How Fields Change

Transposition, Organizational Habitus, and Inter-Field Distance

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Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Ph.D.,
in Business Administration
Stockholm School of Economics, 2022

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ISBN 978-91-7731-243-7 (printed)
ISBN 978-91-7731-244-4 (pdf)

Front cover illustration:

Back cover photo:
Juliana Wiklund, 2016

Printed by:
BrandFactory, Gothenburg, 2022

Keywords:
Transposition, Fields, Field change, Organizational habitus, Book publishing, Audiobooks, Bordeaux, Bourdieu

To
Eira

Foreword

This volume is the result of a research project carried out at the Department of Marketing and Strategy at the Stockholm School of Economics (SSE).

The volume is submitted as a doctoral thesis at SSE. In keeping with the policies of SSE, the author has been entirely free to conduct and present his research in the manner of his choosing as an expression of his own ideas.

SSE is grateful for the financial support provided by Torsten Söderbergs Stiftelse within the project Marknadsdynamiska mönster (E45/15) and Jacob Wallenbergs Stiftelse which has made it possible to carry out the project.

Göran Lindqvist

Director of Research
Stockholm School of Economics

Hans Kjellberg

Professor and Head of the
Department of Marketing and Strategy

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my very great appreciation to my main supervisor Örjan Sölvell. Örjan, first of all, I want to thank you for making this journey possible. I also want to thank you for all your advice, purely scholarly as well as of more general nature concerning academia. Thank you also for the trips to Kalven and Järvsö and all the "ältning". All of this has greatly participated to strengthening my scholarly abilities. I also would like to express my gratitude to my second supervisor Hans Kjellberg. Hans, thank you so much for your great input and your truly detailed readings of my manuscripts at different stages. Thank you also for your support and for participating in making it possible for me to finish this dissertation. I am also truly grateful for the support from my third supervisor Philippe Steiner. Thank you for your comments and our discussions around Bourdieu.

I am grateful for the funds I have recieved from Torsten Söderbergs Stiftelse within the project Marknadsdynamiska mönster (E45/15). Likewise, I am grateful for the funds I have received from Jacob Wallenbergs Stiftelse. I also extend my thanks to Gerhard Törnqvists stipendiefond for awarding me Gerhard Törnqvist's scholarship for best published paper by a PhD student at SSE.

Thank you to Örjan Sjöberg for your reading of and the comments on my manuscript and your positive words. I am also thankful to Herman Stål who was the opponent in my pre-defense seminar. Further, I want to extend my thanks to the opponent of my thesis proposal seminar Stefan Arora-Jonsson for providing good criticism and great encouragement.

To my colleagues and fellow PhD students at SSE and Uppsala University, thank you for being a part of our mutual journey. Thanks also to everyone that attended SCANCOR PhD Workshop 2017 in Vienna for a great and inspiring time. A special thank you to Rasmus Nykvist for introducing me to the building of databases and for the help in doing so.

To my other colleagues at SSE that has participated in creating an inspiring environment, thank you. A special thanks to those that have provided constructive feedback on my work at seminars. Special thanks also to Tina for always being there to help with practicalities.

To the teachers and tutors that have believed in me and that supported me in different ways during my years in school and academia, thank you very much. In particular, I would like to thank everyone in the section on History of Ideas at Södertörns University. A very special thank you to Crister Skoglund (1950-2022) whose great encouragement, in the long run, came to mean a lot.

A big thank you to David Karlander for friendship, inspiration, and not least for inspiring me to immerse myself in Bourdieu's thinking.

Eira, words can not describe how thankful I am for you being you and for your support.

To all my friends, you know who you are. Thank you for all the support!

Thank you to Merle, Joachim, George, Allan, David, Fred, Buck, Dan, Jack, Björn, Jim, Annika, Johann, and many more for providing a silver lining to the many lonely writing hours. Finally, thank you to John G. Jansson.

Stockholm, August 15, 2022

Albin Skog

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The mystery

The last decades have seen dramatic changes in the world of business and society at large. Technological development has been paired with the rise of new business models and the downfall of old ones. Yet, many older business models also persist. How can we understand this? To answer this, we need a profound understanding of how and why social practices change or remain stable over time. In this dissertation, we will contribute to such an understanding by striving to expand the knowledge on a specific process, namely transposition – the movement of practices from one sector of social life to another. We will show how transposition can play an essential role in the emergence and change of social practices. But we will also show how this process, seemingly paradoxically, can contribute to stability.

Empirically, we have investigated two drastically different cases: the Swedish book publishing field 2000-2020, and international trading in Bordeaux in the late 18th century and early 19th centuries, both examples of field changes involving transposition. Our study of the Swedish book publishing field follows the developments in the field during two decades. We explain why the audiobook, and not the e-book, as was the case in the U.K. and the U.S., became accepted as the solution to digitalization within the field. We also analyze how Storytel within a few years rose from being unrecognized to taking over the second biggest publishing house in Sweden, Norstedts, in 2016. And how the firm since has posed a serious threat to the Bonnier publishing house's long-time total domination of the industry. We describe how several firms tried to transpose institutions connected to the business segment of mass-market paperbacks, some more successfully than others, and how this led to a minor field change that preceded the establishment of Storytel. In the Bordeaux international trading case, we show how the elite merchants in this city, that had accumulated great wealth in the horrendous trans-Atlantic slave trade, shifted their trade to wine when confronted with abolition. Doing so, they also transposed institutions developed in the slave trade to the wine trade. Subsequently, these institutions came to be in place for a long time, some to this day, in the trade of the prestigious Bordeaux wines.

By analyzing these cases we can show why transpositions take place, what determines if they are successful, and the role distance between social settings plays in these processes. This will in turn help further the understanding of social change.

1.2. Theoretical introduction

The last 20 years of scholarship in management and organization studies has devoted great efforts to understand field change (e.g., Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Greenwood et al., 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Padgett & Powell, 2012). Interestingly, a number of scholars have identified a specific process as connected to field change, i.e. transposition (Luo et al., 2021; Schneiberg, 2013a; Sewell, 1992). Transposition is the moving of practices between different fields, i.e. from one field where they originate to a focal field where the practices hierto were unknown. However, the literature on transposition to this day remains sparse.

We will show how an understanding of power, as defined by agents habitus and capital configuration (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990, 2005a), will further the understanding of processes of transposition as well as provide a cohesive framework that can encompass previous findings in the literature. Based on Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) concept of habitus we propose the concept *organizational habitus* which will help us understand how structure is embedded in organizational agents (cf. Dobbin, 2008; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

Together with Bourdieu's field and capital concepts, organizational habitus will allow us to better understand why agents attempt to transpose practices and what determines if they will be successful. We will also be able to further the understanding of distance between fields in relation to transposition.

Our research design will be based on relationality (Bourdieu, 2004) and historical perspectives (Bourdieu, 1990b). Furthermore, we have a broad-minded approach to methods (Bourdieu, 1988, 2004), and aim at going beyond the dualism of objectivism and subjectivism (Bourdieu, 2019). Using two markedly different cases will enable us to theorize around transposition and power from different angles, thus making our analysis and understanding of transposition more vigorous. We aim at mobilizing Bourdieu's theoretical framework in relation to relevant literature in management and organization studies and economic sociological literature to enable us to make contributions to the literature that has studied transposition (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a), and a broader stream of literature that has focused on field change (e.g., Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2006).

To guide our research, we have used the following research questions:

- RQ1: Why do agents attempt to transpose practices or institutions?
- RQ2: What determines if an attempted transposition will be successful?
- RQ3: How does the distance between fields affect transposition processes? Does it make transposition more or less feasible? Does it influence the effects of successful transpositions?

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework for understanding transposition and field change

The aim of this dissertation is to further our understanding of transposition. In order to do this, we ask what we need in terms of theory: are there any specific theoretical perspectives that will allow us to understand these processes in more detail? What has previous research within the broader field of management and organization theory said about transposition and field change? Is there any specific tenet in this literature that would help us deepen our understanding? And finally, what will a concrete theoretical framework for investigating the research questions look like?

In the following chapter, we will try to answer all of these questions. We believe that social processes in general, and not the least processes of transposition, are best understood by investigating the power relations between agents. We will therefore present the theoretical reasoning of Pierre Bourdieu in the first part of the chapter. This reasoning is well equipped to help us analyze power relations and struggles and we will therefore use it as the theoretical basis for the dissertation. In the second part, we will zoom out and consider how the wider phenomena of field change have been understood within organization and management studies. Lastly, we will focus on the specific phenomena of transposition and discuss previous literature that has analyzed such processes.

2.1. Bourdieu's social praxeology

Bourdieu's major concepts

In order to expand the understanding of transposition we use a Bourdieusian theoretical framework, which we will present now. First, we will provide a background to Bourdieu's major concepts. Then we will review recent work on field change using Bourdieu to a varying degree. Lastly, we will discuss Bourdieu's conceptual world and how it helps us understand processes of field change and transposition.

Far from being a vague and general concept that could be applied to a random portion of societal life, the concept of the field, in Bourdieu's view, denotes something very specific. A field, for Bourdieu, constitutes an objective system of relations between agents' (individuals, groups, or organizations) positions in a specific sphere, in which the positions are not once and for all decided, but rather dynamic because they are relational. The agents are involved in a constant struggle, some to transform the field and some to retain the status quo. Indeed, this is the struggle that decides the specific conditions and form of the particular field. In this struggle, the agents use force, defined by the form and volume of general and field-specific capital (economic, symbolic, cultural, and social capital) that they possess. This capital is unevenly distributed, which means that some agents within the field will take a leading, dominant role, while others will be in a subordinated, dominated position. The leading agents can, through domination, define the practices that they use as the norm for the whole field. In doing this, they exceed control over all of the capital accumulated in the field. It is crucial to yet again point out that the relations between different agents are not always stable, but subject to struggle within the field. Habitus is the system of disposition embedded in agents that guides how he or she, or organizations, will understand and act upon different social situations. It is the structure within the agent that forms how the agent can utilize the capital it possesses in relation to a specific field (Bourdieu, 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Bourdieu in management and organization studies

Although references to Bourdieu are fairly common within management and organization studies (e.g., studies on field change e.g., Furnari, 2018; Maguire et al., 2004; Voronov & Yorks, 2015), attempts to use Bourdieu's theoretical framework more than piecemeal remain less common (Dobbin, 2008; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). In this brief review, we will discuss some recent work that attempts to use Bourdieu's framework in a more ambitious way.

Bourdieu's theoretical framework and neo-institutional organization theory have had a complex relationship, in which the latter has partly been influenced by, and partly has developed similar ideas independently from, the former. Wang (2016) discussed this relationship and put a specific focus on comparing the concepts of homology (originating from Bourdieu) and isomorphism (developed within neo-institutionalism). Wang pointed out that, while the concept of homology mainly deals with the tendency towards similarities between different fields and isomorphism addresses the tendency towards similarity within fields, they also differ in their assumptions on fields and causality. Within neo-institutionalism the border of a field is usually not problematized, rather scholars in this tradition take the field and its borders as given, often relying on acknowledged sectors based on common technology or actors in a specific market. For Bourdieu on the other hand defining the field is an empirical question, where the field is defined by the existence of a system of relations between agents (Wang, 2016). Regarding causality, neo-institutional scholars tend to rely on a linear view of causality, where diffusion of practices takes place at an even pace from central and prestigious actors. From a Bourdieusian perspective, the understanding of causality is more complex. Mainly this is because it is relational and eschews looking for causality in discrete independent variables (Wang, 2016). Based on this, Wang (2016) suggested that neo-institutional theory of diffusion could benefit from taking inspiration from Bourdieusian thinking around transference that take the agent's habitus, the position of different agents in the field, and the different kind of relations in the field into account (Wang, 2016).

Oakes et al. (1998) also aspired to enhance neo-institutional theory with aspects of Bourdieu's thinking. The study analyzed the pedagogical function of business plans in the Cultural Facilities Historical Resources division of the provincial government of Alberta in Canada, and highlighted how the

Bourdieusian field and capital concepts could make a neo-institutional analysis deeper and more nuanced. In doing this, Oakes et al. (1998) pointed out that the Bourdieusian field concept, which understands the field as a contested area of struggle, structured according to power, had great explanatory power in the analysis of possibilities possessed by agents. They also emphasized the importance of understanding inter-field relations, and that fields are hierarchically structured in relation to each other. Furthermore, they also pointed out that the field-specific forms of capital possessed by different agents are the structuring principle for power relations as well as what is at stake in the field (Oakes et al., 1998).

Connecting to none-Bourdieusian discussions on capital within organization theory, Ocasio et al. (2020) provided a review of how capital relates to power in Bourdieu's thinking. The scholars argued that Bourdieu's general categories of capital, as well as the more specific forms of capital that he suggested, are too wide and vague to offer analytical leverage in organizational analysis. Therefore, Ocasio et al. (2020) suggested that Bourdieu's categories of capital should be better defined and understood as organizational political capital in an organizational theory analysis. In order to better define and delimit the different forms of political capital within organizations, they also suggested that a number of other specified forms of capital should be acknowledged, namely, institutional, knowledge, organizational, and reputational capital.

Maclean et al. (2010) and Maclean et al. (2014) used Bourdieu to analyze corporate elites in France and Great Britain. In their comparative study of corporate elites in the two nations, Maclean et al. (2010) stressed the uneven power distribution between different agents in the corporate elite. They concluded that the French and the British corporate elite were similar, in that the agents in both cases first and foremost worked to form and uphold support for the institutions, but that they differed in how this was attained. In the French case, the elite was found to be homogenous, tightly knit, and had a close relation to the state. In the British case, on the other hand, links to the state were weaker, and the group was less homogenous in terms of class background. Maclean et al. (2014) analyzed persons that managed to reach the highest echelons of the French corporate elite in relation to those that failed to attain this goal. They describe meritocracy and patrimony consisting of two rival logics that both, at the same time, significantly increased the probability of reaching the highest strata (Maclean & Harvey, 2019).

Lockett et al. (2014) investigated how social position and capital held by different agents influenced how they made sense of organizational change within the English National Health Service. They emphasized the importance of the agents' varying dispositions, which were understood as coming from their specific configuration of capital, and claimed that, in this specific case, the agents had two general forms of disposition, one that was profession-centered and another that placed importance on the thinking and acting of other professions. Lockett et al. (2014) further argued that dispositions of the agents formed specific views, or schemas, of organizational change.

In their single case study of the rise of the gardener Lancelot Brown and his impact on changing British landscaping in the 18^{th} century, Wild et al. (2020) investigated how agents, through position-taking, can create field level change. They described how Brown managed to utilize his changing social position in a manner that both fostered his personal social rise, from growing up in a farmer's family to dining with royals, and more importantly, to changing conditions in the field. More concretely, Wild et al. (2020) analyzed three periods of Browns' life and the social position that he upheld at these different times in relation to the social, economic, and cultural capital that he held at these times. This analysis is then used to explain how Brown managed to transform the field of landscaping in England. Importantly, Wild et al. (2020) view actors social position taking and their actions to create social change as conjunct with one-another.

The studies discussed here contain interesting analyses making it clear that a more full-fledged Bourdieusian analysis has great potential to inform organization theory. However, with the exception of studies of the power elites (Maclean et al., 2010, 2014), there is one important part of Bourdieu's theoretical thinking that is missing, i.e., habitus. This may come as no surprise since many consider habitus to be the most evasive of Bourdieu's major concepts. The choice to leave habitus out of the analysis was probably, in most cases, the result of an attempt to not make the analysis overly complicated. This is most apparent in Lockett et al. (2014) and Wild et al. (2020) where the inclusion of habitus would made the analysis more complex but also more fine-grained. By leaving habitus out in this way, great analytical leverage was refuted (Chanlat, 2015; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Swartz, 2008). Lockett et al. (2014) and Wild et al. (2020) tried to redeem this by including aspects of habitus under the concept of capital. Lockett et al. (2014:1123) claimed to be "…demonstrating that actors' patterns of historical interaction, as reflected in their social capital, are an important antecedent of sensemaking" and that "dispositions act as a form of schemata, because they have a structuring quality that helps to reproduce patterns of behavior over time" (Lockett et al. 2014:1105). On the other hand, Wild et al. (2020:370) pointed out that "[W]e suggest that the value of an actor's capital endowments derives from their ability to shape symbolic capital, which influences how other actors interpret their social position, and associated underlying capital endowments." Rather than describing aspects of capital, the three quotes describe aspects of what Bourdieu termed habitus. Habitus is namely formed by *historical interaction*, and is the *disposition of dispositions that act as a schema since it structures agents' perception and their ability to shape capital* (Bourdieu, 1990b).

We have seen how Bourdieu's theoretical thinking has been used to nuance and enrich neo-institutional concepts, analyze corporate elites, and better elucidate organizational change and field change. This dissertation will put the concept of habitus in the forefront, while also using Bour-dieu's other two main theoretical concepts, field and capital, to suggest an enhanced way to understand transposition. Let us now defines these concepts in greater detail.

Field

The field is relatively autonomous from the social world outside of it, meaning that it has a logic that is, to some degree, specific from that in other fields and general logics in society (Bourdieu, 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The concept of the field, in other words, assists us to understand the specific characteristics of certain spheres as defined by its internal conflicts of forces, while still acknowledging general forces on a macro level that also form the social world. Bourdieu (2004, 2019) used the term "tension" to describe the forces within the field and "pres-sure" to describe the forces coming from outside the field. The concept of the field also helps us to understand and theorize imbalances in power as drivers of change.

It is worth pointing out that to define a specific field is an empirical question (Bourdieu, 2004). The questions to ask are then: Which agents relate to each other? How do they relate to each other? Is there a specific logic embedded in this relation that differs from logics in other fields? If we can answer these questions, we can empirically answer and define a specific field. This way of defining a field is in stark contrast to an easy-handed use of the term as simply a synonym for a niche, an industry, or organizations that seem to have similar goals. The field, as a concept in the manner that it is used in this dissertation, does not only encompass similar agents, but different agents that relate to each other embedded in the same specific logic (e.g., Bourdieu, 1993).

Capital

In Bourdieu's conceptual world, there are four major forms of capital: economic, cultural, symbolic, and social (Bourdieu, 1984, 1988). Economic capital can be briefly described as what is commonly understood as capital, namely, economic resources that are used, or can be used, by agents. Cultural capital are general non-economic assets hold by agents that are representational and makes the agent understood as having high status and legitimacy in society. Symbolic capital are specific assets of a symbolic kind that are desirable and respected in all of society or specific parts of it. Social capital denotes the social relations that an agent holds and that can be utilized by the agent in order to attain advantages (Bourdieu, 2005b).

Let us now expand on these four forms of capital. Economic capital are economic resources in a wider sense. It is, naturally, monetary funds, both also knowledge about how to accumulate, manage and yield interest on such funds (Bourdieu, 2005b). Cultural capital can be summed up in two words: education and cultivation. In relation to education, it is not premiarly about the know-how or actual concrete practical knowledge about certain things that are attained that are in focus; instead, it is the symbolic value that (especially certain kinds of) education brings that is emphasized. Education and cultivation also produce a way of being and behaving that is respected and looked up to in society (Bourdieu, 1998). Symbolic capital is the possession of assets of a symbolic nature that are recognized by other agents as being both legitimate and desirable. Symbolic capital can be of a general form (acknowledged by all in a certain society) or specific for a certain field (Bourdieu, 1993, 2005b). It is worth noting that the delimitation between symbolic and cultural capital is not neccesrialy clear in Bourdieu's writing and scholars has understood their relation differently (cf. Broady, 1990). Let us take an example to illustrate symbolic capital. In the field of soccer supportership, there exists a certain kind of symbolic capital. It is made of characteristics and assets, such as how long you have been a supporter, how active you have been as a supporter, how many games you have attended, where you stand in the arena, and whether you hold membership in a supporter group, what is your knowledge about your teams' history, what is your knowledge about the players, etc. All of this combined makes up a specific capital, which we could call "soccer supporter capital", that is usable only in this specific field and that forms which position you can uphold in the field. It is important to stress that symbolic capital in a general and/or specific form can and is mobilized by agents to execute power over other agents, to control even more capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1988). Social capital, lastly, is the total number and the quality of the social relations that an agent holds. High social capital means that an agent disposes over a large number of social connections with agents that themselves are well-equipped with other forms of capital (economic, cultural, and symbolic) (Bourdieu, 2005b). If we return to the soccer terraces again, this means that an agent with high social capital knows not only a lot of people, but also the right people, on the terraces, and therefore is able to utilize these connections to achieve certain ends.

Agents tend to act (often collectively) to attain more capital and to increase the value of the specific form of capital that they dispose. This means that no form of capital is stable or uncontested; in fact, the case is quite the opposite. All forms of capital are unstable, disputed, and subjected to a constant struggle. The value of a certain amount of capital is decided in on a market. The value of a specific amount of capital can be increased or be subjected to inflation, just like economic value is commonly understood. Agents can use their specific forms of capital to attempt to attain more of the same capital (by domination of other agent's capital) or to obtain access to other kinds of capital. Capital is, in this way, exchangeable or convertible, but unlike currency, the original capital is not per definition lost in the process. Economic capital in the form of monetary funds is an exception in this regard (Bourdieu, 1984, 1988).

Habitus

Habitus can be described as the acquired ability to act, and also what determines how an agent will act, in social situations. In other words, habitus is the dispositions that an agent has that form and enables his or her actions. Moreover, it is what forms how agents perceive, experience, think, value, and act in relation to others. These dispositions are incorporated into the agents through their life as the result of the experiences and knowledge that the agents have acquired (Bourdieu, 1977). Indeed, all agents have habitus, but they are formed in dissimilar ways and differ in strength. The more an agent's habitus is formed in dominant social settings (fields that are in a dominant position in the overall social space of society) and the more different social settings that have taken part in forming the habitus, the stronger the habitus becomes. A strong habitus is more generalizable than a weak habitus. This means that an agent with a strong habitus more easily can decode and adapt to different settings, than an agent with a weak habitus. Which form of habitus is most suitable in a certain situation, field, or setting is determined by that specific habitus' compatibility with that setting (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990b, 1996; Broady, 1990). Worth noting is that the habitus, being the structure in the agent, in most cases are not apparent for the agent itself (Bourdieu, 1977, 2019). Since the habitus forms how the agent understands and acts in social situations this means that these activities are not necessarily conscious and planned. Therefore, rather than using the term strategy, which implies a high degree of direct conscious reasoning, we will at most occasions instead use the term line-of-action to describe the direction of the actions that the agents are pursuing.

Let us illustrate with an example. We have two people aged 30. One belongs to a small cult, which resides in the remote countryside, and the other is brought up in an upper-class neighborhood in a cultural and economic important city. The former gets most of his social contacts, from the cradle and onwards. from other members of the cult and only occasionally gets in contact with people in the nearby village. That is as far as he is allowed to go. He is home-schooled and then put in one of the cult's schools. He forms a family with another member of the cult and works in a workshop managed by the cult. From an early age the other person gets in contact with many people, she attends preschool where most people have the same background as her, but there are also children from different nationalities and backgrounds in her group, and she is taught about other cultures and easy phrases in foreign languages. When she starts proper school, she is placed in a school with high status, where the teachers are considered distinguished, and where all students are taught to understand that they are talented and special. Later she applies to university, knowing that she is talented and special. Having great grades, she does not shy away from deciding to start a prestigious education, after which she gets high-paying and prestigious work. Put in almost any social setting around the world, except that of the specific cult, the latter person would have an easier time decoding the social codes and interacting with other people than the former; her habitus is stronger and more generalizable than his.

It is worth clarifying how habitus differs from cultural capital. Put briefly, cultural capital is formed by resources brought about by education and cultivation whereas habitus is the ability to decode and understand how to act in social situations, in such a way that the agent receives a good rate of exchange for cultural, and other forms of, capital the agent holds. To highlight the differences between capital and habitus let us use another example. We allow us to compare one agent's activity in a field with a person building a house, the aim being to make the house as big and yet functional as possible. While capital can be compared to the different forms of building materials, the habitus is comparable with the person's skills in housebuilding, which is attained by experience in this area. Maybe the person has a lot of roof tiles (X capital) and windows (Y capital), but not so much material suitable for walls (Z capital). In such a case the skilled craftsman could find out a way of making the roof a big part of the construction and make good use of the windows, while at the same time reducing the area of the walls, while still building a functional house. A less skilled person would maybe instead go for a more traditional design, but since parts of the building material are relatively scarce, this would have to be a significantly smaller house.

Capital and habitus in relation to the field

All agents have economic, cultural, symbolic, and social capital of some sort, and these can be of different quantity and quality. In some cases, it could be the relative lack of these that is defining for some agents. We call the volume and the structure of the capital that an agent holds for capital configuration. In relation to a field, these general forms of capital need to be converted into a specific form of symbolic capital that is field-specific. This conversion takes the form of what (Bourdieu, 1993, 2005b) calls a market. How much field-specific capital that an agent acquires is dependent on the quality and amount of the three forms of general capital, the skill with which these are converted, i.e., how well the process of conversion is done, as well as how other agents act in this market process. The two latter things are formed by the agents' habitus, and the experience of such processes also forms the agents' habitus (Bourdieu, 1993, 2005b). This market process is a constant process, which together with another, interlinked and constant process, the field struggle, continuously determines the power structure of the field. The stakes are the ability to control the capital of the whole field by upholding a dominant position in it (Bourdieu, 1993, 2005b).

In the process of struggle, agents will use their positions in the field to increase the value of their specific composition and amount of field-specific capital, while striving to reduce the value of other kinds of compositions. In the market process, agents instead exchange, or rather convert, their specific characteristics for other characteristics. As previously mentioned, these two processes are deeply intertwined and are only to be separated for analytical reasons. Yet again returning to the soccer terraces. An example of struggle there would be to which degree the wearing of old classical attire would imply status. Supporters that have a lot of classical attire would in this example strive to make the status of this higher, whereas supporters without such attire, perhaps because they have not been that long on the terraces, would maybe try to make the status of the newest attire and sportswear higher. The clothing in such a case would be the materialization of different capital compositions. Staying on the terraces, an example of the market process would be if a newcomer on the terraces utilized his social connections with dominant agents on the terraces. These connections that originated elsewhere, and are part of the agent's social capital, would allow the agent to stand together with a group of high-status people during games. Thus, he or she would attain field-specific capital when not being part of that dominant group. Again, how well the agent performs in this process is influenced by his or her habitus, and his or her experiences in this will also form the habitus in the future.

Some agents, in some cases most of them, strive to uphold as dominant a position as possible within the field. The extent to which almost all agents, or only a few, are engaged consciously in this struggle for dominance differs from field to field. Bourdieu (2004) argued that the scientific field is an example of the former. The reason behind this is that a dominant position allows the agent both to be in a good position to determine which composition of capital is dominant and to participate in forming which practices and rules or institutional configuration (Doxa in Bourdieu's terminology) will dominate the field. A dominant agent is exercising control, not only over his or her but also other field agents', capital as he or she is forming the rules. The amount and quality of the general forms of capital are also in a reciprocal relationship with the habitus. All of these processes within the field are subject to struggle (e.g., Bourdieu, 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Distance between fields

Fields are internally structured in relation to power between the dominating and dominated agents. The structure between fields works in the same way. All fields are structured in terms of power in relation to each other (Bourdieu, 1993, 1998). However, this structure is not one-dimensional. Bourdieu (2019a) suggested that the structuring principles of what could be called the social space of society, i.e., the power structure that defines a society as a whole, involved economic and cultural capital. He also pointed to the aspects of field autonomy and the degree to which specific symbolic capital was important in a specific field (Bourdieu, 2019). Accepting Bourdieu's definition, we have four major variables to work with in determining the distance between fields, where economic and cultural factors are the most essential aspects. Importantly, distance needs to be understood in terms of power, whereas some fields, uptake a more powerful position within the societal social space than other fields (Bourdieu, 2019). It is therefore important to identify the relational positions of the outside fields (where practices and/or agents originate) in relation to the focal field if we want to determine distance between fields in processes of transposition.

Worth noting is that Bourdieu does not pronounce an explicit theory of the role of georgaphical distance. Most of Bourdieu's thinking was formulated on the basis of clearly demarcated national or regional social spaces, i.e., the French (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984, 1993, 1998) and Kabyle (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977) societies. However, he did delineate between international and national social spaces (Bourdieu, 2005b). In the postscript to *The Social Structure of the Economy*, Bourdieu (2005) sketched out an analysis of the difference between national economic and international economic fields and the tendency towards the formation of the latter kind of fields, which has been referred to as "globalization", a term Bourdieu found problematic. He pointed out that just as the national economic fields were once intently constructed so is also the international economic field. According to Bourdieu (2005), the international economic field is claimed to be universalistic, but in reality it is based on form and to the benefit of one specific national, i.e., the U.S. The field concists of a number of subfields based around certain classes of products that is almost always oligopolistically dominated and where "the position of a firm in one country being dependent on the position occupied by that firm in all the other countries" (Bourdieu, 2005:229). All these subfields are dominated by one particular subfield, the field of global finance, which is also the field that has reached the furthest in global integration Bourdieu (2005). This, together with a general tendency of economic fields where unification tends to to benefit the already dominant makes the international economic field highly polarized. Further, Bourdieu (2005:229) stated that:

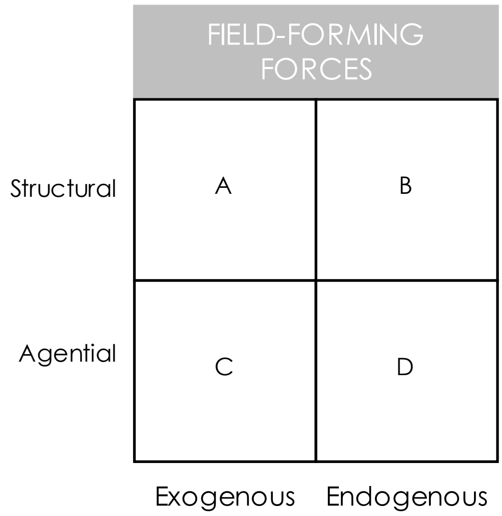
> The position of each firm in the national and international field depends not only on its own specific advantages, but on the economic, political, cultural and linguistic advantages that ensue from its membership of a particular nation, with this kind of 'national capital' exerting a positive or negative 'multiplier effect' on the structural competitiveness of the different firms.

Based on this reasoning we can assume that while all firms belong both to the international economic field and, one or several, national economic fields, some firms are to larger extent formed by the international economic field, and the international economic subfield they belong to, while others are to a larger extent formed by the national economic field and the local field or fields where they have their activity. The same goes for fields. Some are mainly formed by the international economic field, and others are mainly formed by the national field. We assume that this to a large degree is determined by which position the fields has in the international economic field. The more dominant the field is the more likely it will be internationalized and the organization it contains will thus be mainly formed by the international economic field and vice versa.

Extending the Bourdieusian framework: field-forming forces

Any field can in principle be subjected to field-forming forces of four kinds. These can be of a structural nature from outside of the field, of a structural nature inside of the field, from agents active in the field, and from agents not previously active in the field. To illustrate this, we constructed a two-by-two matrix, where one axis denotes structural-agential and the other exogenous and endogenous (see Figure 2.1). The exogenous forces exert pressure on the field, while the endogenous forces create tension within the field (Bourdieu, 2004). In this context, it is crucial to point out that these four forces are not of equal importance, or for that matter, equally often occurring. As the field is semi-autonomous, this means that outer forces' impact must always be understood as subject to contestation in the internal field struggle. Further, it is also of vital importance to underline that the existence of a force, in itself, does not decide whether or not a field change will take place.

Figure 2.1. Types of forces affecting a field.



Extending the Bourdieusian framework: organizational habitus

In this dissertation we will use the habitus concept for organizations. Similar conceptionalizations has been discussed in the context of organizational studies (Dobbin, 2008; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Vaughan, 2008), but to the best of our knowledge, a clear definition of how organizations' habitus could be understood remains yet to be pronounced. In this dissertation we define organizational habitus[1] in the following way:

> The organizational habitus is a combination of all the habitus of the members of the organization, structured in relation to power, and well as the organization's organizational features.

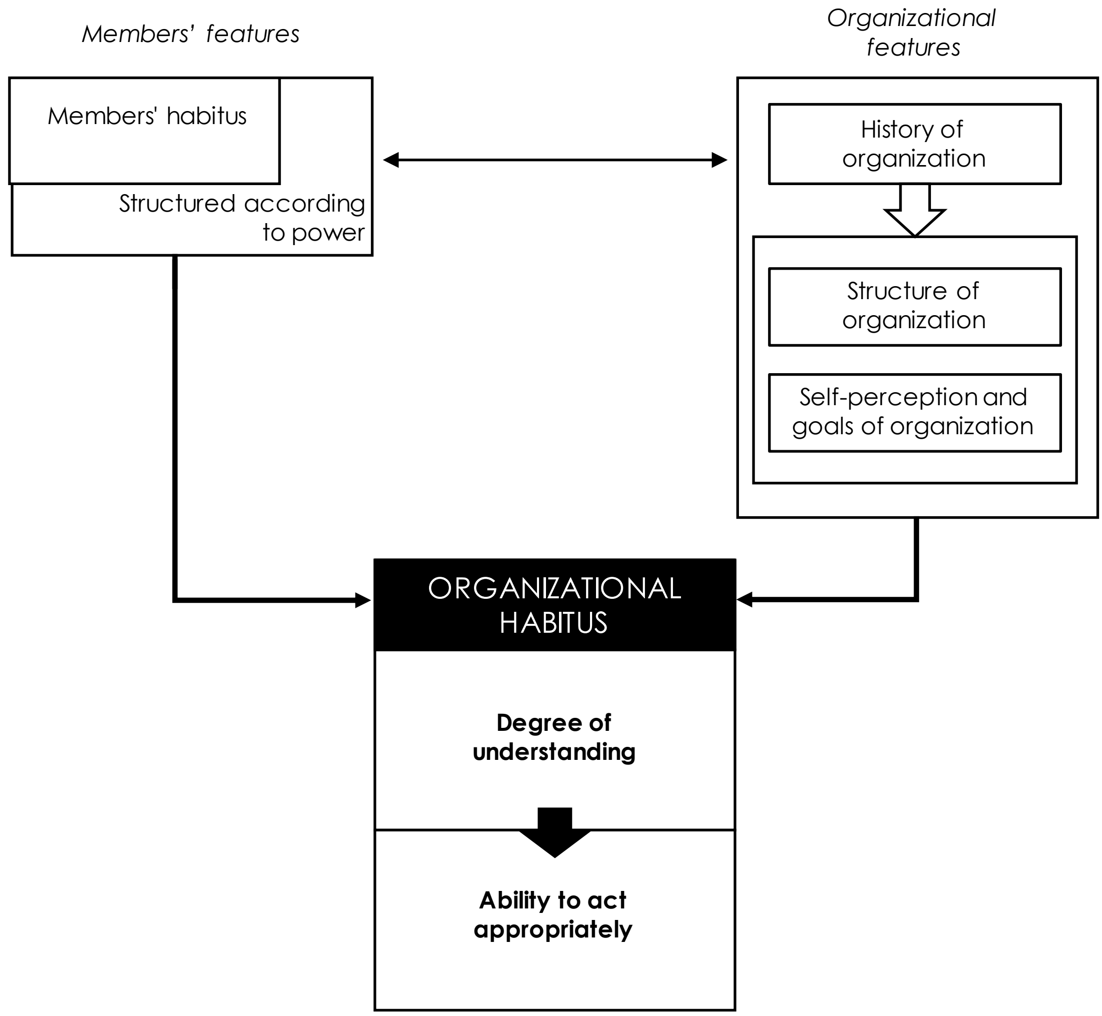
The organizational habitus forms an organization's degree of understanding of the system in which it operates: the field where it is active as well as its surroundings. The organizational habitus also forms the organization's ability

1 Note: the concept organizational habitus has been used by scholars in educational research following McDonough (1998). The way these scholars used the concept was to describe how schools entailed a specific habitus, and is thus different from the concept we here discuss.

to act in an appropriate way in relation to this system. We will now discuss the definition in greater detail, keeping in mind that it is based on the assumption that we treat organizations as social agents in themselves, which is a well-established conceptualization in organization theory (cf. Hwang & Colyvas, 2020; King et al., 2009). To keep the definition practical, we have decided to conceptualize the important aspects of the habitus as twofold, that is: 1) the degree of understanding and 2) the ability to act appropriately. This degree of understanding and ability to act is directed towards the social system in which the bearer is embedded. The social system denotes the field or fields where the agent is acting as well as the greater social space that this, or these, field/s are embedded in. Importantly, this includes the other agents that are active there as well as the institutional configuration and structure of these spaces. This can be understood in terms of the four field-forming forces, which we discussed above and to which we will return soon. Noteworthy is also is that the ability to act appropriately, in this context, should not be read as acting socially acceptable and accepting the institutional configuration. Rather it implies an ability to act appropriately in order to maintain and, if possible, increase the power the agent holds. In fact, at many times this can best be attained by breaking norms, something we will discuss thoroughly in this dissertation. A more appropriate understanding will however more likely lead to successful actions, regardless if they follow the established norms in the field or not.

Naturally, organizations differ from individuals as agents, we, therefore, need to conceptualize the structure of the organizational habitus. We start this conceptualization by assuming that the totality of an organization can be divided into two major parts: its members and the organization as such. Following this we assume that the features of the organization can be divided into members' features and organizational features. Figure 2.2 illustrates the structure of the organizational habitus and the two different kinds of features.

Figure 2.2. Structure of the organizational habitus.

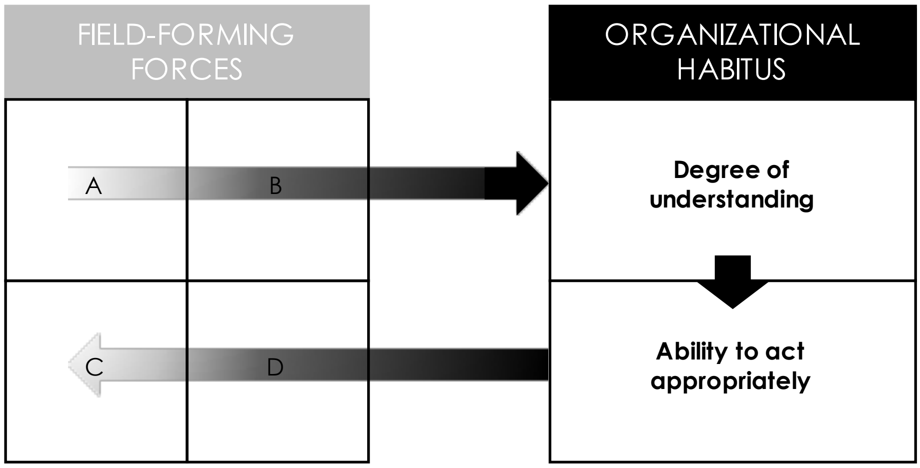


The members' relevant features are, in our conceptional world, nothing else than their habitus. But, in line with Bourdieu (2005), we can not simply view this part of the organization's totality as a bunch of habitus. Rather, these habitus are structured in relation to power within the organization (cf. Dobbin, 2008; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Fligstein, 1990). This means that some agents habituses plays a markedly greater role in forming the organizations organizational habitus than does others. Naturally, the habitus of the management, of the organization will affect the habitus of the organization to a larger degree than that of the habitus of members at lower levels. Coming back to the organizational features. These features include the formal and informal structure of the organization, the organization's explicit and implicit self-perception and goals, as well as the history of the organization. The latter also forms the two former features. Naturally, the member's features and the organizational features affect each other and are tightly connected to each other. This is illustrated by the double-ended arrow in Figure 2.2. Members of the organization are, to varying degree, bearers of the organizational features in that they over time have incorporated them in their individual habitus. The organizational features, on the other hand, is the manifestation of past acitivity by the organization's members.

Let us illustrate with an example, bearing in mind that this example provides a simplified account. John Doe founds the company Acme. Doe had always been fond of helping the elderly. From the start the company sold wheelchairs. Doe started with 9 employees and was himself the sole owner and CEO. At this time the members' features are part of the organization and dominated by Doe's habitus. Since the company was newly founded, the organizational features consisted of not much more than the formal structure of the company. Times were good for Acme. Five years later, the company employed 80 people and had expanded to sell beds specially designed for elderly people with weak bodies, as well as other aid devices. Doe still acted as the CEO and was the sole owner. He had one year previously, together with his management team of four other people, decided that it was time to formulate the company's vision explicitly. They wrote a document stating the company's mission which was to provide as good products as possible to aid the elderly, and that the company, if possible, should donate to charities directed towards the elderly. At this time the members' features were dominated by the whole management, where Doe's habitus was the most dominant. The organizational features were now much more than the formal structure. It contained five years of history, documented in countless internal documents and minutes, as well as a pronounced vision. During the following five years Acme continued to expand. The company now employed a total of 200 people, where 10 people counted as the top management. Doe had stepped down as CEO and now played the role of a relatively passive majority shareholder. Employees on a lower level had formed a union. The top management team has decided to complement the company's vision document with a document on strategy. This document pointed to the hectic nature of modern life and pointed out that Acme's strategy was to provide "rest for those who need it the most". Simultaneously, the company launched a new line of beds that, inspired by the technology used for the beds for the elderly, had middle-aged people as its target group. Whereas wheelchairs continued to be considered the core product, the sales of beds soon outnumber them in turnover. The members' features were still dominated by the habitus of the top management team, where four of them who all were hired during Doe's days as a CEO hold the most dominant positions. The union had however managed to make the lower employee's habitus relatively more important than it used to be. The organizational feature now consisted of ten years of history. This was manifested in a formal structure, but also in an informal structure where people that had been in the company "since Doe's days" had higher status. The ten years of history were of course still documented in countless documents and the company now had both an explicit vision and a strategy. Adding to this was the self-perception that the company was mainly a company selling wheelchairs and that cared for the elderly. This self-perception was partly undermined by the vision while it was primarily upheld by the people that had been in the company "since Doe's days".

We have stated that an organization's organizational habitus can be understood as the degree of understanding, and the ability to act appropriately, within and outside, a specific field. Returning to the field-forming forces, how do we understand the relation between these two conceptualizations? In Figure 2.3 we find an illustration that provides a simplified version of our answer to this question.

Figure 2.3. Organizational habitus in relation to field-forming forces.



Position A and B mark the two structural positions of exogenous structural, and endogenous structural forces respectively. The upper arrow, emanating at position A, gathers weight in position B, and ends in the first aspect of the habitus, is denoting the assumption that the first part of the habitus, the degree of understanding, mainly is an understanding of structural forces. Position C and D mark the two agential positions of exogenous agential, and endogenous agential forces respectively. The lower arrow emanates in the second aspect of the habitus, i.e., the ability to act appropriately, point through these two agential positions and shows how the agent bearing the habitus directs its activities in relation to other agents. The gradient on the two arrows illustrates the assumption that the agent that bears the habitus both mainly attempts to analyze and act mainly in relation to the field.

