course able to ask some unique questions to particular individuals.

In most interviews I asked about something that I knew was wrong, to see how they responded. This is part of a strategy to disconfirm one's empirical material (Silverman 1985:20; Maxwell 1996:86–98). None of the respondents accepted my falsely stated assumption; they all corrected me. This is one test of the validity of all the responses, not only those to this particular question. Naturally, I looked for deviant cases; in practice this meant finding people who had a totally different background and experiences, but especially those who had performed poorly in the market (Becker 1998:192). I also asked the more sensitive questions in the latter half of each interview, when I felt the situation was even more relaxed (Metzler 1977:19–20).

Furthermore, since I did not speak only to one side in the market, I had many opportunities to test "hypotheses" that emerged from talking with one side, by taking those questions to the other side. Thus, I did not start by interviewing one side, and then the other. Instead I switched continually between the two sides, since the two sides mirror each other. I found that the notions were to some extent the same on the two sides. This is

also a type of triangulation, which I described above. In this case it is about the different categories talking of the "same things."

To study both sides also lowers the risk of being emotionally biased towards one of them. If I had met only fashion editors and art directors, their perspective would have come through, and their perspectives would have colored my view. The same is true for the other side. It is difficult to avoid making any personal ties while interviewing people; influenced by such ties, a researcher may want to present the interviewees as favorably as possible. My risk of doing so was minimized as I was caught between so many viewpoints from people who had been truly helpful and kind. For me, the only possible response was to treat them as equally important and thereby of equal scientific value.

Quantitative evidence: the database

The quantitative evidence comes from answers to a survey that have been compiled in a database. The survey was made by Árni Sverrisson (Sverrisson 2000). In the spring of 1999, the survey was mailed to members of three photographic associations, the Swedish Association of Professional Photographers (SFF), the Press Photographers' Association (PF), and the Swedish Association for Portrait Photographers (PYO). The response rate was 43 percent, and lower in the county of Stockholm (see Sverrisson 2000 for further details about the survey and a discussion of reasons for the low response rate). Moreover, younger photographers tend to be less frequent in the response set. This is a problem since many fashion photographers are young, and live in Stockholm. Because the survey aimed to explore the diffusion of digital photography among Swedish photographers (Sverrisson 2000, cf. Sverrisson 1998), only a small proportion of the questions were useful for the issues in this study. However, I took part in the preparation of the survey and was allowed to include some questions designed to address fashion photography. The quantitative material was analyzed by using STATA 6.0 and SPSS 9.9.

Analysis and confirmation of empirical evidence

Almost all of my interviews were taped, and all were transcribed. In the process of coding the material I used the NUD*IST computer program (cf. Boyatzis 1998). NUD*IST facilitates coding, searching, and retrieving information. In the coding I used some traditional background information, such as gender and naturally the category for each actor, such as fashion editor. I did most of the coding, however, in relation to the questions and theories that have guided the study. The coding was theoretically driven, but the theoretical notions could be more easily analyzed by a more detailed coding, with many subgroups.

Finally, I asked a few of the actors included in the study to read the text. Thus I could respond to an important requirement of phenomenological research: to never lose the connection with the actors' first-order constructs. The readers could recognize their own situation in my writings. I also conducted a few interviews after the study (not included in Table B.1); these interviews were organized more like talks and without a tape recorder. The purpose of these interviews was essentially to control the findings, and the way I have presented them. I made no substantial changes as a result of these interviews.

Notes

Chapter 1

1 One of the best ways to look at fashion and fashion photography is in fashion magazines. Fashion is shown in famous magazines, such as *Elle, Harper's Bazaar,* and *Vogue,* but of course also in many other magazines, such as *Marie Claire* and *W.* More progressive fashion photography is shown in lifestyle magazines, such as *aRude, Citizen K, Detour, Dutch Magazine, ID-Magazine, Nylon, Pure* and *Wallpaper.* Some of these magazines mix art, fashion and photography.

2 Part of the literature on fashion is devoted to fashion photography (e.g. Craik 1994). Another part of the literature uses psychological perspectives (see Finkelstein 1996 for examples). Fashion has long social scientists. The theories of fashion that are briefly discussed here focus on the sociological dimension (cf. Aspers 2005b). Classical thinkers like Alfred Marshall, Thorstein Veblen, Georg Simmel, and Vilfredo Pareto have all discussed fashion. Marshall, for example, who was a rather dull "stoic," disliked the idea of fashion and regarded it as an art of secondary rank ([1920a] 1961:88n, 215). Furthermore, fashion clearly has economic consequences; its continuous change increases the possibility that people will buy from large-scale producers rather than from "some small maker and dealer in the neighborhood" (Marshall [1920a] 1961:289, cf. 455, 688). The irrational character of fashion is what Vilfredo Pareto stresses (e.g. [1915–16] 1935: §§ 1119–1121). Veblen views fashion as an effort by the wealthy classes to reproduce the social distinction versus other classes; it is thus an example of conspicuous consumption ([1894] 1945, [1899] 1953). Simmel's treatment of fashion is an example of individualism versus collectivism (the group). This leading theme goes through much of his thinking. Simmel's idea has the advantage that it relates fashion to a more general level of sociological theory. However, he takes it for granted that fashion is a process that spreads from the upper classes to the lower segments of society through adaptation. This is so, Simmel says, because the upper classes wish to differentiate themselves from other classes. The lower classes adapt to the prevalent fashion, which is set by the upper classes. Simmel thinks that this exemplifies the idea of the cyclic change of fashion: there is an ever recurrent need among the people in the upper classes to change their clothing to be sure that they do not look like ordinary people ([1904] 1971, [1908] 1971, 1950:338–344). Simmel also explains why fashion is a phenomenon that is rarely seen outside the Western hemisphere. Outside the Western hemisphere customs are much stronger and status is fixed in castes or in other ways (Blumer 1968:342–343). Weber also wrote on fashion ([1921–22] 1978:29). Much has happened since Simmel and other classical sociologists wrote on fashion. A short, but insightful summary of sociological theories on fashion is given by Herbert Blumer (1968:341–345). Blumer outlines two approaches to fashion, the psychological and the more sociological. He also asserts that the elite oriented theory, so conspicuous in Veblen and Simmel's theories, fails to see that even the elite has to follow the fashion of the time. Much later Craik repeats this idea (1994).

Bourdieu argues that the rate of investment in fashion, both in terms of how one keeps up with fashion by reading fashion magazines, and to what degree one buys clothes by post or in popular stores, is connected to the composition of capital of the individual ([1979] 1984). These are far from the only studies on fashion (e.g. Barthes [1967] 1990; Entwistle 2000; Finkelstein 1996, cf. Smith Spence 1974).

3 Some sociological studies have been made of the "market" for art photography (e.g. Giuffre 1996, 1999), of photography (e.g. Bourdieu [1965] 1990) and of photographers (e.g. Rosenblum 1978a and 1978b; Becker 1982).

4 The introduction of color film and automatic cameras are two examples. The most recent development is digital photography and that is beginning to spread among fashion photographers. It started among amateurs and then it spread to professionals (cf. Sverrisson 1998).

5 Despite the international trend among Swedish photographers this is not a total novelty. Already in the 1950s many Swedish photographers had contacts with both European and American fashion photographers. The highly celebrated Swedish fashion photographer, Mikael Jansson, along with Sten Didrik Bellander, and Georg Oddner worked as assistants to Richard Avedon. Bellander worked for him in 1947 and Oddner in 1950; Jansson worked there two years in the 1980s (Jansson 1999; Tellgren 1997). Irving Penn, another famous fashion photographer, also had contact with Swedish photographers, facilitated perhaps by Penn marrying a Swedish model. Hans Hammarskiöld is another Swedish photographer who also had contact with Penn. Hammarskiöld later worked for *British Vogue*. Also Bellander and Oddner have worked as fashion photographers.

6 The easily handled Kodak Brownie was introduced in 1888. It was sold with loaded film and the user had to send in the entire camera when it was time to develop the film.

7 See Alinder (1996) for a presentation of Ansel Adams' struggle to establish not only himself as an artist, but photography in general as an art form.

8 In many cases the pictures included are from commercial shootings. A compilation of pictures of some of the more recent influential fashion photographers can be found in Nickerson and Wakefield (1996). Similar books exist containing photographs by many of the older generations of fashion photographers, such as Richard Avedon, Cecil Beaton, Horst P.Horst, Helmut Newton, Irving Penn and Man Ray.

9 According to Bourdieu, photography only "imitates" other pictorial forms of art ([1965] 1990:73–98). This I contest. Today's "field" of photography, in my opinion, cannot be understood in the way Bourdieu suggests. Many of those who work as photographers have little education in art, and, rather than the history of art, use the history of photography, contemporary photography, film and music videos as references for their work. Today, almost forty years after Bourdieu's text was published, photography has its own considerable system of references, and one may speak of a field that has gained autonomy. Bourdieu has written on how fields gain autonomy (e.g. [1992] 1996).

10 At a different axis from the art-craft distinction lies the distinction between professionalism and amateurism, which some actors in the photographic market see as problematic. I have personally experienced this, for example when the "good amateur" approaches an ongoing shooting to discuss "the best camera." On one occasion, I was assisting at an outdoor shooting on Lexington Avenue in New York when an amateur approached us. He began to ask about the price of the camera that the photographer used, and seemed to assume a strong bond between himself and us. As another example a photographer described an outdoor shooting he was conducting with a large format camera (4″×5″). An onlooker asked, "Can you still buy film to fit that camera?" as if the photographer was outside playing with the camera without film. These examples reflect the amateurs' belief that they have a strong connection with the professional.

11 The revealing BBC documentary (1999) of the worldwide model agency Elite is one example; the film on the fashion industry in Paris, *Prêt-à-porter* (1994), is another. In music,

fashion as a phenomenon has attracted the attention of, for example, David Bowie *("Fashion"),* Suede *("She's in Fashion"),* and also Madonna *("Vogue").* In Madonna's video, which is filmed in black and white, fashion photographers are celebrated by sequences that remind one of famous pictures of photographers like the German photographer Horst P.Horst.

12 In the text in this section—but only here—I use the more common gender of each group.

13 Development speed is very much a function of temperature. In colder weather, for example at outdoor winter shootings, the film takes longer to develop. Often the assistant will keep the Polaroid photograph close to his body, for example under his arm.

14 The model may just "die" towards the end of a day, often from fatigue. Photographic sessions, which can last 10 to 15 hours, are made under great pressure, and food is not always a top priority.

15 A clip-test means that only a small piece of a roll of film is developed. By scrutinizing this half frame of negative film, the photographer can decide how long the film should be developed for. Longer developing time increases the contrast of the negative. The low-key parts of a negative (those that have received least exposure) can only be affected moderately by extending the development time. The high-key parts are most exposed. These are also the most easy to affect by controlling the time. In the black and white process, the contrast and the size of the silver-grains of the film are affected. In the negative color process, the colors are also affected. There are numerous ways to affect the picture by choice of film, process, etc. The photographer can, for example, use infrared film, make a cross-development, or solarize the film. Additional options exist in the darkroom process. The computer has added to the number of options available for manipulating photographs. These options are open not only to photographers, but also to magazines and all those involved in producing printed material based on photography.

16 There is also a shorter version of this study (Aspers 200 1b).

Chapter 2

1 As I discuss more thoroughly in Appendix B, the approach of White's production markets was chosen during the prestudy. I discuss the prestudy from a more methodological perspective in Appendix A and from a more empirical perspective in Appendix B.

2 This fact is likely to evoke different organizational principles in the market than in a market in which both sides, buyers and sellers, are populated by firms.

> It must be underscored that neither a single market nor the economy at large exists in isolation. This fact has repeatedly been stressed by social scientists from Weber ([1921–1922] 1978), Parsons and Smelser (1956), Smelser (1963), up to the economic sociology of today, spearheaded by Granovetter ([1985] 1992).

3 See, for example Salisbury (1968) and Steiner (1968).

4 Storper and Salais have made an attempt to present a typology of production orders (1997). They have transcended the economic aspects and incorporated, for example, cultural aspects in their approach. Nevertheless, their approach is centered on the products and production in which they identify four different "worlds" (Storper and Salais 1997:26–43). Their approach, however, is rather static. For example, when they study the production of high fashion in France they end up describing how it can be seen as a composition of some of the different worlds they have outlined (Storper and Salais 1997:116–148). Their scheme is useful for

analyzing how production is organized, but I argue that it provides less for the reader who wants to understand markets.

5 Sociological studies of this type of market exist (e.g. Smith 1981; Baker 1984; Abolafia 1996; Knorr Cetina and Bruegger 2002).

6 Though the consumer usually affects the result of the product, the producer makes the bulk of the product or service. A further distinction can be made in relation to types of production markets: between supply production and demand production. In a common supply production market the commodity is produced without a known consumer. Food, steel, clothes, most cars, and many other commodities are produced without a known or contracted consumer; the final consumer is anonymous to the producer. This situation can change. When the model T-Ford was produced, most cars were made to look identical. Today, the buyer of a car often orders it with a special color and various additions that make it difficult and uneconomic to produce all the possible variations of cars in advance. Thus, they are today to a greater extent "ordered" from the factory. When the producer is anonymous the assumption is, of course, that the items produced will be sold.

Other markets are demand production markets. Examples are ships, haircuts, and photographs. The customer in such a market chooses whom, or what company, to contract for producing the goods. This they do long before the product exists. This distinction is not materially based, and intrinsic to the goods produced. Obviously one cannot cut a person's hair in advance, but ships can be built without a contracted buyer, which sometimes does happen. In the market for fashion photographers it is unusual for a photographer to produce ahead of the market demand (so called speculative photography is an exception, and will be briefly discussed below). There is neither such thing as a stock of fashion photographs, nor any market for futures of photographs. This indicates that fashion, though some argue that it goes in cycles, does not simply copy entire styles, i.e. clothes and hairstyles, which should be seen as part of fashion trends, the medium of presentation, i.e. the photographic styles used to picture fashion.

7 Many overviews and more detailed studies present both theoretical and empirical accounts of labor markets (see, for example, Tilly and Tilly 1994, for a good overview of this field).

8 This is of course a simplification. Concepts like market power and product differentiation are used (e.g. Oxenstierna 1999), which means that the textbook version can only be a benchmark model.

9 Sociological exposes of the market exist (Swedberg 1994, 2003; Lie 1997, see also Callon 1998). These present and discuss economic and sociological as well as anthropological theories of the market. See also Aspers (2005a), for an overview of markets.

10 There exist more sociological theories of how the market is embedded within a broader social framework. Beside the system theories and grand theories of Talcott Parsons and Niklas Luhmann, there are, for example, Fligstein's works (Fligstein 1996, 1997, 2001). But many sociological theories downplay what a theory of the market must address, namely the activities within a market and how it functions.

