

The Art of Success in Art Social Origin, Gender, Education, and Career 1945-2007

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Introduction

The Art of Success in Art. Social Origin, Gender, Education, and Career 1945-2007 is an interdisciplinary project assembling researchers from economic history, art history, sociology of education, social anthropology, and mathematics. Its main aim is to study the recruitment to education in the fine arts at different levels of the educational system and, to be more precise, examine the relations between, on the one hand, social origin and education in fine arts, and on the other hand, the educational institutions and the field of art production. The project will draw on a wide range of sources, such as student registers, school catalogues, year books, travel reports, protocols, gallery catalogues, national censuses, data registers from Statistics Sweden, surveys, interviews, and observations. The sources indicate that many different methods will be used, where prosopography, statistical analyses (primarily Geometric Data Analysis), interviews, document analysis, ethnographic observations will be the most important.

Fig. 1. Male and female students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts, 1881-2005

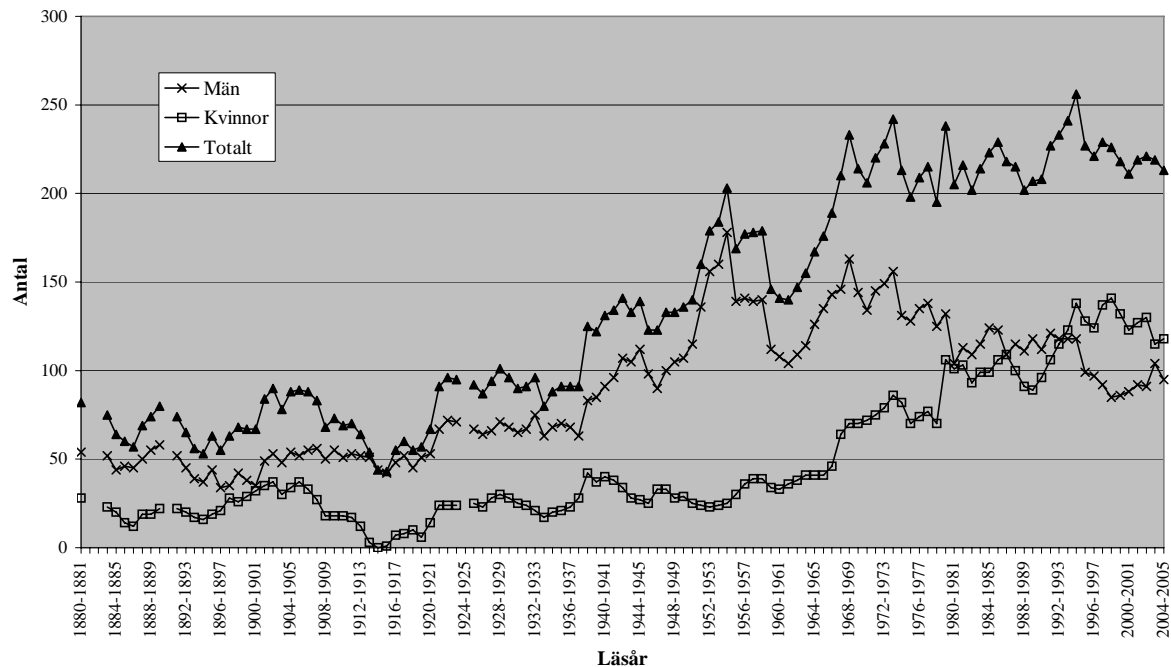


Figure 1 shows the relation between male students (the line with cross) and female students (the line with rectangle) at the *Royal University College of Fine Arts*—the leading art school, established 1735 in Stockholm—during the period 1881-2005. From 1945 and ahead the female students increase, and the last 10-15 years they have been in majority of the students.

The project will only cover the last 50 years, 1945-2005, of this long period. To not include the whole period is based upon a decision to limit the time span in order to give priority to a more extensive collection of data. This will enable us to not only raise questions about the relations between man and women, but also between different social groups, generations etc. This shorter period is still very interesting. For instance, in 1965 the state introduces general study loan. When poor peoples children could afford to study on higher levels, did it make any difference in the social recruitment to this College of Fine Arts? The whole system of higher education was reformed in 1977, and art education was integrated in the national system of higher education. It is of course interesting to study if this fundamental change did have any effects on the recruitment. Furthermore, one can ask if the increased importance of internationalisation of

higher education during the 1990's altered the attraction of the College of Fine Arts. During the period, the number of institutions of higher learning offering education in fine arts has increased, from two in the beginning of the period to five today. For example, the former preparatory school Konstfack in Stockholm has now a proper program in fine arts and is a strong challenger to the College of Fine Arts. It remains much work on the recruitment to the different programs and the transformations over time.

Furthermore, the ambition is to relate the studies of recruitment to the educational institutions to the field of art production. One can then inquire into the social conditions for the forming of artistic generations and try to relate important changes in the field of art to the production of artist. By collecting data on all artists in the field, it will be possible to determine the importance of educational investments. One hypothesis is that it has become almost quasi mandatory to have attended some of the leading art colleges in order to occupy a stable position on the field of art production.

In this paper we present our research design, our sources and some preliminary results.

Research questions

The project focuses on art student's origins, education and career. Important questions include:

- What paths lead to higher education in fine arts?
- What are the characteristics of those who end up there (social origin, gender, scholastic success, etc)?
- How do their careers develop?
- Other ways into the artistic field than by schools?
- How has all this changed over the last fifty years?

The project would also like to address a number of more general themes: The exit of the State from the field of art and the entrance of economic interests and the consequences of this for the autonomy of the field. Furthermore, we will rise the perhaps some provocative question if the colleges of fine art foremost educate very advanced consumers (and not producers). Finally, a focus on geographical transformations and relations (regional, national and transnational) is underlying the project's different studies. For example the geographical recruitment is interesting to explore as well as the geographical extension of the field of art production.

Research design

Five studies are included. Three with a more structural perspective that deals with the whole educational system:

- 1) the field of upper secondary schools and the field of preparatory art schools 1988-2005
- 2) the position of art education in the field of higher education 1977-2005
- 3) the position of art education in the field of elite education 2004-2007

One historical study about the students in one – the only – elite school in Stockholm during the period 1939-1986:

- 4) students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts 1939-1986

And a study about “leading” artists that combine a structural and a historical perspective:

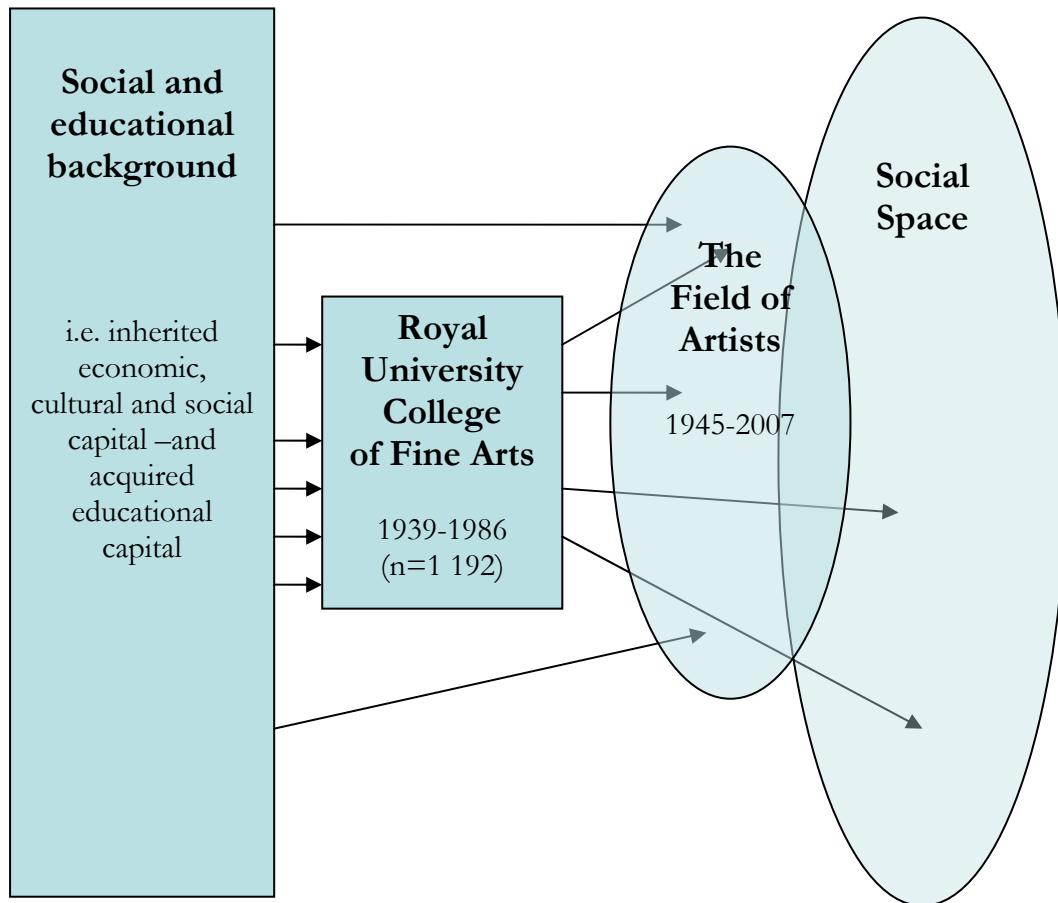
- 5) all “leading” artists in the Swedish field of art production 1945-2005

For all of the five studies, our ambition is to gather information about the following assets:

- Social origin (inherited economic, artistic, cultural and social capital)
- Educational capital (acquired)
- School related artistic capital (acquired)
- Artistic capital (acquired field-specific capital)
- Economic capital (acquired)
- Social capital (acquired)

In the following we will present our research model for the prosopographical studies 4 and 5. After that we will discuss our main sources and present some preliminary results.

Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Research Design Prosopographical Studies (Study number 4 and 5).



In the two prosopographical studies we work with an institutional definition of individuals (the research objects):

- 1) All students in one elite school in Stockholm 1939-1986

This study includes all students in the *Royal University College of Fine Arts* 1939-1986. The period of investigation starts 1939 to facilitate the inclusion of the first new young art generation in the Swedish postwar period: “The men of 1947.” They were namely registered students at the Art College between 1939 and 1947. The reason to stop around 1980 is more arbitrary, it is partly a time and work saving step, and partly a decision motivated by the fact that the access to educational statistical data is considerably better from this period and onwards, making this type of study more effectively done with already available digitalised data from Statistics Sweden.

The first step was to gather information about all the students in the school archives (finished in the autumn 2006). The next step is to follow the students back in time—to the left in figure 2—and gather information from historical census data about their social, educational and geographical background (not yet started) and to follow their steps—to the right in figure 2—out of the school to different positions in the art field or, if they do (or did) not manage to occupy a position in these field, to some other area on the labour market (just started spring 2007).

- 2) All leading artists in the (Swedish) field of art production 1945-2007

How to find good indicators of success in the art world? To define successful and “leading” artists in the postwar period, we will use a multidimensional criterion. A leading artist is a person that at least come up to, say, five of the criteria below:

- a) Exhibited at the most central galleries (about 30 are on our list)
- b) Reviewed by the most important art critics (about 20 are on our list)
- c) Reviewed in prestigious art journals (about 5 are on our list)
- d) Reviewed in daily press (the two biggest newspapers are on our list)
- e) Own texts or publications by others (art books, monographs etc)
- f) Acquired by/obtained missions of public art by the Swedish Art Council
- g) Exhibited/acquired by museums (5 in Sweden, 6 in other countries)
- h) Exhibited at international fairs (9 biennials etc are on our list)
- i) Acquired scholarships and prices
- j) Teaching (chancellor, board, professor, teacher etc)
- k) Administrative missions and positions
- l) Members of different associations

These two studies are related. The students in study 4 will be analyzed in perspective of study 5. How many of the students from the *Royal University College of Fine Arts* 1939-1986 emerge in the troop of “successful” artists? How many of the successful comes from other art schools (for example Valand in Gothenburg)? Are there any alternative routes to central positions in the art field that does not go via the schools?

Studies

Study I—The Field of Upper Secondary Schools and the Field of Preparatory Art Schools 1988-2005

This study will be based upon national data on individual basis from Statistics Sweden (www.scb.se). The research group Sociology of Education and Culture (SEC), Uppsala University, has at its disposal a large number of databases ordered from Statistics Sweden. We will here briefly describe the databases and their content and thereafter present some results from former and ongoing studies. First a few words on the national statistics in Sweden.

National Statistics in Sweden—a Remarkable Research Asset

The conditions for large-scale statistical investigations are very favourable in Sweden. Statistics was historically developed as a body of knowledge about the state and its subjects. The important role of the State is also visible in the term—*stat-istics*. Sweden has the worlds' oldest national statistical services, which partially is explained by the fact that Sweden early constructed a strong centralised nation state. *Tabellverket* was founded in 1749 and some series of statistics (population data) go back to the beginning.¹ Statistics on the national educational system is however of a newer date. Regarding higher education, it is possible to have information of all registered students from 1977 and onwards. For upper secondary education and compulsory school, the series starts in 1987-1988. Data on school teachers and university staff are available from 1978 and 1984.

The most important aspect with Swedish national statistics is today the possibility to process data on individual level from a wide range of sources. Since all Swedes have a *unique personal code number*, the date of birth plus a four digit number (YYMMDD-NNNN), it is possible to link information about an individual in one database to information about the same individual in another database. For research purposes, Statistics Sweden creates databases on individual basis. When delivered to the researcher, the personal code numbers have been changed to a serial number, unique for each individual, which makes it possible for the researcher to link the information in the different databases to each other on the individual level.

SEC-Reg-4—Databases on an Individual Level from Statistics Sweden

For the study on the field of upper secondary schools, SEC has a database on all upper secondary school leavers from 1987 to 2005. For the period 1995 to 2005 we have data also on all registered pupils each year. The databases cover the following:

¹ Regarding the history of statistics in Sweden, see Karin Johannisson, *Det mätbara samhället. Statistik och samhällsdröm i 1700-talets Europa*, Norstedts, Stockholm 1988; Henrik Höjer, *Svenska siffror. Nationell integration och identifikation genom statistik 1800-1870*, Gidlunds, Hedemora 2001; Olle Sjöström, *Svensk statistikhistoria. En undanskymd kritisk tradition*, Gidlunds, Hedemora 2002.

Upper Secondary School Leavers 1987-2005 and Upper Secondary School Pupils 1995-2005

- Name of school
- School municipality
- School county
- School authority (municipal, county, private)
- Study programme
- Averaged grades
- Grades in each subject
- Subjects taken
- Semester (only for registered pupils)

Another database contains information on all pupils in supplementary education, that is post-secondary programmes that do not have status of higher education. Many preparatory art schools are found in this category. We have data from 1994 to 2005 for this type of schools. This database has never been used for systematic studies of social recruitment before.