To illustrate this, let us return to our example company Acme ten years after its founding. Acme belonged to the aid to the impaired and elderly field (let us call it AIEF for short) and the bed sales field (BSF). In the societal social space, the AIEF and BSF were far apart. BSF was in a significantly more dominant position than AIEF. As described, the organizational habitus was formed mainly by the members' features of the people that had been in the company "since Doe's days". The organizational features were also much in line with what was established under the leadership of Joe Doe. Starting with the AIEF and considering positions B and D, the endogenous structural and agential forces. Because the company's organizational habitus was formed to a high degree by this field we would assume that Acme had a rather high degree of understanding and a high ability to act appropriately in relation to forces within the field. Turning to the BSF, a completely different field. Because the organizational habitus was very much connected with that of the AIEF and this field was significantly less dominant in the societal social space we would assume that the company's organizational habitus would be weak in relation to the BSF. This meant that the degree of understanding and the ability to act appropriately was low for the organization. A strong exogenous structural force in both fields during this time was an ideology of shift towards a more environment-friendly production and living. Acme had a moderate understanding of this force. In the AIEF that did not matter too much, because of the company's organizational habitus which was strong in relation to the field. This made them more or less able to continue business as usual by only making small adjustments in the marketing of their products. In the BSF however, the company's moderate understanding of this exogenous structural force made them make a bad decision in trying to sell high technology beds. It turned out that what would become the dominant way of handling this force within the BSF was to sell beds that were made of natural material and that lasted long term. Sometime later both fields saw the entry of strong new agents both of which carried with them an idea of how to digitalize the products sold in the respective field. These agents were strengthened in their endeavor by a strong exogenous structural force of digitalization. For the sake of argument, we assume that Acme's organizational habitus was equally well equipped to understand both of these agents. In the AIEF, Acme saw this as a challenge but still could see how they, if they cooperated with this new agent, could strike a severe blow against their long-time main competitor. Therefore, they acted appropriately in relation to this and allied with the new agent. The alliance was a success for both parties. In the BSF however, Acme had a low degree of understanding of the field and how to act appropriately. When the new agent launched a series of digitalized beds, Acme followed a similar strategy as the one they had used in the AIEF. Not only did they not succeed in allying with the new agent, but they also failed to understand that digitalized beds would never be a success and that the new agent would leave the field soon after.

After spelling out our definition, and provided illustrative examples, of organizational habitus we will now ask the question of whether there are other more or less similar concepts in management and organization theory and how these differ or converge with our concept? We find three partly interrelated concepts that have similarities with our concept: organizational identity, organizational culture, and organizational knowledge. The organizational identity (Albert et al., 2000; Albert & Whetten, 1985; Hatch & Schultz, 2004; Whetten, 2006) concept has been used primarly to analyze the the self-identity, the "who we are as an organization", of organizations. As first pronounced by Albert and Whetten (1985), the core definition of organization identity is based on three aspects, it defines the organizational identity as what is considered to be central, distinctive and enduring over time by the organization's members. The concept has been used to study the formation and change (Gioia et al., 2013) as well as stability of organizations identity (Chreim, 2005). The organizational identity literature connects well with the self-perception and goals part of the organizational features of the organizational habitus in that analyzes proclaimed understandings of the organization. Closely connected to organizational identity is the concept organizational culture (Alvesson, 2002; Whetten, 2006). Organizational culture (Alvesson, 2002; Ashkanasy et al., 2011; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985; Schein, 1985) is a broad concept that, among other things, has been used as means to understand the multifaceted aspects of organizational life in general (Alvesson, 2002), to establish a connection between a certain kind of culture and firms success (Hitt & Ireland, 1987; Peters & Waterman, 1984), to analyze the relationship between culture and a good work environment for employees (Gibbs & Cooper, 2011; Wilderom, 2011) and to understand how the organizational culture is connected to national culture (Kwantes & Dickson, 2011; M. F. Peterson, 2011). In common for the scholars using the concept is that they view organizational culture as shared values of all members of an organization or all members of a part of an organization. As well as that these values are formed by a history that not necessarily are manifest and that usually is more emotional than rational (Alvesson, 2002). Although the concept is broad, it is clear that organizational culture encompasses aspects that are very similar to that of the organizational habitus. Because it focuses on the members as bearers of the culture it is reasonable to see it as a concept that mainly covers similar aspects as the members' features part of the organizational habitus. This is corroborated by the fact that some scholars in the tradition explicitly compare the organizational culture of an organization with the personality of an individual (Flamholtz & Randle, 2011). To some degree related to organizational culture is the concept organizational knowledge (Alvesson, 2002). The concept organizational knowledge (Davenport & Prusak, 1998; Nonaka, 1994; Tsoukas & Vladimirou, 2001) has been used by scholars to describe the knowledge that organizations holds as organizations, i.e., knowledge that it is not dependent on specific members of the organization. Knowledge is in this context understood as organized amalgamations of items such as beliefs, rules, and information (Bhatt, 2002). Scholars in this tradition has analyzed how different forms of knowledge such as explicit, implicit and tacit are created (Nonaka, 1994) and managed (Davenport et al., 1996) within organizations. The focus has often been on how the specific knowledge of the that the organization possessed could give competitive advantages in relation to other organizations (e.g., Wilcox King & Zeithaml, 2003). Organizational knowledge connects well to the organizational features of the organizational habitus and especially to the history of organization feature. As has been shown these three concepts all has similarities with the organizational habitus concept. We therefore see great potential for scholars choosing to use the organizational habitus concept to integrate previous insights and knowledge. What differs between the three concepts and the concept of organizational habitus is that the latter is more encompassing, yet still detailed, and therefore, we argue, provides opportunities for more fine-grained and complete theorizing and analyzes.

2.2. Field change in management and organization theory

After presenting the theoretical basis for our dissertation it is time to ask us the question of what previous literature on field change within management and organization studies has concluded. In order to position our research, and given the existence of a plethora of streams of thought within the disciplines, we want to know which major streams of thought that has tackled the question of field change and how they done it. We also want to know how the discussion on the topic in the disciplines evolved including where the discussion has moved in more recent years. Further, we want to know if there are specific streams of literature and/or specific texts that can assist us and complement our theoretical basis.

To answer these questions, we will take three steps. Firstly, we will shortly introduce the different streams that have dealt with the question and how they typically have done it. Secondly, we will with the help of bibliometric methods map out a large number of articles published in influential journals on the subject to get an overview of how the discussion evolved and where it is heading at present time. Thirdly, we will discuss which streams of literature and which specific texts that can complement the theoretical reasoning of this dissertation.

Overview of field change as a topic in management and organization theory

To answer the question about which major streams of thought that has tackled the question of field change and how they done it we will start out with a short overview over the biggest strands of literature that has dealt with the question. With some noteworthy examples (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Fligstein, 1996; Holm, 1995; Leblebici et al., 1991; Oliver, 1992) the discussion on field change started to gain momentum around the turn of millennia. This discussion has been represented within several streams of literature.

Beckert (1999) and Hoffman (1999), among others, were pioneers in picking up the concept of institutional entrepreneurship from Eisenstadt (1980) and DiMaggio (1988), a concept that subsequently would be used by a stream of literature discussing field change, and that denotes actions taken by interest-driven actors that seek to change or create new institutions. The following years witnessed a number of prominent texts in the stream (e.g., Battilana et al., 2009; Dorado, 2005; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Maguire et al., 2004) which have in common that they focused on motivated agents activities in explaining field change.

The institutional logics literature followed Alford and Friedland (1985) and Friedland and Alford (1991), in focusing on how societal level logics affected organizations and fields, has tackled the question of field change by arguing that shifts at a field level usually follows from a change in the institutional logics on a higher level. Prominent examples of this includes Thornton and Ocasio (1999) and Lounsbury (2002). More recent examples are Ocasio et al. (2015), Vaccaro and Palazzo (2015), and Yan et al. (2019).

Building on Holm (1995) and Beckert (1999), and the institutional logics stream, Seo and Creed (2002) proposed a dialectical perspective that explained field change as the result of interactions between institutional contradictions and actors practices. The work of Seo and Creed (2002) inspired three related streams of literature: the literature on institutional contradictions, the literature on institutional work, and the practice literature. The literature on institutional contradictions (Creed et al., 2010; Voronov & Yorks, 2015) has focused on how the clash of two or more different institutional logics in a field creates the impetus for change. The literature on institutional work (Granqvist & Gustafsson, 2016; Smolka & Heugens, 2020; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) highlighted the day to day activities by agents to maintain and change conditions in a field. Similar to the latter, albeit with different roots, is the practice literature (Czarniawska, 2009; Lounsbury, 2008; Vaara & Whittington, 2012).This literature defined practices as patterns of coherent actions on a micro-level about which different actors share their understanding. In this literature change was understood as rooted in the way actors on a micro-level responses to different contradictory pressures (Lom, 2016; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007a; Smets et al., 2012).

Worth mentioning is also scholars that, drawing inspiration from Granovetter (1977, 1985) and White (2012), focused on analyzing social networks. Scholars in this tradition, such as Padgett and Powell (2012) and Van Wijk et al. (2013) attributed change to dynamics of overlapping networks.

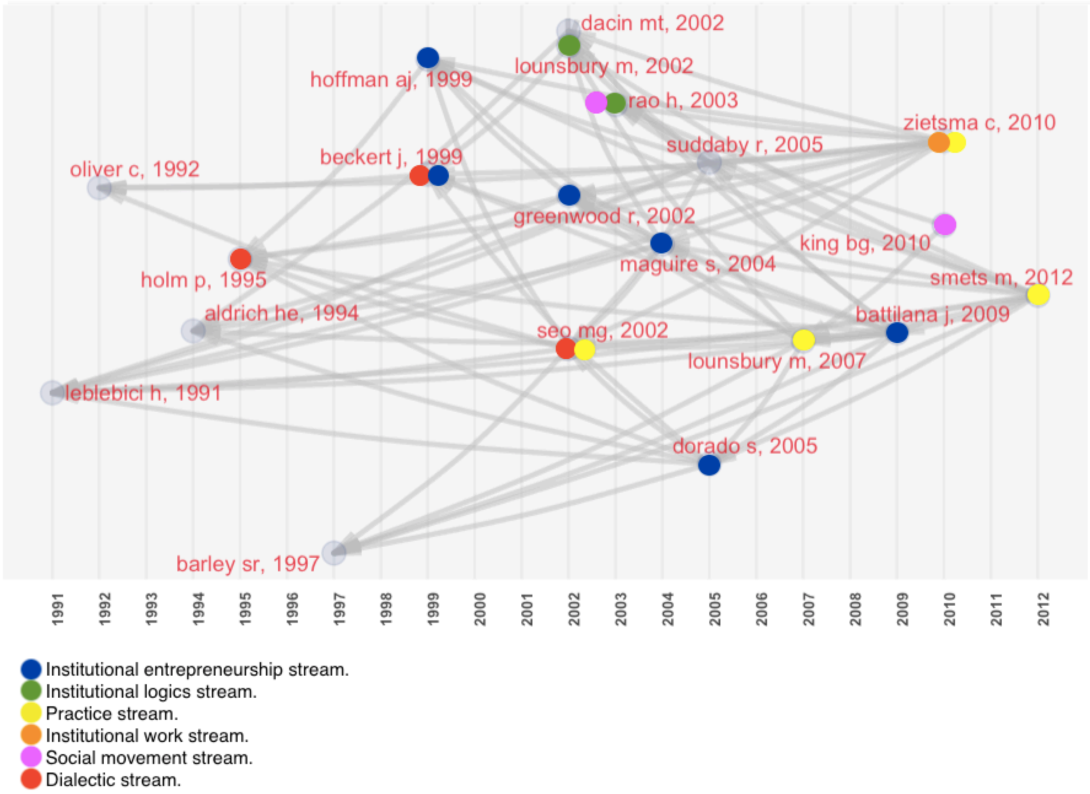
Scholars writing from a social movement perspective (B. G. King & Pearce, 2010; Pacheco et al., 2010; Schneiberg, 2013a; D. J. Wang & Soule, 2016), or a political-cultural perspective (Fligstein, 1996; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), all stressed that fields and markets are political arenas where change can be attained by the formation of social movements of agents seeking to change status quo.

Historical evolution of, and present trends in, the discussion on field change

To answer the questions regarding how the discussion on field change has evolved and where it is moving in recent times, we will use bibliometric methods. While noting that bibliometric methods are superior in providing brief and representative overviews, they are also, by default, dependent on limiting the scope of the search. In this case, this means that influential works on field change that have been published as books or in journals that are not included in the sample are left out. For more details about the methods used here and the rationale behind them please see section 3.4.

To answer the first question, i.e. how the discussion has evolved, we use a historical direct citation network. The method implies that we look at direct citations between the 20 most cited articles in the sample. By doing this we can create a histograph, illustrated in Figure 2.4, which shows how the different articles are connected and can be assumed to, at least to some degree, build on each other, over time.

Figure 2.4. Historical direct citation network of most locally-cited documents in the field change-sample.



Colored dots denote adherence to a specific literature stream. Note: Documents are denoted with only first author and year in the visualization.

We will now present and discuss the articles in the histograph chronographically. The early 1990s saw four different early attempts to conceptualize field change. Leblebici et al. (1991) identified three endogenous mechanisms for institutional change in their historical study of the emergence and development of the U.S. radio broadcasting industry: private agreements, sense-making analogies for new phenomena, and conventions. Oliver (1992) presented a typology of three types of pressure, i.e., political, functional and social, that can lead to deinstitutionalization. These three types could originate either from within an organization, a field, or from the greater contexts. Oliver thus presented a framework that attempted to encompass both endogenous and exogenous forces. Aldrich and Fiol (1994) discussed the problem of a lack of legitimacy, in the form of sociopolitical and cognitive legitimacy, for new agents in newly formed fields, and how agents can build legitimacy starting from an organizational level. With the empirical focus on Norwegian fisheries, Holm (1995) showed how field change could be better understood if institutions were viewed as both nested and interlinked. He stressed that change, difficult to understand on one level, might be easier to understand when a higher or a lower level was observed. He also proposed a dialectical understanding of the question of structure vis-à-vis agency. Similarly did Barley & Tolbert (1997) in their theoretical article, in which they connected neo-institutional theory to ideas on structuration from Giddens.

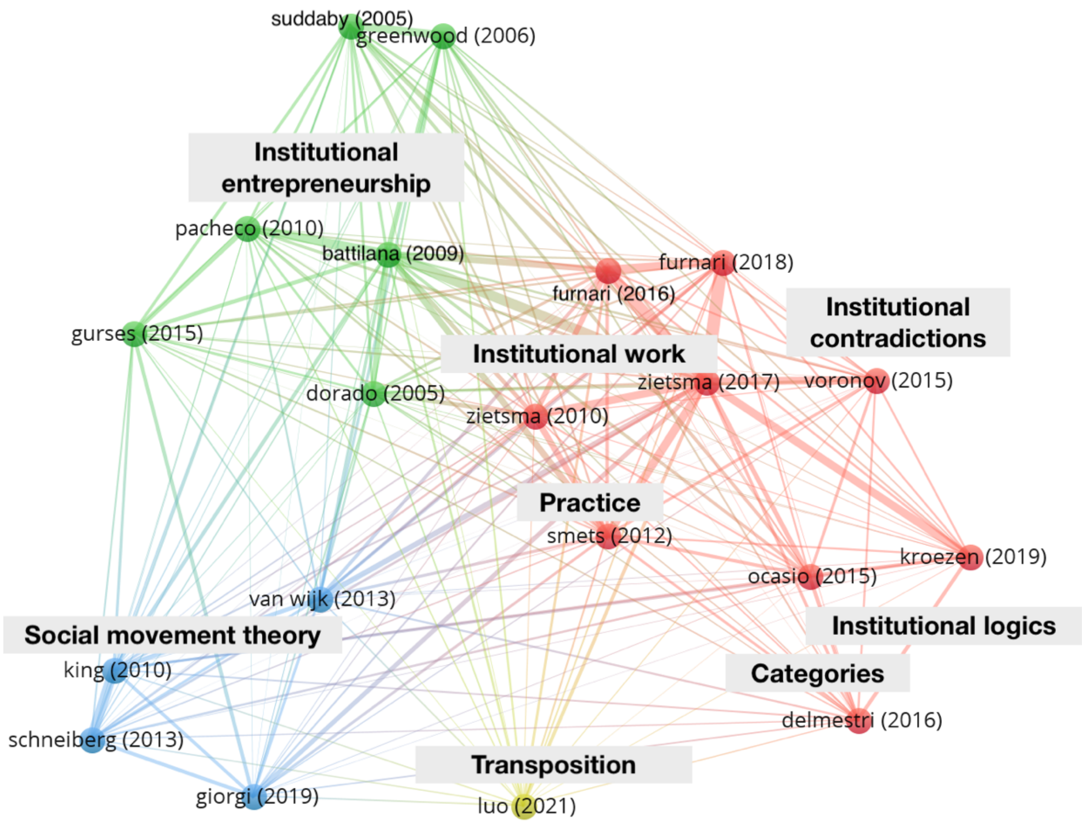
Towards the end of the century, Hoffman (1999) adopted the concept of institutional entrepreneurship, which was notably used by, e.g., DiMaggio (1988) and Fligstein (1997) in their studies. This concept would later become one of the most used theoretical tools in the literature on field change. In his study of how the U.S. chemical industry came to understand and implement institutions relating to environmental concerns between 1960 and 1993, Hoffman (1999) stressed the importance of disrupting exogenous events as a factor that may make field change occur. In the same year, Beckert (1999) published a theoretical paper that discussed issues relating to what was discussed in the institutional entrepreneurship stream, namely, the issue of rational agency in an institutionalized environment. In his proposed model, certainty and uncertainty in an institutional field play an essential role in fostering or averting strategic action. Instead of using Eisenstadt's (1980) institutional entrepreneur as a model, Beckert (1999) builds on Schumpeter's (1952) entrepreneur whose activities can lead to creative destruction. He argued, among other things, that the higher the certainty in a field, the more likely strategic action is to take place; simultaneously, this action has lesser chances of succeeding in a certain situation than in an uncertain situation.

The year 2002 stands out with the publication of four seminal articles, i.e., Greenwood et al. (2002), Lounsbury (2002), Seo and Creed (2002), and Dacin et al. (2002), three of which were published in a special issue on institutional change in the *Academy of Management Journal*. The fourth, Seo and Creed (2002), was published in the sibling journal, the *Academy of Management*

Review, the month after the special issue. In the theoretical introduction article of the special issue, Tina Dacin et al. (2002) discussed causes behind, and responses to, attempted institutional changes, as well as highlighted the need for seeing institutional change from a process perspective. Lounsbury (2002), on the changing institutional logics governing the field of finance in the U.S., became important in taking the emerging literature discussing institutional logics to the discussion of field change. In their paper, dealing with changes in the field of business accounting advisory services in Canada, Greenwood et al. (2002) described how professional associations played a crucial role by using the process of theorization, in which they pointed out problems and proposed solutions to them. The professional associations thus acted as a specific kind of institutional entrepreneur. The following years witnessed a number of prominent texts in the institutional entrepreneurship stream. Inspired by Barley and Tolbert (1997), Seo and Creed (2002) proposed a dialectical framework that understood institutional change as the outcome of institutional contradictions and human praxis. In their paper of the emergence of Nouvelle Cuisine in French cuisine, Rao et al. (2003) explained how identities connected to institutional logics were changed by activists with high sociopolitical legitimacy.

To answer the second question, i.e. where the discussion has been moving in recent times we have conducted an analysis of bibliographic couplings in the sample. This method of analysis means that articles that cite the same article(s) are seen as connected. The more of the same articles any two or more articles cite, the stronger the connection. In Figure 2.5 below, we see an illustration of this analysis where the 20 articles with the most similar cited literature in the sample are mapped out and where the thickness of the lines illustrates degree of connection. In order to make the visualization easier to understand we have assigned labels to different parts of it corresponding to the literature stream where the different articles belong.

Figure 2.5. Network visualization of the bibliographic coupling network. Connections are based on the number of shared references between documents.



Note: Documents are denoted with only first author and year in the visualization.

As can be seen in Figure 2.5 current influential research can be grouped in four different clusters. The four clusters relate to the above-described knowledge base to a certain degree. Let us now have a look at the different clusters one-by-one.

The cluster assigned green consists of research that has been labeled as institutional entrepreneurship. Central in both the cluster and in the overall sample here is Battilana et al.'s (2009) theoretical article, which attempted to summarize the literature stream thus far, and presented a cohesive account of processes related to institutional entrepreneurship. Strongly linked to this is Pacheco et al.'s (2010) literature review on the same theme, which attempted to link two different literatures using the same concept, namely, sociological grounded institutional theory and institutional economics based in economics, where the authors suggested that there are benefits of bridging this divide. Closely connected to Battilana et al. (2009) is also Greenwood and Suddaby's (2006) empirical article on elite institutional entrepreneurship coming from the center (dominant actors) of an established field, namely, that of the U.S. accounting field. Noteworthy is that Pacheco et al. (2010) and Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) are less central both in the cluster and in the sample as a whole. Strongly connected to the latter, perhaps unsurprisingly, is Suddaby and Greenwood's (2005) paper on rhetorical strategies of legitimacy, which was dealing with the same empirical setting as the latter. This paper has a relative weak position in the sample in comparison to others in the cluster, and is only strongly connected to its "sister-paper", i.e., Greenwood and Suddaby (2006). It is also worth noting that the paper uses the institutional logics framework, as well as theories of rhetoric, but still clusters far from other institutional logics papers. The last paper in the cluster, Gurses and Ozcan (2015), also holds a relative fringe position in the network, although with noteworthy connections to the blue cluster (further discussed below) and the red cluster. The paper addresses the introduction of pay television in the U.S., and unraveled how the resistance of incumbents to entrepreneurial change in an established field can be altered by contestation of frames, and that framing can thus be used as a strategy by entrepreneurs wanting change in a field (Gurses & Ozcan, 2015).

The red cluster is the strongest, both in terms of position and links, as well as in the number of articles that it contains. As can be seen, by the label applied by us to the visualization, it consists of several interlinked streams conceptually. Zietsma et al.'s (2017) theoretical paper, which attempted to create a stable base for the field concept, among other things, argued for a clear separation in definition between exchange fields and issue fields, holds a strong position. Strongly connected to this paper is, as can be seen in the visualization, Furnari (2016) and Furnari (2018), followed by Zietsma and Lawrence (2010), Smets et al. (2012), Kroezen and Heugens (2019), and Voronov and Yorks (2015); whereas, the two last articles in the cluster, Ocasio et al. (2015) and Delmestri and Greenwood (2016), have weaker connections in the cluster. Also worth noting is that Zietsma et al. (2017) is strongly connected to Battilana et al. (2009) from the green cluster discussed above. Let us continue by looking closer at Furnari's two articles. Furnari (2018) discussed fields in the form of issue fields (cf. Zietsma et al. 2017) and discussed how issues and the framing of issues relate to field change. Inspired by resource dependency theory, Furnari (2016) theorized about how relations between fields can facilitate or hinder institutional change attained by institutional work. Closely related to the latter is Zietsma and Lawrence's (2010) paper on institutional work in the British Colombian forest industry.

The red cluster can be understood as having several axes. We have two important related works on the field concept as such, i.e., Zietsma et al. (2017) and Furnari (2016). Literature also exists focusing on aspects of institutional work (Furnari, 2016; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) and the related practice perspective (Smets et al., 2012; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). We also have three articles, i.e., Delmestri and Greenwood (2016), Kroezen and Heugens (2019), and Ocasio et al. (2015), firmly established in the institutional logics stream, of which two are to a large degree focused on categories (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016; Ocasio et al., 2015). Voronov and Yorks´s (2015) paper, on the other hand, addresses the differences between agents in understanding institutional contradictions.

Let us continue to discuss the third cluster, with the assigned color blue in the visualization. In comparison with the green and the red cluster, the blue cluster has weaker connections with the rest of the sample and the other clusters. The connection within the cluster is also relatively weak. Of the four articles in the cluster, only two are relatively strongly connected Schneiberg (2013b) and King and Pearce (2010). King and Pearce's (2010) article is a review of what the social movement perspectives had accomplished thus far, and stressed that this perspective constituted a dynamic perspective of fields as sites of power struggles. Investigating the spread of cooperatives in the U.S. in the early 20th century, Schneiberg (2013b) showed that the presence of a specific political movement, i.e. the Grange, fostered the spread of cooperative movements across the country. In their study on Dutch sustainable tourist activists and the emergence of sustainable tourism in the Netherlands, Van Wijk et al.(2013) revealed that incumbents, instead of resisting change, may collaborate with agents wanting change in situations when the structure of the field has been modified in ways which are favorable for the activists. Giorgi et al. (2019) highlighted the importance of power in field change. Based on empirical studies on the implementation of the U.S. Automotive Safety Act of 1966, Giorgi et al. (2019) suggest that organizations' power position changes over time as a result of cultural consonance between firms' strategic responses and cultural contexts.

Finally, we have the last article, i.e., Luo et al. (2021). It is a study on transposition focusing on the influence of Chinese nationals that, after returning from studying abroad, took with them the practice of corporate donation. They argued that transposition is connected to two paradoxes, namely, the paradox of embedded agency (further discussion on this below) and the paradox of peripheral influence. The authors asserted that these two paradoxes can be overcome by agents that have sufficient connections in both fields. Naturally, since our interest in this dissertation is mainly in transposition, we will connect to the article of Luo et al. (2021). However, we want our grounding to be wider than that. We will therefore briefly discuss the literature streams and the articles that belong to the red, green, and blue clusters in more detail to see if any of them can be useful in our investigation.

Starting with the institutional entrepreneurship literature represented by the red cluster. The institutional entrepreneurship literature tends to investigate change processes and in these, they attribute a large degree of agency to actors, often in the form of single individuals (Battilana et al., 2009). This connects to something central to the literature, namely the paradox of embedded agency. In short, if actors are embedded in an institutionalized organizational field that exerts great regulative, normative, and cognitive pressures how can they imagine or yet try to change these institutions? Several different solutions to the paradox have been presented within the literature, some complementary and some disconcordant (Hardy & Maguire, 2017). Nevertheless, a dominant view has yet to appear in the literature. The literature has devoted great effort to determine why some actors become institutional entrepreneurs, searching for answers in the actors' properties and positions within the field. It has also investigated strategies used by these actors. Further, it has investigated which field conditions that are likely to bring about attempts to change institutions by institutional entrepreneurs (Hardy & Maguire, 2017). From our point of view, the literature has several issues.

As we see it, the paradox of embedded agency is rooted in a rigid and unproductive view of structure and agency as largely disconnected. With Bourdieu (2000, 2019), we argue that the solution lies in understanding agency and structure as closely connected. This means that structure is the result of the previous action and that action is formed by the structure, the habitus being the structure in the agent and the field being the structure of agents (Bourdieu, 2000, 2019). Connected to this is that the institutional entrepreneurship literature in trying to solve the paradox, often paradoxically, ends up in more or less voluntaristic reasoning.

Turning our attention to the red cluster we find literature that we have labeled as belonging to the related streams of institutional work, institutional contradictions, institutional logics, categories, and practice perspective. What all the articles in the cluster have in common is that they base their reasoning, wholly or too large parts, on the institutional logics perspective (Alford & Friedland, 1985; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). The institutional logics perspective diverges from our basic understanding in several ways. Among other things, it does so in the way that it perceives change as the anomaly, and stability and status quo as the natural state of fields and other social realms. Also, because it does not accredit fields enough importance, and builds on inconclusive and contradictory understandings of fields (cf. Zietsma et al., 2017). Even around the core concept of logics there is a lot to be clarified. Questions such as: What are they? How many of them are there? Where do they reside (on which level in society)? How did they emerge? Can they change? remains to be answered conclusively. Regarding the number of logics, for example, we can see that Friedland and Alford (1991) defined them as being five, Thornton (2004) and Thornton et al., (2012) each, in turn, added one each, making the sum seven. But in many cases, almost anything seems to be defined as a logic. All of this amounts to an overall point of criticism from our perspective of the institutional logics perspective as being far too rigid and yet at the same time too incoherent. The perspective also tends to attribute most field change to forces outside the field. Although we acknowledge exogenous field forming forces, we also have pointed out that these are always mediated by the struggle within the field. More recent developments within the literature based on institutional logics have also partly recognized this and have investigated how the pressure from different logics creates institutional contradictions that agents need to tackle, Voronov and Yorks (2015) is an example of this literature. Smets et al. (2012), Furnari (2016), Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) Ocasio et al. (2015) also diverge from some of the basis of the perspective in that they propose a bottom-up model of field change, where the everyday activities of agents are said to be the motor behind some institutional change.

However, in our view, the biggest shortcoming in the literature on institutional logics as well as the one on institutional entrepreneurship is the lack of perspectives on power. At most times, power remains unaccounted for or uncommented. This is in contrast to our understanding, in which power is what is at stake in all social struggles, and where the structure is the result of previous struggles, forming the possibilities for agents to engage in current struggles.

Turning to the blue cluster and social movement theory. In our view, this literature provides compelling solutions to problems in both streams of literature discussed just above. Surely, social movement theory has been connected to, and in discussion with, the institutional entrepreneurship (e.g, B. G. King & Pearce, 2010) and the institutional logics (e.g., Martin, 2008; Schneiberg, 2013) literature. However, its core assumptions remain different from that of the mainstream of the two other kinds of literature. Whereas institutional logics, in our opinion, puts too much focus on structure and forces outside the field, the institutional entrepreneurship literature view is too voluntaristic and tends to view the institutional entrepreneur as acting rather unhindered by structural forces. Social movement theory takes a position between these two poles. Social movement theory tends to put emphasis on how actors are formed by structure and how their ability to act is dependent on the structural and situational context, a context that the actors in turn can change. In this, the literature fits rather well with our basic assumptions and our Bourdieusian framework. The literature also stresses that fields and markets are dynamic areas that are always sites of struggle and that what appears to be a "stable" market or field is the result of settlements that continue to be challenged by agents. Further, they view these struggles in political terms (B. G. King & Pearce, 2010). This is also in line with our assumptions. Regarding what for us is a key question, namely that of power, some strands in the literature do take this question seriously (e.g., Giorgi et al., 2019;

Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2006; Rao et al., 2000). In other parts it is missing or not given the weight we would like it to have. However, compared to the institutional logics and institutional entrepreneurship literature we mean that the social movement literature considered as a whole does put more emphasis on power.

Fields as areas of conflict and contentiousness - social-movement perspectives on field change

We will now discuss the social movement theory literature. In doing this we will strive to answer the following questions. What has been the object of study? What are the fundamental views and the key concepts? What has the literature said about field change and dynamics of organizations concerning this?

Originating in political sciences, social movement theory has for more than 20 years been inspiring, and in dialogue with, organization theory (Davis et al., 2005) and economic sociology (B. G. King & Pearce, 2010). This has inspired a wide array of research. This literature has studied organizations as targets (B. G. King, 2008; Snow, 2004) of social movements and which organizations such movements have chosen to target (Bartley & Child, 2014). It has also studied targeted organizations was affected (B. G. King & Soule, 2007; Rojas, 2006) as well as how such organizations, or parts of them, handle anticipated or actual pressure from movements (Baron, 2001; Briscoe et al., 2014; Kellogg, 2012; Luders, 2006; McDonnell & King, 2013). It has shown that established organizations sometimes collaborate with movements trying to achieve change (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008). It has aslo investigated social movements working within organizations to create change (Binder, 2002; Briscoe & Safford, 2008; Raeburn, 2004; Weber et al., 2009). Further, it has shown how social movements can take formal organizational form (M. D. King & Haveman, 2008) as well as how such movements can create new organizational forms (Rao, 1998; Rao et al., 2000; Swaminathan & Wade, 1999). Importantly, it has also shown how markets, and fields can be created, formed, and changed by social movements or mechanisms that is reminiscent of such movements (Greve et al., 2006; Hargrave & Van De

Ven, 2006; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007b; Rao et al., 2003; Sine & Lee, 2009; Weber et al., 2008).

We now turn to the fundamentals and the key concepts of social movement theory. Unlike most traditional organization theory social movement theory has favored the study of change rather than stability. This focus on change is not coincidental, rather it fits well with the key assumption within the literature that fields and markets are areas of contentiousness where actors confront each other in political conflicts (B. G. King & Pearce, 2010). In such conflicts, social movement theory tends to focus on a specific kind of actors, i.e., underdog actors who either originate outside or within the field (Clemens, 2005; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2017). These actors mobilize consciously for specific ends, even if unexpected consequences can come as a result of the change processes, and are organized collectively (McAdam & Scott, 2005). Further, the literature has discussed specific conditions, often denoted as political opportunity structures, under which movements' aspirations for change are more likely to succeed (e.g., Soule & King, 2006; Soule & Olzak, 2004). The literature also claims that fields often are spaces with multiple logics and that contradictions between logics can be utilized by agents trying to achieve change (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2017). Movements working for change often use framing, i.e., attempts to reformulate the shared collective understandings, as means in conflicts. The literature further tends to see these movements as not having clear-cut leaders, but rather coordinating in informal ways (Clemens, 2005), even if they can be represented by formal organizations (Davis & Zald, 2005).

To answer the third question, we will now discuss some texs from the social movement literature. We start out with texts discussing field change on a general level. In their study on the emergence of the U.S. wind energy sector Sine and Lee (2009) showed how social movements can create entrepreneurial opportunities and motivate entrepreneurs to pursue these opportunities. By mobilizing around a certain question, social movements can participate in shifting values and norms in fields affected as well as influence state regulation. The movements can also act as mobilizing structures that can provide information and resources for entrepreneurs as well as rally members and non-members in support of the entrepreneurial projects (Sine and Lee, 2009). Adding to this, these changes in norms, thinking and regulation that a successful movement can achieve makes it more probable that entreprenuers acknowledges the opportunity (Sine & Lee, 2009). (See also (Hiatt et al., 2009) for similar reasoning). Like a number of others (e.g., Bartley & Child, 2014; B. G. King & Soule, 2007; Rao, 1998; Schneiberg & Bartley, 2001)) social movement theory texts Sine and Lee (2009) thus describes how social movements can act, as what we would classify as, an endogenous agential force that can affect the workings of a field.

Giorgi et al. (2019) showed how the cultural context in greater societal realms can provide support or constraints to pressure coming from outside the field, in their case in the form of regulations. They found that when the regulations implemented were in line with the cultural context it was implemented to a higher degree than if they were not. This lead Giorgi et al. (2019) to discuss how firms that can appropriately understand this cultural context can use it to craft strategies that can help them form their environment to their advantage. Further, they also pointed out that the cultural context is evolving, meaning that firms with an appropriate understanding could continuously form their strategies based on these shifts and continuously form an environment that is suiting for them (Giorgi et al., 2019). In our terms Giorgi et al. (2019) thus highlighted the appriorate understanding of and the ability to act aspect of the organizational habitus in relation to exogenous structural field-forming forces.

O'Mahony and Bechky (2008) and Van Wijk et al. (2013) showed that field change processes sparked by movements outside the field could involve cooperation between these movements and incumbent actors in the field. In the case described by O'Mahony and Bechky (2008) this was achieved by what they call boundrary organizations that coud mediate the conflict and foster cooperation between movements and incumbent agents. Similarly, the case described by Van Wijk et al. (2013) showed how incumbents' attempts to cooptate a movement can help the movement. This is because it can lead to a situation of mutual cooptation, when the focal field's structure has been modified as a result of the movement's activities. Further, Van Wijk et al. (2013) proposed understanding movements as fields. This implies that when a movement comes to collaborate with imcumbents what Van Wijk et al. (2013) denote as a field overlap can take place. Playing a similar role as boundrary organizations, Van Wijk et al. (2013) highlights actors denoted as cultural and network brokers that act as middlemen between the movement and the actors in the focal field. From our standpoint O'Mahony and Bechky (2008) and Van Wijk et al. (2013) provides interesting theorizing on how social movements starting from an position outside the focal field trough their activities and the establishment of relations with agents in the same field can come to be embedded in the field.

In their theoretical paper, Hargrave and Van De Ven (2006) put social movement theory in conversation with technology innovation management literature and proposed a model of collective action to understand processes of institutional innovation and change. They argued that such processes are dialectical (cf. Beckert, 1999; Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002) in nature because they involve actors with different interests that confront each other. The resulting changes is therefore to be seen as the result of political actions. Hargrave and Van De Ven (2006) stressed four key characteristics for their model which all, to a varying degree, have been highlighted in the two streams of literature they base their reasoning on. These characteristics are framing contests, network construction, enactment of institutional arrangements (i.e., work to rearrange the power balance and form of insitutions inorder to create favorable political opportunity structures), and political processes. Further, Hargrave and Van De Ven (2006) contended that the three concepts of conflict, power, and politics are key to understanding processes of institutional change, which scholars investigating these phenomena ought to pay more attention to. They argued that conflict is what creates change and that power is how conflicts are expressed whereas politics are how actors engage in conflict. We agree with the stress Hargrave and Van De Ven (2006) puts on conflict, power, and politics for the understanding of fields and field change processes. Answering their call, we propose that analysis of agential capabilities, i.e., the organizational habitus and the capital configuration of agents, are a productive way of conceptualizing and understanding power in such processes.

Closely related to social movement theory is the works of Fligstein (e.g., 1990, 1996). In his book *The Transformation of Corporate Control* Fligstein (1990) described how the strategic trajectory of large industrial corporations in the United States between 1895 and 1980 was formed by the interactions between actors internally in the organizations, as well as the interaction between these actors and actors from outside the organizations. Fligstein (1990) argued that shifts in how firms were organized and run during the period should be understood as shifts between different conceptions of control. A conception of control reflects the structure of the field and forms the way actors in the field understand themselves, the field and actions by other actors in the field. Importantly, a conception of control must at the very least be tolerated by the state in order to exist and function. Fligstein (1990) described how, what he called the direct conception of control, was established in the latter half of the 19th century and was succeeded with the manufacturing conception of control in a process starting in the early 20th century. Starting in the 1920s, and greatly gaining momentum as a result of the economic crisis of the 1930s, the manufacturing conception of control came to be replaced with the sale and marketing conception of control, which in turn came to be replaced with financial conception of control starting in the 1950s. All of these shifts, Fligstein (1990) argued, was the result of exogenous field pressure, in particular from the state in the form of legislation, as well as firms' struggle for domination. Fligstein (1990) provided detailed accounts for these processes. Yet, even more fine-grained analysis would be possible if one was to apply our Bourdieusian understanding to these processes. This would help us better understand the devolopements on an aggregated level as well as on a detailed level.

In his theoretical paper *Markets as Politics* Fligstein (1996) proposed the use of the metaphor with the same name to encompass a number of ideas. Of these, the two most fundamental was that states develop tight relationships with markets (cf. Bourdieu, 2005) and that actors tend to strive to establish a stable hierarchical order in the markets under a common conception of control. Fligstein (1996) argued that markets can be in three different stages: formation, stability and transformation. The stable stage implies that there is a clear hierarchy between leading dominating actors and dominated actors, together acting as a political coalition that all share the same conception of control and where and where all competition, to the benefit of the leading actors, is played out in a non-antagonistic way. The stages of formation and transformation on the other hand are connected with high fluidity. In times of emergence, the most fluid state, the roles and relations in the market as well as a common conception of control are not yet established.

In times of transformation, roles, relations and the conception of control can be challenged and altered. Crisis, which opens up the opportunity for transformation, appears when leading actors begin to fail in reproducing themselves. According to Fligstein (1996) there can be three reasons behind this: decrease in revenue due to societal economic problems or customers changing preferences, state intervention, and invasion by actors from other markets. He argued that these invaders are more likely to come from more proximate markets than from more distant ones. The agential impetus for change in the market can come from these invaders, or from smaller already established agents within the field. The changes do not necessarily aim at, nor actually produce, a new conception of control, but rather seek to change positions and identities within the market. The parties upholding the conception of control will, in periods of crisis, try to refer to "the conventional wisdom" as means of defending the status quo. When the market is in a truly fluid state actors will try to form coalitions, which can be understood as social movements, around new conceptions of control. These social movement-like political coalitions can consist solely of invaders or of invaders and already established actors in the market (Fligstein, 1996). While we are symphatetic to the most of the reasoning in the article we believe that Fligstein (1996) three stages that fields can be in are a to rigid framework. This since it can foster an understanding where fields are understood as more stable than we believe they are.

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) presented a general theory of what they called "strategic action fields", which they claimed differed from other field theories in seven ways. Firstly, because it stressed that the "existential" aspect of meaning-making is as important as material or instrumental motives for social actors. Secondly, because it encompassed the concept of social skill which denotes a property of individuals that makes it possible for them, to a varying degree, to cooperate with other actors. Thirdly, because it highlighted that fields are themselves embedded in other fields. Fourthly, because it pointed out that fields, depending on the distribution of resources within them, either take the form of coalitions or hierarchies. Fifthly, because it stressed the importance of internal governance units, i.e. organizations that help to stabilize field practices. Sixthly, because it encompassed an understanding of change that views struggle and contestations as taking place on an everyday basis, but still does not neglect the importance of exogenous shocks. Seventhly, because it encompassed a theory of states as fields (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Interestingly, while Fligstein (1996) attributed the impetus to field change as most often originating from new agents in the field, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) attributed the same to other fields, which is reminiscent of the earlier reasoning of Fligstein (1990). We thus see an oscilation between two exogenous field-foming forces, agential and structural, as the first moving force in field change. While we appreciate Fligstein and McAdams' (2012) undertaking we still believe that Bourdieu (1977, 2019) provides a better framework for understanding fields and social life at large.

We agree that fields are embedded in other fields, that contestation and change are constantly ongoing processes, and that states are fields, all of which (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998, 2019) also pointed out. Meaning-making may be important but we believe that it is a too vague concept to be a basis for creating a robust social theory. The habitus, being the structure in an agent, and giving satisfactory explanatory power, makes it unnecessary to dig deeper into what, on an existential level, motivates agents. Relating to this, as we see it, the concept of social skill denotes something very similar to the habitus but that carries less explanatory power. Regarding the statement that fields are either organized as hierarchies or coalitions we do contend that they can be, and in fact, usually are, both at the same time (Bourdieu, 2019). Lastly, we do believe that internal governance units are a good concept that fits well with our framework.

We have reviewed the literature on field change in management and organization studies. We have argued that the social movement literature is the literature that we primarily want to engage with. This is because it shares several basic assumptions that are similar to that of our Bourdieusian theoretical basis. Among other things, this is true of the emphazise it puts on contentiousness and the political nature of fields.

2.3. Transposition

We will now continue by looking at what previous literature has said about the main focus of this dissertation, namely transposition. To create a solid understanding of this we will answer the following questions: How did Bourdieu, and other scholars working in the same tradition, define and use the concept? Which topics have the empirical literature using the concept covered? What has been said about agential capabilities and structural aspects in relation to transposition? Is it possible to translate these findings into a Bourdieusian framework, if yes, how would we understand them within such a framework? Lastly, what has the empirical literature on transposition said about the distance between fields in relation to the processes of transposition in terms of feasibility and results?

Transposability and transposition as Bourdieusian concepts

For Bourdieu (e.g., 1977, 1984, 1990b) transposability was a general feature of the habitus denoting the ability to use analogical shifts of schemes, i.e., generalized and routinized compounds of action, to solve different yet similar shaped problems in different settings. A strong habitus is thus connected to larger transposability (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Transposability for Bourdieu was a concept used to describe the general applicability of a particular habitus, and with it the possibility of action it enabled.

