

New Strategies on the Transnational Higher Education Market. The Case of Swedish Students in Paris and in New York

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Abstract

Globalisation does not always imply a weakening of the national arenas. The argument in this paper is that access to the most dominant positions within the expanding global market of higher education presupposes substantial investments within a national context. This goes for schools and universities that compete on the global market, as well as for individuals and social groups in their educational and professional strategies. The argument is underpinned by ongoing research on Swedish students in Paris and in the north-eastern U.S. Specific multiple correspondence analysis of the data is used in order to explore the relations between the students' assets, whether national or international, inherited or acquired, as well as the relations between the space of assets on the one side and the space of educational investments on the other.

It is common to talk about the “effects” of globalisation. In this paper we choose the opposite perspective. We present some findings on certain new uses of national systems -- namely educational systems -- that contribute to create the phenomena labelled globalisation.

Globalisation is often said to include two processes, the first strengthening international or multinational or global forces, the second strengthening certain privileged regions, and both weakening the national arenas. However, when it comes to the social functioning of for example educational systems and the formation of elites, the national level seems to be of pertinent and in some respects growing importance. In this paper we will suggest that individuals, social groups and educational institutions are forced to undertake substantial investments in a national context in order to gain access to the most dominant positions within the global market of higher education. This goes for schools and universities that compete on a global arena, as well as for individuals and social groups in their educational and professional strategies. We will base our arguments on ongoing research on Swedish students studying in Paris and the north-eastern part of the U.S. These investigations are parts of an extensive research program based on comprehensive datasets on the totality of Swedish students in upper secondary and higher education during the last decade, and on all registered Swedish students abroad, together with postal questionnaires, interviews, observations etc. The empirical basis for the research in Paris and U.S. consists of 290 and 462 postal surveys responded by the Swedish students in the regions and some 70 interviews with the same students. Furthermore, additional information such as printed or web-based material from the schools, magazine rankings, national statistics, and educational research has been used in order to understand the studies undertaken by the Swedish students.

Sweden belongs to the category of countries where investments in transnational relations are of crucial importance to many social groups and institutions. To study and/or work abroad is an almost compulsory preparation for ambitious trajectories within many sectors, from the corporate world to the cultural fields.

In the Swedish industrial world, which to an extraordinarily high degree is dominated by multi-national corporations (in several cases of Swedish origin: Volvo, Ericsson, IKEA, H&M), arising young pretenders are supposed to work abroad for some years. Before that their education typically included a year in the U.S. during upper secondary school and thereafter possibly a period at some leading American or Swiss business school. These career patterns seem to deviate from those in more self-sufficient countries such as the U.S. or France. While for Swedish future top executives to spend considerable time in selected foreign milieus is not a roundabout but a necessary way, such investments would for their French counterparts be a hazardous endeavour. The last mentioned run the risk to be driven out of competition by those who have been chosen to appropriate the most sought after assets available only on French soil. (Until rather recently this seems to have been the case in France, see Wagner 1998.)

Among intellectuals the pattern is similar. Today a large portion of the most ambitious young Swedish artists, writers and designers are to be found in New York or in Berlin. Nothing new in that. Almost all of the Swedish modernist elite in the early and mid 20th century had spent their younger years in Paris. Although few succeeded to make it in the French artistic field (on August Strindberg’s abortive early attempts to conquer Paris, see Gedin 2004) the time spent in Paris turned out to be valuable when the Swedish artists returned home.

