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IN THE STOCKHOLM ART WORLD

DEBORAH ERICSON
Abstract

Stockholm artists are not isolated geniuses, but work in the Stockholm art world and produce art in interaction with other art world professionals such as art dealers, art critics, and culture administrators. To understand the careers and social context of Stockholm artists, 53 of them were interviewed (in 1983-84) as well as a number of other art world professionals. The researcher also visited art exhibits, attended an art school, and read art reviews. This study is not a total survey, but shows recurrent themes in the careers of Stockholm artists, and in the relationships of the artists to art world institutions and to Swedish culture, history, and society. The peculiarities in the Stockholm art world are illuminated by comparing it to New York art worlds: the 1930s one of the artists in the New York School and today’s SoHo.

The activities of Stockholm artists and other art world professionals occur in the special circumstances of an art world with a mixed economy system: this world has a bourgeois private art market and a somewhat inhibiting but mostly reinforcing structure of public and private institutions with a welfare ideology. To compete on the international art market, the pace of Stockholm art world activities has increased during the 1980s; new generation artists receive greater attention than previously, artists are especially aware of the importance of publicity, and there is an emphasis on individualism which encourages competition and the production of art in a wide variety of direction. Nevertheless, Stockholm meets the ways of the international art world with its own traditions and heritage, and its activities retain their particular combination of naivété, old bourgeois respectability and interest in social equality.
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DEBORAH
ERICSON

STOCKHOLM STUDIES IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
1988
IN THE STOCKHOLM ART WORLD

Doctoral Dissertation

STOCKHOLM STUDIES IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
Department of Social Anthropology
University of Stockholm

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Map by Ingmar Ericson
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1 INTRODUCTION: 
THE ARTIST IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT

"A fifteenth-century painting is the deposit of a social relationship. On one side there was a painter who made the picture, or at least supervised its making. On the other side there was somebody else who asked him to make it, provided funds for him to make it and, after he had made it, reckoned on using it in some commercial, religious, perceptual, in the widest sense social – that were different from ours and influenced the forms of what they together made." (Baxandall 1972:1)

All artists are part of a social context. Those in Stockholm are part of the Stockholm art world. These assertions depart from the romantic image of the creative genius whose artistic activities are somehow separate from, above, and beyond the world of everyday life. Rather than an isolated genius, the artist may be thought of as a person in a particular social context who works in cooperation with others to produce art. This is the point of view of the researchers working in the production-of-culture perspective (cf. Peterson et al. 1976), studies mostly referring to social contexts in the cities of the United States. My study is a contribution to this perspective and develops it by providing material from a city in Scandinavia.

Before presenting the Stockholm art world, I would like to orient my readers in this perspective by reviewing previous production-of-culture work. The interplay in social contexts of individuals with different interests who are involved in the production of art is important to production-of-culture researchers because when they study this interaction they can develop a concrete picture of how culture is produced. Unlike previous researchers concerned, for example, with relationships between social structure on the one hand, and music or art on the other (cf. Lomax 1968, Kavolis 1968), those working in the production-of-culture perspective do not work on a grand scale, and they are not determined to prove that culture mirrors society. These researchers recognize that variations in works of art have to do
specifically with artist and elite consumer environments rather than with factors influencing a society as a whole (cf Peterson 1979a:142).

The production-of-culture researchers emphasize the concreteness of their perspective by using terminology from occupational and industrial sociology. In DiMaggio and Hirsch's model (1976) the art world is a production system; artists are producers and those in the public are consumers. The creative genius image is deserted and instead the researcher visualizes the artist in a work context. Particular (cf Peterson 1979:152) cultural specialists produce, preserve, teach, evaluate or distribute cultural symbols. It is the particular organization of the occupations of these specialists which influences the cultural elements produced.

Becker (1982:1) approaches the relationship of the artist to a social context through the concept of the art world: the collective activities of individuals working to produce art. Although the artist may be the one to give life to a work of art, there are also networks of different individuals who work with him to make this work public and part of a culture. The artist performs the core activity necessary to make a work of art; he holds the paint brush and originates the creative flow. Each time he depends upon another person to make the work public, however, he is involved in a cooperative activity and a cooperative link is formed.

Each art world, each network of cooperating individuals, has its characteristic workers, each with a number of tasks which are theirs through tradition. In order for his work to leave the private world of his studio, the artist traditionally depends upon art dealers and museum curators to exhibit his work and bring it before a public; he depends on art critics to provide a rationale and publicity for what he has done, and on collectors for financial support or on the state for patronage or favorable legislation. The artist's interaction with these individuals produces a dependence on cooperative links which put constraints on the kind of art he is able to produce. The individuals he cooperates with are specialized professionals with their own aesthetic, financial and career interests. As these interests may conflict with those of the artist, he is in a situation where he must work with, around, and against those with whom he interacts.

