

10.4 Who are arts managers? A sociological investigation into the case of France

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Sociological knowledge of arts and culture management can be of great help to students, professionals and neophytes who enter this field, as a map to avoid getting lost in a complex environment. It can also provide useful intellectual resources for critical thinking, which is an essential characteristic of this reflective work. In turn, arts management manifests itself as an observation point for a better understanding of permanent changes at the general sociological level. Arts managers as a professional group are really the core of the "culture intermediaries" (Smith Maguire and Matthews 2012) and "creative workers" (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011), constituting a huge hub of social change over the last few decades of the "post-industrial", "neo-capitalist" and "creative" economy.

However, if there are few sociological studies on arts management (Kirchberg and Zembylas 2010), there are even fewer on arts managers apart from the foundation studies of Paul DiMaggio and Richard Peterson on the American case thirty years ago (DiMaggio 1987; Peterson 1987). In this article, we propose that in order to understand arts managers from a sociological point of view, they must be studied as a social group. This involves investigating the range of their socio-professional profiles and trajectories and, based on this, to consider their practices, skills and values. Then it is possible to position arts managers in social class and active population structures, as well as in the complex network of relationships between the field of art, the market, public and private sponsors, the media and the general public. Finally, this framework allows us to determine what arts management is from a sociological point of view.

This article that brings together some of the results of a study on the case of **France**, proposes a first step in this **direction**. In the first part, we present the main factors that lead candidates to consider arts management as a possible and desirable professional choice. Next, we analyse the social characteristics of the potential arts managers in terms of social class, gender and training history and show how these characteristics coincide with the parameters of the labour market and the social structure in France. This leads, in the third part, to a better understanding of the expectations and aspirations deposited in arts management and, therefore, to knowledge of the social significance of activities in this field.

Culture: a choice of profession

Making a career in the world of culture has become a viable option in terms of professional career choices, especially for university graduates. Professional «choices» cannot only be explained on the basis of personal «motivations». They depend on social conditions, which can be subjectively translated into an expression of individual will. Work in the field of culture is no exception to this rule (Brook 2015).

The countries of Western Europe have witnessed an important long-term increase of cultural employment since the eighties. In France, the number of professionals employed in the information, arts and performing arts sectors multiplied by 1.7 between 1962 and 1982 and again, by 2.5 between 1982 and 2008; since 2008, there are 4.2 times more professionals in these sectors than in 1962 (this figure can be doubled if you also take into account the unemployed). This increase is much higher than that of the active population in general. Throughout this period, these jobs represented between 0.35% and 1.08% of the active population (to see the specific and complete data, see Gouyon and Patureau 2014). Depending on the definition that is considered,

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the cultural sector as it stands represents between 1.7% and 2% of all employment in France, equivalent to the average of the European Union in 2009. This increase, although it is not linear and varies according to specific sectors and positions, has gradually contributed to the fact that more and more people who have just joined the labour market consider these jobs as viable professional choices, despite the working conditions often being unattractive.

As the aggregate number of people in the cultural sector was growing, culture management posts were also growing, and new related posts were emerging, which encouraged aspirations that were initially due to the attraction of something new, that is to say, the introduction of new job opportunities. Gradually, these opportunities came to reflect new divisions of work created in the field of culture. This is a second general factor for choosing professional careers in arts management.

Although organizational activities that enabled works of art to be produced and presented to the public have existed for a long time, these activities that in the past were carried out by the artists themselves or volunteers, were gradually becoming more professionalized and boosted the growth of a career field, as was pointed out by Peterson and DiMaggio in the case of the U.S. (Peterson 1987; DiMaggio 1987). As far as France is concerned, it is possible to draw a comparison (Dubois 2012; 2016b). Although cultural activities followed a professionalisation process that began in the sixties, it was mainly in the second half of the eighties when professional brands associated with culture management posts were defined and popularized. In part, new posts were created, for example, positions of Director of Cultural Affairs in local councils. During this period, a similar process was happening in other European countries (see for example Mangset, 1995 on Norway). Training programs and specialized publications appeared. As in the United States, the emergence of new sources of funding for culture such as private sources, promoted the conditions that led to a culture management boom. On the contrary, in many other countries, funding is mainly public. As a result, staff were hired for administrative and management tasks due to significant growth in culture budgets from the late seventies at a local level, which continued to increase in the early eighties due to the combined effects of an unprecedented growth of resources available to the Ministry of Culture and decentralization. This new funding also made a certain specialization necessary, partly in terms of functioning, owing to increased administrative workload, but also in more political terms. In practice, greater public spending on culture became an attempt to demonstrate a stricter control of spending in the public sector, leading to the development of a management and economic rhetoric (Dubois, 2006). A direct link can be established between changes in cultural policy and the creation of new jobs.