An increasingly important -- and not sufficiently investigated -- part of the transnationalisation processes is connected to education. The number of Swedish students studying abroad did rise from just over 2,000 in the late 1980's to well over 25,000 a decade later. Today during each year approximately 10 percent of the Swedish student population spend at least three months studying abroad. For the Swedish educational institutions the student exchange programmes are weapons in their competition with each other and vehicles in their aspiration to attract suitable students. While for most institutions the main concern is merely to recruit a sufficient number of students in order to prevail, the dominating institutions use exclusive student exchange arrangements in order to gain success in the competition at the national market, above all by attracting the most coveted students. The few prestigious institutions at the very summit of the Swedish hierarchy use exchange programmes and other transnational co-operation arrangements for quite another purpose: to enter into the competition at a transnational educational market. One observation in our previous research is that in order to be recognised as a worthy participant in these struggles in the transnational field of higher education it is necessary for an educational institution to be number one in the national Swedish hierarchy. On the transnational arena there is only room for one Swedish prominent business school, one medical school, one or two engineering schools, and so on (Börjesson 1998).

The transnational market of higher education offers an immense variety of educational programmes, diplomas and schools. The choices also include country, culture, and language. These entities are symbolically charged. While U.S. higher education institutions are dominating on the global market, corresponding to the North American dominance in economic, political, military, and cultural terms, French education holds a dominant position with regards to certain countries, notably the former colonies, but it is also globally recognized in certain areas, such as the humanities. Furthermore, countries, cultures and languages are valued differently by different groups. To study French in Paris seems to have an everlasting attraction to Swedish women, especially from the affluent class, and forms part of an ideal life trajectory. (50 percent of the Swedish students in Paris study French language for foreigners and 80 percent of these are women. Out of the 22 students who study *lettres modernes* at universities, 21 are female, and all of them are of higher social origin). Among students from families where the economic capital dominates the cultural capital, studies in economics at a business school in the U.S. is a highly esteemed investment. (Out of the Swedish students from business executive families in the U.S. cohort as much as 45 percent study economics, compared to only 9 percent of the students from medical doctor families. In Sweden, where the traditional Bildungsbürgertum as well as the intellectuals occupy more peripheral positions than in some other countries, the medical doctor families constitute the group that is most clearly marked by its dependence on investments in cultural capital and its distance to the field of economic power).

In general, the Swedish students in Paris might be characterized as an elite in a double sense, a both social and meritocratic elite. Students with parents who hold university degrees are overrepresented (63 percent in comparison with 35 percent in the Swedish higher education, and 19 percent of all 16-year olds in the whole Swedish population) as well as students with outstanding grades. 32 percent have grades between 4,5 and 5,0 (5,0 being the highest), which only 10 percent of the students in Sweden have, and less than 5 percent of those leaving upper secondary school. The Swedish students in the north-eastern U.S., on the other hand, have not achieved the same scholastic success. Only 12 percent received grades between 4,5 and 5,0 from upper secondary school. Their social origin (45 percent with parents with a university degree) is generally higher than for students in Sweden, but nonetheless lower than for the

students in Paris. It is thus appropriate to label the Swedes in the north-eastern U.S. a social -- but not scholastic -- elite. See table 1.

Table 1. Swedish students in Paris and north-eastern U.S. and three reference groups. Key figures on gender, age, grades, social and national origin.

	Paris 2000	New York 1998	All students in Swedish higher education 1998	All 16 year old Swedes	All upper secondary school leavers 1997
N	290	462			
Women (percent)	78	69	54	-	-
Medium age	23 ½	25	27 ½	-	-
Higher social class origin (percent)	63	50	31	17	-
Parents with university degrees (min. 3 years) (percent)	63	45	35	19	-
High grades from upper secondary school (4,5-5,0) (percent)	32	12	10	-	4
National origin (students born outside Sweden) (percent)	5	5	8	7	-
National origin (both students and parents born in Sweden) (percent)	77	79	80	-	-

Thus the Swedish students in both Paris and north-eastern U.S. belong to elites, albeit of partly different kinds. There are also differences within each these two cohorts with regards to sex, age, former educational careers, international investments, social origin, etc. We have used a statistical technique, specific multiple correspondence analysis, in order to explore the relations between the students' assets, whether national or international, inherited or acquired.¹ The next step in the analyses has been to examine the relations between the space of assets on the one side and the space of educational investments in Paris and in the north-eastern U.S. on the other. Separate analyses of each cohort have been conducted, which makes it possible to compare the structure of one cohort with the structure of the other.