Supplementary Education 1994-2005

- Name of school
- School municipality
- School county
- School authority (municipal, county, private)
- Study programme

Thanks to a database on generations and family constitutions it is possible to link a certain pupil to its mother and father or other care takers (biological as well as others). This enables in-depth studies of social origin since SEC also disposes information on the whole Swedish population 16-64 years in the national census and other registers from 1960 up till 2004. These databases contains for example:

National Census and Other Sources on Social Security, Working Conditions and Incomes

- Year of birth
- Sex
- Citizenship
- Birth country (or aggregated region)
- Birth county
- County
- Municipality
- Parish
- Civil status
- Number of children
- Highest education (level)
- Highest education (orientation)
- Type of employment (fulltime, halftime)
- Occupation
- Socioeconomic position
- Sector of activity
- Industry
- Income of labour
- Income of other sources (pension, sick leave, studies, etc)
- Wealth
- Type of housing
- Number of rooms
- Number of people in household

Some Previous Results

We have since the 1980's conducted statistical analysis of the national educational system and correspondence analysis (today included in the family of methods known as Geometric Data Analysis)² has been a preferred method to capture the structural dimensions of the educational spaces or fields.³ The figure below is the result of a simple correspondence analysis on all pupils in upper secondary school in the years 1997-2000, which can be seen as a social map for the upper secondary educational system. The map gives us a total picture over all relationships, analogues with geographical maps, showing distances between lots of places.

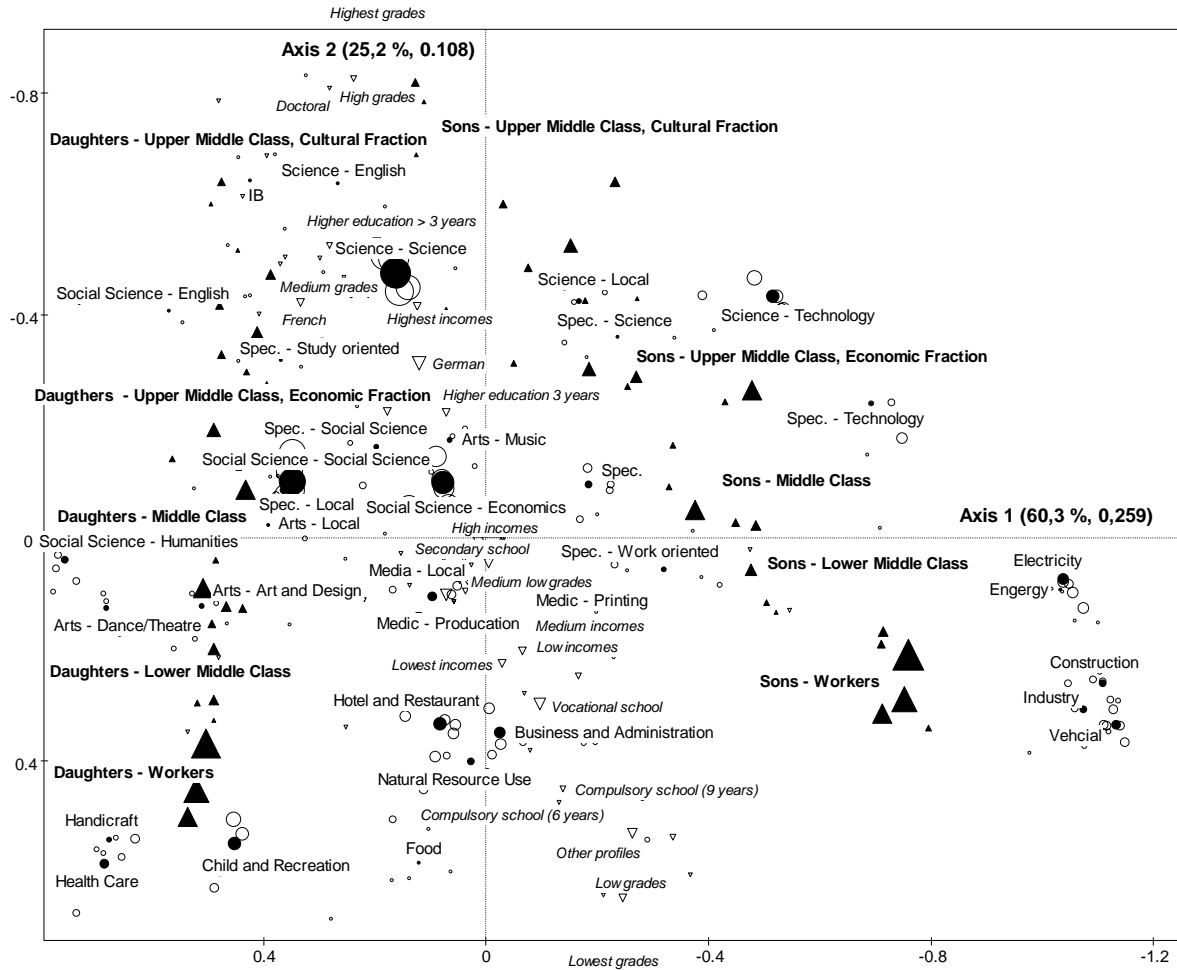
The structure has a triangular form. The gender difference is accentuated at the triangular base where we find pupils mostly coming from working class families. Here we find programmes oriented towards building, industrial and mechanical work, nursing and caring, i.e. traditional male and female working class occupation. When we move up in the social hierarchy, the gender differences decrease. The boys and girls of high social origin are mixed at the summit of the social hierarchical structure, more precisely at the Natural Science Program with specialization in Natural Science. The social dimension of the second axis corresponds to a sharp division between two so called programmes preparatory for further studies (formerly known as theoretical) —the Natural Science Programme and the Social Science Programme—at the top and the fourteen vocationally-oriented programmes (practical programmes) at the bottom. Additionally, the found main pattern is very stable. It appears when we study the upper secondary education on a national level and we find similar structures in the different regions.

In the figure, the Arts Programme and its specialisations, which are classified as vocationally-oriented programmes, are found in the middle and to the left. This implies that they mainly recruit pupils of middle and lower middle class origin and that girls are overrepresented. Regarding the social origin, it is interesting to note that there is not a large distance to the social science programme, despite the different classifications, the former being a programme preparatory for further studies and the latter a vocationally-oriented program. It is clearly the case that the Arts Programme (together with the Media Programme) sets itself apart from the other vocationally-oriented programmes by a social recruitment more in line with the Social Science Programme (but not the Natural Science Programme, which is heavily dominated by pupils of upper middle class origin). Furthermore, the figure displays gender differences among the Art Programme's specialisations. Dance/Theatre is the most female oriented, where approximately four out of five pupils are girls. Art/Design has a slightly lesser proportion of female pupils, while the Music specialisation is the most gender balanced.

² Brigitte Le Roux & Henry Rouanet, *Geometric Data Analysis. From Correspondence Analysis to Structured Data Analysis*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, Boston, London 2004.

³ See for example, Donald Broady, Mats B. Andersson, Mikael Börjesson, Jonas Gustafsson, Elisabeth Hultqvist & Mikael Palme, "Skolan under 1990-talet. Sociala förutsättningar och utbildningsstrategier", pp. 5-133 i SOU 2000:39, *Välfärd och skola*; Donald Broady & Mikael Börjesson, "En social karta över gymnasieskolan", pp. 90-99 i *Ord&Bild*, nr 3-4 2006 – Skolan. The analysis cover the period up till 2001.

Fig. 2. The Swedish Space of Upper Secondary Education 1997-2000



Study II—The Field of Higher Education and the Positions of Art Education 1977-2005

SEC-Reg-4—Databases on an Individual Level from Statistics Sweden

Also in this study data from Statistics Sweden will form the main empirical basis. SEC has besides educational data on upper secondary education and supplementary education and data on social origin also data on higher education, namely all students enrolled (1977 to 2005), all students graduating (1962-2005), all students applying for higher education (2001-2005), all doctoral students enrolled (1971-2005) and all staff (1984-2005).