In his seminal theoretical piece on structure and change, Sewell (1992) criticized Bourdieu's habitus concept for being too cohesive and totalized to be able to account for change in ways other than coming from outside of systems. Instead Sewell (1992) proposed five axioms that he claimed could explain change as a result of the regular workings of structure. One of these axioms was defined as the transposability of schemas. With this Sewell (1992) builds on this aspect of Bourdieu's habitus but with an important caveat. He argued that Bourdieu in discussing transposability defined this aspect to rigidly by saying that transposability only applied to similarly shaped problems. In contrast to how Bourdieu defined the concept, Sewell (1992) pointed out that transposability should rather be understood as significantly more all-encompassing, and that it could not be defined forehand how similar shaped a problem or setting should be, for transposability conditions to be at hand. Further, Sewell (1992) argued that the knowledge of rules and schemas per definition entails the ability to use them creatively in another setting, i.e. that they are transposable, but stressed that the degree of the extent of this ability is dependent on social position and the structure the particular agent is embedded in.

Bourdieu (e.g., 1984, 1990b, 1990a, 1991, 1996) also used the terms transpose and transposition to describe the particular lines of action of applying an analysis from an specific setting to another setting as well as, in a more general sense, the moving of ideas and practices between different fields (e.g., Bourdieu, 1996:294, Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990:149). Used in this sense, transposition denotes a specific, delineated, line of action. This is the way in which more recent empirical studies, to which we will turn next, has used the concept.

Empirical literature on transposition

Let us now review the empirical literature on transposition and answer the questions of which topics it has covered, and what it has said about capabilities and structural aspects in relation to processes of transposition. In his historical study on the presence and performances of mutual fire insurances companies in the U.S. between 1900-1930, Schneiberg (2002) argued that this was dependent on multifaceted political and structural conditions. The presence and performance of the mutual companies, which according to Schneiberg (2002) acted as a contra force to joint-stock corporations, was analyzed on a state level and was found to be formed by four interlinked aspects. The first and second being the local political setting as well as the founder of the organizations' ability to navigate this setting, and the existence of other similar organizations in the particular state. The third being the incidence of agrarian protest movements. Fourth, and of the greatest importance for our present study, the presence of immigrants and their organizations, who acted as cultural carriers transposing the mutual form to the new setting. Specifically, the presence of larger groups of German and Swedish immigrants was found to make the presence and performance of mutual fire insurances companies larger and better respectively. The same was found in regards to the number of protestant churches. Schneiberg (2002) argued that the immigrants from these two countries used the protestant churches as bases for the organization and defense of the mutual company form. Schneiberg's (2002) findings thus implied that the successful transposition of practices, in this case, was formed by a) favorable field conditions in form of potential allies in the focal field b) the ability to navigate and act in the focal field, and c) that actors was well organized.

Haydu (2002) investigated the class formation processes of businessmen in late 19th century Cincinnati. He showed how the formation of a generalized identity he denoted as "business citizenship" made it possible for business men to conquer divides within their class, but also, importantly, how they could transpose this identity to different settings. Haydu (2002) showed how the identity and the social scripts connected to it, formed in different forms of civic and political life, subsequently were transposed to the more distant realms of personnel management and industrial training. In other words, ideas such as a hierarchical divide between mental and manual training and work, and views of employees as human capital rather than citizens, were moved to, and implemented in, workplaces via industrial education programs. Haydu (2002) pointed to the importance of a number of challenges that the group of businessmen faced in the 19th century in the form of a) economic setbacks for individual businessmen, as well as a relative decline for the city's business as a whole, b) increased union membership and strike activity, c) a perceived decline of moral in society, and d) political corruption. In regards of characteristics of the agents carrying through transposition they were a) well organized (through a number of overlapping organizations), and b) had a well-developed conscious ideologically (Haydu, 2002).

Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) studied why and how the managerial practice of diversity management was transposed from the U.S. to Denmark and put in use in a way not done before, namely as a way to try to integrate immigrants into workplaces. Thus, the transposition of the practices not only involved the moving of it between the two fields but also amounted to innovation in itself, since it was used in a novel way. Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) defined transposition as a part of a trinity of importation of foreign practices as a form of innovation, where the two others are defined as translation (adaption of the practices to the specific settings in the focal field) and theorization (a generalization of the translation in the focal field). Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) claimed that not all actors are equally likely to transpose practices. Individual preferences such as beliefs and ideals are likely to motivate certain actors to pursue this line-of-action. Also, actors that are multiple embedded in two different fields are more likely to make transpositions between these fields. They further emphasized the presence of major (acute) problems and partial deinstitutionalization in the focal field as facilitating conditions for transposition (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005).

Padgett and McLean (2006) studied the emergence of the partnership system in Renaissance Florence, in late 14th century. This system implied that one or a small number of people, through legal contracts with local partners in different branches or areas, could control large networks of overlapping businesses. The system protected the owners of unlimited-liability risks as well as made expansion and specialization easier (Padgett & McLean, 2006). Using a framework based on the three interrelated processes of transposition, refunctionality, and catalysis, Padgett and McLean (2006) analyzed how types of social relations from different networks came to be moved between these networks and mixed with each other. Similar to Boxenbaum & Battilana (2005), Padgett and McLean (2006) saw transposition as the first step in a process of innovation. The second step and third step in Padgett and McLean's (2006) framework described how the moved practices was transformed into new ones, and how the establishment of these changed practices came to alter the reproduction of new practices. Specifically, Padgett and McLean (2006) describe two important transpositions: 1) the transposition of local guild practices to the level of international business and, 2) the transposition of the logic of clientage from politics into the level of the family. An important basis for this development was the political turmoil of the Ciompi revolt which involved political action that caused breaks with established distinctions between different networks of people, and forged new ties in and between these networks (Padgett & McLean, 2006). Worth noting is that Padgett and McLean's (2006) placed their investigation solely on a structural level, it is therefore not surprising that we do not find deep analysis of the involved agents and their abilities, that could be compared to an analysis of habitus.

Two other texts, Powell and Sandholtz (2012) and Powell et al. (2012), used a similar framework as that of Padgett and McLean (2006). In their study on the emergence of the first biotech companies in the late 70s and 80s, Powell and Sandholtz (2012) described how a number of new practices that was characteristic for these companies actually had roots within academia and had been transposed by academics that took part in founding these companies and recombined them with practices from finance and industry. Powell and Sandholtz (2012) pointed out that while recombination's are common, the specific type of moving and recombination that they call transposition is defined by the fact that the ideas and practices are moved through great distance; from one domain where they are common to a new domain where they are unknown and unrecognized. To do this, actor's need to posses great social skill and be able to trespass institutional boundaries. When done successfully the transposed ideas and practices can reconfigure what the authors call the autocatalytic process in in the focal field, i.e. that field's reproduction of institutions. Thus, Powell and Sandholtz' (2012) focus was on the process as such and not on the agents carrying it through.

In the their study on the emergence and non-emergence of high-tech clusters, Powell et al. (2012) studied eleven U.S. regions that had conditions that would make the establishment of clusters feasible. However, only three of these regions actually developed competitive clusters. Powell et al. (2012) argued that what made the three regions stand out was the existence of a diversity of organizational forms and the existence of anchor tenants, both of which in turn made transpositions between different networks possible. Examples of this included the transposition of scientifically practices into commercial application in Boston, the transposition of competitive companionship from the academic milieu to the business realm in the Bay area, and to some extent in Boston as well. Since transpositions such as these involved important aspects in innovation, the transposition processes in themselves enhanced the competitiveness of the clusters (Powell et al., 2012). Further, Powell et al. (2012) highlighted the importance for actors to have experience, knowledge, prestige, and legitimacy in their home realm in order to successfully transpose practices. They also pointed out that most transpositions fail but that those that succeed are likely to change to whole logic in the focal realm (Powell et al. 2012).

Schneiberg (2013) analyzed the failed attempts by the Bank of North Dakota to transpose its model of state-owned banks to other states in the United States. Schneiberg (2013) presented two different aspects as explanations as to why these attempted transpositions failed. First, the actors that tried to transpose institutions were insufficiently skilled for the task. The other, more important aspect, however, was the institutional setting which was unfit for the attempted transposition in three ways. First, taken-for-granted ideas were in conflict with the project, secondly and thirdly, the political power balance around banking and juridical structures was unfavorable. Schneiberg (2013) when highlighting these results asked for caution amongst scholar not to overestimate the importance of actor-centered explanations.

The study of Luo et al. (2021) investigated the influence of Chinese nationals that, after returning from studying abroad, took with them the practice of corporate donation. They distinguished between two different stages in processes of transposition: immersion, which denotes a period when actors are exposed and socialized in an outside field, and transfer, where actors implement institutions from the outside field into the focal field. Luo et al. (2021) argued that these two stages were connected to two paradoxes, the aforementioned paradox of embedded agency and the paradox of peripheral influence. The latter concept is used to describe the problem of how fringe actors manage to influence a field. Analyzing the specifics of agents that successfully carried through transposition, Luo et al. (2021) concluded that the embeddedness of organizations in the focal field, through interlocking directorates and political connections, increased the chances of successful transposition. They also pointed out that the existence of a weakness in the focal field, in this case low levels of economic development, made the successful transposition of the practice more achievable (Luo et al., 2021).

Literature on transposition in relation to a Bourdieusian framework

We will now reconnect the concept of transposition to its origin and explore how the findings presented in the literature fit with a Bourdieusian framework. First, we will dig deeper into what the literature says concerning the four field-forming forces forming the focal field, i.e. the field into which the transposition attempts were directed. After this, we will reiterate what the literature says about the agential capabilities of agents attempting to carry through transposition, and then translate this into Bourdieusian concepts.

Starting with reiterating what the literature said about field-forming forces in relation to transposition, we find that Schneiberg (2002) pointied out that a favorable local political setting, as well as the presence of certain sympathetic organization and movements in the focal field, had facilitating effects. Further Haydu (2002), Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005), Padgett and McLean (2006) and Luo et al. (2021) all pointed to challenges or problems in the focal field as facilitating factors for successful transposition. Powell et al. (2012) highlighted the positive effect that the presence of different kinds of organizations in focal field had for transposition. Further, Schneiberg (2013) stressed that established ideas on a societal level that was in conflict with those connected with the attempted transposition had an impeding effect, so did also the societal political power balance as well as juridical structures in focal. Schneiberg (2002) and Powell et al. (2012) pointed to the facilitating effect that endogenous agential forces, in the form of individuals, movements and organizations played.

Table 2.1. Field-forming forces, for focal field, importance in literature on transposition.

	Structural						*Agential*		
Article	**Endogenous**	Facilitating	Impediment	**Exogenous**	Facilitating	Impediment	**Endogenous**	Facilitating	Impediment
Schneiberg (2002)	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-
Haydu (2002)	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005)	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Padgett and McLean (2006)	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Powell and Sandholtz (2012)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Powell et al. (2012)	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-
Schneiberg (2013)	X	-	X	X	-	X	-	-	-
Luo et al. (2021)	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: As can be seen, exogenous agential forces are omitted. Since these are aspects that concern the transposing agents they are discussed as agential capabilities in the next table.

As can be seen there is a heavy focus on endogenous structural aspects in the literature. Given the nature of the processes chosen for study this may not come as a big surprise. But, worth mentioning is that most studies on transposition suffer from a bias of focusing on surviving and successful transpositions (Powell et al., 2012; Schneiberg, 2013a).

We will now focus on what the literature says about the agential capabilities of agents attempting to carry through transposition. To make our theoretical framework more cohesive we will here allow us to translate previous findings into Bourdieusian concepts. In order to do this, we present in table

2.2 the two major Bourdieusian concepts capital and habitus broken down into seven specific aspects, namely capital in the forms of 1) economic, 2) cultural, 3) social and 4) symbolic and habitus broken down into 5) forming experiences, 6) understanding of field-forming forces, and the 7) ability to act in relation to this. The papers we have reviewed will then be marked with an X if they have pointed out aspects that can be transferred to the respective Bourdieusian concepts.

Table 2.2. Agential capabilities of transposing agents in literature on transposition translated to Bourdieusian concepts.

	Capital				***Habitus***		
Article	Economic capital	Cultural capital	Social capital	Symbolic capital	Forming experiences	Understanding of	Ability to act
Schneiberg (2002)	-	-	X	-	X	X	X
Haydu (2002)	-	X	X	X	-	X	-
Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005)	-	-	X	-	X	-	-
Padgett and McLean (2006)	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
Powell and Sandholtz (2012)	X	-	X	-	X	X	X
Powell et al. (2012)	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Schneiberg (2013)	-	-	-	-	-	X	X
Luo et al. (2021)	-	-	X	-	X	-	-

Schneiberg (2002) stressed that it was beneficial for agents that attempted to carry through transposition if they had the ability to decode, and act in, the focal field. In Bourdieusian terms this is reasonable to translate to the understanding of and ability to act on aspects of habitus. Further, Schneiberg's (2002) reasoning on presence and number of mutual companies in some states, is based on some immigrants' background, which translates well to the experience forming aspect of habitus. He also pointed out the importance for actors to be well organized, which could be translated to the importance of social capital. Haydu (2002) described how strong organization and an ideologically well-developed consciousness help actors to transpose practices. As already argued, strong organizations can be translated to importance of social capital, whereas well-developed consciousness points to the understanding of aspect of the habitus and the possession of cultural and symbolic capital. Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) highlighted the motivating role that beliefs and ideals can have. Translated to a Bourdieusian framework this clearly points to the forming experience of habitus. Further they highlighted the importance of multiple embeddedness, which in Bourdieusian terms can be understood as large amounts of social capital. What all the actors in the different networks Padgett and McLean (2006) described had in common, is that they, in Bourdieusian terms, had social positions that were on the dominant side of the societal spectrum, which would imply the possession of significant amounts of the four different forms of capital. Further Padgett and McLean's (2006) reasoning around the forming of new social connections between different networks made possible by a political revolt (cf. Bourdieu, 1988) could in Bourdieusian terms be understood as based on, and leading to, the expansion of social capital among these actors. Powell and Sandholtz (2012) pointed to the importance of connections with venture capitalists, which in Bourdieusian terms can be understood as social and economic capital, as well as the importance of social skills, which can be understood as the understanding of and the ability to act aspects of habitus. Powell et al. (2012) pointed to the importance of knowledge, prestige, and legitimacy. The first points to the understanding of aspect of the habitus, while the two latter points to symbolic capital. Schneiberg (2013) pointed to the importance of the skill of agents carrying through transposition, translated that points to the understanding of and ability to act aspects of habitus. Luo et al. (2021) highlighted the importance of local embeddedness, which, as we already mentioned, is reasonable to translate to the Bourdieusian concept of social capital. They also discussed an immersion phase, which can be translated to the forming experience of the habitus.

Power and transposition - field forming forces, organizational habitus, and capital configuration

We have seen that the empirical literature has identified field-forming forces and agential capabilities explaining the likelihood of successful transposition. We now pose the question: is there a cohesive way to understand these findings, and what would such a framework do for our theoretical understanding of transposition?

Earlier in the theoretical chapter we discussed the four kind of field-forming forces and how the empirical literature on transposition related to this. We found that Haydu (2002), Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005), Padgett and McLean (2006), and Luo et al. (2021) all pointed to the importance of endogenous structural forces. In both his texts, Schneiberg (2002, 2013) stressed the importance of endogenous structural forces together with one other kind of force, in the first case exogenous and structural (Schneiberg, 2002), and in the latter case endogenous and agential (Schneiberg, 2013a). Powell et al. (2012) highlighted the importance of endogenous agential forces. Given that these studies often focus solely on the focal field, and that related to this, that exogenous field-forming forces always are subject to contestation in internal field struggles, it is no surprise that the internal structural forces were discussed in almost all of the texts. Beyond this, the perhaps most striking feature of the literature is the relative absence of endogenous agential forces. It is telling that only Schneiberg (2013) and Powell et al. (2012) provided detailed accounts of such forces. Typically, studies view the agential aspect as one-sided, focusing solely on the agents that attempt to transpose practices, and do not account for the activity of other important agents in the field. Further, while changes in greater social realms cannot by themselves fully account for changes in fields, or for successful transposition, we argue that they cannot be excluded from the analysis. We believe that strong pressures from greater realms can increase or decrease the likelihood of successful transposition significantly. In line with the reasoning above, we suggest an approach that attempts to determine the extent and strength of all four field-forming forces combined when analyzing processes of transposition (cf. Maclean et al., 2014; Oakes et al., 1998).

Regarding agential capabilities for the transposing agents we found that almost all texts discussed something that could be translated to aspects of the habitus (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a). The only study that did not discuss anything in accordance with the thinking of habitus were Padgett and McLean (2006). This strengthens our belief that organizational habitus plays a pivotal role for a widened understanding of processes of transposition. Therefore, we suggest an analysis of the organizational habitus of all relevant agents to be critical when analyzing processes of transposition (cf. Dobbin, 2008; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

Turning to the four forms of capital, we found that all texts except that of Schneiberg (2013) related to some form of capital. The importance of social capital was referred to by most studies, including Schneiberg (2002), Haydu (2002), Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005), Padgett and McLean (2006) Powell and Sandholtz (2012), and Luo et al. (2021). Aspects that translated to the three remaining forms of capital were less present. Aspects translated to symbolic capital was mentioned by Haydu (2002), Padgett and McLean (2006), and Powell et al. (2012), whereas aspects translated to economic capital was discussed by Padgett and McLean (2006) and Powell and Sandholtz (2012). Aspects translated to cultural capital was discussed by Haydu (2002) and Padgett and McLean (2006). The latter study, translated to a Bourdieusian framework, touched upon all the four forms of capital discussed here. We can conclude that almost all of the texts discuss aspects that could be translated to one or more of the four major capital forms, social capital being the far most popular. Further, we can also conclude that all of the major forms of capital are present in the literature. This underscores our belief that all the four major forms of capital are important in analyzing agents' activities in fields. We therefore suggest that an analysis of the capital configuration, involving both the volume and structure of the four major forms of capital, should be included in the study of transposition processes (cf. Lockett et al., 2014; Ocasio et al., 2020).

The three aspects discussed here, field-forming forces, organizational habitus and capital configuration, all have in common that they are ways to conceptionalize power. Put shortly, we argue that the fundamental task in understanding processes of transposition is to determine the relative power conditions between agents and between agents and structure.

Reasons behind transposition

Acknowledging that transposition is a difficult endeavor to carry through implies an understanding that agents attempting to transpose must be highly motivated. This makes us pose one question that is hard to disregard: Why do agents transpose practices?

The empirical literature provides three answers to this question. The first answer, although not pronounced, is that of a none-answer. In the view of Padgett and McLean (2006), Powell and Sandholtz (2012) and Powell et al. (2012) the transpositions occurred not as the result of motivated agents, but as a result of a specific situation. The second answer, which is, implicit or explicit, argued in the texts of Luo et al. (2021), Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005), and Haydu (2002) is that the agents transposed practices and/or institutions because they found them good or fitting for specific reasons. The third answer to the question, upheld by Schneiberg (2002, 2013a) is that of power. In both cases transposition was attempted in order to implement practices and institutions that was beneficial for a specific group of people, that was disadvantaged (Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a).

We find the two first answers provided in the literature insufficient. Building on Bourdieu (1977, 1990b) we see that (most) agents at any time strive to achieve an as dominant and powerful position as possible. But what thus this tell us in regards to transposition? It tells us we need to understand transposition as a specific line-of-action that can be used by agents in the field struggle, in order to defend or expand their power. This goes well with the social movement literature (Fligstein, 1996; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; B. G. King & Pearce, 2010). To expand on this, we will now discuss three types of transposition.

First we have a case of what we can call transposition by impulsion i.e., where one or more agents enters a field and brings with them practices or institutions from the field of which they used to be part (Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002). This kind of transposition is the kind that has been discussed the most by previous scholars. We can conclude that this form of transposition constitutes a very powerful approach, since it, if successful, not only changes field configurations in a manner favorable to the transposing agent's organizational habitus and general capital configuration but also makes the previous capital configuration and dominants' organizational habitus less in line with the field, and thus weaker (cf. Powell et al., 2012). Overall, successful transposition of this kind means not only that the entrant changes the field to better suit him or herself, but it also forces incumbent agents, and especially the dominant ones, to change.

An established agent in a focal field may also attempt to transpose practices from another field, where the agent is not embedded, as part of an ongoing field struggle. We can call this transposition by appropriation. For the entrants, this is likely to occur if the established agent acknowledges that there is leverage to be attained in relation to the rest of the field by importing the element(s). In other words, established agents may try to transpose elements that fit with their specific capital configuration in such a way that the result is advantageous for the agent in relation to other agents in the field. This line-of-action can be available for both dominant, as well as dominated, agents. In the case of dominant agents, transposition could be used to attempt to secure or increase dominance in the field. For dominated agents, transposition could be employed as approach to attempt to secure a better position in the field.

Third, there is a type of transposition in which an agent that is embedded in two fields transposes institutions between these two fields (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005). We can call this inter-transposition. It differs from tranpsoition by impulsion in the way that agents in this case are established in both fields when they attempt to transpose practices or insitutions between the two. Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) described how agents that were more embedded in the focal field took practices from another field where they also were embedded but to a lesser degree. This line-of-action is also likely to take place when dominating agents in an outside field also have a presence, but a weaker one, in the destination field. By attempting to move practices from a setting in which their organizational habitus is more in accordance and where the capital configuration is more suitable, organizations attempt to make the destination field more similar to the outside field to attain a better position in the destination field. If this attempt is successful, it can produce the result that the dominant agents from the outside field manage to dominate the destination field, which as a result, can end up with an institutional configuration, which is very similar to that of the outside field.

We have shown how the literature has provided different answers to why agents attempt to transpose practices. We argued that the perspective used by Schneiberg (2002, 2013a), namely that agents attempt transposistions in order to sustain or increase their power, had the greatest explanatory power. We also pointed out that this perspective was in line with our Bourdieusian framework as well as parts of the social movement theory. To illustrate the explanatory potential of this perspective we discussed three different kinds of transposition and showed how these could be understood. Having discussed why agents transpose practices, let us now look at something that seems to affect the result of such transpositions, namely the distance between the focal field and the outside field in which the practices originate.

Distance between fields and transposition

One striking aspect in the literature is how different it treats distance between the home field and the focal field. This makes us asks questions such as: How does the different texts in the empirical literature on transposition treat distance? Does the distance between fields play a role in making transposition more or less feasible and does distance affect the result of successful transpositions?

As discussed above, in the first section of this theory chapter, we primarily define distance between fields by the positions the fields uphold in the social space of society, more specifically in the international economic field and the national economic fields (Bourdieu, 2005b, 2019). However, in the empirical literature on transposition, distance is sometimes referred to in terms of geographical distance. We will therefore discuss both forms of distance, keeping in mind that the former form, what we call institutional distance, is the main interest in this dissertation.

To answer the first question posed, we start out with assigning the literature into three groups. Whereas the first group focuses on proximity as a basis for transposition, the second group does not include explicit reasoning around distance at all, and the last group stresses the distance between fields in relation to transposition. One part of the literature basis its reasoning on different kinds of proximity. Examples include papers by Padgett and McLean (2006), Powell and Sandholtz (2012), and Powell et al. (2012). The two latter explicitly referred to the overlapping of different networks as one of the key aspects that make transposition take place. Haydu (2002), Schneiberg (2002), and Luo et al. (2021) belongs to group two in this typology and are examples of texts that do not discuss distance explicitly. In the case of Haydu (2002), the transposition of ideas from the civic and political life to the workplaces can be viewed as a transposition over moderate distance. Although not referring to distance explicitly, great distance in geographical and institutional terms played an important implicit role in the reasoning for Luo et al. (2021) and Schneiberg (2002), and we therefore assign them to group three. Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) and Schneiberg (2013) both discuss distance explicitly. Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) discussed geographical distance and different national settings but also pointed out that the agents that carried through transposition in their case were multiple embedded. Schneiberg (2013) on the other hand stressed that one of the reasons that attempts to transpose failed was that the institutional distance was too great. In this setting it can be interesting to have a look at a text that we have not yet discussed, namely that of Tracey and Phillips (2011). In their theoretical article about the importance of institutional settings for entrepreneurs acting in emerging markets, Tracey and Phillips (2011) suggested that that the greater the institutional difference between two fields, the greater the potential value and reward that can be leveraged by transposing actors (Tracey & Phillips, 2011).

From our perspective, Padgett and McLean (2006), Powell and Sandholtz (2012) and Powell et al. (2012), that all see overlapping networks or other forms of proximity as prerequisites for transposition, represents a view that is somewhat limited. Bourdieu (e.g., 1977, 1984, 1990b) and Sewell (1992) did not see proximity as necessary for transposing practices, but rather implied that transposition was a line-of-action that was, in principle, open to all agents, no matter the distance between fields. This reasoning allows us to include the contributions of Schneiberg (2002), Haydu (2002), Luo et al.

(2021), Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005), Tracey and Phillips (2011), and Schneiberg (2013), We therefore contend that transposition can take place between proximate as well as distant fields.

Let us now attempt to answer the question whether the distance between fields play a role in making transposition more or less feasible? The answer to this in the empirical literature is inconclusive. For texts that considered proximity, in the form overlapping networks, as a criteria needed for transposition (Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012), the answer would be assumed to be evident; without overlapping networks, no transposition. Somewhat similar is the case presented by Haydu (2002) and Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005), describing one process with moderate distance, and one with greater distance respectively. In both cases agents carrying through the transposition were active, or embedded in, both the outside and the focal field, which is to be understood as a preconditions for the transposition to take place (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002). Schneiberg (2013) described a case of a failed transposition over a moderate distance and noted that the resistance in structural terms was of great importance in explaining why the attempt failed. Schneiberg (2002) and Luo et al. (2021) all describes cases with great distance, in both institutional and geographical terms, between the field where the practices originated and the focal field. In the processes described by Schneiberg (2002) resistance was pronounced and the transposition was only made possible by the presence of strong social movements and organizations. In the case described by Luo et al. (2021), resistance was also present. Considering these inconclusive answers, the question of whether distance between fields affects the possibility to carry through transposition must be considered open and calling for further investigation.

Finally, turning to the last question: does distance between fields affect the result of successful transpositions? Starting yet again with the literature stressing proximity, we find that they all describe processes of transposition, in themselves relatively small, connected to other processes of transposition (Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012). We could call this transposition-of-small-steps (TSS). In one of the cases (Padgett & McLean, 2006) such a series of transpositions amounted to a considerable change, while the series of transpositions in the two other cases

(Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012) amounted to smaller changes. Continuing with the text of Haydu (2002) that described transposition over a moderate distance, we find that the resulting field change was of moderate nature. The transposition that Schneiberg (2002) described amounted to a new organizational form in the field, which is similar to what Powell and Sandholtz (2012) accounted for. However, the new organizational form described by Schneiberg (2002) was significantly more different than the one described by Powell and Sandholtz (2012). Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) and Luo et al. (2021) both described how practices, that were new to the field, were established as a result of transposition. This would suggest that there is support to an argument where transposition between proximate settings tend to amount to smaller changes in the field, whereas greater distance between fields seems to amount to larger changes in the field, if successful (cf. Tracey & Phillips, 2011). A summary of this discussion can be found in table 2. Lastly, let us suggest a proposition on institutional distance based on this discussion. This disposition is in three connected parts and is illustrated in Figure 2.7. The proposition is illustrated in Figure 2.7 and consists of two interconnected parts: a) the greater the institutional distance between the outside field and the focal field, the greater the resistance from agents in the focal field, and b) the greater the institutional distance between the outside field and the focal field, the greater the potential field change.

Figure 2.7. Illustration of proposition of relation between institutional distance, resistance, and potential field change in transposition processes.

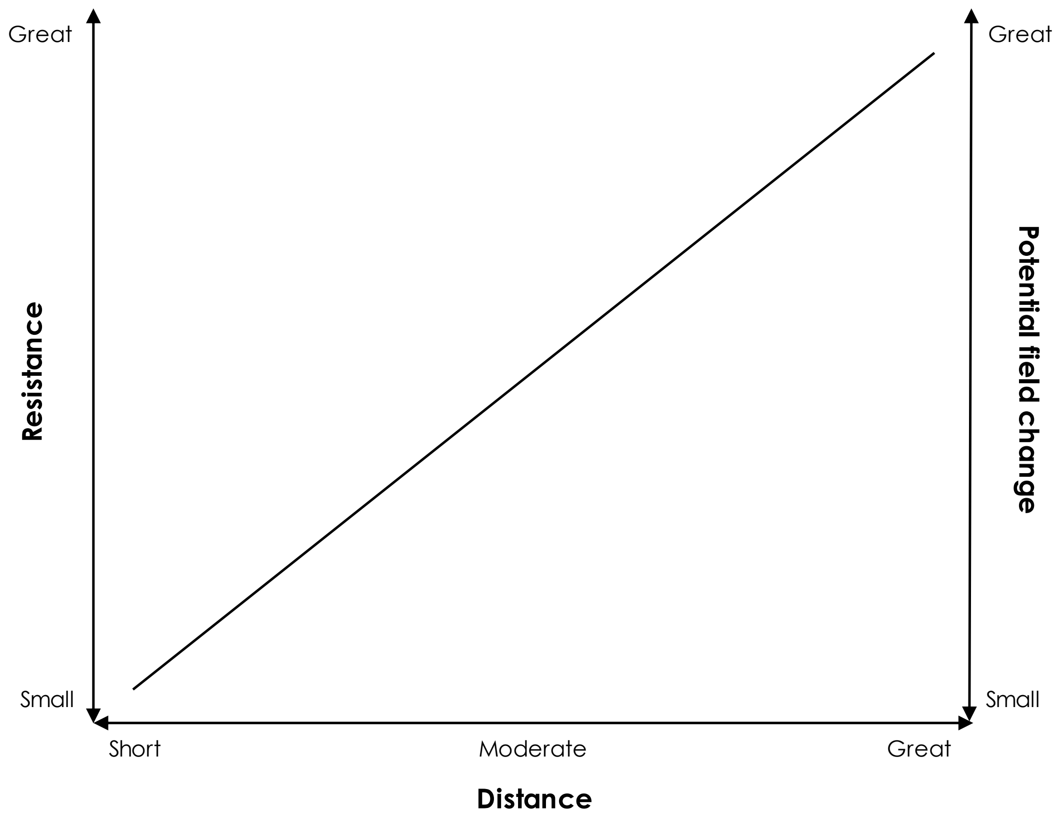


Table 2.3. Significance of distance in literature on transposition.

	Distance between fields in case	Field change as a result	Did distance between fields affect…			
Article			… the feasibility of carrying through the transposition?	Why?	… the result of successful transpositions?	How?
Schneiberg (2002)	Great	Big	Yes	Structural resistance coming with great distance makes transposistion hard	Yes	Great distance – big change
Haydu (2002)	Moderate	Moderate	Yes	Structural resistance coming with moderate distance makes transposistion hard	Yes	Moderate distance – moderate change
Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005)	Great	Big	Yes	Structural resistance coming with great distance makes transposistion hard	Yes	Great distance – big change
Padgett and McLean (2006)	Small	Big (TSS)	Yes	Overlapping networks is the basis for transposition	No	Transposition-of-small-steps lead to big change

Article	Distance between fields in case	Field change as a result	Did distance between fields affect…			
			… the feasibility of carrying through the transposition?	Why?	… the result of successful transpositions?	How?
Powell and Sandholtz (2012)	Small	Small	Yes	Overlapping networks is the basis for transposition	Yes	Small distance – small change
Powell et al. (2012)	Small	Small	Yes	Overlapping networks is the basis for transposition	Yes	Small distance – small-change
Schneiberg (2013)	Moderate	N/A	Yes	Structural resistance coming with moderate distance makes transposistion hard	N/A	N/A
Luo et al. (2021)	Great	Moderate	Yes	Structural resistance coming with great distance makes transposistion hard	Yes	Great distance – moderate change

Chapter 3

Research design and methodology

In this dissertation we have set out to further the understanding of transposition with the help of a Bourdieusian framework. What are the implications for this in regards to research design and methodology? Answering this question, we first present four underlying aspects that are of key significance for us, including: the importance of a) relational thinking, b) a historical perspective, c) going beyond the dualism of objectivism and subjectivism, and d) broad-mindedness in regards to methods.

3.1. Four foundations of the research design

Relationality

Contrary to some prominent streams of social science, we believe that it is neither possible nor desirable to completely isolate social phenomena. Thus, the dissertation will be based on a relational understanding of the world. Relational thinking takes the embeddedness of all aspects of social life as the starting point, and puts the relation between entities center stage. Naturally, the scholar has to direct his or her attention and focus on certain phenomena. But when doing so she must understand and be cautious about the fact that the constructs are embedded in a concrete total reality. We believe that what is an interesting property is not the property by itself, but the property in relation to other properties, where it differs, and how it differs (Bourdieu, 2004). Since the social world is occupied by human agents, individuals or groups, the most important piece of our relational understanding is to see how these agents relate to each other. Here, the interesting properties of agents are not the properties per se but the properties in relation to properties of other agents (Bourdieu, 1977).

In regards to the choice of research design and methods, this implies that we cannot base our analysis on conventional understanding, common sense, or pre-prescribed properties. Neither can we rely on once and for all defined entities as the starting or ending point of our investigation. Rather, we need to find ways to establish how the entities, in particular the agents we are investigating, relate to other. This also means that the object of study cannot be defined in detail before the investigation. Instead, establishing the object of study becomes a part of the investigation as such (Bourdieu, 1990b). In relation to the field, this means that the borders, and importantly, which agents are a part of the field and which are not, is an empirical question and thus cannot be decided beforehand (Bourdieu, 2004). We will need to establish the extent of the field by mapping it as a system of relations between agents by seeking out which agents that relate to each other, in a logic that differs in relation to other fields (cf. Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

Historical perspective

> The *habitus,* a product of history, produces individual and collective practices - more history - in accordance with the schemes generated by history. (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 54)

A historical perspective is important for two main reasons. Firstly, because all social phenomena, de facto are results of history and any attempt that takes the task of understanding and analyzing social phenomena, in our view, must take its history into account. To connect more concretely with this dissertations theme, both the field and habitus are to be understood as coalescence history in the sense that what they are today are the result of struggles and processes in the past. Whereas the habitus is the structure in the agent, the field is the structure of the agents, and both of them are the products of history (Bourdieu, 1990b). Naturally, to understand products of history we need to apply historical thinking. Secondly, a historical perspective is also critical to us as we have set out to understand processes. Processes by default of course encompasses the factor of time, and it is our belief that time is best accounted for in terms of history. A historical perspective also becomes all the more important since this dissertation is written within the disciplines of management and organization studies. Disciplines where, with some exceptions, historical perspectives are all too often missing (Godfrey et al., 2016; Kieser, 1994). This believe in the importance of a historical perspective will be put into practices in this dissertation by the use of historical methods that are well suited to take history and historicality serious (Bucheli & Wadhwani, 2013; Maclean et al., 2016).

Going beyond the dualism of objectivism-subjectivism

Bourdieu (1990, 2019) stressed that scholars need to go beyond the dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism, and we agree with this. To do so we need to break with both the ideas that are forming the "objective" position, taken up by the scholar, as well as with the native perspective(s) from within the field. The break with the presuppositions of the "objective" position begins with the realization and acknowledgment of the fact that there are no positions that are truly outside any social game, i.e. to acknowledge that we as scholars when conducting our research are embedded in a specific field with its own rules, agents, structure, and quest for dominance (Bourdieu, 1990, 2019). Given that all fields are structured in relation to power, and that this structure is embedded in every single agent active in the field through the habitus, any native understanding of the field will be at best inconclusive. Neither the dominant agent's nor the dominated agent's understanding of the field involves a complete understanding. Rather, it will be formed by and reflect the agent's position within the field (Bourdieu, 2019). To understand the social space that the field constitutes we as scholars, therefore, need to set out from a self-reflexive position, acknowledging our stakes in the social game within the field in which we are embedded. From this position, we then need to map the field we are interested in. We do this by investigating the positions, and corresponding views, that the different agents hold. In theory, this mapping can start from two different sides. Either we start with trying to establish the positions and then investigate which views these relate to, or we go the other way around. In the concrete scientific practice, on the other hand, this is usually done in an alternated way, going back and forth between the two sides (Bourdieu, 1990b). This is the case in this dissertation. The aspiration to go beyond the dualism of objectivism-subjectivism will in this dissertation be showing through the applying of reflexivity and self-relfexitivity (Bourdieu, 2004).

Method broadmindedness

In line with the above, we dismiss the idea that there is a certain method that *per se* is better equipped than another to help us understand the social world (Bourdieu, 1988, 2004). In our view, the choice of method is dependent on what we want to investigate. This does not mean that the question of methods is completely open, rather it implies an understanding that several methods can be equally, or close to equally, well equipped to best help analyze and understand a certain phenomenon. In line with this understanding is also the dismissal of the idea that a certain kind of methodology, i.e. quantitive or qualitative is better equipped of handling the challenges of understanding and describing social phenomena (Bourdieu, 1988, 2004).

This method broadmindedness will, to some degree, be visible in this dissertation. In line with what has been discussed above, and especially the importance of a historical perspective, this dissertation will rely heavily on historical methods in the analysis of the two empirical cases. However, as we are open to different methods we used quantitative bibliometric methods to structure the literature review.

3.2. Research design and methods for study of the Swedish book publishing field

So how do we put this framework and the foundations into action in order to understand the developments in the Swedish book publishing field over two decades?

The short answer is that we creafted a research design that built on a proceeding inspired by Bourdieu (e.g., 1988, 1996, 2004). We used a historical methodology consisting of a) source-criticism in terms of realness, closeness and purpose b) empathic understanding of the context and c) an self-reflexive approach to the effort (Wadhwani & Bucheli, 2014) which was complemented with methods used, or inspired, by Bourdieu and Wacquant (e.g., 1992). This research design, which will explain in greater detail in the following, is closely connected to the fundations we have described above. It puts relationality and historicality in the forefront and is designed to deal with the question of overcoming the objectivist-subjectivist dualism while being open for different methods.

Defining the field and its borders

The very first step we needed to take was to define the field. As Bourdieu (2004) pointed out this is always an empirical question, and cannot be done based on common sense arguments, nor on the agent's self-identified affiliation. This in stark contrast to how fields usually are defined within management and organization studies. In order to do this, we needed to answers questions like: Which agents related to each other? How did they relate to each other? Was there a specific logic embedded in this relation that differs from logics in other fields? Starting with the latter question we read a number of commissioned reports by agents in the field, such as Ahlinder et al. (2003), Litteraturutredningen (2012), Määttä (2018) Peterson (2002), and Svedjedal (2018a). Based on this a preliminary mapping of the agents, and their relation to each other, was conducted. Also, the institutional configuration of the field was studied. Events considered of importance by these authors were noted.

Based on this preliminary mapping we then started to collect more information on which agents were active in the field. Agents that had been defined as belonging to the field in earlier research were second-checked to see if they related to other agents in the field. Some agents were easy to assign as belonging to the field, whereas others was harder to assign a field affinity on a first look (Bourdieu, 2019). To make matters more complicated we also acknowledge that an agent can be part of more than one field at the same time. On the other hand, not everyone that has any connection with a field is a part of that field. Based on Bourdieu's (1988, 2004, 2019) reasoning we uphold that at least one of the following interlinked conditions need to be fulfilled in order for an agent to be a part of a field.

- Are the agent's actions mainly, or to a significant degree, directed towards members of the field?
- Are the agent's actions mainly, or to a significant degree, impacted by agents in the field?
- Are the agent's relations mainly, or to a sifinifcant degree, subsumed to the institutional configuration of the field?

An easier, if not perfect, way to define this is whether it could be possible to imagine the agent and its acvitity without contacts to the field. In order to illustrate this, we provide a list of type of agents that at a first glance seem hard to determine whether or not they were part of the field, see Table. 3.1.

Table 3.1. Types of agents and field affilation.

Type of agents	*Part of the Swedish book publishing field*
Supermarkets selling books	No
Book stores	Yes
Magazine specialized in books	Yes
Public libraries	Yes
Newspapers containing book reviews	No

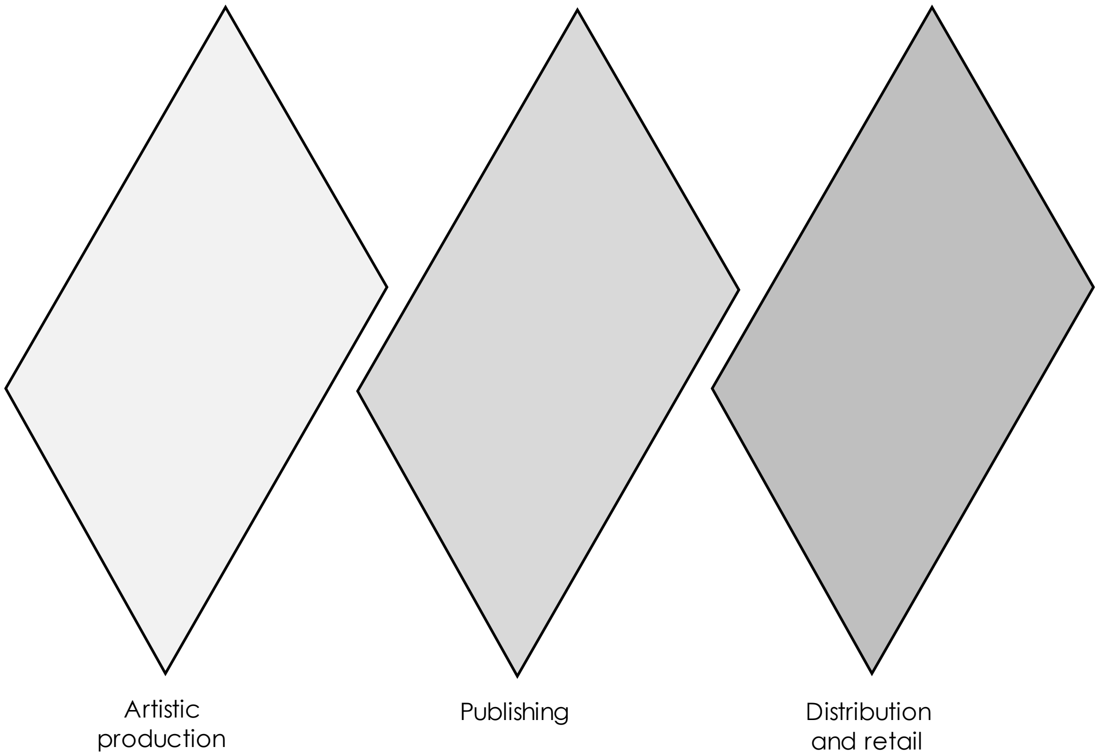
Supermarkets selling books were not a part of the Swedish book publishing field because a small part of its activities was directed towards the field and when counting all agents acting in relation to it, it also becomes evident that the agents from the book publishing field were a small part. The supermarkets' relations are also to a small degree subsumed by the institutional configuration of the Swedish book publishing field. One can also easily imagine a supermarket that does not sell books, without something important missing that defines the agent. In fact, at the time when this is written, books have yet again become rarer in Swedish supermarkets. Book stores on the other hand belonged to the field because they mainly acted towards and were acted on by agents of the field, and these relations were naturally mainly subsumed to the institutional configuration of the field. To illustrate with the easier definition, it is hard to think of a bookstore that does not have connections with the Book publishing field. Similarly, as with the book stores, this was the case with a magazine specialized in books in regards to all aspects. Public libraries do not only hold books for borrowing but are engaged in several other activities. However, it is reasonable to say that they at least to a significant degree acted towards, and was acted upon by, agents from the field and that they are to a significant degree subsumed to its institutional configuration. Further, it is hard to imagine public libraries without relations to the book publishing field. Newspapers containing book reviews were determined to not belong to the field. It is worth pointing out that this is true for the Swedish context where book reviews play a small part even in the feuilleton sections of the major newspapers. In another national context, this assignment could very well be different. However, in Sweden, it is quite possible to think of a major newspaper without relations to the book publishing field.