The main results might be summarised as follows (see table 2). In both cases, we obtain structured spaces based upon the relation between inherited and acquired capital, which further more can be divided according to a national/international dimension. Along the first axis in both analyses the individuals are distributed in accordance with differences in their inherited capital. There is in other words a polarity between students with extensive inherited assets (educational and international) and students whose parents lack these resources. Thereafter the axes differ.

Table 2. A comparison of two specific multiple correspondence analyses. Swedish students in Paris and in north-eastern U.S.

	Paris			North-eastern U.S.		
		Plus	Minus		Plus	Minus
Axis 1	Parents	Scholastic +	Scholastic -	Parents	Scholastic +	Scholastic -
Axis 2	Students	International +	International -	Students/parents	International +	International -
Axis 3	Students	France +	National -	Students	Long studies in Sweden, Good credentials	International +
Axis 4	Students	National +	National -	Students	Mainstream +	Cosmopolitan +
Axis 4	Parents	International ++	International +	Students	National +	American +

In the Paris survey, the second axis is oriented by the students' international investments (substantial investments are distinguished from lesser investments) and the third axis by the students' national endeavours or lack thereof. While the second and third axes are defined by

¹ The analyses are carried out in collaboration with Madame Brigitte Le Roux. For a thorough and up-to-date account of these and related methods, see Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004.

the students acquired resources, the fourth axis is as the first axis determined by the parents, separating the students whose parents possess the largest amounts of international assets from the others.

In the U.S. survey, we find a fairly similar second axis. The one pole represents students with parents who are born in and have studied and worked in other countries than Sweden. However, the other pole of the second axis represents not, as in the Parisian case, students with limited international resources but instead those students who have undertaken the heaviest investments in the Swedish educational system. In the U.S. case the second axis thus presents a tension between inherited and acquired capital, opposing the international and the national. The third and the fourth axes are mainly constituted by the data on the students' own investments and especially their national/international orientation. In the plane formed by the axes 3 and 4 a triangular cloud of individuals appears: there is one pole where students whose investments are primarily oriented towards the U.S. are concentrated (working life experiences in U.S., long-term studies abroad, language classes in Anglo-Saxon countries), another pole gathering students with a cosmopolitan orientation (they have worked in other countries than the U.S., attended language classes in other countries than Anglo-Saxon, taken humanities), and a third pole that represents the national (long-term studies in Sweden, high grades, and in upper secondary school they have taken the scientific programme, which in Sweden defines scholastic excellence).

Our analyses demonstrate the importance of separating the acquired resources from the inherited, as well as resources that are national in character from those that are international or transnational. As shown in the case of Swedish students in Paris, the plane of the first and the second axes enables a simultaneous exploration of the distribution of individuals according to both their inherited and their acquired international assets. One might also notice that national and international investments do not have to exclude each other. The combination of the second and third axes creates a plane defined by national and international dimensions of the investments of the students in which it is possible to identify those students who combine these two resources, those who lack both, and those who possess either.

In order to discern different types of transnational educational investments and strategies, we have performed Euclidean classifications of the individuals in each cohort.² For the Paris cohort we ended up with a classification in six groups, while the north-eastern U.S. population called for a more differentiated solution, leaving us with eight groups. In the following we will confine ourselves to four groups of each cohort. Within each of the two cohorts these four groups are clearly separated from each other, and their respective position within one cohort is rather homologous to its position in the other. See tables 3-5.

