

The Established and the Delegated

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Lunding, Jacob Aagaard; Ellersgaard, Christoph Houman; Larsen, Anton Grau

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Abstract

What is the relationship between the various forms of power held by elites in contemporary society? Using Bourdieu's notion of the field of power, we address this question by exploring the division of labour of domination among contemporary Danish elites. Via a specific multiple correspondence analysis of 44 variables with 198 categories, we examine the relationship between the volume and distribution of various forms of capital held by 423 individuals at the core of Danish elite networks, arguing that they constitute effective agents in the field of power. We find three major differentiations between: 1) established and newcomers, 2) public and private forms of legitimation and 3) rural or industrial-based, but nonetheless organisationally well-connected, elites and the social elite surrounding Copenhagen state nobility. The legitimising pole of the field of power does not necessarily derive its positions from the cultural field but can also rely on delegated forms of capital.

Keywords: capital, elites, power

Jacob Aagaard Lunding¹, *Christoph Human Ellersgaard¹ and Anton Grau Larsen^{1,2}

¹ Department of Organization, Copenhagen Business School

² Department of Social Sciences and Business, Roskilde University

* Corresponding author: Christoph Houman Ellersgaard, Department of Organization, Copenhagen Business school, Kilevej 14A, 3.41, 2000 Frederiksberg C, Denmark. che.ioa@cbs.dk

Introduction: The division of the labour of domination

Elites face a double challenge. They must secure the influence of their own form of power, while also seeking recognition from and recognising other elite groups with their particular forms of power that are also vital for the reproduction and legitimation of the status quo. To maintain power, elites must then be hyper agents (Maclean et al., 2017) and work in between and across fields. Elites become key players in the national power structure only when they occupy positions that provide them with control over or access from forms of capital with transferable value (cf. Khan, 2012). They are not just the capital rich or the best; they hold forms of capital that are valued across fields. In other words, elite fractions have to balance two sometimes conflicting sets strategies, one tied to securing the status quo of a social order in which they are at the top and one tied to their specific position within this elite constellation. That is, while the relative values of specific forms of power underpinning different power bases depend upon the recognition from the holders of other forms of power, they are also subject to challenges. These struggles are constrained by the high degree of mutual interdependence among the dominant, or what Bourdieu (1996: 263) calls ‘the organic solidarity of a genuine division of the labour of domination’.

This ongoing process of defining the exchange rates between different forms of capital, that is of shaping the structure of a given elite constellation, is rarely a partnership of equals, however. Who determines the value and exchange rate of the different forms of power, and what are the mutual relations of dependence between this group? Or, succinctly put, what are the types of power that allow agents to efficiently influence the value of different forms of power? To address these questions, we turn to Bourdieu’s notion of the field of power.

As Wacquant (1996: xv) argues, Bourdieu suggests with this notion, ‘an agenda for a comparative, genetic and structural sociology of national fields of power that would, for each society, catalog [the] efficient forms of capital’. Contrary to the broader tradition of elite sociology, our focus on the structure of the field of power does not centre on the classic question of whether or not a national elite is unified or divided (Aron, 1950; Mills, 1956; Useem, 1984, Mizruchi, 2013). On that question, Larsen and Ellersgaard (2018) has demonstrated the existence of a cohesive power elite in a Danish context. The focus of this paper is the types of capital that are held and thus valued by different fractions of the elite.

Since the value of different forms of capital may differ across societies and over time, identification of the agents with sufficient volumes of the forms of capital held in high regard by others in the field of power has remained a black box. A key challenge to the (re)empirical construction of the field of power – and of any field

in general – is the identification of the agents, who are in fact engaged in the struggles in the particular field of power. We propose a two-step procedure in the empirical construction of the field of power. First, to identify the actual effective agents in the field of power we identify the inner core of an extensive nationwide network of all potentially influential affiliations. We argue that this core, in fact, represents the effective agents because their many field-bridging interconnections give witness to a mutual recognition of the value in the different field-specific types of capital, and because they act as key players and brokers through these connections when the relative value and exchange rates of different forms of capital are fought over and determined. Second, we use this group to construct an empirical model of the structure of the field of power to objectivate the ‘figurations of elite positions and the relations between them’ (Hjellbrekke & Korsnes, 2009: 36) and, in turn, to identify the forms of capital that structure the field.

In the analysis, we turn to the social structure of this field, examining it using prosopographical data – biographical data on all group members collected from secondary sources (Rossier 2019) – on the 423 individuals who make up the aforementioned core of the Danish network of all potentially influential affiliations (Larsen and Ellersgaard, 2017). Using specific multiple correspondence analysis, we explore the relationship between various forms of capital and identify the key oppositions with regard to volume and composition of capital in the field of power. To identify these forms of capital, we use unique data, presented in Appendix, applying results from social network analyses, data from complete career sequences, contemporary and historical data on registered enterprises and board memberships, highly granulated data on media coverage and publication activity, and spatial proximity combined with biographical data on the elite individuals and their families. All in all, 44 variables with a total of 198 modalities – or categories – are then included in the analysis.

The empirical sensitivity of the notion of the field of power in terms of the particular historical struggles within different nation states allows us to explore how these struggles have played out in the particular setting of a Scandinavian welfare state with a strong corporatist tradition. The Danish economy is negotiated by the triumvirate of the state, employer associations and unions that share control over important institutions within the legal system, pension funds, finance, research funding, education and economic policy. Scholars have already supplemented Bourdieu’s (1996) analysis of the field of power in 1970s France by constructing the field of power in Norway (Hjellbrekke et al., 2007) and contemporary France (Denord, Lagneau-Ymonet & Thine, 2018). While all three analyses identify vertical oppositions between the established and the newcomers in the field of power, Bourdieu’s view of a horizontal split between positions holding economic versus cultural capital appears more specific to the historical and national context of his analysis. Interestingly, in both the Norwegian and contemporary French field of power, those who hold economic capital or who hold dominant positions in the economic order do not, to the same extent, appear to be dependent on those with dominant positions in the cultural or academic field. And, as we will argue, the same is true for Denmark.

Building on the lessons from Norway and France, the aim of this study is to describe and understand the relationship between the forms of power in the context of a contemporary welfare state in a negotiated economy. Hence we ask: What is the structure of the Danish field of power? What are the dominant forms of capital and how are they related to one another through the properties of the effective agents on the field of power?

It is important to note that this study differs from previous studies in the sample strategy and the number and content of the variables included. In the Norwegian and the French case the researchers had to rely on either positional samples, in the Norwegian case, or samples derived from the French *Who's Who?*, whereas our approach is more inductive, moving from a large network of potentially influential positions to an exclusive core.

Before turning to the analysis of the field of power in contemporary Danish society, let us explain what is implied by using the notion of the field of power.

From fields to the field of power

In the overall framework of Bourdieu's theory, society is construed as a totality of multiple relatively autonomous social fields and subfields that emerge historically when different forms of human activity become increasingly detached from one another (Bourdieu 2016, 1003; 2011, 127). There is, however, more to it. In Bourdieu's work, the notion of field is intrinsically tied to his reconceptualisation of the notion of capital. Fields are not just specific domains in the social world; they emerge in historical processes of monopolisation of the means of production and reproduction of specific goods, whether material or symbolic in nature (Bourdieu, 2011: 127; 2016: 207f). As specific microcosms within the social order, fields are to be understood as configurations of relations between positions in unequal distributions of different forms of power resources or capital. A field is thus always a pre-given structure determining human agency, i.e. a static field of forces, and simultaneously a dynamic field of struggles to change the distribution of these forces (Bourdieu 2015: 501).

Within the broader sociology of class, Bourdieu (1984) depicts society as a social space of positions in a two-dimensional class structure of capital volume and composition – economic versus cultural capital. A similar structure has been found across various societies in many later studies (for Denmark, see Prieur et al., 2008). This social space, which Bourdieu (2015: 593) sometimes refers to as the *field of social classes*, *field of class relations* or *class struggles*, exhibits a class structure opposing a dominant pole to a dominated pole in terms of capital volume but, equally important, it also introduces the idea of factions within the dominant class, based on 'the

kind of capital on which their power relies' (Bourdieu, 2013: 22). This is one of at least two ways in which Bourdieu employs the notion of the field of power – that is, as a more comprehensive, empirically sensitive synonym for the dominant positions in the social space at large.

Viewing the social space as not only a space of social agents but also as a field of social fields, Bourdieu (2016: 28) gives the field of power a broader, more theoretically ambitious meaning, as a meta-field of the objective relations and interactions between fields. In that sense, the field of power is an analytical conceptualisation of the hierarchy and interdependence of different forms of capital, or power, in a society.

Since the relative strength of the different fields and their specific capital is historically contingent, the field of power is also a field of struggle, a *locus* for struggles to preserve or transform, or even subvert, these relations of power. At stake in these struggles are the very exchange rates of capitals, their relative value and magnitude (Bourdieu, 1996: 264f).

In the French context of Bourdieu's original work, the field of power reflects a hierarchy of fields ranging from the economic field, at the dominant pole, to the artistic field of cultural production, at the other (Bourdieu 1996: 270). Although the opposition between economic and cultural capital has a national and historical specificity, Bourdieu (2011: 129; 2016: 1039) argues that the structure of fields of power, hence the division of the labour of domination, will tend to organise itself around an executive or commanding pole of *bellatores*, and a speaking or legitimising pole of *oratores*.

So far, the notion of the field of power has been discussed here from the perspective of social theory, as a meta-field of fields, that is, equivalent to the social space as such, but seen from a different analytical perspective (for this reading see Schmitz et al., 2017), or, as Vandenberghe puts it (1999: 54), 'a sort of "metafield" that regulates the struggles for power throughout all fields'.

If we take seriously the statement that the relative strength of capital is fought over and, if we are to move towards an empirical investigation of national fields of power, we must be able to answer the pressing question: Who are the specific individuals doing the struggling or negotiating? Who holds positions allowing them to affect the exchange rates between forms of power and thus alter the configuration of the field of power? And, what are the types and distributions of capital structures in the relationships between these individuals?

Finding the effective agents

Aware of the implied tautology, Bourdieu explains that because a field can be conceived, theoretically, 'as a space in which a field-effect exerts itself [...] the limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of

the field die away' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 76). Given the all-encompassing effects of the field of power on society at large, this definition has little demarcative value for the purpose of specifying the boundaries of the object of inquiry. Bourdieu (2016: 240) does, however, also suggest another, more specific criterion: 'To be part of a field means producing effects in it'. Studying another field with society-wide influence, i.e. housing policy, Bourdieu (2005: 99) restricts his empirical analysis to what he called effective agents. While everyone is certainly *affected by* the effects of the field of power, not everyone is *effective in* the field of power.

In his various attempts at defining the field of power more precisely, Bourdieu (2016: 445) suggests a definition that is highly useful for our purpose:

[I]t is a space in which the principle of structuration is the distribution, not of capital (such a space would be the social space in its entirety), but of power over the various kinds of capital [... a] power that comes from a certain type, a certain quantity of capital, or from a certain position of power over the institutions [*les instances*] giving power over capital.

To find the effective agents in the field of power, we must look for agents that not only possess high volumes of the distinct kinds of capital, but that also hold this kind of second-order power, as Bourdieu coins it (2016: 1009). In other words, a power over capital.

One way forward, in line with the traditional positional approach in elite studies, would be to define the various *field elites*, sampling the heads of the largest institutions in the most important fields. Which fields, then? And how many institutions from each? This would require knowing in advance the thing that we are in fact asking, that is, the relative strength of the fields vis-à-vis each other on the field of power.

We argue that power over capital is not a resource held by individuals or by institutions; it is bound to the networks of various fora in which agents from different fields meet. In this sense, we tie the idea of power over capital to what Boltanski (1973) calls multi-positionality. To understand the power an individual can mobilise, we must take into account all the positions he or she holds, not only the primary position. It is important to note that this kind of power depends not only on the number of positions, but also equally – and maybe even more importantly – on their dispersion over different fields or sectors. This calls for an inductive identification strategy that includes as many types of sectoral affiliations as possible.

Thus, the effective agents in the field of power, then, are not simply the top players in any social field, but the agents that, via their multi-positionality, bind together various fields and act as brokers in the ongoing negotiation of the relative strength of different forms of power. As Maclean et al. (2017: 130) also suggest, we should understand the field of power as 'an affiliation of dominant agents transcending individual fields'.

While an interaction network like this is not a field in the Bourdieusian sense of the word, a network of real interactions can nonetheless 'be the empirically visible channel through which relations that cannot be reduced to these interactions manifest themselves' (Bourdieu, 2015: 539; see also De Nooy, 2003; Singh, 2016). In the remainder of this study, we therefore argue that the structure of the social space of the Danish individuals at the highly exclusive core of the broad network of potentially influential affiliations is an adequate empirical manifestation of the structure of the field of power in contemporary Denmark.

Methods: Constructing the field of power

To identify the effective agents in the Danish field of power, we take an inductive, multi-positional approach. We have gathered membership data on all positions in the Danish network of potentially powerful fora, that is, directorates, boards, commissions, councils, and networks of various kinds. In total, this amounts to 5,079 different affiliations with 56,536 positions held by 37,750 individuals. In a previous study (Larsen and Ellersgaard, 2017) used social network analysis to identify a highly interlinked network core (see Seidman, 1983) of 423 individuals in the Danish power network in 2012. The core is identified by decomposing this large Danish power network through successively removing individuals with low connectivity until the network cannot be reduced further. This identifies a group of 423 individuals in which all were within a network reach of at least 199 of the 422 other core members. This core is akin to Mills' (1956: 18; see also Denord, Lagneau-Ymonet & Thine, 2018) definition of a power elite as an 'intricate set of overlapping cliques [that] share[s] decisions having at least national consequences' and that serves as our empirical approximation of the effective agents on the Danish field of power.

Taking the relative strength of representation of individuals from different sectors as an indicator of the value of the forms of capital possessed by this group, the negotiated economy has left a decisive mark on the formal networks of power. Looking at the main organisational affiliation of the 423 effective agents in the field of power, five fields stand out: 1) the economic field, a dominant group consisting of business (44%), business association (9%), farming association (3%) leaders and top corporate lawyers (2%); 2) the political field (8%), 3) the bureaucratic field, with senior civil servants (7%) the royal family and court (2%); 4) the field of unions (13% union leaders); and 5) the academic field, with leading figures in science and education (12%). Leaders of cultural institutions and charities (1%) comprise the few representatives from the cultural field, with no cultural producers such as artists or journalists, among the effective agents on the field of power. The group is an old boys network. Only 19% are women and the median age was 56 years old with only 2% being younger than 40 and about one in four being under 50 years old.