Students Applying to Higher Education (2001-2005)

- Name of the institution of higher education
- Courses
- Programme
- Degree
- Priority of choice
- Admission

Students Enrolled in Higher Education (1977-2005)

- Name of the institution of higher education
- Courses
- Programme
- Number of credit points of the course
- Rate of studies
- Course level

Student' Results (1993-2005)

- Name of the institution of higher education
- Course
- Programme
- Number of credit points of the course
- Rate of studies
- Number of credit points produced

Student' Degrees (1962-2005)

- Name of the institution of higher education
- Degree

Staff in Higher Education (1984-2005)

- Name of the institution of higher education
- Position
- Employment rate
- Scientific area
- Subject

Doctoral students (1971-2005)

- Name of the institution of higher education
- Faculty
- Subject
- Source of income
- Activity
- Semester of degree
- Type of degree
- Degree subject

Some Previous Results

In an overall analysis of the field of higher education in Sweden 1998, we find a similar structure as for the analysis of the field of upper secondary education. The two primary dimensions combined form a two-dimensional space, within which the educational programmes and courses are positioned in a triangular shape. The uneven distribution between the sexes is most evident at the base, dominated by students of working class background (some of these programmes display a 90/10 ratio between the sexes). Sons and daughters of the social elites meet at some of the most prestigious educational programmes, especially the medical programme.⁴

The educational programmes and courses as well as the seats of higher education are not randomly distributed in the space. Along the gender axis, engineering programmes to the right are opposed to programmes in education, nursing and social care to the left. Programmes in economy, law and medicine are positioned in the middles, indicating a balance of male and female students. The social hierarchical dimension differentiates the traditional universities, such as the universities in Uppsala and Lund, and traditional professional schools (for instance Stockholm School of Education, Karolinska institutet, and Royal Institute of Technology) at the top from university colleges and colleges of health science at the bottom. Also the educational programmes follow certain logic. Long and selective programmes leading to traditional professions, such as doctors, lawyers and engineers, are situated at the top of the figure, clearly contrasted by the shorter programmes in nursing, education and engineering in the lower sector of the space.

The educational programmes in fine and applied arts are mainly distributed in the upper left quadrant, where women for upper middle class origin dominate. The figure does however not real justice to specificity of the recruitment to most of the art programmes. It is only based upon the social origin, and a distinctive feature of the art colleges is that the educational background of the students differs from other prestige programmes in the same area of the space. While study-oriented upper secondary programmes in general and the Natural Science Programme in particular together with outstanding educational credentials form the common background among elite students, the art students to a larger extent have studied vocationally-oriented programmes (especially the Art Programme) and normally lack good credentials. The lack of heavy general educational investments is explained by the fact that the admission to most of the applied art programmes is based on work samples, not formal merits.⁵

⁴ There are no clear-cut male or female dominated elite programmes, but when it comes to the economic programmes, the Stockholm School of Economics distinctively sets itself apart as being the only programme dominated by men with an upper middle-class background, while women from the same background dominated international economy programmes with a French language specialisation.

⁵ On this point, see Marta Edling & Mikael Börjesson, *Om frihet, begåvning och karismatiskt lärande inom den högre bildkonstnärliga utbildningen*, Paper presenterat på den internationella konferensen "Studies in Education and Culture" (EDUCULT-07), arrangerad av Forskningsgruppen för utbildnings- och kultursociologi, Uppsala universitet, 7-9 maj 2007.

Not visible in the figure is that there are important differences within the subfield of art education. As for the field of upper secondary education, there are distinct gender differences, where music tends to be most gender balanced, in some cases also with an overrepresentation, while dance is clearly dominated by women. Fine arts is relatively balanced and placed in between dance and music.

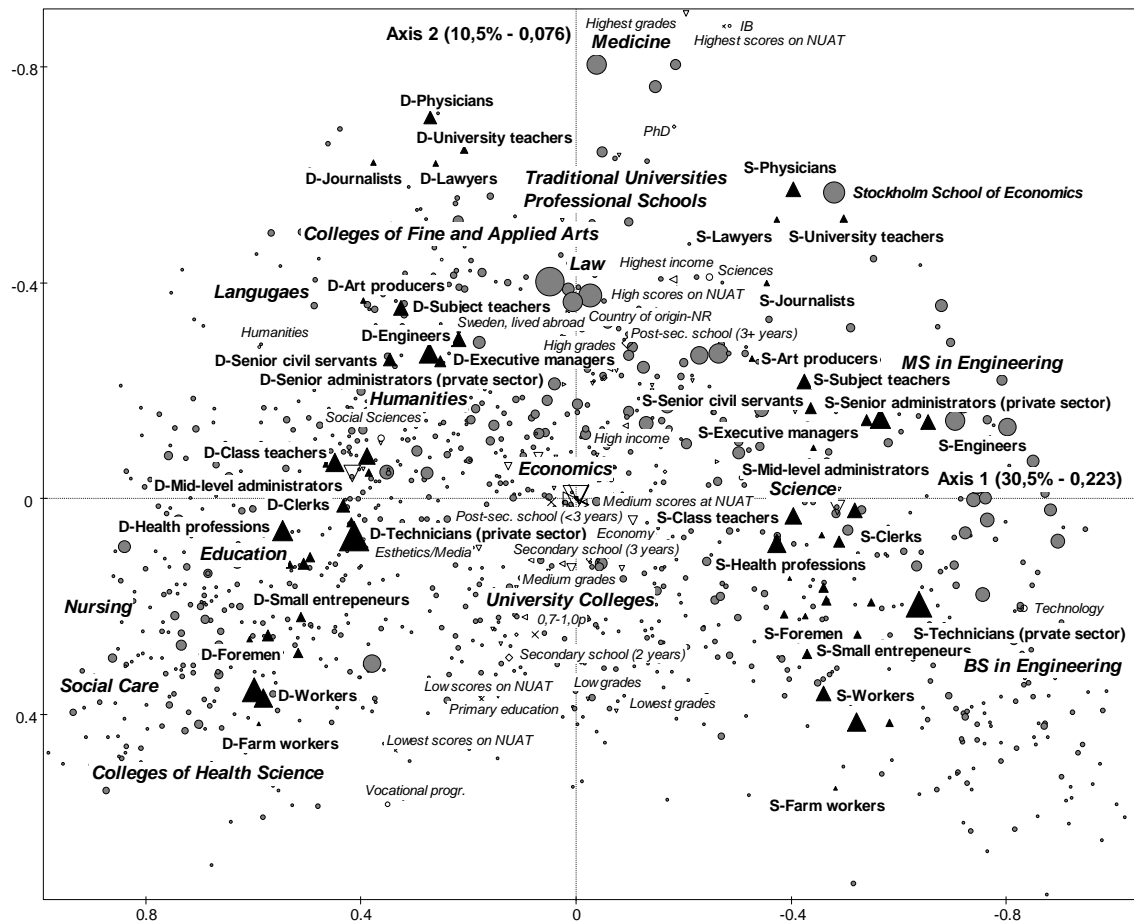
It is also possible to study the positions of the different seats of learning. The five year programme in applied fine arts is today possible to study at five different institutions, The Royal University College of Fine Arts (Kungl. Konsthögskolan i Stockholm), University College of Arts Crafts and Design (Konstfack), Valand School of Fine Arts (Gothenburg University), Malmö Art Academy (Lund University), and the Academy of Fine Arts at Umeå University. They differ in their recruitment in some crucial ways.