This growth of culture management posts involved a minimum standardization of jobs or access routes to posts. The various access routes make culture management look like a relatively open sector and these vaguely-defined posts give candidates the opportunity to define their limits according to their own personal inclination. This vagueness helps to make these jobs attractive: versatility and a multiplicity of activities are an antidote to routine; often, to some extent individuals can define their activities based on personal orientation or their experience rather than simply performing a set of pre-established roles. In short, their work gives them the opportunity to perform.

Together with the development of cultural employment and the determinants of these jobs, the evolution of higher education and, especially, the development of training programmes specializing in culture management have contributed to making these works a viable professional perspective. First, the increase in the student population and longer education periods have generated huge amounts of graduates seeking professional guidance, especially in general branches of knowledge, including the arts and humanities subjects. The choice of culture is a possible outcome of this search for guidance; the majority of candidates for cultural master's programmes have a history in the arts. Secondly, new training programmes in culture and arts management have encouraged this field as a choice of profession. In the United States, the process of professionalization of arts managers that began in the sixties came with the emergence of specialized training programmes. In Europe, these programmes appeared in the seventies and their development occurred mainly in the eighties



with the support of international organizations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe and later the European Union at a European level (Sternal 2007). In France these times were almost the same. The widespread dissemination of the idea that anyone can forge a career in the field of culture thanks to these training programmes, without necessarily being an artist, probably have something to do with the explanation of why there are so many people dedicated to this, especially those who have the most doubts about their professional careers.

Profiles of cultural manager candidates

How are these objectives and these collective conditions transformed into subjective and individual aspirations? To answer this question, we will now examine the social characteristics of the candidates and indicate the role played by gender, social origin, education and familiarity with culture.

The fundamental characteristic of candidates to be cultural managers with respect to others who are studying other higher education qualifications is that the proportion of women is inordinate. 85% of candidates and 80% of those enrolled in culture management master's programmes. Similar rates are observed in other countries. This difference between genders is not due to a pre-existent gender identity of culture management posts, but rather reflects an ongoing process of feminization in the culture sector.

An initial explanation is the historically proven trend that young women prefer to study arts subjects. In later cycles of higher education, choices are increasingly based on career plans, for example, on expectations related to job growth. Then, work in the cultural sector can be a possible and desirable choice for arts students. A second explanation lies in the differences between genders in their relationships with cultural and artistic practices. Recent studies have shown that there is a trend towards the feminization of these practices: differences are heightened in practices in which women were already dominant (such as reading) and are narrowing in those in which men predominated (such as amateur music). Since there has been a strong correlation between the intensity of cultural practices and aspirations to pursue careers in the field of culture, the feminization of cultural practices could very well be one of the factors contributing to the feminization of professional careers in this sector.

It should be mentioned that the contribution of men and women in these jobs differs: they do not aspire to the same responsibilities and differences are particularly observed in terms of creative jobs compared to non-creative ones. Women are still in the minority among artistic creators. Thus, the combination of more intense cultural practices in the case of women and a greater vocation and the existence of a division of labour according to gender in which creative work is more common for men, may explain the large number of women who are work in culture management. Women are less inclined to engage in a creative artistic profession and are more likely to abandon it if they do. The predominance of women among those engaged in culture management can also be interpreted as a result of their greater tendency to side-line creative work.

Social status is seldom considered when explaining involvement in creative work (Brook 2013), while, contrary to the logical and optimistic view, access to posts in this sector is rarely based on "merit" (O'Brien, Laurison, Miles and Friedman 2016). In our sampling, many of the potential cultural managers come from a privileged social background. Almost half of the students (more than 45%) in these Master's programmes are children of executives or individuals who carry out work of great intellectual capacity. The proportion of students in this category far exceeds that of all university students (30%) and even that of all Master's students (37%). Similar percentages are observed in the candidates for the Master's programmes on whom the results of the questionnaire provide us with more detailed information. More than four out of five candidates (81%) have at least one parent working at "Executive" level, "middle management" or "executive director" and almost half (47%) have both parents in these categories. In addition to their high level jobs, the parents of the candidates also stand out because of their high level of representation of certain sectors of activity: education, health, social work and, as is to be expected, art and culture. Nearly two out of three candidates (62%) have at least