A caveat is needed in regards to this discussion on field belonging, as with all boundaries in the social world, this distinction provided here could be called into question. We do however uphold that this definition provides us with a significant enough foundation to proceed in our investigation (cf. Bourdieu, 2019).

Field levels

After defining the boundaries to the field and in order to make this extensive mapping manageable, the field was divided into three levels corresponding to steps in the value chain. The three levels were defined as a) artistic production, b) publishing, and c) retail and distribution.

Figure 3.1. The three levels of the Swedsih book publishing field.



Dividing the field into three levels also made it possible for us to later analyze which level(s) of the field that was dominant, meaning it harbored the most dominant agents in the field, which level(s) was dominated, and how this potentially would change over time.

Vantage point and angle of analysis

After getting a preliminary understanding of the field over these two decades we had to ask ourselves the question of how we would perform the analysis in practice. Connected to this was the question of which vantage point we would choose, which also had methodological implications.

As mentioned above, we believe that all agents understanding of the field is formed by their position, and thus the stakes they hold (Bourdieu, 2004, 2019). Acknowledging this, leaves us with a choice between two general strategies of empirical work. Either we make direct inquiries, e.g., in the form of interviews or surveys to all agents in the field, dominant as well as dominated, and then based on this attempt to synthesize a mapping of the field agents' understanding of the positions in the field. The other strategy builds on the premises that there already exists a body that synthesize the fields understanding of the field. If this is the case then we can direct our analysis directly to the material produced by this body. Worth pointing out is that none of the strategies can take the fields understanding of itself as an actual reflection of the positions in the field. As (Bourdieu, 1990b, 2004, 2019) argues, a complete and correct understanding cannot be attained by agents in the field, but only by agents that stands outside of the field and the stakes in it. The researcher's objective is thus to use his or her specific vantage point to pursue an angle of analysis that is not embedded in the ideas and practices in the field, but on the contrary remains as unaffected as possible from it. One must be conscious and self-reflexive about the fact that scholars are embedded in, and have stakes in another field, namely that of scientific production (Bourdieu, 2004). Acknowledging this, we prefer an analysis based on the second strategy because we believe that the vantage point of scholarly inquiry is easier maintained in this way. As mentioned, this strategy builds on the existence of a body that can be said to synthesize the fields understanding of itself, naturally not in any perfect sense but in a sense that the synthesis it provides is accepted by the agents in the field.

Field outlet

In many fields, there exists one (or in some cases several) media platform(s), most commonly in the form of a trade magazine, that claims to be an outlet for the field as a whole. In cases in which the outlet is legitimated by the field's agents through the acceptance of this claim of representation, we can call these outlets "field outlets". The field outlet is likely to reflect power relations and the institutional configuration in the field. If an outlet reflects the field poorly, it will generally not be accepted by actors in the field. This means that it is reasonable to expect that all major conflicts in the field will be reflected in the field outlet. Accordingly, the field outlet is likely to be closely linked to the dominating field level. Given this, the study of the field outlet provides a good entry into the study of a specific field.

In the study of the Swedish book publishing field, the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* was thus used as the main source (other studies using trade magazines include, e.g., Derfus et al. (2008), Lounsbury (2001), and MacKenzie (2018)). *Svensk Bokhandel* was founded in 1952 by Svenska Förläggareföreningen, Swedish publishing association and Svenska Bokhandlareföreningen, the Swedish association of book retailers, and was owned by the same parties during the entire period of study (it was subsequently sold in the spring of 2021). Naturally, the field outlet also has its own organizational habitus and is in itself an agent in the field. However, unlike most other agents in the field, the effects of it is partly subsumed and mediated by the fact that the field outlet is dependent on the acceptance on all of its actions by the agents in the field. The organizational habitus of the field outlet is also indeed formed by this very fact.

Source material and relational database

During the period of our inquiry, the field outlet was published 11-21 times yearly, and published catalogues of new books three times annually. With the assistance of keywords connected to the agents and processes that had been initially mapped a sample of 1,393 articles in full-text was constructed and extracted from the field outlet's webpages. Through reiteration, the database was complemented contiously throughout the research process.

The material from the field outlet was complemented with the following kinds of material: (1) newspaper articles; (2) government agency reports; (3) scholarly reports; (4) reports issued by agents in the field; (5) sales statistics reports issued by agents in the field; and (6) annual reports concerning agents in the field. On some occasions, other media were used, namely, radio broadcasts, television shows, YouTube clips, and audio clips published online. When deemed to be useful, these were transcribed by us and stored as text.

The material from the field outlet and the complementary material were then inserted into a custom-designed relational database built with Filemaker. The database design was inspired by a similar database developed by the DIGIHIST consortium (see Aalto et al., 2018; Cheung, 2020). The database made it easy to obtain an overview, search for particular items or content, and move instantly between different parts of the material, making cross-checking of persons, organizations and events easy.

Table 3.2. Description of database content.

Year	**Number of articles**
2000	25
2001	27
2002	22
2003	15
2004	16
2005	44
2006	58
2007	57
2008	64
2009	60
2010	78
2011	69
2012	78
2013	93
2014	66
2015	47
2016	93
2017	122
2018	121
2019	139
2020	99
Total number of articles	1393
Total number of words in full text	875,679

Plotting of agents' properties and analysis of positions and movement within the field

Drawing on Bourdieu, we believe that we, by plotting of the properties of the involved agents at different times with the focus on where they differ from each other, can elucidate the social space that they occupied at that time (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In practice we did this by constructing square-tables describing the relevant properties of the agents (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) recommend the method of creating a square table, in which all relevant agents are on one axis and the researcher puts every pertinent property of agents on the second axis. This table was constructed throughout the research process, so that when we identified a new property for a particular agent, a new column was created, where not only the property of this particular agent was filled in, but the appearance or non-appearance of this particular property for other agents was revised and coded, thus forcing us to think relationally. In the later stages of analysis, redundancies or properties shared by all agents were removed. In this way, we ended up with a matrix of properties that divided agents in different ways (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Extracts from these tables are present at some places in the empirical section. These tables of properties gave us the first tool to analyze the organizational habitus and the capital configuration of the agents.

The next step was to more concretely map the social space that was the field. We argue that Bourdieu's (2019) two basic structuring principles for fields, i.e., cultural and economic capital are very much applicable to this field. We, therefore, used them to create an illustration of space with two major axes corresponding to these principles. The endpoint of the two axes was named "high culture" and "low culture", and "mass book audience" and "small book audience", respectively. Since we aimed to analyze changes in the field over time we decided to create three versions of this illustrational mapping. The first shows the field in 2000 at the start of the two decades we investigated, the second shows the field mid-time, in 2010, and the last one shows the field at the end of the time investigated. Concurrent with the tracing of events with the help of timelines and notes these three illustrations were filled with agents' positions. Naturally, they were reworked several times during the process as we reiterate between different periods and agential positions. Simplified versions of these illustrations, showing emblematic agents for certain positions are presented throughout the empirical chapter. These illustrations provided us with the second tool in our analysis of the organizational habitus and capital configuration.

The third tool was the concurrent tracking of events and agents' activity. With the help of the relational database, we were able to carefully trace how the different agents acted in relation to each other during the timespan when these events unfolded.

Having done these steps, we then analyzed which agent's that was most important during the different process. After doing this we could, with the extensive source material we had from the field outlet together with complementary material, investigate the historical background and important events during our focus period for these important organizations. In this way, we attempted to make sure that no important information was missing in our analysis. In this endeavor, we were yet again greatly assisted by our relational database. This mapping of the history of the organizations constituted the fourth tool in our analysis of the agents' organizational habitus and capital configuration over time.

By reiterating the results produced by these four tools, i.e., tables of agential properties, illustrational mapping of the field, tracking of events, and mapping of history of an important organization, we could then analyze the important agent's organizational habitus and capital configuration, and how these changed over time.

Making it understandable

After finishing the analysis, we were left with the task of presenting the developments in the field in a way that makes it understandable for the reader (Bourdieu, 1988). To encompass as much of the developments as possible, while at the same time not losing focus on the processes in focus or the agent's changing capabilities, we decided to use the following disposition. Firstly, the fields' history (up until the year 2000) and overall institutional configuration are presented. Then a section follows that in a condensed way describes important processes and events during the period we have set out to investigate. After this, we zoom in on two emblematic processes that included transposition and amounted to field change: the pocket-book-boom and the establishment of streaming audiobooks. The sections covering these are designed similarly. First, a specific historical background is presented, which is followed by a presentation and overview of important agents and their activities. Thereafter follows a more detailed exposition about three important struggles for each process. After the two processes have been described in this way, a summary of the processes is presented.

3.3. Comments on the research design and the methods used in the study of the Bordeaux international trading case

A description of the research design and methods used for this study is to be found in the article. However, we use the space here to present a reflexive meta-perspective on this and show how the design and the methods fit into the dissertation.

As with all historical processes dating far back the researcher is usually extradited to the source material he or she manages to get hold of. Quite contrary to the one for the Swedish book publishing case, the research design and methods that we used were all formed based on the source material that we managed to find. Our research design thus had the nature of a patchwork. This is not optimal, nevertheless, when confronted with the choice of using incomplete material or refusing to engage with interesting historical phenomena because of this, we believe that the first case is the proper way to handle the situation. This is also how historians usually tackle the question. The problem of the relative lack of complete material is what has formed the traditional historical methodology (Wadhwani & Bucheli, 2014). As was the case in the study of the Swedish book publishing field, this methodology was a basic tenet in the work with the international Bordeaux trading case. To implement them with rigor was of course no less important in this truly historical case.

Another caveat that we need to make is that such historical studies as the one we present in the article also complicate the question of overcoming the dualism of objectivism and subjectivism discussed above. Depending on the source material is complicated in different ways. When using historical remains we need to acknowledge that these, when originating from agents inside the field are subjective and bound to the positions that the agent or agents upheld in the field. We here have the same problem as that when investigating a contemporary field in that we know that no agent in the field has an accurate understanding of the field but that the view of the field is determined by the same position. If the remain or remains are produced by an agent, or agents outside, the field we need to acknowledge that they belong to some other field and that their view will be determined by this field affiliation, the stakes in that field, and the agent(s) position in it (Bourdieu, 2019). This problem is tightly connected to what traditional historical methodology set out to tackle with classical source criticism, namely to question, value and if possible, establish the remain(s) in terms of realness, closeness, and purpose (Lipartito, 2013). We have therefore used precisely these classical source criticism criteria together with a reflexive approach answering to the question to, as good as possible, overcome this problem. Similar reasoning applies to the source material that was published historically and that we used in the form of national business directories, state decrees, and historical reports. When using already assembled historical databases, on the other hand, the first danger is to assume that these reflect objective positions. They do not. Firstly, they are usually compiled by the use of historical remains. Meaning that the problems described just above applies. And secondly, they are put together by scholars who themselves uphold a position in the academic field. The use of historical databases compiled by others, therefore, craves even more caution. Since first-hand source criticism for natural reasons are harder to conduct we argue that another fundamental principle in the traditional historical methodology, namely the empathic understanding of the historical context becomes more important. We reasoned similarly when dealing with the digitalized claim reports. Summing up, we argue that using Bourdieu's, (e.g., 2004, 2019) ideas on reflexivity together with tools from traditional historical methodology we have, as well as possible, tried to overcome the problem in dealing with historical cases such as the present, where source material is scarce (Wadhwani & Bucheli, 2014).

3.4. Rationale and methodology behind the literature review

Intending to create a stable fundament as possible for our research, we asked whether it was possible to get a comprehensive overview over a large body of literature, in order to track larger patterns and trends over time, and to secure detail and focus that a traditional literature review provides.

To do so we decided to design our literature review of field change in a composite way. On the one hand, by drawing on bibliometric methods to get a comprehensive and structured overview over a large body of works. On the other hand, by complementing the latter with a traditional literature review in order to provide the fine-granularity that such reviews provide.

The two bibliographic methods that were used included an analysis of a historical direct citation network (Garfield, 2004), and an analysis of bibliographic couplings (Kessler, 1963), both of which were performed on a sample of 154 articles published in leading journals in management and organization studies. These two methods are relational and encompass a historical perspective. In short, the historical direct citation network shows how the 20 most quoted works overall relate to each other, whereas the bibliographic coupling shows how the 20 articles with the most references in common relate to each other. In line with established practice, the historical direct citation network (Garfield, 2004) was used to disentangle and illustrate the paths the discussion on field change has taken under the last 30 years. The analysis of bibliographic couplings was, also in line with practice, used to get an overview over how the most influential recent scholarship on field change has been moving during recent years (Boyack & Klavans, 2010). More detailed information about the methodology of the bibliometric literature review can be found in appendix 1.

The bibliographic methods helped us create a map of tendencies and streams in the literature on field change. This map was used to decide which literature should be most suitable to engage in discussion. Inspired by the mapping excersise provided by the bibliometric methods, we decided that social-movement theory was a suitable theoretical stream to engage in discussion with. The rationale for this was threefold. Firstly, because we together with Bourdieu share the assumptions of the world as being changeable and dynamic, present in much of the literature in this stream. Secondly, because the streams assiduity to power was similar to that of our understanding and that of Bourdieu. Thirdly, because the stream is actual and we believe that actual and vivid discussions are more rewarding to take part in. Having selected the social movement stream we then started reading published reviews such as B. G. King and Pearce (2010) to identify important works, which were read. Continued reading was then snowballed from there. The strong focus on one scholar, namely Fligstein, is easy to note. We mean that this focus is appropriate because of two things. Firstly, because of Fligstein's (1996) importance within the stream, and in general for a large and diverse group of scholars interested in similar things. Secondly, because Fligstein like few other, explicitly engages with the thinking of Bourdieu (e.g., Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

TRANSPOSITION IN TWO EMPIRICAL CASES

Chapter 4

Case 1: The Swedish Book Publishing Field 2000-2020

4.1. Introduction to the Swedish book publishing field

As discussed earlier we have divided the Swedish publishing field into three levels: distribution and retail, publishing, and artistic production. The publishing level had historically been dominating the value chain, whereas authorship had been dominated, and the distribution/retail level had been in-between, i.e., dominant in relation to authorship, but dominated in relation to the publishing level (Svedjedal, 2018b). The domination of the publishing level meant that the most dominant organizations involved publishing houses.

During the late 19th and the whole of the 20th, and the early 21st century, the Bonnier publishing group was the most dominant and powerful organization within the field. The first Bonnier publishing house was founded in 1837, and the group had since been controlled by the Bonnier family (Svedjedal, 1993, 2018b). With its base in book publishing, Bonnier over time came to expand its activity into other realms of business, especially media. At the end of the 20th and the early 21st century, the Bonnier group was by far the strongest Swedish media group, controlling large parts of newspaper and magazine publishing in Sweden. In addition, as well as upholding important positions in television production and digital content, it also controlled several companies internationally, especially in the north of Europe. This made Bonniers one of the strongest commercial groups in Sweden overall. When we discuss Bonnier in this dissertation, we are referring exclusively to the book publishing subsection of the Bonnier group. The second-largest publishing group, under the same period, was Norstedts. The main company in the group, Norstedts publishing house, had been founded 10 years earlier than Bonnier. Unlike Bonnier, Norstedts business had been concentrated in the Swedish book publishing field, where their position had always been that of the runner-up, significantly weaker in terms of economic capital and somewhat weaker in terms of cultural capital. Over time Norstedts had changed ownership several times. Another big publishing house, with a long history, was the foundation-owned Natur & Kultur, weaker in both terms of economic and cultural capital than Norstedts. Worth stressing is that Bonnier had been the by far most dominant agent in the field, especially since the middle of the 1900s. Norstedts was significantly less dominant than Bonnier, and other groups and houses such as Natur & Kultur and Forma (later renamed Massolit) were in turn markedly smaller than Norstedts. In addition to these organizations, there were publishing houses of intermediate power. This category usually published everything under the same name, and the companies were not as diverse as the big four. In this realm, we also find publishers that focus specifically on certain kinds of books, such as academic literature or larger niches of non-fiction literature. The next segment was the smaller niche publishers, with few if any employees. Finally, there were tiny publishers that were exceptionally niched in their publishing (Steiner, 2018). It is critical to point out that the field had strong traditions of working together as a collective under the leadership of the most dominant agent, i.e., the hegemon, Bonnier (cf. Fligstein, 1996). This cooperation was, among other entities, organized by the organization Svenska förläggareföreningen, the Swedish publishing association, which functioned as an internal governance unit (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) for the field.

From the 1850s a commission system was in place where book retailers were selected by Förläggareföreningen (L. Olsson, 2018; Svedjedal, 2018b). This system was loosened during the 1940's, and was abolished in the 1970s, to be succeeded with a non-binding agreement that lasted until 1991 (L. Olsson, 2018). Starting in the 1970s two trends increased in importance. It was the bookstore chains, some of which having a low-price profile, and the book-clubs. The latter, that still exist to this day, albeit significantly weaker, were subscription clubs organized by the publishing houses. Here the customers would by a book on a monthly basis given that they did not decide to opt out. The book clubs also offered a selection of other books that the members could buy for a discounted prize (L. Olsson, 2018). At its height in 1978 the book-clubs together had 1,5 million members, and membership numbers continued to be large well into the early 2000s. The book retailers were organized in Svenska Bokhandlareföreningen, the Swedish association of book retailers, an organization that worked closely with Svenska förläggareföreningen. The commission system, as well as the following agreement, and the book-clubs clearly illustrate the historical dominance of the publishing level of the field.

The position of the authors on the field level of artistic production had been and continued to be dominated throughout the 1900s (Söderlund, 2018). On several occasions' authors joined together to try to change this situation. Usually this was done by creating publishing houses owned by authors. While some of these survived for quite some time, they never managed to challenge the structure of the field (Söderlund, 2018). Many authors were organized in Svenska författareförbundet, the Swedish association of authors. An important function for Författareförbundet was to negiotiate framework agreements with Förläggareföreningen.

The basis for the institutional configuration of the Swedish book publishing field was what can be termed "cultivated commercialism", meaning that all agents had an understanding that some commercially successful authors brought in the money that made it possible for the publishing houses to uphold the cultural values of the organization by publishing non-profitable books of high literary quality or public interest. Some small niche publishing houses published entirely high culture literature, but this was not the case for any of the major agents. Of course, organizations also existed that focused on niche literature that was not high culture literature (Steiner, 2018). Another aspect worth mentioning was the rough calculus based on what can be called the hardback first principle. This implied that books were always released first as hardbacks, and it was at this stage that the returns needed to be established. An accepted rule of thumb in the field was that if a book sold more than 1,000 hardbacks, it would most likely be profitable, and if it sold more than 2,000 copies, it was profitable. Any profits from the eventual subsequent paperback release were seen as a bonus (Dahlgren, 2018; Furuland, 2018).

Figure 4.1 Illustrates the traditional value chain of printed books, and thus the relations between the different levels of the field. This is an illustration of how the value chain looked in the late 1990s. During the two subsequent decades this, as well as parts of the institutional configuration, would be challenged.

Figure 4.1. Value chain for printed books.

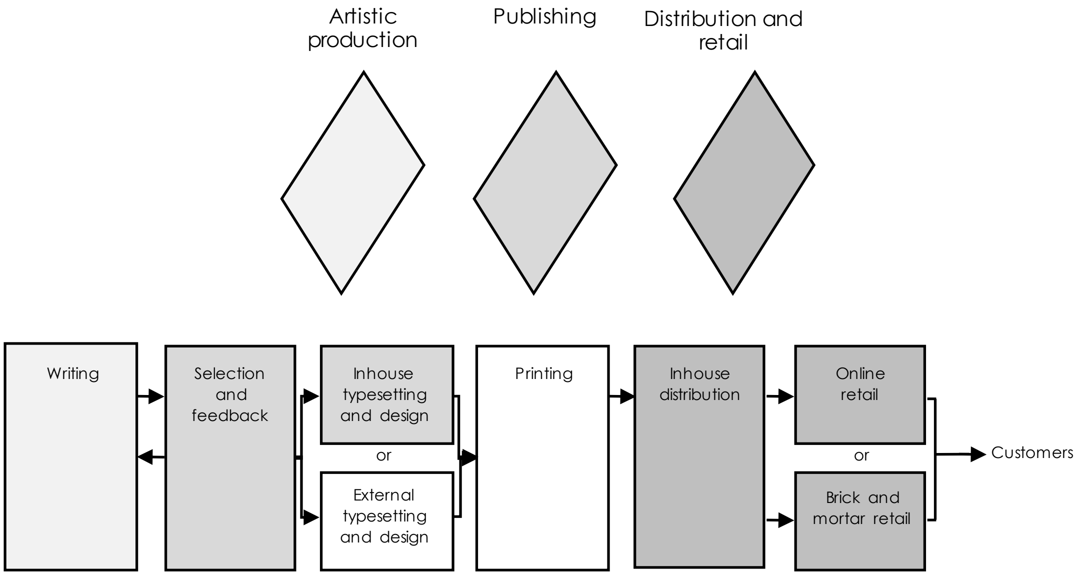
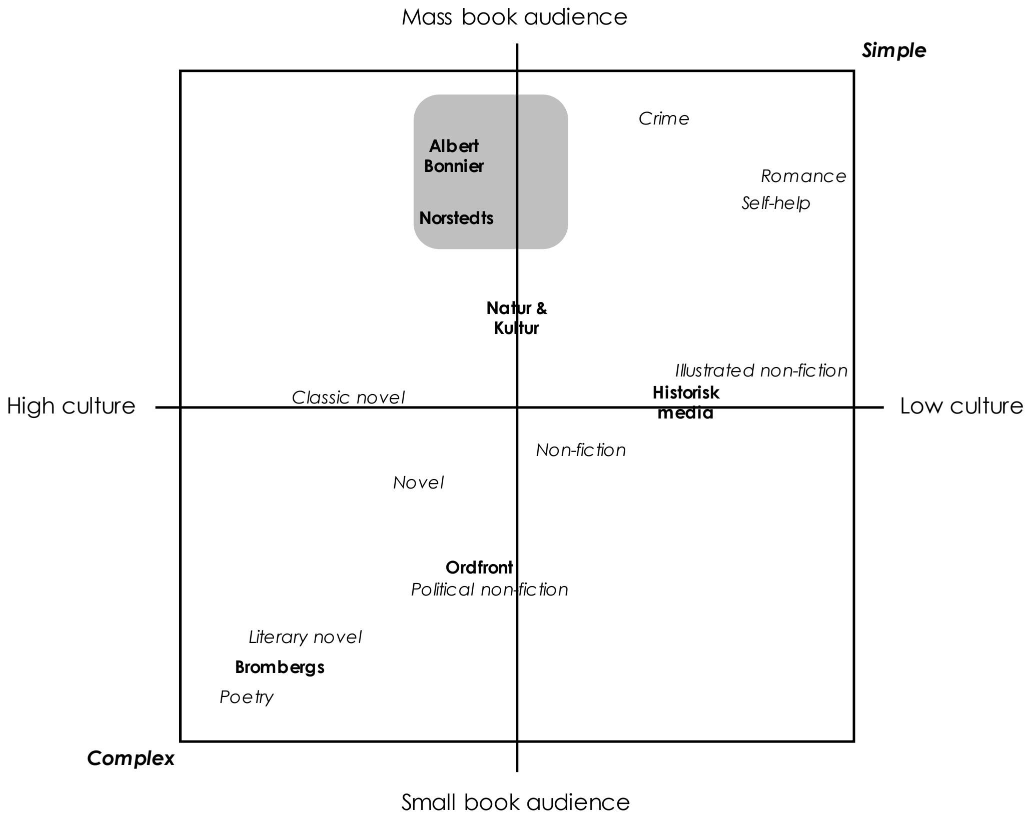


Figure 4.2 illustrates the field as organized in relation to two major axes, namely, mass versus small audience and high versus low culture. The approximated dominant position in 2000 is denoted by the grey rounded square. As can be seen, the dominant position at that time was slightly more towards high culture than to low culture, and significantly more towards mass book audiences than towards small book audiences. With the developments that would follow, the dominant positions would come to change two times.

Figure 4.2. Dominant position within the Swedish book publishing field around 2000.



Examples of publishing houses are in bold lettering. Examples of types of text are in simple italics. The poles of complex and simple are marked with bold italics. The grey area approximates the dominant position. The figure is based on the author's approximations, see chapter three for details.

Two decades of struggle

The two decades in focus of this dissertation were defined by two intertwined great struggles that brought challenges and changes to the structure and institutional configuration of the field. The first struggle involved digitalization and the field's way of handling this, as well as new agents utilizing the opportunities following from this change. The second struggle involved centralization and distribution of dividends.

The struggle around digitalization can be divided to three main parts: establishment and rise of e-commerce, the (failed) attempt by agents in the field to make e-books the fields solution to digitalization, and finally the establishment of streaming audiobook services

The second struggle involved activities on many levels and most of the activites were in essence varieties on the theme less powerful agents trying to challenge Bonnier, while Bonnier acted to defend its position. Worth noting was Coop's exit from the field and the subsuqeunt developements and the pocket book boom.

In this dissertation we have chosen to focus on two parts of these two greater struggles. In the first part, that we will call "the pocket-book boom", we will focus on a part of the struggle about centralization and distribution of dividends. In the second part that we will call establishment of streaming audiobook services, we will focus on a part of the struggle around digitalization.

4.2. The pocket-book boom

This chapter describes agents and processes connected to the increased sales and the relative increase in the importance of the Swedish mass-market paperback, i.e., the pocket-book[2], during the first 10 years of the 21st century. After a description of the historical background, the most central agents are described. Following this is a narrative of three struggles emblematic of this period.

Background

The first mass-market paperbacks to be published in Sweden were produced by the publishing house Romanförlaget in 1937. Approximately 20 years

2 In regards to the use of the term "Pocket-book". Although it is not the most common term in English it does exist. Merriam-Webbster defines it as "a small especially paperback book that can be carried in the pocket". We here use the term to stress the fact that the Swedish pocket-book is a very specific product category and not just any paperback.

later, the Lindqvist Publishing House started to use the term "pocket-books" to describe a series of mass-market paperbacks. The following years in the 1950s witnessed the establishment of approximately 10 different mass-market paperback publishers, published by a variety of publishing houses. Most of them focused on low culture genre literature. However, an important exception was the non-fiction series Aldus published by Bonnier. The initiative was taken by the publisher Per I. Gedin who had been inspired by the British company Penguin Books. Bonnier and Gedin complemented the Aldus-series with the Delfin-series for high culture fiction in the 1960s (Svensson, 2007; Westlund, 2012). Together with the W&W-series from Wahlström & Widstrand and the Norstedts Pan-series, both of which were established around the same time, the Aldus- and Delfin-series were emblematic of a significant rise in sales and importance for pocket-books during the 1960s (Svensson, 2007; Westlund, 2012). In the 1970s, the Swedish paperback market stagnated and the format became less common (Svensson, 2007). In the 1980s, Månpocket was introduced, on the initiative of the same Gedin. Månpocket was a joint effort between Bonnier, Norstedts, and Wahlström & Widstrand. The establishment of Månpocket became the starting point for a specific product category that was attached to well-defined institutions, and this product will henceforth be denoted as "pocket-books" (Pettersson, 2018). Unlike the paperback-series that dominated the 1960s and -70s, all of the books that were published in the Månpocket-series had been published as hardbacks before they became paperbacks. From this point on, the pocket-book was understood in the field as a secondary category of books. As a rule, publishing houses strove to cover costs and make the bulk of their profit from hardbacks – and only then, when this market was deemed saturated for hardbacks, an eventual pocket-book version would be released. Profits from these sales would be viewed as extra profit. The specificity of the product category was derived from two facts. First, the Swedish pocket-books were in the exact same format and were made out of cheap paper. Second, pricing was both uniform and low (Svensson, 2007). Unlike in the 1960s and 1970s, the pocket-book in this new form tended to be dominated by bestsellers and genre literature, even if the breadth in publishing was considerable. The late 1980s and the 1990s saw events that would increase interest in the pocket-book. In 1989, the first Pocket Shop, a store dedicated to the sale of pocket-books, was established at Stockholm's Central Station (Westlund, 2012). In 1996, Månpocket received its first publisher, Jonas Axelsson, and a new uniform design for the series (Svensson, 2007). Simultaneously, several publishing companies started to direct more interest towards pocket-books, and became more devoted to their design and marketing (SvB, 2003). In 1998, Pocketstället, which introduced the concept of dedicated shelves for pocket-books in supermarkets and convenience stores, was founded (Schmidt, 2007; Westlund, 2012). The year after the Guldpocket-prize, exclusively dedicated to pocket-books was instituted (Schmidt, 2010). At this time, the sales of pocket-books had started to take off, and the market segment would experience a more or less uninterrupted increase over the coming 10 years (Svensson, 2007). The publishing of pocket-books in the late 1990s was dominated by Bonnier's and Norstedts' joint publishing house Månpocket. In addition, both Bonnier and Norstedts also published a great number through their own labels, Delfin and Bonnier Pocket, respectively, and PAN and subsequently Norstedts pocket. Bonnier and Norstedts, through their own labels and Månpocket, accounted for approximately 70% of all pocket-books published in 2000 (Kungliga Biblioteket, 2020). In 2000, approximately 300 titles were published as pocket-books in Sweden (by members of Svenska Förläggareföreningen) and approximately three million copies were sold (Sjögren, 2006).

Central agents

Anderson Pocket

Anderson Pocket was founded in late 2005 by Marie Ledin, record label CEO, Elisabeth Krevi, former publishing house CEO, Aino Trosell, the bestselling crime authors Karin Alvtegen, Inger Frimansson, Johanne Hildebrandt, and Åsa Nilsonne (Anderson E Pocket AB, 2009; Winkler, 2006a, 2006c, 2006d) The business model was formed with inspiration from three contexts. First, inspiration from the international record industry, as well as other national book publishing fields, such as those in Germany, Great Britain and the U.S., shaped the idea of winning over the pocket-rights from authors that were already signed to other publishing houses (Stern, 2006; Winkler, 2006a, 2006b). Second, part of the plan was inspired by the Swedish publishing house Piratförlaget with its business model of dividing the profits fifty-fifty with the authors (Winkler, 2006a). Almost all of Anderson Pocket's titles were intended to become bestsellers, and they were almost exclusively genre literature, especially crime. Initially discussed both in the field outlet and in other media, discussions around the company soon turned almost entirely silent (Stern, 2006; Winkler, 2006a, 2006b). As illustrated in Figure 4.3, the publishing house published between 3 and 18 books annually and had a turnover between approximately 5 million and 2 million SEK per year until 2011, when the company's publishing activities were discontinued.

Pocketförlaget

Pocketförlaget was founded after a meeting between Ann–Marie Skarp, CEO of Piratförlaget, who had previously had a long career at Norstedts, Göthe Johansson, an entrepreneur in the field and CEO of Läsförlaget, and Fredrik Gustafsson, business school graduate whose accomplishments included starting a pocket-book club during his approximately five years in the field (Winkler, 2006b). In the same manner as Anderson Pocket, Pocketförlaget worked to convince authors to sign their pocket-rights with the firm. Similarly, they offered a significantly higher percentage of the sales price in royalties to the authors, doubling the then standard royalty of 13-14% (Winkler, 2008b). As can be seen in Figure 4.3, Pocketförlaget was far more successful than Anderson Pocket in implementing the business model. In the early 2010s, the company took in new shareholders. In 2010, Norstedts acquired 27.5% of the shares in the company (Ågrahn, 2010). In 2011, renowned Swedish writer Henning Mankell and his publisher also entered as partners in Pocketförlaget (Westlund, 2012). In relation to Anderson Pocket, Pocketförlaget's publishing was wider. While the bulk was genre literature intended to be bestsellers, they also published a significant number of titles in other genres (Kungliga Biblioteket, 2020). The company also took over pocket rights from a number of smaller publishing houses. Starting from 2013, Norstedts decided to publish the pocket-book version of its bestsellers under its own label and not via Pocketförlaget, as they had done since they acquired shares in the company (Schmidt, 2013). Piratförlaget soon followed and decided to publish some of its bestsellers under its own name (Leffler, 2017b). In the summer of 2016, CEO Bäckelin was replaced by Ebba Östberg, with a background as a publisher at Norstedts, and being at Pocketförlaget 10 years earlier (Laxgård, 2016c). The change of CEO was the result of conflicts in the board, and between the board and the outgoing CEO (Schmidt, 2016c). Not long thereafter, in late May 2017, Pocketförlaget yet again changed CEO (Laxgård, 2017c). In late August 2017, Norstedts publicly announced that they sold their shares to Piratförlaget, which implied that Piratförlaget subsequently owned 83% of the shares in Pocketförlaget (Laxgård & Kärnstrand, 2017). Shortly after, on 15th September 2017 it was reported in the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* that Pocketförlaget would cease to exist as a publishing house (Laxgård, 2017f).

Pocket Shop

Pocket Shop opened its first small store in Stockholm 1989. The organization was founded by Mathias Engdahl, a former book shop employee, and the former publisher-in-chief and legend in the field, Per I. Gedin (Westlund, 2012; Winkler, 2004). The business plan was to open small stores that sold only pocket-books at easily accessible locations, such as train stations, an idea taken from the British company The Sock Store. Selling pocket-books in such locations broke with the formal monopoly that the convenience store chain Pressbyrån possessed up until that time. The establishment of the first store caused a certain controversy, that was, however, quickly calmed when Per I. Gedin intervened (Westlund, 2012; Winkler, 2004). In 2000, Pocket Shop had five stores and 30 employees (Pocket Shop AB, 2001; Rabe, 2000). Compared to a traditional bookstore, the inventory of the Pocket Shop was narrower and more focused on bestsellers. However, a typical Pocket Shop would have some breadth as well, including narrower titles, poetry, and classics. According to Engdahl, this mix was the key to success, and he stated that he was proud that he, through the popularization of reading, had participated in cultivating the Swedish public (Rabe, 2000; Röshammar, 2003). By 2002, the number of stores had increased to nine, and two years later in 2004 the twelfth store was established (Pocket Shop AB, 2003, 2005). The same year, Per I. Gedin left the company and sold his shares to Mathias Engdahl, who consequently became the sole owner (Winkler, 2004). Pocket Shop was now an established player in the Swedish book publishing field, and their stores were commonplace in larger Swedish cities. The coming years through to 2005 witnessed a steady and steep increase of both turnover and profits. Between the years 2000 and 2005, turnover more than doubled, and profits almost doubled (Pocket Shop AB, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006). As can be seen in Figure 4.5, the years after this constituted a kind of plateau with fluctuating turnover levels; profits, however, more than tripled between 2005 and 2008 (Pocket Shop AB, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009). The year 2008, as well as the following two years, also witnessed expansions in the number of stores and increases in investments in Pocket Shop. This was especially true for the year 2010. By this year, the chain owned 18 stores (Pocket Shop AB, 2009, 2010, 2011). Despite the expansions and investments, the two succeeding years, 2011 and 2012, experienced turnovers similar to those of 2010, and profits similar to those of the years prior to the last expansion (Pocket Shop AB, 2012, 2013). In the spring of 2012, Engdahl sold Pocket Shop to Bonnier (SvB, 2012b). During the first four years after Bonnier's take-over, a smaller dip and then a noteworthy increase in turnover occurred. The returns remained on the same level as that of 2010 (Pocket Shop AB, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017). 2015 saw the all-time high in turnover for the company, but profits had begun to drop significantly. The years 2016 to 2020 witnessed a relatively steep decline in turnover and a markedly steep decline in returns. Except for the year 2014, the years 2013 to 2019 all exhibited negative results, and the trend was negative (Pocket Shop AB, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020).

Pocketstället

In 1998, Staffan Månsson, who had a background working with in-store sales, began a small-scale and part-time business selling pocket-books in specific shelves in supermarkets (Nylund, 2001). He came by the idea of using specific shelves from when he had worked with in-store sales for the cream cheese company Kavli. In 2000, he was joined by his friend Johan Ramström, who was working at the in-store candy company Karamellkungen. In 2001, Ramström became partner and head of marketing and sales (Winkler, 2003). The business model was the same as Karamellkungen's, except for the product. Store consultants travelled around to stores to convince them to host Pocketstället's shelves. When a store had become a customer, the consultants would come back regularly to take care of the stands, refilling what had been purchased. (Schmidt, 2007; Westlund, 2012). In the early 2000s, the company focused on offering a small selection of what they described as "quality-pocket-books" (Nylund, 2001). During the six years, between 2001 and 2007, Pocketstället experienced more than a nine-fold increase in its turnover. Instead of convincing each store separately, the company had now begun to sign deals with chains. By 2007, the company pronounced that their strategy was to focus on mass-market books (Schmidt, 2007). In 2008, a venture capital company acquired the company (Westlund, 2012). Another critical event for the company in 2008 was their takeover of one of Sweden's biggest grocery store chains Coop as a customer from their arch competitor Pocketgrossisten (Dagens Handel, 2008). The year following the acquisition, 2009, saw a continued growth in turnover. However, this growth was by far not as steep as earlier, and the reported result was close to null. In the spring of 2010, Pocketstället signed a framework agreement with ICA, another of Swedens biggest supermarket chains. At that time, they already had 400 single ICA-stores as customers (Westlund, 2010). Other big customers at this time included Reitan, the owner of the 7-Eleven and the Pressbyrån franchises, (the latter a Swedish convenience store), as well as Axfood, Bergendahls, and Netto, all big supermarket retail companies (Dagens Handel, 2010). Thus, Pocketstället, at this time, covered almost the entire Swedish grocery and convenience store market. The three years 2009, 2010 and 2011, were the apex both in terms of turnover and signing on major new customers. Subsequently, the situation soon turned downwards for the company. Starting in 2011, Pocketstället began to lose many of their biggest and most important customers over three years (Laxgård, 2013; Schmidt, 2014a; Svensk Rikstäckande Butiksservice, 2020) (Schmidt, 2014a). At the same time, sales of books in supermarkets and convenience stores had begun to decline overall. It was not long after this that Pocketstället filed for bankruptcy in early 2014 (Clarén, 2014).

Pocketgrossisten

Pocketgrossisten was founded in 1993 by the already mentioned Mathias Engdahl, and started as a wholesaler and a distributor of pocket-books to, among others, Pocket Shop, Akademibokhandeln, and Pressbyrån (Schmidt, 2007). In 1998, Engdahl sold the company to the company's CEO Magnus Wirström and his partner Matts Bjerne (Lindberg, 1999; Westlund, 2012). After a year of try-outs in different Coop stores, Pocketgrossisten signed a deal with the Coop organization for middle and southern Sweden in 2000, which meant that the company would supply pocket-books for 460 supermarkets. The number of titles would range from 40 to 120, depending on the size of the store (Strandberg, 2000). In early 2002, the company signed a new deal with Coop, meaning that they would supply books to all Coop stores in the country (Nilsson, 2002a). Pocketgrossisten offered almost all of the pocket-books available in the Swedish market, in total 1,900 titles. It publicly stated a goal not to limit the number of titles offered, except for practical reasons, such as space limitations in grocery stores (Nilsson, 2002b; Schmidt, 2007). In the beginning of 2007, the company also began to offer ready-made concept sections, filled with hardbacks, to grocery stores and supermarkets (Sundström, 2006). In early 2010, Bonnier bought Pocketgrossisten, even though Wirström only some years earlier had explicitly stated that while he was open to investors, he would prefer them not to be publishing houses since "there is a risk of conflict of loyalty following from that" (Schmidt, 2007; Winkler, 2010). In the autumn 2011, the company took over the handling of all books at Åhléns, one of Sweden's biggest chain of department stores. Furthermore, in the beginning of 2012, Pocketgrossisten won back the convenience store chain Pressbyrån from Pocketstället (Pocketgrossisten Bonnieförlagen AB, 2012). These two achievements contributed to the increase in turnover between 2011 and 2013, as shown in Figure 4.5. In 2013, Pocketgrossissten lost Åhléns as a customer, since the latter had decided to take care of the sales of books in-house. Åhléns had accounted for one-third of Pocketgrossisten's turnover at the time (Jönsson, 2013). In connection to this, Pocketgrossisten cut its staff from 34 to 10 between the summer and the autumn of 2013 (Jönsson, 2013). In 2014, Pocketgrossisten was split and reorganized by Bonnier (Pocketgrossisten Bonnieförlagen AB, 2014b; SvB, 2014). Decreasing sales in supermarket and convenience stores forced

Pocketgrossisten to implement budget cuts in 2014 (Clarén, 2014). In 2015, the company achieved a positive resultfor the first time since 2010. From that year and onwards, turnover was stabilized at a level similar to that of 2000.

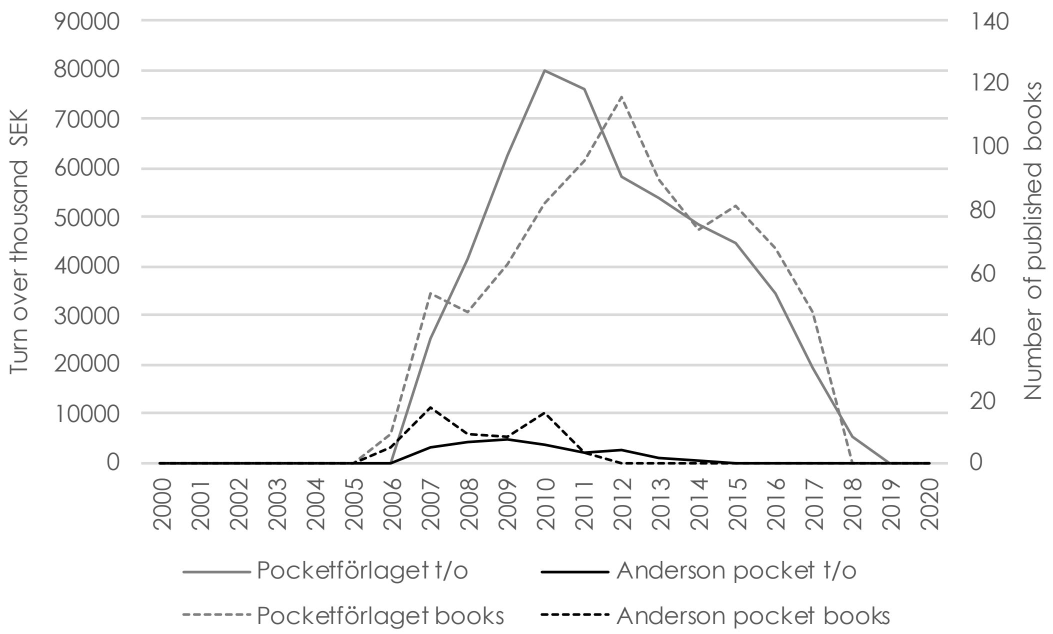
Struggle 1. Prioritizing pocket

At the launch of the company Anderson Pocket's CEO Marie Ledin stated that the company would transcend established norms in the field in two ways. First, it would attempt to take over pocket-book rights from already signed authors, and second, it would share profits fifty-fifty between the authors and the publishing house (Stern, 2006; Winkler, 2006a, 2006b). Ledin, commenting on a radio program in early 2006, stated that the company would fulfill the needs of its authors: "What you actually make money from is the hardbacks. It is where the big money is. However, when it comes to pocket-books, you earn very little as an author. And it is concerning this the criticism from the authors originates from" ("Smygrevolution i Pocketbranschen," 2006). Lars Winkler, the editor-in-chief of the field outlet was interviewed in the same program and highlighted the potential severe disruption that the establishment of Anderson Pocket posed: "The problem with it is that it is challenging the current way things are done in the business and that is not so remarkable. However, if one looks at it economically, then the publishing of all publishing houses builds on a plan to release several formats. Their marketing strategy is based on this. They use the pocket-book to launch the next hardback book" ("Smygrevolution i Pocketbranschen," 2006). He continued: "There is a great unease, a gigantic unease among the big publishing houses, Bonnier and Norstedts, about what this can cause. The authors that own shares in Anderson pocket, when it's time for the next book, will get the question from the big publishing houses they have deals with 'we want the pocket-book' – if that author then says no, then the contracts will look totally different. […] I believe that it will not be possible to stop this in the end, if this turns out to be profitable, if it turns out not to destroy too many of the structures, then they will have to adjust to this, and more publishing houses like this will appear (Smygrevolution i Pocketbranschen, 2006). When asked to compare the record industry and the book industry, Ledin remarked:

"[T]he big difference [regarding the music industry] is that the Swedish book industry is Swedish, and it is fantastic. You have to admit that, it is not like that in the record industry. The book industry is driven by a burning interest in books and how to increase reading. […] Writ-ers are like artists, but the music industry is better at taking care of their artists, at helping them" (Winkler, 2006a). As can be seen, Ledin used the supposed poor position of authors as an important argument for the need for new practices and relations in the field. It is, however, worth noting that Ledin was referring to a very specific group of authors, namely, bestselling authors. When asked about the future of author contracts, Ledin contended that: "in the long run, the hardcover [original edition] will be one, pocket another, and audiobook a third contract" (Winkler, 2006a). In its second year in business, Anderson Pocket published 18 titles, of which a few became bestsellers. In the following years, they published approximately 10 titles except in 2010, when they published 16 titles. When the company's publishing activities were discontinued in 2011, it had published only 64 titles. Three factors stand out in relation to established praxis within the field regarding Anderson pocket: (1) Marie Ledin had a distinct other field affiliation; (2) Ledin explicitly refers to this field affiliation, its structure and dispositions, and, most critically, to the practices and relations between agents that she and her companions wanted to establish in the publishing field; and (3) that the practices and relations that Anderson Pocket wanted to establish in the Swedish publishing field existed in other national publishing fields. Anderson pocket was, in other words, not innovators per se, but rather attempting to transpose practices from another field to the Swedish book publishing field. Anderson Pocket did not achieve great success. However, another agent with an almost identical business plan fared significantly better.