While the effective agents on the field of power were methodologically identified solely by holding central positions in an affiliation network, their claim to power is directly attributed to their immediate control over and careers in the largest, most powerful organisations in Danish society. An overwhelming majority (86%) of them have held or hold executive positions at top level in large organisations. Those who have not held executive positions are often economists, investors or inheritors of large landed estates. Notably, the affiliation network itself is a register of powerful positions – not just merely a set of social connections. Most affiliations are the governing bodies of a large set of organisations and the 423 effective agents hold almost 4,000 positions within more than 1,000 affiliations.

The geometry of power

To construct the field of power we rely on the methodological tradition of geometrical data analysis; see Appendix A1, which includes methods such as principal component analysis and multiple correspondence analysis. Geometrical data analysis was a key instrument in Bourdieu's analyses of various social fields, including the field of power in France at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century (Bourdieu 1996; Lebaron 2009). According to Benzecri (1973: 6), the aim of geometrical data analysis is to let 'the model [...] follow the data, not the reverse'. Within this particular framework, a wide range of indicators of different forms of capital can be reduced to a few continuous dimensions. The outcome is a multidimensional space in which the strongest relations between the categories of the different variables are expressed along the main axes or dimensions of the space. Studying the principal dimensions of this space provides a good summary of the main categorical differences and similarities between the effective agents on the field of power. Data was collected from a wide range of publicly available sources, including biographies and public registers, as described in Appendix A2. The 44 active variables are grouped into headings according to the main form of capital that they are indicators of; see Appendix A3. In the analysis, we rely on two kinds of variables: on the one hand, information on general social properties – defined by the relations of power between forms of capital in the overall social space – and, on the other, information on resources and properties more specifically pertinent to the field of power (cf. Lebaron, 2009: 16). The **social properties** consist of 1) five variables capturing various aspects of *social background and inherited forms of capital*; 2) six variables describing academic credentials and formal *cultural capital*; and 3) seven variables dealing with *economic capital* and commercial dispositions, as well as engagement in various forms of business. The **field-specific properties and resources** are covered by 1) eight variables measuring aspects of *social capital*; 2) nine variables characterising *career trajectories*; and 3) nine indicators of *public recognition and prestige* (see Table 1).

<TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE>

Data has been coded to be compatible with the multiple correspondence analysis. In the analysis, we use a novel form of coding of some of these variables – either *profile variables* or *fuzzy categories* using distributions within the variable rather than discrete values (see Appendix A4 for further description) – to better use the variation in the data.

The 44 variables are reduced to three analytically interpretable dimensions. These first three axes explain a total of 51.8% of the adjusted inertia and were selected due to their analytical relevance and relative strength. The dimensions are interpreted and named based on the contribution of the headings, categories, individuals and position of the supplementary categories. For the technical specification of the analysis, see Appendix A5, which contains the inertia rates, the contribution values of all modalities to the principal dimensions and the cloud of individuals.

Analysis: The structure of the field of power

The multiple correspondence analysis reveals three main dimensions: first, an opposition between the established and the newcomers within the already select group of power elite individuals; second, an opposition between public agents with political or academic capital and individuals included in the economic order; and third, an opposition between central agents with political, organisational and regionally based capital around the Danish model of a negotiated economy and the circles of the state nobility in the capital city. In the following, we will examine these oppositions more thoroughly.

The principal opposition: Seniority in the field of power

The principal opposition among the effective agents in the field of power, accounting for 23.8% of the total adjusted inertia, divides individuals according to the symbolic capital associated with being part of the *haute bourgeoisie*.

While Denmark is often associated with strong levels of social mobility and egalitarianism, the social background of the effective agents in the field of power is very exclusive. Of the 379 with known social background, 118 (or 31%) originate from the upper class (see Appendix A3 for description of class background), and a further 99 (or 26 percent) have an upper middle-class background, while only 39 (or 13%) grew up in working-class families. Since half of all Danes born in the same generation as the effective agents

had working-class parents (see Goul Andersen, 1979: 123), the relative risk of entry into core positions in the elite network is approximately 177 times larger for individuals with an upper class background, compared to those with a working-class background. People with a long lineage of belonging to the upper class also very frequently appear among the elite as well. As Table 2 shows, 90 (or 31 percent) out of the 293 people whose grandparents we have information on regarding class have at least one pair of grandparents from the upper class, and 50 (or 17 percent) have upper middle-class grandparents. Apparently, a class-specific habitus (cf. Hartmann, 2000), acquired through an upbringing in the right families, is required to swim like a fish in the waters of elite circles. Thus, forms of capital reproduced and accumulated across generations, that is, through seniority in the field of power, therefore seem to play a pivotal role in access to the field of power

However, even on the field of power, some agents are more equal than others. An examination of the variables contributing most to the first axis shown in Figure 1 indicates that 18.1% of the axis variance is due to the reproduced, or inherited, forms of capital tied to family background. A similar dimension has also been found in Norway (Hjellbrekke et al., 2007) and France (Denord, Lagneau-Ymonet & Thine, 2018), albeit on the second and not the first axis. When this opposition is principal in our analysis it is probably due the inclusion of more comprehensive data, and thus also a higher proportion of modalities, on inherited, symbolic and social forms of capital.. For positions above the vertical axis in Figure 1 , we find indicators of having parents who owned corporations or land, were mentioned in *Who's Who*, or of having grandparents from the upper classes. Other attributes associated with high volumes of economic or symbolic capital are associated with these family markers, such as the founding of companies or living in expensive estates – often also with more than 25 other effective agents living within a radius of two kilometres – and receiving royal or foreign decorations. Finally, affiliations to leadership networks or to networks tied to the armed forces, often associated with a strong patriotic ethos, highlight how seniority in the field of power is closely tied to the symbolic capital of having inherited a good name from a good family. The key role played by family background in this primary differentiation within the field of power is confirmed when looking at variables tied to family background; see Figure 1. Having parents, grandparents and in-laws with high social standing is strongly associated with being located atop in the first axis, while newcomers to the elite with ancestors who were workers or farmers are at the bottom, farthest away from the establishment.

<FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE>

The characteristics of newcomers are opposed to those of the established. At the bottom of Figure 1, lowest on the first dimension, we find modalities indicating lower volumes of economic or symbolic capital, such as less expensive houses in areas with few or no other effective agents. At this pole we find no royal or foreign decorations and less media attention. This is also where individuals with working-class parents are most likely

to be found, which is a strong indicator of a relative lack of forms of capital based on inheritance. The social capital related to this area of the space is strictly tied to positions in the world of corporatism, for example, in union-owned pension funds. In short, this area contains forms of capital associated with being delegated.

The secondary opposition: Public legitimization versus private ownership

The second dimension in the Danish field of power, explaining 16.6% of the total adjusted inertia, is in contrast to the public and the private fractions of the Danish field of power. This axis is closely tied to the division of the labour of domination, in particular the opposition between cultural capital and inclusion in the economic order. Thus, the most important headings of attributes contributing to this dimension consist, on the one hand, of the variables associated with formalised cultural capital (29.8%) and, on the other, of different indicators of social capital (22.3%) (see Table 1).

It would be tempting to interpret this axis *prima facie* as being driven by homologies between the field of elite education and the field of power, as described by Bourdieu (1996) in the French case. However, in terms of educational capital, the second dimension is indeed less a matter of volume than of type. On the left side of the horizontal axis in Figure 1, we find traditional academic disciplines like political science, humanities and economics, while higher degrees in business economics and prestigious MBAs are found to the right. The main driver of the differences along this second dimension is the ability and willingness to engage in debates in the public sphere, which is the labour of legitimising the currently powerful. The inclination to participate in the shaping of the public debate at different levels, writing books or opinion pieces in national newspapers is the most notable characteristic of the left side of this dimension. It is also strongly associated with being covered by the print media, particularly but not only by the centre-left press. The only newspaper tied to the right side is *Børsen*, a Danish business newspaper.

Positioned towards the left pole are thus individuals with delegated forms of capital that rely on public support and justification. In many ways, these are the brokers between the elite and other interest groups, as evidenced by the highest level of betweenness centrality – the number of shortest paths running through an individual, indicating their potential for brokerage – in the entire network. They are also the agents most likely to take part in the state theatre of commissions (cf. Bourdieu, 2014), in the prestigious networks surrounding the state economy and in the corporatist dominated pension and insurance corporations. It is also primarily among these individuals that we find less field-specific career trajectories. The modality of having spent less than 50% of a career in one sector is a good indicator of inter-field mobility, as is the fact that shifting between elite positions at executive level in different fields or sectors also occurs more frequently amongst those positioned here.

Opposite to this group of brokers, we find the private sector on the right side of Figure 1, which contains modalities tied to the formalised cultural capital associated with administration of the economic order, such as degrees in business economy or engineering, MBAs and credentials from white-collar vocational training, often as trainees in banking or shipping, alongside work experience from consultancy firms. The formal network of individuals to the right is more often confined to just one or two sectors – typically business – which also explains why these individuals typically have the lowest level of betweenness centrality in the entire elite network; that is, they do not bridge as many regions of the network. Not only is the economic pole located here, it is also the private fraction of the elite in another sense of the word. They are less likely to enter the public debates themselves, or to be drawn into it by others, and are covered almost exclusively by the business press. Interestingly, this division of the labour of domination is also related to the personal life of power elite members. Having a spouse who works as a nurse is associated with the private fraction, whereas the public fraction is associated with spouses working as primary school teachers. These two highly skilled, yet not academic, occupations thus emphasise two different types of preferences regarding occupations that support spouses and the associated lifestyles they entail.

This secondary opposition thus seemingly resembles the classic opposition between economic and cultural capital. The agents on the left side undoubtedly share strong academic capital, including the ability and experience to produce texts and knowledge for the public. However, they are in no way part of the inner circle of the cultural elite or active in the field of cultural production. Rather, this is an opposition between individuals with a less integrated and more pure form of economic capital, as opposed to individuals with capital based on their ties to the state and the political order. It is a differentiation between those with a position tied to the possession of, or the trust of those who possess, *private* money, as opposed to those who owe their position to the trust of those elected to serve the *public* good or to lobby on behalf of those with private money.

In Figure 1, we see that delegated fraction of the field of power is positioned almost exclusively in the lower left quadrant of the plane spanned by the two first dimensions – a quadrant with low elite seniority and high levels of public engagement and attention, as well as academic capital. Elite individuals who are delegated by those farthest from the field of power in the social space – union leaders and left-wing party politicians – are also almost exclusively found in the most extreme positions of the lower left quadrant in Figure 1. This logic of delegation is also gendered. Among the 121 people who are in some way elected or appointed, 32 (or 26%) are women compared to less than one in five of the effective agents as a whole.. Taken together, the lower levels of inherited capital found among the delegated and the presence of more women show that those with delegated forms of capital tend to be slightly more like the general population. That is, topologically speaking, the lower left quadrant of the field of power is where we find the entry points for newcomers, primarily through delegated forms of capital.

The third opposition: The regionally negotiated economy

While the first dimension could be interpreted as a hierarchy of domination, and the second as a division of the labour of domination between a pole engaged in public affairs and cultural-academic production and a pure economic pole, we argue that the third dimension – which explains 11.4% of the inertia – comes closer to an axis of conflict and alliances in a negotiated, coordinated market economy. However, this axis is also closely related to the geographical cleavages between productive and administrative areas in Denmark, between the industrial dynasties in the provinces and the elite vortex of Copenhagen.

On the left side in Figure 2, we find those with a weaker connection to the capital city and metropolitan area. They are born in rural areas, live more than two kilometres from other effective agents on the field of power and have larger proportions of their careers outside of Copenhagen. On the right side, we find the Danish equivalent of the *state nobility* or the Copenhagen establishment. The modalities that contribute most to this side of the axis include being born in Copenhagen, having your entire career near the capital and living within two kilometres of at least 11 other effective agents. At the Copenhagen-based pole, we find the offspring of urban professionals like civil servants, junior and senior managers, as well as academics, while the provincial side is populated with sons (and a few daughters) of farmers and manual workers.

This somewhat geographically isolated fraction is, however, by no means isolated in terms of network ties. The modalities that contribute most on the provincial side of the axis are indicators of high levels of network reach among the elite, and of positions in many sectors, in particular in pensions, insurance and corporatism. A common characteristic here is having held the position of chair multiple times. The side occupied by the state nobility fraction is less well-connected to the rest of the field of power and in the elite network as a whole through formal ties. The third dimension thus also gives witness to a chiasmatic structure involving two kinds of proximity: socio-geographical and network proximity, reflecting whether ties are made at backyard barbecues or are formalised in the boardrooms of corporatist institutions, as illustrated by the modalities with vectors on Figure 2.

<FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE>

Figure 2 shows the role of networks among those individuals who are best described by plane 1–3. On the right side, we find less connected individuals such as senior civil servants (illustrative individuals are permanent secretaries Peter Loft and Bo Smith) and the personification of the state nobility, the Queen (Margrethe II). On the left side, we find well-connected industrial leaders and unionists (for instance the now former CEO of the rural industrial giant, Danfoss, Niels Bjørn Christiansen, and its owner, Jørgen Mads Clausen, and president of the Danish Union of Metalworkers, Thorkild E. Jensen, all three of whom are among the 10 most central

individuals in the elite network). This opposition not only opposes regional to Copenhagen-based capital, but also establishes a distinction between practices aimed at legitimising either the state or the economic and organisational order.

The three identified dimensions thus show how the field of power is structured by the amount of inherited and symbolic capital of the agents, but also by the distribution of political and academic capital versus purely economic capital and by the capital-state establishment versus the organised corporatist alliances.

Conclusion and discussion: Representation and legitimisation in the field of the power

In this article, we have analysed the structure of power in Danish society as a system of relations between different forms of capital possessed by what we call the effective agents on the field of power.