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one of their parents working in these areas. These sectors generally require high levels of educational capital. This dominance of educational capital concurs not only with the replication of strategies in which education is highly valued, but also with the cultural and intellectual inclination that can lead these individuals to follow cultural professions. The second characteristic that these sectors share is that they have to do with human relationships. For this reason, the cultural sector goes a long way to attract individuals who value the relational aspects of professional activity and, in some cases, invest their own altruistic activity in this sector.

The educational characteristics of our population indicate the high level of achievements not only of current cultural managers and those who are applying for these positions, but also of those who wish to obtain a degree in this field. These people have accumulated high levels of educational capital even before applying for admission to a Cultural Master's programme: the main example is the conditions under which they obtained their baccalaureate. Eighty percent of the candidates for Cultural Master's programmes graduated from secondary education within the timeframe corresponding to the school programme or earlier (with respect to 62% of the student population in general). A relatively high representation of prestigious selection programmes in the early cycles of higher education is the second indicator that candidates have a high level of initial educational capital.

The parents' jobs, the sectors in which they work and their levels of academic achievement suggest that many potential cultural managers have experienced early and intense cultural immersion within the family nucleus (with cultural outings over the previous year for 90% of the parents). The cultural practices of the parents are of course passed on through a well-established imitation mechanism that is an essential factor for future practices (Coulangeon 2013). They also produce a cumulative effect of familiarization with the world of culture and the promotion of new contributions that helps culture to be perceived as a viable and desirable professional environment. The candidates experienced early cultural immersion thanks to their families and almost all of them practiced some artistic discipline when they were children. Often, in relation to this artistic training, artistic activities are also widespread among the candidates: 67% of them practice (40%) or have practiced (27%) on a regular basis (at least weekly) and more than 25% practise two disciplines or more. There are also important differences related to cultural outings, which are slightly more frequent in candidates for cultural Master's programmes than in the student population in general and more even than for Arts and Humanities students. It is 11 times more likely that candidates have visited a museum or an exhibition than students in general. All the candidates have done at least one cultural activity in the previous month.

The fundamental principles of the choice of professional career

Failed artists?

In a sector that revolves around the figure of the creator, choosing to work on the organizational side can be perceived as a second option, in which activity at the service of artists would compensate for abandoning an unattainable artistic career themselves. Although there may be some truth in this assumption, describing candidates as failed artists would simplify things too much: in fact, the relationship between artistic vocations and a choice of career in the field of culture are much more complex.

There is a small but significant percentage (12.5%) of students who dedicate themselves to culture management after having left a career in the arts. In most cases, this early choice of profession was not just a vague childish dream and stemmed from experience as an artist, often recent and on sometimes, important. When this is the case, renouncing a career in the arts can reflect a legendary vision of artistic vocation as an inner need. In this sense, a candidate explained during a selection interview that he had left the theatre because he had diverse interests and he did not feel called by the exclusive "faith" and the total implication he



felt were necessary to be an actor. In other cases, experiencing the day to day life of artists can be a factor, like for that young jazz musician, tired of the exhausting tours (selection interview). At any level, these two ways of rationalizing the relationship between artistic vocation and the choice of culture management shed light on the meaning that agents can give to their professional trajectories.

The relationship between artistic vocation and the choice of culture management cannot, however, be limited to a more or less forced change of profession. It could also be considered as two ways of translating cultural aspirations into professional aspirations, which are taking shape at different stages of someone's personal trajectory. In other words, instead of considering artistic vocation and its evolution as the motive that drives individuals to seek a career in culture management, it is possible to identify identical principles and factors that favour these two choices, based on partly shared inclinations, particularly developed during immersion in the family. These are specific cultural inclinations such as carrying out artistic activities or going to concerts or art galleries. Generally speaking, these are social inclinations: aspiring to unconventional jobs, valuing personal fulfilment and not putting so much value on material wealth. In time, first they are expressed in the romantic form of yearning for art, which lasts the time of a feeling of freedom and the dream of an open future that is experienced during secondary education or the first year of university studies, coinciding with a time when there are no family, economic or professional obligations. When personal experience and parental or educational support modifies the "space of the possible" and when graduation approaches, the same inclinations can be expressed in a similar, but apparently less risky, and more "serious" choice, that of culture management. This choice is not so much the result of renouncing artistic vocation but of transforming it into a more "reasonable" form, that is, one that conforms to previously, temporarily ignored obligations.