Pocketförlaget, a publishing house that copied the Anderson Pockets concept, was founded in August 2006 after a meeting between Ann–Marie Skarp, Göthe Johansson, and Fredrik Gustafsson. Skarp commented on the founding of the company: "For a long time, I have been thinking that it would be interesting to change things in Pocket-book-Sweden. […] A point of departure has also been the compensation to authors within pocket-book publishing" (Winkler, 2006b). It is worth noting that Skarp did not mention Anderson Pocket (Winkler, 2006b). Skarp continued: "… the compensation to authors will build on the same principle as that of Piratförlaget, namely, that the publishing house and the author shares the profits after costs. This would imply a doubling of the compensation for the authors…" (Winkler, 2006b). Pocketförlaget invested greatly in marketing for single paperback books (Winkler, 2008b). Significantly more successful than Anderson Pocket in both attracting authors and publishing bestsellers, Pocketförlaget shattered the old established levels of author compensation for paperbacks. Bonnier, the largest publishing house, apparently did not like what Pocketförlaget was doing with the royalty levels. Co-founder Fredrik Gustafsson even stated that Bonnier had contacted him to get him to stop the new revenue-sharing model on several occasions (Winkler, 2008b). To this, Gustafsson stated: "That is how it must be. One should not think that this business is gentleman-like […] Do you realize how much they have had to increase the advances to their best-seller authors since we started? That is a high cost for them. But, that is not my problem. I earn money, and I am not ashamed. […] You have two publishing groups that own the market. It is fantastic to be able to question it a bit. You know, it has been like this for one hundred years" (Winkler, 2008b). Lars Winkler remarked in the field outlet that Pocketförlaget had managed to "force new conditions and new strategies upon the paperback-market" (Winkler, 2008b).

Figure 4.3. Comparison of Pocketförlaget and Anderson Pocket in terms of turnover and number of published books over time.

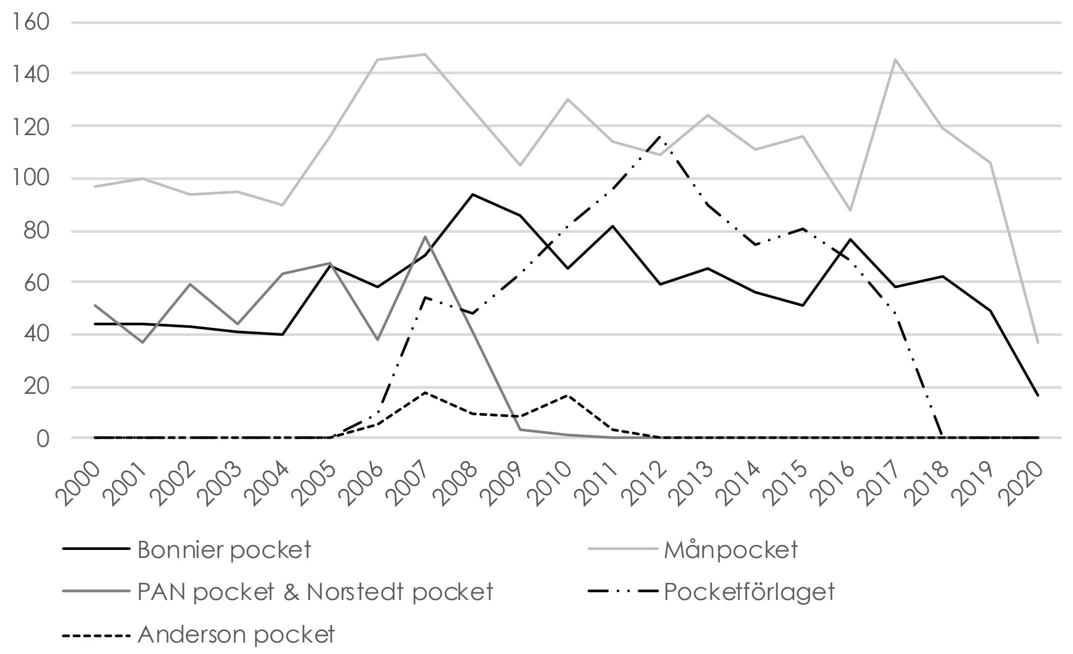


Sources: Data on turnover from (Retriever Business, 2020). Data on published books from (Kungliga Biblioteket, 2020).

As illustrated in Figure 4.3, Pocketförlaget very rapidly increased published titles, as well as turnover, from the start and the years that followed. Indeed, within six months, it had published nine titles. In the following years, it published approximately 50 titles, a number that continued to grow and reached its peak with 116 titles in 210. Bonnier reacted to the challenge by decreasing the number of titles that it published under the joint label Månpocket, and increasing the titles that it published under its own label. In early 2008, it was made public that Pocketförlaget had recruited the sitting CEO of Månpocket, Louise Bäckelin, as its new CEO (Winkler, 2008a). These years also witnessed a significant increase in turnover, reaching its peak with 80 million SEK in 2010. In the same year, Norstedts acquired a 27.5% share in the company (as a way of trying to balancing Bonnier's efforts on the distribution and retail level of the field, see below) (Ågrahn, 2010). Norstedts CEO Maria Hamrefors commented that it was: "…important that Pocketförlaget can become a strong actor in the market, with everything that is now happening with the Bonnier publishing groups acquisition of Pocketgrossisten" (Ågrahn, 2010). Louise Bäckelin, CEO of Pocketförlaget, also viewed the entry of the new partner in the same light: "We are worried that it will become hard for the smaller independent publishing houses to get their paperbacks into the grocery stores. To get Norstedts into the company will strengthen us and the smaller publishing houses" (Ågrahn, 2010). In 2011, renowned Swedish writer Henning Mankell and his publisher also entered as partners in Pocketförlaget (Westlund, 2012). However, Norstedts' dedication to Pocketförlaget was shifting with time. During 2016, the company had chosen to publish its bestsellers under its own pocket label. Ebba Östberg, the new CEO of Pocketförlaget, stated: "I hope that Pocketförlaget will get the chance to produce many more titles from Norstedts. But, above all, we should succeed in becoming the most attractive partner to all [smaller] original-publishing houses" (Laxgård, 2016c). Continuing its expansion, the company almost doubled its published titles in four years, reaching its peak with 116 published titles in 2012 (see Figure 4.3), which made it the biggest pocket-book publisher that year (see Figure 4.4).

On 15 September 2017, the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* reported that Pocketförlaget would cease to exist as a publishing house. Carl Hamilton, chairman of the board, stated: "This is a result of the industry's development and our inability to formulate a relevant business idea. And the old business did not work. What we have to offer is not relevant anymore, which can be seen in the steeply declining turnover. […] The industry has changed on a number of crucial points, that is nothing that we can do anything about. […]" (Laxgård, 2017f). When asked how the industry had changed, Hamilton replied: "What is obvious is that there is a shift from paper books, especially from stores that are not book stores […]. The other thing is that several smaller publishing houses are commercial and successful in reaching out with titles to the market. That is Pocketförlaget's strategy" (Laxgård, 2017f). Even though Pocketförlaget had managed to create smaller changes in the field, the organization itself was ultimately too weak of an agent to survive.

Figure 4.4. Number of book titles published by Anderson pocket, Bonnier pocket, Månpocket, Norstedts (including Pan), and Pocketförlaget.



Data from Kungliga Biblioteket (2020).

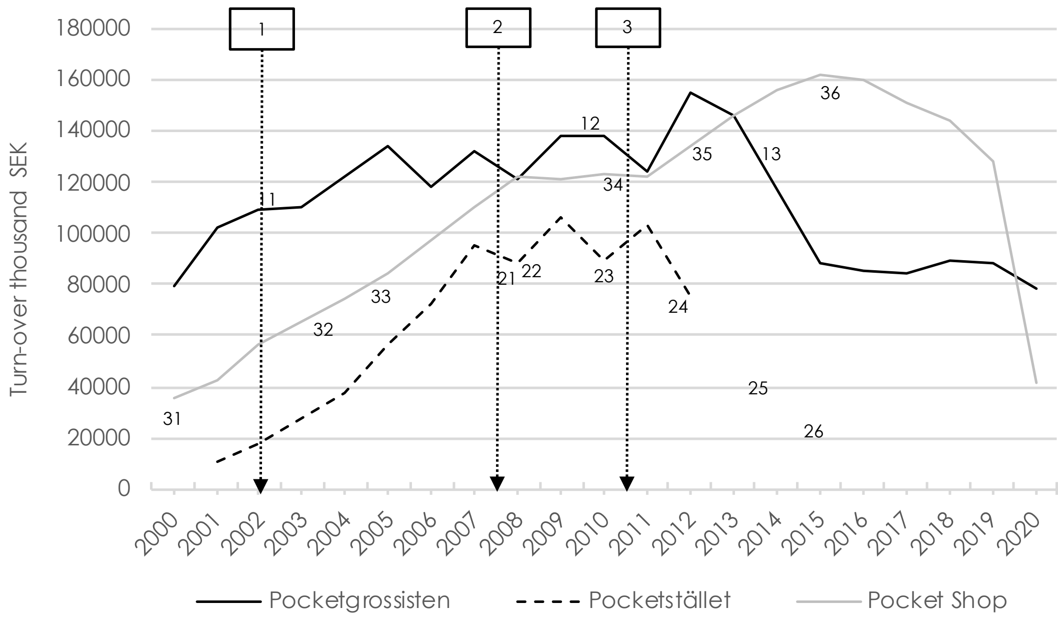
Struggle 2. Supermarket sweep

At the same time as the disruption on the publishing level took place, major events were occurring at the distribution and retail levels as well. In the wake of the popularization of the pocket-book in the 1900s, the early 2000s saw greatly increased attention and sales for pocket-books. On the distribution and retail level of the field, this was attributable to two factors: (1) the continued success and increased expansion of Pocket Shop; and (2) the spread of sales to supermarkets. The latter was initiated by Pocketstället who was soon followed by Pocketgrossisten. Both occurrences were new to the Swedish book publishing field and were connected to the extent that both processes contributed to establishing rapidly increasing sales and recognition for the product. As can be seen in Figure 4.5 further down, Pocket Shop, Pocketgrossisten, and Pocketstället all had substantial increases in turnover during the first five years of the 2000s. Subsequently, Pocket Shop's turnover stopped increasing, while Pocketgrossisten's and Pock-etstället's continued to increase for three and two more years, respectively. Pocketstället's growth was the most significant; in seven years, the company increased its turnover nearly ten-fold. These changes did not go unnoticed in the field. Together with the prioritizing pocket tendency described above, this led to a response from more established and dominating agents. The summer of 2007 would witness an unprecedented number of campaigns for pocket-books, where books were given away for free or offered at steep discounts with the purchase of other goods or sold separately at steep discounts.

Summer was the traditional high season for pocket-books, and reportedly usually led to increased sales by 20-30% and accounted for approximately half of the total sales during the year (Göteborgs-Posten, 2007; Ström, 2007). The tendency that Pocket-book buyers, in general, tended to favor genre literature was also usually augmented during the summer (Ström, 2007). The leading companies behind the campaigns during the summer of 2007 were Bonnier Pocket and Månpocket. Pocket-books were added for free at heavy discounts with the purchase of a large number of magazines. The tabloid Expressen also offered 11 different paperback books from Bonnier Pocket for the low price of 19 SEK (approximately one-third/one-fourth of the normal price) when purchasing the paper during the summer (Cooper, 2007; Pressens Mediaservice, 2007). It is worth noting that other parts of the Bonnier group controlled the vast majority of the magazine market in Sweden at the time. The tabloid Expressen was also controlled by the Bonnier group. Pocket-books were also given away or sold at heavy discounts when customers purchased other types of products, such as bread and candy (Lundström, 2007b; Westlund, 2012). Månpocket had a standalone campaign for pocket-books in the stores of the supermarket chain ICA at steep discounts (Gross, 2007). A total of 34 titles were given away for free during the summer (Westlund, 2012). It is important to point out that almost all of the campaigns of summer 2007 were directed at supermarkets, and this almost always meant a sidestepping of Pocketstället and Pocketgrossisten as publishing houses, and involved firms solved the issue of distribution without them (Göteborgs-Posten, 2007). Naturally, the two companies were not pleased with this situation. Magnus Wirström, CEO at Pocketgrossisten, commented: "There is unbelievable inflation. We got totally shocked when we, last week, saw that 12 magazines added [pocket] books as a package. We estimate that it will amount to 40 magazines this summer, approximately 3 million pocket-books that are given away", and continued: "We are not risking being wiped out, but the volumes become smaller and the quality is lowered. It is hard for the publishing houses to take care of this themselves" (Göteborgs-Posten, 2007). Staffan Månsson, CEO of Pocketstället, was very negative about the low prices offered in the campaigns, and declared: "Heck, you need to charge! We do not have discount sales of pocket-books during summer. Then, they are possible to sell at the standard price, and the customer is still happy. They are destroying the market for pocket-books" (Gross, 2007). The two companies did, however, choose different ways of dealing with the campaigns initiated by Bonnier and Månpocket. Pocketgrossisten and Pocket Shop, unlike Pocketstället, decided to counter with their own campaigns of discounts. Pocketgrossisten's CEO Wirström was not pleased, however, stating: "We get an offer every week to sell pocket-books together with bread or toothpaste. There has been inflation in all kinds of campaigns" (Gross, 2007).

Månpocket and Bonnier defended the campaigns as focusing on marketing and inspiring people to read. Louise Bäckelin, at the time the CEO of Månpocket, stated: "All actors win when titles are exposed" (Lundström, 2007a). Håkan Rudels, head of markets at Albert Bonniers Förlag, commented on the campaigns: "You know, it is partly pure marketing, we expose our trademark. But, in this way, I also believe that we are increasing reading in the country. Many that would not buy a pocket-book otherwise are allured to buy one. That is something really great. […] There is a 'ketchup-effect' with the pocket-books now. All magazines are going to hand out one in one of their summer issues. Next year, you might get a toiletry bag." (Ström, 2007). Not only was Månpocket behind a number of the campaigns, they also had three very strong bestseller books during the summer. The newspaper Smålandsposten stated: "This year, there is no question about who wins the pocket-books war", referring to Månpocket (Ström, 2007).

Figure 4.5. Turn-over and events for specialized pocket-book retailers.



General: **1**. VAT for books lowered. **2.** Pocket summer: 34 titles given away in stores **3.** Last pocket-book awards are handed out. **Pocketgrossisten**: **11.** Distribution agreement with COOP. **12.** Acquired by Bonnier. **13.** Split of retail and wholesale side. Former competitors invited as partners in the retail company. **Pocketstället**: **21**. Acquired by venture capital company Scope. **22.** Wins Coop from Pocketgrossisten. **23**. Agreement with ICA's central organization. **24.** Loses Reitan (7-Eleven and Pressbyrån) as a customer. **25.** Loses COOP as a customer. **26.** Files for bankruptcy. **Pocket Shop**: **31.** Five stores, 30 employees. **32.** 11th store opened. **33.** Gedin sells his shares in the company, leaving Engdahl as the sole owner. **34.** 18th store opened, of which one was in Germany since the previous year. **35.** Acquired by Bonnier. **36.** 83 employees in total.

Graph based on data from Pocketgrossisten's (Pocket Grossisten i Stockholm AB, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; Pocketgrossisten Bonnieförlagen AB, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Pocketgrossisten Sverige AB, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020), Pocketställets (Books for Business M&R AB, 2002, 2003; P Pocketstället AB, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) and Pocket Shop's (Pocket Shop AB, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021) annual reports. Note: I. Regarding data from Pocketgrossisten: a) The calendar year 2004 is covered by the reports for 2003 and 2005 for this graph, and the mean of these reports is used for 2004. b) Due to broken report years in 2009-2010, this graph uses the mean from the three reports published for these two years. c) Report for 2014 is missing. In this graph, a mean of the two surrounding years is used. II. Regarding data from Pocketstället: a) Annual report for 2002 (Books for Business M&R AB, 2002) covers the last month of 2000, 2001 and the first four months of 2002. b) First report for 2003 (Books for Business M&R AB, 2003) covers eight months of 2002 and four months of 2003. c) Another report (P Pocketstället AB, 2004) covers the rest of 2003. Therefore, data in the graph have been adjusted in the following way: i) data for 2000 omitted, ii) data for 2001 are 82% of the 2002 report, iii) data for 2002 are 33% of the 2002 report + 67% of the first 2003 report, and iv) data for 2003 are 33% of the first 2003 report + 100% of the second 2003 report.

Figure 4.5 shows the turnover for Pocketgrossisten, Pocketstället, and Pocket Shop as well as events for the three companies. Pocketstället's turnover, which had increased rapidly ever since the start, turned downwards in 2007. Following this, it started to fluctuate for some years on a similar level. For Pocketgrossisten, the increase in turnover continued to the following year, 2008, after which growth stopped. Pocketstället and Pocketgrossisten did, however, continue to compete for control of book sales in supermarkets and convenience stores. In September 2008, Pock-etstället won Coop at the expense of Pocketgrossisten, which meant that the two competitors had an almost equal market share in supermarket and convenience stores (Schmidt, 2008b).

Wirström, the owner of Pocketgrossisten, had earlier stated that he was open to new investors, but pointed out that: "It is not a good idea to have a publishing house as an investor, there can appear conflicts of loyalty from that" (Schmidt, 2007). In this way, he pronounced that he considered independence an important value for the company. Nevertheless, in February 2010, the Bonnier publishing group announced that they intended to acquire Pocketgrossisten (Winkler, 2010). The acquisition caused indignation both inside and outside of the field (see e.g., Josefsson, 2010; Winkler, 2010), and was called to be reviewed by Konkurrensverket, the Swedish Competition Authority. After reviewing the case, the authority approved the acquisition without any conditions in June the same year (Konkurrensverket, 2010). The two years following the acquisition witnessed two important accomplishments for Pocketgrossisten. In the autumn 2011, the company took over the handling of all books at Åhléns, one of Sweden's biggest department store chains. In addition, at the end of the same year, Pocketgrossisten won back the convenience store chains Pressbyrån and 7-Eleven from Pocketstället (Pocketgrossisten Bonnieförlagen AB, 2012; Schmidt, 2014a).

In the spring of 2012, Mathias Engdahl, founder and CEO of Pocket Shop, sold his company to Bonnier. He cited tendencies in the U.S. and Great Britain of heavy decreases in the sales of paperbacks, the expense of e-books, and stated: "The future is a slippery slope. I have no chance to fend off the developments" (SvB, 2012b). Bonnier had now acquired both Pocketgrossisten and Pocket Shop.

A new tendency started to be noticeable in 2013, when big store chains would discontinue their deals with Pocketstället and Pocketgrossisten, in favor of taking care of book departments and shelves in-house. In September 2013, one of Pocketstället's most important customers, Coop, decided to hire Svensk Rikstäckande Butiksservice (SRB), a generalized merchandise service that took care of shelves and in-store displays, to be responsible for the bookshelves in the stores. A person from Akademibokhandeln, the leading book store chain in Sweden, would be responsible for the assortment and purchases (Laxgård, 2013; Svensk Rikstäckande Butiksservice, 2020). In November 2013, Pocketgrossisten lost Åhléns as a customer, since the latter had decided to take care of the sales of books in-house. Åhléns had accounted for one-third of the company's turnover at the time (Jönsson, 2013). In connection to this, Pocketgrossisten cut its staff from 34 to 10 between the summer and the autumn of 2013 (Jönsson, 2013). Indeed, both Pocketstället and

Pocketgrossisten experienced major setbacks in 2013. Not only did they both lose key customers, the sales of pocket-books in grocery stores was diminishing. Pocketstället was forced to file for bankruptcy in early 2014; whereas, a substantial reorganization was to occur at Pocketgrossisten.

This reorganization that took place at Pocketgrossisten in 2014 comprised two steps. First, the company was split into two parts, in which the first part would take the name Nordiska Bokgrossisten AB, and continued to be wholly owned by Bonnier, responsible for the wholesale part of the business. Second, the other and larger part of the business would handle the in-store selling of pocket-books. In this company Bonnier brought in former competitors, both as shareholders and in key positions in the organization (Pocketgrossisten Bonnieförlagen AB, 2014b; SvB, 2014). Lars Schmidt commented in the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* that this meant that: "Pocketgrossiten is going to depart from being a criticized symbol for Bonnier's attempt to take over all steps of the chain to becoming a common concern for the industry" (Schmidt, 2014a).

Struggle 3. Books to be begilded?

Guldpocketgalan, organized by the big pocket-book publishers at the time (Bonnier Pocket, W&W, Natur och Kultur, Ordfront, PAN, Månpocket), Pocket Shop, Pocketgrossisten, and the tabloid Expressen (owned by the Bonnier group) on an initiative of Jonas Axelsson from Månpocket, held its first event in March 1999. Similar to that of a music awards system, awards were given to pocket-books that had sold gold (more than 50,000 copies), silver (40,000 copies), and bronze (30,000). In addition, Expressen awarded the best pocket-book of the year in different categories based on votes cast by the paper's readers (Ericson, 1999; Schmidt, 2010; Westlund, 2009). The reason behind the founding of the prize was, according to Johan Stridh, to "show that books actually reach out and are sold in rather large numbers. There are so many prizes for quality already. We got the inspiration for the awards from the record industry. It is fun to point out that the businesses are pretty similar" (Alfredsson, 2000). The awards were thus founded as a collective initiative in order to focus a light on a specific product category. It seems reasonable that this initiative came from a Bonnier-affiliated publishing house, and that Bonnier was very involved in the work around the awards. Indeed, Bonnier was the hegemonic agent, and this was a way for it to control the pace of development within the field (Bourdieu, 2005).

The second Guldpocket ceremony was held at a restaurant in Stockholm, where seven authors were awarded the gold pocket for selling more than 50,000 pocket-book copies (Alfredsson, 2000; Ericson, 2000; Tidningarns Telegrambyrå, 2000). Moreover, the Getingpocket-prize was awarded in several categories, which was decided by votes cast by readers of the Swedish evening paper Expressen (Alfredsson, 2000). For the 2001 awards that were held on the March 12, the bronze category was removed, and a platinum category (100,000 copies) was added, reflecting the increasing sales of pocket-books (Arnborg, 2001; Schmidt, 2010). In 2002, Förläggareföreningen, which also arranged Augustpriset, the August prize awards, took over responsibility for the awards (Nylund, 2002). Expressen's role was also down-played, and the paper now only gave out one award for the best book cover (Westlund, 2009). Mathias Engdahl, CEO of Pocket Shop commented that it was good that Förläggareföreningen had assumed control of the responsibility since they were a more neutral party, but stressed that he did not want the award to gain status, "For me, the Pocketparty is a rebellious little brother to Augustgalan. We do not want to be high culture. If it develops in this direction we have to come up with something else" (Nylund, 2002). The move of the awards from an ad hoc organizing committee to the well-established internal governance unit (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) Förläggareföreningen is to be understood as the professionalization of the event and did not imply any changes in power relations. Instead, it was easier for Bonnier to control the awards through an established channel that they directed, rather than an ad hoc organizing committee. That Förläggareföreingen took over the awards meant that the award was still under the control of the collective coherently organized field, which was led by the hegemon Bonnier (Fligstein, 1996).

Between the awards 2005 to 2006, the number of titles that sold more than 30,000 copies increased from 21 to 36, and the number selling more than 50,000 increased from 11 to 15 titles (Pennlert, 2006). In 2007, the "pocket-book day" was instituted and set for the second Monday of March (Westlund, 2009). The awards were also complemented with a seminar on the rising success of pocket-books. The head of markets at Pocketstället called the organizer, Förläggareföreningen wanting to participate in the talk, only to find out that the association did not know who they were (Schmidt, 2007). In fact, although Pocketstället sold in great volumes at this time, it was not a recognized agent in the field by all industry players. The reason for this is probably that Pocketstället was deemed to be too dissimilar to be considered as a part of the field. The outspoken focus on low culture literature and the low cultural status of the sales locations certainly contributed to this. At the awards ceremony, now renamed Pocketpartyt, the Pocket-book party, eight titles were awarded for platinum selling more than 100,000 copies (Djurberg, 2009a). That the representative of Förläggareföreningen was unaware or claimed to be unaware of the existence of Pocketstället, not only expressed something important about these two agents but about the field in general. The collective coherently organized field under the hegemon was now challenged on the publishing, distribution, and retail levels. It can be expected that a dominant agent fosters and promotes a product category that, like the rest of the field, is under total control; however, the situation becomes quite different if this category has become the home of challengers on multiple levels (Bourdieu, 2005b). Table 4.1 compares three aspects for Pocket Shop, Pocketstället, and Pocketgrossisten.

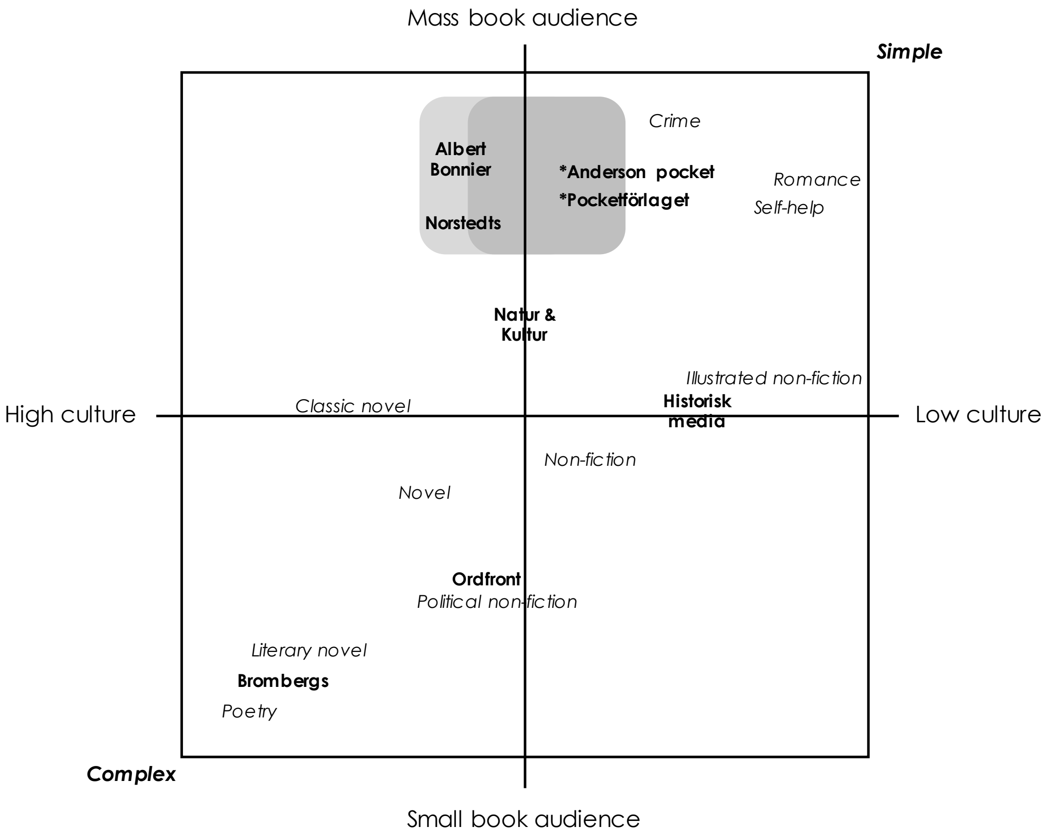
Table 4.1. Comparison of some aspects concerning Pocket Shop, Pocketstället, and Pocketgrossisten in 2007.

	Pocket Shop	*Pocketstället*	*Pocketgrossisten*
Assortment	Wide	Narrow	Wide
High or low culture	Both	Low culture	Both
Recognition in the field	High	Low	High

In the 2009 version of the awards, 15 books were awarded platinum, the majority of which were crime, but also included were three novels and three non-fiction works (Djurberg, 2009a). Following a decision by the board of Förläggareföreningen, it was announced that the awards would be discontinued after the 11th version of the awards in 2009. Reactions to this differed between different agents. Håkan Rudels, head of marketing at Bonnier publishing, stated that: "…we feel that it has played out its importance. It was started as an attempt to gild the pocket-book and to put it on the map. That goal was achieved a long time ago" (Westlund, 2009). Fredrik Gustafsson, CEO of Pocketförlaget, on the other hand, suggested that the reason behind the awards discontinuation was: "Bonnier does not want to be involved in anything that they do not gain from", and added: "I think this is sad. The pocket-book needs to get all the attention it can" (Westlund, 2009). Ann-Marie Skarp, publisher at Piratförlaget, stated: "It's a disappointment. It's fun that the industry has had a joint pocket-book party" (Westlund, 2009). Even though it had been publicly stated to be discontinued, the prize reappeared in the annual book fair in Gothenburg in 2010 after discussions between Bonnier, Norstedts, and Pocketförlaget. This time, only the platinum (100,000 copies) and gold (50,000 copies) categories were awarded (Bremberg, 2010; Schmidt, 2010). A record number of 19 and 29 titles were awarded the platinum and gold prize, respectively (Schmidt, 2010). It was thus shown that pocket-books were still sold in great numbers.

Figure 4.7 below shows an illustrative map of the positions in the Swedish book publishing field around 2010. In line with the reasoning above Anderson pocket and Pocketförlaget uphold positions that are more towards the low culture end than to the high culture end. The changing of the dominant position is illustrated by the darker grey rounded square, the old dominant position is denoted in a lighter grey.

Figure 4.7. Dominant position in the Swedish book publishing field around 2010 after the pocket-book disruption.



Note: Agents established since the previous illustrative map are marked with an asterisk.

4.3. Establishment of streaming audiobook services

Background

Since the 1950s, the "talbok", i.e., the speech-book, had existed in Sweden. It was produced exclusively for the visually impaired and could only be borrowed from libraries. Within the visually-impaired movement, discussions about audiobooks that one could own began in the late 1970s (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016c, 2016a, 2016b). This led to the founding of Kassettbok AB in 1986 by Christina Andersson and Jan Holmegaard, who were highly involved in the movement (Englund, 2019a). After initial failed attempts to sell the audiobooks in book stores, it was decided that they should be sold through a book-club, first named Lyssnarklubben, the Listeners club, and later Kassettbokklubben, the Cassette-book club. Throughout almost all of the 1990s, this was the only agent on the market for audiobooks in Sweden (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016b). Kassettbokklubben focused on classical Swedish novels (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016d). On 1 January 2000, Bonnier bought 70% of Kassettbokklubben (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016d). Jonas Byström from Bonnier Audio, said that this was done because Bonnier saw major potential in making the audiobook more commercially viable by producing CDs sold through stores. Bonnier also had extensive experience in operating book-clubs (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016d). With Bonnier as the major owner, Kassettbokklubben began to widen its publishing, with in particular foreign fiction, as well as some popular non-fiction (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016d). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the main audience was women older than 50 years (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016b, 2016d). The years around the middle of the 2000s witnessed a boom for audiobooks (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016d). Kasettbokklubben was thus an intersteing example of what Sine and Lee (2009) had described, i.e., how social movements can rally support of entrepreneurial projects and in other ways pave the way for such projects (cf. Hiatt et al., 2009). In 2007, the book club had 97,000 members and their bestselling book, a Swedish translation of Dan Brown's *The DaVinci Code*, sold 20,000 copies. Women in the age category of 50 and older were still the biggest audience. Moreover, in 2006, the audiobook was awarded the

Christmas Gift of the Year, by Handelns Utredningsinstitut (HUI, 2021). Jonas Byström stated that Bonnier Audio published approximately 50 titles in 2000, 80 titles in 2004, and by the year 2007 had published 110 audiobook titles. Around these years, Bonnier Audio also experimented with audiobooks loaded on SIM-cards or preloaded on portable devices (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016d). Bonnier and Kasettboksklubben was the driving force for this boom in the sales of audiobooks. Beginning in 2007 a rapid decline in the audiobook market took place. The number of published titles for returned back to the levels of the early 2000s (Iris Förvaltnings AB, 2016d).

Central agents

Storytel

Storytel was founded in 2005 under the name Bokilur by Jonas Tellander, who had a background from several multinational companies (MNEs), and had just previously been head of licensing at a Switzerland-based pharmaceutical MNE; and Jon Hauksson, a systems architect with a background at Swedish tech startups (Ideon Science Park, 2018b; Leffler, 2013; *Linkedin: Jonas Tellander*, 2021). The inspiration came from the audiobook service Audible (Leffler, 2013). At the beginning the company had their office at the Ideon Science Park in Lund (Ideon Science Park, 2018a). Through cooperation with the audiobook publisher Storyside, the first version of the application was released in September of the same year. The customers paid per unit for books, divided into segments that were streamed to their mobile phones via GPRS or 3G, which meant that costs for data usage were added (Göteborgs-Posten, 2005; Resumé, 2005). In order to remove this cost, Bokilur established deals with mobile operators in the Swedish market during the spring of 2006 (IDG, 2006; Ny teknik, 2006). In May 2006, the company signed a deal with Piratförlaget, which enabled it to offer their audiobooks within its application (IDG, 2006) . In August 2006, the company released the concept Bokilur Unlimited, in which a customer would pay a flat-rate price of 169 SEK per month with access to all of the content on the service. Bokilur had now developed an own business model, different from Audible. At that time, Bokilur offered some 130 titles. Tellander explicitly received inspiration from the sales of DVDs, broadband, and mobile telephony when introducing the flat-rate concept (IDG, 2006). In 2007, the company signed deals with the British publishing house HarperCollins and Bonnier's audiobook branch Bonnier Audio, in April and July respectively (Bokilur, 2007; Englund, 2018e; IDG, 2007). In connection with the launch of the service in Denmark in March 2008, the name was changed to Storytel in an effort to attract international audiences (IDG, 2008). Norstedts, the last of the major Swedish publishing houses to sign deals with Storytel, did so in October 2009 (Djurberg, 2009b; Leffler, 2013). Due to lacking funds for the continuation of operations, Tellander went on the television show Draknästet (the Swedish equivalent of Shark Tank) in November 2008, and managed to secure an investment from the venture capitalist Richard Båge with a background as an IT-entrepreneur (Tellander, 2018a). In June 2009, Storytel's webpage was relaunched, and it was possible for customers to listen to books via their computers. In addition, customers were given the opportunity to write public reviews of books. Tellander said to the media that he hoped that the relaunched webpage would become "a kind of Spotify for audiobooks" (TT Spektra, 2009). In late 2009, the company launched an application for the iPhone (Assarson, 2015b; Leffler, 2013). At this time, the company had approximately 2,000 customers (SvB, 2012a). In the summer of 2010, a feature was added that allowed listening offline, and there was a rapid increase of customers for the company (Assarson, 2015b). In the spring of 2012, the company had 20,000 customers (SvB, 2012a). During 2013, Storytel expanded vertically when acquiring the audiobook publishing house Storyside, and in the late summer, they acquired another one named Earbooks. In the middle of 2014, Storytel took over the responsibility for Stora Ljudbokspriset, an award for audiobooks that was started on a non-profit basis in 2009 by activists from the visually-impaired movement. In August 2014, Storytel added e-books to its offerings (Schmidt, 2014b). In June 2015, Storytel merged with Massolit, the only publically listed publishing house in Sweden (Schmidt, 2015b). The companies name remained Storytel. Some years earlier Massolit had taken over a large part of the former Forma publishing group, which was the third-largest publishing group in Sweden (Djurberg, 2015). Through the merger, Storytel also managed to take a shortcut to the stock exchange (Schmidt, 2015b). In January 2016, Storytel made public that they would start ordering commissioned work written specifically for audio and divide them into episodes with cliffhangers, which would be published under the name Storytel Originals (Schmidt, 2016a). In June 2016, Storytel acquired Norstedts publishing group (Strömberg, 2016). In October, Storytel performed a direct equity issue, which made major Swedish banks, Handelsbanken and Swedbank, respective equity fund shareholders. The company now had 220,000 customers in Sweden (Djurberg, 2016b; Laxgård, 2016d). During the spring of 2017, Storytel continued to acquire publishing houses, this time taking over Kontentan and Telegram, two smaller publishing houses focusing on management literature and journalism respectively. During the same spring, Storytel announced that it would launch a format for journalistic texts under the name Storytel Dox, in which shorter texts ranging between 20 to 60 minutes would be published every month starting in the summer (Djurberg, 2017d). In the early autumn of the same year, the company announced that it had received 202 million SEK in new capital in a direct equity issue (Djurberg, 2017f). The autumn of 2017 also saw a major reorganization within the Storytel group. All traditional publishing, except for Norstedts, was brought together under the name Storytel Publishing (Djurberg, 2017g). At approximately the same time, the magazine Fokus designated Tellander as the second most-influential person in Sweden's cultural life, second only to the then Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy, Sara Danius (Djurberg, 2017h). In early 2018, Storytel surpassed 300,000 customers in the Swedish market. During the summer, the company launched a dedicated e-book reading device (Laxgård, 2018b). Yet another round of direct equity issue was finished in September, and this time 500 million SEK of capital was acquired. In October, Storytel launched a family subscription option for its service. In late 2019, the company had 400,000 customers in Sweden (Lönner, 2019c). Starting with the establishment in Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands between 2013 and 2015, Storytel was active in over 20 national markets in 2020.

If we are to understand Storytel's business model, it may be useful to compare it to other famous streaming services, i.e., Spotify and Netflix. Table 4.2 presents a comparison in certain aspects, and also includes a column for the traditional book publishing field.

Table 4.2 Storytel's business model in comparison to Spotify, Netflix, and traditional book publishing companies.

	Spotify	*Netflix*	*Storytel*	*Traditional book publishing*
Compensation for producer(s)	Revenue-sharing	Revenue-sharing	Revenue-sharing	Percentage of sold unit
Payment model for customer(s)	Flat-rate	Flat-rate	Flat-rate	Per unit
Distribution	Streaming	Streaming	Streaming	Brick-and-mortar and online retail
Form of artistic production (major aspect)	Independently produced	Independently produced and commissioned production	Independently produced and commissioned production	Independently produced

As can be seen, Storytel's business model was markedly similar to Spotify and Netflix in all four dimensions; whereas, its business model had little resemblance to that of traditional book publishing. However, what Storytel provided, i.e., literary stories, was produced in the publishing field under its specific conditions

Bonnier

In September 2010, Bonnier launched the service Laudio, in which users could stream or download audiobooks as mp3 files. Bonnier described the site as a "Spotify for audiobooks" (Dahlgren, 2017). However, unlike Spotify, the service was not based on a flat-rate business model. Instead, customers had to purchase tokens with which they could obtain access to specific books (IDG, 2010). The service was defunct within three years. After that, in September 2013, Bonnier launched Mondo as part of their online book retailer Adlibris (Dahlgren, 2017). Jonas Olofsson, head of digital content at Adlibris, described Mondo as intended to "fill the position of the physical bookshelf.

It has been totally missing in the digital world" (Strömberg, 2013). He pointed out that the vision behind Mondo had long existed, and that "it is based on a larger inquiry performed together with Bonnier Research and Development" (Strömberg, 2013). In addition to the ability to buy single e-books, which had already existed on Adlibris, Mondo also offered two new services: a flat-rate subscription service for audiobooks; and what they called "e-singles", adding to this the service also offered users the ability to compose and share "book shelves" on the platform. (Strömberg, 2013). In the summer of 2015, Bonnier announced plans to launch a new digital service that would be organized separately within the group (Laxgård, 2015). Starting in the spring of the same year, a team of 20 people was recruited from digital entertainment companies, such as Viaplay, King, and MAG interactive (Assarson, 2015b; Jönsson, 2016). Niclas Sandin, who had previously been responsible for book clubs at Bonnier, as well as worked in data analytics, and as an accountant, was appointed CEO of the new company (Jönsson, 2016). Sandin explained that Bonnier's two earlier attempts had failed because it had not received sufficient attention, and stated that it was critical to create a "start-up" vibe at the new company (Dahlgren, 2017). In October 2015, it was announced that the service would be called Bookbeat (Assarson, 2015a, 2015b). Bookbeat was launched on 1 January 2016 (Leffler, 2015b). In the same month, it was made public that Adlibris Mondo would discontinue its activities (Laxgård, 2016a). According to the CEO, the company had a long-term plan of out-competing Storytel, and was looking more towards Netflix, Spotify, and Instagram than to Storytel regarding the design of the service (Djurberg, 2016a).The company also hoped that its compensation model, with a fixed price per book, would be more attractive than Storytel's revenue-sharing model (Djurberg, 2016a). In March 2017, Bookbeat announced that it wanted to lower compensation to publishing houses (Kärnstrand, 2017a). On 1 June 2018, the company made public that it would lower the price for the service to 149 SEK per month; simultaneously, they also offered customers the option to add up to four users to the subscription for 49 SEK per month (Schmidt, 2018b). In January 2019, the company launched a version of the service for kids, which it compared to Netflix Kids (Laxgård, 2019a). In early summer 2019, Bookbeat stated that it had reached 100,000 customers in the Swedish market (Lönner, 2019a).