(1) **The international inheritors.** This group is one of the most distinct in both populations. It is constituted by the students whose parents are the richest in international resources (at least one of the parents born outside of Sweden, both having studied and worked abroad, at least one speak French -- which goes also for the parents of the students in the U.S. --, and at least one holds a university degree). The students own investments do not, however, quite match their parents' extensive international and educational resources. Although many of the students have passed the scientific programme in upper secondary school, they have not (as yet, this group is

² The Euclidean classification is an ascending hierarchical classification of individuals performed on the results from the specific multiple correspondence analysis, i.e. one uses the coordinates for all individuals on a majority of the axes (accounting for at least 85 percent of the inertia). See Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, pp. 106-116, 411-416.

the youngest in the U.S.-cohort) invested extensively in university studies neither in Sweden or abroad. There is a difference between the two cohorts: those in north-eastern U.S. seem to be more successful in their transnational educational investments than their French counterpart. While 20 percent of this group within the U.S. cohort are studying at a top university (compared to 10 percent for the whole U.S. cohort), the group is less well represented at the French *grandes écoles* (9 percent vs. 15 percent for the whole Paris cohort). One may bring up the hypothesis that the American elite schools are more open towards -- and dependent upon -- the international public than the French equivalents.

(2) **Investors in national-specific foreign assets.** In the French cohort this group is labelled International pretenders. They do not possess the same amount of inherited international capital as the international inheritors (for instance, almost all of them are of Swedish origin), but they themselves have gathered a lot of international experiences. In the U.S. cohort, the group is called the modal group since it is by far the largest. Specific to both groups are the whole-hearted investments in national-specific foreign assets (French in the first case, American or Anglo-Saxon in the second). Most important, they do not attempt to acquire neither Swedish assets (often not even any kind of Swedish higher education diploma) or cosmopolitan resources of the kind that are valid in various parts of the world. A typical life trajectory for this group in the French cohort is a woman (90 percent of them are women) who immediately after secondary school goes to France as au-pair, continue with French language classes for foreigners, temporary jobs at bars, French boyfriends, and later extensive further university studies in France, preferably in the humanities. Within the U.S. cohort the interest for humanities is substituted by a focus on economics (40 percent of the students studies economics, compared to 33 percent for all students in the cohort). The students are not to be found at the most prestigious institutions. In the U.S. they are underrepresented at the highest and second highest ranked universities and overrepresented at business schools, regional universities and community colleges, that is the institutions most easily accessible for foreigner (both in terms of financial means and scholastic demands). In France they are to primarily attending the universities and the private schools and certainly not in the French classes for foreigners (they have already been there) or the *grandes écoles* (where success in the French educational system is the normal requirement for acceptance).

An important difference between the French and the American group is that the students in the former have succeeded far better in secondary school than the latter, which is to be explained partly by Swedish national hierarchies of values. Investments in the American appear as mainstream even if it might be profitable, while French culture and French language are perceived as far more distinctive and exclusive. (Among Swedish university students those who take courses in French, or the French track within the international business administration programme, or within engineering and business management are characterized by a higher social origin compared to those who within the same type of programmes take English or German. This is also true for pupils who take French in secondary schools, and for students who choose French as their subject in teacher education programs.)

(3) **The dominated.** In contrast to the two groups mentioned, who possess rather substantial international, cultural and educational resources, either acquired or inherited, there are those students whose assets in these respects are limited (40 percent of this group within the Paris cohort and 28 percent of this group within the U.S. cohort are in the lowest grade category; 37 and 53 percent respectively have parents with a primary education as highest level; 80 to 100 percent have parents lacking international experiences of studies or work). They are less likely to invest in higher education in Sweden, perhaps due to the mediocre grades (48 and

72 percentages have never studied in Sweden at university level compared to 43 and 61 percent in general). When they search for opportunities abroad they are more or less obliged to use less profitable educational options, such as lower ranked private business schools, and regional universities (in the U.S. 47 percent attend regional universities, as compared to 30 percent of the whole cohort, and only 3 percent end up at first or second rate national universities, who host 16 percent of all students in the cohort; in Paris 14 percent enter private schools and 60 percent French language classes, comparable with 51 percent and 11 percent respectively for all students in the cohort, while only 9 percent enter the *grandes écoles*, compared to 15 percent of the whole cohort). Economics is the most common option in the U.S. cohort (almost half, or 47 percent, take economics; 33 percent of the whole cohort) while fine arts and French for foreigners are the most characteristic option for the Paris cohort. To those who originate from families in possession of economic capital such schools and types of programmes might be useful as a last resort and maybe to some extent compensate their own insufficient amount of acquired educational capital. They get a diploma, which in combination with inherited economic and social capital might be helpful, for example in the development of bluff strategies. The situation is worse for those who lack inherited resources and solely depend on the diploma.