Finally, and this deserves to be highlighted, the choices of devoting oneself to artistic activities and culture management are often mixed, as the latter comes after the former. Candidates who still plan to be professional artists are actually as numerous (15%) as those who have given up on the perspective. These are largely "serious contenders", at least as regards their admission to the Master's programme in Culture. This is because with respect to candidates in general, they have accumulated greater prior professional experience (active participation in cultural associations, scholarships, remunerated professional experience) and often have more friends and family that work in the field of art and culture. For them, the acquisition of skills or at least a qualification in management, financing, curating or public relations completes their skills in the arts. It seems that they develop a double academic strategy that consists of obtaining a qualification that is capable of backing up their diversification prospects and acquiring competences that they can use as a complement to their skills in the arts, especially in management, organization and legislation.

The combination of artistic and administrative activities mainly takes on two forms. The first is projection towards a double profession as an artist and a manager. In this case, culture management is an activity that is developed in parallel to a more uncertain artistic practice that offers a minimum of security within the same sphere. Culture management can also be combined with artistic practice following a fundamental principle of diversification of roles by means of which artistic and similar activities are not only combined for economic reasons but are actually related to one another. The existence of these combinations in professional projections reflects a tendency towards a growing integration of the roles of production, organization and distribution. The application for admission to a culture management programme is therefore related to the acquisition of a skill (administrative, financial, institutional) that is considered as necessary as the artistic activity itself. This strategy represents a transformation of the capital belonging to the arts world, which considers the incorporation of a component of "management" that previous generations used to perceive as an external imposition and which is now assumed as "part of the work", because "art is a market". Thus, to some extent, a new pattern appears. Artists can rationalise their creative activity by acquiring complementary skills that lead to economic and practical conditions, something that does not concur with the stereotype of the "failed artist."



The culture sector is more than one specific job

The choice of culture management is due more to the attraction of “culture” and personal and professional perspectives that it can offer than to the contents of a specific activity or the characteristics of a particular job. Candidates have a (true) professional interest in the field of culture, but few want to work in a specific job, role or structure. It is a vocation to work in the culture sector and not in one job in particular. In this respect, culture management stands out among other vocational professions such as journalism, teaching, art and research, whose appeal is to work in the corresponding profession. Choosing a career in culture management means wanting to work in the culture sector rather than wanting to carry out management tasks. While a large majority of respondents to the questionnaire indicate that they want to pursue a culture-related career just after graduation, few specify the job they want to work in. Only one third of candidates intend to work in a specific sector of culture, with theatre and music being the most common. The preponderance of the performing arts is due to the variety that this sector includes, which largely represents the jobs available in the field of culture. There are also specific programmes in other sectors, such as the publishing sector or the public reading sector that may explain the shortage of references that are made to these in the career plans of candidates.

Less than half (45%) of candidates aspire to hold one (or more) specific roles just after graduation and only one quarter (27%) after a few years. In general, these roles are referred to in somewhat vague terms. The first explanation for this is associated with the characteristics of work in this field whose definitions are often rather vague. The general, vague or multidisciplinary nature of the roles and their names is not perceived as a problem, as it conforms to the desire of many candidates to have a “complete image” and do “a little bit of everything” in the early stages of their professional careers. In the longer term, this can also be because versatility is associated with high level executives and positions of responsibility (with project management and supervision, as in the next passage, which appears on the professional horizon of the candidates). Secondly, the vagueness of professional plans is also partly due to the lack of a linear trajectory in the expected professional careers: instead of making gradual progress throughout their career in the same job, cultural managers are more prone to experience a succession of positions that allow them to perform multiple roles that can vary from one position to another. In application letters and documents, they rationalize this sense of leaving things open or even purposely avoid mentioning something that could result in a limitation and this represents a more or less skillful way of acting in the search for a professional identity based on roles rather than on jobs, in “transversal” work rather than a specific sector, in “project” rather than in the specific interests of one category, in challenges rather than routine. This trend portrays the “ideology of decompartmentalization” which serves as both a professional stance and an orientation of cultural policy. It is therefore hardly surprising that the multi-job or more precisely the position of mediator at a “crossroads” is often highlighted¹. The insistent and vague reference to a “project” or “network” not only reflects a point of view of the social world in which dividing lines are blurred, but for candidates it is also a way of indicating that they share the usual jargon of the sector in which they aspire to work and use this polysemy to make their aspirations intelligible, extensible and adaptable.