Nextory

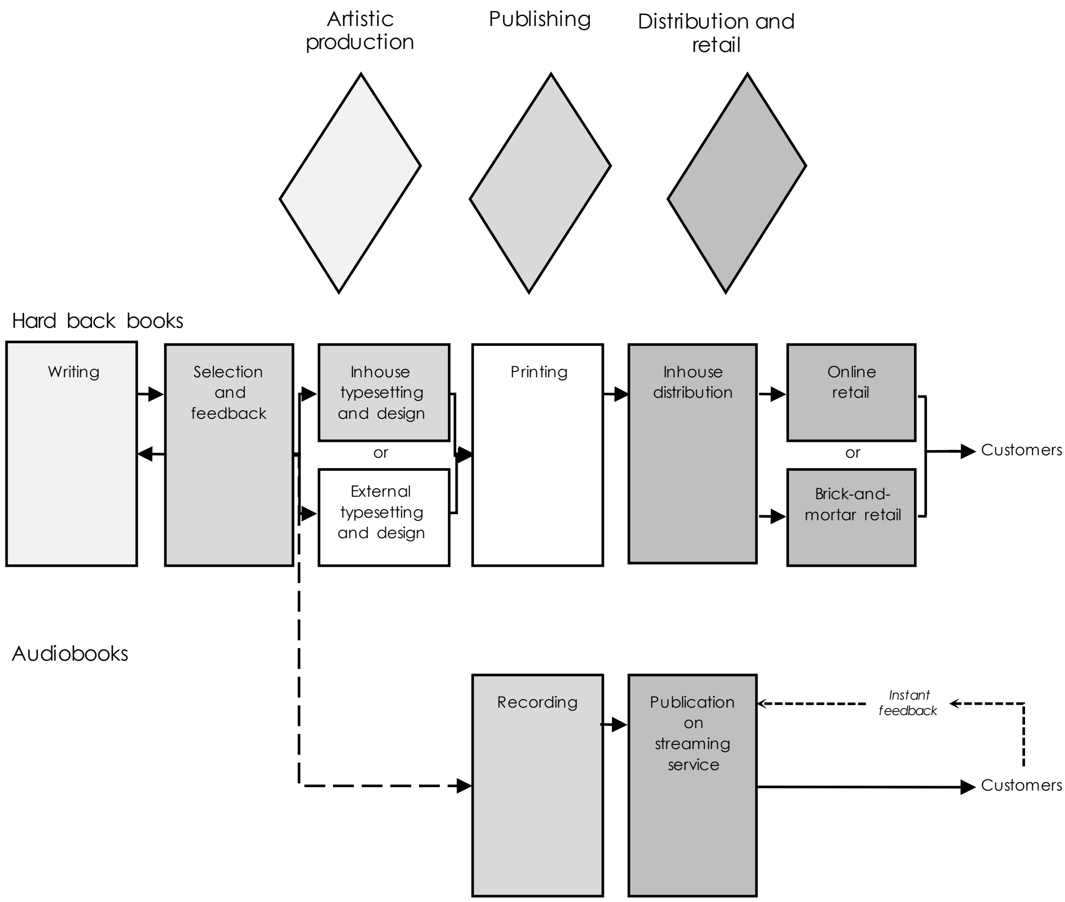
The company was founded under the name E2Go in February 2014 by the entrepeneur Shadi Bitar. Bitar had before, among other things before been running the audiobook publishing house Earbooks (Schmidt, 2014b). From its inception, the company offered both e-books and audiobooks but had a clear focus on e-books, of which it offered 8,600 titles. In the beginning, payment was done per unit with tokens or through direct purchase (Leffler, 2015a). Bitar, on several occasions, emphasized that he thought that reading was important and that he wanted to help increase reading, especially for kids (e.g., Djurberg, 2017c; Englund, 2018a; Källén, 2020). Soon, the model was changed to flat-rate, at a slightly higher price than that of Storytel (Schmidt, 2014b). In September 2015, the company changed its name to Nextory and managed to secure 20 million SEK in investments (Leffler, 2015a). During the two first years of its activities, Nextory was not discussed in the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel*. In April 2017, the company received 30 million SEK in investments from the Swedish state venture capital fund Industrifonden, the investment company Acacia, and private investors (Djurberg, 2017b). In August 2017, the company announced that it, as the first of the Swedish book streaming services, would offer a family-subscription for four users at the price of 199 SEK per month. Simultaneously, it also announced that it would adjust prices for its two existing types of subscriptions. The "base-subscription" would now cost 119 SEK; whereas, the "standard-subscription" would cost 169 SEK, with the latter being the same price as that of Storytel (Djurberg, 2017e). In late October of the same year, Nextory announced a campaign together with the aid organization Plan International. For everyone that tried the streaming service for free during the coming two months, Nextory would donate 100 SEK to the Plan's campaign "Teach a girl to read" (Svanström, 2017). In 2017, Nextory had a turnover of 41 million SEK (E. Olsson, 2018). In March 2018, the company took in 51 million SEK in investments (Schmidt, 2018a). In May 2018, Nextory announced that it had instituted the prize Stora e-bokspriset, "The Great E-book Prize", with the motivation to popularize reading. The winners were decided with the assistance of statistics from the service. The prize consisted of 10,000 SEK, which the winner could chose to donate to the charity of his or her choice (Jönsson, 2018). In March 2019, the company made it public that it had closed a deal with the publishing house Simon & Schuster, covering 2,500 audiobooks and 20,000 e-books in English (E. Olsson, 2019a). Unlike Storytel and Bookbeat, Bitar on several occasions stated that he was completely against exclusivity on titles (e.g., Laxgård (2019d). In a press release issued on 6 November 2019, Nextory claimed that it was the second-largest streaming service in the Swedish market when counting number of users (Laxgård, 2019d). During the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic, Nextory launched a campaign directed towards families with children, who were able to try the services for free for one month (Laxgård, 2020a). At approximately the same time, the company secured 60 million in investments from old and new investors (Laxgård, 2020b). In October 2020, Nextory stated that it would become a public company (Laxgård, 2020c). The month after this, the company received a record high 165 million SEK in investments from existing investors, and new investors CNI and Erik Selin (Laxgård, 2020d).

Bokus

In January 2018, the Internet book retailer Bokus announced that it would launch a streaming audiobook service (Wallin, 2018). Two months later, it was notified that the service would be called Bokus Play, and that there would be two kinds of subscriptions: base, where customers would pay 89 SEK and have access to one book per month; and premium, in which customers would pay 169 SEK and receive unlimited access to books (Englund, 2018b). In November of the same year, Bokus stated that the services had not attracted as many customers as it had wanted. To address this, it planned to advertise the service more to customers of Bokus and Akademibokhandeln (both part of the same group), and offer combination deals, including the service and the online retailer and/or the book store chain (Schmidt, 2018e). In January 2019, Bokus Play subscriptions began to be sold in Akademibokhandeln stores (Laxgård, 2019b). In late summer, Bokus Play stated that it would lower prices, as a way to make the lowered VAT on digital books benefit customers (Lönner, 2019b). In December 2020, the company launched a family subscription for three users at the price of 229 SEK per month, and simultaneously announced that it wanted to be the streaming service "for the common man" (Laxgård, 2020e).

Figure 4.8 Illustrates the typical value chain for printed books in comparison with the typical value chain of audiobooks published on streaming services. Woth noting is that, unlike with printed books, the streaming service gets direct feedback on the customer behavior.

Figure 4.8. Value chains for printed books and audiobooks.



Struggle 1. Breaking in with a bang

Storytel's merger with Massolit in June 2015 marked a new step in the company's expansion. Massolit was significantly bigger than the small niched publishing houses that the company had assumed control of prior to that time. In fact, it was one of the biggest companies in the field. More importantly, Massolit was a traditional book publishing house. The merger thus marked the entry of Storytel into the traditional realm of paper book publishing. The rationale behind the merger from Storytel's perspective was clear and explicit. "The whole value chain is interrelated" Tellander stated and compared his company with international streaming companies Netflix and Amazon, and how these companies had vertically integrated into production (Schmidt, 2015b). The main reason for the deal was the need to obtain control of content for Storytel's service. The control of a large share of publishing of paper books was viewed as an additional benefit to this. Journalist Lars Schmidt, in writing a commentary in the field outlet, found Storytel's driving force for the deal challenging to understand, claiming that the deal reminded him of the IT-boom of the early 2000s when many businesses were built on hyped valuations (Schmidt, 2015a). Even if the merger with Massolit marked a qualitative new step for Storytel, it was not widely discussed in the field outlet.

When Storytel acquired Norstedts a year later, the situation was quite different. Intense discussions followed in the field, and the field outlet provided extensive coverage of the acquisition. There were several reasons for this. First, in terms of size, Massolit was big, but not as big as Norstedts. Second, in terms of economic position, Massolit was in a very bad economic situation at that time. Norstedts was also in a bad situation economically, but not as bad as that of Massolit. Third, and by far most importantly, it was a matter of prestige. Norstedts was the second most-dominant and prestigious agent, as well as the oldest agent in the Swedish publishing field, with enormous amounts of cultural capital and a habitus geared towards high culture literature. If it was possible to let the merger with Massolit occur without much commentary, the same was impossible in regards to the acquisition of Norstedts. The acquisition also de facto put Storytel in the position of being the second most-dominant agent in book publishing field over all, controlling large parts of traditional book publishing. Jonas Tellander, CEO of Storytel, said in relation to the acquisition of Norstedts: "This is a dream transaction […] Through the acquisition we bring together Storytel's world leading technology with Sweden's foremost authorships. Norstedts Förlagsgrupp has fantastic publications and backlist, and through Storytel's streaming service many more people will discover the stories" (Strömberg, 2016). In this way, it was explicitly emphasized that control over content was the main motivation behind the acquisition, as it was in the deal with Massolit.

Part of the field outlet's coverage was to interview important people in the field about their views on the deal. Svante Weyler, publishing director of Norstedts between 1994-2005, and now owner of Weyler publishing house, stated: "'Storytel is listed on the stock exchange and with the merger with Norstedts will be the first Swedish *literary* publishing house that is listed. For a general publishing house, this is, of course, complicated. The reason that they have not been there before is that they cannot make as much money *as the stock exchange demands*…'" [author's emphasis] (Laxgård, 2016b). Worth noting here is that Weyler emphasized that Norstedts is not any firm, or even any publishing house, but rather a "literary publishing house", clearly indicating the cultural and field-specific capital. That Weyler obviously saw the acquisition as a threat ought to be understood in relation to his perceived challenge of the specific capital composition connected with a "literary publishing house". Richard Herold, head of general literature at Natur & Kultur, stated: "'Now, we really only have two giants in the industry that will drift towards the same direction: commercially viable books that work in all formats.'" (Laxgård, 2016b). Pelle Andersson, CEO of Ordfront, stated: "'It is scary that there will be two giants in the market. Bonnier, of course, and Storytel, which already practically has a monopoly on the streaming market. The competition will, of course, become skewed." (Laxgård, 2016b). He added: "'This also means that the competition will be very hard for the entertainment literature, which will leave space for others like us that do different things." (Laxgård, 2016b). Herold's and Andersson's comments connect explicitly to the structure of the field, at the same time as they also discuss which literature will be the most viable. For Herold and Andersson, a restructuring of the present direction seemed to be intrinsically related to a change of the field's institutional configuration. Håkan Rudels, CEO of Bonnierförlagen (the holding company for the Bonnier family's Swedish publishing houses), stated: "Honestly, I think it is freaking great. It shows that there is one more that is prepared to invest decent amounts in the book industry." (Laxgård, 2016b), and added: "The most important thing with the deal is that is so clearly shows the need for change. If you do not keep up in digital development, it can happen that the new buys the old, that the small buys the big. And Norstedts has not kept up, has not changed as it should." (Laxgård, 2016b). Ewa Schwartz Grimaldi, chairman of the board of Norstedts (who has been promised to keep her position after the shift of ownership), said: "'As far as one can see, I think it is very good for the traditional publishing house to get all the digital knowledge in. The people governing Storytel are good people. And the fact that they think that the management should remain indicates that they have great respect for what they have bought…'" (Laxgård, 2016b). The field outlet also published a commentary article by Lars Schmidt, in which he discussed which rearrangement and reorganizations he thought would take place among Norstedts publishing houses. His reasoning was based on what changes Storytel had carried out after taking over Massolit. He stated that what most probably should be left in Norstedts would be the "fiction and the bestselling non-fiction literature" (Schmidt, 2016d). Schmidt continued claiming that: "The employees are standing before a painful change in culture, the publishing will be cut down and everything from collective bargaining agreements to traditional ways of working will disappear. The ones that have the chance and are sought after will move to more safe places, such as the Bonnier publishing houses and Natur & Kultur" (Schmidt, 2016d). However, the rationale behind the merger with Massolit was hard to grasp for Schmidt at the time, but the driving force for the acquisition of Norstedts was in his words "obvious". He stated: "The first [reason] is economic, to increase the value of the shares even more so that Storytel, as well as the owner's wallets will swell. The other [reason] is to secure the supply of raw material with the help of Norstedts nearly unexploited backlist" (Schmidt, 2016d). Schmidt thus described the acquisition in terms that led the reader to think about crude industrial-like exploitation, with a strong profit motive. That the book publishing field had changed was, according to Schmidt, also a fact. Further down in the text, he stated that: "In today's publishing industry, there are no secure positions. Authors change publishing houses and agents. Employees change employers. […] Therefore, the value of a publishing house must be calculated in the same way as in any other service company – according to the contemporary employees creativity and skill" (Schmidt, 2016d). Schmidt seemed to admit that something had occurred that, in some ways, had changed the publishing industry to be similar to "any other service company". This statement inherently implied that the publishing industry, prior to this change, was different, i.e., it was not just any other industry. Schmidt concluded the article by stating that: "If the talented people leave, the ability to find and build new authorships and to retain the old will disappear. And with that the long-term value. Then, Norstedts, as we know it will also disappear." (Schmidt, 2016d). While Schmidt acknowledged that the publishing industry had changed, he interpreted the change in a way that was directed against Storytel's (potential) way of handling Norstedts. In other words, while Storytel's acquisition of Norstedts would have been impossible without a change in the field, Storytel misunderstood this change when it was only going after the "supply of raw material" and did not (as stated implicitly) respect the value of the company's employees. Schmidt painted a picture in which different forms of habitus and capital clashed. Moreover, if Storytel was just a holder of crude economic capital, it would fail to manage Norstedts, since it is an entity replete with cultural and (to a lesser degree in the changing industry) field-specific symbolic capital. In the last quote, Schmidt also asked the question of what the raison d'être for the industry is. Is it to use authorships as raw materials, or is it to "find and build new authorships"? (Schmidt, 2016d).

Ultimately, the less dominant and the dominated field agents really had no other choice than to accept Storytel. In practice, this acceptance was articulated in two different arguments, one general and one specific. First, the establishment of Storytel in the field was considered positive since it was understood as making Bonnier's dominance weaker (Leffler, 2016). Second, Storytel's establishment was viewed as an answer to vague, but threating, questions that "digitalization" had been understood to create for the field. The acceptance of Storytel must, in other words, be understood in relation to an exogenous structural field-forming force that was connected to increased digitalization of society (Fligstein, 1990; Hoffman, 1999; Oliver, 1992). Although perhaps not favored by all agents, Storytel's solution to digitalization, i.e., a flat-rate streaming book service with focus on audiobooks, was seen as *the* solution in the field. Even if discussions around certain aspects, such as the revenue-sharing model (see below), and the problem with a few dominant agents and what happens with literature when it is fitted for audiobook publishing (see below), still occurred, no one seemed to be questioning if the concept of flat-rate streaming book services was the optimal solution. Even though many other solutions could easily be imagined. This fact made it obvious that Storytel had not only secured a dominant position in the field, but had also been able in participate in restructuring some aspects of the field's institutional configuration. In December 2018, the field outlet's publisher PeKå Englund wrote a text in connection with the publication of an interview with Per I. Gedin (who had been called "the boy Ruda"[3]). The article stated: "But, the boy Ruda of today must surely be Jonas Tellander. In the year 2043, some wise historian will probably be able to draw the conclusion about Storytel that turned the business for books upside down – or the audiobook services that simply saved the industry when the world was digitalized and changed consumption patterns, and stories that otherwise would have been ousted by Netflix and other international giants in streaming" (Englund, 2018f).

Struggle 2. Compensation clashes

In 2015, three rather similar streaming services, Storytel, Bookbeat and Nextory, were competing in the Swedish book publishing field. In relation to customers, they all used a subscription model with flat-rate pricing, meaning that a fixed monthly payment gave the customer unlimited access to all audiobooks and e-books on the respective services through applications on their smart-phones. However, an important difference regarding the overarching field of book publishing existed. Whereas Nextory and Bookbeat paid the publishing houses owning the titles according to a fixed pricing scheme, Storytel used a compensation model, called revenue-sharing, a model also used by Spotify and iTunes (see Table 4.2). Essentially, this meant that compensation to the publishing houses stems from a specific share of Storytel's revenue, which was then divided according to the number of plays or readings

3 The boy Ruda, or Emil Ruda is a character in the Swedish satirical magazine *Grönköpings Veckoblad*. According to the Swedish Wikipedia: "The expression 'the boy Ruda' has in the Swedish language become synonymous with a usually younger, somewhat irreverent and unconventional person or actor. Ruda illustrates in the magazine 'an element of concern, a disrespectful individual, preferably a young male person, who doesn't quite stay within the framework, who always causes trouble and who doesn't play by the rules'."(Emil Ruda, 2021) [Author's translation].

received. More customers on Storytel's platform meant more money to divide between the publishing houses; however, the more the average customer consumed, the less compensation the publishing house received per consumed unit. An important exception existed, however, in which Bonnier had their own deal with Storytel that was not based on revenue-sharing (Schmidt, 2018c).

In the autumn of 2015, sometime after the establishment of Bookbeat, the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* highlighted the growing unease with the streaming services in some parts of the field. The articles presented interviews with a number of people representing different publishing houses in the field. The most negative opinions came from representatives of medium-sized publishing houses, such as Weyler and Ordfront. Storytel's revenue-sharing model was explained, but the discussion focused on digital services, in general. Richard Henley, who had newly been appointed head of digital issues at Norstedts (nota bene, this is before Storytel acquired Norstedts) said: "There is always a period in this kind of transformation when it is more about getting market shares than to have a great profit margin. But, we have good agreements with the actors we work with. I also believe that other revenue models will also be needed. For example, the music services freemium model that is still undiscovered territory for the book services" (Assarson, 2015b). Pelle Andersson, CEO and publisher of Ordfront, had as of October 2015 refused to sign an agreement with Storytel. He stated: "I do not think that their agreements are good enough. It is not fair that a distributor should have half of the revenue. I do not believe that the publishing houses understood what they did in the beginning, but that many now are disappointed and irritated." (Assarson, 2015b). Svante Weyler, publisher at Weyler publishing, expressed sharp criticism of the business model of the streaming services, stating: "What comes with streaming services is a very effective way to threaten our revenue model. And that is, of course, totally in line with the intention of these services. But, to radically destroy one's own revenue model is an incredibly hard thing as a publishing house. It is awkward to kill oneself" (Assarson, 2015b). Responding to critics that claimed that Storytel's success was based on agreements that disfavor publishing houses, Jonas Tellander said in October 2015 that: "If this would be the case, then we should make enormous profits. We do not do that, so the reasoning is false. One can ask what is beneficial. We have managed to establish an audiobook market that is growing considerably. We negotiate agreements with publishing houses every year. Thus far, we have been able to agree on every single occasion. If one is not happy, one can chose another channel" (Assarson, 2015b).

The controversy surrounding Storytel's compensation model was again highlighted in an article in the field outlet in August 2016. Here, Gunnar Ardelius, chairman of Sveriges Författarförbund, stated:""These agreements give Storyside [Sic! Should be Storytel.] control and the right of disposition over all formats and adaptions. You basically turn copyright as it is supposed to work upside down. Storyside [Sic!] does not understand the literary ecosystem and the values that creators represent"' (Schmidt, 2016e). This controversy could, of course, be viewed as a normal labor dispute between a union representative and his or her counterpart. However, the argument can also be viewed as implying something more, i.e., that Storytel turned the system upside down because it did not understand the field, and was conducting practices that were alien to the field. Gunnar Ardelius further argued that: "'Like other new actors that own digital distribution, they are not necessarily interested in authorship or books, but in selling more subscriptions"' (Schmidt, 2016e). Ardelius also claimed that Storytel uses the authors' work as venture capital, and said: "'We pay for their expansion"' (Schmidt, 2016e).

In connection to the annual book fair in early autumn 2016, Richard Herold, editor-in-chief at the third-biggest publishing house in Sweden, Natur & Kultur, told the field outlet that the publishing house would introduce waiting time for new releases on the streaming services, meaning that the streaming service would not be able to offer a title for one to six months after its release. Herold described the reasoning for taking this step with a reference to another field: "Storytel likes to compare itself with Netflix and other services for movies and TV. But, no film production company would put a new movie on Netflix. This implies that waiting time is not something strange." (Schmidt, 2016f). Herold received support from two anonymous publishers, but Kristoffer Lind, publisher in chief at Lind & Co, did not concur, and stated that he did not believe it to constitute a zero-sum game (Schmidt, 2016f).

In an interview in early 2017, Niclas Sandin, CEO of Bookbeat, commented on the compensation levels of Storytel in the following way: "One of the missions for Bookbeat is to build a durable market for both us and the publishing houses. It is important not to create a 'race to the bottom'. At the same time, we will not be able to pay unreasonably more than our competitors" (Dahlgren, 2017). This quote reveals something interesting about Bonnier thinking about Bookbeat. Bookbeat's role seemed to be to stabilize Storytel's influence in such a way that the traditional book publishing fields remained as close to the status quo as possible. By accepting the disruption, and to some degree embracing it, at the same time as taking countermeasures, Bonnier was seeking to secure its position.

Also, in early 2017, in April, the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* interviewed a number of individuals from the field asked them about the claims that the incomes from digital services had increased by 44% overall, but that the compensation per unit was now lower than ever. Storytel's revenue-sharing model was not discussed explicitly. Pia Printz, from the intermediate sized publishing house Printz Publishing, stated that the compensation of the company's books had been cut in half since it started publishing them on Storytel, and wondered when the lowered threshold would be reached and publishing house would stop providing titles. Lars Jexell at Piratförlaget stated that he was not happy with the low levels of compensation, but also pointed out that the customers of Storytel increased every year, which meant that Piratförlaget received more money from Storytel overall every year. Rudels from Bonnier stated that: "The challenge is to find a model that works for authors, publishing houses, and retailers. The current model builds on the huge growth we have now, but that will not last forever" and added that streaming services had now started to cannibalize the sales of physical books (Djurberg, 2017a)

The Storytel compensation controversy was yet again referred to, although in an unexpected way, on 22 November 2017, when the field outlet reported that the publishing houses Mondial and World Audio Publishing had begun to work with the Swedish podcast platform Acast. Like the podcasts on the platform, the revenue was supposed to come from advertisements in audio form. Simon Brouwers, founder of Mondial, explained the supposed reason behind this: "Considering the heated discussion that is going on right now, where the publishing houses are less than happy with the compensation for audiobooks, it does feel important to try new approaches. At the moment, there is no fair compensation system. In the future it cannot look like it looks now. Thus, we think it is interesting to experiment with other solutions, and advertisement-financed books is one way" (Wallin, 2017).

Here, we see how the controversy surrounding the compensation system was established as a narrative in such a manner that it could be utilized as an angle of attack for yet another new approach to audiobook distribution and compensation. It is worth noting that what Browers had launched, in practice audiobooks with commercial breaks, most likely was considered to be a highly controversial approach to publishing according to old norms and the institutional configuration in the publishing field. Brouwers phrasing and choice of the term "attack angle" thus served two purposes: first, to utilize an apparent hostility within some sectors of the field towards Storytel's compensation model, and second to cloak a markedly controversial approach within the pall of serving the interests of the publishing houses and the authors.

In May 2018, Storytel stated that they were working on changing parts of its compensation model. From 1 January 2019, the company would pay per listened time and not as before, i.e., per fifths of titles, which was disadvantageous for longer titles. He made clear, however, that the revenue-sharing model would remain (Englund, 2018c; Laxgård, 2018a). Instead of referring to other streaming services from where the revenue-sharing model had originated, Storytel's CEO Tellander referred to established norms in the publishing field: "In the book industry, authors have throughout all years been compensated according to royalties, that is a revenue-sharing model between the publishing house and the author. If one has an unlimited subscription model then revenue-sharing, in my world, is the only decent model of compensation to satisfy all interests in the value chain, from creator to publishing house and retail channel" (Laxgård, 2018a). Many agents in the field welcomed the change (Laxgård, 2018c). However, some months after the change was implemented, some people contended that the change was as not as good as they had initially believed (Laxgård, 2019c). The change within the compensation model was again highlighted by Tellander in a debate article in the field outlet in August 2018, that argued that the field needed to understand that it must keep up with the pace of developments in society (Tellander, 2018b).

In an article published on 11 September 2018, the field outlet could reveal the implications of the separate deal Storytel had with Bonnier. Through access to authors' royalty clearings with Bonnier, the field outlet concluded that Storytel paid around double per title to Bonnier than they did to all other publishing houses. This agreement was also shown to be fixed and not based on revenue-sharing (Schmidt, 2018c). Publishers at smaller publishing houses that remained anonymous called the system "rigged and manipulated", and stated that they felt "totally scammed" and that "it is a huge menace for us that the Bonnier authors get so much more". They said they were considering taking legal measures against the agreement (Schmidt, 2018c). Håkan Rudels at Bonnier commented on the deal: "We were early [starters], we digitalized a lot and were already big on audiobooks. We shared their view of the future […] We never had a revenue-sharing deal with anyone. We cannot approve such a deal without a floor or a ceiling" (Schmidt, 2018c). "PeKå" Englund, editor-in-chief at the field outlet, wrote a commentary regarding the story in the same magazine. He said that he was surprised by the agreement, since for him "the publicly listed streaming company has been synonymous with revenue-sharing" (Englund, 2018d). He also called for "reasonably similar terms and conditions for all actors" and an open discussion about the fact that the field was becoming increasingly dependent on "audio in general and Storytel in particular", and that it had become "a critical revenue source" for some agents in the field (Englund, 2018d).

Three days later, the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* published a long interview with Storytel's CEO Tellander about the deal, where he said he would like to be "transparent and answer all the questions he could" (the latter referring to confidentially clauses in the agreement) (Englund, 2018e). Tellander stated that the compensation to Bonnier did not at all affect compensation to other publishing houses, that the deal with Bonnier was the consequence of a weak position in relation to the company when the deal was written, and that Storytel had to balance "How important our principle about revshare [Sic!] is, with getting the content we want to create a good user experience in our service". He added that this would change since the company's "mission is extremely clear regarding agreements […] It is where we are heading and it is where we will arrive" (Englund, 2018e). He also stated that he understood the strong reactions in the field, but added that:

"In a business that has had about the same business model for some hundred years in regards to how publishing houses and authors are compensated per sold book, and then now suddenly we have departed to a new era when one is competing for people's time. It is the change that we have tried to push, and we have succeeded very well in doing so. But, if we look around the world, it is almost every publishing company, there is several hundred publishing houses, that understand our argument that revshare [Sic!] is the correct way when one is competing for people's time and have a fixed monthly allowance" (Englund, 2018e). When asked if he felt a responsibility for the industry, Tellander stated: "I do feel a responsibility for the whole industry. I understand the unease when one sees that the average price for one's books are disappearing, I can understand that one thinks 'Where are my revenues going'" (Englund, 2018e). He added that, since Storytel brings about a lot of money to publishing houses and authors, this "makes it possible for more [people] to write books", that this has been forgotten in the discussions, and is also applicable to "the whole group of narrators. We have Dramaten [the Swedish Royal Theatre] actors and other actors that during the evening stand on stage and during the day are in the studio recording audiobooks. That contributes to the [number of] cultural jobs in the country. 2,000 books a year. We are talking about at least 50 million SEK" (Englund, 2018e).

In October 2018, Bookbeat announced that it had already begun implementing a model in which publishing houses would be compensated according to the time consumed by customers. Bookbeat thus managed to get ahead of Storytel in performing this change, which the latter had announced in May, but did not implement until January 1 of the coming year. At the same time, Bookbeat also lowered its compensation to publishing houses. An anonymous publisher stated that the de facto compensation would be lowered by 25-30% for its books. Sandin, CEO of Book-beat, stated that the compensation for shorter books would naturally be lower than before, but that the opposite would be true for longer books. He did, however, admit that the new model would lower Bookbeat's costs for purchasing (Schmidt, 2018d). He added that publishing houses up until then, in fact, subsidized Storytel by allowing them to use agreements with lower compensation than Bookbeat's, stating: "It is not completely unreasonable that we also go downwards" (Schmidt, 2018d).

In early April 2019, the field outlet *Svensk Bokhandel* reported that Bonnier would not allow the bestselling author Liza Marklund's new book, *En bur av Guld*, to be accessible via Storytel (E. Olsson, 2019b). This would mark the start of a struggle between Bonnier and Storytel that would last for more than four months, and produce major coverage in the media, including the field outlet. In connection with the announcement, concerning what the field outlet called the "boycott", Sara Börsvik, Chief Operating Officer, at Bonnier publishing house, stated that: "At the moment, we […] do not agree with Storytel on either the levels for compensation or how we should work together with our titles" (E. Olsson, 2019b). Dan Panas, head of communication and PR at Storytel, commented: "What Bonnier is now demanding is that Storytel should lose money on every listening of Bonnier's new titles. To put it somewhat simplified, you could say that they want a separate priority agreement, and let Storytel and the rest of the publishing houses pay for this" (E. Olsson, 2019b). This is certainly an interesting statement in comparison with that made six months earlier in September 2018. The struggle was subsequently resolved with the signing of a new deal between Storyel and Bonnier whos content was kept confidential. We can thus not know whether or nor this new deal implied any greater changes. Table 4.3. Shows a comparison between the foru Swedish streaming book companies in 2020.

Table 4.3. Comparison of the business models of Swedish audiobook streaming companies in 2020.

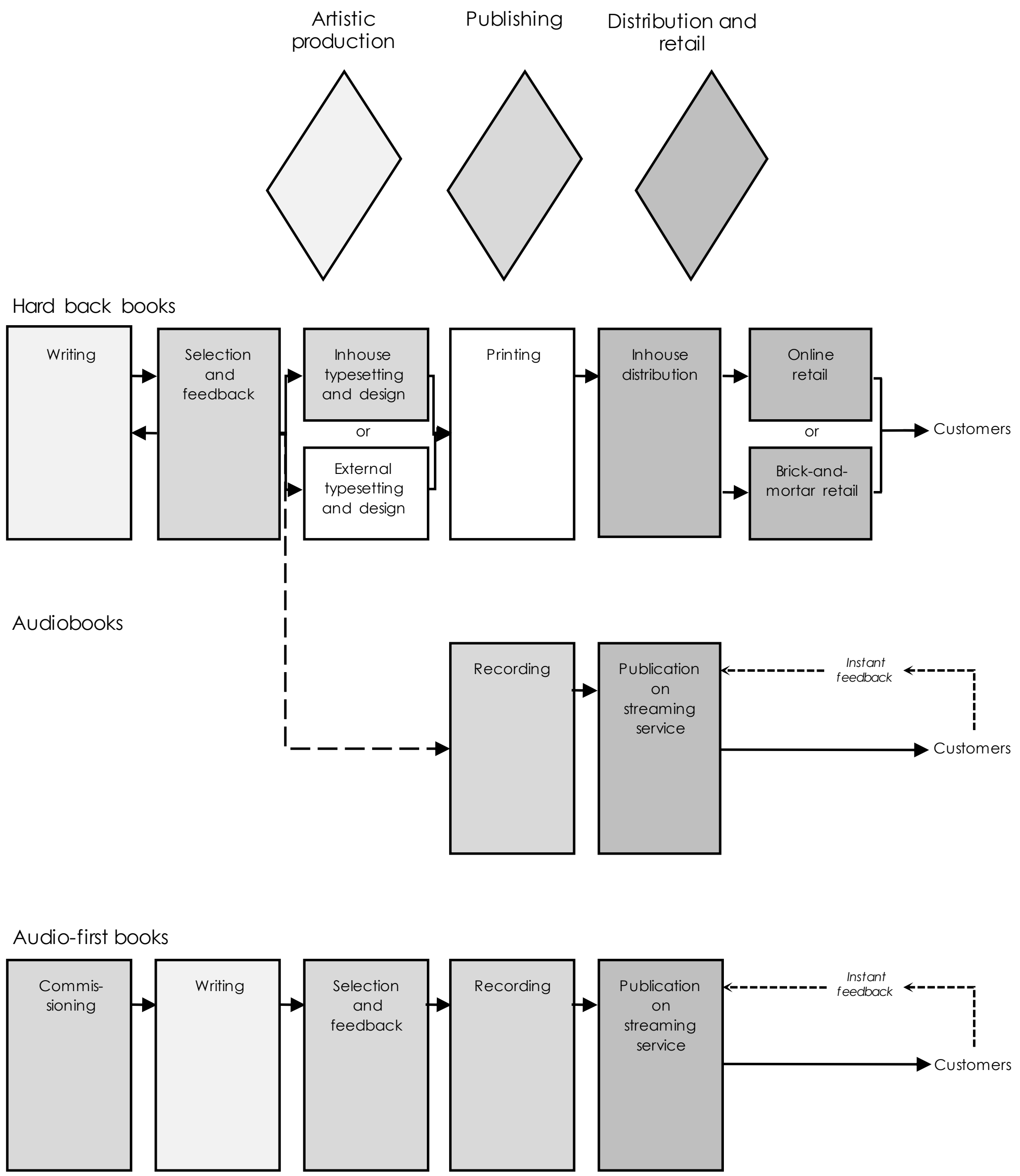
Company	*Customer payment model*	*Publishing house compensation*	*Publishing house compensation unit*
Storytel	Flat-rate	Revenue-sharing	Per length listened
Bookbeat	Flat-rate	Fixed price per unit	Per length listened
Nextory	Flat-rate	Fixed price per unit	Per title, adjusted for length
Bokus Play	Flat-rate or one-book-a-month subscription	Fixed price per unit	Per book, adjusted for length

To reiterate, there were three interrelated aspects that was conceived as problems within the field: (1) the compensation offered by the streaming services, in general; (2) Storytel's use of the revenue-sharing model; and (3) Bonnier's special deal with Storytel exempted them from the revenue-sharing model.

Struggle 3. Storytelling or book publishing?

For Storytel, the ability to offer a large assortment of content was critical. This was achieved by the acquisition of publishing houses in order to access their current titles and, above all, their backlists (Schmidt, 2015b; Strömberg, 2016). It was also done by producing new content. In contrast to the norm in the publishing field, Storytel did not see it as their role to foster high culture literature. When asked about this in the field outlet in autumn 2015, Tellander stated: "That does not interest me at all. Of course, we do not let all kinds of filth or bestial murders through, but it is the customers' needs that are in charge." (Assarson, 2015b). In connection with a period of heavy expansion, marked by the merger with Massolit and the acquisition of Norstedts, Storytel announced the start of Storytel Originals. In connection to the merger with Massolit, Tellander said that Storytel aimed to become the "best fairytale factory in the world", and the starting of Storytel Originals just six months later must be viewed as a part of the same aspiration (Schmidt, 2015c, 2016a).. In a prospectus introducing Storytel Originals as a "new form of literature," a procedure similar to that for the production of television series was presented. Storytel invited 30 authors to write a synopsis and a pilot episode for a series of 10 episodes. The authors were asked to write in a manner that was understood as suited for listening: "straight ahead, focused and downright", and where every episode should have a cliffhanger or in another way be tied together with the subsequent episode. The pilots and the synopsis would then be judged by Storytel's editorial staff, and if deemed suitable, the pilot would be produced and played for a test group. The company also said they could supply assistance with fact-checking and pairing of authors (Schmidt, 2016a). By doing this, Storytel took major steps into the production level of the field and thus began to challenge a fundamental aspect of the field. Commissioned work, although present, was not well regarded in the field and was mostly used for low-status literature publications, such as illustrated non-fiction. However, perhaps more critically, by doing this Storytel was able to rearrange and leave out steps from the traditional value chain of the book publishing field. Figure 4.10 presents a comparison between the traditional value chain for book publishing in Sweden and how audiobooks were normally produced. This is to be contrasted with the third value chain at the bottom of the illustration, which shows the value chain that Storytel established with Storytel Originals. Three facts are especially worth noting. First, is the increased power of the publisher, which in this model now included both the first step and the third step in the chain. In other words, the publisher both sets the framework for the text that should be produced by commissioning it and selects and further develops the text after it has been sent in by the author. Second, and connected to the first, the author has, in this model, a significant limitation in what he or she can do. This is in stark contrast to the traditional role of the author, as being initially more or less free to create what he or she wants and is selected according to this criterion. Third, with this model Storytel controlled the whole value chain.

Figure 4.10. Illustration of value chains for books in the Swedish book publishing field. 1. The established value chain for printed books. 2. The value chain for audiobooks. 3. The value chains for books produced for Storytel Originals.



In an interview on 19 May 2017, Håkan Rudels, CEO of Bonnier Publishing Group, stated that he was open to widening the scope of the audiobook services, saying: "Will it be possible to clearly delimit radio from podcasts and audiobooks in the future? And is it really relevant? What is relevant is to discuss which needs we are satisfying through audio" (Kärnstrand, 2017b). In line with this was the announcement of the establishment of the digital imprint Bonnier Bookery around the same time. Bonnier Bookery was to start releasing material at the beginning of 2018, including "everything from short novels, true crime, and potentially even radio theater" (Leffler, 2017a). It is worth noting that Bonnier recruited one of the publishers in charge of Bonnier Bookery from outside of its organization, namely from Norstedts (owned by Storytel). One of the publishers in charge stated that it, of course, had looked at Storytel Originals and that it saw them as competitors, but that they would not do everything in the exact same manner, and that Bonnier Bookery would "do more and have more breadth in the what is published" (Laxgård, 2017a), and "do what we are good at: books, publishing, and narration" (Leffler, 2017a). Two aspects stand out regarding this: the long time period between the announcement of the imprint and the releasing of the first material; and what the imprint actually would publish seemed vague from its inception. The likely explanation for this was that Bonnier wanted to show that it was not lagging behind in a development that seemed to be led by Storytel. Later, in early 2019, Åsa Selling, the publishing director at Bonnier, emphasized the traditional literary aspects of what they were doing: "What we are really looking for is the really good authors, because it always begins with a text. It needs to be there. If it is not there, then you can neither do an ordinary book, an audiobook, nor a variation of an audiobook with add on text or whatever… It does not work with a bad text. And that is where the story is born." ("Babel : Julie Lindahl och Johan Jönson," 2019). The imprint was thus presented as focusing on the importance of authorship and "good texts". In June 2019, after only and half year, it was announced that the two chief publishers would launch another publishing house, Romanus & Selling. The concept for the new publishing house was to build on the experience achieved with Bonnier Bookery, but with more focus given to the classical paper book. Bonnier Bookery seemed to remain as an entity, but its activity was challenging to evaluate (Englund, 2019b). What Bonnier started as a way of trying out new digital ideas had, in other words, returned to working with the traditional format. We suggest that this was the result of the fact that Bonnier organizational habitus was so connected with the established institutional configuration in the field that, even when they aspired to do otherwise, projects launched by the organization tended to follow rather than break with this configuration. To illustrate this let us look at Table 4.4 which shows a comparison of some important aspects between Storytel and Bonnier.

Table 4.4. Comparison of some aspects between Storytel and Bonnier.

Aspect	*Storytel*	*Bonnier*
Ownership	Public	Family-owned
Imprints important part of strategy	No	Yes
Self-proclaimed field-affiliation	Entertainment	Publishing field
Original field level	Distribution	Publishing
Technology	Core part of identity	Enables developments
View on streaming service activity	Core business	Complement
Rationale	Profit	Profit and cultural heritage
Produces (according to the agent itself)	Stories, entertainment	Literature, authorships

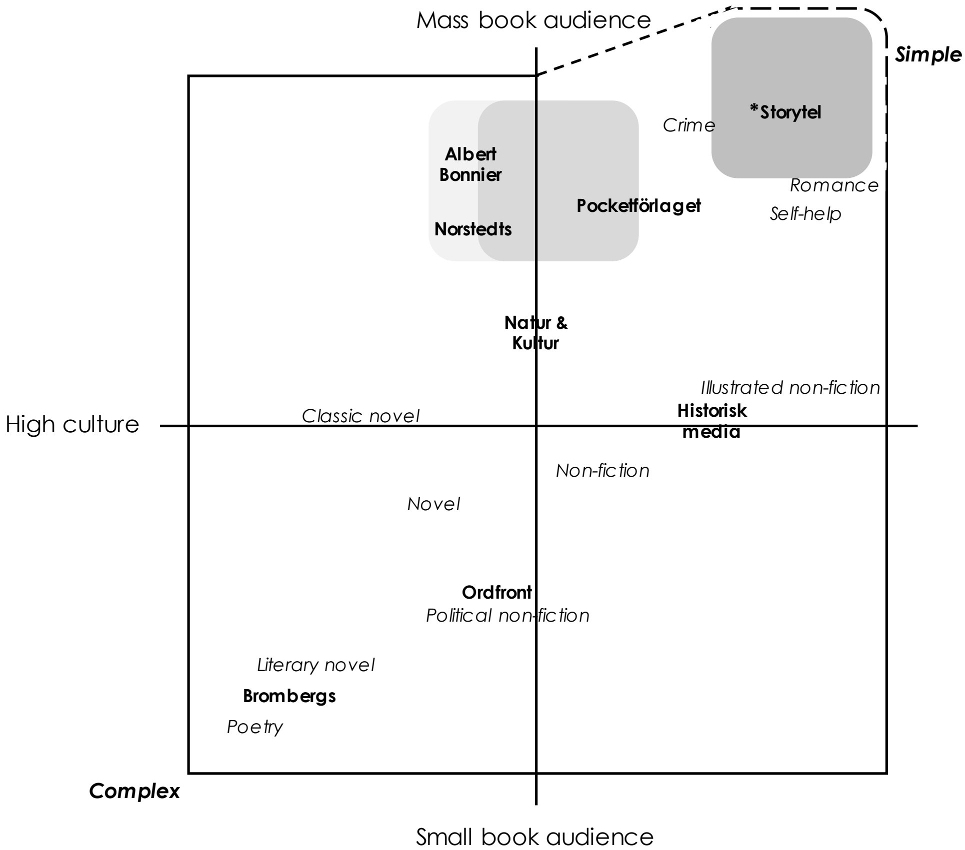
The period from spring to late summer in 2017 witnessed other initiatives in a similar direction as Storytel Originals. The medium-sized publishing house Bokfabriken launched its series Bokfabriken Originals with a near identical setup as Storytel Originals (Laxgård, 2017b). Lind & Co, also a medium-sized publishing house, announced that it would start releasing books written and published directly as audiobooks (Laxgård, 2017d). Norstedts also launched the imprint Tiden for series that were produced for "digital-first", i.e., published as audiobooks and e-books initially, which would be followed by the publishing of paper books in certain cases. The bulk of the production would be genre literature, and new episodes were planned to be released every week. "Of course, it will be thrillers, love stories, and historical stories, but also non-fiction and fiction" said Eva Gedin head of the project (Laxgård, 2017e). According to Gedin, there was close cooperation with Storytel Originals with joint discussions around ideas and manuscripts. She stated: "The difference is that the authors will be central for us, while Storytel Originals focuses on the reciter and manuscript written to a larger degree by teams." (Laxgård, 2017e). In connection to this, Norstedts together with a literary agency, also launched an open seminar series for authors on how to write for "digital-first" and series formats (Laxgård, 2017e).