(4) **The educational elite.** In both populations we find a group that is characterized by its extensive investments in the Swedish educational system. In the Paris cohort this is the modal group (one has to recall that the students in Paris in general have outstanding credentials), in the U.S. cohort it is the scientific students. In both groups, the scientific programme -- in Sweden the elite upper secondary school programme per preference -- is the dominating educational background (58 percent in the group within the Paris cohort, 32 percent in the whole cohort; 68 percent in the group within the U.S. cohort, 14 percent in the whole cohort), and we also find the largest shares of high grades (33 and 85 percent respectively, compared to 18 percent in both whole cohorts) accompanied by long-term studies at university level in Sweden -- they are students at, or have been admitted to, the most prominent Swedish institutions of higher education (the Stockholm School of Economics, the Royal Institute of Technology, the Karolinska Institutet, and so on). This strong concentration of acquired educational capital goes together with substantial amounts of inherited educational capital.

These students are to be found at the most prestigious foreign institutions, such as the *grandes écoles* in France (19 percent compared to 15 percent of the whole cohort) or the Ivy League universities in the U.S. (39 percent vs. 10 percent of the whole cohort).³ Normally they spend a few years abroad and are able to add the fruits (including social capital) of the studies at HEC, École Polytechnique, Harvard or M.I.T. to what they gain from the being a student at this school's most dominant Swedish counterpart.

The educational trajectories of the fourth group, the educational elite, illustrate our point that victories in the struggles at the national level are a prerequisite for success on a transnational market. This is valid both for individuals and social groups and for educational institutions. If you are a student at the Stockholm School of Economics and if you belong to the few most brilliant overachievers at that school, that is if you belong to the chosen ones among the chosen ones, then you are a strong candidate to a grant as exchange student at the Wharton School at University of Pennsylvania. And Stockholm School of Economics is the only Swedish

³ That the U.S. group is more overrepresented than the French group is probably due to the fact that it is smaller and more exclusive, a larger proportion of the group have for instance received high grades.

institution with which the Wharton School has such an exchange agreement. High positions within the national educational space give access to the most sought after segments of the global educational market.

This also means that the ongoing expansion of the global market and the mainstreaming (the Americanization, the Bologna process within EU, and so on) of certain aspects of the national educational systems do not imply a homogenisation of the national educational system. Rather, in a country such as Sweden the accentuated dependencies on foreign or transnational powers mean a stronger differentiation, segmentation and hierarchisation within the national space of educational institutions. The relations that Stockholm School of Economics cultivates with Wharton, Harvard, and London School of Economics reinforce its already extraordinarily privileged position at home.

Therefore in Sweden it seems most likely that the “effects” of globalisation, for example the new international career patterns, are no immediate threat to neither the social machinery of the national educational system nor the most well-to-do social groups. Their investments in transnational assets serve as additions rather than as alternatives to what the national system has to offer. It is rather groups of smaller means, as always more inclined to engage into one-sided investments, who do not tack their recourses too much in the national educational system but instead pin their faith in a fast track into the international.

Since the lion’s share of the global elites is constituted by fractions of national elites, in order to understand the development of the global it is necessary to scrutinize the transformations of the polarities and hierarchies within the national.