In the public debate and in the administrative circles, the recruitment of students to art education is a matter of comparing the representation of women in relation to men, children of immigrants and in relation to Swedish born, and children of working class origin with children of upper middle class origin. This narrow conception of recruitment and representation tend to miss a number of very significant aspects of the social recruitment. For instance is probably the most important social group for understanding the logics in the recruitment the sons and daughters of art producers. This group is general five times overrepresented at education in fine arts. No other group is more than two times overrepresented. At the The Royal University College of Fine Arts, the oldest and most prestigious school, the group is overrepresented seven times. The two other schools with a long traditions, University College of Arts Crafts and Design (Konstfack) and Valand School of Fine Arts (Gothenburg University) have a rate of overrepresentation of five, while the most recently created schools, the one in Malmö in the south of Sweden, and the one in the Umeå, located far up in the north, have the lowest levels of overrepresentation, approx. three times. Another important difference lies in the geographical recruitment, the Stockholm based schools, The Royal University College of Fine Arts and The University College of Arts Crafts and Design have a larger proportion of students originating from the Stockholm region. This is interesting in the perspective of that Stockholm is the centre in the Swedish art worlds with many of the most leading art institutions. Our hypothesis is that the prestige hierarchy between the different schools is related to their geographical position in relation to the national and the international field of art.

Still a number of the important questions remain to be addressed more in detail:

- The relation between the different genres needs to be explored further according to their recruitment in terms of gender, social origin, ethnicity, educational background;
- The relation between more theoretical studies such as courses in art history and theatre history, curator programmes, general cultural programmes, on the one hand, and programmes in applied art. The latter are usually more difficult to be admitted to, but it is not always the case that they are more socially selective in their recruitment.
- Changes in recruitment over time
- The impact of the internationalisation of higher education. It is important to both study the exchange programmes at the Swedish institutions of higher education and inquire into the strategies of the social groups, for who are studies abroad in fine arts an alternative to studies in Sweden?
- The relation between educational investments and professional careers.
- The relations between the schools and the art world.

Fig. 3. The space of higher education in Sweden, autumn 1998, 33 social groups divided by sex and 1,213 educational programmes/courses.



Study III—The Field of Elite Education, 2004-2007

The national statistics has of course its limitation. Although extremely wide in the representation, we are dealing with total population of all pupils, all students and all Swedes; the amount of information on each individual is limited and determined by a State administrative logic. It is thus possible to obtain information on for example incomes since this is the basis for taxes and school credentials because it is registered at school level and collected by Statistics Sweden. Data on holdings, opinions, preferences, future plans, leisure practices and the less likely to be collected on total level. To obtain a broader analysis of the educational system, official statistics is not sufficient, but need to be complemented by other sources.

SEC has since 2004 distributed a survey to some 2.500 students mostly studying in the Stockholm-Uppsala-region. The survey is 24 pages long, contains 85 questions, and focuses a wide range of topics, such as current situation as a student, former educational career, social origin, cultural preferences and practices, international investments, future plans, political orientation. The educational programme included in the survey are mainly so called prestigious programmes, being very difficult to access, and characterised by a large proportion of students coming from well-to-do-homes and students with very successful former careers. Among the included programmes are masters' programmes in engineering at the Royal Institute of Technology and at Uppsala University, the medical programme at the Karolinska Institute and Uppsala University, the Law programme at Uppsala University. Our ambition is also to include the programme in fine arts at the Royal University College of Fine Arts and at the University College of Arts Crafts and Design, where some advancement have been made, but where some work remains to be done.

Study IV – The Elite School [The Royal University College of Fine Arts], 1939-1986

The backbone of our historical database are the 1 192 individuals that were registered students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts during the period 1939 to 1986. We have found these names in *school catalogues*, that is, yearly printed publications that lists all the students at the four different sections of the school: painting, sculpture, graphic art (these three together constitutes free art) and architecture. Our database includes all the *permanent* students at the three sections for *free art* (not temporary students and not students at the section for architecture).⁶

When we combine information in these printed school catalogues with information in the unpublished *student registers* from the school archives we got the following variable list:

School Catalogues and Student Registers 1939-1986

- Name
- Date of birth
- Place of birth
- Sex
- Civil status, etc (occasionally)
- Change of name (some occasions)
- Personal code number (occasionally from 1968, consistently from 1973)
- Nationality (citizenship)
- Year of entrance
- Year of attendance
- School (painting, sculpture, graphic art)
- Diploma
- Awards (scholarships' name, year, sum of money)
- Study travels/Studies abroad
- Positions/missions
- Notes (granted leave, suspension, resignation, death)

Three sources complementing the information from the school catalogues and student registers are:

Yearbooks: the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts 1939-1986

Student scholarships

- Year
- Scholarship
- Sum of money
- Student

Teacher Council Records: the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts, and the Royal University College of Fine Arts 1939-2006

- Granted leaves (specifications)
- Awards (discussions)

Travel Letters: the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts

- Places (nations, cities, museums, monuments, schools)

⁶ In the first project plan, The University College of Arts, Crafts and Design (1844) was also included. After the remark by the art historians involed in the project that the school up till 1994 functioned as a preparatory school for the College of Fine Arts, the school was excluded in the prosopographical study.

- People (artists, teachers, colleagues)
- Genres (artistic, literary)

Some Notes on the Sources

Student registers covering the period from 1940 to 1986 are to be found in both the archives of the *Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts*, and at the *Royal University College of Fine Arts* (henceforth also the “Art Academy” and the “Art College” respectively). The reason for this separation of archives is the fact that up to year 1978, the predecessor of the Art College, the *Art Academy School*, was run by the Art Academy, both constituted in Stockholm in 1735 as the *Royal Academy of Drawing* – for the purpose of training Swedish artist for the decoration of the Royal palace. In connection with reformations of the Swedish higher educational system in the 1970’s, the Art Academy’s responsibility for superintending the Art Academy School however terminated in 1978 when instead the latter came under the Swedish State’s and the Ministry of Education’s supervision. Hence the institutional division of record of this historical source of data. It is worth noting though that the Art College still keeps the appendage “Royal” in its name.

The lion's share of student registers for the period in question (1939-1983), has anyhow been easily accessible via helpful staff at the Art Academy. All data concerning students in three separate schools – painting, sculpture, and graphic art – has been extracted, initially following the registers own system of columns, which later have been divided into more detailed subdivisions. In the original source the main headings are: name; date of birth – including sporadically from 1968 and consistently from 1973 the specific personal code number added to all registered Swedish citizens; birthplace – in most cases parish and native town; year of entrance, attendance, and completion; awards received from the school; and a final column for various notes on issues like granted leave (sometimes specified), prolongation of enrolment due to such leaves, specially assigned missions and positions (studio monitor; students’ representative in the Teacher Council; chairperson for the body of students), and travels abroad – sometimes specified as explicit study travels, in private or with the school.

One immediate benefit of this dataset is that it contains all the relevant individuals passing a central and historically important institution for the production and reproduction of the Swedish art world. Individuals name, date of birth, birthplace and in existing cases the personal code number, gives a good possibility to trace any one of them back to their social origin and so get hold of starting points and geographical and social trajectories covered up until school admission – and thereafter –, and to estimate volumes and structures of inherited and acquired capital. For the ones with the personal code number (roughly 1970-1986) the information can be directly obtained from Statistical Sweden (SCB).

The absence, though, of personal code numbers for students the years between 1939 and 1967, is of course a considerable shortage and will make the follow up of less publicly known former students, going through historical census data in different council archives (left part of figure 2), more time-consuming.

What need clarification are the frequently occurring granted leaves from the school noted in the register. As mentioned, these are sometimes specified (pregnancy; child-care; illness; military service; travel; personal reasons; economic reasons), but oftentimes they lack explanation and so raise questions. If students’ non-attendance is explained with their being out earning their living, then obviously this is a discriminatory condition regarding the possibility of success in this world. On the other hand it may well be that registration routines have varied over the years (the unspecified granted leaves are more frequent in the earlier part of the studied period). It is assumable that the introduction of State financed study loans in the 1960’s to some extent

diminished such asymmetries. Also these informational gaps will be followed up studying Teacher Council records and in the coming interviews with former and present students.