11 Marshall argues in the book he wrote together with his wife that "Market results are those actually brought about by the complex social and economic forces of the world in which we live" (Marshall and Marshall [1879] 1994:148). Among the social forces they include: "custom, or apathy, or…motives other than the desire for wealth" ([1879] 1994:149).
12 A stock exchange, according to Marshall, is "an organized market for dealing in certain standardized rights" (Marshall 1923:91). He describes stock exchanges as "media for the circulation of command over capital from those who hold it in a ready form to those who desire to invest it as a source of income" (Marshall 1923:92).
13 Particular markets exist when "people or groups of people with whom he [the person] is in somewhat close touch: mutual knowledge and trust lead him to approach them, and them to approach him, in preference to strangers" (Marshall 1920b: 182). Trust and confidence are clearly key concepts in Marshall's thinking (Marshall 1920b: 165). Trust is important in all markets (cf. Aspers 2005c).
14 But there are exceptions (e.g. Eliasson 2000).
15 Also Weber and Simmel, among others, have written on competition. Competition, Simmel says, is to be used "…for conflicts which consist in parallel efforts by both parties concerning the same prize" ([1908] 1955:57). Simmel also writes, "The foremost sociological characteristic of competition is the fact that conflict in it is indirect. In so far as one gets rid of an adversary or damages him directly, one does not compete with him" ([1908] 1955:57). Simmel discusses several different types of competition. One of the most interesting is what he calls "artistic competition." Simmel contrasts artistic competition with scientific competition, which has a single aim. He then describes artistic competition: "This special intensification of the principle [the common aim] is usually absent in artistic competition because, in view of the individualistic nature of art, the objective over all value in which both [competing] parties equally participate is not apparent to them, although ideally perhaps it exists" ([1908] 1955:59). This sheds light on the type of insecurity that characterizes aesthetic markets. Weber contributes to the idea of competition by seeing competition as a sub form of social relationship ([1921–22] 1978). There are, in Weber's theory, two normal types of economic struggle *("Kampf").* One is between the sellers and buyers respectively, and the other is between the seller and the buyer (Swedberg 2000a). The first type of economic struggle resembles Simmel's discussion of competition. The other type, I argue, is strictly speaking not competition but rather "negotiation."
16 Economists of the New Institutional Economics have also stressed legal and other institutional arrangements as important aspects in understanding the market (Swedberg 1994:264). Oliver Williamson, a leader in this school, is one of the economists who has most affected sociologists, but his approach does not fall into sociology proper (Williamson 1975, 1981, 1994; Swedberg 1990:115–129).
17 Max Weber, for example, wrote a few pages on markets in general ([1921–22] 1978), and two pieces on markets ([1924a] 2000, [1924b] 2000). Weber's texts provide the reader with some historical information on markets in general, and German markets in particular. However, as a theory on how markets operate his contribution is rather limited. Swedberg has written on Weber's theory of markets (Swedberg 1998 and 2000a). According to Swedberg three main ideas can be outlined in Weber's theory of markets: there is a special kind of social action within the market domain; this type of action is driven by its own specific ethic *("Marktethik");* and finally, the market has a dynamic of its own (Swedberg 1998:11). Weber argues that the market is "the most impersonal relationship in practical life" (Weber [1921–22] 1978:636). His analysis of the market is very "economic" (Weber [1921–22] 1978:82–85, 635–40, cf. Podolny 1994:459). Weber says that markets are mostly an issue for economics *("Sozialökonomik"),* though he also mentions a sociological dimension to the market ([1921–22] 1978:635–640). He makes a distinction between "commodity exchange" *("Produktenbörse")* and "stock exchange" markets *("Effektenbörse")* (Weber [1924a] 2000:311); the distinction, however, only concerns the objects of exchange. This

means that Weber does not consider the distinction between exchange and role markets, which I argue is a more profound distinction (see also the discussion in Appendix A for a critique of Weber's objectivistic approach). Moreover, Weber argues that the objective traits of the items sold are what ultimately define a market (Weber [1924a] 2000, [1924b] 2000). All in all, Weber saw the market as a phenomenon within the economic sphere, characterized by instrumental rationality towards pecuniary goals.

18 For presentations and interpretations of White's theory, see Azarian (2003), Favereau, Biencourt, Eymard-Duvernay (2002), and Wächter (1999).

19 Neil Fligstein has seriously addressed the role of institutions in a well functioning market (Fligstein 1997). Fligstein's "markets as politics" approach, which draws heavily on White's model of the market, stresses the role of "political processes that underlie market interactions" (Fligstein 1997:32). Fligstein defines markets as "situations in which some good or service is sold to customers for a price that is paid in money (a generalized medium of exchange)" (Fligstein 1997:8). He furthermore identifies institutions (formal and informal), property rights, and the governance structure of the states as important aspects of the market. In relation to market centered sociology one must mention the literature on the sociology of industry (e.g. Granovetter and McGuire 1998). Bourdieu's theory should also be included among the candidates for the theoretical scheme of reference for this study (e.g. Bourdieu [1979] 1984, 1991, [1992] 1996). It would probably be possible to use Bourdieu's theory, but I have decided not to. Mostly because White's theory of the market is more detailed and better designed to handle economic markets. The important idea of an interface that enables distribution of status and construction of identities exemplifies the difference. A key aspect of markets is that they enable actors to couple and decouple. This logic is largely left out of Bourdieu's theory. Though he talks of markets, I do not think there is a Bourdieuan theory of markets. Furthermore, the idea of a market embraces the "exchange rates" between different types of capital that Bourdieu discusses (Bourdieu [1994] 1998:34). Below I will show how two interfaces are connected, one in which status is generated, and another in which status can be exchanged for money, which thus can be seen in the light of Bourdieu's theory of exchange rates. However, there are many similarities between the two theories. As a consequence throughout the study I will refer to Bourdieu's work. Naturally, other traditions of sociological theories address similar issues. One example is *l'économie des conventions*, or the economics of conventions (e.g. Thévenot 2001). For an explication of this tradition, see Jagd (1998).

20 Chamberlin, who refers to Marshall, stresses the fact that most markets do not operate under pure competition, but under monopolistic competition: "Under pure competition, the market of each seller is perfectly merged with those of his rivals; now it is to be recognized that each is in some measure isolated, so that the whole is not a single large market of many sellers, but a network of related markets, one for each seller" ([1933] 1969:68).

21 White describes disciplines as "social molecules," which he defines as "selfreproducing formations which sustain identities" (1992:22). White also mentions two other disciplines: arenas and councils. I discuss these briefly below.

22 See Swedberg for a discussion on "orientation" (Swedberg 1999).

23 Based upon his general model White discusses four basic types of market structures: paradox, grind, crowded, and explosive (1981, 1988, 2002a). The model predicts when there cannot be a market. I do not pursue this topic in detail here, though it is important in respect to White's general model (cf. Wächter 1999:122–129). Four kinds of market structures are possible according to the model. The paradox market exists when the cost of production decreases with increased valuation of the quality of the products. A grind market, like the crowded market, is rather conventional. The grind market shows decreasing returns to scale, and the costs of production rise more than the perceived quality of the buyers. The crowded market shows increasing returns to scale. Finally, explosive markets also show increased returns to scale. They, however, show an advantage for the producers, in contrast with the

crowded market: the more producers in the market, the more the consumers will buy (Wächter 1999:125–126).

24 This is an example of how White's theory is essentially what I above called a supply production market: the products are made in advance of the contact with the consumer and buyer.

25 It is not only White that sees parallels between the notion of the market and other spheres of society. Bourdieu also stresses this point and relates "market" to "field" (e.g. [1979] 1984:85–86, 95–96; 1991 [1992] 1996, [1994] 1998). Both these thinkers take a broad sociological approach and include markets as special cases of more general sociological categories.

26 It follows that if a producer holds a higher status position than a competitor, and these two sell at the same price, the producer of higher status will be enabled to sell more (Podolny 1993, cf. Benjamin and Podolny 1999). Podolny identifies four cost advantages for a high-status producer, compared to a low-status producer. First, the producer does not have to advertise as much, the customers come to the producer, and the producer is also likely to get more attention without having to pay for it, e.g. people talk about the products and write more about the high-status producers in various magazines. Second, the high-status producer does not have to convince the consumers of its claim, so it faces lower transaction costs. Third, high-status producers face lower financial costs, when they obtain capital from banks. Finally, a potential employee may be willing to work for a high-status firm even though its wages are lower than its competitors'. All in all, the costs are lower for a high-status producer. The so-called Matthew effect further facilitates the situation of a high-status producer. Podolny, who follows Robert Merton in this argument, says that a producer of high-status need not do as much as a low-status producer in order to be recognized for its accomplishments in a market. But if the high-status producers have these advantages in the market, what hinders them from taking control of the entire market? The answer is the relational base of status; one cannot have high status without being related to other actors who have less status (Podolny 1993:844).

27 The idea of connecting careers to markets is also evident in the labor market theory literature (e.g. Spilerman 1977).

28 It should be stated clearly that the idea of "superstar" markets that economists have developed is not connected to the ideas discussed here (see Plattner 1996:12–18, for a discussion of these theories).

Chapter 3

1 Two reasons attract young creative people to photography. These are that artists have begun to work more with photography, and the intensification of the visual-culture. That beauty is highly valued today in society may also contribute to this, and fashion photographers work with the most "beautiful" people: the models.

2 For information on the database see heading "Quantitative evidence: the database" in Appendix B. The number is estimated from the empirical material available. Out of the 734 people who answered the survey, 16 were assistants, and these were dropped from the further analysis. 100 photographers stated that they did fashion photography. If one assumes that the number of professional photographers in Sweden is about 2,800, the total number of photographers who do fashion would be about 400. It is very difficult to check this estimate. As I will expand on later, this is almost certainly an overestimation of the number of people who identify themselves as primarily fashion photographers.

The fact that a person ticked "fashion photography" does not imply that she defines herself as a fashion photographer. She may see herself as a commercial photographer, or still-life photographer, who occasionally does fashion. She may, for example, be a still-life photographer who shoots clothes, but without a model. This would not be fashion photography from a phenomenological perspective, as I will show in the next chapter.

3 Each photographer, on average, ticked 6.7 categories.

4 That different industries can benefit from each other is an idea that Alfred Marshall developed in relation to industrial districts (Marshall and Marshall 1879:47, 52–3; Marshall [1920a] 1961:268–273, 1920b: 283–288, cf. Aspers 1999a: 660).

5 The sample is dichotomized into fashion-photographers and non-fashion photographers, depending on whether or not the person has categorized herself as a person who takes fashion photographs (to reiterate, the respondents could mark several categories). The reported result was checked by a two-sample t-test, which tests whether the null hypothesis is correct or not. The null hypothesis is that the population mean of age is the same for both fashion and non-fashion photographers. The probability of the null hypothesis being true is 0.0005 (two-tailed test). The difference, as can be seen, is highly significant. Moreover, the effect is most likely underestimated. Many young photographers are not members of any photographers' organization, and they are therefore not included in this sample. Many of the students and the assistants are also too poor to join an organization. Furthermore, the organizations are not open to everyone. From the fieldwork it is clear that many of the young people who want to be photographers, or have just begun their careers in fashion photography, are excluded from the sample. About 70 percent of the photographers who answered that they take fashion photographs are self-employed. The percentage is identical with that for the average photographer (i.e. the rest of the sample).

6 The field of films is huge, as are the fields of lighting, cameras, digital technology, retouching and printing. I will indicate here how complicated the issues are. This presentation is very simplified, especially since photographers usually combine their knowledge of camera techniques with their knowledge of lightning, exposure, developing and printing to achieve a special result. The assistant naturally learns much about films at her school, but the learning never ends. Testing new combinations occupies the interest of some photographers, whereas others are less technically interested.

The photographers have to make many choices: which kind of film to use (black and white or color), positive (slides) or negative color film, and of course the option to use digital technique, and chemical or digital steps in the production process. If a customer is involved, she may have demands that depend on the medium in which the pictures will be used. Depending on the task, the light, and the colors of the subject being photographed, the photographer has to make the decision of what type of film to use. Some color films, for example, may show skin tones better than others. There is a recommended speed of the film, but photographers may have different opinions on, for example, how a perfect black and white negative should look. This means that they not only rate the film at different speeds (and thereby in practice expose the film differently), but also develop the film differently. The standard time for development is affected by the intended result. Less developing time lowers the contrast of the negative, and more time increases the contrast. Some photographers may prefer to work with daylight, which colors the entire process. This is also a factor to be considered in how to rate the film. All of this is very practically oriented knowledge. It is hard to learn in a short period of time, or by just reading books. It must be

emphasized that such "technical" decisions are first and foremost aesthetic decisions (cf. Rosenblum 1978b: 426).

7 These quotations are excerpts from the interviews. I have translated the interviews and aimed to change them as little as possible. I have, however, made corrections and edited the text to make it more readable.

8 It is my finding that people who have been assistants know things unknown to people who start business directly after school. On a photographic set this is obvious. An experienced assistant knows, for example, how to organize practical issues such as the rolls of film, how to get a fast delivery or a push development. But they have first and foremost learned to act professionally; they have learned what it means to be a photographer as a social actor. The process of becoming a professional also includes discarding the attitude of the amateur, and replacing it with a professional attitude. This is particularly a problem for those who have never experienced the attitude of the professional photographer, for example, if they have never worked as an assistant.

9 This form of knowledge is often both practical and implicit (non-discursive).

10 The situation for assistants is anything but an organized labor market. People who begin as assistants usually aim to become self-employed, and even if they are aware of their often exposed situation, they still seem reluctant to have it organized as a traditional labor market. The relationship between the photographer and her assistant resembles the master-apprentice relationship, and less a labor contract. Furthermore, many photographers would find it practically impossible to have assistants if it was organized as a traditional labor market. The 40-hour week is not a reality for many assistants. The trade-off is accepted, from the perspective of both the photographers and the assistants. Part of this trade-off is that the assistant should not, at least not immediately, try to take the customers from "her" photographer.

11 According to some, to speak of a group requires that the members can take "personal cognizance of each other" (Homans 1968:259).

12 On one occasion, an informant saw a photograph of himself that a photographer had taken. The informant said: "I like this hair cut, it makes me look like a photographer." The point here is that he perceives that there is a typical "look" of photographers, and that he orients himself to it.

13 I was told one story about an assistant who got a chance to work for an internationally famous photographer. The assistant was supposed to load the old version of a Hasselblad back, something that he had not done before. The problem is that one has to remember to pull the film to a certain point (which is seen by opening a lid on the back), and then turn a crank backwards. This assistant never did the first step; as a result only a fraction of the film was exposed. I have made a similar mistake myself as an assistant, and have also observed an assistant doing so. It is not an uncommon mistake to make. The assistant was fired when he returned from the laboratory with the developed films. The point is not whether or not this particular story is true, but that it is endowed with meaning and that it is told.

14 There exists no database or objective empirical material on how many assistants are men and women. My conclusion is derived from what people have told me, and from my own observations.

15 Test pictures for models are a special branch of photography. The model agency pays for a model's expenses if it strongly believes in her, others have to pay for their own test pictures, and if they are lucky they succeed—but most do not. Those who are considered short, fat, or who do not have the right "look" may be included in the less glamorous "people section" of an agency.

16 In this situation the photographer usually leads the team and may pick the model. The stylist borrows clothes from showrooms or buys clothes that are later returned. The photographer,

however, covers most of the costs. All of the participants can later buy pictures from the photographer and include them in their own portfolios.

17 Of the total of 86 persons who responded in Skåne, 20 persons did fashion photography ($p < 0.001$, using the chi-square test). In Skåne three magazines are published that include sections on fashion. All other magazines are based in Stockholm.

18 ($p=0.01$). Ideally, one would like data on the level of the Swedish municipalities ("Kommuner").

19 47.2 percent (n=289) of the non-fashion photographers also indicated that they did advertising. 76.8 percent (n=76) of the fashion photographers did advertising. This is a significant difference ($p < 0.01$).