One single example from our research on the space of Swedish secondary education might illustrate this point. In 1992 a new study program was launched at a rather low-ranked upper secondary school in Stockholm intended to prepare for high-aiming careers within the European Union. This ambition was rather unique at that time, and at the outset the program did almost exclusively attract students of middle class or lower middle class origin with rather little inherited cultural capital (the upper classes tend to be somewhat hesitant towards untested recipes). Soon however the program started to recruit students from the affluent class as well. The result was violent disagreements between these students and the teachers. Although the last mentioned students did not mind to take subjects such as international economy, they did not accept that Swedish language or Swedish history was neglected and they did not understand why a Swedish teacher should use the English language in his classes for Swedish students on Swedish history. The reactions of these well-to-do students seemed to be related to the kind of strategies where the successful acquisition of national cultural capital *precedes* the serious investments in transnational assets. By contrast to their less well-off school mates (and possibly some among the teachers) they knew, or at least acted as if they knew, that truly precious transnational assets were never to be expected to be available during your years in secondary school but must be conquered later in life in struggles where the winners often belong to the inheritors of national culture.⁴

⁴ Broady, Heyman and Palme, 1997.

Table 3. Groups of students based on Euclidean classification, Swedish students in Paris and in the north-eastern U.S. and some characteristics.

	N	Parents – highest level of education			Parents – studied abroad			Parents – worked abroad			Par. – immigration.	Parents – linguistic competence			Upper Secondary Education					Grades		University studies abroad		University studies Sweden		Worked abroad			Language classes abroad			
		Primary education	University studies (min. 3 years)	Not studied abroad	One parent has studied abroad	Both parents have studied abroad	Not worked abroad	One parent has worked abroad	Both parents have worked abroad	No one speaks French		One parent speaks French	Both parents speaks French	Vocational programmes	Economics	Social sciences	Humanities	Technology	Science	0-3,6 (low grades)	4,7-5,0 (high grades)	Not studied abroad.	Min. 3 semesters	Not studied in Sweden	Min. 5 semesters in Sweden	Not studied in Sweden	Not worked abroad	Worked in other countries	Worked in France	No language classes	In other countries	In France
Paris 2000																																