Four typical cases

Taking into account the general conditions and characteristics that have been presented in the previous sections of this article, four typical cases can help to consider the variety of social and personal principles that influence the choice of a profession in culture management. Working-class graduates' strategies for social-scale advancement are the first. In the past, these strategies gave rise to the social diversification of certain jobs in the culture sector. They have also led to the emergence of a major component of the “new petite bourgeoisie” that in the sixties and seventies were part of the bulk of those who occupied the then new posts of cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu 1984, Dubois 2014). This social diversification process has now been interrupted and even reversed as the objective options for social promotion have been reduced through access to more indeterminate jobs. These social backgrounds are now a minority, even among aspirants. Only 12% of the

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candidates for Master's programmes in culture management come from the working class compared to 20% of the rest of Master's students.

The dreams and hopes of working-class and lower-middle-class children may now appear as unrealistic aspirations, because they are due to three types of disconnection: from their origins, from the higher education system and from the professional world in which they aspire to work. By accessing higher education, they are separated from the professional choices promoted by their families and their comrades. Studying cultural mediation at a secondary education level frustrates their expectations of academic achievement and reinforces their disconnection from their original social circles: this does not suppose any direct benefit from a professional point of view. In fact, this comparatively lower educational capital does not reach its full potential in the labour market due to a deficit in three respects. Firstly, candidates lack exposure to culture outside the educational framework, demonstrating less frequent or less legitimate cultural practices (e.g. more television, less reading). However, this "personal" culture is particularly expected in a world in which it is customary to claim a certain distance from the educational system and a connection to institutional and legitimate forms of culture. Secondly, they lack professional experience and it is less common for them to have had a job in the field of culture (30% versus 36%); when they have experience, it is often of little importance. Studying cultural programmes in the early years of their higher education leads them to follow numerous scholarships, often of long duration. However, it is likely that, partly because they occur at the initial stage of their trajectory, these consist mainly of performing secondary tasks or are carried out in little-recognised organisational structures (such as in small businesses). Finally, they lack social capital because they are less likely to have relatives working in the world of art and culture. This is a well-known decisive factor of educational degradation that hinders the social progress of working-class graduates. For these reasons, it is likely that these candidates will see their social and educational backgrounds overcome later, either because they find it harder to get a job or because they have to be content with less prestigious or worse-paid positions (in more unstable organizations) or in less valued roles (being in direct contact with the public rather than with artists or their associates).

This exclusion of young graduates from more depressed social classes is an effect of the growing role of social and professional replication, which is the second typical case. The inter-generational transfer of professional jobs in the field of culture has increased over the last few decades. If we stick to the candidates that make up the population of our study, it should be remembered that around 17% of them have parents who work in the culture sector. Although they represent a broad minority, this percentage is ten times higher than the estimated quota for all jobs.

Only a linear study carried out over several generations would allow us to establish this accurately, although whether this transfer reflects or not both the continuity of a long line and the extension of newly acquired family jobs, could be disputed. Many of the jobs in this area were created at a time when the parents of the current candidates had just joined the workforce. The oldest jobs in the culture sector often depend on the transfer of economic capital (like in the case of art dealers) and as such are less in line with the usual expectations of newly formed culture managers. Our hypothesis is that this professional replication can be largely applied to the children of those who in the previous generation had some of the first jobs in the culture sector and, therefore, climbed the social ladder to reach a level that the current generation is trying to maintain. Current candidates are probably the heirs of the "new petite bourgeoisie" rather than a new generation of their working-class component.

In addition to helping to raise initial social barriers, this inheritance accentuates the institutionalization of professional jobs in culture management: jobs that, at present, are replicated (or transferred) more than they are created. Along with a general social decline in upward trajectories on the social scale, this is another factor that transforms the type of investment that individuals could make in their careers. It is less likely that anyone would consider this activity as to be a "mission" (especially a cultural proselytism) when the parent's legacy makes it "normal" to follow a career in culture than when culture is considered a means of escapism from a depressed socioeconomic environment.