20 According to the database 17 of the 693 photographers reported that they "often have contact with their own agent" (apparently, more photographers have agents than those who answered "yes"). But the agents usually have considerable contact with their photographers, and this suggests that the dataset gives a pretty good picture of the actual number of photographers who have agents.

21 This means that 4.9 percent of the photographers in Stockholm have agents (12 out of 244), compared to only 0.9 percent (4 out of 436) in the rest of the country. This is a significant difference ($p=0.001$).

22 Exceptions may occur, as when a customer is "obviously" not serious. Another example would be a job without a budget that is purely commercial. But the lack of a budget for the production may in itself not be an obstacle for the photographers' agency or the photographer. If it is a "customer" like the Red Cross, the photographer may not charge.

23 This is a clear example of how markets are organized differently. Trust is normally seen as a form of social capital. Marshall says, "The whole mechanism of society rests on confidence: it permeates all life, like the air we breathe: and its services are apt to be taken for granted and ignored, like those of fresh air, until attention is forcibly attracted by their failure" (1920b:165). Confidence ("trust") is not only directed to known individuals, Marshall argues, but also covers trust of society at large (1920b:166).

24 Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus is relevant in this context (Bourdieu [1980] 1990). In a sense, the agent personifies the market; she incorporates the opinions of the market by making these decisions.

25 The byline, for example, may read, "Scarf, private." This signals that the current fashion is transcended and that the stylists themselves may affect what is "in fashion." The stylist's choice of clothes may not simply reflect the current fashion on the catwalks.

26 One way to dimmish this risk is to put tape on the soles of the shoes so that the surface will not be affected.

27 This may be one reason why the agencies in Sweden no longer print leave-behind cards. Instead, they use laser-printed promotional cards (which they can easily produce) and the agencies can also have their models' pictures on their home page.

28 Models are sent to "go-sees" by their agency. The model simply goes to the photographer who takes a Polaroid or a digital picture of her. The basic idea with the "go-see" is that the photographer can have a look at the model, and possibly include her in a future fashion story.

29 To provide some background on the magazines mentioned here I will describe them briefly (as of fall 1999-spring 2000). These descriptions are based on my interpretations of the interviews that I conducted. The interpretations have been verified in discussions with others. The number of copies is reported by TS (Tidningsstatistik, which is a company reporting the number of copies that the different magazines sell). *Allers,* for older women, has a low profile on fashion, and is seen as a low-status magazine by people in the fashion photography business (246,000 copies sold of each issue in 1999); *Amelia,* for middle-aged women, low fashion profile, low status (128,000), *Bibel,* for men and women, high fashion profile, high status (circulation figures not available); *Café,* for men, medium profile on fashion, medium status (46,000); *Catwalk,* high profile on fashion, medium status

(circulation figures not available); *Damernas värld,* for women, high profile on fashion, high status (102,000); *Darling,* for young women, high profile on fashion, high status (circulation figures not available); *Swedish Elle,* for women, high profile on fashion, high status (76,000); *Femina,* for women, medium fashion profile, low status (116,000), *Frida,* for girls, low fashion profile, low status (62,000); *Habit* (industry magazine) (7000), *Hennes,* for young women, medium fashion profile, low status (65,000), *Plaza Man,* for men, high fashion profile, high status (circulation figures not available); *Plaza Kvinna,* for young women, medium fashion profile, medium status (13,000), *Silikon,* for young women, medium fashion profile, medium status (24,000), *Slitz,* for men, low fashion profile, low status (62,000), *Solo,* young women, medium fashion profile, low status 32,000), *Stockholm New* (in English), for men and women, high fashion profile, high status (circulation figures not available), *Straight,* for men, medium fashion profile, medium status (circulation figures not available); *Vecko-Revyn,* for young women, medium fashion profile, low status (67,000), *Zon,* for men, medium fashion profile, medium status (circulation figures not available). See Plate I for examples of some of these magazines. It must be emphasized that this is a simplified presentation. This market is highly volatile and a few years later (2004), several of these magazines no longer exist.

30 New York also has a photo district, and there is even a magazine called *Photo District News*. In a future study I hope to provide an empirical account of the emergence of this "industrial district" in Stockholm.

31 This is a clear example of how phenomenology approaches objects (in this case a certain physical space) seeking to find out the actors' mental content of these objects, and not just to take the scientist's perspective as the natural point of departure for an analysis.

32 The time zones explain part of the difference, but are not enough.

33 The neoclassical theory of economics cannot encompass and understand these simple but profound social expressions of how markets are constructed.

34 Of the many types of advertising agencies some specialize in communication. I focus on the kind of agencies that produce campaigns for the clothing company. There exist studies of advertising agencies and the market they operate in as producers (e.g. Baker, Faulkner and Fisher 1998).

35 However, since the focus of this study is the market for fashion photography I am bracketing much of what goes on inside the market for advertising. The evidence from this market still suggests that it could be studied with the same framework as is used in the present study of the market for fashion photography.

36 Having an account is often demanding, as an account can last for many years. This is because of the time it takes to develop the customer's identity. Business economists speak of brand names, but these are not created in a day or two. It usually takes years to create and change the identity of a company. The look of the advertisements, the commercials, the models used, the look of the stores, the logo: all of this and much more has to be changed. The idea is that this change will eventually change people's perception of the company, and create a new identity. Though it can be a long-term relationship, it may well be based upon trust. This means that one of the two actors, the agency or the client, can end the relationship without any legal consequences. That this is possible, one may surmise, is partly a cultural phenomenon, but it must also be understood in relation to the relatively small market with many people moving between firms, and many different relationships. In this way information, or gossip, spreads the news quickly. Thus, the role of interaction systems becomes crucial (cf. Aspers 2002).

37 This is something of a difference compared to the photographers' distribution of status. Though the distribution of status in both cases demands a market interface, the advertising business also operates as its own critic (much as academics do). It is an intriguing question to solve: Why do institutionalized critics operate in some cases and not in others? (White 1992:323). Other related questions pertain to the interface: Why do actors on the same side

sometimes function as critics while in other cases the other side plays this role? Part of the explanation, at least in this case, is that the actors, such as the art directors, produce for their own peer group. That is, their focus is toward the perception among peers rather than the customer (cf. Becker 1963:79–100). This is not to say that the end result is bad. It may, in contrast, explain the most sophisticated Swedish advertising spirit, which perhaps comes through in commercial films.

38 James Coleman, for example, defines the actors' human capital as "[S]kills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways" (Coleman 1990:304). Education is the most common form of human capital.

39 The average salary of an art director (year 2001) is about 33,000 Swedish SEK ($4,300) a month (http://www.reklam.se/, accessed 10 June 2004).

40 At the same time, one should not emphasize this gulf too strongly. Information is spread across the interface. One reason is that sometimes people move from the consumers' side to the producers' side, or vice versa.

41 As a result, there are many photographers in Borås, sometimes organized in small firms. The city can be described as an industrial district. Borås, with about 70,000 inhabitants, was once a major producer of clothes and textiles. Today clothes are produced outside of Sweden where salaries are lower, for example Hungary, Poland and the Baltic states. The design, however, is made in Sweden.

42 The following story is telling. Two of my informants, who knew each other from Sweden, bumped into each other in Miami. Neither of them knew of the other one being there. One was working as an assistant to a Swedish photographer shooting for a mail-order company, and the other was working as an assistant for a New York-based photographer doing a job for a fashion magazine.

43 There is no official data on how many women the advertising agencies have in the three leading positions: art director, copywriter, and project leader. The magazine *Resumé,* however, has a database called "Byråregistret" at its homepage (http://www.resume.se/). There one can search for the advertising agencies with the highest percentage of women. I searched the Stockholm region. Only one agency had a majority of women in these three positions. If one searches instead for the companies with the highest human capital scores, the average percentage of women in these three positions among the ten agencies with the highest reported human capital score is 13 percent (although only about half of the agencies provide this information). If one searches instead for the agencies that are the biggest (in terms of gross income), the same measurement shows that 14.5 percent are women. Moreover, there is a correlation between the biggest and the most successful agencies. The search was made in October 2000.

Chapter 4

1 Bourdieu explains how this mistake, to use the objectivistic approach and analyze statistical material without grounding it in the phenomenology of those studied, is easily made because, "Statistical analysis…often applies to *preconstructed* populations principles of classifications that are themselves preconstructed" (1993:180).

2 Of those who enter the market for fashion photography, few have calculated the expected profit. The best way to describe the entrance is not as a result of a single decision, but what Schütz—who here builds on the writings of Heidegger—calls a "project" (Schütz [1932] 1976:59–61). In later writings he seems to reserve the term "plan" to cover a series of actions (Schütz 1962:19–20, 23–24, 28 n. 42). The content of the plan is altered as time goes by, within the frame of the overall plan. In many interviews I have asked about the important decisions actors made. The interviewed seem to find this question problematic, or even

irrelevant. This suggests that many people do not think of their lives, or their actions, in the same ways that, for example, rational choice theorists conceptualize actions.

3 Actions seem to take place in ways described by Nietzsche and Pareto; both stress the "non-rational" aspects of action (cf. Aspers 200 la and forthcoming a).

4 Creativity, like most other words, has a meaning beyond what it is possible to communicate accurately in a written text. Thus, not everything that a photographer does can be easily described with words. In this way the text—naturally—makes it difficult to get the meaning through to the reader. Though this is rather self-evident, I think it is worthwhile to underscore it.

5 For a discussion of the idea of a reference group, see Merton (1957:225–386).

6 In advertising photography, in contrast, there is no rule for whether the name of the photographer is printed or not. But it is usually possible to find out who has shot a campaign by making a few phone calls. Those photographers who have agents usually only have to call the agency to find this out. The byline is the text that is typewritten in an ad, or in a fashion story. The size of the font, especially in ads, is sometimes so small that one practically needs a magnifying glass to read it. The regular customer does not bother to look at this; it is for "insiders."

7 The word photography is originally from the Greek and means, "to write with light."

8 When I worked as a wedding photographer, I had to learn how to set up the same lighting as the owner of the studio. The customers wanted to have their pictures taken in his style (because that was the style advertised), and I had to imitate it in the best way possible. I could not have done this without working closely with the photographer, and observing how he moved the light 50 cms, or turned it 10° to get "his" style of lighting.

9 Naturally, the lighting can be combined with certain films, chemical processes, and manipulations on the computer or in the darkroom to get different results. One photographer that I was told about became furious when his assistant started to clean his dirty lenses, which were important for adding a certain type of soft light to his photographs. There are many such examples of photographers using equipment as factory technicians did not intend. Some clearly reconstruct the tools. An example of this is the Swedish camera producer Hasselblad. Most of the lenses for Hasselblad cameras have long been produced by Carl Zeiss. Zeiss is known to produce lenses that capture the subjects with extreme sharpness. This may at first appear to be an obvious advantage. But many photographers and customers prefer pictures that have a different look. Furthermore, the construction of the f-stop of the Hasselblad means that the reflections are edgy, whereas other camera producers have f-stops that give circular reflections. The field of depth, at which distances from the camera are reproduced sharply, is differently constructed for different producers of lenses. The taste of the photographer here becomes an aspect of choice that the producer of the camera equipment or lenses did not consider. The technical differences are often interpreted into aesthetic expressions in ways the producers could not anticipate.

10 In the interviews I showed a list of fashion magazines, and asked the person to rank these according to the status of the magazine. The comments of the photographers I interviewed are almost identical. A simplified summary of the answers was presented in Chapter 3.

11 It is possible to conceptualize this phenomenon as an example of how many "weak ties" are of importance to get a job (Granovetter 1973, 1974).

12 Thus, even though the photographers do not face the magazine's final customers directly—it is actually an interface one link down the production chain—it still affects the photographers' perception. This is a tangible example of how markets are embedded in each other.

13 *Bibel* went out of business a few months after the interview was conducted.

14 The meaning of the photographers' "audience," to repeat, does not primarily cover the final consumers, i.e. the audience of the magazines, but rather "insiders" in the business, and especially people in the fashion photography market. The "performers" are normally seen as

being of a different kind than the audience. But as has been pointed out, parts of the audience may consist of "insiders" (Becker 1982:52–53). What Becker stresses, however, is that the actors who never really become professionals are part of the audience. In this case, I argue that the audience is comprised of other professionals. This idea has also been suggested by others (White 1993a:121–122). I also argue that this condition facilitates the emergence of a field that exists in its own right (cf. Bourdieu [1992] 1996; Parkhurst 1998). Insiders, in this case, are of two types: other photographers, who constitute the reference group, and potential customers, fashion editors and art directors.

15 More subtle ways of saying no also exist. During one participant observation, I was in the car with the photographer and his assistant. The photographer got a call from a fashion editor asking if he wanted to do a job they had discussed, and told him which fashion assistant he would be working with. He simply said that he did not have the time to do the job.

16 One can become known through friends (or friends of friends) one has met, for example, in bars, or former employers may open doors for the photographer. Some have a loved one in a useful position or take the right classes in school. The photographer may have met customers when she was an assistant to her former employer. If she was an assistant to a more established and well-known photographer, it will be an advantage to her.

17 Many Swedish photographers are insecure about what to include in their portfolio. And in several cases when I discussed and looked at a photographer's portfolio they said, "I am about to change it." One reason why they are insecure is the flux in the market; no one really knows what is hot at the moment. It is also difficult to properly evaluate one's own pictures. This is a reason why photographers sometimes want help to decide what to include in the portfolio and what to remove. An additional reason is that few customers comment on photographer's pictures beyond politeness. The common response to a photographer who has had a meeting with a magazine is to take a leave-behind card and say, "good pictures, we'll be in touch." Outside of Sweden, customers are usually more detailed in their comments on the pictures. This situation is partly cultural, but it is also likely to pertain to what has been called systems of interaction (Aspers 2002). The idea of systems of interaction in this context is that the actors within this business have contacts with many different actors, and this means that information spreads easily. In Sweden, the market is small and if one were to say something, especially negative, about a photographer it would most likely become known by many, and could harm a fashion editor. The consequence of the limited direct feedback is that the best source of information about what styles and what kind of pictures are appreciated in the magazines is the published pictures in the various magazines. The publications operate as signals of acceptance of styles and photographic trends. This resembles the role that economists devote to prices, namely as carriers of information.

18 The definition of style that I use here is different from the historical notion as used by art historians. There are additional definitions of style, some of which are more "collective" (e.g. Gombrich 1968, 15:352–361; Goodman 1978:23–40, 1984:130–131; Bourdieu 1991; White 1992, 1993a). In earlier works on photography, it has been argued that style is best covered by what I call genre, namely types of photography (Rosenblum 1978a and 1978b). Simmel writes about style, and seems first to connect it to collectivism (in contrast with the individuality of art). But Simmel also opens up for personal styles, which is the approach to style used here (Simmel [1908] 1991). Personal style can only exist when there are "multiple style possibilities" (Simmel [1908] 1991:70). See also Gadamer ([1960] 1989:494).