Technologists	12	8,3	83,3	83,3	8,3	8,3	41,7	33,3	25,0	16,7	58,3	33,3	8,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	8,3	16,7	83,3	8,3	0,0	75,0	58,3	16,7	25,0	41,7	8,3	50,0	
Aesthetes	15	13,3	53,3	73,3	20,0	6,7	53,3	33,3	13,3	20,0	60,0	33,3	6,7	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	60,0	20,0	80,0	0,0	86,7	6,7	6,7	60,0	13,3	20,0	
1. International inheritors	21	4,8	76,2	0,0	0,0	100,0	4,8	19,0	76,2	76,2	38,1	19,0	42,9	0,0	9,5	23,8	9,5	0,0	47,6	14,3	33,3	52,4	9,5	33,3	33,3	71,4	19,0	9,5	23,8	19,0	52,4	
4. The modal group	114	1,8	72,8	58,8	36,0	5,3	51,8	36,0	12,3	25,4	53,5	33,3	13,2	0,9	5,3	30,7	3,5	0,0	57,9	8,8	10,5	57,0	3,5	47,4	38,6	81,6	8,8	9,6	28,9	21,1	47,4	
3. The dominated	65	36,9	40,0	95,4	1,5	3,1	84,6	6,2	9,2	9,2	73,8	21,5	4,6	0,0	26,2	50,8	1,5	0,0	10,8	40,0	23,1	67,7	9,2	47,7	16,9	55,4	32,3	12,3	36,9	9,2	50,8	
2. International pretenders	63	9,5	65,1	69,8	17,5	12,7	55,6	34,9	9,5	11,1	58,7	25,4	15,9	0,0	0,0	36,5	44,4	0,0	14,3	11,1	25,4	31,7	44,4	33,3	20,6	19,0	17,5	63,5	28,6	3,2	66,7	
Total	290	12,4	63,4	66,9	19,7	13,4	56,2	27,6	16,2	21,7	58,6	27,9	13,4	5,5	8,6	33,1	12,1	4,1	31,7	17,6	17,9	54,8	15,2	43,1	29,0	60,7	16,9	22,4	32,4	13,4	51,4	
North-eastern US 1998																																
1. International inheritors	49	6,1	69,4	10,2	4,1	85,7	4,1	14,3	81,6	61,2	0,0	4,1	40,8	46,9	8,2	10,2	28,6	8,2	4,1	26,5	12,2	8,2	22,4	22,4	63,3	6,1	61,2	10,2	24,5	75,5	8,2	16,3
Technologists	37	13,5	43,2	91,9	5,4	2,7	70,3	27,0	2,7	8,1	10,8	37,8	8,1	8,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	29,7	13,5	40,5	27,0	35,1	24,3	64,9	16,2	16,2	67,6	2,7	27,0
Arts students	41	17,1	58,5	70,7	29,3	0,0	63,4	19,5	17,1	17,1	2,4	22,0	0,0	43,9	0,0	0,0	2,4	95,1	0,0	0,0	22,0	17,1	34,1	26,8	75,6	4,9	48,8	22,0	26,8	53,7	19,5	24,4
3. The dominated	36	52,8	13,9	100,0	0,0	0,0	91,7	8,3	0,0	5,6	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	33,3	41,7	19,4	0,0	0,0	0,0	27,8	8,3	30,6	25,0	72,2	8,3	55,6	16,7	22,2	63,9	8,3	25,0
4. Scientific students	54	7,4	74,1	83,3	16,7	0,0	46,3	33,3	20,4	5,6	0,0	42,6	5,6	31,5	3,7	9,3	5,6	1,9	0,0	68,5	1,9	85,2	31,5	25,9	40,7	42,6	72,2	11,1	16,7	37,0	24,1	35,2
Cosmopolitans	44	6,8	56,8	34,1	63,6	2,3	40,9	25,0	34,1	25,0	4,5	13,6	15,9	47,7	4,5	38,6	38,6	0,0	0,0	2,3	9,1	18,2	38,6	20,5	43,2	15,9	43,2	43,2	11,4	31,8	47,7	18,2
Vocational students	40	37,5	40,0	87,5	10,0	2,5	75,0	20,0	5,0	20,0	0,0	67,5	5,0	10,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	22,5	5,0	57,5	15,0	85,0	5,0	65,0	10,0	20,0	70,0	5,0	22,5
2. The modal group	161	26,7	29,8	90,7	7,5	1,9	71,4	26,7	1,9	16,8	1,9	37,9	10,6	15,5	7,5	46,0	34,2	0,0	0,6	9,3	26,1	4,3	24,8	28,6	67,1	5,0	64,0	9,9	25,5	52,8	2,5	42,2
Total	462	21,4	45,0	74,7	14,9	10,4	59,5	23,4	17,1	19,7	10,0	30,7	11,3	24,0	15,6	25,1	21,0	9,5	8,7	14,3	19,9	17,7	32,0	25,1	61,5	12,3	60,8	15,4	21,6	55,0	12,1	30,5