The extensive prosopography of this group sheds light on the fact that its members hold different amounts of various forms of this kind of capital with transferable value. Our analysis of the relational system of positions occupied by the holders of these forms of capital identified a field of power structured by 1) the level of seniority in the field of power, 2) the role in the division of the labour of domination towards either public legitimisation and delegation or private financial foundation and 3) the role in either the symbolically dominant, Copenhagen-based establishment or as key cogs in the negotiation of the Danish political economy.

A key difference from Bourdieu's (1996) field of power in France is the second dimension. Bourdieu famously discovered a chiasmatic structure of economic and cultural capital, lining up the different social fields in a hierarchy from the economic to the artistic field. However, he was also aware that the chiasmatic structure of economic versus cultural capital might be less clear at the end of the twentieth century compared to the middle of the century (Bourdieu, 2015: 596). This is in accordance with our results. Rather than being an opposition between cultural and economic forms of power, the poles in the Danish power structure can be explained as a divide between agents in need of public support, that is, politicians and other delegates or representatives, and agents tied to the economic order. This is perhaps not unexpected in a country with a large welfare state, strong unions and a vital co-op movement. In Denmark a substantial proportion of power elite members rely on some form of democratic legitimacy to achieve and maintain their positions. They are the heads of membership organisations and they are elected by unions, political parties and business associations as representatives of broader interests. Positioned opposite to the delegated newcomers, the strong position of business within the

field of power is seen by the convergence along the primary axis of symbolic, social and economic capital of those with seniority in the *haute bourgeoisie*. Having a large social surface – being in touch with many sectors – being well-connected in the elite and participating in prestigious networks are intricately tied to official recognition and holding the most prestigious positions. The complex, mutually reinforcing relationships between symbolic and social capital – at least in small nation-states like Denmark and Norway (cf. Denord et al. 2011) – suggest that even among the effective agents on the field of power, defined by their access to central affiliations, we see a dominant faction.

The third major opposition is tied to differences between informal and formal forms of social capital and the differences between the state nobility near Copenhagen and the productive alliances of industrialists and union leaders with stronger ties to the provinces, which further adds to the national and temporal specificity of the Danish elite relations. This shows that a cross-class alliance within the productive sector, based on strong formal networks integrated in established and newcomer elite fractions. It appears that within a negotiated market economy, the opposition between cultural and economic capital, at least in the field of power, has been supplanted by oppositions between economic versus political capital. However, this opposition is ameliorated by a well-integrated alliance between key players from the Danish labour market model. Thus, dynamics of delegation, rather than control over the means of cultural production, complement the most established fractions of the field of power in the division of the labour of domination.

The reason cultural capital is partially supplanted by delegated forms of capital could be that political organization is more deeply entrenched in Danish society. Strong social movements and political parties have at the same time been challenging one another for power and had to develop ways to coordinate and compromise. Political affiliation has mattered more than educational credentials and aesthetic mastery as also indicated by cultural capital seeming to matter less for careers of top executives (Ellersgaard, Larsen and Munk, 2013) and in the legitimation of political elites in contemporary Denmark than in France. What remains to be explored is whether or not the opposition between delegated and economic forms of capital is homologous to similar types of opposition in the Danish social space as a whole. To explore this, scholars analysing social structures in a Bourdieusian framework should consider applying indicators of the forms of social and political capital, i.e. union membership, political activity and civic engagement, to supplement the classic indicators of economic and cultural capital.

The homology between the social space as a whole and the field of power constructed in this analysis should not, however, be assumed a priori for methodological and theoretical reasons. Methodologically, because our identification strategy of looking at densely interlocked elite groups as the effective agents on the field of power does not include individuals from the cultural elite since they more rarely take part in these networks. The ethos

of disinterestedness associated with cultural capital could be part of the explanation. As holders of cultural capital exchange their capital on the field of power, they could undermine their position within the cultural field, in turn rendering less attractive to other effective agents on the field of power. However, the exclusion of cultural producers also speaks volumes about their position as dominated on the field of power. Rather than being the primary challengers to the dominant, economic pole of the field of power as described by Bourdieu (1996; 2011) activity in the cultural field serves primarily to indicate seniority in the field of power. , as illustrated by the association of indicators of high levels of cultural capital with positions in the established part of the field of power. In Denmark, rather than being challengers, the cultural elite are perhaps better understood as entertainers. Theoretically, while the field of power can be seen as a meta-field regulating the struggles on other fields, it need not resemble the social space. The social space is structured by the forms of capital that can be possessed and accumulated by – and thus also extracted from – the population at large, while the concentration of capital at the very top, among the effective agents in the field of power, generally includes types of capital, as is the case with delegated mandates, of which regular individuals only hold miniscule amounts.

Nonetheless, our findings here suggest that scholars should explore how the divisions of labour of domination, between the established and the newcomers, public and private forms of power and between productive and administrative fractions of the elite are explored in other elites outside Denmark and in the entire social space.

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Author biographies:

Jacob Aagaard Lunding is a PhD fellow at the Department of Organization, Copenhagen Business School and holds a master in Sociology from University of Copenhagen. Jacob Aagaard Lunding studies historical changes in Danish elites and the Danish field of power using geometrical data analysis, in particular focusing on how the describe field changes in the *longue durée*.

Christoph Houman Ellersgaard is an assistant professor at Department of Organization, Copenhagen Business School and holds a PhD from Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen. Christoph Houman Ellersgaard's research focused on elites, classes and power and in particular how elite positions are reproduced within different political economies.

Anton Grau Larsen is an assistant professor at Department of Organization, Copenhagen Business School and Department of Social Sciences and Business, Roskilde University. He holds a PhD from Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen. Anton Grau Larsen's current research is focused on statistical programming of network data and biographical data on elites and classes. In particular his research interest lies how to combine relational sociological theories with descriptive and visual quantitative and qualitative methods.

Tables and figures:

TABLE 1. VARIABLE BLOCKS INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS BY NUMBER OF MODALITIES AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIRST THREE AXES

General social properties					Field-specific properties and resources				
	Modalities	Ctr. 1	Ctr. 2	Ctr. 3		Modalities	Ctr. 1	Ctr. 2	Ctr. 3
Inherited forms of capital	33	18.1	8.5	22.1	Social capital	28	18.7	22.3	24.8
<i>Grandparents' class</i>	5	4.6	0.9	3.7	<i>Elite geography¹</i>	5	3.7	1.7	4.3
<i>Parents' position</i>	11	5.7	2.0	7.2	<i>Network reach²</i>	3	1.1	0.9	6.8
<i>Parents in Who's Who</i>	2	4.3	0.4	0.6	<i>Network centrality³</i>	3	0.9	6.4	4.0
<i>Place of birth</i>	4	1.4	0.3	5.3	<i>Commission member</i>	3	0.3	3.2	1.3
<i>Partner's position</i>	11	2.1	4.8	5.3	<i>Member: Culture/Media</i>	3	4.1	1.7	0.6
					<i>Member: Science/Education</i>	4	0.7	3.9	0.2
					<i>Member: Corporatism</i>	4	4.9	0.7	2.4
					<i>Sector memberships</i>	3	3.0	3.7	5.3
Cultural capital	29	9.1	29.8	16.7	Career trajectories	31	10.4	17.1	13.7
<i>Basic education</i>	9	4.9	8.9	4.6	<i>Chairman positions</i>	3	0.7	0.8	4.9
<i>Highest degree</i>	3	0.6	0.5	4.9	<i>Career in consultancy</i>	2	0.1	2.3	0.0
<i>MBA</i>	4	1.6	3.6	1.1	<i>Career in Copenhagen</i>	5	1.6	1.3	4.5
<i>Articles written</i>	4	1.0	7.7	2.9	<i>Years abroad</i>	3	3.3	1.8	1.0
<i>Books written</i>	4	0.1	5.0	2.1	<i>Abroad, place</i>	2	2.6	1.0	0.4
<i>Media activity profile</i>	5	0.9	4.2	1.1	<i>Career in same organisation</i>	4	0.3	0.7	0.3
					<i>Career in same sector</i>	4	1.0	2.8	0.2
					<i>Pantouflage⁴</i>	2	0.0	2.4	0.5
					<i>Elite organisation⁵</i>	6	0.8	4.0	1.8
Economic capital	26	19.0	6.8	16.3	Public recognition	28	24.7	15.5	6.4
<i>Estate value</i>	5	7.4	0.6	1.5	<i>Media coverage amount</i>	4	1.1	5.6	1.5
<i>Type of residence</i>	5	1.8	1.6	1.8	<i>Media coverage profile</i>	8	0.8	2.1	0.1
<i>Companies founded</i>	4	3.5	1.3	1.3	<i>Royal decorations</i>	4	6.5	2.4	2.2
<i>Pension/insurance board⁶</i>	4	0.4	1.2	5.5	<i>Royal events</i>	2	3.0	2.6	0.1
<i>Investment firm board⁶</i>	3	3.2	0.6	3.3	<i>Foreign decoration</i>	2	2.7	0.6	0.5
<i>Leadership consultancy board⁶</i>	3	1.7	0.9	1.4	<i>Defence networks⁷</i>	2	1.4	0.0	0.1
<i>Science and tech firm board⁶</i>	2	1.1	0.6	1.6	<i>Leadership networks⁷</i>	2	4.2	0.3	0.2
					<i>Economic counselling fora⁷</i>	2	0.1	2.0	0.1
					<i>Denmark-America Foundation⁷</i>	2	4.8	0.0	1.6

Ctr.: Contribution of the variable or variable block to each modality (described further in Appendix A3). Above average variables and variable block contributions are marked in bold.

¹ Number of other elite individuals in the analysis living within a two-km radius.

² Number of other elite individuals in the immediate network

³ Betweenness centrality in the entire elite network

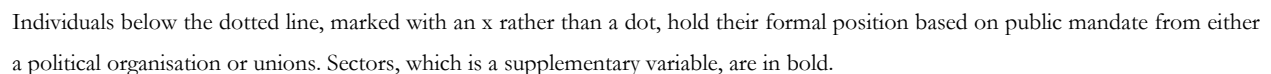
⁴ Sector shift at top level

⁵ Been in same organisation as other elite individuals

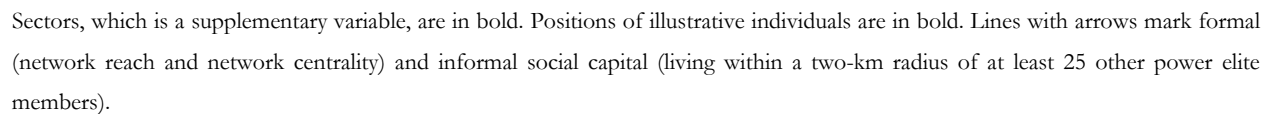
⁶ Board positions on firms

⁷ Prestigious networks

The Danish Field of Power
1st and 2nd dimension



The Danish Field of Power
1st and 3rd dimension



Online Appendix: Constructing the field of power

Constructing the field of power as an object for social scientific inquiry requires a five-step procedure. First, the relevant population within which the distribution of different forms of capital is indicative of the structure of the field of power. As we argue, the key notion here is that of *effective agents* Bourdieu (2005:99, our emphasis), or in other words the individuals that possess ‘one or other of the *active* properties in [a] field’, and thus have sufficient influence to effectively engage in the matter at stake, our arguments for relying in this regard on an inductive network analytic approach are presented in the main paper. Second, as presented in Appendix A2 various sources of information on these forms of capital must be assessed. Third, as discussed in Appendix A3 the variables derived from the sources must be gathered under different headings related to the forms of capital potentially structuring the field of power. Fourth, these variables must be coded in a reflexive manner, in order to retain as much of the complexity of data while also conforming to the requirements of analytical tools chosen. See Appendix A4 in which we introduce an unconventional coding scheme for specific variables. Fifth, the field is constructed using multiple correspondence analysis and the strength of the different dimensions as well as the contribution of categories to these dimensions are inspected, see Appendix A5.

Before we layout the details of the choices we made in this line of research, let us briefly review the argument behind using multiple correspondence analysis to construct fields in general, and the field of power in particular.

A1. Multiple correspondence analysis as a way to construct fields of power

The scientific (re)construction of a social field in its Bourdieusian variant is based on the hypothesis or premises that given an unequal distribution of specific forms of capital relevant to a field we can find and describe the dominant principles of hierarchisation (Bourdieu 2015: 514-20). On this hypothesis, the structure of the specific distribution of forms of capital is a manifestation of the power balance on the field.

Thinking in this way, in terms of capital distributions and fields, calls for a methodological framework in sync with the relational epistemology implied by these notions. For that purpose, the analytical tools in the overall geometric data analysis approach are very suitable (Le Roux & Rouanet 2004). As Bourdieu pointed out in his 2000–2001 lectures at Collège de France and elsewhere, thinking in terms of fields has a close affinity with the mathematical base and analytical principles of geometric data analysis, especially multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) (Bourdieu 2004: 33; Bourdieu & Krais 1991: 254).

Skippping the mathematical explanations (for such see Le Roux & Rouanet 2004, 2010; Le Roux, 2014; Hjellbrekke, 2018), the key element of understanding the multiple correspondence analysis framework is that it focuses on the analysis of the main structures of a multidimensional Euclidean cloud of statistical units (here individuals) in which the relative distances between individual points are a function of differences in their overall profiles on various characteristics. Given this complete geometrical representation of data it is possible to reduce the complexity by finding the axes or dimensions that best capture the variation in data. Since we then have a hierarchy of axes or dimensions we can choose an appropriate number of dimensions to describe our data. That is, by studying only primary axes or planes of the cloud, we get a good summary of the main ‘categorical’ differences and similarities between the individuals in the field of power, and thus of the distributional structures that make up the balance of strength in the field of power. Thus, to paraphrase Donald Broady (1988: 28) the axes and planes presented in multiple correspondence analysis are *synoptic* representations, in the sense that they give a concurrent (syn) overview (opsis) of a whole system of relations.

This allows for handling very complex data in a (rather) intuitive and also visual way. Instead of testing how well the empirical data fits various theoretically defined statistical models, geometrical data analysis and

MCA are a way of letting the model follow data, that is, of letting patterns emerge from data (Bénzecri 1969). Not knowing in advance the relationship and interplay between different forms of power, or capital, this approach is ideal, since various indicators of various different forms of capital can be included without determining in advance, which should be decisive.