Another merit of this source is the amount of recorded praises, honourable mentions, and awarded scholarships to students. These data provide preliminary insight into a world rich of symbolic and material flow from the academy and school to its students – and back, when the praised artist, as happens, later is elected member of the Art Academy and at his or her entrance reciprocates with a personal “reception piece” to the Academy’s valuable art collection. Looking at the overall amount of monetary rewards distributed via scholarships also gives an overview of something akin a gift culture derived from donations administered by the Art Academy, making up relatively large reserves of funded capital. The student scholarships, which in some cases are relatively small in financial terms, more often than not bear the name of its original donator, and the names of these “Dons” (of both sexes) are also publicly displayed on plates in the entrance hall of the Art Academy’s 18th century building. If being a donator yields symbolic capital in this world, the same might well be case for holders of such a scholarship – thus possibly indicating a sort of school related artistic capital. However, the scholarships’ socially distinguishing capacity has to be further investigated, and it might already be a thing of the past; informants have pointed at the likelihood that scholarships nowadays are distributed equally among students. This question, and others concerning the administration of and eventual hierarchy among the Art College’s publicly declared praises, honourable mentions, and scholarships, will be followed up in dialogue with today’s Teacher Council at the Art College, by consulting records from earlier Teacher Councils, and for more subjective perspectives via the mentioned student interviews.

Several donations also provide funds for “regular” scholarships distributed by the Art Academy that practicing artists (not students) can apply for. And, as the case is for quite many of these latter scholarships, some of them awarded to students during training are travelling scholarships and something to investigate further in terms of, for example, school related accumulation of international artistic capital. The archive at the Art Academy, moreover, holds a collection of letters sent in from students abroad or on domestic study tours. This is a rich source for studying favoured places to go, writing skills and discursive genres. Some students write home in a tone reminding of the “explorer”, others use a more literary style; someone is the typically good student obviously delighted to put his or her new proficiencies into practice commenting on architecture, famous works of art, or café life among intellectuals in Paris’ “existential circles”. Some letters are even preserved with their original enclosed maps, sketches, and watercolours.

Study V – The Field of Art Production, 1945-2005

In this part we present some of our “indicators of success”: acquired scholarships, positions in the Art Academy, exhibitions at galleries and reviews by important art critics. We also say some words about planned interviews with a number of artists, present and former students, and present some preliminary results.

Scholarships, prizes and members of the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts

The above mentioned yearbook from the Art Academy contains a lot of relevant information for the project.

Scholarships to practicing artists

- Year
- Name of the fund (private donator, the State) providing the scholarship
- Type of scholarship (travel, studio)
- Sum of money (from 500 SKr in 1946 to 90 000 SKr in 2002)
- Holder of the scholarship (name, title)

Prizes and medals awarded by the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts 1945-2005

- Year
- Name of prize or/and medal
- Sum of money (from 5000 SKr in 1945 to 400 000 SKr in 2003)
- Recipient (name, sex, nationality, title, position)
- Motives for the award (occasionally)

Members of the Art Academy's Scholarship Committee

- Year
- Position
- Name
- Sex

Thanks to the hours spent in the Art Academy's archive and library, a rich source of data on awarded scholarships – student and regular ones – as well as even more prestigious prizes and medals, namely the Art Academy's yearbook – *Messages from the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts* – came to our knowledge. The publication firstly makes it possible to complement and fill out some existing gaps in the student registers regarding holders of scholarships and the latter's proper names. However, the greater part of these “Messages” is an annual account of the Art Academy's complete activities. Here one can read, for example, about exhibitions held in the buildings different galleries, publications produced, the President's yearly speech on cultural policy, the Secretary's annual report and the composition of the Art Academy's different working committees – for instance the one deciding on the distribution of the Academy's scholarships. It also holds an updated list of the Art Academy's members, often *in memoriam*-texts to members who have died during the year, and conversely short announcements of newly co-opted members, and, at least for the first half of the period, quite extensive financial reports⁷.

From the yearbooks published between 1945 and 2006, over 2300 awarded scholarships, prizes, and medals to somewhat fewer artist – as some receive more than one award – have been

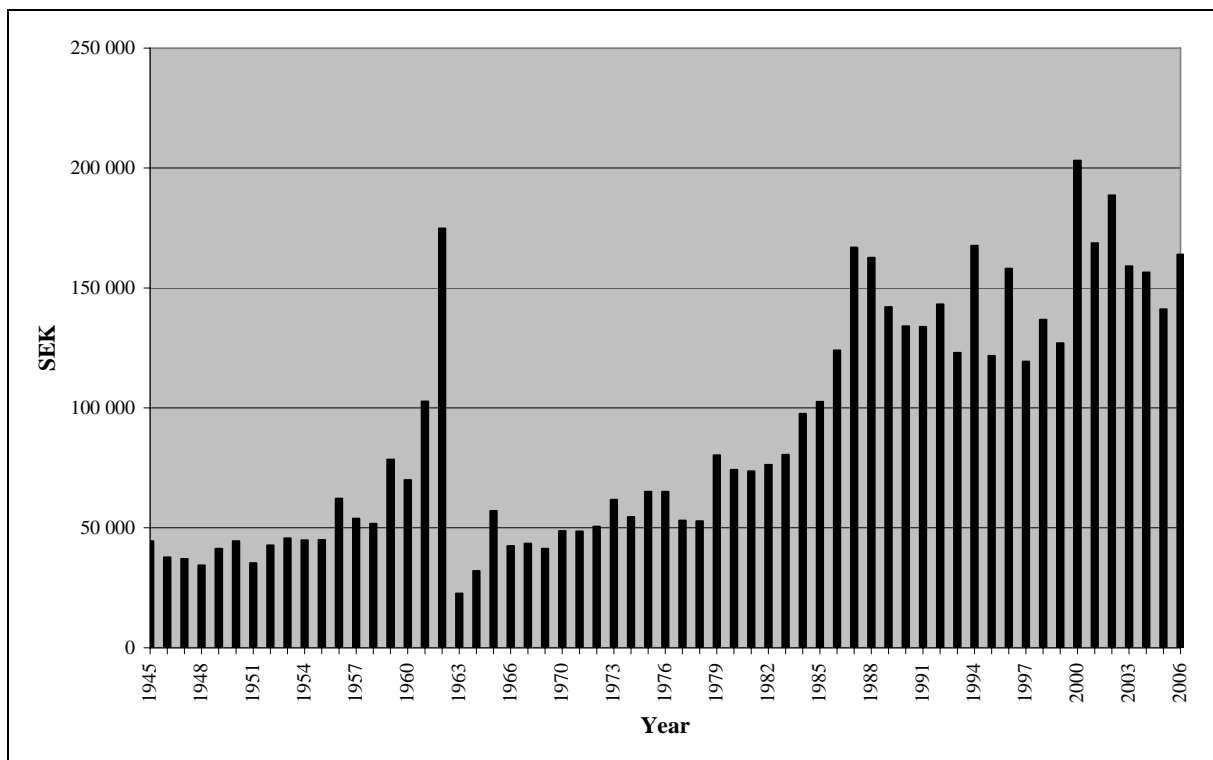
⁷ Which can be studied in even greater detail in the archive via filed documents of the Art Academy's holding and trade of shares through the years – a condition providing an interesting supplement to the perhaps otherwise dominant picture of an Art Academy as a predominantly “cultural capitalistic” institution.

excerpted. This offers one possibility to follow successful students from the Art College's student registers in their subsequent achievements as practising artists.