The trend towards higher and more restricted social environments is also influenced by the strategies followed by minors of the upper classes to combat a descent in social class, which represents the third typical case. By trying to avoid the risk of going down the social ladder or moderating its effects, they leave less room for those who aspire to the same positions from a perspective of social ascent. In this context, cultural management programmes are a way of avoiding teaching (a profession that has lost value today), which used to be one of the main career paths chosen by humanities students, a path that enables them to capitalize on cultural inclinations inherited from family immersion in culture and, in the case of not being clear about their professional career prospects, at least to maintain the hope of finding a place that enjoys a certain degree of social prestige in the world. This is made easier due to the fact that **the weak codification** of cultural professions and their access routes often create immediate situations that help to avoid a feeling of failure, which can overcome people quite brutally when they look for more established positions.

The fourth and final case is the choice of profession based on self-affirmation. This factor can be found in almost all candidates but tends to have more impact on students whose training did not specifically prepare them to work in the world of culture and initially offered more varied perspectives that were generally more stable and better paid than work in the field of culture. In this case, this unlikely choice, which does not derive directly from an academic trajectory, provides us with an especially clarifying example of the personal factor governing the choice of profession. These candidates are less interested in dedicating themselves exclusively to cultural management. More often, they apply for Master's programmes in other areas and leave the possibility of seeking employment in another field open. This diversification is produced by the self-esteem given by versatile training and, often, by the combination of great social and educational resources. This confidence in themselves and in their future leads them to conclude that they should not preemptorily dismiss other options. In these cases, self-affirmation lies in the feeling of freedom that leads them to think that anything is possible, even options that break with the normally expected options.

Conclusion

Professionally engaging in cultural management can respond to a wide range of demands that often contradict each other. Candidates may try to maintain a sense of their own freedom by using their personal inclination for their choice of profession, and thus reinforcing the idea that they chose their own path. In some cases, they try to soften the effects of a descent of the social ladder or keep their aspirations of social ascent alive. They need to find a place in the labour market and in the social space with resources that are partly out of sync with the imminent and most frequent conditions of social and economic life, as arts graduates whose knowledge the majority of society generally considers as "useless". They must also find a way of not renouncing the inclinations associated with this incompatibility such as a bohemian lifestyle and a propensity to criticism, while respecting the conditions required to fulfil the social and material need to have a job.

Cultural professions are perceived as a source of calm among the difficulties of the social world by those who dedicate themselves to this field because of the many forms of gratification they provide. Leaving aside economic retribution, which is secondary to other priorities, these include the social prestige bestowed by the world of culture, meeting artists and journalists, having varied activities and often, in a group, seeing one's own work specifically and publicly obtain visible results, enjoying a degree of freedom in the organization of your own work, having the opportunity to leave your personal mark, the perspective of continuing to learn, the moral satisfaction of helping (artists, the public) or working for the common good (such as the creation and dissemination of works of art). These multiple forms of personal gratification can be combined. Fundamentally, they can also compensate for each other (that is, that attaining some of them can make up for the lack of others), so that a window to the future is opened in which there is always hope for job satisfaction, both in terms of work and of their own place in the social space.

If these hopes really are fulfilled, for whom and under what conditions it is a completely different story, one that would require further research. By focusing on the way in which cultural management careers begin, we



have left aside what follows logically and chronologically. The study of the individuals who invest in these careers and what they invest in them could be productively extended by analysing the conditions by which they actually access these jobs. Further research could investigate the effects of these initial conditions and the access routes to jobs on subjective relationships to work and its obligations. The combination of the enthusiastic relationship of aspiring cultural managers with the work and the instability of their working conditions could foster a strong investment, which in some cases may serve as a basis for a form of exploitation that is especially effective, as it seems voluntary, at least for the newcomers. It would then be relevant to document the evolution of this relationship with work over time and the succession of jobs that make up a professional career. While cultural management is not divided into clearly identified professions and status, we must end the linear vision of professional careers that is applied to established jobs. Only then can we recount the succession of responsibilities and activities and pick up on the successive changes from one role to another (from relationships with the public to programming), from one type of institution to another (from a theatre company to a subsidized theatre) or from one sector to another (from classical music to contemporary dance) that make up a professional career. Tracing careers in this way would allow us to identify the space of the positions that define cultural management, a prerequisite for a morphological study of this professional group here there is still much work to be done. We hope that our research will help researchers who contribute to the sociology of art management through the sociology of art managers (for which a result is proposed).

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