Another very important feature of multiple correspondence analysis is that it produces not one but two clouds of point, a cloud of individuals and a cloud of modalities or ‘variable categories’. These clouds are mathematically related in the sense that from the cloud of modalities we can induce the position of each individual as the barycentre of the modalities he or she ‘has’, whereas in the cloud of individuals, a given modality is located at the equi-barycentre of the individuals ‘having’ this quality. This latter feature is very important, since it makes possible the introduction of supplementary variables in the analysis. That is, having already constructed the cloud of individuals from the set of *active* variables, we can introduce whichever variable as supplementary (that is, with no influence on the structure of the cloud) in order to study how it relates to the structure of the phenomenon we are studying.

A2. Sources

To fully understand the structure of a field, all pertinent social characteristics of the agents on the field should be taken into consideration. This stage of inquiry is a recurring hermeneutical circle of data gathering: ‘to have even the smallest hypothesis as to what could be the structuring principle, a prior knowledge of the field in question is needed, and we can only have that if we have already studied it based on a hypothesis.’ (Bourdieu 2015: 516). Moving back and forth between an initial hypothesis of what might be the structuring principles and a new and perhaps now clearer picture emerging from the data collected, the task of prosopography thus consists of adding new pieces to the puzzle, one by one, asking whether the piece is also relevant to the other elements in the unit.

Gathering data for this study, we therefore successively added various forms of information, that could shed light on the differences and similarities between individuals and groups of individuals. For that purpose, we consulted a very heterogeneous set of sources, presented below:

Kraks Blå Bog – The Danish equivalent of *Who’s Who?* providing (mostly) self-reported curricula vitae for notable persons in society, that is, especially family background and information on education and career. The annual has been published since 1910. It is exclusive, and inclusion depends on a panel and the editors. It has been common for left-wing politicians, artists and union leaders to refuse to be part of the publication, as it is deemed to be a list for the *haute bourgeoisie*. Of the 423 in the power elite, 78% can be found in *Kraks Blå Bog*. There are approximately 8,000 biographies in *Kraks Blå Bog*. As these span at least two generations, probably no more than 4,000 individuals in each generation have parents mentioned in *Who’s Who?*. If the power elite is seen as belonging to a single generation – or one-third of the population of 5,500,000 inhabitants – the probability within this generation of having parents mentioned in *Who’s Who?* is around 0.0022.

LinkedIn.com – When not provided by *Kraks Blå Bog*, information on career trajectories was gathered from public LinkedIn profiles, and from portrait articles in newspapers (see Infomedia source below).

The Danish National Archives – The parish registers from all Danish parishes are publicly available online as photographic scans on the National Archives website (www.sa.dk) for books older than 1960. That is, knowing date and place, in casu parish, of the birth of an individual, the birth registration can be found, providing the name and position of their parents, and – in case they were married – a hint towards the registration of their parents’ marriage, providing information on their parents, that is, the grandparents.

Infomedia.dk – The Danish newspaper article database, Infomedia, allows for various kinds of searches in the archives of Danish media. In total, 82,101 articles in national newspapers mentioning power elite members between 2010 and 2013 were drawn, as well as 3,171 articles written by power elite members in national newspapers in the same period. From this, we constructed three sources of information:

1. a database of approximately 3,500 portrait articles, used to fill in data missing in other sources, and also by a semi-automated text-search to create a register of various indicators of lifestyle mentioned in the portraits;
2. a register of how many times and in which media the individual members of the power elite were mentioned in the period 2010–2013; and
3. a register of how many articles they each wrote in the same period, and in which media.

Bibliotek.dk – Based on searches in this complete database on all works published by Danes or in Danish, we constructed a register of the books and book-chapters, etc. written by each member of the power elite.

Tinghysningen and *BBR* – From the publicly accessible online version of the Danish property register, we gathered information on the value and size of land, houses, apartments, etc.

The central Danish business register – The central Danish business register, CVR, contains information on the active and historical affiliation of individuals to all legally registered business. From this, we created a database containing, for each individual in the power elite, historical information on the number of enterprises they founded and/or chaired, etc.

The Danish Elite Network – From the data behind Larsen and Ellersgaard’s (2017) social network analysis of all potentially influential affiliations in Denmark, we calculated various measures of network centrality and memberships, in order to include measures of the strength and nature of the networks.

A3. Gathering pieces of the social image of the elite: Grouping the variables¹

As Bourdieu (2016: 442) mentions, ‘[o]ne of the problems in empirical research is of course to define the right indicators of this [specific form of capital], which never shows itself directly but only in its manifestations’. Inspired by Frédéric Lebaron (2010: 105f), we deal with this problem by collecting and grouping the information according to two principles: 1) properties relevant to the social space in **general** and 2) assets **specific** to the field of power. Three sub-headings are included to each of these two overall relational positions of the elite individuals. Relations tied to the social space in general are seen through indicators of social background, formalised cultural capital and economic capital. Headings related to position on the field of power in particular are social capital, organisational capital as seen through career traits and the symbolic capital of public recognition. The content and the methodological justification of inclusion of these headings are described below.

Inherited forms of capital

Under the heading of social background, we gather indicators that measure the primary social milieu in which one grew up – birthplace, parents’ position, parents enlisted in *Who’s Who?* – but also adding to this the class position of the grandparents in order to capture the importance of being from a well-established family, that is, the social and symbolic capital of a family name. Social class of parents and grandparents is extracted as occupational titles from either *Who’s Who* or from the digitized parish books. These titles are then coded in a ‘rough’ hierarchical structure of class level and occupational status, see Table 1.

¹ The data can be explored via <https://github.com/antongrau/eliter>.

TABLE A3.1: SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE EFFECTIVE AGENTS ON THE DANISH FIELD OF POWER

Class and position	Parents highest			Grandparents highest		
	N	%	% of known	N	%	% of known
Upper Class	118	28%	31%	90	21%	31%
Royalty	3	1%	1%	3	1%	1%
Manager or Corporation owner ¹	52	12%	14%	48	11%	16%
Land owner	9	2%	2%	13	3%	4%
Professors, Leading doctors, etc.	26	6%	7%	7	2%	2%
Senior Civil Servant	11	3%	3%	16	4%	5%
Politician	14	3%	4%	2	0%	1%
High rank military officer	3	1%	1%	1	0%	0%
Upper Middle Class	99	23%	26%	50	12%	17%
Academic	30	7%	8%	16	4%	5%
Civil Servant	11	3%	3%	4	1%	1%
Junior Manager	33	8%	9%	19	4%	6%
Engineer	21	5%	6%	7	2%	2%
Military officer	4	1%	1%	4	1%	1%
Lower Middle Class	78	18%	21%	61	14%	21%
White Collar	33	8%	9%	16	4%	5%
Small Businessmen	29	7%	8%	36	9%	12%
Teacher	16	4%	4%	9	2%	3%
Farmer	31	7%	8%	47	11%	16%
Farm owner	26	6%	7%	40	9%	14%
Small farm owner	5	1%	1%	7	2%	2%
Working Class	49	12%	13%	47	11%	16%
Unknown	48	11%		128	30%	
Total	423	100%	100%	423	100%	100%
Mentioned in <i>Who's Who</i>¹	66	16 %	18 %	45	11 %	15 %

¹ Furthermore at least 23 (5 %) have great grandparents mentioned in *Who's Who*, while at least 36 (9 %) have their in-laws mentioned and 46 (11 %) have their partner mentioned.

Formalised cultural capital

Under this heading, we gather indices measuring acquired formal academic, combined with more business-related academic capital, for example, MBAs and postgraduate commercial degrees. To this, we have added two different indicators of less formal academic or cultural capital; that is, on the one hand the inclination to participate in public debate, measured in number of newspaper articles written in 2010–2013, and on the other, number of books published which we take as a measure of the willingness to invest time and effort in the production and dispersion of ideas in the field of cultural production.

Economic capital

In the unfortunate absence of a measure of proper economic capacity in terms of either wealth or income, we use estate value and housing type as a proxy for overall economic capital. These indicators do, however, also carry information in their own right, that is, as indices of economic dispositions reflecting aspects of an economic habitus. This is supplemented by indicators of the integration in and dispositions within the economic order, measured by the total number of enterprises registered and the types of business in which one engages or has been engaged, that is, as founder, board member or director.

Social capital

A great advantage of having drawn the population in this study from a thorough social network analysis of a much wider network is that we can include various measures of organisation social capital or of the individual's social surface, its degree of multi-positionality. Under organisational social capital, we thus gather information on inclusion in various forms of formal networks, such as state commissions or

networks reflecting the so called *Danish labour market model* (Pedersen 2006), that is, networks cutting across the employer's/employee's organisations, or networks in science or culture, etc. As an indicator of organisationally based social capital, we also introduce genuine socio-metric centrality measures from the social network analysis into this analysis. Counting the number of other elite individuals one is connected to in first and second neighbourhoods, the 'reach in elite' measure gives an indication of how well integrated an individual is in the power elite, whereas 'network centrality' (more precisely *betweenness* centrality, Freeman 1977) is an indicator of an individual's ability to act as a broker between people in the entire network of people holding potentially influential positions. Another aspect of social capital is what we call social geography. Relying on the geo-distance matrix between home addresses, we count for each individual the number of other elite persons living within a radius of 2 km. From this, we can see that almost 40% have more than 10 other elite persons within 2 km of their home address. This does not just denote living affluently – which is captured by estate value – but choosing to live in an area in which neighbours are also much more likely to be members of the elite, which facilitates informal interactions with elites and denotes an ease with the upper class lifestyle practices in these areas.

Organisational capital and career trajectories

Closely related to but also different from organisational social capital, we posit the importance of the organisational capital accumulated throughout careers. To get an idea of the distribution of this kind of organisational capital, we rely on career data, measuring the degree to which an individual can be expected to have accumulated advantages on the field as a function of the organisations through which he or she has entered it. Besides counting the percentage of career spent in the same organisation, in the same sector, and in the capital region of Copenhagen, we introduce years abroad, and where, as a variable, together with the number of chairman positions.

Symbolic capital of public recognition

To get an idea of the distribution of field-specific symbolic capital, we look at attendance at royal festivities and at the bestowal of the *The Order of the Dannebrog*, a Danish royal order given as a gesture of honour to long-serving civil servants and to notable contributors to culture, business, etc.² Another major aspect of symbolic capital is public notoriety. The distribution of public notoriety and the kind of public notoriety are measured in total amount of appearance³ in newspaper articles from 2010 to 2013. To get an image of the source of the public attention, we introduced a special kind of coding into the multiple correspondence analysis (see Appendix A4). In this very exclusive field, symbolic capital is also tied to invitations to even more exclusive formal networks. As a measure of this, we introduce memberships in exclusive prestigious networks as an indicator of this very field-specific symbolic capital.⁴

It is worth noting here that the inclusion of so much information in the same analysis might seem unconventional.⁵ However, as we argue in the following section, one of the strength of multiple correspondence analysis is precisely the possibility of grasping the most important dimensions of a highly complex data structure. Although a similar result, in terms of the overall interpretation of the axes, could have been obtained with fewer variables,⁶ and although this approach would yield higher rates of explained inertia on the primary axes, we argue that the 'inclusionist' approach taken here is in sync with the Bourdieusian way of studying fields as structures capital distributions (cf. Lebaron 2015; Lebaron & Le

² In relation to this indicator, it must be noted, though, that, in Denmark, left-wing politicians and union leaders as a rule decline to accept royal orders. The distribution of this kind of honour symbols in the field will be naturally skewed.

³ Appearance in a newspaper article is defined as being mentioned twice or more in an article.

⁴ These are included based on both the relative size of these affiliations and the reach of these affiliations in the Danish elite network (see Larsen & Ellersgaard 2017).

⁵ In previous studies of national fields of power, the numbers of variables and modalities are often lower, for example, 17 variables with 95 modalities in Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2003), 31 variables with 77 modalities in Hjellbrekke et al. (2007) and 25 variables with 74 modalities in Denord et al. (2011).

⁶ We tried various combinations of variables and different coding, and the results are very stable.

Roux 2015). First, all the different types of capital – for example, economic, cultural, etc. – take very different forms, implying that various indicators are needed to capture their full ‘meaning’. Second, the inclusionist approach yields a stable field with relatively precise coordinates on several strong dimensions with clear interpretations for each individual. Precision and stability are important when the object of analysis is named individuals. Their position should not rely on a few categories.⁷

⁷ Since the multiple correspondence analysis, applied here, takes individuals, and not pre-aggregated groups, as its elementary statistical unit, it is possible to define subspaces based on individuals belonging to different sectors or subfields (see Lebaron 2015: 56f; Chiche & Le Roux 2010). The quality of these subfields is greatly improved by the large number of active variables.

A4. Coding the variables for multiple correspondence analysis

In general, the multiple correspondence analysis is performed on a complete disjunctive table of *Individuals* \times *Variables*, i.e. a table in which for each row (individual) the presence of a characteristic (in columns) is marked with a 1, and the absence with a 0. This also the case in the analysis presented here – for most variables. In order to handle the information contained in some variables more adequately, we introduce some modifications to the method.

Profile variables

By profile variable we mean capturing in one variable the full distribution of several states of a characteristic; in our case the ‘profile of media coverage’ and ‘profile of media activity’. Since one indicator already expresses the *amount* of articles mentioning or written by each individual (in all newspapers), we are not really interested in how many times the person X is mentioned or writes in newspaper Y. One option within the standard framework of coding would have been to create dummy variables for each newspaper, disregarding the numerical differences. Instead, we chose to introduce the qualitative aspect of *media coverage* as a profile variable, or a multiple choice variable, where the categories are not mutually exclusive. In this way, the complete profile is introduced but counts only as one variable in the overall construction of the model. For examples of this kind of barycentric coding, see Greenacre (1984: 147ff) and Le Roux (2014: 272). In our case we divide the number of times mentioned in each newspaper by the total number of times mentioned and the number articles written in each newspaper by the total number of articles written. Individual 3 (in Table A4.1 below) might have been mentioned in 86 articles (Q4 in the example): 5 in *Berlingske Tidende*, 5 in *Børsen*, 0 in *B.T.*, 5 in *Ekstra Bladet*, 20 in *Information*, 15 in *Jyllands-posten*, 25 in *Politiken* and 11 in *Weekendavisen*. The profile of the individual would then be $I_3 \{0.06, 0.06, 0.00, 0.06, 0.23, 0.17, 0.29, 0.13\}$, indicating how much he or she ‘belongs’ to the different arenas in the public discourse. Since the profile always sum to 1, it plays the role of one variable with eight categories. In this particular case, we do not discard the information that I_3 appears in many different public arenas, but the analysis gives most weight to the fact that he or she most often appears in *Politiken* or *Information*.