Holding a scholarship from the Art Academy's might be of restricted significance in terms of economic capital, though probably of greater importance signifying recognition and consecration – the mention in the Art Academy's yearbook points at this as well as to the Art Academy's interest in displaying its simultaneous encouraging and consecrating force.

As discussed above, existing scholarships are often made possible due to funds coming from initial private donations. However, some scholarships have been financed by the Government though administered by the Art Academy. This is documented in the yearbooks from 1945 to 1963 when these awards suddenly disappear from the publication (see fig. 3). It has been a puzzlement where these scholarships and there documentation went for more than decade, when, in 1976, the Government's *Arts Grants Committee* was instituted (see below) – and for moment some leads point at a somewhat anonymous card index found in the Art Academy archive.

Fig. 4. Fig. 3. Scholarship distributed by the Academy 1945-2006, sum of money (1950 prices)



Of course, not all recipients of these scholarships are former students from the Royal University College of Fine Arts. The others anyhow are of equally great importance considering the intention to illustrate different kinds of ways to enter the artistic field. Since the Art Academy's regular scholarships almost exclusively are given to applicants with completed artistic educations, names not found in the student registers of the Art College will probably lead to other educational institutions of importance.

As mentioned, quite many of the regular scholarships are specified as travelling scholarships including studio scholarships abroad, indicating the relative importance, even the demand, to go abroad to acquire cultural experience, see well-known works of art, make useful contacts, in short, accumulate international artistic capital.

If many of the former students from the Royal University College of Fine Arts show up as holders of scholarships awarded by the Art Academy, some of them also become co-opted by their colleagues and competitors, and in some cases former teachers, in the Art Academy, and for some periods probably assigned positions in the Art Academy's Scholarship Committee deciding which new applicants to award.

A regrettable imperfection in the material is the nonexistent but interesting lists of rejected applicants. And in both cases of the rejected as well as the accepted applicants, *judgements* guiding the Art Academy members' decisions would have deepened the picture.

Members of the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts, 1945-2006

- Name
- Sex
- Birth year
- Nationality
- Title
- Position [with changes over time]
- Year of election
- Member category
- Year of death

Many threads connecting important individual and institutional agents in the Swedish art world seem in one way or another to pass through an old house in central Stockholm standing – symbolically it seems – free from neighbouring attachments to other buildings and thus forming its own “autonomous” block. Originally built in the 18th century and altered and extended during 19th century, the house is quite striking in its contemporary capacity to offer a sort of industrial peace – via ownership, rent out, and annual events – simultaneously housing a number of institutional agents either attached to the Swedish State (the *Arts Grants Committee*), the private sector (*Market*—an annual art fair arranged by major Swedish art galleries), or the house-owner itself, that is, the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts.

388 members of the Art Academy during 1945 to 2006 have been excerpted from the constantly updated lists in the Art Academy's yearbooks. The member list consists of four categories: Swedish members, foreign members, foreign honorary members, and Swedish honorary members. At the apex, crowning the Art Academy's member list is its “patron”, His Majesty the King, occupying the position of “principal honorary member”.

The categories of honorary members, Swedish and foreign, are made up of people from different sectors, though mainly from fields of cultural production. Here we find directors and curators of museums, art historians, historians of architecture – the Art Academy's historical origin is still present in the strong representation of architects –, art critics, antiquarians, and others. The categories of Swedish members and foreign members exclusively holds artists and architects, and among the sixty-five latest elected artist forty-two or 64,6 % are former students from the Royal University College of Fine Arts. One fifth or 22 % of the 382 excerpted members are present or former holders of professor's title. And at least four of the academy members are presented in the yearbook as occupying the position of chancellor of the Art College sometime during the period under study (1945- 2006).

It is probably not an overstatement to say that the major part of the most successful artist in the Swedish field of art is represented in the member lists of present and former members of the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts; and therefore also to think that the ones missing – including one or two influential critics – must through their social trajectories have something important to tell us about themselves and of the field of struggle in question.

Among the members in the foreign artist category names like Chagall, Miró, Braque, Picasso, Cornet, Giacometti, de Kooning, Johns, Rauschenberg, Oldenburg, Beuys, Richter all point at a considerable amount of international artistic capital tied to the institution – which considering also its extensive art collection, other members, and its consecrating power, constitute a strong concentration of different species of capital active in this field – cultural, social, symbolic/artistic as well as economic.

As with the regular scholarships distributed by the Art Academy, an obvious lack in the material on academy members is the poor insight in the procedures surrounding elections of new members. From an informant we know that new names can only be proposed by agents in the “Swedish members” category, that presentations of proposed artists before the Arts Academy occur, and that the secret vote nowadays is done with hired electronic equipment (“mentometer”). New members are elected when an existing member reaches the age of sixty-five or when someone dies. At the moment the Arts Academy holds 153 members of 13 nationalities from two continents – Europe (including Russia) and the United States. Only 16 % are women.

The Arts Grants Committee 1976-2006

State Income Guarantee 1976-2006

- Year
- Name
- Sex
- Title, year
- Sum of money (today 200 000 SKr a year)
- The Minister of Culture in office

Long-term grant 1993-2006

- Year
- Name
- Sex
- Title
- Period of five or ten years
- Sum of money (today 120 000 SKr a year)

The Visual Arts Fund's Major Grant 1993-2006

- Year
- Name
- Sex
- Title
- Sum of money (250 000 SKr)

The Arts Grants Committee's received proposals

(on artists deserving the State Income Guarantee from colleagues, spouses, the proposed person itself, and others).

- Year
- Proposer(s)
- Proposer(s) titles/institutions
- Sex
- Proposed artist (name)
- Sex
- Artist's title
- Notes

The Arts Grants Committee, sorting under the Ministry of Culture, is by far the major “donor” of financial means to artists in the Swedish field of art production. According to its annual report for 2006 the committee allocated almost 70 million SKr to patricians of visual art, divided up in almost twenty different types of grants, scholarships and payments.

The committee was instituted in 1976, and its archive is accessible via its registry clerk. Anyhow, some confusion arise when trying to extract complete series of recorded documents since several different types of subsidies have existed and because the same type in some cases have had several different names over the years. The study of this source has only just begun and it is still a bit unclear which grants should be singled out to for best payoff.

Tentatively, two apparently distinguishing grants and an income guarantee have been chosen.

The state income guarantee signifies an extraordinary recognition of an agents “who represent an artistic activity of high quality and great importance for Swedish cultural life.” The years that has been possible to study so far, 1991-1999 and 2006, contains 63 holders of the income guarantee. Among these individuals 52 % are simultaneously members of the Art Academy, and 32 % former students from the Art College. Women compose almost one fourth or 24 % of this highly selected group.

Art galleries – one example

An exhibition at an important art gallery is another indicator of success in the art world. Our ambition is to investigate all artists that have been exhibited at about 30 different galleries in Stockholm. We will concentrate on the galleries’ avant-garde period, or at least on the period when they were occupying a more “central” position in the art field.

Galerie Blanche was established in 1947 in the city centre of Stockholm. On the one hand they sold art from the “old” classical modernist artists (like Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Georges Braque) and, on the other hand, works from “young” artist (from Sweden and elsewhere).

Table 1. Number of artists exhibiting at Galerie Blanche 1947-1970, and number of exhibitions

Artist	Number	Exhibitions
Swedish	194	388
Foreign	168	420
Sum	362	808

We have excerpted from all the exhibitions catalogues (217 pieces) during the first 23 years, when 194 Swedish artists and 168 foreign artists exhibited (table 1). As you can see, many of them had more than one exhibition. But, how many of the 194 Swedish artists had been registered as students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts under the postwar period 1939-1986 (a lot of the old artist had been students at this school *before* the war)?