19 Another example of how a trend may emerge in the market for fashion photography is that the Hasselblad camera that was the standard equipment for 1970s and 1980s fashion photographers, is now to some extent replaced by the Pentax 6×7 camera. Both cameras have been available since the early 1970s (Hasselblad was already in this market segment in the late 1950s). These cameras have not gone through any major technological changes. Hasselblad has begun to use electronic components in most camera models, but the main ideas of the camera have remained unchanged. The main differences between the two

cameras have also remained the same. Hasselblad produces negatives of the size 6×6 cms, and Pentax makes 6×7 cms. The advantage with Hasselblad is that the central shutter in the lenses makes it suitable for flash photography in daylight. The Hasselblad also has a better viewer than Pentax; it shows the result of the cut more or less as it will look on the negative. An advantage with Pentax is that the size of the negative better reflects the way one uses the negatives for the final prints. The problems with some of Hasselblad's latest models cannot explain the reduction in the usage the camera has faced in recent years among fashion photographers. I argue that it is rather a social effect. Some fashion photographers have started to use the Pentax camera and others have simply followed the trend. It would be interesting to pursue a detailed study of this topic.

20 Models, for example, are subject to the vagaries of trends. This means that the photographers try to get the models who have the right "look." At the model agency, trends are easier to feel than elsewhere.

21 The newly established photographer, who is yet unknown in the market, has an advantage and can develop a style without thinking of her position in the market, since strictly speaking, she does not yet have one. One may compare this with the discussion above, that photographers who are well established may be locked into their style. That is, their identities in the market must be understood in relation to their styles.

22 It must be recalled that the choice of the photographer depends upon the customer's budget. If there is only a limited budget, only those photographers who accept that level will compete. Nonetheless, within this span, photographers' style is the prime means for competition.

23 In a campaign the clothing company GAP used the lead singer of the Red Hot Chili Peppers, Anthony Kiedis, and not only wrote this in the advertisement, but also stated that the picture was photographed by Annie Leibowitz (Slemmons 1998:131).

24 However, some photographers like art directors who push them and with whom they can work out ideas. A few of the photographers I interviewed expressed a wish to be part of the development of the underlying ideas of advertising. The worst situation is facing an art director who presents a photograph that she expects the photographer to copy.

25 Other examples can easily be found, including smaller clothing companies and makers of work-clothes. One may hesitate to treat the latter as fashion photography.

26 This may appear to resemble Bourdieu's idea of two markets "producers for producers" and "producers for non-producers" (1993:130). This, however, is not the case. In this case there is no opposition, and the producers appear in both editorial and advertising markets.

27 Outside of the larger photographic districts, such as Stockholm, there exist no studios that a photographer can rent, and photographers working in these areas are more or less forced to have a studio of their own. The rent, however is normally lower in these areas.

28 The reference is to ferry traffic between Sweden and the island of Aland in the Baltic Sea.

29 Ideally one would have used a few pictures to show photographers. In this way one could have made photo elicitations (Banks 2001). Unfortunately I did not do this systematically.

30 The question they answered was this: "Which of the following occupations do you often have contacts with through your work? (Please, fill out all that fit)." 23 alternatives were available, including "Something else." Thus, I did allow for people who may have missed filling out one of the categories to be included.

31 An objectivist could use the same criteria for finding the fashion photographers. It is nevertheless a great difference since the objectivistic approach would not be grounded on the meaning structure of real actors. There would be no connection between the first- and second-order constructs.

32 Factor analysis is useful when the researcher wants to reduce a set of variables to fewer underlying dimensions, called factors (Kim and Mueller 1978a, 1978b). The assumption of factor analysis is that fewer factors are responsible for the correlation between the observed variables. It must be remembered that the outcome of the analysis must always be

interpreted. Thus, the researcher gives the factors names that reflect the pattern of the variables that load high on the factor (i.e. correlate with the factor). In this case, the phenomenological study provides a solid background for the interpretation of the factors.

The restrictions that the application of factor analysis puts on dichotomous variables mean that the findings can only be seen as an indication; they cannot be used for a final adjudication. Factor analysis requires that the variables are continuous and ideally on the interval level. I have only dichotomous variables (nominal level). The upshot of a rather extensive discussion of this issue is that one still can use factor analysis for heuristic purposes, for example, to look for clusters of variables (Kim and Mueller 1978b: 73–75). That is what I do in this study.

Factor analysis can be used for two purposes, exploration and confirmation (Kim and Mueller 1978a:9). The phenomenological usage is essentially directed to confirmation. Briefly, it means analyzing if the pattern of the phenomenological study can also be found in the quantitative material. The restrictions that are sometimes put on the hypothesis for confirmation (Kim and Mueller 1978b) cannot be met here. For example, I do not hypothesize the number of factors. This study is the first of its kind, and is limited to the field of fashion photography. I am less concerned with other photographic genres.

33 It must be said that the construction of these variables implies that only those actors who initially answered that they did fashion can be put into these two "genres." It is simply a separation of the initial variable "fashion" into two variables: "FP" and "nFP."

34 The factor analysis here is the so-called principal component type. The matrix shows that seven factors had an eigenvalue higher than one, so I retained them. These seven factors explained 63 percent of the variance of the 19 variables. I then used the varimax method (rotation) to simplify the factor structure by maximizing the variance of a column of the pattern matrix (Kim and Mueller 1978b:35–37, 87). Varimax rotation implies that the factors are not correlated. The result of this rotation is shown in Table 4.3.

Strictly speaking, one should separate factor analysis from principal component analysis (Kim and Mueller 1978b:12–21). Other versions of factor analysis were also applied, and essentially the same results were found. Nevertheless, one should not forget that factor analysis in this case is only of a heuristic value.

35 I have also included advertising as a variable by running different factor analyses (not shown here). When one does this, the dimension of fashion and advertising comes out even more clearly.

36 Some prefer to use logistic regression whenever one studies dichotomous variables. In this case, however, it is not useful. Regression analysis is used when there is a need to control the effects of some variables. In this case, strictly speaking, there is no dependent variable, there is no discussion of the causal order, and there are no background or intermediate variables that one must "control for." It is a relational analysis: to be a FP is to have certain traits and not others. I therefore employ the chi-square test. In the analysis I use the same statistical "reference group," that is those who did not state on the survey that they do fashion photography. This means that both nFPs and FPs are compared with the same group of photographers. I did not include the FPs in the reference group when analyzing the nFPs and vice versa.

37 In one case I was told about a local commercial magazine that paid to bring a model from Stockholm. They did not pay for a stylist or for make-up or hairdressing. The photographer brought the model to a small place where he felt that it was embarrassing to work with a professional model.

38 One should note that Ezra Zuckerman has discussed a related phenomenon among security analysts (Zuckerman 1999).

Chapter 5

1 It is not difficult to see the family likeness amongst the magazines that compete; the covers of fashion magazines clearly resemble each other (cf. Plate 1). This internal orientation is, of course, part of what makes it a market.
2 I think it can be said that the majority of fashion editors are women and the majority of art directors are men.
3 Some designers, for example, would never allow their clothes to be used in low-status commercial magazines. For example, a designer whose clothes are sold in London and New York would not like her clothes to be used in a magazine that combines them with clothes from mail-order companies.
4 Of course some agencies employ many people, of whom some are successful, so that the perception of these agencies in the market is almost the same as of the magazines. This means that there is an advantage for an actor to work at one of these agencies.
5 It is interesting to notice that photographers also used to have their studios in the city center. But with the move to the southern part of Stockholm ("Söder"), and what I call the Stockholm Photo District, the advertising agencies also started to move to Söder.
6 It is not Sturehof as such that is interesting, it is the phenomenon. Before this restaurant was in vogue other restaurants played a similar role, for example, Operabaren and PA and Co.
7 The art directors are well informed about the major accounts. They know which advertising agency has the accounts, and what photographers are being used. As emphasized more than once already, gossip—from customers, models, stylists, agencies, photographers, colleagues, etc.—represents one example of how information is spread; "institutionalized" gossip in magazines like *Resumé* and *Vision* is another way.

Chapter 6

1 What is valued in different markets, of course, differs (cf. Faulkner 1971:150–154).
2 Other markets that also include aesthetic values, such as those for composers of film music (Faulkner 1983), are much more oriented to economic values; in these market economic success becomes the strongest means for evaluating the composers (Faulkner 1983:183).
3 Moreover, as has been argued, money is often a means to pursue more profound social interests, such as making distinctions (e.g. Marshall [1920a] 1961:87–88; Aspers 1999a: 658–660; Veblen [1899] 1953, cf. Bourdieu [1979] 1984).
4 Entrenchment of meaning is a complicated issue, which I have addressed in another text (see Aspers 2001 c).
5 It must be emphasized that entrepreneurs are real actors, not ideal types. I will therefore use some personal names in this section.
6 One must remember the limit on how much conventions can be changed and still be inside an "artworld" (Becker 1982:233–246).
7 Convention, Weber says, is an order, "so far as its validity is externally guaranteed by the probability that deviation from within a given social group will result in a relatively general and practically significant reaction of disapproval" ([1921–22] 1978:34). In this case it means that she gets no assignments.

8 That Mikael Jansson qualifies as an icon for fashion photographers in Sweden is supported by empirical evidence from my fieldwork and interviews. Of the 37 interviews I conducted Jansson was mentioned in 24 (65 percent). In most cases the respondent mentioned him spontaneously. Moreover, no other Swedish photographer was mentioned as many times, and by as many persons. Jansson is also recognized outside of fashion photography; he is the only living Swedish fashion photographer mentioned in the *Swedish National Encyclopedia* (Engström (ed.) 1994:386).

9 A story I have heard more than once concerns an advertisement that was never produced. The picture would have had the photographer Karl Johan Rönn (whom Jansson assisted) holding Jansson's hand, and Jansson holding the hand of one of his former assistants, who would hold the hand of yet another person. The final hand was to symbolize a person on her way into the market.

10 Faulkner's works have also served as a source of comparison, since his field of study has many similarities to mine (1971, 1983). I think it is fair to say that our results are mutually supportive.

11 This is not uncommon in the world of art (e.g. the relationship between museums and art galleries; cf. Bourdieu [1994] 1998:109–112). Faulkner (1971, 1983) has also studied how art and money are in conflict in a single market.

Chapter 7

1 In addition to Weber, classical thinkers like Marx, Durkheim, Tönnies and Simmel have all discussed this topic. The clearest critique and most insightful discussion of Modernity has to my mind been produced by Friedrich Nietzsche, and both Weber and Simmel are indebted to him.

2 That the field "views itself is shorthand for the idea that the actors view what they are doing as important.

3 The notion of status I employ here is in sharp contrast to its Weberian use. Weber's notion or status essentially refers to the status of a group; it is related to the untranslatable German word *"Stand."* Weber speaks, for example, of *"Ständische lage"* ([1921–22] 1978:305).

4 Smith Spence (1974) has suggested an idea similar to what I discuss here about the entrenchment of meanings and values; he speaks about decay, decrystallization and crystallization.

Appendix A

1 Nature can also be acknowledged as having "causal power," but if the wind destroys a house, it has usually little to do with direct human action. A drill will not drill unless human activity is involved (cf. Collins and Kusch 1998).

2 This argument is connected to antirealism (Aspers 1997). It is outside the scope of this study, and not its purpose, to provide detailed discussion of antirealism. The foundation of the argument for antirealism presented here comes from the net of beliefs discussed by Quine ([1953] 1961), and Quine and Ullian (1978). Briefly stated, a proposition is considered "true" in relation to other propositions, and the strength of the propositions are mutually reinforcing (Aspers 200 1c). The centrality of a proposition can be altered due to new empirical findings, or other factors. In the very center of the net are fundamental logical principles, such as the law of the excluded middle. Furthermore, the antirealism advocated here draws on thinkers, in addition to Quine, like William James ([1907] 1955), Bas C.Van

Fraassen (1980, 1989) and Max Weber (1949). Therefore, constructivism is a form of antirealism. The idea of construction must of course be contrasted with realism (cf. Nietzsche [1887] 1974: §§ 57–58, 110, 152). Realism implies that there is one, independently existing world to which the notion refers. Phenomenology, as will be seen, takes a social constructivist approach that naturally falls within the realm of antirealism.

3 The idea of intentionality is used in many theories, not only those influenced by Husserl; analytic philosophers and objectivist rational choice theoreticians also use it. There is also an interesting connection between the two major traditions in philosophy, the analytic and the continental in relation to intentionality. However, the use of intentionality is far from identical in the two traditions. Since both traditions take their departure from the thinking of Franz Brentano, the so-called "Brentano's thesis," intentionality is a natural starting point. The thesis says that mental phenomena, in contrast to physical phenomena are directed, or in Brentano's own words:

> "Every mental phenomenon is characterized by what the scholastics of the Middle Ages called the intentional (and also mental) inexistence of an object, and what we would call, although not in entirely unambiguous terms, the reference to a content, a direction upon an object (by which we are not to understand a reality…), or an immanent objectivity. Each one includes something as an object itself, although not always in the same way. In presentation something is presented, in judgement something is affirmed or denied, in love [something is] loved, in hate [something is] hated, in desire something is desired, etc. This intentional inexistence is exclusively characteristic of mental phenomena. No physical phenomenon manifests anything similar. Consequently, we can define mental phenomena by saying that they are such phenomena as include an object intentionally within themselves."
>
> *Psychologie vom empirischen Standpunkt* (Brentano 1874, quoted in Chisholm 1967:201).

Even though Brentano stressed the role of intentionality, he did not develop a distinctive approach based upon this idea. Instead he argued that the natural science method was the correct method, even for the field of psychology (Farber 1943:11). Brentano's thesis is widely accepted today, and as Daniel Dennet says, "Just about everyone accepts the Brentano irreducibility thesis" (1987:341). Among philosophers, intentionality is used in a sense that differs from everyday usage, though the two ways of using the concept are not unrelated.

It is important to clarify the distinction between intensionality and intentionality. Intensionality refers to the semantic structure of propositions and sentences. Intentionality refers to mental states. Intentionality "is that property of the mind (brain) by which it is able to represent other things," and intensionality "is the failure of certain sentences, statements, etc., to satisfy certain logical tests for extensionality" (Searle 1983:24, cf. Needham 1994:92–94). Searle proposes another explanation: "Intentionality is that property of many mental states and events by which they are directed at or about or of objects and states of affairs in the world" (1983:1). Chisholm has also discussed intentionality, (1959:166–188), and gives an example of an intentional proposition: "James believes there are tigers in India." The proposition is intentional because neither this proposition, nor its contradiction

"James does not believe that there are tigers in India," implies anything about the real case, whether or not there are any tigers in India.

From this one may conclude that the everyday concept of intention is an intentional proposition. If I intend to go to the movies, it is not a proposition about whether I end up in the cinema. Preferences and beliefs are thus examples of intentional notions, which can be turned into intentional proposition. If a person looks for a centaur, then the action is caused by the belief that centaurs exist. Classical sociologists have argued that it is enough that people feel they are exploited to start a revolution; the question of whether they actually are exploited is of less importance.

Intentionality, to conclude, is not identical to consciousness. A person may hold certain preferences, and believe in many things, but still not be conscious about this except in a few exceptional cases. At the same time all mental states that one is in may not be intentional. A sudden feeling of relaxation may not be directed to anything (Searle 1983:2). The notion of intentionality is also used to separate actions from mere behavior. Simple body movements, like reflexes, are not caused by intentional states, and are therefore considered to be behavior. Actions, in contrast, are partly produced as a result of intentional states, such as wishes and beliefs. A considerable literature focuses on intentional actions; it is related to the literature on intentionality, but needs no special treatment for the general point to come through.