A little more than a year after the announcement of Storytel Originals, the company announced another series of own-produced content in the form of *Storytel Dox* (Djurberg, 2017d). Storytel Dox would release 20 episodes per month, between 20 and 60 minutes in duration, based on already released journalistic material. The inspiration for Storytel Dox came from the increasing popularity of podcasts, according to Tellander (Djurberg, 2017d).

Marta Hedner, head of Storytel Publishing, said on the literary television show Babel: "We are competing for people's time, that means that our challenge is to have a deal, which means that people spend their time listening to books and stories at our service. And well, in that, I would say that our main competitors are social media and streaming television and film as it is today. [...] To listen to audiobooks and to read paper-books are two different things, and I do not think that those kinds of reading compete that much which each other. You chose to read in different ways at different occasions" ("Babel : Julie Lindahl och Johan Jönson," 2019).

Figure 4.11 below shows an illustrative map of the positions in the Swedish book publishing field around 2020. The changing of the dominant position is illustrated by the darker grey rounded square, the older dominant positions is denoted in a lighter grey. The dotted borders and the odd shape in the upper right denote the major field change that had taken place.

Figure 4.11. Schematic description of the Swedish book publishing field and the dominant position within the niche of streaming audio- and e-books.

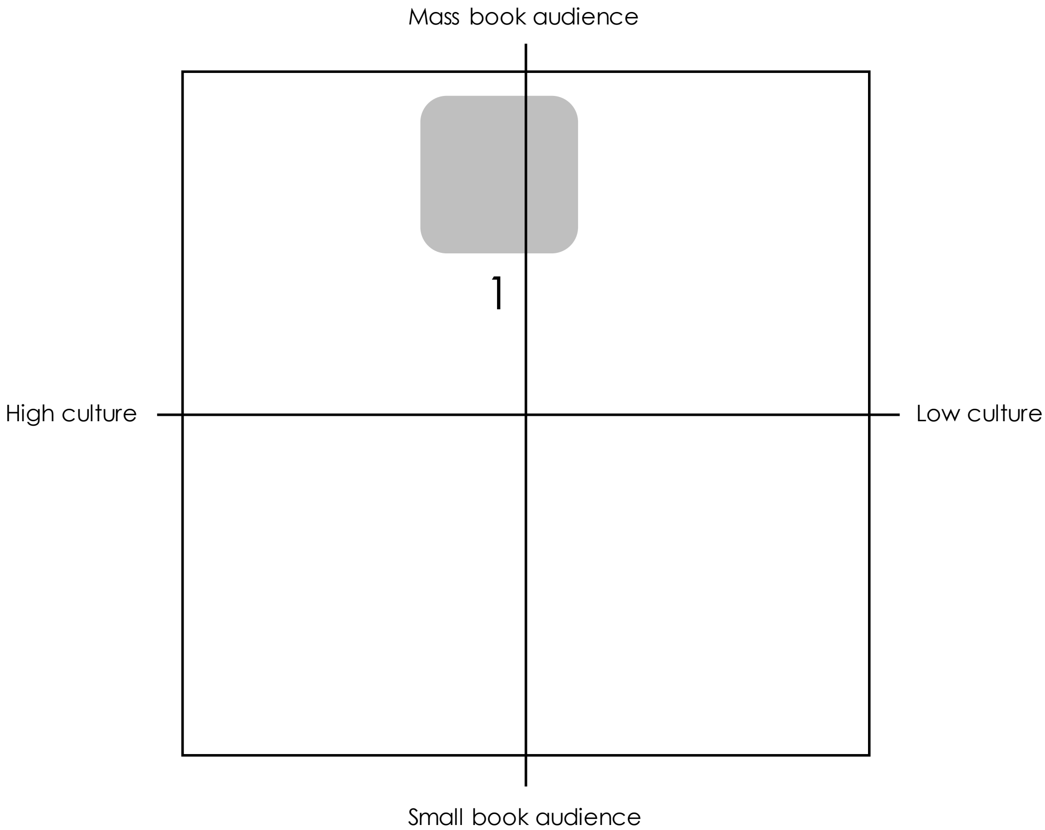


Note: Agents established since the previous illustrative map are marked with an asterisk.

4.4. Summary of the case

This case that is covering developments between 2000 and 2020 in the Swedish book publishing field focused on two disruptive processes that threatened to alter the rules and the structure of the field. The first of these processes were connected to the Swedish mass market paperback, i.e., the pocket-book, and lead to a minor field change; whereas, the second was connected to the establishment of services for streaming focusing on audiobooks, which did indeed change the field to a large extent. Transposition was an important part of both those processes.

Figure 4.12. Dominant position within the Swedish book publishing field around 2000 (stylized depiction).



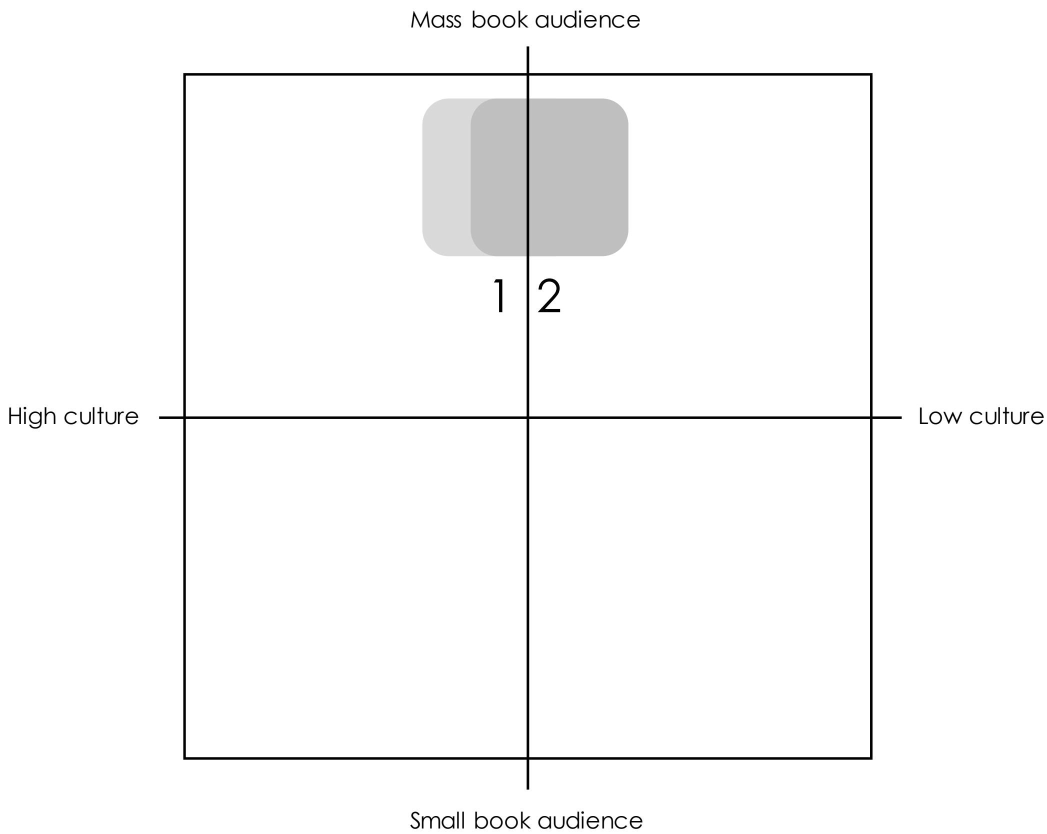
Starting off with a general description of the Swedish book publishing field, the case then focuses on the first of the two disrupting processes. This disruption actually consisted of two intertwined processes, one of which took place at the publishing level, where two new publishing houses attempted to a) change the weight of the pocket-book in relation to the hardback, b) to change the level and form of compensation to authors, as well as to c) rearrange the focus towards more genre-literature.

Four things changed in the field as a result of the disruption started by Pocketförlaget. First, compensation to authors for pocket-books was increased. Second, the pocket-book as a category was temporally given heightened importance. Third, the focus on bestsellers and genre literature increased. Fourth, a clear change had occurred concerning norms regulating how authors that already had a deal with a publishing house were treated. Prior to the disruption, already-signed authors were seen as out of bounds for other publishing companies, in general, as well as particularly during a contract period. Generally, the publishing company would wait until the authors or their agents contacted them. This changed after the disruption. "Theft-of-authors", as it was now termed in the field, became significantly more common, and the publishing houses became more active in trying to win over authors (Schmidt, 2016b).

The other process, which was connected to the first and took place during the same time, was the disruption at the retail and distribution level. This constituted a process of changing and increasing the outlets' sales of pocket-books to customers. This amounted to a change from a situation when pocket-books were only carried by traditional bookshops and specific newsagents, to a (temporary) situation in which the bulk of the books were sold in supermarkets and other non-traditional outlets.

These two disruptions posed a challenge to the institutional configuration in the book publishing field that extended far beyond the niche of pocket-books. The reasons for the discontinuation of the pocket awards must be seen in light of these bigger developments in the field. Challengers now had significant shares of distribution and retail, as well as, and most importantly, publishing. Bonnier deployed three interrelated lines-of-actions to counter the threat posed by the challengers. First, they changed the balance between individual and collective action, turning down the traditionally preferred collective action and opting more for individual action. This, for example, weakened interest in publishing bestsellers under the Månpocket label, in favor of publishing these books under their own name (see Figure 4.4). Second, they attempted and ultimately succeeded in taking over hostile agents. Third, and as the final step, they rejected the importance of a specific product categories. Given this, and in particular the third line-of-action, it is understandable why the pocket awards were discontinued. Bonnier, the dominating organization in the field, ultimately succeeded in out-competing the challengers. Moreover, the field structure and institutional configuration, with certain minor changes, remained similar to what they had been prior to the disruption. Figure 4.13 shows the changed dominant position in the field after the pocket-book disruption.

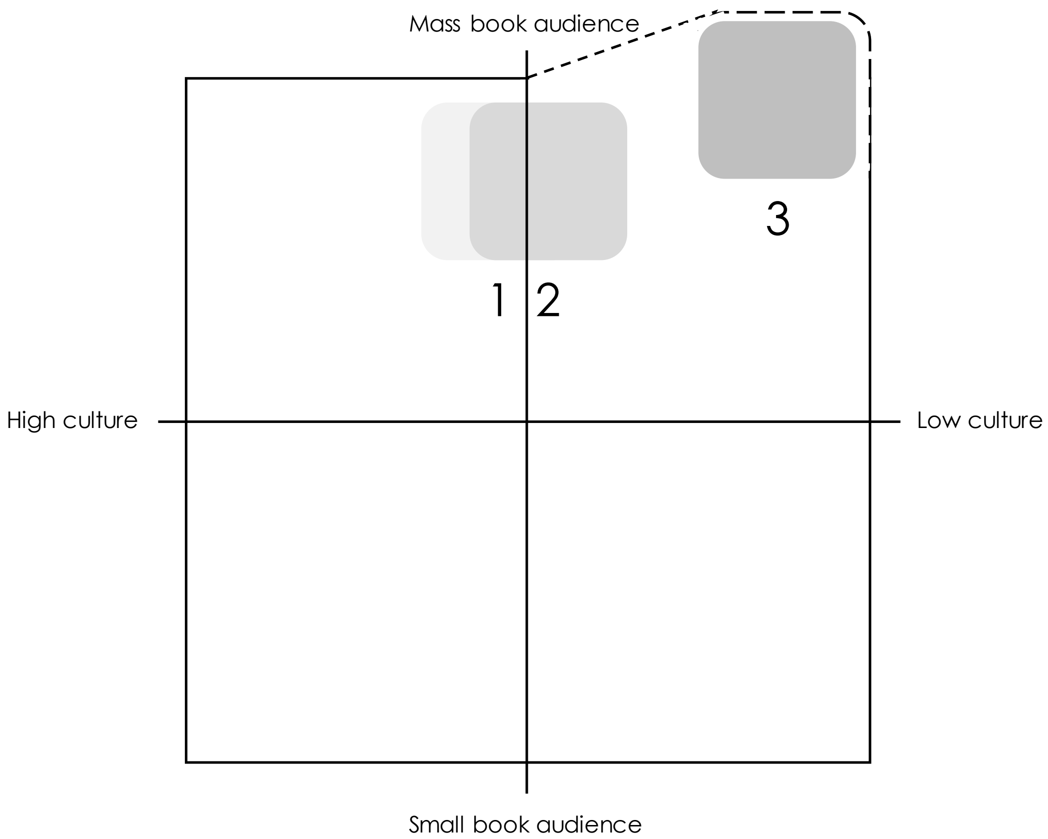
Figure 4.13. Dominant position within the Swedish book publishing field around 2010 after pocket disruption (stylized depiction).



The disruption on both the publishing level, as well as on the distribution and retail levels, involved aspects of transposition. On the publishing field level, one of the companies managed to succeed during an intermediate period, but on the other quickly failed. Within distribution and retail, two of the organizations were successful to such a degree that they were ultimately bought by the dominating organization; the third organization failed after some time of success. In the case of publishing, the organization that was successful for some time had an organizational habitus that was more in line with that of the book publishing field than the other organization. On the distribution and retail side, one of the more successful organizations, Pocket Shop, had an organizational habitus that was in close accordance with the book publishing field. The second intermediate successful organization, Pocketgrossisten, had an organizational habitus that was, to a certain degree, in line with the book publishing field. The organization that eventually failed completely, Pocketställét, had an organizational habitus that was markedly dissimilar to that of the book publishing field. However, more importantly, Pocketgrossisten had a stronger, and thus more generalizable, organizational habitus than that of Pocketställét. Therefore, Pocketgrossisten was more able to understand and use its configuration angement of capital in an effective manner in the field. This is, among other ways, manifested in the organization's relation to the niche prize, Guldpocket.

The case then continued to investigate the other major disruption process, connected to the establishment of the services for streaming audiobooks. Several attempts had been made by different agents to launch a different kind of service that utilized IT and ICT to change the book publishing field; none of them were successful until Storytel managed to become established in the field. At the end of the period, the previously sole-dominant agent Bonnier had a significant competitor that they needed to acknowledge. Storytel's rise to a position of power came through acquisitions and a huge expansion in the market for streaming audiobooks. Indeed, at the end of the period, revenue from streaming services was higher than that of paper-books within the field. Storytel's establishment brought with it five major institutional changes in the field: (1) payment model for customers; (2) compensation models for publishing companies and authors; (3) changes in catalogs regarding literature types, as well as the relation between new releases and backlist books; and (4) attempts to change the creative process of producing content. It also meant, most importantly, (5) a change of the dominant field level from the traditional publishing level to the level of distribution and retail. Transposition was also an integral part of this process. The idea of flat-rate and the concept of streaming were transposed by Storytel to the field. Storytel's organizational habitus was, especially in the beginning, alien to the field. So, how could Storytel establish itself in the field? First, the conditions in the field were suitable (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Fligstein, 1996; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013). At the same time as Storytel's early activities in the field, the field was focusing on the disruption process described above. Storytel thus managed to take important early steps without attracting great attention. Second, and crucially, even if Storytel's organizational habitus was markedly different from the book publishing field, it was very strong early on, and thus generalizable (Bourdieu, 2019). This meant that Storytel was able to be successful in both changing the field in a direction that led them to a good rate of exchange for its capital, as well as in understanding where its capital could be best used in the field. The best example of the latter is the acquisition of Massolit and, in particular, Norstedts. Figure 4.14 illustrates the dominant position in the field around 2020. As can be seen, the dominant position has changed significantly. The new dominant position was now partly outside of the former borders of the field. This illustrates the importance of the niche of streaming audiobooks and the tendency of this niche to move beyond the old field borders.

Figure 4.14. Dominant position within the Swedish book publishing field around 2020 after the establishment of streaming audiobooks (stylized depiction).



Chapter 5

Case 2: Bordeaux International Trading in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries

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Place for the article: Skog, A., & Sölvell, Ö. (2020). The dark side of agglomeration, sustained wealth and transposition of trading institutions—the case of Bordeaux in the 18th and 19th centuries. *Journal of Economic Geography*, *20*(1), 67-91.

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https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbz007

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The following part of the dissertation continues at page 183.

Chapter 6

Case analysis

6.1. Two complementary empirical cases

In the empirical sections of this dissertation, we investigated two markedly different cases, the Swedish book publishing case and the Bordeaux international trading case. Naturally, the most striking difference is the one regarding time and space. Whereas the first case is situated in contemporary Sweden the second is situated in the late 18^{th} and early 19^{th} century Bordeaux. Indeed, these two different times and spaces diverge in many ways. This implies great differences in aspects such as political, juridical, and cultural context, economic developments, and means of communication among others. We argue that this is beneficial for the rationale of this dissertation, i.e., to enrichen the understanding of transposition in that it allows us to analyze and reason around which properties of transposition can be considered general and which are not. But the two cases also differ in the rationale behind and the result of the attempted and successful transpositions. In the Swedish book publishing case, we saw several attempted transpositions, with the common theme that they involved attempts by agents to increase their power. In the Bordeaux international trading case, on the other hand, we saw how transposition was undertaken to sustain the power of existing agents. This further helps us to enrichen the understanding of the concept of transposition. Our two empirical cases also encompass unsuccessful, and partially successful transposition attempts, answering calls to challenge the skewness resulting from only analyzing successful transposition attempts (Powell et al., 2012;

Schneiberg, 2013a). Further, this design connects well with previous literature on transposition, which is evenly distributed between historical (Haydu, 2002; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a) and more contemporary (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Luo et al., 2021; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012) cases. The two empirical cases in this dissertation contain three examples of field change where transposition played a vital role. The Swedish book publishing case described both a case of minor field change, which was the result of the disruption connected to pocket-books, as well as a case of major field change, which took place as a result of the establishment of streaming audiobook services. In the first case, we saw that three agents tried to transpose practices: Anderson pocket, Pocketförlaget, and Pock-etstället. In the second case, we saw one agent, Storytel, transposing practices. In the Bordeaux international trading case, we witnessed how ag-glomerated and tightly knit agents from the dominant part of the colonial trading field moved to the field of wine trade, transposing trade practices while doing so. We now ask what we can learn about transposition from these processes.

6.2. Transposition, organizational habitus and capital configuration in the pocket-book boom

In the empirical section, we learned about the increased importance, both in economic and cultural terms, of the segment pocket-books during the first decade of the 2000s, to reach its peak around 2010. The growing importance of the pocket-book was associated with two challenging processes: first, the establishment of Pocketförlaget, which possessed a different business model threatening to change not only the pocket-book niche but also the value chain for the whole field; and second, the fast expansion at the retail and distribution level. This concerned the rapidly growing pocket-book dedicated store chain Pocket Shop. It also concerned the tremendous growth of Pocketgrossisten and Pocketstället, connected to the establishment of pocket-book sales in grocery and convenience stores. The increasing importance of the pocket-book was also indicated and fostered by the establishment of the Guldpocket awards, which existed until 2010, when it, probably at the initiative of Bonnier, was discontinued. The following years witnessed a small downwards curve in these respects; whereas, the last years of the 2010s saw a more significant decrease. We also observed how the hegemonic firm in the book publishing field, Bonnier, by the middle of the 2010s, seemed to have overcome these challengings. Further, we saw how both of these challenging processes were connected to adjustments to the cultural identity of the niche. At the publishing level, we saw how Pocketförlaget exclusively focused on bestselling authors that primarily were writing genre literature. At the distribution and retail level, Pocket Shop represented an approach that allocated much room for best-sellers, but retained its breadth, and also admitted to having a, albeit limited, cultural mission. Pocketgrossisten, which was connected to Pocket Shop from the start, also began with a similar approac. As time passed, however, and as they followed Pocketställlet into the in-store sales niche, the breadth was reduced to achieve mostly a low culture focus. Pocketställlet, on the other hand, explicitly defined itself as representing low culture literature and focused its narrow assortment solely on best-sellers. At the end of the period, Pocket Shop and Pocketgrossisten had been acquired by Bonnier; whereas, Pocketställlet and Pocketförlaget went into bankruptcy. Moreover, the re-negotiation of the pocket-book niche persisted in terms of what kind of literature was dominant meaning that a more clear-cut focus on genre literature continued.

Publishing level

Starting with the process on the publishing level, we here find two important agents that challenged the institutional configuration, not only regarding the pocket-book, but also for the whole field. The two organizations were Anderson Pocket and Pocketförlaget, both of which attempted to transpose the same practices. They did so for similar reasons, but the outcome was different. For Anderson pocket the transposition was connected to an edevaour of a person from another field, together with persons in the dominated field level of authors to establish themselves in the dominant field level of publishing. The organization also included a person with a background in the publishing level. The transposition would also imply an increase in the power of a subset of authors to which the founding authors belonged, and which the organization welcomed. For Pocketförlaget on the other hand, the transposition was connected to an attempt to expand the power in one field level by agents that already were established at that level. Anderson pocket failed in their transposition attempt, and the connected endeavor to establish the organization at the publishing level. Within a few years the organization was discontinued. Pocketförlaget on the other hand did manage to successfully transpose the practices, attaining a field change that promoted the organization's performance and role in the field. However, while the field change remained, the organization was confronted with attacks from the hegemon Bonnier that they could not handle in the long run. How do we understand these developments? Why did Anderson pocket fail while Pocketförlaget succeded, albeit for a limited time?

We start by looking at the features forming the organizational habitus of Anderson pocket. The members' features of the organization were formed by Marie Ledin with a background in the international record industry field, and Elisabeth Krevi former CEO within the book publishing field, as well as four best-selling authors. The organizational features were, during the short life span of the organization, partly corresponding to this balance of backgrounds. It was also inspired by the three different settings that had influenced the self-perception and goal of the organization, i.e., the Swedish book publishing field, in particular Piratförlagets activities thre, other national book publishing fields, and the international record industry (Stern, 2006; Winkler, 2006a, 2006b). That the organization had a habitus, partly formed in the more dominant international record industry field, meant that the organization possessed a good understanding of the structural exogenous forces connected to commercialization pressures (cf. Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). The organization understood and was able to act in relation to the exogenous agential aspect, by attempting to transpose elements that were foreign to the field, but in line with the general pressure of commercialization. As previously discussed, Anderson Pocket's idea was to focus on best-selling authors and to bypass the paperback as the main product in the field by focusing on the pocketbook. This endeavor was well in line with the outer pressure. As was the idea of a fifty-fifty split of revenues that originated in other fields of cultural production, i.e., other national book publishing fields. Fields that were more commercialized (Bourdieu, 1993). Concerning the endogenous aspects, however, Anderson Pocket was less well equipped. This was because its organizational features were a result of a conglomerate of habitus of persons active in the book publishing field (the group of bestselling authors and the ex-CEO), and a person that was new to the field. The larger part of the field insiders, however, were active in a very specific niche of the field, coming from the dominated level of authors possessing an understanding of the field that was not generalizable to any larger extent. This meant that the organization's understanding and ability to act in relation to the structure and the agential aspects of the field were only insufficient in the former, and moderate in the latter aspect. This was shown by the fact that the ogranization failed to attract any greater numbers of authors. Regarding the capital configuration the company was also ill-equipped. The economic capital was limited which is illustrated by the slow tempo with which they published books, and that they, unlike Pocketförlaget, could not invest great sums in marketing (Kungliga Biblioteket, 2020; Retriever Business, 2020). The field-specific symbolic capital was of moderate size but connected to a very specific niche in the field. The social and cultural capital was also moderate in relation to the field. Regarding the field-specific social capital, this was because the members' features only in parts had a background in the field, and these parts were largely confined to a specific niche and had not been established in the field for a long time. Although connected in different fields, the organization failed to get a good rate of exchange for their general social capital in the field. This is among other things supported by the fact that the organization largely failed to attract authorships and that the organization had low recognition. The latter is illustrated by the fact that when Pocketförlaget was launched Anderson pocket was not mentioned with a word in the field outlet, neither by representatives from Pocketförlaget nor from the rest of the field even though they had transposed the exact same practices (e.g., Winkler, 2006b, 2008b).

Pocketförlaget on the other hand had a more suitable capital configuration, and most importantly, a more suitable organizational habitus. In relation to the field the organization had high levels of economic capital, especially in the knowledge aspect of it. The organization also held moderate levels of field-specific and non-specific symbolic capital, as well as cultural capital and social capital. The high levels of economic capital were particularly connected to two of the three founders, namely Göthe Johansson and Fredrik Gustafsson. The first had a long career as an entrepreneur in the book publishing field. The latter also had been involved in some ventures in the field, albeit, during a shorter period. He was also a graduate from Sweden's most prestigious business school (Winkler, 2006b). This contributed to the cultural and general social capital of the organization. The symbolic capital, in both specific and unspecific forms, was especially connected to the third founder, Ann–Marie Skarp with a long career at renowned Norstedts behind here (Winkler, 2006b). Now let us turn to the members' features and organizational features of Pocketförlaget's organizational habitus. The members' features were initially heavily connected with the habitus of the three founders. Pocketförlaget's organizational habitus made it possible for the organization to get an excellent exchange value for their economic capital. This meant that the organization used its economic capital in a way that made the return value excellent. In practice this was done by increasing the compensations to authors as well as invested heavily in marketing of pocket-books, two lines-of-actions that was contrary to the established practices in the field (Winkler, 2008b). Indeed, Pocketförlaget's excellent understanding of, and ability to act in relation to the field, is proven by the fact that they provoked reactions from the hegemon. As described representatives from Bonnier contacted Pocketförlaget and tried to convince them to change compensations to authors. The excellent understanding was also shown by the fact that they managed to recruite Månpocket's CEO in 2008. They also managed to secure investments from Norstedts some years later. The latter which was a response from Norstedts to Bonnier's move to counter Pocketförlagets rising influence. They did this by decreasing their involvement in Månpocket and introduced other tactics to counter the challenges on the distribution and retail level.

Pocketförlaget's relatively strong organizational habitus in relation to Anderson Pocket, as well as their stronger capital configuration, made it possible for them to adopt the idea of transposing the specific elements that Anderson had initiated, but to do so in a manner that was more durable. This explains why Anderson Pocket was so short-lived in the field, while Pocketförlaget was far more successful.

Importanlty, Anderson Pocket's and Pocketförlaget's line-of-action implied a strengthening of the position of the authors at the expense of the publishing houses. However, even if it was framed as a general strengthening of the authors, the line-of-action only encompassed a very specific kind of writer, i.e., the bestselling authors that primarily wrote crime or other genre literature. The weakening of the publishing houses, although intended and directed towards dominant organizations, such as Bonnier and Norstedts, also implied a strengthening of the bestseller logic.

Distribution and retail level

Continuing with the process on the distribution and retail level, we focus on three agents: Pocket Shop, Pockegrossisten, and Pockställett. The first and the latter attempted to transpose practices. Let us analyze their organizational habitus in relation to their activities. Pocket Shop and Pocketgrossisten originated from the same roots, whereas Pocketställets's background was indeed different. We ask, why did these events unfold as they did? Why did Pocket Shop and Pockgrossisten survive and Pocketstället did not?

Initially, both the members' features and the organizational features of Pocketstället's organizational habitus were markedly influenced by the Swedish supermarket field, specifically the niche of in-store sales. Regarding members' features this was because both founders had a background in this niche (Nylund, 2001; Winkler, 2003). Regarding the organizational features, it was clear that the self-perception and goals of the organization were influenced by the in-store sales niche of the Swedish supermarket field. The sales were organized around store consultants traveling around stores to make store owners accept the firms' shelves, just as any other in-store sales process (Schmidt, 2007; Westlund, 2012). After some years, around 2007, the organizational habitus of the organization had evolved. This change had a lot to do with the how the organization understood and reacted to the activity of the competitor Pocketgrossisten, as well as the success of the organization. Two things stand out in this respect. Firstly, inspired by Pocketgrossisten, the organization successfully shifted from writing deals with single stores to sign major deals with store chains. Secondly, confronted with Pocketgrossisten's larger and more diverse selections of books, the firm now stated that that their strategy was to focus on mass-market pocket-books, and not as previously "quality-pocket-books", although the actual selection was indeed similar (Nylund, 2001; Schmidt, 2007). Here we see how the confrontation with a competitor led to a change in the practices of the organization. This change was connected to a change in the self-perception, and goals of the organization of the organizational features, and shows that Pocketstället's understanding of the book publishing field was weak. This would also show when Pocketstället was confronted with the summer campaigns of the dominant incumbents in the field. Unlike Pocketgrossisten, Pocketstället did not counter with its own campaigns and could thus only watch as, in the words of the CEO Månsson, the market for pocket-books was destroyed (Gross, 2007). In line with their organizational habitus that was to a large degree still formed by the Swedish supermarket field, Pocketstället chose to counter the attack by focusing on their specific segment, not by diversifying, but by continuing with the original direction of their line-of-actions. One of the founders, Månsson articulated a bitter criticism of the campaigns. Although this line of action would not prove to be catastrophic at first sight, it did stop the firm's expansion (Gross, 2007). Not only was Pocketstället's understanding of the book publishing field weak, but their recognition was also indeed weak in the field, which was illustrated by the fact that they were not acknowledged by Förläggareföreningen in connection with the Guldpocket ceremony. Much of Pocketstället's power came from the great amount of general economic capital in its capital configuration. The fact that the firm was acquired by a venture capital firm around the same time follows this logic. At this time Pockeställe's growth was halted, and within a few years they would be bankrupt.

The members' features of Pocketgrossisten were from 1998 dominated by the habitus of CEO Magnus Wirström and his partner Matts Bjerne, both with a business background in other fields. Having existed since 1993 all the organizational features of the organization, i.e., the company's history, the structure of the organization and the self-perception and goal of the organization was influenced by the organization's background of being a wholesaler connected to Pocket Shop. This meant that the organizational habitus to some degree was formed by the book publishing field. This was, among other things, shown by the fact that the firm initially held a wide selection of pocket-books in the stores they had signed deals with. When Bonnier decided to end disruption in the pocket niche completely, it was no coincidence that it was Pocketgrossisten and Pocket Shop that were acquired. This was because both of them had an organizational habitus that was well fitted with the book publishing field. Pocketstället on the other hand had a too weak organizational habitus to survive being so different.

Transposition, organizational habitus, and capital configuration in the establishment of the streaming audiobook services

The second part of the story of the Swedish book publishing field focused on the successful introduction of the streaming audiobooks, initiated and driven by Storytel. When Storytel began to obtain traction in the early 2010s, the field was still occupied in the struggle around the pocket-book as well as being busy with the expansion of online retail of books. At that time audiobooks could be seen as an old medium connected to CDs, or even cassettes, and it was almost universally anticipated that e-books would provide the solution to digitalization. Outside the field, however, the situation started to change markedly with the establishment of streaming services, such as Netflix (which began streaming in 2007) and, particularly important in the Swedish setting, Spotify which launched its music streaming (with a monthly subscription) service in 2008. The increased use of streaming services was also connected to the introduction and rapid spread of smartphones, and in Sweden specifically, the iPhone released in 2007. While the field was busy with the field struggle surrounding pocket-books, Storytel managed to, as CEO Tellander put it: "sneak in under the radar" (cf. Gurses & Ozcan, 2015), and they possessed momentum because of pressure from outside of the field, in accordance with Storytel's business model. Before this, most people within book publishing had not noticed that Storytel now established themselves in the field. The rather "easy" establishment, in part, was underlined by a series of acquisitions within the field, most noteworthy Massolit and Norstedts. Interestingly enough, the main goal of the acquisitions was to obtain access to content and not to gain prestige within the field (Schmidt, 2015b;

Strömberg, 2016). Nevertheless, the acquisitions had the side effects of also establishing Storytel in cultural terms. The subsequent development proved that Storytel had an organizational habitus that was markedly distinct from the other actors in the field. Because of this, Storytel conducted lines-of-action that differed from what the other actors in the field would expect. A good example of this is the launch of Storytel Originals and Storytel Dox. Storytel came to alter both the structure and institutional configuration of the field. This was the result of a field struggle that alternately took the forms of open combat and political coalition (Fligstein, 1996) between the two main protagonists, Storytel and Bonnier. In all of this, the smaller actors, with certain exceptions, were the losing parties. In the end, Bonnier remained dominant overall, but Storytel was not far behind. It was also a situation in which we could see a tendency toward a situation where the main product, both in economic and cultural terms, would be the audiobook.

How do we understand these developments? How did Storytel manage to succed in such a line-of-action and seriously challenging Bonnier? How did Bonnier respond? And how did other agents that subsequently launched streaming audiobook services act in relation to this?

As Bourdieu (2005b) pointed out, the hegemonic firm is usually able to decide the pace of transformations that take place in a field. This is an ability that, of course, is of crucial importance for the hegemon. If we consider the Swedish publishing field in aggregate, we can see that this is true for Bonnier up to approximately 2015. Although challenged, especially in the niche of pock-et-books, Bonnier was never close to losing control, and instead became even more dominant in the field. It was the runner-up, Norstedts, that took the big hit in the struggle surrounding pocket-books. This is especially clear if one considers the e-book, and the fact that this product failed severely in achieving its anticipated success in Sweden, contrary to many other national markets. Then, in 2016, when Storytel acquired Norstedts, it became apparent that Bonnier was no longer in total control. How should we understand this?

As mentioned above, Storytel's CEO stated that it had been able to "sneak in under the radar". Is this true, and if so, what does this mean exactly? To answer this question, let us start by considering the situation from the hegemon's perspective, around 2015, immediately before what Storytel sought to attain became visible. From Bonnier's perspective, we see a fairly stable situation in the field. The sales of books were declining but at a very moderate pace. The potential problem with digitalization seemed to be connected with the lagging sales of e-books and their weak position in the Swedish field. This was neither good nor bad for the hegemon per se since Bonnier should probably be able to occupy a good position when e-books sooner or later would take off, as it had done in other national markets, particularly in the U.K. and the U.S.

The niche of audiobooks was almost under the total domination of Bonnier, with its audiobook club Lyssnarklubben, and the company's stable and very large share of audiobook sales via CD. Furthermore, Bonnier held a great position within the segment of audiobook recordings and possessed a huge backlist they could record if market conditions would indicate that they should do so. Bonnier had even made several attempts to create something more innovative with the audiobook; but, much like the e-book (to which these attempts were sometimes connected), such attempts did not succeed.

Instead, there was a small new entrant, Storytel, that successfully supplied audiobooks through a subscription-based streaming service. In the first years, this did not pose a major threat to Bonnier. They paid for access to Bonnier large audiobook catalog adding revenues to Bonnier. Although Storytel had an idea of revenue sharing that did not seem to be a too big problem since Bonnier had managed to sign a deal that made their titles exempt from this. This could even be viewed as positive from Bonnier perspective since they in this way in practice got greater compensation than other publishing houses which had the potential of further increasing dominance in the field in the long run. The biggest problems were instead connected to the niche of pocket-books. The overlapping processes of new and steadily growing retail- and distribution outlets, brick and mortar as well as online, and the challenge on the publishing side driven forward by Pocketförlaget, made this niche much bigger than it had ever been. This was not necessarily a problem in itself for the hegemon. However, the increasing sales of pocket-books threatened the sales of the much more profitable hard-backs, and the margins in the sales of pocket-books became smaller each year. Bonnier approached this challenge much as it had done previously. Specifically, it downplayed certain parts of the status quo such as the up-holding collective of ventures

(Månpocket) at the expense of their labels. It also acquired important competitors (Pocket Shop, Pocketgrossisten). Moreover, when it was organizationally and economically in a better position, it invited rivals to create a new collective venture to stabilize the new situation (e.g., invited former competitors to distribute via Pocketgrossisten).

Massolit, and in particular, Norstedts, the eternal runner-up and partner of the hegemon, was then suddenly acquired by the new streaming company. Not only had Storytel quickly taken over the second position in the field, but it was also expanding at a rapid pace. Out of a sudden, it seemed that everyone was listening to audiobooks. However, this was not done in the old way through a book club or downloading single books in mp3 format, but rather through a streaming service with fixed monthly prices. Bonnier rushed to launch a similar service. However, the following development showed that it could no longer be the sole leader in this area. Streamed audiobooks, as a niche, turned out to become increasingly distinct and differ greatly from the audiobooks of the early 2000s. Furthermore, and even more serious for Bonnier, the institutional configurations surrounding this niche were starting to move away from the very well-established configuration in the whole field. Seeing this development, Bonnier changed its line-of-action. Now they tried to mediate and restrain a threatening development, where the segment of audio-books would be completely detached from the publishing field's logic where it had much of its capital (of all forms) invested.

This is, of course, a rather classic story of disruption, in which a powerful incumbent is challenged by a new agent that, with the assistance of new technology, manages to partly rearrange hitherto stable conditions, and in which the incumbent struggles to defend its position. This way of viewing the situation, which is not untrue, allows us to elucidate why Bonnier acted as it did with its service Bookbeat. Bookbeat's role seemed to be to stabilize Storytel's influence in such a manner that the traditional book publishing field remained as close to the status quo as possible institutionally, given the technological development. By accepting the disruption, and to some degree by embracing it, and implementing counter-measures, Bonnier was attempting to secure its hegemonic position. Naturally, this would also mean a struggle to keep the niche of audiobook-streaming as a niche in the publishing field. However, Storytel's activities to detach the niche seems to be more difficult to understand with this reasoning. Although Storytel had a better position in the niche than in the over-arching field, it also held a strong position in the over-arching field.

One possible explanation for why Storytel acted as it did, even if it appeared illogical and created unnecessary enemies, is that Storytel's organizational habitus was not formed by the field to any large extent. The niche, however, was much more in line with Storytel's organizational habitus, which was natural given the dominant position that Storytel possessed. Storytel's organizational habitus was formed by the niche, but also by other fields outside of book publishing. This is in stark contrast to Bonnier, which had a similar relationship to the overarching field as Storytel had to the niche. Bonnier had been around since the very formation of the Swedish book publishing field and had long been the dominant agent, which meant that it had both been a leader in forming the field, and had over extended periods been formed by the field. This means that Bonnier's organizational habitus was in close accordance with the Swedish book publishing field. Given that one of the fields was a niche to another, this means that the niche only to a small degree was independent, and subsumed by the over-arching field. In other words, in cases in which the niche and the over-arching field differed to some degree in institutional configuration, the dominating institutions would be the ones from the over-arching field. However, because of the structure of Storytel's organizational habitus, it was unable to fully comprehend this. Expressed succinctly, if one fails to understand the "rules of the game" or even knows that they exist, it is easy to break them.

Comparing the two processes of field change in the Swedish book publishing field

Naturally, the establishment of a new major agent will change the structure of the field, in that it changes the relative positions between agents, and will adjust the capital compositions admissible in the field (Bourdieu, 2005b). In this way, specific capital that before was unusable in the field becomes useable, in that the newly established agent mobilizes it and makes it useful. For instance, the establishment of Storytel, with its heavy load of general and specific economic capital, and cultural capital connected to commercial and financial rationality, made these kinds of capital more useable. Specifically, other firms already existing in the field, or new ones entering with similar resources, would be in a better position in the field, given that they manage to understand and utilize these resources optimally. The ability to do so is the result of the organizational habitus of the organizations. It is, however, also possible to view it the other way around. If the admissible capital compositions are adjusted successfully via a gradual move caused by smaller struggles, then this would make the entry of a new agent with capital composition in line with the direction of the drift easier in the field. In our history, this is indeed the case. An establishment of a company like Storytel in the field, in the early 2000s, would have a harder time becoming successful. This is shown by the degree to which the new and semi-new entrants, in the form of Piratförlaget, Pocketgrossisten, and Pocketförlaget (especially the latter two), had to compromise their commercial logic to become established in the field.

There are also other structural reasons why Storytel could challenge Bonnier to an extent that Piratförlaget, Pocketförlaget, Pocketgrossisten, Pocket Shop, and Pocketstället were not able to do. First, as Bourdieu (2005b) pointed out, whether the attack on the hegemon is conducted from the front (by reducing costs or prices) or from the rear (by specialization), middle-sized firms seem to be in a structurally weak position with low profits since they are neither able to compete with the large firm(s) with economies of scale nor have the ability to specialize to niches in such as a way as a small firm is able to do (cf. Porter, 1980). Second, the above-mentioned firms were all specialized in one field level; they had little to no vertical integration.

Transposition and organizational habitus in two empirical cases

The Swedish book publishing field was a case in which the various agents acted differently; whereas, in the case of the Bordeaux merchants, the focal agents acted not only similarly, but also collectively. Indeed, as discussed previously, this was related to the different organizations' different habitus. In other words, the reason that the organizations in our book publishing case acted so differently was because *they were different.* If we then examine the agents described in the paper on the Bordeaux merchants, a different situation emerges. As the paper argues, the geographical proximity fostered a local buzz with a high degree of inter-connectedness between agents, manifested in business partnerships, inter-marriages, collective organizations, membership in the same freemasonry lodges, etc. This formed a solid ground for isomorphic pressures to cause organizations to become similar (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Since organizational habitus is formed and reformed throughout a constant process in relation to the areas where the agent is active, this also meant that these agents' organizational habitus evolved to become increasingly similar.

It is worth reiterating that the organizational habitus both decides the degree to which agents understand situations, as well as their ability to act. For the agents in the Bordeaux merchants' case, this meant that the formation of a political coalition (Fligstein, 1996) and the contemporaneous change of the line of trade would probably have been perceived not only as reasonable but as a natural choice for the involved parties. This is because they, due to a similar organizational habitus, would all perceive the situation similarly, as well as be prone to view the possibility to act in similar ways. This is very different from that in the Swedish book publishing case. The focal agents there had markedly different organizational habitus, which meant that, for example, Storytel's understanding of the situation and the plausible actions, as well as the ability to act, would differ from Bonnier, as well as differ from an agent, such as Pocketstället.

In the analysis of the book publishing field, we have already discussed how an agent with a strong organizational habitus could utilize different forces affecting the field to form a line-of-action that was more likely to achieve success, in that it would improve the position of the agent in the field. However, one may wonder how this relates to the case with the Bordeaux merchants; the answer is simple. With the difference that there was a political coalition (Fligstein, 1996) formed instead of a field struggle between the focal agents, the ability to comprehend and utilize forces affecting the field was of key importance in this case, as well. The moving of the dominant part of a field to another domain in which other agents were already active is not a small endeavor. Such a move can only be achieved by agents with a very strong organizational habitus that are well-organized and tightly knit. A single agent and/or a group of agents with a weaker organizational habitus would likely neither understand the specific situation and the opportunity it brought nor would be able to act to take advantage of this opportunity.