Table 2. Swedish artists at Galerie Blanche that had been students at “Art College” 1939-1986

Royal University College of Fine Arts 1939-86	Number	Per cent
Yes	53	27
No	141	73
Sum	194	100

About 30 % of the these “successful” Swedish artists, that had managed to get their art works all the way to Galerie Blanche 1947-1970, had been students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts 1939-1986. (Thus keep in mind that the figure is underestimated since many of the artists probably attended the school before our period.) Time will tell when we compare the results with other galleries in Stockholm, if this is a low or high representation of former students. We will also investigate if there were any alternative routes to Galerie Blanche; and if there are some individuals that hide in the exhibitions catalogues that had *not* been registered at any art school, in Stockholm or elsewhere?

Art critics and public press

To achieve as broad a picture as possible of Swedish art life during the 1940's and 1950's a part of this particular study focus the public press. Both daily papers and a specific art magazine, *Konstrevy* [Art Review], are objects of a systematic search for information. *Konstrevy* was the leading art magazine during at least these two decades. Through this magazine we get both a broad picture of the art life in general, and a deeper view of the Stockholm art scene, in particular, with its galleries and art dealers. In articles and short résumés of the period's exhibitions, each edition of the magazine tells a story about artists on show, debutants, new books, new critics et cetera. *Konstrevy* is easy to grasp and tells a lot, but it is the authors and critics choice of preference of which one must be aware. All information on exhibited artists, reproductions of art works, published articles on specific artists and galleries have been registered in the projects database. In addition to the *Konstrevy* search, the students at the Royal Academy during the years 1945-1960 have been further studied regarding published biographies or other more important books, which can tell the importance of the artist – always, of course, remembering who is writing. The result of this is yet an empirical question.

From 1953 and onwards, there is a published index for Swedish daily papers, *Svenskt Tidningsindex*. Going through this one can choose some alternative entries, for example the artist written about or the critic writing. We have chosen the critic focusing on four specific critics from the 1940's and 1950's and thereby four particular daily papers. So far, the critics working for *Morgontidningen* and *Svenska Dagbladet* (Ulf Hård af Segerstad, Ulf Linde, Åke Meyerson) have been studied and their articles listed in the above-mentioned data base. The critic's perspective is interesting and gives the view of the, what we can call, other side. Hypothetically, we assume that the critic is an active part of the creation of the artist and as a consequence it can be of outmost importance more exactly who it is that sign the review in the paper. One problem with this published index is that the critics have mostly written over-views and résumés of more than one exhibition, rather than a review of one specific artist's exhibition and oeuvre. Because of this, it is necessary to go through the paper in question and actually read who they write about, it takes time and primarily gives the same result as the search through *Konstrevy*. Though, in doing that, one also get to know the critic and his (in these cases) taste, and for an art historian the critics view of art is interesting, the critic is also part in the creation and writing of art's history. The critics' perspectives also give information on the art of art history, to quote Donald Preziosi.

For the whole research period, 1945-2005, a number of critics have been chosen for a closer study and they have all been compared to the LIBRIS database of published books with the aim to broaden the picture of the critic in mind.

The catalogues from the Stockholm auction firms of spring 2007 have been studied in haste to gather information on contemporary artists' presence on the art market. This hasty search gave good results, compared to former decades some of the artists are very young and the auction firms seem to play a role for the artist's reputation, and of course, personal economic status. The

youngest artist in *Bukowski's* catalogue, who is also a student at the Royal University College of Fine Arts, was born in the late 1960's.

The systematic search through *Konstrevy* has generated more information about the art life in general, such as what galleries and art dealers there were and what (which artists and which art) they put on show. You can thereby learn much about both the different exhibition places and the amount of their exhibitions as well as the artists' opportunities to have a show or just expose a few works. The preliminary result from this part of the study tells that about 30 % of the present artists had an exam from the Art College. But, there were also artists without an exam from this specific elite school, and through this study of a single magazine some of them have been excerpted and added to the database. These artists were either autodidacts or had studied at other art schools, such as the Valand School of Art in Gothenburg. To the list of students from the Royal University College of Fine Arts, about 400 other names have been added functioning very well as a complement to the students giving clues to the question of how to succeed.

Svenskt Tidningsindex gives clues to the critics' art view and their personal position in Swedish art life of the time, although the search for it is not that easy as we thought. Åke Meyerson writes mostly about Swedish art and artists, and mostly about Stockholm-based artists. He had a few favourite galleries, as one can figure out, such as Lilla Paviljongen and Galerie Blanche and he pays specific attention to debutants. Ulf Hård af Segerstad writes from time to time more about arts and crafts than pictorial art and sculptures and during those times he falls out of the pattern. Ulf Linde is the youngest of these three, in the beginning of the 1950's he was barely 30 years old and through the articles he positions himself. Linde writes mostly about foreign art, both contemporary and early 1900's such as French cubists. In writing about Swedish art he chooses a different language, in comparison with Meyerson and Hård one can categorise it as more modern. In a study of Swedish art and art life, maybe one can say that Meyerson and Hård are more important than Ulf Linde, and that despite of his in time central position in Swedish cultural life both as musician, art critic, author and museum curator. Also this search has added a number of artists to the existing list of names, about 100 so far. The picture of the Swedish art scene has grown through this search and widened the *Konstrevy*-view. One example is the artist Endre Nemes and his role as head teacher at the Valand in Gothenburg that apparently was hope-giving, and when his students exhibited in Stockholm they were reviewed and Nemes himself especially mentioned.

Interviews

Some 50 interviews with former and current students at the College of Fine Arts is planned to be accomplished. At the present state, the project has produced an interview guide, a letter and lists of persons to interview. Some preliminary interviews have also been conducted.

Interview guide

The interview guide is centred on 10 headings, with the ambition to cover both general sociological questions such as educational and social background, professional career and future plans and more field specific questions about art preferences, artistic career, art related social capital et cetera.

Headings in the interview guide

General questions on the respondent's education at the Art College
Questions concerning the students at the Art College
Teaching at the Art College
Working conditions at the Art College
Art education in general
Educational career
Work career
Artistic career

Artistry
Background and family
Consumption of culture, media – other interests

Selection of informants for interviews (1945-1961)

For the planned interviews with former students at the Royal Academy about 35 artists have been selected from the earliest period of research which comprises about 350 individuals. In some cases the choice was quite simple, it was about whether the person in question was still alive or not. All of them are present in the magazine and the daily papers or have still an importance as artists. Most of the selected 35 are men, partially mirroring the situation at school, and they are living today in Stockholm. This has to be corrected with a broadened perspective which can be achieved by, for example, taking other artists than former students in account.

As a small start, two interviews have been conducted (with one man and one woman both living outside Stockholm), and they show the importance of this source for the research results. The interviews give the artist's own story of the school years as well as the field entrance and important positions and different kinds of professions in the field. They could turn the written view upside down or prove it, but they certainly will be of importance in this analysis and writing of how to succeed as an artist.

Selection of informants for interviews (1977-1986)

About 50 artists have been selected from the group of about 350 individuals that were students at the Royal Academy 1977-1986. They belonged to the generation that was dominated by the post-modernist in Sweden. The selected 50 artists have all been successful, but partly in different ways. While some on the whole have been most successful "outside" the art field (they have had a big coverage in the mass media etc) or in the more commercial side of the field, others have been more recognized by institutions "inside" the field (their market have been smaller but they have had a lot of missions of public art, many scholarships and prices etc). There are 26 men and 23 women among the selected informants.

Future plans/Questions to discuss

What to prioritize? How many galleries, how many critics, expansion of art students up till 2006?

Should we also include students/artists that have apparently not succeeded in our prosopographical survey?

Have we missed some fundamental indicator of success in the field of art production?