TABLE A4.1: PROFILE VARIABLES: MEDIA COVERAGE

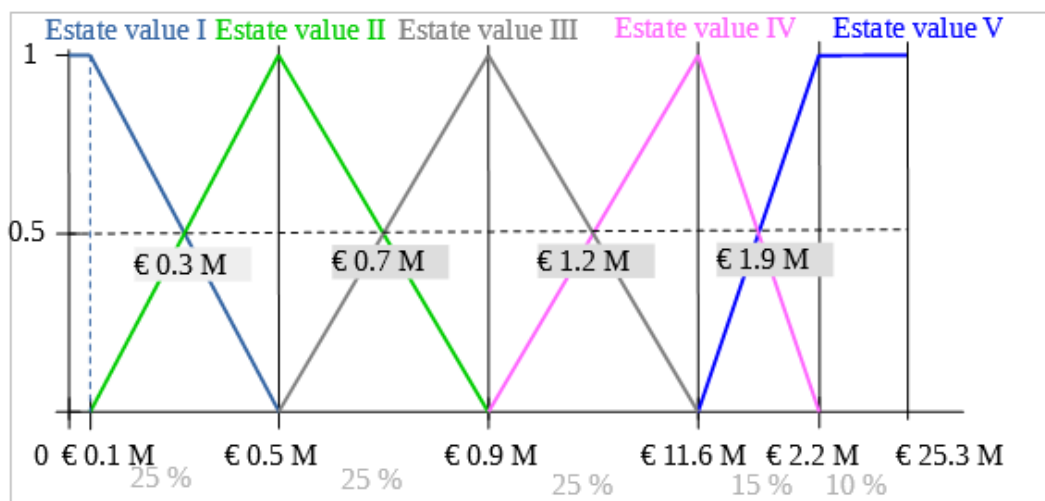
	Q1			Q2			Q3				Media profile								Fuzzy coded estate value						
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	d	B er	B ør	B T	E B	In f	Jyl	P ol	W ee k	I	II	II I	I V	V		
I ₁	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0.08	0.79	0.06	0	0	0.07	0	0	0	0	0.91	0.09	0	0	5
I ₂	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0.48	0.52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.50	0	0	0	5
I ₃	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.06	0.06	0	0.06	0.23	0.17	0.29	0.13	0	0.30	0.70	0	0	0	5
I ₄	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.18	0.02	0.51	0.29	0	0	0.25	0.75	0	0	0	5
I ₅	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.35	0.30	0	0.35	0	0	0	0.0	0.95	0	0	0	5
I _n	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0.30	0.30	0	0	0.15	0.15	0.10	0	0	0	0	1.00	0	0	5
	1	3	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	0.92	0.67	0.41	0.54	0.40	0.25	0.68	0.13	0.5	1.75	1.86	0.84	1.00	0	5
	6			6			6				6								6						Q x n = 30

Fuzzy categories

Another type of variable that can cause trouble in multiple correspondence analysis is genuinely continuous variables. An often feasible approach is to divide the continuum into discrete categories. This often makes sense, for instance when dividing age into five-year intervals. But there is always the risk of introducing too arbitrary cut-points to a continuous scale. With the indicator of estate value used in this analysis, we would in that case have to come up with an argument for assigning those with an estate value of 9.9 million DKK

to one category, and those with 10.1 million DKK to another, thereby implying a qualitative difference. An alternative way to handle this problem is to introduce fuzzy categories, that is, letting an individual belong to more than one category. In that way, we can handle the matter of thresholds more adequately.

FIGURE A4.1: FUZZY CATEGORIES: ESTATE VALUE



Dividing the variable of total estate values in quartiles (except for the upper end, where some have very extreme value), we can assign individuals to categories according to two parallel but opposite linear functions. Consequently, I_2 (in the table above) has an estate value of €0.3m, which lies exactly between cut-points one and two, hence this individual is equally represented in the two categories. I_5 might own an estate representing €0.47m, putting him mostly in category II but also to some extent in I. Finally, individual n might be a landed proprietor (€20m); he will be fully in category V (the highest 10%).

Coding data in this way is a very convenient solution, since it introduces a wiser, we think, handling of problematic variables. But there is no such thing as a free lunch. Introducing fuzzy coding comes with a price. The fact that the mass of the fuzzy coded variables is ‘spread out’ on more columns means that each column contains fewer zeros. This in turn means that, although the marginal properties of the table are kept, the distances between individuals due to these variables decrease, and the total inertia becomes smaller (see Gallego 1982: 416; Aşan & Greenacre 2011: 63). Calculating the adjusted inertia rates (Benzecri 1979) in our analysis, we therefore underestimate the contribution of each axis a bit.

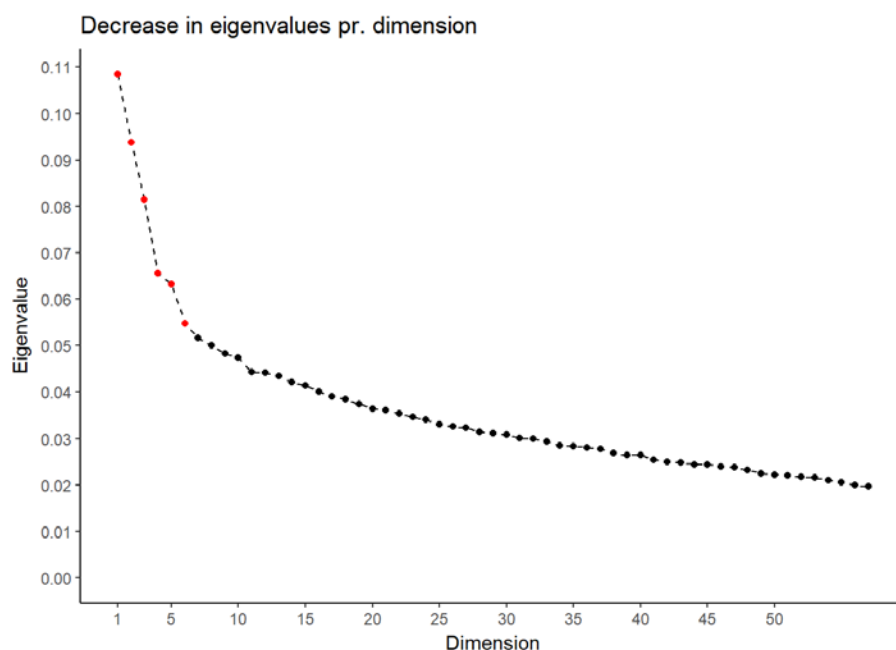
A5. Construction of the analysed space

In what follows, we use a particular variant of MCA, referred to as either specific MCA (Le Roux 1999), or MCA of incomplete disjunctive tables (Zárraga & Goitisoló 2000). In this variant, missing data for some individuals can be handled without having to discard the individuals or the characteristics on which data are missing. This approach is well suited for studies that rely on data from various sources of differing quality and accessibility.

The following analysis is based on a multiple correspondence analysis of the initial table of 423 individuals x 44 variables, containing, after coding, 198 categories, that is, a disjunctive table of *ones* and *zeros* describing the absence and presence of specific characteristics. As mentioned, three variables, ‘media coverage profile’, ‘media activity profile’ and ‘estate value’ have been coded into fuzzy categories.

Applying a specific multiple correspondence analysis, 23 categories that represent missing data, have very rare characteristics,⁸ or are perfectly nested in another category are treated as passive in the construction of the cloud. This yields a Euclidean cloud of 144 dimensions⁹.

FIGURE A5.1: EIGENVALUES AND INERTIA RATES



The analysis has two steps: first, by decomposing the variance along principal axes, we get a hierarchy of 144 orthogonal axes capturing different aspects of the total inertia of the cloud; second, as the plot of eigenvalues, see Figure A5.1, suggests that three major oppositions structure the field, we focus on these principal dimension to present an analysis of the main principles of hierarchisation in the Danish field of power.

⁸ All rows (individuals) have the same weight in the analysis ($1/423$), but since columns (categories) are weighted according to their frequency, infrequent categories create more distance. In order to avoid having very infrequent characteristics determining the principal axes, very rare categories are either pooled in a meaningful way with other categories or treated as passive. As a rule of thumb, categories with a frequency below 5% are avoided (Le Roux 2010: 38f). In this analysis, we chose to include a few categories with frequencies below 5%, having checked that they do not skew the major principal axes.

⁹ Thus, while the complete table has 156 dimensions (that is, the number of modalities, 198, minus the number of variables, 44), the specific cloud of the 175 *active* modalities has 144 dimensions, since $K' (175) - Q' (31)$, where K' is the active modalities and Q' is variables with no passive modalities (see Le Roux & Rouanet 2010: 46, 63).

TABLE A5.1: EIGENVALUES AND INERTIA RATES

Dimensio n	Eigenvalue s	Inertia rates	Σ Inertia rates	Pseudo eigenvalues	Adjusted inertia rates	Σ Adjusted inertia rates
1	0.1085	3.9	3.9	0.0079	23.8	23.8
2	0.0938	3.4	7.2	0.0055	16.6	40.4
3	0.0814	2.9	10.1	0.0038	11.4	51.8
4	0.0656	2.3	12.5	0.0021	6.3	58.1
5	0.0632	2.3	14.7	0.0019	5.7	63.9
6	0.0547	2.0	16.7	0.0012	3.6	67.5
7	0.0516	1.8	18.5	0.0010	3.0	70.5
8	0.0501	1.8	20.3	0.0009	2.7	73.2
9	0.0483	1.7	22.1	0.0008	2.4	75.6
10	0.0475	1.7	23.8	0.0008	2.4	78.0
..						
57	0.0197	0.7	74.0	0.0000	0.0	100.0

The three following axes explain 6.3 per cent, 5.7 per cent and 3.6 per cent of the total adjusted inertia, see table A5.1. The seventh axis does not have a clear interpretation, and explains only 3 per cent of the total inertia. We restrict ourselves in this paper to the first three axes, as the three minor axes are more related to particularities among smaller fractions of the power elite. Thus, the fourth axis highlights opposition between managers and owners within the economic fraction; the fifth axis primarily opposes scientists and others with scientific capital in the form of PhDs to individuals from sectors least like the scientists, in particular around the royal court; and the sixth axis opposes individuals, often inheritors, with very stable careers (often within a single sector and in the same organisation) to individuals with more organisation and sector changes in their careers, more often from a more modest rural background in farming families. To help interpretation of the three first axes, modalities contribution above average on the 1st to 3rd dimension are shown in Table A5.2, A5.3 and A5.4. These are also plotted in Figure A5.2, A5.3 and A5.4. The full table of modality coordinates and contributions to the first three axes can be seen in Tables A5.5–A5.10, which reads as follows. The first column is labels, the modality column depicts the number of modalities per variable and per heading and indicates when a modality is passive (p). The Total ctr. column shows the relative (%) contribution of each variable and heading to the entire cloud. While the Coord columns show the modality coordinates on the first three axes, the Ctr. columns show the relative (%) of each modality, variable and heading to these axes. Numbers in bold are contribution values above average ($1/H = 16.7\%$ for headings, $1/Q = 2.3\%$ for variables and $1/K' = 0.57\%$ for modalities). To take into account the varying number of modalities, we also use a criterion suggested by Lennart Rosenlund (2009: 114), which is specific to each variable and depends on its number of modalities. That is, modalities below average but with contribution values above $1/Q/K_q$ (where K_q is the number of modalities on variable q) are in bold and italic, and may also be regarded as explicative.

Table A5.2: Modalities contribution above average to Dimension 1

+ Established				- Newcomers			
	Freq	Coord	Ctr		Freq	Coord	Ctr
Prestige network - America: Yes	70	1.08	4.0	Affiliations in Corporatism: 5+	65	-0.93	2.8
Gr. Parents class: Upper Class	90	0.93	3.8	Area education: Vocational or none	28	-1.37	2.6
Parents in Who's Who: Yes	66	1.04	3.5	Royal decoration: No	257	-0.44	2.5
Prestige network - Leadership: Yes	115	0.73	3.1	Estate value: II (€0.1<0.5>0.9 M)	107.2	-0.66	2.3
Parents position: Corporation/Land owner	31	1.29	2.6	Estate value: I (€0<0.3>0.5 M)	31.1	-0.95	1.4
Estate value: V (€1.6<2.2< M)	55.5	0.97	2.6	Aff. in Culture and media: None	284	-0.31	1.3
Foreign decoration: Yes	49	1.00	2.4	Elite geography: Isolated at 2km+	101	-0.47	1.1
Abroad: Zones of prestige	88	0.71	2.2	Affiliations - Nb. Sectors: 1-2	54	-0.64	1.1
CVR - Investment: 2+	94	0.67	2.1	Royal Events: No	264	-0.30	1.1
Royal Events: Events	159	0.49	1.9	Prestige network - Leadership: No	308	-0.27	1.1
Elite geography: >25	103	0.54	1.5	CVR - Investment: None	266	-0.28	1.0
Years abroad working: >5	45	0.83	1.5	CVR - Founder: None	292	-0.26	0.9
Aff. in Culture and media: 2+	52	0.75	1.4	Years abroad working: 0	294	-0.25	0.9
Affiliations - Nb. Sectors: >=5	202	0.37	1.4	Media coverage: <5	54	-0.57	0.9
Royal decoration: Knight 1st class	42	0.82	1.4	Parents position: Manual worker	49	-0.57	0.8
Royal decoration: Commander	44	0.79	1.4	Parents in Who's Who: No	351	-0.21	0.8
Parents position: (Senior) Civil Servant	31	0.91	1.3	Prestige network - America: No	353	-0.21	0.8
CVR - Founder: 3+	28	0.97	1.3	Articles written: +20	48	-0.53	0.7
Housing type: with land > 3.000 m2	57	0.67	1.3	Elite geography: 1-5	97	-0.39	0.7
Affiliations in Culture and media: 1	87	0.56	1.3	Affiliations in Corporatism: 3-4	63	-0.49	0.7
Prestige network - Defence: Yes	28	0.97	1.3	Gr. Parents class: Working Class	47	-0.51	0.6
MBA: Global top15 MBA	71	0.58	1.2	Area of education: Humanities	35	-0.59	0.6
Royal decoration: Knight	80	0.55	1.2	Pct. of career in center: 100%	152	-0.29	0.6
Area of education: Business economy	53	0.65	1.1				
CVR - Leadership: 2+	34	0.81	1.1				
Total Estate value: IV (€0.9<1.6>2.2 M)	79.1	0.54	1.1				
CVR - Science: Yes	54	0.60	1.0				
Affiliations in Corporatism: None	158	0.35	0.9				
Birthplace: Copenhagen and suburbs	158	0.33	0.8				
CVR - Founder: 2	33	0.70	0.8				
Years abroad working: 1-5	84	0.44	0.8				
Reach - Elite: 250+	157	0.30	0.7				
Pct. of career in center: 75-99%	116	0.34	0.7				
Parents position: Manager	31	0.61	0.6				
Pct. of career in same sector: >90%	138	0.30	0.6				