Table 4. Groups of students based on Euclidean classification, Swedish students in Paris and types of schools and fields of study.

	Sex	Age	Types of schools, 4 categories				Types of schools, 11 categories											Field of studies										
			Men	Mean	Grandes écoles	Universities	Private schools	French for foreigners	ECPX	HEC/ESCP/ESSEC	IEP/HESS	GE d'ingénieur autre	GE autres	Universities (Paris)	Universities (outside Paris)	Private universities	Business schools	Art schools	French for foreigners	French for foreigners	Humanities	Language	Medicine/Science	Economics	Sociology/psychology	Political science/Law	Technology	
Technologists	12	58,3	26,1	25,0	8,3	8,3	58,3	16,7	0,0	0,0	8,3	0,0	8,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	8,3	58,3	16,7	0,0	58,3	0,0	8,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	16,7	
Aesthetes	15	6,7	21,7	13,3	0,0	6,7	80,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	13,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	6,7	80,0	20,0	0,0	80,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	
1. International inheritors	21	23,8	23,9	9,5	47,6	9,5	33,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	9,5	0,0	38,1	9,5	9,5	0,0	0,0	33,3	0,0	19,0	33,3	4,8	9,5	9,5	9,5	4,8	9,5	
4. The modal group	114	26,3	22,8	19,3	14,0	6,1	60,5	5,3	4,4	2,6	5,3	1,8	9,6	4,4	0,0	4,4	1,8	60,5	1,8	3,5	60,5	1,8	6,1	10,5	0,9	4,4	10,5	
3. The dominated	65	24,6	24,1	9,2	16,9	13,8	60,0	1,5	3,1	3,1	0,0	1,5	12,3	4,6	1,5	4,6	7,7	60,0	9,2	7,7	60,0	1,5	1,5	9,2	3,1	6,2	1,5	
2. International pretenders	63	9,5	24,1	14,3	44,4	17,5	23,8	0,0	1,6	9,5	0,0	3,2	38,1	6,3	9,5	4,8	3,2	23,8	3,2	14,3	23,8	14,3	1,6	12,7	14,3	14,3	1,6	
Total	290	22,4	23,5	15,2	22,8	10,7	51,4	3,1	2,8	3,8	3,1	2,4	17,9	4,8	3,1	3,8	3,8	51,4	5,2	7,6	51,4	4,5	4,1	9,7	4,8	6,6	6,2	

Table 5. Groups of students based on Euclidean classification, Swedish students in the north-eastern U.S. and types of schools and fields of study.

	Sex	Age	Types of Schools								Field of studies										
			Men	Mean	Community Col.	Business school	Art-2 tire	Art-1 tire	Reg-3-4 tire	Reg-1-2 tire	Nat-Univ-3-4 tire	Nat-Univ-2 tire	Nat-Univ-1 tire	Humanities	Fine arts/design	Medicine/Science	Health/Teaching	Computer science/Technology	Economics	Media/Communications	Social sciences
1. International inheritors	49	36,7	23,8	6,1	14,3	10,2	4,1	20,4	4,1	14,3	6,1	20,4	8,2	18,4	8,2	2,0	10,2	34,7	10,2	0,0	8,2
Technologists	37	67,6	25,8	2,7	5,4	8,1	2,7	27,0	2,7	35,1	8,1	8,1	5,4	13,5	5,4	0,0	29,7	35,1	8,1	0,0	2,7
Arts students	41	7,3	25,4	9,8	4,9	29,3	2,4	22,0	9,8	17,1	2,4	2,4	12,2	34,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	12,2	17,1	14,6	9,8
3. The dominated	36	27,8	26,1	13,9	11,1	11,1	2,8	33,3	13,9	11,1	2,8	0,0	11,1	19,4	0,0	5,6	0,0	47,2	5,6	8,3	2,8
4. Scientific students	54	33,3	25,2	1,9	3,7	5,6	1,9	18,5	1,9	14,8	13,0	38,9	11,1	9,3	11,1	1,9	18,5	24,1	3,7	7,4	13,0
Cosmopolitans	44	25,0	24,5	6,8	11,4	11,4	4,5	20,5	2,3	25,0	13,6	4,5	13,6	18,2	2,3	4,5	0,0	38,6	4,5	9,1	9,1
Vocational students	40	30,0	25,3	22,5	5,0	27,5	0,0	27,5	5,0	7,5	2,5	2,5	12,5	27,5	2,5	20,0	10,0	15,0	0,0	10,0	2,5
2. The modal group	161	27,3	24,4	12,4	14,3	10,6	3,1	27,3	4,3	20,5	2,5	5,0	8,7	16,1	3,1	9,3	3,7	40,4	5,0	7,5	6,2
Total	462	30,5	24,9	10,0	10,2	13,0	2,8	24,9	5,0	18,6	5,6	10,0	10,0	18,4	4,1	6,3	7,8	33,1	6,3	7,1	6,9

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