4 Not only can action-oriented theories use ascribed "needs" to "explain" social outcomes; the functional approach uses a similar strategy. For a good description of the attribution of characteristics to the actors, and a critique of the objectivistic functionalism program see, for example, Giddens (1984:293–297, cf. Elster 1983).

5 I stress that this is only one aspect of Husserl's sophisticated arguments. An aspect of special interest, though the argument cannot be pursued in detail here, is that the natural sciences cover their own meaning foundation (cf. Husserl [1954] 1970:48). A key point to Husserl is to find the "original motivation and movement of thought which led to the conceiving of their idea of nature, and from there to the movement of its realization in the actual development of natural science itself ([1954] 1970:57, cf. Luckmann 1983:19).

6 These theories share some scientific and philosophical ancestors. However, a work like this cannot describe, nor analyze, the wheels within wheels that best describe how the objectivistic ideas of science have affected various generations of researchers. It is clear that the objectivistic tradition, both the deductive and the positive tradition, have been strong in the UK and in France. What I describe here as the objectivistic method cannot be reduced to either positivism or to a deductive approach. Both the deductive approach and positivism see the individual from outside. That is, both perspectives ascribe traits to the actors that may or may not be reflecting their meaning level.

The deductive tradition clearly has descendants in today's economists, such as Gary Becker. Economists were then, as they are today, inclined to use deductive reasoning (Rothbard 1973:332; Ekelund and Hébert 1990:145). The objectivist track had an important advocate in David Ricardo, but also Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill, followed this track. There is also influence from the French school. Auguste Comte affected both Spencer and Mill (Schumpeter [1954] 1981:416–417), probably more than they themselves admitted (Giddens 1978). Mill, for example, argued for one single scientific method, which is the method used in natural science (Schumpeter [1954] 1981:451). Mill, as is known, worked hard to spread positivism (Freund 1978:150). The economist Stanley Jevons also worked in the positivist spirit. The best known British economist of this time, Alfred Marshall, who is recognized as one of the founding fathers of neoclassical economics, was less in favor of the strong agenda set by Mill. Marshall argued that one could not talk of a unified scientific method as Mill did. Furthermore, Marshall said that economics was a combination of induction and

deduction, but the foundation was induction. Moreover, it is reasonable to highlight the subjective aspect in Marshall's thinking (Aspers 1999a). But at a general level the British tradition stressed the connection between natural and social science, with the former as the guideline for all science. This was true of both economics and sociology.

In France scientists saw society as a mechanical construction, and during the eighteenth century the idea of a rational planning of society was strong (Pankoke 1984:1004). Saint-Simon adhered to these ideas; he tried to make a kind of physiology of society, and a central idea was that the rational method applied in natural science could contribute diagnoses and therapy for the societal corpus. Comte saw not physiology but physics as the science that would save society, what he later calls sociology. This idea fits very closely with the idea of science as a force that should contribute to the development of society (Pankoke 1984:1007). Durkheim is also part of this French tradition (Giddens 1978:238, 243), though he gave it a more biological touch. The tradition of "sociology" as a mechanical science can be traced further back than Comte. According to Hayek it goes back to L'école Polytechnique (Hayek [1952] 1979). Later the objectivistic tradition was supported by logical positivism (cf. Aspers 2000).

7 This is discussed in more detail elsewhere (Aspers 2000).

8 The restriction is thus not about the content of the utility function. Some, like Elster, have tried to invoke restrictions on what can be included in the utility function, in order to avoid the rather paradoxical situation—from a rational choice perspective—that committing suicide can be rational, if that is what one wishes for (Aspers 2000).

9 Weber, it has been argued, both read Husserl and was influenced by him (Muse 1981). Still, he failed to make the distinction that is so evident in Husserl's writings: between subjectivism and objectivism.

10 Some writers, including Parsons himself, say Parsons developed a subjective theory of action (Parsons [1937] 1968), but as Schütz has argued, this is far from being the case (Schütz and Parsons 1977). The actors in Parsons' "subjective theory of action" have objective goals (values in the language of Parsons) that they try to achieve (Hilbert 1992:124–5). Others have reached the same conclusion regarding Parsons' theory: "the analysis of action with emerged from The Structure of Social Action and subsequent publications had little in common with Weber's emphasis on the meaningful character of action and the necessity of its analysis from the actor's point of view" (Heritage 1984:15).

11 At the same time one must be aware that all scientific conduct involves some interpretation, and in this sense no one can deny the relevance of what is discussed by hermeneutics (cf. Giddens 1984:284; Ricoeur 1981). As Schütz points out, the difference between everyday humans and the researcher who is trying to understand *(Verstehen),* is not that large (Schütz 1962:56–57). Still, the *Verstehen* approach is only one aspect that the social scientist must consider.

12 Many introductory texts on phenomenology have been written (for example, Farber 1943; Natanson 1962; Spiegelberg 1982; Eide 1987; Føllesdal 1998; Moran 2000; Zahavi 2003).

13 Dilthey criticized both the British and the French traditions of social science (Dilthey [1883] 1990:93–94, see also Makkreel 1998). Dilthey argued that *Verstehen* is what human sciences *(Geisteswissenschaft)* aim at, and this is accomplished by empathy (Gorman [1977] 1997:174). As many later did, Dilthey argued for a separate method for the human sciences *(Geisteswissenchaften)* (Makkreel [1969] 1997:109). It has even been claimed that Dilthey anticipated phenomenology (Makkreel 1998:77). Others who argued for a separate method for the social sciences are Windelbaum and Rickert (Gorman [1977] 1997). The term phenomenology was first used by Johan Heinrich Lambert in 1764 and later by Kant (Schmitt 1967:135), and of course by Hegel.

14 It is interesting that not only Husserl, but also Freud (1856–1939) attended the Brentano seminars. The similarity between William James (1842–1910) and Husserl should also be mentioned (Schütz [1966] 1975:1–14).

15 Husserl says "objectivism…moves upon a ground of the world which is pregiven, taken for granted through experiences, seeks the 'objective truth' of this world… Transcendentalism, on the other hand, says: the ontic meaning (Seinsinn) of the pregiven world is a subjective structure (Gebilde), it is the achievement of experiencing, prescientific life" ([1954] 1970:68–69, cf. 91–100). This is the life-world. Even if Kant is seen as the first transcendental philosopher, Husserl sees a line from Berkeley and Hume to Kant ([1954] 1970:206).

16 The ego becomes the central pole in Husserl's thinking:

> We are struck with the manifoldness of *cogitata,* such as we find in I *perceive.,* I *remember,* I *desire,* etc. It is above all important to notice that the many modes of the *cogito* possess a point of identity, a center, in fact the I-always the same I-am the one who carries out now the act of thinking, then the act of evaluating something as appearance, etc. […] The ego is thus not merely an empty pole, but the permanent and enduring subject or persisting convictions and habits through whose *alterations the unit of the personal ego and its personal character is first constituted*… The ego may thus also be viewed as a concrete monad.
>
> (Husserl [1929] 1967:25–26)

17 Relevant to this is the programmatic statement *"Zu den Sachen"* ("to the things"), which means that the interest is directed to the phenomena, and not to theories (Spiegelberg 1982:109).

18 Husserl seems to hover a bit between two different positions, the atomistic monad-based idea, and the more social idea of intersubjectivity (for an example of the latter, see his later writings e.g. [1954] 1970:205).

19 It is worthwhile to emphasize that this bracketing is radical. Even logic must be bracketed (Husserl [1954] 1970:181). This, however, should not be interpreted as if the world itself is doubted.

20 The following quotation from Richard Cobb-Stevens indicates how Husserl related reduction, noema and noesis:

> He [Husserl] adds that the method may also be called "reduction," for it "leads back" from lived acts to reflective consideration of those acts and attitudes. After the reduction, we no longer live in our intentions. We step back from them in order to reflect on them in their full concreteness. For example, we step back from our participation in the positing of things as real, but continue to maintain that positing as something upon which we reflect. We also maintain our contact with things. The same things are still there for our consideration, but the change in focus initiated by the reduction now permits us to appreciate them precisely *as* intended objects. We now notice them as perceived, as judged, as posited, as doubted, as imagined. Husserl calls any object so considered a *noema,* and he calls the correlative intention a *noesis*.
>
> (Cobb-Stevens 1994:19–20)

21 It is somewhat confusing that Husserl uses different terms for the same notion. Thus, noema is *cogitatum,* and noesis is *cogitata* (Spiegelberg 1982:125–6). This means that every *cogitatio* (noesis) has its *cogitatum* (noema) (Husserl [1954] 1970:82–83). These are intentional notions; that is, *cogitatio* means having consciously, and what one has consciously is the *cogitatum*.

22 Gurwitsch gives an example that relates to a house: "Let us consider from a different point of view the difference between the perpetual noema and the thing perceived. The house may be torn down, but none of the pertinent noemata is affected thereby. Even after its destruction the house may be remembered, and it may be remembered as presenting itself under one or the other of the aspects under which it had previously appeared in perceptual experience. To be sure, the noema is no longer a perceptual one; it is rather a memory" (Gurwitsch 1987:64).

23 It is obvious that Husserl, as Schütz pointed out, did not mean that a noema refers to any ontological trait. One way to frame this difference is to say that the phenomenological approach studies the epistemological side whereas realists study the ontological side (cf. Schütz [1966] 1975:47–48). The ontological insights, Schütz says, originate from the phenomenological matrix (Schütz [1966] 1975:50).

24 Husserl connects three notions: fringe, horizon, and natural attitude (Husserl [1913] 1962:92). The connection, especially between the two first and the natural attitude is not perfectly clear. The analytic philosopher John Searle (1998) has discussed this.

25 Schütz, in a way that deviates from Husserl, calls the inner horizon "an autobiographical or a relevance horizon," and calls the outer horizon "intersubjective social horizon" (1996:198).

26 Furthermore, a certain perceptual composition can be in accordance with more than one noema. Wittgenstein's famous duck-rabbit illustrates this.

27 At the same time it is clear that his notion of evidence is not so different from what, for example, pragmatists think—that we find evidence in the world—but Husserl stresses the interpretative role of evidence. Evidence is constituted by the ego (Husserl [1929] 1967:21–24).

28 On another level, and clearly echoing Nietzsche, Husserl sees a problem when a person is born into a community and falls "victim to the seduction of language" (Husserl [1954] 1970:362). It follows—by the way sense experience and meaning have been constructed by her predecessors—that "the original intuitive life" is structured by language (Husserl [1954] 1970:362). Language can be seen, as both Nietzsche and Husserl do, as having layers of meaning and mental aspects in general. The sedimentation of language and the structure of meaning both result from interaction by members of the language community. Schütz expresses this idea in a dramatic way: "For the first time, the word has brought death into my world of the experiencing I. But it has also actually filled this world—which belongs not only to me but also to the Thou—with life; however, a strange and terrible life. Its ghostliness demonstrates itself in this; the language-endowed world is the world neither of mine or of thine nor of anybody's experiences; it is a truly unreal world" (1982:130).

29 This is problematic: the noema cannot be described by anything but a new language, but a new language is impossible. Therefore ordinary language—with all of its unavoidable meanings transmitted—must be used to talk about a noema (cf. Husserl [1954] 1970:210). This intriguing question is raised, and discussed more in detail by Schütz (1982).

30 It should be clearly stated, however, that this argument cannot be pushed too far. One cannot put everything into question at the same time (Aspers 2001c). What can be done is to study some of the key noemata using the phenomenological method. It must always be possible to assume the other knows the majority of the words, whether that other is a person being interviewed or a reader of a text.

31 At a more abstract level Husserl says that every "people," or culture, has its own logic, and in *The Crisis of the European Sciences* he is of course occupied with the European logic (Husserl [1954] 1970:373).

32 For a discussion of intersubjectivity, see for example Theunissen ([1977] 1984).
33 In his later writings Husserl takes intersubjectivity more or less for granted (e.g. Husserl [1954] 1970). However, most readers seem to agree that Husserl never produced a complete theory of intersubjectivity (Wagner 1973:63).
34 The life-world, or the world of life as Husserl occasionally calls it (Husserl [1954] 1970:173), alludes to the "life-philosophers," most notably Schopenhauer and Nietzsche (cf. Simmel [1907] 1986).
35 The split between the life-world and the objectivist scientific world is the reason why Husserl speaks of the crisis of the European sciences. The European sciences have lost their motivating meaning foundation, and not even the sciences that aim to study this process—Husserl talks mostly about psychology—are able to do this. The objectivist sciences, Husserl makes clear, aimed to represent the life-world. What Husserl criticizes is that objectivist science cannot study the fundamental source of knowledge: the subject as the pole for constitution of meaning. The objectivist sciences view their subjects like physical bodies, and fail to notice the idea of meaning; they are void of meaning. The solution Husserl proposes is the phenomenological approach.
36 Husserl, who argues along the same line as Pareto did on this score, says that there is an interrelation between the theories of society and the ways they affect society. This is so because theories of society have a different relation to their objects of study than is the case in the natural sciences ([1913b] 1989:177).

As will soon be seen, this is a distinction that Schütz uses. Out of this distinction come two very important notions in Schütz's thinking: the first- and the second-order constructions.

37 According to Husserl, the scientific truths are built upon the ground of the life-world ([1954] 1970:132). As a consequence, the truths of the life-world are taken for granted, and the ground of the life-world is left out of scientific studies (Husserl [1954] 1970:111–113).
38 Human science, in Husserl's sense, seems to cover the social sciences and psychology as well as history.
39 A problem is the *epoché* that the researcher herself has to conduct; she has to become a disinterested observer of herself (Husserl [1954] 1970:253–254). In this way Husserl connects phenomenological psychology with transcendental philosophy. This is so because in the end the ego is the apodictic pole. But still, phenomenology is the foundation of all other sciences, including psychology (Husserl [1954] 1970:256–257, 260).
40 Schütz and Husserl were in personal contact between 1932 and 1938 (Husserl 1999). It is clear from their correspondence that they respected each other. Furthermore, Schütz's clear focus on action and the individual comes directly from his reading of Weber and Husserl, and partly from his background in Austria, where he had extensive contact with, among others, Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich von Wieser (Schütz [1932] 1976:iii).
41 Schütz did not develop a rigid social science approach in his *The Phenomenology of the Social World (Der Sinnhafte Afbau der sozialen Welt),* though he clearly laid its foundation with the book.
42 How many such provinces are there? This has to be determined by empirical work, but Schütz hints at what he means: "All these worlds—the world of dreams, of images and phantasms, especially the world of art, the world of religious experience, the world of scientific contemplation, the play world of the child, and the world of the insane—are finite provinces of meaning" (Schütz 1962:232). They are finite because there is no formula for transformation between them.
43 Schütz worked purely theoretically (Heritage 1984:44). According to one of his students, Thomas Luckmann, Schütz had a limited knowledge of how to do empirical sociology. It

was primarily from Paul Lazarsfeldt that Schütz got this knowledge (personal conversation with Thomas Luckmann, November 9, 2000).