Table A5.3: Modalities contribution above average to Dimension 2

+ Private power (Economic capital)				- Public power (Political capital)			
	Freq	Coord	Ctr		Freq	Coord	Ctr
Betweenness - Component: Bottom	73	0.90	3.4	Articles written: +20	48	-1.05	3.0
Area of education: Business economy	53	1.00	3.0	Betweenness: Top	200	-0.48	2.7
Articles written: 0	161	0.52	2.5	Media coverage: >100	117	-0.64	2.7
Affiliations - Nb. Sectors: 1-2	54	0.83	2.2	Articles written: 10-20	34	-1.06	2.2
Career position in consultancy: Yes	45	0.90	2.1	Executive level sectoral shift: Yes	44	-0.93	2.2
Media coverage: <5	54	0.76	1.8	Aff. in Science and education: 4+	48	-0.85	2.0
MBA: Global top15 MBA	71	0.61	1.5	Pct. of career in same sector: <50%	58	-0.78	2.0
Aff. in Science and education: None	178	0.38	1.5	Books: 5+	35	-0.96	1.9
Area of education: Engineering	53	0.67	1.4	Media profile: Politiken	51.5	-0.78	1.8
Books: 0	309	0.27	1.3	Prestige network - State economy	39	-0.91	1.8
MBA: Danish Commerce degree	36	0.70	1.0	Royal Events	159	-0.43	1.7
Housing type: with land 1.500-3.000 m2	42	0.64	1.0	Royal decoration: Commander	44	-0.81	1.7
Prev. in org with other PE's: 1	49	0.60	1.0	Area of education: Humanities	35	-0.83	1.4
Media coverage: 5-25	117	0.39	1.0	Aff. - Nb. Sectors: >=5	202	-0.35	1.4
Royal Events: No	264	0.26	1.0	Aff. in Commissions: 2+	40	-0.76	1.3
Partners position: Nurse	30	0.71	0.9	Partners position: Teacher	27	-0.86	1.2
Area of education: Vocational white collar	29	0.72	0.9	Elite geography: 11-25	60	-0.59	1.2
Affiliations in Commissions: None	295	0.23	0.9	CVR - Pensions and Insurance: 3+	32	-0.77	1.1
Years abroad working: 1-5	84	0.41	0.8	Partners position: Civil servant	32	-0.72	1.0
Abroad: Western countries only	44	0.55	0.8	Area of education: Political science	40	-0.67	1.0
Pct. of career in same sector: >90%	138	0.31	0.8	MBA: No MBA	292	-0.24	1.0
Prev. in org with other PE's: [1-3]	63	0.46	0.8	Books: 1	50	-0.58	1.0
CVR - Leadership: 2+	34	0.58	0.7	Media profile: Jyllands-Posten	43.6	-0.63	1.0
				Aff. in Commissions: 1	88	-0.44	1.0
				Aff. in Culture and media: 2+	52	-0.57	1.0
				Prev. in org with other PE's: [9-19]	82	-0.45	1.0
				Prev. in org with other PE's: 20+	75	-0.49	1.0
				Media profile: Information	13.9	-1.05	0.9
				Books: 2-4	29	-0.71	0.8
				Partners position: Academic professions	73	-0.40	0.7
				Pct. of career in center: 100%	152	-0.28	0.7
				Area of education: Economy	81	-0.37	0.6

Table A5.4: Modalities contribution above average to Dimension 3

+ Formal 'corporatist' social capital				Informal social capital			
	Freq	Coord	Ctr		Freq	Coord	Ctr
Reach - Elite: 250+	157	0.62	4.0	Birthplace: Copenhagen and suburbs	158	-0.43	2.0
Highest Degree: First Degree	54	0.92	3.0	Reach - Elite: -175	87	-0.60	2.0
Chairman positions: 2+	88	0.71	2.9	Chairman positions: None	230	-0.34	1.8
Affiliations - Nb. Sectors: >=5	202	0.45	2.7	Partners position: (Senior) Civil servant	32	-0.91	1.7
Birthplace: Rural	53	0.86	2.6	Articles written: 0	161	-0.39	1.6
Gr. Parents class: Farm owner	47	0.89	2.5	CVR - Pensions and Insurance: None	289	-0.29	1.6
Elite geography: Isolated at 2km+	101	0.60	2.4	Affiliations - Nb. Sectors: 3-4	167	-0.36	1.4
Betweenness: Top	200	0.40	2.1	Books: 5+	35	-0.75	1.3
Partner: White Collar and Working Class	50	0.77	2.0	Aff. in Corporatism: None	158	-0.35	1.3
CVR - Pensions and Insurance: 3+	32	0.97	2.0	CVR - Investment: None	266	-0.26	1.2
CVR - Pensions and Insurance: 1	67	0.60	1.6	Pct. of career in center: 100%	152	-0.35	1.2
CVR - Investment: 2+	94	0.50	1.6	Area of education: Political science	40	-0.66	1.1
Pct. of career in center: <25%	57	0.65	1.6	Affiliations - Nb. Sectors: 1-2	54	-0.57	1.1
CVR - Science: Yes	54	0.62	1.4	Parents position: Junior Manager	33	-0.68	1.0
Area of education: Vocational or none	28	0.83	1.3	Highest Degree: Ph.D.	55	-0.54	1.0
Housing type: with land > 3.000 m2	57	0.59	1.3	Elite geography: 11-25	60	-0.51	1.0
Prestige network - America: Yes	70	0.54	1.3	Betweenness: Middle	150	-0.31	1.0
Pct. of career in center: 25-50%	41	0.66	1.2	Betweenness: Bottom	73	-0.44	0.9
Parents position: Farmer	31	0.75	1.1	Parents position: Academic professions	56	-0.47	0.8
Parents position: Manual worker	49	0.59	1.1	Highest Degree: Higher Degree	254	-0.21	0.8
Royal decoration: Knighth	42	0.63	1.1	Elite geography: >25	103	-0.34	0.8
CVR - Leadership: 1	60	0.50	1.0	Reach - Elite: 175-250	179	-0.26	0.8
Parents position: White Collar	33	0.64	0.9	Prev. in org with other PE's: 20+	75	-0.41	0.8
Parents position: Small Businessmen	29	0.66	0.8	Partners position: Academic professions	73	-0.37	0.7
Articles written: 1-9	180	0.25	0.8	Years abroad working: 1-5	84	-0.35	0.7
Media activity: Jyllands-Posten	43.6	0.53	0.8	Royal decoration: Commander	44	-0.51	0.7
Aff. in Corporatism: 5+	65	0.43	0.8	Gr. Parents class: Upper Class	90	-0.32	0.6
Media coverage: >100	117	0.32	0.8				
Prev. in org with other PE's: [6-9]	53	0.46	0.7				
Birthplace: Minor provincial city	67	0.36	0.6				
Estate value: I (€0<0.3>0.5 M)	31.1	0.56	0.6				