We asserted in the Bordeaux merchant paper part that the line-of-action conducted by the elite merchants, made it possible for them to secure prestige and prosperity over a long period of time. Let us now see how we can understand this in relation to organizational habitus. A strong organizational habitus makes it more probable that an agent will attain a powerful position, both in a specific field, as well as in wider social realms (Bourdieu, 2019). Simultaneously, a powerful position in a field will foster a strong organizational habitus. Power and organizational habitus thus constitute dialectical fostering aspects. As the elite merchants in Bordeaux managed to change lines of trade, and also when doing so, brought with their institutions to which their capital and organizational habitus were well configured, they managed to obtain an excellent rate of exchange of the capital they already had, and therefore, in the long run, was able to increase the strength of their organizational habitus. Both the long-time dominance of the same agents, as well as the longevity of the transposed institutions, can thus be understood in relation to this. The strength of their organizational habitus would continue to foster their powerful position and vice versa, and since the institutions transposed were so well configured to their organizational habitus, it was no coincidence that the same organizations and the same institutions would be long-lived. The robustness created by the agent's strong organizational habitus and the tight collective organization made the system resilient against both agential and structural challenges. Moreover, the codification system adopted in 1855 can be understood as a way to not only entrench the institutions within the field, to fend off eventual competitors, but also as a way to secure and heighten the position of the local field in relation to other fields in the same sector, and the nation as a whole.

Through analyzing the two cases, we have managed to establish that how agents act in relation to the field, and their ability to attain field change is determined by their organizational habitus. In the field struggles around the pocket-book boom, we saw how different agents' line-of-actions were closely correlated to their organizational habitus. For example, we observed that the differing organizational habitus was the key difference that distinguished the successful agents, Pocketförlaget and Pocketgrossisten, from the less successful agents, Anderson Pocket and Pocketstället. In the field struggles around the establishment of streaming audiobook services, we saw that Storytel's markedly different organizational habitus and capital not only formed line-of-actions that were difficult to understand for agents in the field but actually made their successful establishment in the field more easily attained. In the Bordeaux international trading case, we saw how the organizational habitus of the dominant agents, i.e., the elite merchants, made it possible for them to see and take advantage of an opportunity that made it possible for them to survive and prosper as a collective, which other agents could neither see nor do.

6.3. Inter-field distance

We will now analyze the implications of inter-field institutional distance in processes of transposition. First, we will discuss some prominent outside fields presented in the empiric section and propose a way to determine the relational institutional distance between these and the Swedish book publishing field. Then we will discuss the significance of the institutional distance between the outside field where the transposed practices originated and the focal field. This analysis will be supplemented with a discussion that focuses on the agents. There we will analyze the significance of the institutional distance between the outside fields, in which the organizational habitus of agents attempting to carry through transpositions was formed, and the focal field.

Bourdieu (1993, 1998) argued that fields are structured within the field of power hierarchically, as dominated and dominating, in relation to each other in terms of two major dimensions, i.e. economic and cultural capital (cf. Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). We also have two other aspects that differentiate fields from one another, namely the degree of field autonomy and the importance of field-specific symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993, 1998). Adding to this, as we have discussed, there is a difference between fields that are mainly international and fields that are mainly national (Bourdieu, 2019).

Whereas the Bordeaux international trading case revolved around two fields, several outside fields played a role in the Swedish book publishing case. As we have described, there were attempts to transpose practices from several fields. Naming the most prominent examples we saw how Anderson pocket tried to transpose practices from the international record industry field, an endeavor that Pocketförlaget subsequently managed to succeed in. We also saw how Pocketstället transposed practices from the Swedish supermarket field. Most striking was Storytel's transposition of practices from the Swedish tech startup field. Regarding the outside fields where the organizational habitus of the central agents had been formed the most prominent examples include the above-mentioned fields as well as yet one, namely the international pharmaceutical field where an important part of the members' features of the organizational habitus of Storytel had been formed.

Informed by Bourdieu (1993, 1998, 2019), let us now attempt to define where these fields are located in the societal social space in relation to the Swedish book publishing field. We will do this through a relational ranking of the fields (including the four outside fields and the focal field) according to the five aspects that Bourdieu (1993, 1998, 2019) suggested in determining a field's position in the societal social space. This ranking is comprehensively shown in table 6.1. It is worth noting that this ranking and the analysis will be based on approximations.

An approximate way to weigh economic capital is to look at turnover for specific fields. The Swedish book publishing field had a turnover of 4.8 billion SEK in 2020 (Wikberg, 2021). This can be compared to the Swedish supermarket field, which had a turnover of 305 billion SEK (SCB, 2021), and the international record industry, with a turnover of 216 billion SEK (21.6 billion USD) (IFPI, 2021) (all these numbers are for 2020). To estimate the turnover of the Swedish tech startup field we use numbers for the turnover from IT service and software companies in Sweden which was 471 billion SEK in 2019 (TechSverige, 2020). Lastly, to approximate the turnover of the international pharmaceutical field we took the sum of the turnover from the twenty largest companies. This gave us the sum of 6,82 trillion SEK (682 billion USD) (Sagonowsky, 2021). By using turnover as a proxy, we can conclude that the Swedish book publishing field is in a weaker position in terms of economic capital than all of the other fields we are discussing. We can also conclude that the institutional distance between the mentioned outside fields and the Swedish book publishing field differs greatly. Following the numbers presented for turnover, and as can be seen in table 6.1, the fields are ranked in the following way, in falling order: the international pharmaceutical field, the Swedish tech startup field, the Swedish supermarket field, the international record industry field, and finally, the Swedish book publishing field.

Continuing with the cultural capital we find that the Swedish book publishing field, like other fields connected to artistic activity, is defined by a high amount of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1996). Few other commercial fields are likely to uphold the same amount of cultural capital. Therefore, we will in the relational ranking place the focal field as number one. The international record industry field is also connected to artistic activity, although being more commercial than the Swedish book publishing field, it surely upholds more cultural capital than the three other fields and is therefore ranked number two. How do we rank the remaining three fields? One way to determine cultural capital is to ask to which degree we can imagine a particular field functioning and upholding its position in the societal social space without any cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2021). Through this reasoning, we conclude that the Swedish tech startup field is one of the remaining fields which would have had the biggest problems functioning without any cultural capital. Even if the cultural capital upheld by this field is markedly smaller than that of the Swedish book publishing field and the international record industry field, cultural capital still plays an important role in the field. This is especially true for companies in their early phases. The background of the people behind the startup indeed seems to be important to secure investments and continued growth. Continuing in using the same method to rank the two last fields. There we find that the international pharmaceutical field is truly international not only because of its position in the international economic field but also in terms of the products that the field is formed around are indeed international and very similar between different parts of the world. The Swedish supermarket field on the other hand is by definition very much tied to a Swedish context, not only in terms of geography but also in terms of products, structure, and organization. In terms of cultural capital, we, therefore, rank the fields in the following descending order: the Swedish book publishing field, the international record industry field, the Swedish tech startup field, the Swedish supermarket field, and the international pharmaceutical field.

We will now attempt to rank the fields according to the degree of field autonomy. Yet again, because of its connection with artistic production, we find that the Swedish book publishing field, followed by the international record industry field has the highest degree of autonomy. One way of deciding this is by evaluating to which degree the collective product of which the field is formed around can take different forms. Even though they are also subject to commercial pressures to a varying degree, it is obvious that the typical products produced in the two just mentioned fields, novels and songs, take the most varied forms. This is even the case, at least to some degree, in the best-selling songs and novels. We rank the international pharmaceutical field as the third most autonomous field. We are doing this because of the strong position the field holds, not the least concerning control over research and development. Few fields can directly decide which kind of drugs and therapies that should be developed and sold by the field. Perhaps surprisingly, we rank the Swedish supermarket field as being more autonomous than the Swedish tech startup. The reason we rank the Swedish tech startup field as being the least autonomous is because of their heavy dependence on either direct customer support or venture capital, or both. The fields' focus on innovative solutions for everyday life in itself implies that the products they produce usually already exist but in other forms. The Swedish supermarket field on the other hand is so established and oligopolistic organized that what the field provides is not directly interchangeable, neither for customers or suppliers, which gives them a certain degree of autonomy.

Analyzing the importance of field-specific symbolic capital we find yet again that the Swedish book publishing field, followed by the international record industry field are the two fields that we rank on top. The degree of importance of field-specific capital can be defined by asking whether or not general forms of the four types of capital would suffice for being active in the field. In both the Swedish book publishing field and the international pharmaceutical field, we find that this is not the case. Instead, very specific forms are necessary. In the Swedish tech startup field, field-specific capital is also important, since specific attributes and values are important in the field. This is not the case to any larger extent in the Swedish supermarket field and even less in the international pharmaceutical field. We have thus ranked the fields in the following way concerning the importance of field-specific capital: the Swedish book publishing field, the international record industry field, the Swedish tech startup field, the Swedish supermarket field, and finally, the international pharmaceutical field.

Lastly, let us determine whether the fields are mainly international or Swedish. Basing our reasoning on Bourdieu Bourdieu (2005) we suggest that a way to determine whether a field is mainly international or national is to ask to which degree the field is connected to one specific national cultural context. The Swedish book publishing field is naturally very closely connected to the Swedish national cultural context, not the least because of the simple fact that the product of the field, literary stories, are written in Swedish. The Swedish supermarket field is also mainly Swedish. This is due to many reasons, among the most important ones is that the field is dominated by Swedish organizations and that the assortment is geared in regards to a taste that is constructed as a part of the national cultural context. Also, Supermarkets are indeed very similar all over Sweden. But what about the Swedish tech startup field, is it not more reasonable to talk about an international tech startup field? At a first sight this may seem reasonable, there indeed exists an international cultural context around tech startups. But as has been shown, the national, or rather the regional ecosystem plays a more important role in forming agents in this field in Sweden (Jansson, 2008, 2011; Skog et al., 2016; Sölvell et al., 2015). This is also the reason why the number and success of tech startups are not more or less equally distributed over regions of the developed world. Instead, a large part of such startups is clustered in a small number of regions in the world. The international record industry is an international field because it is not closely connected to a specific national cultural context. This is illustrated, among other things, by comparison to book publishing. A large part of the products produced in the international record industry field, i.e., pop songs are markedly more international than almost all books. Lastly, the international pharmaceutical field is international because it is far from connected to one specific national context. The field is also close to the field of global finance. It is truly a field where "the position of a firm in one country [is] dependent on the position occupied by that firm in all the other countries" (Bourdieu, 2005:229). In the table we will code this difference binary, mainly Swedish fields being assigned a zero and international fields being assigned a one.

In the last row in table 6.1 we find a measure of relational institutional distance between each outside field and the Swedish book publishing field. We see that the international record industry is at a moderate distance in relation to the focal field with a score of five. The Swedish surpermarket field and the Swedish tech startup field are markedly further away, both having scores of eleven, implying great distance. The international pharmaceutical field is the furthest of way in this relational ranking with its score of 15, implying very great distance.

Table 6.1 Relational ranking according to amount of capital (economic and cultural), degree of autonomy, importance of field-sepcific symbolic capital, and whether the field is Swedish or international between the four outside fields and the Swedish book publishing field.

Dimension	*International pharmaceutical*	*Swedish supermarket*	*Swedish tech startup*	*International record industry*	*Swedish book publishing*
Economic capital relational ranking	**1**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**5**
Economic capital - difference to focal field	4	2	3	1	
Cultural capital relational ranking	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
Cultural capital - difference to focal field	4	3	2	1	
Degree of autonomy relational ranking	**3**	**4**	**5**	**2**	**1**
Degree of autonomy - difference to focal field	2	3	4	1	
Importance of field specific symbolic capital relational ranking	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
Importance of specific symbolic capital - difference to focal field	4	3	2	1	
Swedish or international field	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**
Swedish or international field - difference to focal field	1	0	0	1	
Total relative distance	***15***	***11***	***11***	***5***	

Note: 1=Highest, 5=lowest, except for Swedish or international field that is coded binary.

As we described in the theoretical section, hitherto literature on transposition provides a foundation for the proposition a) the greater the distance between the outside field and the focal field, the greater the resistance from agents in the focal field, and b) the greater the distance between the outside field and the focal field, the greater the potential field change. Regarding the first part of the proposition, we argue that it can be broken down into two aspects, namely: the difference in institutional configuration between the outside and the focal field, and the difference in the organizational habitus of the agents that in most cases attempt to carry through the transpositions, namely, agents originating in the same field as where the practices originate ((Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002). This kind of transposition is what we have called transposition by impulsion. Analyzing the transpositions in our empirics, will this proposition hold?

In the Bordeaux international trading case, we explained how the small geographical distance implied a small institutional distance. We have discussed several aspects that made the transposition successful. Clearly, the small institutional distance also participated in making the transposition successful. Further, not only was the organizational habitus of the elite merchant families strong but it was also, because of the small institutional distance, well-adjusted in relation to the focal field. The result of the transposition was, as we have described a small field change.

Continuing with the attempted transpositions in the Swedish book publishing case. Starting with the developments regarding pocket-books on the publishing level, we have established that the distance between the international record industry field and the focal field was moderate. How did this affect the feasibility of the transposition? We saw that the Anderson pocket that was the part that first attempted the transposition had little success. As we described the organization only published a small number of titles during a short period. Because of the short lifespan of the organization, it is hard to say anything about the resistance it met. Pocketförlaget, that more successfully transposed the same practices, was demonstrably met with severe resistance, to the degree that representatives from the hegemon Bonnier called the CEO to convince him to change the practices. From this, we can conclude that the moderate distance between the outside field, where the practices originated, and the focal field, seems to be attached to great resistance in the focal field. Regarding the second aspect of the first proposition, we can conclude that Anderson pocket attempted transposition by impulsion, while Pocketförlaget succeeded in what we call transposition by appropriation. it has hard to draw any conclusion from this particular transposition in regards to the second aspect of the first part of the transposition. However, we can conclude that the resulting field change was small.

Continuing with the attempted transpositions connected to the pocketbook niche on the distribution and retail level of the field. As we have shown the distance between the Swedish supermarket field and the focal was great. The transposition initiated by Pocketstället initially met little resistance. It is reasonable to assume that this is because it was so different in nature that most of the agents in the focal field did not care too much. They were probably understood as a fringe agent that sold books in supermarkets, adding a little extra profit and nothing less. Pocketstället as an agent also initially met little resistance. It is reasonable to assume that this was because they were largely unrecognized by other agents in the field. Something that is shown by the fact the internal governance unit Förläggareföreningen did not know that the organization existed. However, Pocketstället failed to firmly establish the practices in the field in the long run and also after a while failed as an organization. Pocketgrossisten, that followed Pocketstället in implementing the transposed practices did better as an organization and also managed to increase the lifespan of the practices. Worth noting are the similarities with what happened at the publishing level. In the end, however, Pocketgrossisten was acquired by the hegemon Bonnier and the practices did not survive.

Lastly, let us look at Storytel's transposition. As we have clearly shown, and as the co-founder and CEO of the organization said, Storytel's transposition went under the radar. The distance between the Swedish tech startup field where the practices originated and the focal field was great. Both in terms of the practices and in terms of the establishment of the organization in the focal field it seems that the great distance actually was advantageous.

After analyzing these cases of transposition, we find that the proposition we formulated based on the previous literature on transposition does not hold. Surprisingly, we have found that not only small but also great distances seem to be connected to low resistance from the focal field, both in terms of the practices and the establishment of agents.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and contributions

7.1. Conclusions

In this dissertation we have sought to enrich our understanding of transposition of practices across fields and the following impact on field change. To do so two markedly different cases were chosen that were complementary. We have aimed at giving tentative answers to the questions: Why do agents attempt to transpose practices? What determines if an attempted transposition will be successful? How does the distance between fields affect transposition processes? Does it make transposition more or less feasible? Does it influence the effects of successful transpositions?

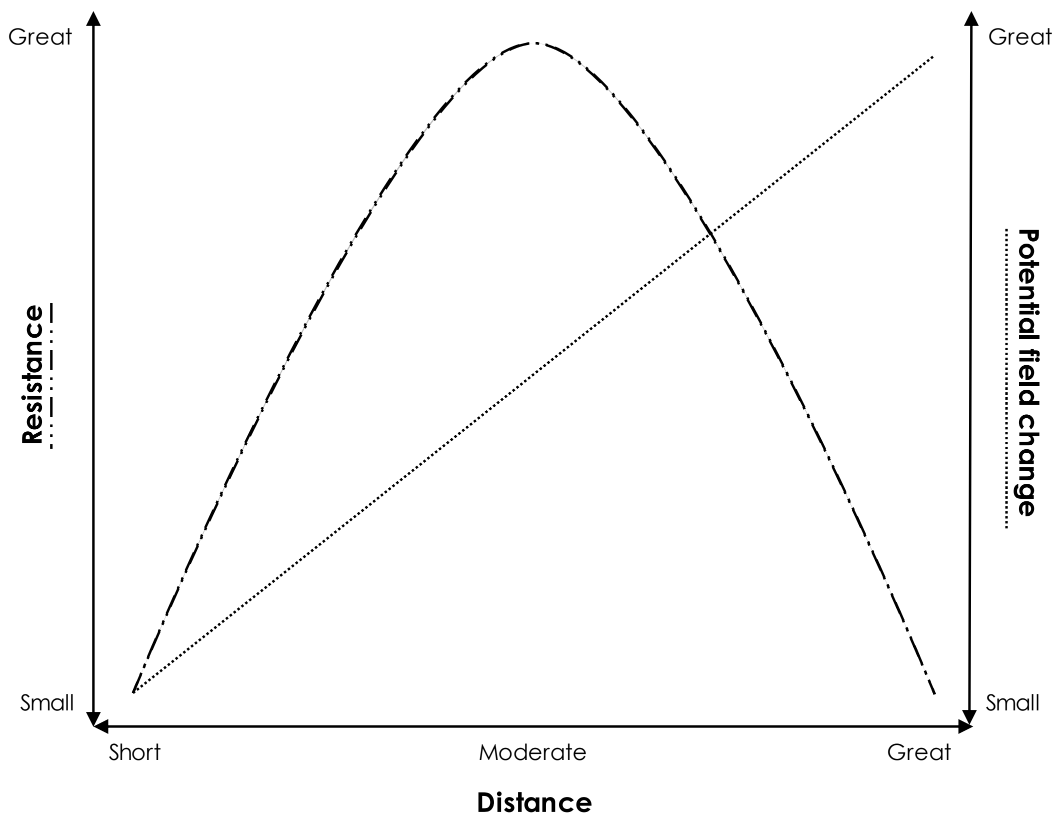
Agents attempt transposition as a way to sustain or expand their power. In the Bordeaux international trading case, we showed how agents that were confronted with a severe threat (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005) to their power, moved their activities and transposed established institutions to another field. By doing this they managed to sustain their power. In the Swedish book publishing case, we saw how agents attempted to transpose institutions as a way of trying to expand their power. Anderson pocket's actions were an attempt to to increase the power of a subset of dominated agents, i.e., some best-selling genre-authors. Anderson pocket did not succeed. Pocketförlaget attempted to transpose the same insitutions. Unlike Anderson pocket, the establishment of Pocketförlaget was primarily an attempt of moderate size agents on the publishing field level to increase their power. Like for Anderson pocket, successful transposition would also mean increased power for agents in the same subset. However, for Anderson pocket, this was a part of the motivating rationale while it for Pocketförlaget was a side effect. Pocketförlaget's transposition was successful in that it amounted to a small field change. Much like Pocketförlaget, Pocketstället managed to create a small field change and the business was also successful for some years, until it failed. Regarding the former, the same was true for Storytel. But while Pocketförlaget and Pocketstället attempted to change only a small part of the institutional configuration of the field, Storytel's ambitions were markedly greater. Storytel's successful transposition changed the field and the power balance within it. Storytel was also able to secure a position of power that was markedly greater than that of Pocketförlaget and Pocketstället. Our findings cast doubts on the understanding of the reasons behind transposition represented by Luo et al. (2021), Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) and Haydu (2002). In these works, agents chose to attempt to transpose practices for reasons of practicality and liking. The agents are motivated, but not by power. We argue that this understanding does not problematize the agent's motivation enough. As we have shown, all examples of attempted transposition in our two cases were connected to aspirations to expand or sustain power. The agents did however differ in their pronounced motivation. Some like Anderson pocket suggested close to altruistic reasons, whereas others like Pocketstället pronounced a rationale based on the aspiration for power. Some agents, like Storytel, changed their motivation over time. Our findings also partly differ from those of Padgett and McLean (2006), Powell et al. (2012) and Powell and Sandholtz (2012). We agree that specific situations can provide an important impetus. However, we believe that Padgett and McLean (2006), Powell et al. (2012) and Powell and Sandholtz (2012) have underestimated the importance of agents' conscious activity in attempting to transpose practices. Our understanding of power as the driving force for agents to attempt transposition corroborates the work of Schneiberg (2002, 2013a), and is also well in-line with literature in the social movement theory stream that puts focus on power (Fligstein, 1996; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; Giorgi et al., 2019; Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2006; B. G. King & Pearce, 2010).

The eventual success of attempted transpositions is determined by the power relations between the transposing agents and the agential and structural forces in the field. We have shown that the power, understood as organizational habitus and capital configuration that agents, attempting to carry through transposition, possess must be sufficiently strong in relation to other agents in the focal field for transposition to be successful. In the Bordeaux international trading case, we showed that the agents that carried through the transposition had great power. This was illustrated, among other things, by their control of the local chamber of commerce, their local and national political influence, and their wealth. The elite merchants had strong organizational habitus and great amounts of general economic (Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012), cultural (Haydu, 2002; Padgett & McLean, 2006), and symbolic capital (Haydu, 2002; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012), as well as great amounts of both general and specific social capital (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002). The latter was the result of the tight agglomeration and the fact that the fields they moved and transposed between had the same geographical location. The power these agents held as a community was markedly greater than that of the actors in the structurally weak, and partially deinstitutionalized, wine trade field. Thus, getting hold of the dominant position in the wine field seemed easy (cf. Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Fligstein, 1996; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013).

We also showed how power relations determined if attempted transpositions would be successful or not in the Swedish book publishing case. We showed how Anderson pocket's organizational habitus was too weak and that the capital configuration, i.e., the amount and structure of its capitals was insufficient to successfully carry through the attempt transposition, as well as to remain an agent in the field. This was corroborated when we showed how Pocketförlaget successfully managed to transpose the same institutions. Pocketförlaget's organizational habitus was better suited in terms of understanding of, and of ability to act appropriately, to forces forming the field (Giorgi et al., 2019; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a). The reason behind this was mainly a result of the fact that the dominant habitus in the members' features part of the habitus was formed in the dominant field level of publishing. Pocketförlaget also had a capital configuration that was more compatible with what they were trying to attain in the field, than that of Anderson pocket. This was especially true for field-specific symbolic (Haydu, 2002; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012) and social capital (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002). Pocketstället's organizational habitus and capital configuration made it possible for them to successfully transpose practices. The organization was also different, because of its organizational habitus was to large parts formed by a distant field. This made it possible for the organization to establish themselves without much resistance from the field. The fact that the organization established themselves in and transposed practices connected to the distribution and retail field level also benifitted the organization. At the time the distribution/retail level was markedly less dominant than the level of publishing. This meant that Pocketstället did not need to be as powerful to succeed as if the organization had tried to establish itself, and transpose institutions connected with, the publishing level. However, the transposed practices had a limited lifespan in the field. Much of Pocketstället's power came from the great amount of general economic capital (Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012) in its capital configuration. Its organizational habitus was initially sufficient. But after some time, it was clear, especially when confronted with a competitor in the same niche, that the organizational habitus was insufficient in terms of converting the general forms of capital to field-specific forms which led to the organization's downfall in the long run (Bourdieu, 2019). If we compare Pocketstället with the Bordeaux elite merchants we can make a proposition. Great amounts of economic capital make it possible for agents to establish themselves in a field, too, so to speak buy themselves a place. However, to survive in the long run and to successfully transpose practices that continue to be established economic capital in itself does not suffice. To do this a strong organizational habitus is needed.

Further, we showed how Storytel's organizational habitus, although very different from the habitus of agents in the field, was strong. We also showed that their capital configuration, especially after some time, was indeed very suitable for the endeavor that the organization undertook. Especially important was that Storytel's organizational habitus implied a superior understanding of, and ability to act appropriately, in relation to exogenous structural forces (Fligstein, 1990; Hoffman, 1999; Oliver, 1992). With the help of our conceptualization of power, understood as organizational habitus and capital configuration in relation to other power forces in the field, we have managed to provide a cohesive account for factors determining the eventual success of attempted transpositions. This is indeed different from the previous literature which has provided several fractional aspects that were connected to the success or failure of attempted transpositions (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a).

Figure 7.1. Illustration of suggested relation between institutional distance, resistance, and potential field change in transposition processes.



Small, as well as great, institutional distance between the outside field and the focal field, makes successful transposition more feasible than at-tempted transpositions carried out between fields with moderate institutional distance in between. This is illustrated in Figure 7.1 above. Small institutional difference implies that the fields are so similar that the new practices transposed are likely to be very similar and therefore easy recognizable by the agents in the focal field which is likely to create small resistance. Agents originating from a proximate field, that are the most likely agents to attempt to carry through such transpositions, are also likely to be similar in a way that does not provoke large resistance to their establishment. Moderate distance on the other hand implies that the practices that an agent attempts to transpose are dissimilar to those of the institutional configuration of the focal field and the implementation of these are therefore likely to be met with great resistance in the focal field. In the same way, agents that originate in fields at a moderate distance from the focal field are likely to be different and acknowledged as such which is likely to provoke great resistance. We have found, unexpectedly, that great distance also seems to make the resistance to transposition of practices smaller in the focal field and thus such transpositions more feasible. We argue that this is the case because such practices are so different that their implementation of them *initially* goes largely unnoticed by agents in the focal field. Similarly, agents originating in distant fields, the likely agents behind such transposition attempts, are so different that they are *initially* unrecognized as members of the field, which makes resistance small. The institutional distance between fields affects the result of successful transpositions in the way that small institutional distance tends to lead to small field changes and greater institutional distance tends to have the potential to lead to greater field changes. These results differed from the proposition we suggested based on the previous literature on transposition (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a).

In the Bordeaux international trading case, we showed how a small geographical distance was connected to a small institutional distance. This small distance made the transposition very feasible (Schneiberg, 2013). The resulting field change was small (Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012). In the Swedish book publishing case, we showed that the institutional distance between the focal field and the international record industry field was moderate. This made the transposition between the two fields hard, which the failure of Anderson pocket showed. Pocketförlaget then subsequently successfully transposed the same practices, but only because of their strong organizational habitus and suitable capital configuration. The resulting field change was small (Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012). The institutional distance between the Swedish supermarket field and the Swedish book publishing field was conceptualized as great (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Luo et al., 2021; Schneiberg, 2002) which implied that the Pocketstället initially had low recognition in the field a fact that probably made it easier for the organization to transpose practices to the focal field. However, because of their weak organizational habitus and their capital configuration they did not manage to stay established in the field for a long time, and the transposed practices did not become long-lived. What made the practices' lifetime a little greater was something similar to what happened at the publishing level. Namely, Pocketgrossisten, an agent with a stronger organizational habitus and a more suitable capital configuration took the same practices as Pocketstället and managed to succeed for a longer time. The resulting field change was small (Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012). Regarding Storytel, we showed that the Swedish tech startup was distant from the Swedish book publishing field (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Luo et al., 2021; Schneiberg, 2002). We showed that this institutional distance made it easier, especially initially, to transpose the institutions because both the transposition and the organization initially managed to go under the radar. The resulting field change was great (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Schneiberg, 2002). We have thus, contrary to the previous literature on transposition (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Haydu, 2002; Luo et al., 2021; Padgett & McLean, 2006; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a) provided a cohesive understanding of how the institutional distance between fields affect the feasibility of carrying through transpositions, as well as the potential results of such transpositions.

7.2. Contributions

This dissertation has contributed to existing knowledge in four different, partly overlapping, literatures: the literature on transposition, the social movement literature, the literature on field change and Bourdieu-inspired organizational analysis.

Organizational habitus

Through the formulation of the theoretical concept of organizational habitus, we have provided a powerful tool that can be used to analyze organizational agents' activities. Organizational habitus provides a way to account for how an organization's understanding of the field and ability to act, are formed by an amalgamation of the members' features and the organizational features of the organization. Regarding processes of transposition, it provides help in understanding how organizational agents, despite structural and agential resistance, succeed in carrying through an endeavor that, most times, are indeed challenging. The concept connects to the transposition literature that highlights that agents that successfully carry through transpositions usually are not any agent, but agents with specific characteristics (Haydu, 2002; Powell et al., 2012; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002, 2013a). The concept organizational habitus provides an accessible way to determine which these specific characteristics are and how they are formed and developed (cf. Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Luo et al., 2021; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012; Schneiberg, 2002).

The literature on transposition (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Luo et al., 2021) is connected to a larger discussion on the paradox of embedded agency (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Seo & Creed, 2002), an important theme in the field change literature (Boxenbaum & Battilana, 2005; Cardinale, 2019; Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002). We argue that organizational habitus provides a productive way to tackle this paradox. We understand organizational habitus as the structure in the agent, being the understanding of the field and ability to act in relation to the field. The field is on the other hand the structure of the agents. Structure and agency is thus mutually dependent which means that structure not only impedes but also enables action (cf. Lok &

Willmott, 2019; Sewell, 1992). The organizational habitus concept also provides an understanding of organizational agents as more complex than just being socialized or not socialized in a specific field. It takes seriously the question of forms of socialization that take place outside the focal field. It also accounts for socialization that had taken place in the field at other times. It asks what this implies for how the organization understands and can act accordingly to a specific focal field at a certain time.

The concept of organizational habitus is also a contribution to the social movement literature. It does so by providing an alternative to the social skill concept notable defined by Fligstein (1997) and Fligstein and McAdam (2011).

We proposed a definition of organizational habitus as the combination of all the habitus of the members of the organization, structured in relation to power, and well as the organization's organizational features. By doing this we have created a tool that makes it easier to use the full power of Bourdieu's framework for organizational analysis. Thus, answering to, and enabling others to answer to, calls to do so (Oakes et al., 1998; Ocasio et al., 2020). The habitus concept has been seen as the most evasive of Bourdieu's concepts and has seldom been used in organizational analysis (Dobbin, 2008; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Vaughan, 2008). Our comprehensive conceptualization of the organizational habitus provides a foundation for efforts to change this.

Agential power conceptualized as organizational habitus and capital configuration

We argued that conceptualizations and analysis of power relations are pivotal in any attempt to understand processes of field change and transposition. We suggested a such conceptualization in the form of the understanding of agential power as the organizational habitus and capital configuration in relation to other agents in, and the structure of, the field.

Our contribution to the transposition literature is twofold in this perspective. Our first contribution is that we have showed that power is a cohesive aspect of transposition. We have showed that power both determines why agents attempt to transpose insitutions and why some agents attempting this line-of-action succeed while others do not. Previous literature has also highlighted that succesful transpositions tends to lead to upheld or increased power for either the agent's carrying them through, the insitutions that has been transposed, or both. Thus, power constitutes the answer to three important questions regarding transposition. This fits well with Schneiberg's (2002, 2013a) reasoning. However, Schneiberg (2002, 2013a) did not provide a pronounced way to define power. This is what we redeem with our second contribution to the transposition literature. We have suggested a conceptualization of power as composed of organizational habitus and capital configuration of agents. By doing this we have described a way to encompass the different agential capabilities that have been suggested in the previous literature and showed how these can be translated to Bourdieusian concepts. We have shown how our conceptualization of agential power can be used to understand why agents attempt transpositions, why some agents manage to carry through transposition while others do not, and why this is. We have also, through the analysis of our empirical cases, and equipped with our conceptualization of agential power, managed to compare agents that succeded and agents that failed in their transposing endeavors, thus responding to calls to not only analyze successful transposition attempts.

Our conceptualization of agential power also consists a contribution to the social movement literature in two ways. Firstly, because it corroborates the tenets that show how important it is to give proper attention to power and power struggles (Fligstein, 1996; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; Giorgi et al., 2019; Hargrave & Van De Ven, 2006). Secondly, in particular in relation to these tenets, it provides a cohesive way of understanding the potential evavsive nature of agential power and how this can change depending on time and setting.

Connected to this, we also believe that we have contributed to the field change literature in a similar way. With noteworthy exceptions (e.g., Holm, 1995; Rao et al., 2000), the field change literature has payed little attention to power. Our conceptualization is therefore a contribution in that it illustrates the productive aspects of such a perspective, but also in that it provides a concrete framework that can be used to analyze power and power struggles. Importantly, our conceptualization provides an empirical testable way of relational analysis of power relations, and thus makes it possible to answer questions such as: Why do some agents initiate processes for field change? What determines which side other agents will take in such processes. What determines which processes will turn out to be successful?

Inter-field distance

By providing a basis for relational analysis of institutional distances between fields we have contributed to the understanding of inter-field relations. Inter-field relations have been discussed in the literature on transposition, the social movement literature, as well as in Bourdieu-inspired organizational analysis.

Since the transposition literature deals with the movment of insitutions between fields it is inherently connected to the question of inter-field institutional distance. Regarding this literature our conceptualization as well as our empirical analysis provides both general and specific contributions. In a general sense it proposes ways to account for inter-field institutional distance, something that hitertho has not been done in the literature. Specifically, we rejected the proposed relation between small institutional distance – small resistance to transposition attempts – small potential field change and great institutional distance – great resistance – great potential field change. Instead we showed that great institutional distance also was connected to less resistance to tranposstion attempts, while moderate institutional distance on the other hand was connected to greater resistance.

While inter-field relations are not inherently connected to the social movement theory, this theory has shown interest in these relations. Our conceptualization of relational institutional distance between fields could contribute to advancing the discussion about the role of institutional distance in such inter-field relations. In particular, our research shows and provides a way to handle that new agents in a field can have a background that is indeed very distant and does not necessarily originate in an outside fields within close proximity of the focal field (Fligstein, 1996; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Similarly, conceptualizations of the relational institutional distance between fields relate to work on field change that stresses the importance of inter-field relations (Furnari, 2016; Holm, 1995; Zietsma et al., 2017). Further, the conceptualization could inspire Bourdieu-inspired organizational analysis in general (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Lockett et al., 2014; Vaughan, 2008; Wild et al., 2020), as well as researcher especially inspired in inter-field relations (Oakes et al., 1998).

7.3. Avenues for future research

The concept of organizational habitus has the potential to inspire future research in several ways. Firstly, research that is more fine-grained and uses detailed empirics for members' features and organizational features in connection with the understanding of fields and the ability to act, i.e. aspects of the organizational habitus, would be interesting as a complement to our research. Such research could be conducted with purely qualitative methods, or with the help of statistical methods such as multiple correspondence analysis (Roux & Rouanet, 2010). Secondly, studies similar to ours could be conducted with other fields in scope. These three kinds of studies together also carry the prospect of further developing the concept of organizational habitus. Thirdly, organizational habitus can encompass learnings produced within the organizational knowledge, organizational identity, and organizational identity literature. A detailed review of this literature within a framework of our concept could therefore make our concept as well as potential research utilizing it richer.

We have showed how the conceptualization of agential power as the organizational habitus and capital configuration in relation to other agents in the field, can be used to analyze complex processes of field change. Therefore, we believe that research analyzing such processes could draw advantages from using this conceptualization or take inspiration from it.

In a wider sense and disregarding our specific framework we believe that it would be beneficial for more studies on field change within management and organization studies to analyze power and power relations. We believe that such analysis has great potential to further the understanding of field change processes. We also hope that this dissertation can be viewed as a call for management and organization scholars to wholeheartedly use Bourdieu's framework to a larger degree.

Finally, a question of great magnitude that this dissertation raises is how social worlds change and how we can best comprehend these changes. Two views tend to dominate perceptions of change. On the one hand, there is a view of change which can be labeled as evolutionary, an understanding of change that sees all change as step-by-step, and that brings with it the perception that nothing is truly new, but only a development of earlier versions. On the other hand, another view of social change exists which can be labeled as revolutionary, understanding change as abrupt and creating entirely novel paradigms. There are, of course, also examples of philosophical or ideological systems in which these two views are regarded as complementary. The question that this dissertation poses is, however, a different one. The question is whether or not phenomena that have been considered and have appeared as new are actually old, but originating from other contexts. Such a view could encourage scholars to more regularly ask questions such as: Does this phenomenon have roots in other realms of the social world? What is new and what is not new, regarding this phenomenon? In relation to what we have learned from this dissertation, such questions offer great promise for deepening our understanding of social phenomena, past or present. Indeed, it may assist us to understand the past in the present.

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Appendix

Methods for bibliometric-assisted literature reviews

Bibliometric analysis is an established way of getting insights from large sets of scholarly work. Its application is growing in management studies (e.g., Acedo et al., 2006; Batistič & Laken, 2019), in organization studies (e.g., Usdiken & Pasadeos, 1995; Vogel, 2012), as well as in neighboring and related disciplines, such as entrepreneurship (e.g., Cornelius et al., 2006), international business (e.g., Jiang et al., 2020), strategic management (e.g., Nerur et al., 2008) and marketing (e.g., Coombes & Nicholson, 2013). There is a plethora of different bibliometric methods. In order to make the use of such methods with a good fit with this dissertation, we decided to use two methods that are relational and that encompasses a historical perspective.

In order to investigate the knowledge base in the literature on field change a historical direct citation network was used (Garfield, 2004). A direct historical citation network shows a chronology of the most locally-relevant articles in the set (i.e., articles that have been cited the most within the dataset), and how they are connected through direct citations over time. Through this method, we can see how the knowledge base developed over time and how different strands of the literature build on previous work and are connected to each other (Garfield, 2004). This method is relational in the way that one of the two aspects it describes is the relation between the literature as well as which are the most cited documents. It is historical in the way that it shows developments over time.

In order to investigate the research front, we relied on a bibliographic coupling analysis (Kessler, 1963), which is a method that has proven to be well equipped to handle current research frontiers (Boyack & Klavans, 2010). Bibliographic coupling means that documents that cite the same document(s) are seen as connected. The more documents that two articles have cited, the stronger the connection. By creating a visualization of this network, one can discern in which directions recent research has moved. The latter means that we through the years the papers have been published can apprehend the historical aspect. Similar to the historical direct citation network, it is relational in the way that one of the aspects it measures is the relation between the documents with the largest amount of same references.

The upsides with a bibliometric analysis are that it both provides a way to avoid potential biases that traditional literature reviews can possess, as well as provide insights that are difficult to obtain with other methods (Zupic & Čater, 2015).

Compilation of bibliometric data

The database used to conduct the search was the World of Science Social Sciences Citation Index SSCI (WOS). The SSCI (WOS) database is by far the most used database for bibliometric analysis in management and organization (Zupic & Čater, 2015). The database covers the period 1986 to the present. In order not to miss any relevant results, the database was searched for keywords in titles, abstract, author keywords, and Keyword Plus (the latter is assigned by WOS via an algorithm) described below. We decided to limit the search in terms of outlets to only the most influential journals in management and organization. The Chartered ABS Academic Journal Guide 2018 was chosen to achieve this since it is one of the most used lists of journal quality and impact (Rowlinson et al., 2011). To limit the search further, journals ranked 4 or 4* in the categories Ethics - Corporate Social Responsibility – Management (denoted as ETHICS-CSR-MAN in the Journal Guide), Organization Studies (denoted ORG STUD), and Social Sciences (denoted SOC SCI) were searched. The journals searched can be found in Table 3.1.

The keyword search was conducted with the aim of finding as an extensive list of relevant results as possible. In choosing between performing the search too widely or too narrowly, the first was preferred while a manual review was trusted for removing irrelevant results (see below). The aim of the review was to provide a review of literature on field change that was not limited to neo-institutional theory, which is within the reach of the method as bibliometric analysis is a good way to analyze several schools of thought (Piñeiro-Chousa et al., 2020). All search terms that were used are presented in Table 3.2. Naturally, the terms "Field" and "Field level" were used, and the term "Institut" was also used in order to capture any neo-institutional theory discussing field change. The second part of the terms consisted of "change", as well as other words related to change, namely, stemmed versions of: dynamics, transformation, evolution, innovation, and emergence. The first part of the terms and the second parts of the terms were also substituted in order not to miss any relevant results due to different wording.

Table 3.2. Search terms and journals searched for creating the sample for the bibliographical literature review.

Search terms		Journals searched	
First part of term	Second part of term	Journal	AJG 2018 category
Field	Change	Academy of Management Journal	ETHICS-CSR-MAN
-	Dyna*	Academy of Management Review	ETHICS-CSR-MAN
-	Transform*	Administrative Science Quarterly	ETHICS-CSR-MAN
-	Evol*	Journal of Management	ETHICS-CSR-MAN
-	Innov*	Academy of Management Annals	ETHICS-CSR-MAN
-	Emerg*	British Journal of Management	ETHICS-CSR-MAN

Field level	Change	Business Ethics Quarterly	ETHICS-CSR-MAN
-	Dyna*	Journal of Management Studies	ETHICS-CSR-MAN
-	Transform*	Organization Science	ORG STUD
-	Evol*	Human Relations	ORG STUD
-	Innov*	Leadership Quarterly	ORG STUD
-	Emerg*	Organization Studies	ORG STUD
Change	In field*	Organizational Research Methods	ORG STUD
Dyna*	-	American Journal of Sociology	SOC SCI
Transform*	-	American Sociological Review	SOC SCI
Evol*	-	Annual Review of Sociology	SOC SCI
Innov*	-	Economic Geography	SOC SCI
Emerg*	-	Journal of Economic Geography	SOC SCI
Institut*	Change	Risk Analysis: An International Journal	SOC SCI
	Dyna*	Social Science and Medicine	SOC SCI
	Transform*	Sociology	SOC SCI
	Evol*	Sociology of Health and Illness	SOC SCI

	Innov*	
	Emerg*	
Change	Of institut*	
Dyna*	-	
Transform*	-	
Evol*	-	
Innov*	-	
Emerg*	-	

In the next step of the process, 303 articles were examined one-by-one manually, and were subjected to the following inclusion criteria:

- They treated field change as the dependent variable, which excluded articles that had field change as an independent variable; studies on isomorphism; articles on legitimacy processes after a field change; studies on path-dependency, and others

- The change in the field was not only described as external and/or a change in formal regulatory realms; the change had to be in the field level, i.e., studies dealing with only one organization were excluded, which meant that studies on so-called "micro-institutional change" were omitted

- They were not literature reviews focusing only on specific streams of literature that were not clearly connected to field change.

Table 3.3. Excluded articles and reasons for exclusion.

Number of articles	Reason
42	Change not the theme
38	Change not dependent variable
24	About isomorphism, institutionalization, or diffusion
23	Theoretical article or literary review not directly connected to field change
18	Change not field level

After reviewing all texts, 154 documents remained in the sample. The 40 most-local-cited references in the sample were then reviewed in order to determine if there were any important references that were not included in the set. These references were reviewed according to the same criteria as described for the selection in the initial search. After this review, seven locally-highly-cited articles were added to the sample.[4] Two well-established bibliometric software programs were chosen for the analysis. The bibliometrix package for R (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017) was used to do the historical direct citation network. VOSviewer (van Eck & Waltman, 2010) was chosen for the bibliographic coupling analysis due to its unparalleled visualization properties.

4 Greenwood, R., & Suddaby, R. (2006). Institutional entrepreneurship in mature fields: The big five accounting firms. Academy of Management journal, 49(1), 27-48.

Suddaby, R., & Greenwood, R. (2005). Rhetorical strategies of legitimacy. Administrative science quarterly, 50(1), 35-67.

Maguire, S., Hardy, C., & Lawrence, T. B. (2004). Institutional entrepreneurship in emerging fields: HIV/AIDS treatment advocacy in Canada. Academy of management journal, 47(5), 657-679.

Barley, S. R., & Tolbert, P. S. (1997). Institutionalization and structuration: Studying the links between action and institution. Organization studies, 18(1), 93-117.

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