44 This indicates how Schütz could feel sympathy for the a priori ideal type developed by Ludwig von Mises, who argued that economics is an a priori science. One interpretation, made by Schütz, is that the concepts used in theories are not to be "found" in reality; they are instead thought objects (Schütz [1932] 1976:243–245). Schütz discusses the usage of rational action and says that this represents a way of describing a certain "subclass" of actions that sometimes may be useful. At the same time, Schütz seems to criticize Mises for a subjective deficit (Schütz [1932] 1976:246). Mises says, "Action is, by definition, always rational." He explains why: "One is unwarranted in calling goals of action irrational simply because they are not worth striving for from the point of view of one's own valuation. Such a mode of expression leads to gross misunderstandings. Instead of saying that irrationality plays a role in action, one should accustom oneself to saying merely: There are people who aim at different ends from those that I aim at, and people who employ different means from those I would employ in their situation" (von Mises 1960:35, see also [1963] 1966:19).

45 Only by taking account of the subjective perspective is it possible to establish the existence of actions. Most "actions," as an external observer would define them objectively, may be of a different nature when scrutinized more carefully. Schütz gives examples of this (e.g. Schütz 1996:128).

46 Schütz stresses the distinction between "in order to," and "because of motives. For example, a person who robs a bank does so "in order to" get money, and the "because of motive is the reason for the act. The reason could be that the person needed money to pay a debt to the Mafia. This, it seems to me, is only a way of giving different labels to the two sequences of a causal order: one may as well add the reason why he was in debt to the Mafia, and so on.

47 This conclusion must be understood in light of the fundamental values people hold. If one is interested in politics or in religion, vice or virtue is a choice beyond the rational domain, or as Weber so nicely puts it, "the one is the devil and the other is the God, and the individual has to decide which is God and which is the devil" (1946:148.) Weber, who was influenced by Nietzsche, also indicates this when it comes to "constructing" explanations. This means that the fundamental choices are value based, and this is also true of explanations. A similar argument is described by George Henrik von Wright: "But there is also basic opposition, removed from truth. It is built on the choice of primitives, of basic concepts for the whole argumentation. This choice, one could say, is 'existential.' It is a choice of a point of view which cannot be further grounded" (1971:32). This idea is also present in the writings of David Hume, and William James. The concept of Weltanschauung (or meaning system cf. Berger 1963:61) can perhaps be used to describe the perspective out of this "context of meaning" or "web of belief" that guides the actor. These Weltanschauungen are social constructions (Berger 1963:64). It is no easier to come to an agreement on what should count as an explanation of actions (von Wright 1985). One has simply to take a stand, and there is no rational ground for choosing the one or the other perspective.

48 The central idea in ethnomethodology can be described in the following way: "Whatever the intersubjective knowledge and understanding is that is achieved and *however* it is achieved become legitimate topics of investigation as to their 'what' and 'how.' With the realization, we reach the threshold of methodology" (Heritage 1984:71).

49 The conversational analysis school is an example of how ethnomethodologists can work with the natural attitude idea as a key idea (e.g. Schegloff and Sacks [1973] 1974; Sacks [1972] 1974).

50 In the cases where one is unable to use a theory, one simply uses one's preconceptions and the research question(s) as a scheme of reference. Some theories, typically those that do not refer, or reject, the subjective dimension are very hard, if not impossible to use without reconstruction.

51 For more detail on the methods discussed in this section see Appendix B.

52 A phenomenological perspective, it should be added and admitted, is sometimes less likely to succeed in producing a reasonable account of the actors' meaning level. For example, in historical studies it is less likely that the first-order constructions can be penetrated sufficiently to describe meanings. The existence of diaries, film, books and other types of material, of course, makes the phenomenological approach easier to handle (cf. Schütz 1964:56–63). This, however, is a question about empirical material in general, rather than about phenomenology as such. Hermeneutical approaches are related to phenomenology, and at one level or the other, also phenomenologists do some interpretation.
53 That the actors themselves use what in a sense can be seen as "second-order constructions" is no principal problem for the phenomenologist; the second-order constructions are always made by the social scientist, from her horizon of relevance, and there is no condition that first-order constructions be simple or "naive." Put another way, a phenomenological study of a phenomenologist doing empirical sociology imposes no contradiction.
54 It is, however, worthwhile to emphasize that the issue of phenomenology cannot be reduced to a battle of methods. The methodological differences that may occur between a phenomenologically inspired social scientist and an objectivist one are almost always reflections of more philosophical differences, rather than the other way around. That is, a phenomenologist may apply basically the same methods as a social scientist who uses the method due to dislike or lack of knowledge of the "quantitative" method. But a phenomenologist who is working empirically does not out of a principal perspective reject the usage of all quantitative material.
55 This is not to say that actors must accept the verdict of the researcher, but they must recognize the account.
56 Most people probably kill many ants during their lives, simply by walking without watching carefully enough where they put their feet. This is an unintended consequence of simply walking around. This is of finite importance to the poor ants that succumb, though probably not to the strolling person. This is an example of how an unintended effect can only become an issue for study after it has been seen as meaningful.
57 This is not less scientific than the arbitrarily set conventions of refutations of hypotheses that after all seem to be built on a type of logic that is refuted. There is no such thing as refutation (falsification), which is the key driving force of rationality in the hypothetical deductive method (cf. Duhem [1914] 1954; Quine [1953] 1961:20–46).
58 See Bengtsson for a discussion of empirical applicability, which shows some resemblance to my own discussion (Bengtsson 1999).

Appendix B

1 Becker, among others, makes the important point that a researcher always carries presuppositions (Becker 1998:13–14). The best way to handle this problem is to try to remain aware of the presuppositions.
2 The idea of a prestudy is similar to the idea of a "prior study" (Maxwell 1996:44–46).
3 Many texts provide overviews of qualitative methods (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln 1994; see also Gubrium 1988; Denzin 1989. For examples of how to conduct field research see Emerson (ed.) 1983; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995; Becker 1958).
4 This initial information was also relevant for my own reflection. It demanded that I document my own impressions, as well as these informal talks. My first steps into the field, and my early interactions with informants, indicate what the reader of the report can be expected to know, at most, about the field I am researching. This may be helpful since one is likely to be absorbed into the field, and forget about the knowledge a newcomer has.

5 In a sense one may call these discussions pilot interviews, and because of them I conducted no pilot interviews. The idea of conducting pilot interviews, however, is more relevant if one is using structured interviews.

6 For more information on audio-visual methods, see the theme issue on visual methods in sociological analysis in Qualitative Sociology (1997), and Bottorff (1994).

7 Three people said that they did not have time. In the fourth case an art director at an advertising agency granted me an interview, with the condition that I also talk to her director, who then asked, "What credit do we get from this?" She wanted the name of the agency to be mentioned in the study.

8 This is contrary to the general suggestion that one not ask about taping the interview until just before it starts (Douglas 1985:83). It is probably true that few people would (dare to) say no to tape recording. However, if the person feels deceived by the researcher, that could affect the co-operation, and also the end result. It may affect the interview situation, and also spread through the network to other people one wants to interview. It is also important that researchers not use the methods of journalists, in order not to spoil the possibility of future interviews by colleagues, or oneself. For an overview of interviews, see Fontana and Frey (1994).

9 I found this to be a good practice, and trying not to make a big issue of the tape recorder made the situation less tense (cf. Metzler 1977:19). I usually brought along a pastry we could share during the interview. I also tried to only have the microphone—and not the tape recorder—on the table.

10 The interviewer has to decide on some questions—and at best only suggestions can be offered to them. For example, how much silence should one leave after the respondent's answer? To leave too little may cut off a continuation of the answer, and remaining silent may provoke the respondent to continue to talk, and expand on the answer. A long period of silence, however, may also irritate the respondent.

Bibliography

Abbott, Andrew (1981) "Status and Status Strain in the Professions," *American Journal of Sociology,* **86,** 4:819–835.

Abolafia, Mitchel (1996) *Making Markets: Opportunism and Restraint on Wall Street,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Alinder, Mary (1996) *Ansel Adams: A Biography,* New York: Henry Holt Company.

Aspers, Patrik (1997) "Vetenskaplig Realism," *Sociologisk Forskning,* 4:73–80.

——(1999a) "The Sociology of Alfred Marshall: An Overview," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology,* **58,** 4:651–668.

——(1999b) "Socialt kapital och dygder i det postindustriella samhället," pp. 162–205 in P.Aspers and E.Uddhammar (eds), *Framtidens dygder,* City University Press: Stockholm.

——(2000) *Subjective or Objective Rational Choice Theory?,* Working Papers on Social Mechanism, Department of Sociology, Stockholm: Stockholm University.

——(2001a) "Crossing the Boundaries of Economics and Sociology: The Case of Vilfredo Pareto," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology,* **60,** 2:519–545.

——(2001b) "A Market In Vogue: Fashion Photography in Sweden," *European Societies,* **3,** 1:1–22.

——(2001c) "Vad skulle det annars vara—Om socialkonstruktivism," *Sosiologi idag,* **39,** 2:23–39.

——(2002) "Interaktionsformer," *Sociologisk Forskning,* 1:6–27.

——(2005a), "Markets, Sociology of," pp. 423–428 in *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology,* Jens Beckert and Milan Zafirovski (eds), London: Routledge.

——(2005b) "Fashion," pp. 271–272 in *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology,* Jens Beckert and Milan Zafirovski (eds), London: Routledge.

——(Forthcoming, 2005c) "Ethics in Global Garment Chains," in Nico Stehr (ed.), *The Moralization of Markets,* New Brunswick: NJ. Transaction Press.

——(Forthcoming, n.d.) "Friedrich Nietzsche as a Sociologist," in Jürgen Backhaus and Wolfgang Drechsler (eds), *Friedrich Nietzsche and his Legacy for the Social Science,* Kluwer Academic Publisher.

Azarian, Reza (2003) *The General Sociology of Harrison White,* Stockholm: Department of Sociology.

Baker, Wayne (1984) "The Social Structure of a National Securities Market" *American Journal of Sociology,* **89,** 4:775–811.

Baker, Wayne and Faulkner, Robert (1991) "Role as a Resource in the Hollywood Film Industry," *American Journal of Sociology,* **97,** 2:279–309.

Baker, Wayne, Faulkner, Robert and Fisher, Gene (1998) "Hazards of the Market: The Continuity and Dissolution of Interorganizational Market Relationships," *American Sociological Review,* 63:147–177.

Banks, Marcus (2001) *Visual Methods in Social Research,* London: Sage Publications.

Barthes, Roland ([1967] 1990) *The Fashion System,* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Becker, Howard (1958) “Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation,” *American Sociological Review,* **23,** 6:652–660.
——(1963) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance,* New York: The Free Press.
——(1974) “Art as Collective Action,” *American Sociological Review,* **39,** 6:767–776.
——(1978) “Arts and Crafts,” *American Journal of Sociology,* **83,** 4:862–889.
——(1982) *Art Worlds,* Berkeley: University of California Press.
——(1998) *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think About Your Research While You’re Doing It,* Chicago: Chicago University Press.
Becker, Howard and Carper, James (1956) “The Elements of Identification With an Occupation,” *American Sociological Review,* **21,** 3:341–348.
Becker, Howard and Strauss, Anselm (1956) “Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization,” *American Journal of Sociology,* **62,** 3:253–263.
Bell, Daniel (1973) *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting,* New York: Basic Books Inc.
Bendix, Reinhard (1962) *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait,* New York: Anchor Books.
Bengtsson, Jan (1998) *Fenomenologiska utflykter,* Göteborg: Daidalos.
——(ed.) (1999) *Med livsvärlden som grund,* Lunbd: Studentlitteratur.
Benjamin, Beth and Podolny, Joel (1999) “Status, Quality, and Social Order in the California Wine Industry,” *Administrative Science Quarterly,* **44,** 3:563–589.
Berger, Peter (1963) *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective,* New York: Anchor Books.
Berger, Peter and Luckmann, Thomas (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality,* New York: Anchor Books.
Bielby, William and Bielby, Denise (1999) “Organizational Mediation of Project Based Labor Markets: Talent Agencies and Careers of Screenwriters,” *American Sociological Review,* **64:**64–85.
Blau, Peter (1964) *Exchange and Power in Social Life,* New York: John Wiley and Sons.
Blaug, Mark ([1986] 2000) “Entrepreneurship Before and After Schumpeter,” pp. 76–88 in R.Swedberg (ed.), *Entrepreneurship: The Social Science View,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Blumer, Herbert (1968) “Fashion,” pp. 341–345, vol. 5 in D.Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* London: The Macmillan Company.
Bottorff, Joan (1994) “Using Videotaped Recordings in Qualitative Research,” pp. 244–261 in J.Morse (ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Bourdieu, Pierre ([1965] 1990) *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art,* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
——([1979] 1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
——([1980] 1990) *The Logic of Practice,* Cambridge: Polity Press.
——(1987), “What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups,” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology,* 22:1–17.
——([1989] 1996) *The State Nobility, Elite Schools in the Field of Power,* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
——(1991) *Language and Symbolic Power,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
——([1992] 1996) *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field,* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
——(1993) *The Field of Cultural Production, Essays on Art and Literature,* Cambridge: Polity Press.
——([1994] 1998) *Practical Reason,* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Boyatzis, Richard (1998) *Transforming Qualitative Information, Thematic Analysis and Code Development,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Brubaker, Rogers (1984) *The Limits of Rationality: An Essay on the Social and Moral Thought of Max Weber,* London: Allen and Unwin.
Burt, Ronald (1988) "The Stability of American Markets," *American Journal of Sociology,* **94,** 2:356–395.
Callon, Michel (ed.) (1998) *The Laws of the Market,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
Camic, Charles (1998) "Reconstructing the Theory of Action," *Sociological Theory,* **16,** 3: 283–291.
Chamberlin, Edward ([1933] 1969) *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Chaplin, Elizabeth (1994) *Sociology and Visual Representation,* London: Routledge.
Chisholm, Roderick (1959) *Perceiving: A Philosophical Study,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
——(1967) "Intentionality," pp. 201–204, vol. 4 in P.Edwards (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.
Cobb-Stevens, Richard (1994) "The Beginnings of Phenomenology: Husserl and His Predecessors," pp. 5–37, vol. VIII in R.Kearney (ed.), *Routledge History of Philosophy,* London: Routledge.
Coleman, James (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Collin, Finn, (1997) *Social Reality,* London: Routledge.
Collins, Randall (1988) "Theoretical Continuities in Goffman's Work," pp. 41–63 in P.Drew and A.Wootton (eds), *Erving Goffman, Exploring the Interaction Order,* Boston: Northeastern University Press.
Collins, Harry and Kusch, Martin (1998) *The Shape of Actions: What Humans and Machines Can Do,* Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
Connolly, John and Keutner, Thomas (eds) (1988) *Hermeneutics Versus Science? Three German Views,* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
Cox, Ronald (1978) *Schütz Theory of Relevance: A Phenomenological Critique,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
Craik, Jennifer (1994) *The Face of Fashion, Cultural Studies of Fashion,* London: Routledge.
Davidson, Donald (1980) *Essays on Actions and Events,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Dennet, Daniel (1983) "Intentional Systems in Cognitive Ethology: The 'Panglossian Paradigm' Defended," *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences,* 6:343–355.
——(1987) *The Intentional Stance,* Cambridge: The MIT Press.
Denzin, Norman (1989) *Interpretive Interactionism,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Denzin, Norman and Lincoln, Yvonna (eds) (1994) *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Dilthey, Wilhelm ([1883] 1990) *Gesammelte Schriften, I. Band: Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften, versuch einer Grundlegung für der Gesellschaft und der Gesichte,* Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner.
DiMaggio, Paul (1991) "Constructing an Organizational Field as a Professional Project: U.S. Art Museums, 1920–1940," pp. 267–292 in W.Powell and P.DiMaggio (eds), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
——(1994) "Culture and Economy," pp. 27–57 in N.Smelser and R.Swedberg (eds), *Handbook of Economic Sociology,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Douglas, Jack (1985) *Creative Interviewing,* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
Duhem, Pierre ([1914] 1954) *The Aim and Structure of Physical Theory,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Eide, James (ed.) (1987) *Edmund Husserl's Phenomenology: A Critical Commentary,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Ekelund, Robert and Hébert, Robert (1990) *A History of Economic Theory and Method,* Singapore: McGraw-Hill.