FIGURE A5.2: MODALITIES CONTRIBUTION ABOVE AVERAGE TO DIMENSION 1

The Danish Field of Power

Modalities contributing above average to 1st dimension

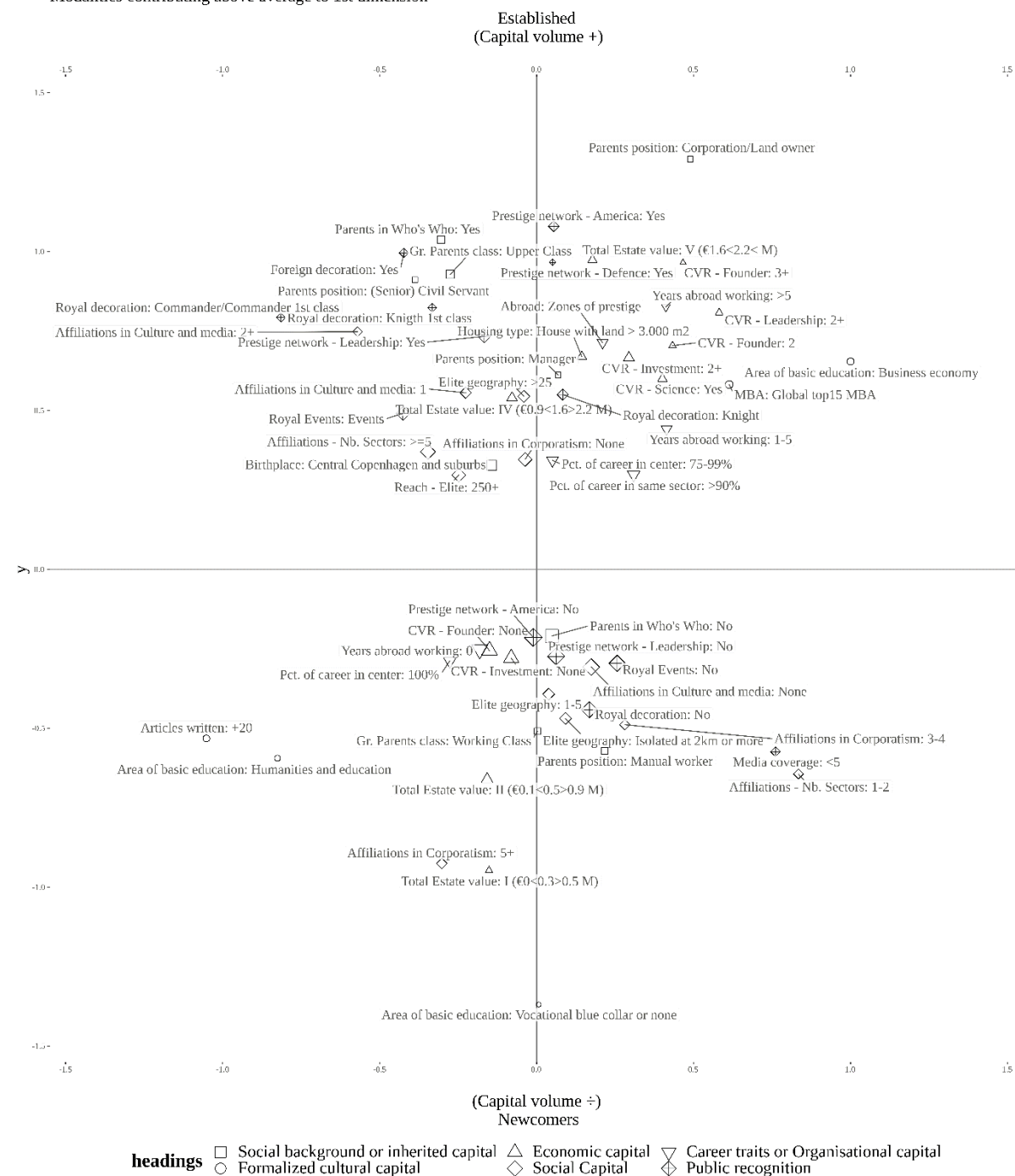


FIGURE A5.3: MODALITIES CONTRIBUTION ABOVE AVERAGE TO DIMENSION 2

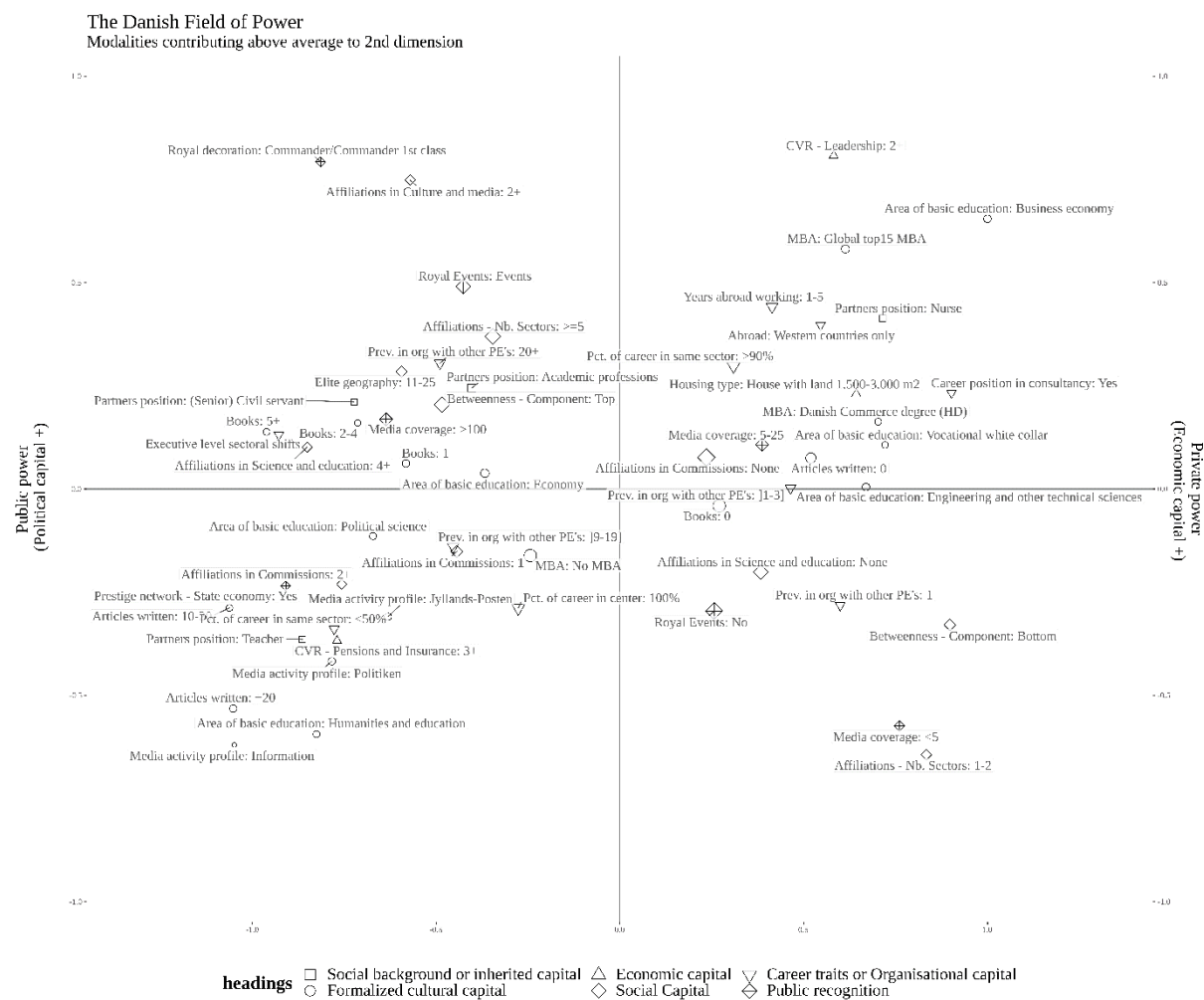
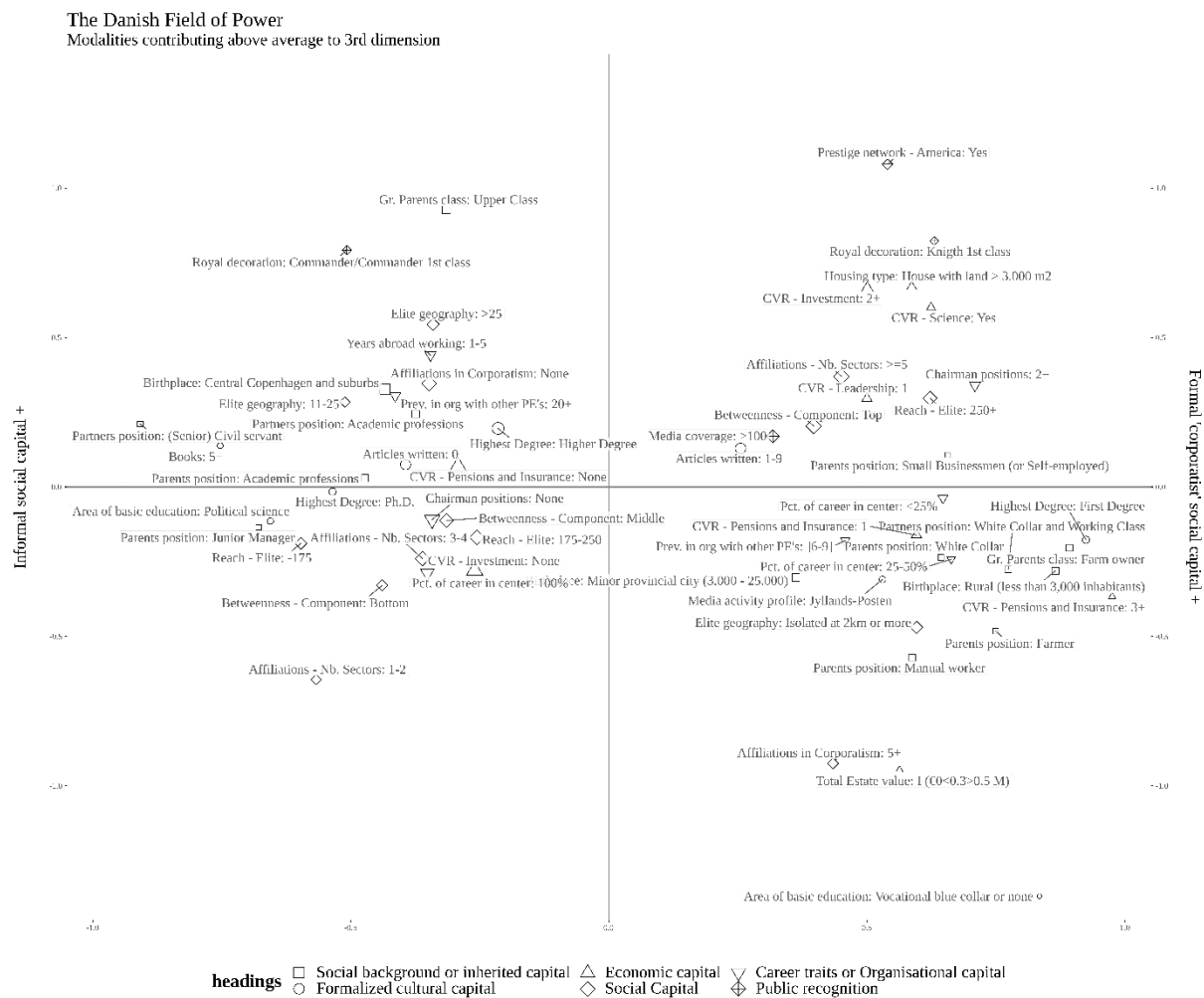


FIGURE A5.4: MODALITIES CONTRIBUTING ABOVE AVERAGE TO DIMENSION 3



Size of point indicate their relative frequency, shape the variable block or heading.

Table A5.5: Social background or inherited capital

	Modalities	Total ctr.	Freq.	Coord 1	Coord 2	Coord 3	Ctr 1	Ctr 2	Ctr 3
Birthplace	4	2.3	423				1.4	0.3	5.3
Rural (less than 3,000 inhabitants) or Born in rural area			53	-0.280	0.132	0.864	0.2	0.1	2.6
Minor provincial city (3,000–25,000)			67	-0.303	0.119	0.362	0.3	0.1	0.6
Provincial city (+25,000)			113	-0.028	-0.070	0.133	0.0	0.0	0.1
Central Copenhagen and suburbs or Born in Copenhagen			158	0.328	-0.143	-0.434	0.8	0.2	2.0
Abroad	(p)		10	0.573	0.304	-0.757			
MISSING	(p)		22	-0.871	0.564	-0.409			
Parents' position	11	7.6	423				5.7	2.0	7.2
(Senior) civil servant (parents)			31	0.912	-0.387	-0.508	1.3	0.3	0.5
Academic professions			56	0.029	-0.399	-0.473	0.0	0.5	0.8
Corporation/land owner (parents)			31	1.291	0.489	0.306	2.6	0.4	0.2
Engineer			21	-0.087	0.361	0.069	0.0	0.2	0.0
Farmer (Farmer parents)			31	-0.482	-0.235	0.749	0.4	0.1	1.1
Junior manager			33	-0.135	-0.351	-0.679	0.0	0.2	1.0
Manager (Manager parents)			31	0.612	0.068	-0.468	0.6	0.0	0.4
Manual worker (Working class parents)			49	-0.571	0.217	0.588	0.8	0.1	1.1
Politician	(p)		14	0.266	-0.723	-0.180			
Small business owner (or self-employed)			29	0.108	0.003	0.656	0.0	0.0	0.8
Teacher			16	-0.170	-0.421	-0.453	0.0	0.2	0.2
White collar (White collar parents)			33	-0.235	0.165	0.643	0.1	0.1	0.9
MISSING	(p)		48	-0.751	0.604	-0.299			
Parents in <i>Who's Who</i> ?	2	0.8	423				4.3	0.4	0.6
No			351	-0.209	0.049	0.074	0.8	0.0	0.1
Yes (Parents in <i>Who's Who</i>)			66	1.038	-0.304	-0.324	3.5	0.4	0.5
Foreign	(p)		6	0.832	0.499	-0.757			
Grandparents' class	5	3.2	423				4.6	0.9	3.7
MISSING	(p)		128	-0.394	0.294	-0.057			
Working class (Working class grandparents)			47	-0.509	0.003	0.232	0.6	0.0	0.2
Farm owner (Farm owner grandparents)			47	-0.204	0.263	0.892	0.1	0.2	2.5
Lower middle class			61	0.045	-0.193	0.023	0.0	0.1	0.0
Upper middle class			50	-0.047	-0.272	-0.371	0.0	0.2	0.5
Upper class (Upper class grandparents)			90	0.928	-0.275	-0.315	3.8	0.4	0.6
Partner's position	11	7.6	423				2.1	4.8	5.3
(Senior) civil servant (Married to civil servant)			32	0.211	-0.723	-0.908	0.1	1.0	1.7
Academic professions (Married to an academic)			73	0.245	-0.403	-0.374	0.2	0.7	0.7
Creative work (artists, designers, architects)			18	0.709	-0.203	-0.042	0.4	0.0	0.0
Engineer or consultant			24	-0.377	0.367	-0.104	0.2	0.2	0.0
Housewife	(p)		14	0.548	0.664	0.209			
Junior manager			39	0.151	0.406	0.030	0.0	0.4	0.0
Manager			22	0.399	-0.127	-0.224	0.2	0.0	0.1
Nurse (Married to a nurse)			30	0.414	0.715	0.301	0.3	0.9	0.2
Organisation management or politics			26	-0.543	-0.314	0.506	0.4	0.1	0.4
Small business owner (or self-employed)			15	0.115	0.527	-0.127	0.0	0.2	0.0
Teacher (Married to a teacher)			27	-0.364	-0.864	0.326	0.2	1.2	0.2
White collar and working class			50	-0.275	0.217	0.773	0.2	0.1	2.0
Never married	(p)		6	-0.022	-0.071	-0.259			
MISSING	(p)		47	-0.574	0.356	-0.123			
	33	21.5					18.1	8.5	22.1

(p): Modality set as *passive*. (c): Barycentre of other modalities

Table A5.6: Formalised cultural capital

	Modalities	Total ctr.	Freq.	Coord 1	Coord 2	Coord 3	Ctr 1	Ctr 2	Ctr 3
Area of basic education	9	6	423				4.9	8.9	4.6
Agriculture	(p)		5	0.521	0.120	1.012			
Army or police	(p)		9	-0.114	0.139	-0.248			
Business economy			53	0.655	1.000	0.298	1.1	3.0	0.3
Economy			81	0.038	-0.367	-0.309	0.0	0.6	0.5
Engineering and other technical sciences			53	0.005	0.669	0.259	0.0	1.4	0.2
Humanities and education			35	-0.594	-0.825	0.300	0.6	1.4	0.2
Law			51	0.459	-0.409	-0.397	0.5	0.5	0.5
Natural sciences			36	0.048	-0.199	-0.152	0.0	0.1	0.1
Political science			40	-0.114	-0.672	-0.656	0.0	1.0	1.1
Vocational blue collar or none			28	-1.369	0.007	0.834	2.6	0.0	1.3
Vocational white collar			29	0.107	0.721	0.429	0.0	0.9	0.4
MISSING	(p)		3	-1.390	0.717	-0.545			
Highest Degree	3	1.6	423				0.6	0.5	4.9
None	(p)		9	-1.424	0.044	0.782			
Vocational	(p)		48	-0.467	0.431	0.599			
First degree			54	-0.177	0.120	0.924	0.1	0.0	3.0
Higher degree			254	0.196	-0.041	-0.215	0.5	0.0	0.8
PhD			55	-0.016	-0.351	-0.535	0.0	0.4	1.0
MISSING	(p)		3	-1.390	0.717	-0.545			
MBA	4	2.2	423				1.6	3.6	1.1
No MBA			292	-0.161	-0.244	-0.133	0.4	1.0	0.3
Danish commerce degree (HD)			36	0.163	0.702	0.378	0.0	1.0	0.3
Danish or less prestigious foreign MBA			24	-0.005	0.095	0.213	0.0	0.0	0.1
Global top15 MBA			71	0.582	0.613	0.285	1.2	1.5	0.4
Articles written	4	2.2	423				1.0	7.7	2.9
0 (No media activity)			161	0.075	0.519	-0.394	0.0	2.5	1.6
1–9			180	0.129	0.017	0.255	0.1	0.0	0.8
10–20			34	-0.288	-1.062	0.461	0.1	2.2	0.5
20+			48	-0.532	-1.052	0.039	0.7	3.0	0.0
High media activity*	(c)		82	-0.431	-1.056	0.214	0.8	5.2	0.5
Books	4	2.2	423				0.1	5.0	2.1
0			309	-0.041	0.270	0.149	0.0	1.3	0.5
1			50	0.062	-0.582	-0.229	0.0	1.0	0.2
2–4			29	0.160	-0.713	-0.283	0.0	0.8	0.2
5+			35	0.138	-0.961	-0.753	0.0	1.9	1.3
Several books*	(c)		64	0.148	-0.849	-0.540	0.0	2.7	1.5
Media activity profile	5	3.5	423				0.9	4.2	1.1
<i>Politiken</i> (Writings in center-left Copenhagen media)			51.5	-0.417	-0.784	0.213	0.4	1.8	0.2
<i>Jyllands-Posten</i> (Writing in center-right Provincial media)			43.6	-0.309	-0.631	0.530	0.2	1.0	0.8
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i>			13.2	-0.094	-0.608	0.125	0.0	0.3	0.0
<i>Boersen</i>			43.8	0.039	-0.329	0.185	0.0	0.3	0.1
<i>Information</i>			13.9	-0.620	-1.049	0.159	0.3	0.9	0.0
MISSING	(p)		257	0.168	0.408	-0.179			
	29	17.7					9.1	29.8	16.7