Eliasson, Gunnar (2000) "Industry Policy, Competence Blocs and the Role of Science in Economic Development," *Journal of Evolutionary Economics,* 10:217–241.
Elster, Jon (1983) *Explaining Technical Change: A Case Study in the Philosophy of Science,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
——(1989) *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
——(2000) "Rational Choice History: A Case of Excessive Ambitions," *American Political Science Review,* **94,** 3:685–695.
Emerson, Robert (1983) *Contemporary Field Research: A Collection of Readings,* Prospect Heights: Waveland Press Inc.
Emerson, R., Fretz, R. and Shaw, L. (1995) *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Engström, Christer (ed.) (1994) "Modefotografi," pp. 386, vol. 13 in *Nationalencyklopedin,* Höganäs: Bra Böcker.
Entwistle, Joanne (2000) *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory,* Cambridge: Polity Press.
——(2002) "The Aesthetic Economy: The Production of Value in the Field of Fashion Modelling," *Journal of Consumer Culture,* 3:317–339.
Esser, Hartmut (1991) *Alltagshandeln und Verstehen: Zum Verhältnis von erklärender und verstehender Socziologie am Beispiel von Alfred Schütz und "Rational Choice",* Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.
——(1993) "The Rationality of Everyday Behavior: A Rational Choice Reconstruction of the Theory of Action by Alfred Schütz," *Rationality and Society,* **5,** 1:7–31.
Farber, Martin (1943) *The Foundation of Phenomenology: Edmund Husserl and the Quest for a Rigorous Science of Philosophy,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Faulkner, Robert (1971) *Hollywood Studio Musicians: Their Work and Careers in the Recording Industry,* Chicago: Aldine Atherton.
——(1983) *Music on Demand,* New Brunswick: Transaction Inc.
Faulkner, Robert and Anderson, Andy (1987) "Short-Term Projects and Emergent Careers: Evidence from Hollywood," *American Journal of Sociology,* **92,** 4:879–909.
Favereau, Olivier, Biencourt, Olivier, and Eymard-Duvernay, Francois (2002) "Where do Markets Come From? From (Quality) Conventions!," pp. 213–252. in O.Favereau and E.Lazega (eds), *Conventions and Structures in Economic Organization: Markets, Networks and Hierarchies,* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Fine, Gary Allan (1992) "The Culture of Production: Aesthetic Choices and Constraints in Culinary Work," *American Journal of Sociology,* **97,** 5:1264–1294.
Finkelstein, Joanne (1996) *After A Fashion,* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
Fligstein, Neil (1996) "Markets as Politics: A Political-Cultural Approach to Market Institutions," *American Sociological Review,* 61:656–673.
——(1997) *Markets, Politics, and Globalization,* Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis, Studia Oeconomiae Negotiorum 42.
——(2001) *The Architecture of Markets: An Economic Sociology for the Twenty-First Century Capitalist Societies,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Flynn, Pierce (1991) *The Ethnomethodological Movement, Sociosemiotic Interpretations,* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Fontana, Andrea and Frey, James (1994) "Interviewing: The Art of Science," pp. 361–376 in N.Denzin, Norman and Y.Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Forty, Adrian ([1986] 1995) *Objects of Desire, Design and Society since 1750,* London: Thames and Hudson.
Frankfort-Nachmias, Chava and Nachmias, David (1996) *Research Methods in the Social Sciences,* London: Arnold.

Freund, Julien (1978) "German Sociology in the Time of Max Weber," pp. 149–186 in T.Bottomore and R.Nisbet (eds), *A History of Sociological Analysis,* New York: Basic Books.
Fuenta, Eduardo del la (2000) "Literature Review: Sociology and Aesthetics," *European Journal of Social Theory*, **3,** 2:235–247.
Føllesdal, Dagfinn (1998) "Husserl, Edmund (1859–1938)," pp. 574–588 in E.Craig (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* London: Routledge.
Gadamer, Hans-Georg ([1960] 1989) *Truth and Method,* New York: Continuum.
Garfinkel, Harold (1967), *Studies in Ethnomethodology,* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hill.
Gereffi, Gary (1994) "The International Economy and Economic Development," pp. 206–233 in N.Smelser, and R.Swedberg (eds), *Handbook of Economic Sociology,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The Interpretations of Culture,* New York: Basic Books.
Giddens, Anthony (1978) "Positivism and Its Critics": 237–286 in T.Bottomore and R.Nisbet (eds), *A History of Sociological Analysis,* New York: Basic Books.
——(1984) *The Constitution of Society,* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Giuffre, Katherine (1996) *Making it: Social Network and Success in the Art Worlds,* Unpublished Dissertation, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
——(1999) "Sandpiles of Opportunity: Success in the Art World," *Social Forces,* 77, 3: 815–32.
——(1984) *Of Mind and Other Matters,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Goffman, Erving (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Gombrich, E.H. (1968) "Style," pp. 352–361, vol. 15 in D.Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* London: The Macmillan Company.
Goodman, Nelson (1978) *Ways of Worldmaking,* Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
Gorman, Robert ([1977] 1997) "Phenomenology and Methodology of Social Science: The Origins," pp. 173–202, in R.Boudoun, M.Cherkaoui and J.Alexander (eds), *The Classical Tradition in Sociology: The European Tradition, Volume III,* London: Sage.
Granovetter, Mark (1973) "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology,* 78: 360–1380.
——(1974) *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
——([1985] 1992) "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," pp. 53–81 in M.Granovetter and R.Swedberg (eds), *The Sociology of Economic Life,* Boulder: Westview Press.
Granovetter, Mark and McGuire, Patrick (1998) "The Making of an Industry: Electricity in the United States," pp. 147–173 in M.Callon (ed.), *The Laws of the Market,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
Gronow, Jukka (1997) *The Sociology of Taste,* London: Routledge.
Gubrium, Jaber (1988) *Analyzing Field Reality,* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
Gunther, Michael ([1994] 1998) "The Spread of Photography, Commissions, Advertising, Publishing," pp. 554–580 in M.Frizot (ed.), *A New History of Photography,* Köln: Könemann.
Gurwitsch, Aron (1987) "Husserl's Theory of Intentionality of Consciousness," pp. 59–71 in H.Dreyfus (ed.), *Husserl, Intentionality and Cognitive Science,* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
Gustavsson, Martin (1999) *Symboliskt laddade varor. Konstproducenter och konstkonsumenter hos tre distributörer i Stockholm 1935–1955,* Department of Economic History, Stockholm: Stockholm University.
Haartog, Joop and Theeuwes, Jules (1990) "Post-war Development in Labour Economics," pp. 315–348 in F.Ploeg (ed.), *Advanced Lectures in Quantitative Economics,* New York: Academic Press.
Hacking, Ian (1999) *The Social Construction of What?,* Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Hausman, Daniel (1992) *The Inexact and Separate Science of Economics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hayek, Friedrich ([1952] 1979) *The Counter-Revolution of Science, Studies on the Abuse of Reason,* Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
Hedström, Peter (1998) "Rational Imitation," pp. 306–328 in P.Hedström and R.Swedberg (eds), *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hedström, Peter, Sandell, Rickard and Stern, Lotta (2000) "Mesolevel Networks and the Diffusion of Social Movements: The Case of the Swedish Social Democratic Party," *American Journal of Sociology,* **106,** 1:145–172.
Heritage, John (1984) *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology,* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Hilbert, Richard (1992) *The Classical Roots of Ethnomethodology: Durkheim, Weber, and Garfinkel,* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
Hirsch, Paul ([1977] 1992) "Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems," pp. 363–383 in M.Granovetter and R.Swedberg (eds), *The Sociology of Economic Life,* Boulder: Westview Press.
Homans, George (1968) "The Study of Groups," pp. 259–265, vol. 6 in D.Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* London: The Macmillan Company.
Husserl, Edmund ([1913a] 1962) *Ideas, General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology,* New York: Collier Books.
——([1913b] 1989) *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy,* Second Book, Studies in the Phenomenology of Constitution, Dordrecht: Kluwer.
——([1929] 1967) *The Paris Lectures,* translated and introductory essay by P.Koestenbaum, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
——([1931] 1960) *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
——([1950] 1973) *The Idea of Phenomenology,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
——([1954] 1970) *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology,* Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
——(1999) *Edmund Husserl, Briefwechsel, Band IV, Die Freiburger Schüler,* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Inglehart, Ronald (1990) *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society,* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
——(1997) *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies,* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
Ingram, Paul and Roberts, Peter (2000) "Friendship among Competitors in the Sydney Hotel Industry," *American journal of Sociology,* **106,** 2:387–423.
Jagd, Søren (1998) "Økonomi, usikerhed og koordinering -en introduktion till konventionsteorin," *Dansk Sociologi,* 3:38–54.
James, William ([1907] 1955) *Pragmatism,* New York: Meridian Books.
Jansson, Mikael (1999) *Mikael Jansson,* New York: Beaufort Press.
Jensen, Robert (1994) *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Kim, Jae-On and Mueller Charles (1978a), *Introduction to Factor Analysis: What It Is and How To Do It,* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
——(1978b) *Factor Analysis, Statistical Methods and Practical Issues,* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
Knorr Cetina, Karin and Bruegger, Urs (2002) "Global Microstructures: The Virtual Societies of Financial Markets," *American Journal of Sociology,* **107,** 4:905–950.
Lash, Scott (1994) "Reflexivity and its Doubles: Structure, Aesthetics, Community," pp. 110–173 in U.Beck, A.Giddens and S.Lash (eds), *Reflexive Modernization, Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order,* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Lash, Scott and Urry, John (1987) *The End of Organised Capitalism,* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Leifer, Eric (1985) "Markets as Mechanisms: Using a Role Structure," *Social Forces,* **64,** 2: 442–472.
Lie, John (1997) "Sociology of Markets," *Annual Review of Sociology,* 23:241–260.
Lipsey, Richard *et al.* (1990) *Economics,* New York: Harper and Row.
Luckmann, Thomas (1983) *Life-World and Social Realities,* London: Heinemann Educational Books.
——(1992) *Theorie des sozialen Handelns,* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Makkreel, Rudolf ([1969] 1997) "Wilhelm Dilthey and the Neo-Kantians: The Distinction of the *Geisteswissenschaften* and the *Kulturwissenschaften,*" pp. 107–125 in Boudon *et al.* (eds), *The Classical Tradition of Sociology: the European Tradition,* vol. II, London: Sage Publications.
——(1998) "Wilhelm Dilthey," pp. 77–83, vol. 3 in E.Craig (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* London: Routledge.
Marshall, Alfred and Marshall, Mary Paley ([1879] 1994) *The Economics of Industry,* Bristol: Thoemmes Press.
Marshall, Alfred ([1920a] 1961) *Principles of Economics,* edited with annotations by C.W. Guillebaud, 2 volumes, London: Macmillan and Co.
——(1920b) *Industry and Trade. A Study of Industrial Technique and Business Organization; and of Their Influences on the Conditions of Various Classes and Nations,* London: Macmillan and Co.
——(1923) *Money Credit and Commerce,* London: Macmillan and Co.
Maxwell, Joseph (1996) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interpretative Approach,* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
McLean, Paul and Padgett, John (1997) "Was Florence a Perfectly Competitive Market? Transactional Evidence from the Renaissance," *Theory and Society,* 26:209–244.
Menger, Pierre-Michel (1999) "Artistic Labor Markets and Careers," *Annual Review of Sociology,* 25:541–574.
Merton, Robert (1957) *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Glencoe: The Free Press.
Metzler, Ken (1977) *Creative Interviewing: The Writer's Guide to Gathering Information by Asking Questions,* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
Miller, Denise (1998) "Collecting American and US-resident Photography as Art+Idea," pp. 10–51 in *Photography's Multiple Roles, Art, Document, Market, Science,* Chicago: The Museum of Contemporary Photography, Columbia College Chicago.
Miller, Gary (1992) *Managerial Dilemmas,* New York: Press Syndicate.
Mises, Ludwig von (1960) *Epistemological Problems of Economics,* Princeton NJ: D.Van Nostrand Company Inc.
——([1963] 1966) *Human Action, A Treatise on Economics,* Chicago: Henry Regnery Company.
Moran, Dermot (2000) *Introduction to Phenomenology,* London: Routledge.
Moulin, Raymonde ([1967] 1987) *The French Art Market, A Sociological View,* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
Moustakas, Clark (1994) *Phenomenological Research Methods,* Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.
Muse, Kenneth (1981) "Edmund Husserl's Impact on Max Weber," *Sociological Inquiry,* **51,** 2:99–104.
Natanson, Maurice (1962) *Essays in Existentialism and Phenomenology,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
——(ed.) (1973) *Phenomenology and the Social Sciences, Two Volumes,* Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
Neale, Walter (1957) "The Market in Theory and History," pp. 357–372 in K.Polanyi, C.Arensberg and H.Pearson (eds), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory,* New York: The Free Press.
Needham, Paul (1994) *Law and Order: Issues in the Philosophy of Science,* Stockholm: Stockholm university.

Newburry, Darren (1997) "Talking About Practice: Photography Students, Photographic Culture and Professional Identities," *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* **18,** 3:421–435.
Nickerson, Camilla and Wakefield Neville (eds) (1996), *Fashion Photography of the Nineties,* Zurich: Scalo.
Nietzsche, Friedrich ([1883–88] 1968) *The Will to Power,* translated by Walter Kaufman, New York: Random House.
——([1887] 1974) *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in Rhymes,* translated by Walter Kaufman, New York: Vintage.
Nozick, Robert (1981) *Philosophical Explanations,* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap of Harvard University Press.
Oxenstierna, Gabriel (1999) *Market Power in the Swedish Banking Oligopoly: A Game-theoretical Model of Competition Applied to Five Big Swedish Banks 1989–97,* Department of Economics: Stockholm University.
Pankoke, Eckart (1984) "Soziologie, Gesellschaftswissenschaft" pp. 997–1032, Band V in O.Brunner (ed.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriff: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland,* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.
Pareto, Vilfredo ([1915–16] 1935) *Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology,* New York: Dover Publications.
Parkhurst Ferguson, Priscilla (1998) "A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19th-century France," *American Journal of Sociology,* 104, 3:597–641.
Parsons, Talcott ([1937] 1968) *The Structure of Social Action,* vol. I, New York: The Free Press.
Parsons, Talcott and Smelser, Neil (1956) *Economy and Society,* Glencoe, II: The Free Press.
Pettit, Philip (1993) *The Common Mind: An Essay on Psychology, Society, and Politics,* New York: Oxford University Press.
Pigou, Arthur ([1920] 1960) *The Economics of Welfare,* London: Macmillan and Co.
Plattner, Stuart (1996) *High Art Down Home: An Economic Ethnography of a Local Art Market,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Podolny, Joel (1993) "A Status-based Model of Market Competition," *American Journal of Sociology,* **98,** 4:829–872.
——(1994) "Market Uncertainty and the Social Character of Economic Exchange," *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 39:458–483.
Pratt, Andy 2002 "Hot Jobs in Cool Places: The Material Cultures of New Media Product Spaces, The Case of the South of the Market, San Francisco," *Information., Communication and Society,* **5,** 1:27–50.
Psathas, George (1973) "Introduction," pp. 1–24 in G.Psathas (ed.), *Phenomena logical Sociology: Issues and Applications,* New York: John Wiley and Sons.
——(1989) *Reflections on Phenomenology and Sociology: Theory and Research,* Boston: The Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology and University Press of America.
——(2004) "Alfred Schütz's Influence on American Sociologists and Sociology," *Human Studies,* **27,** 1:1–35.
Qualitative Sociology (1997) *Special Issue: Visual Methods in Sociological Analysis,* 20:1.
Quine, Willard ([1953] 1961) *From a Logical Point of View,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Quine, Willard and Ullian, J. (1978) *The Web of Belief,* New York: Random House.
Ray, Marilyn (1994) "The Richness of Phenomenology: Philosophic, Theoretic, and Methodological Concerns," pp. 117–135 in J.Morse (ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods,* London: Sage.
Ricoeur, Paul (1981) *Paul Ricoeur, Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences,* ed. John Thompson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Roche, Maurice (1973) *Phenomenology, Language and the Social Sciences,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Rogers, Mary (1983) *Sociology, Ethnomethodology, and Experience: A Phenomenological Critique,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenberg, Alexander (1988) *Philosophy of Social Science*, Boulder: Westview Press.
——(1992) *Economics—Mathematical Politics or Science of Diminishing Returns,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Rosenblum, Barbara (1978a) *Photographers at Work,* New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers.
——(1978b) "Style as Social Process," *American Sociological Review,* 43:422–438.
Rothbard, Murray (1973) "Praxeology as the Method of Economics," pp. 311–339, vol. 2 in M.Nathanson (ed.), *Phenomenology and the Social Sciences,* Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
Sacks, Harvey ([1972] 1974) "On the Analysability of Stories by Children," pp. 216–232 in R.Turner (ed.), *Ethnomethodology,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
Salisbury, Richard (1968) "Trade and Markets," pp. 118–122, vol. 16 in D.Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* London: The Macmillan Company.
Schegloff, Emmanuel and Sacks, Harvey ([1973] 1974) "Opening Up Closings," pp. 233–264 in R.Turner (ed.), *Ethnomethodology,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
Scherer, F.M. and Ross David (1990) *Industrial Market Structure and Economic Performance,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
Schmitt, Richard (1967) "Phenomenology" pp. 135–151, vol. 6 in P.Edwards (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* London: The Macmillan Company
Schumpeter, Joseph ([1911] 2000) "Entrepreneurship as Innovation," pp. 51–75, in R.Swedberg (ed.), *Entrepreneurship, The Social Science View,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
——([1950] 1975) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy,* New York: Harper and Row.
——([1954] 1981) *History of Economic Analysis,* London: Routledge.
Schütz, Alfred ([1932] 1976) *The Phenomenology of the Social World,* London: Heineman Educational Books.
——(1962) *Collected Papers I, The Problem of Social Reality,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
——(1964) *Collected Papers II, Studies in Social Theory,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
——([1966] 1975) *Collected Papers III, Studies in Phenomena logical Philosophy,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
——(1982) *Life Forms and Meaning Structure,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
——(1996) *Collected Papers IV,* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Schütz, Alfred and Luckmann, Thomas ([1973] 1974) *The Structures of the Life-World,* London: Heineman.
Schütz, Alfred and Parsons Talcott (1977) *Alfred Schütz Talcott Parsons-Zur Theorie sozialen Handels, Ein Briefwechsel,* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
Schwartz, Howard and Jacobs, Jerry (1979) *Qualitative Sociology: A Method to the Madness,* New York: The Free Press.
Searle, John (1983) *Intentionality: An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
——(1998) *Mind, Language and Society: Philosophy in the Real World,* New York: Basic Books.
Silverman, David (1985) *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology,* Aldershot: Gower.
Simmel, Georg ([1904] 1971) "Fashion," pp. 294–323 in D.Levine, (ed.), *George Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms,* Chicago: Chicago University Press.
——([1907] 1986) *Schopenhauer and Nietzsche,* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
——([1907] 1978) *The Philosophy of Money,* London: Routledge.
——([1908] 1955) "Competition," pp. 57–85 in *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations,* New York: The Free Press.
——([1908] 1971) "Group Expansion and the Development of Individuality," pp. 251–293 in D.Levine, (ed.) *Georg Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms,* Chicago: Chicago University Press.
——([1908] 1991) "The Problem of Style," *Theory, Culture and Society,* 8:63–71.
——(1950) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel,* Kurt H.Wolff (ed.), New York: The Free Press.

Slemmons, Rod (1998) "Professional and Commercial Photography," pp. 121–141 in *Photography's Multiple Roles, Art, Document, Market, Science,* Chicago: The Museum of Contemporary Photography, Columbia College Chicago.
Smelser, Neil (1963) *The Sociology of Economic Life,* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
Smelser, Neil and Swedberg, Richard (1994) "The Sociological Perspective on the Economy," pp. 3–26 in N.Smelser and R.Swedberg (eds), *Handbook of Economic Sociology,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Smith, Adam ([1776] 1981) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* Indianapolis: Liberty Press.
Smith, Charles (1981) *The Mind of the Market: A Study of Stock Market Philosophies,* Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield.
Smith Spence, Thomas (1974) "Aestheticism and Social Structure: Style and Social Network in the Dandy Life," *American Sociological Review,* 39:725–743.
Sørensen, Aage (1977) "The Structure of Inequality and the Process of Attainment," *American Sociological Review,* 42:965–978.
Spiegelberg, Herbert (1982) *The Phenomenological Movement: A Historical Introduction,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
Spilerman, Seymour (1977) "Careers, Labor Market Structure, and Socioeconomic Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology,* **83,** 3:551–593.
Steiner, Peter (1968) "Markets and Industries," pp. 575–581, vol. 9 in D.Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* London: The Macmillan Company.
Stinchcombe, Arthur ([1959] 1992) "Bureaucratic and Craft Administration of Production: A Comparative Study," pp. 345–361 in M.Granovetter and R.Swedberg (eds), *The Sociology of Economic Life,* Boulder: Westview Press.
Storper, Michael and Salais, Robert (1997) *Worlds of Production, The Action Frameworks of the Economy,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Sverrisson, Árni (1998) "Photographic Techniques and Photographers' Network: The Challenge of Digital Image Production," *Visual Sociology,* **13,** 1:49–59.
——(2000) *Fotograferna i den digitala utvecklingen, rapport från en enkätundersökning,* Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
Swedberg, Richard (1990) *Economics and Sociology. On Redefining their Boundaries: Conversations with Economists and Sociologists,* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
——(1994) "Markets as Social Structures," pp. 255–282 in N.Smelser and R.Swedberg (eds), *Handbook of Economic Sociology,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
——(1998) "Max Weber om marknaden," *Sociologi idag,* 4:5–17.
——(1999) *Orientation to Others and Social Mechanisms,* Working Papers on Social Mechanism, Department of Sociology, Stockholm: Stockholm University.
——(2000a) "Afterword: The Role of the Market in Max Weber's Work," *Theory and Society,* 29:373–384.
——(2000b) "The Social Science View of Entrepreneurship: Introduction and Practical Applications," pp. 7–44 in R.Swedberg (ed.), *Entrepreneurship: The Social Science View,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
——(2003) *Principles of Economic Sociology,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Swedberg, Richard; Himmelstrand, Ulf and Brulin, Göran (1987) "The Paradigm of Economic Sociology: Premises and Promises," *Theory and Society,* **16,** 2:169–213.
Teller, Juergen (1999) *Go-Sees,* Zürich: Scalo.
Tellgren, Anna (1997) *Tio fotografer: självsyn och bildsyn: Svensk fotografi under 1950-talet i ett internationellt perspektiv,* Stockholm: Informationsförlaget.
Theunissen, Michael ([1977] 1984) *The Other: Studies in the Social Ontology of Husserl, Heidegger,' Sartre, and Buber,* Cambridge: MIT Press.
Thévenot, Laurent (2001) "Organized Complexity: Conventions of Coordination and the Composition of Economic Arrangements," *European Journal of Social Theory,* **4,** 4: 405–426.

Tilly, Chris and Tilly, Charles (1994) "The International Economy and Economic Development," pp. 283–312 in N.Smelser, and R.Swedberg (eds), *Handbook of Economic Sociology,* Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.
Turner, Roy (ed.) (1974) *Ethnomethodology,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
Tyminiecka, Anna-Teresa (1983), "Phenomenology as the Praxiological Factor for the Communication of the Human Sciences", pp. 36–50 in A.Tyminiecka (ed.), *The Phenomenology of Man and of the Human Condition, Individualisation of Nature and Human Being, 1 Plotting the Territory for Interdisciplinary Communication,* Dordrecht: R.Reidel Publishing Company.
Udehn, Lars (1987) *Methodological Individualism: A Critical Appraisal.* Uppsala: University of Uppsala Dissertations.
Urban, Susanne (2000) "De kvinnliga fotograferna: bilder, nätverk och teknik," pp. 52–59 in A.Sverrisson, *Fotograferna i den digitala utvecklingen, rapport från en enkätundersökning,* Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
Van Fraassen, Bas (1980) *The Scientific Image,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
——(1989) *Laws and Symmetry,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Van Daal, Jan and Jolink, Albert, (1993) *The Equilibrium Economics of Leon Walras,* London: Routledge.
Veblen, Thorstein ([1894] 1945) "The Economic Theory of Woman's Dress," pp. 65–77 in L.Ardzrooni (ed.), *Essays in Our Changing Order, by Thorstein Veblen,* New York: Viking Press.
——([1899] 1953) *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions,* New York: New American Library.
——([1902] 1945) "Arts and Craft," pp. 194–199 in L.Ardzrooni (ed.), *Essays in Our Changing Order, by Thorstein Veblen,* New York: Viking Press.
Velthuis, Olav (2003) "Symbolic Meanings of Prices: Constructing the Value of Contemporary art in Amsterdam and New York Galleries," *Theory and Society,* **32,** 2: 181–215.
Wächter, Matthias (1999) *Rational Action and Social Network in Ecological Economics,* Unpublished Dissertation, Zurich: Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich.
Wagner, Helmut (1973) "The Scope of Phenomenological Sociology: Considerations and Suggestions," pp. 61–90 in G.Psathas (ed.), *Phenomenological Sociology, Issues and Applications,* New York: John Wiley and Sons.
Wang, Ning (1999) "Transaction Costs and the Structure of the Market: A Case Study," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology,* **58,** 4:783–805.
Watts, Duncan and Strogatz, Steven (1998) "Collective Dynamics of 'Small World' Networks," *Nature,* **393,** 4:440–442.
Weber, Max ([1904–5] 1968) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* London: Unwin University Books.
——([1913] 1981) "Some Categories of Interpretative Sociology," *The Sociological Quarterly,* 2:151–181.
——([1921–22] 1978) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology,* Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (eds), 2 vol., Berkeley: University of California Press.
——([1924a] 2000) "Stock and Commodity Exchanges," *Theory and Society,* 29:305–338.
——([1924b] 2000) "Commerce on the Stock and Commodity Exchanges," *Theory and Society,* 29:339–371.
——(1946) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* H.Gerth and C.Wright Mills (eds), London: Routledge.
——(1949) *The Methodology of the Social Sciences,* New York: The Free Press.
White, Harrison (1970) *Chains of Opportunity: System Models of Mobility in Organizations,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
——(1981) "Where do Markets Come From," *American Journal of Sociology,* **87,** 3: 517–47.

——(1988) "Varieties of Markets," pp. 226–260 in B.Wellman and S.Berkowitz (eds), *Social Structures: A Network Approach,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
——(1992) *Identity and Control: A Structural Theory of Social Action,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
——(1993a) *Careers and Creativity: Social Forces in the Art,* Boulder: Westview Press.
——(1993b) "Markets in Production Networks," pp. 161–175 in R.Swedberg (ed.), *Explorations in Economic Sociology,* New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
——(1995) Social Networks Can Resolve Actor Paradoxes in Economics and in Psychology, *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics,* **151,** 1:58–74.
——(1998) *Control and Markets in Networks Among Producers,* New York: Paul F.Lazarsfeld Center for the Social Sciences at Columbia University.
——(2002a) *Markets from Networks, Socioeconomic Models of Production,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
——(2002b) "Markets and Firms, Notes on the Future of Economic Sociology," pp. 129–147 in M.Guillén, R.Collins: England and M.Meyer (eds), *Economic Sociology for a New Millennium,* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
White, Harrison and Eccles Robert (1987) "Producers' Markets," pp. 984–986 in J.Eatwell, *et al.* (eds), *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economic Theory and Doctrine,* London: Macmillan.
White, Harrison and White, Cynthia ([1965] 1993) *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Williamson, Oliver (1975) *Markets and Hierarchies,* New York: The Free Press.
——(1981) The Economics of Organization: The Transaction Cost Approach, *American Journal of Sociology,* **87,** 3:548–577.
——(1994) "Transaction Cost Economics and Organization Theory," pp. 77–107 in N.Smelser, and R.Swedberg (eds), *Handbook of Economic Sociology,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Wittgenstein, Ludwig, ([1953] 1968) *Philosophical Investigations,* Oxford: Blackwell.
Wolff, Kurt (1978), "Phenomenology and Sociology," pp. 499–556 in T.Bottomore and R.Nisbet (eds), *A History of Sociological Analysis,* New York: Basic Books.
Wright, Georg von (1971) *Explanation and Understanding,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
——(1985) "Om förstående förklaringars sanning," pp. 227–245 in *Filosofi och Kultur, Etiken och Estetiken,* Lund: Filosoficirkeln.
Wulff, Helena (2000) *"High Arts" and the Market: An Uneasy Partnership in the Transnational World of Ballet,* Working Paper, Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm: Stockholm University.
Zahavi, Dan (2003) *Husserl's Phenomenology,* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Zeitlin, Irving (1973) *Rethinking Sociology: A Critique of Contemporary Theory,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
Zetterberg, Hans (1997) *Sociological Endeavor: Selected Writings,* Stockholm: City University Press.
Zichi Cohen, Marlene and Omery, Anna (1994) "Schools of Phenomenology: Implications for Research," pp. 137–156 in J.Morse (ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods,* London: Sage.
Zuckerman, Ezra (1999) "The Categorical Imperative: Securities Analysts and the Illegitimacy Discount," *American Journal of Sociology,* **104,** 5:1398–1438.
——(2000) "Focusing the Corporate Product: Securities Analysts and De-diversification," *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 45:591–619.
Zuckerman, Ezra *et al.* (2003) "Robust Identities or Nonentities? Typecasting in the Feature-Film Labor Market," *American Journal of Sociology,* **108,** 5:1018–1074.
Zúñiga, Gloria (1998) "Truth in Economic Subjectivism," *Journal of Markets and Morality,* **1,** 2:158–168.

Index