(p): Modality set as *passive*. (c): Barycentre of other modalities

Table A5.7: Economic capital

	Modalities	Total ctr.	Freq.	Coord 1	Coord 2	Coord 3	Ctr 1	Ctr 2	Ctr 3
CVR – Founder	4	2.2	423				3.5	1.3	1.3
None			292	-0.256	-0.150	-0.142	0.9	0.4	0.4
1			70	0.348	0.235	0.266	0.4	0.2	0.3
2			33	0.704	0.433	0.358	0.8	0.4	0.3
3+			28	0.966	0.466	0.391	1.3	0.3	0.3
Founder of companies*	(c)		131	0.570	0.334	0.316	2.5	0.9	0.9
CVR – Pensions and insurance	4	2.2	423				0.4	1.2	5.5
None			289	0.068	0.062	-0.292	0.1	0.1	1.6
1			67	-0.161	0.110	0.596	0.1	0.0	1.6
2			35	0.080	-0.022	0.383	0.0	0.0	0.3
3+ (On boards in pensions and insurance)			32	-0.367	-0.769	0.975	0.2	1.1	2.0
CVR – Investment	3	1.5	423				3.2	0.6	3.3
None			266	-0.280	-0.081	-0.260	1.0	0.1	1.2
1			63	0.188	-0.097	0.352	0.1	0.0	0.5
2+ (Investment companies)			94	0.665	0.294	0.500	2.1	0.5	1.6
CVR – Leadership	3	1.5	423				1.7	0.9	1.4
None			329	-0.138	-0.012	-0.115	0.3	0.0	0.3
1			60	0.297	-0.262	0.500	0.3	0.2	1.0
2+			34	0.808	0.581	0.233	1.1	0.7	0.1
CVR – Science	2	0.7	423				1.1	0.6	1.6
No			369	-0.088	-0.059	-0.091	0.1	0.1	0.2
Yes (Positions in sci. and tech. companies)			54	0.600	0.401	0.624	1.0	0.5	1.4
Housing type	5	3	423				1.8	1.6	1.8
House with land < 1,500 m ²			200	-0.143	-0.065	-0.018	0.2	0.0	0.0
House with land 1,500–3,000 m ² (Medium estate size)			42	0.230	0.643	0.038	0.1	1.0	0.0
House with land > 3,000 m ² (Large estate)			57	0.670	0.144	0.586	1.3	0.1	1.3
Owner flat/town house			74	-0.229	-0.313	-0.223	0.2	0.4	0.2
Rented or shared property			36	0.004	-0.225	-0.329	0.0	0.1	0.3
Abroad	(p)		8	0.516	0.735	-0.005			
MISSING	(p)		6	-1.095	0.523	-0.527			
Total estate value	5	3.1	423				7.4	0.6	1.5
I (€0<0.3>0.5m) or Low estate value (< 0.5 M €)			31.1	-0.947	-0.152	0.563	1.4	0.0	0.6
II (€0.1<0.5>0.9m)			107.2	-0.661	-0.158	0.168	2.3	0.2	0.2
III (€0.5<0.9>1.6m)			92.1	0.007	0.225	-0.210	0.0	0.3	0.3
IV (€0.9<1.6>2.2m)			79.1	0.540	-0.078	-0.130	1.1	0.0	0.1
V (€1.6<2.2<m) or Highest estate value (> 2 M €)			55.5	0.973	0.178	0.274	2.6	0.1	0.3
MISSING	(p)		58	0.050	-0.047	-0.362			
	26	14,2					19,0	6,8	16,3

(p): Modality set as *passive*. (c): Barycentre of other modalities

Table A5.8: Social capital

	Modalities	Total ctr.	Freq.	Coord 1	Coord 2	Coord 3	Ctr 1	Ctr 2	Ctr 3
Elite geography	5	3	423				3.7	1.7	4.3
Isolated at 2 km or more (No elite neighbours)			101	-0.469	0.092	0.596	1.1	0.0	2.4
1–5			97	-0.393	0.038	0.107	0.7	0.0	0.1
5–10			51	0.216	0.376	-0.042	0.1	0.4	0.0
No or few elite neighbours*	(c)		198	-0.432	0.066	0.356	1.8	0.0	2.5
11–25			60	0.285	-0.594	-0.511	0.2	1.2	1.0
>25			103	0.544	-0.041	-0.341	1.5	0.0	0.8
Many elite neighbours*	(c)		163	0.449	-0.244	-0.403	1.7	1.2	1.8
MISSING or ABROAD	(p)		11	0.116	0.692	-0.241			
Reach – elite	3	1.5	423				1.1	0.9	6.8
-175			87	-0.188	0.211	-0.597	0.2	0.2	2.0
175–250			179	-0.169	0.115	-0.256	0.3	0.1	0.8
250 (High network reach)			157	0.297	-0.248	0.622	0.7	0.6	4.0
Betweenness – component	3	1.5	423				0.9	6.4	4.0
Bottom (Low network centrality)			73	-0.330	0.897	-0.439	0.4	3.4	0.9
Middle			150	-0.112	0.209	-0.315	0.1	0.4	1.0
Top (High network centrality)			200	0.204	-0.484	0.397	0.4	2.7	2.1
Affiliations in commissions	3	1.5	423				0.3	3.2	1.3
None			295	0.076	0.235	-0.138	0.1	0.9	0.4
1			88	-0.151	-0.443	0.282	0.1	1.0	0.5
2+ (Commissions)			40	-0.231	-0.757	0.400	0.1	1.3	0.4
Affiliations in Corporatism	4	2.2	423				4.9	0.7	2.4
None			158	0.346	-0.037	-0.348	0.9	0.0	1.3
1–2			137	0.265	0.056	0.068	0.5	0.0	0.0
3–4 (3–4 positions in corporatist bodies)			63	-0.489	0.281	0.277	0.7	0.3	0.3
5+ (5+ positions in corporatist bodies)			65	-0.925	-0.302	0.434	2.8	0.3	0.8
3+ positions in corporatist bodies*	(c)		128	-0.710	-0.016	0.357	3.5	0.6	1.1
Affiliations in culture and media	3	1.5	423				4.1	1.7	0.6
None			284	-0.307	0.174	-0.093	1.3	0.5	0.2
1			87	0.556	-0.226	0.121	1.3	0.3	0.1
2+ (Many positions in culture and media)			52	0.748	-0.570	0.305	1.4	1.0	0.3
Affiliations in science and education	4	2.2	423				0.7	3.9	0.2
None			178	-0.201	0.384	-0.038	0.4	1.5	0.0
1			95	0.245	-0.003	-0.079	0.3	0.0	0.0
2–3			102	0.075	-0.267	0.060	0.0	0.4	0.0
4+ (Many positions in science and education)			48	0.102	-0.851	0.167	0.0	2.0	0.1
Affiliations – nb. Sectors	3	1.5	423				3.0	3.7	5.3
1–2			54	-0.644	0.834	-0.567	1.1	2.2	1.1
3–4			167	-0.239	0.149	-0.361	0.5	0.2	1.4
5+ (Positions across sectors)			202	0.370	-0.346	0.450	1.4	1.4	2.7
	28	14.9					18.7	22.3	24.8

(p): Modality set as *passive*. (c): Barycentre of other modalities

Table A5.9: Career trajectories and organisational capital

	Modalities	Total ctr.	Freq.	Coord 1	Coord 2	Coord 3	Ctr 1	Ctr 2	Ctr 3
Chairman positions	3	1.5	423				0.7	0.8	4.9
None			230	-0.109	0.158	-0.343	0.1	0.3	1.8
1			105	-0.046	-0.105	0.156	0.0	0.1	0.2
2+ (Chairmen)			88	0.340	-0.288	0.709	0.5	0.4	2.9
Career position in consultancy	2	0.7	423				0.1	2.3	0.0
No			378	-0.028	-0.107	-0.009	0.0	0.2	0.0
Yes (Career position in consultancy)			45	0.233	0.902	0.078	0.1	2.1	0.0
Pct. of career in centre	5	3	423				1.6	1.3	4.5
<25% (Career outside Copenhagen)			57	-0.038	0.348	0.647	0.0	0.4	1.6
25–50%			41	-0.242	0.326	0.663	0.1	0.2	1.2
50–75%			57	0.281	0.052	0.219	0.2	0.0	0.2
75–99%			116	0.343	0.050	-0.199	0.7	0.0	0.3
100 % (100% career in Copenhagen)			152	-0.288	-0.276	-0.352	0.6	0.7	1.2
Years abroad working	3	1.5	423				3.3	1.8	1.0
0 (Never abroad)			294	-0.252	-0.181	0.120	0.9	0.6	0.3
1–5 (Some years abroad)			84	0.441	0.414	-0.346	0.8	0.8	0.7
>5 (Many years abroad)			45	0.826	0.412	-0.135	1.5	0.4	0.1
Abroad	2	1.3	423				2.6	1.0	0.4
Developing countries	(p)		11	0.197	0.540	-0.183			
Western countries only			44	0.397	0.546	-0.137	0.3	0.8	0.1
Zones of prestige			88	0.714	0.210	-0.260	2.2	0.2	0.4
Never abroad	(p)		280	-0.294	-0.173	0.110			
Pct. of career in same organisation	4	2.2	423				0.3	0.7	0.3
<50%			136	-0.019	-0.222	-0.048	0.0	0.4	0.0
50–75			149	-0.108	0.090	0.130	0.1	0.1	0.2
75–90%			65	0.007	0.008	-0.034	0.0	0.0	0.0
>90%			73	0.251	0.222	-0.146	0.2	0.2	0.1
Pct. of career in same sector	4	2.2	423				1.0	2.8	0.2
<50%			58	-0.339	-0.777	-0.173	0.3	2.0	0.1
50–70%			122	-0.105	0.017	0.046	0.1	0.0	0.0
70–90%			105	-0.082	0.003	0.102	0.0	0.0	0.1
>90% (Single sector career)			138	0.298	0.309	-0.045	0.6	0.8	0.0
Executive level sectoral shift	2	0.7	423				0.0	2.4	0.5
No			379	-0.015	0.108	0.045	0.0	0.3	0.1
Yes (Executive level sectoral shift)			44	0.131	-0.928	-0.390	0.0	2.2	0.4
Prev. in organisation with other Pes	6	3.7	423				0.8	4.0	1.8
1			49	-0.282	0.599	0.026	0.2	1.0	0.0
]1–3]			63	0.002	0.464	0.170	0.0	0.8	0.1
]3–6]			101	0.117	0.187	0.066	0.1	0.2	0.0
]6–9]			53	-0.179	-0.068	0.458	0.1	0.0	0.7
]9–19]			82	-0.140	-0.453	-0.144	0.1	1.0	0.1
20+ (Career in elite organisations)			75	0.305	-0.489	-0.414	0.3	1.0	0.8
	31	16.8					10.4	17.1	13.7

(p): Modality set as *passive*. (c): Barycentre of other modalities

Table A5.10: Public recognition and symbolic capital

	Modalities	Total ctr.	Freq.	Coord 1	Coord 2	Coord 3	Ctr 1	Ctr 2	Ctr 3
Royal decoration	4	2.2	423				6.5	2.4	2.2
No			257	-0.442	0.168	-0.080	2.5	0.4	0.1
Knight (Royal decoration)			80	0.550	0.083	0.206	1.2	0.0	0.2
(Royal) Knight 1st class			42	0.824	-0.332	0.630	1.4	0.3	1.1
(Royal) Commander/Commander 1st class			44	0.793	-0.814	-0.508	1.4	1.7	0.7
Royal events	2	0.7	423				3.0	2.6	0.1
No			264	-0.296	0.256	-0.050	1.1	1.0	0.0
Yes (or Royal Events)			159	0.491	-0.426	0.082	1.9	1.7	0.1
Foreign decoration	2	0.7	423				2.7	0.6	0.5
No			374	-0.130	0.055	0.049	0.3	0.1	0.1
Yes			49	0.996	-0.423	-0.376	2.4	0.5	0.5
Prestige network – Defence	2	0.7	423				1.4	0.0	0.1
No			395	-0.068	-0.004	-0.018	0.1	0.0	0.0
Yes			28	0.966	0.051	0.252	1.3	0.0	0.1
Prestige network – America	2	0.7	423				4.8	0.0	1.6
No			353	-0.214	-0.011	-0.107	0.8	0.0	0.3
Yes			70	1.080	0.054	0.539	4.0	0.0	1.3
Prestigious networks* (Defence yes + America yes)	(c)		98	1.047	0.053	0.457	5.3	0.0	1.4
Prestige network – Leadership	2	0.7	423				4.2	0.3	0.2
No			308	-0.274	0.062	-0.053	1.1	0.1	0.1
Yes			115	0.733	-0.167	0.143	3.1	0.2	0.2
Prestige network – State economy	2	0.7	423				0.1	2.0	0.1
No			384	0.024	0.092	-0.020	0.0	0.2	0.0
Yes (Economy counselling fora)			39	-0.235	-0.909	0.195	0.1	1.8	0.1
Media coverage	4	2.2	423				1.1	5.6	1.5
<5			54	-0.574	0.761	-0.353	0.9	1.8	0.4
5–25			117	0.107	0.387	-0.180	0.1	1.0	0.3
Low media coverage*	(c)		171	-0.108	0.505	-0.235	1.0	2.8	0.7
25–100			135	-0.010	-0.088	0.022	0.0	0.1	0.0
>100			117	0.169	-0.636	0.317	0.2	2.7	0.8
High media coverage*	(c)		252	0.073	-0.342	0.160	0.2	2.8	0.8
Media coverage profile	8	5.3	423				0.8	2.1	0.1
B.T.			15.5	0.153	-0.507	-0.086	0.0	0.2	0.0
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i>			100.8	0.170	0.112	0.034	0.1	0.1	0.0
<i>Boersen</i>			98.8	0.225	0.294	0.062	0.2	0.5	0.0
Covered in center-right media*	(c)		199.6	0.197	0.202	0.048	0.3	0.6	0.0
<i>Ekstra Bladet</i>			17.5	-0.093	-0.512	0.038	0.0	0.3	0.0
<i>Information</i> (Covered in center-left media)			18.7	-0.322	-0.717	-0.028	0.1	0.6	0.0
<i>Jyllands-Posten</i>			93.4	-0.096	0.041	0.051	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>Politiken</i>			61.6	-0.285	-0.320	0.009	0.2	0.4	0.0
<i>Weekendavisen</i>			3.7	-0.029	-0.601	-0.169	0.0	0.1	0.0
MISSING	(p)		13	-0.574	0.616	-1.003			
	28	13.9					24.7	15.5	6.4

(p): Modality set as *passive*. (c): Barycentre of other modalities

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