How are the various individuals in an art world able to understand one another and cooperate efficiently? Becker explains (1982:28-67) that it is art world conventions which makes this possible. Conventions are social meanings, customary agreements. Rather than deciding anew each time a decision is to be made about the production of a work of art, art world members make use of previous solutions arrived at in similar situations. These solutions, or conventions, concern all kinds of questions arising about the production of a work of art as well as how those involved in this production ought to relate to one another. There are conventions controlling which materials to use, the abstractions which will be meaningful to the public, the dimensions for the work. It is through the artist's and the audience's use of conventions that the audience is able to make sense of the artist's work.
Although conventions exist to solve many different problems, they are not all powerful and rigid but do leave room for interpretation and negotiation. Through this leeway, conventions may change and new conventions are able to develop. Although conventions allow room for change, they constrain the artist, as conventions work together in a system. A change in one convention, for example, in the dimension of a painting, may require numerous changes in other conventions: perhaps the need for new sites or for new equipment. Departure from conventions also means that cooperation among those in the art world becomes difficult; explanations must be made, additional effort must be put forth in a situation that is new and uncomfortable. The artist whose work is too extremely unconventional may find that art dealers and the public are wary to accept his work, and he may have difficulty selling it. Departures from conventions require work, time and energy. Art worlds are therefore often more willing to accept the work of artists whose innovations are moderate than the work of artists whose innovations propose radical change.

Artists learn many art world conventions at art schools, although these solutions are not as up-to-date as those used by professionals in their daily work (cf Becker 1982:59). To learn current conventions one must participate in the activities of these professionals. According to Becker (1982:16), art schools are sometimes used as a gatekeeper to separate artists from nonartists. In some societies strict limitation is put on those who may become artists by granting full legitimacy only to those who graduate from an art academy. In other societies such as the United States, there is no such institution, and the art market instead works alone to separate professionals from amateurs.

Peterson and White (1979) provide a characterization of the institution of the art academy and its role in the art world. They see the academy as a network which serves to insure orthodoxy in an art world’s production. The academy has a moral authority which is used to control the production of art with regard to quality, quantity, choice of subject as well as mode of presentation; the academy sets the standard for what is proper. As the academy is government supported, those working there do not depend on market forces. However, the academy exists to restrict access to this market. Through training, judgement, and reward the academy sets the standard which the artist must follow to gain this access. The academy’s network system is composed of hierarchical bonding between students and masters. Students are divided from each other and see each other as rivals. Masters are also rivals, each with their own particular orthodoxy, their own schools of art. The work produced by each set of master and students become defined as quality art through the power of the masters’s academic position.

Graduates of the art academy who wish to continue working as professional artists then become involved in the process where they attempt to establish themselves in the art world. This is the career of the professional artist. To analyze
this career, Becker sharpens the term "artist" by developing four categories: integrated professionals, mavericks, folk artists, and naive artists (cf Becker 1982:226-271). The basis for this typology is the relationship of these artist types to the art world. Folk artists are people who have nothing to do with professional art worlds, and whose creations are not usually considered to be art but rather objects for practical use (such as handmade quilts). Naive artists are those who produce works of art but who are not part of an art world. They have an idiosyncratic style as they have not had the formal training of professional artists, nor have they been constrained by the demands of an art world. I shall not further discuss folk and naive artists in this text as they are not part of art worlds. I mention these categories as they contrast to the ones participating in art worlds, integrated professionals and mavericks.

Becker's mavericks are artists who have been part of an art world but who have found its traditions and attitudes too confining. Attempts by these artists to introduce artistic innovations have been met with disapproval, as other art world members have found them too radical and too improper. Although retaining a loose connection with the establishment art world, mavericks have disengaged themselves from its demands and continue to produce their art work in a sphere outside the establishment. Becker notes that these artists' selective violation of art world conventions is not inherently disruptive but becomes maverickness through the response of the art world. Mavericks often remain unknown to the general public and may eventually retire from artistic activities as they have difficulty exhibiting their work and do not have access to the resources available to the integrated professional.

The artists who are firmly part of the art world are integrated professionals. These artists have been properly socialized into the ways of the art world and have learned its history and adopted its conventions; they have little difficulty cooperating in the art world as they have accepted this world's technical, conceptual and social conventions. The work of these artists stays within the boundaries of what is respectable in the art world; the art world allows these artist to become integrated professionals as it is able to assimilate their work. Although Becker seems to emphasize the conformism of the integrated professional, he is not actually saying that the work of integrated professionals is academic or is not innovative. Rather, this work receives the approval of the art world precisely because it is innovative in a way that is comprehensible and manageable. Integrated professionals are able to modify aesthetic conventions so that a bridge is formed between the established standard and new developments.

The careers of integrated professionals vary along with variations in the art worlds of which they are a part. Simpson (1981) provides an example of integrated professionals in the context of New York's SoHo. There is extreme competition and tension among SoHo artists as the market has room for only a small percentage of
them and demands continual innovation at a rapid pace. This competition has induced a rationalization of the creative process. The artists who succeed are those who find an artistic style and a work routine which enables a steady and bountiful production whose innovation may be introduced gradually through a series of marginal alterations. SoHo artists plan their careers and are careful to make moves that will further them; they consider taking graduate school courses in marketing to understand the functioning of the art market, they make use of art dealers as promotional agents, they pay attention to their rate of output and to rate of increase in the prices on their work, and they keep a constant eye on the market to discover new developments. Their work routines are designed to produce efficiency; they use labor-saving tools and prefabricated materials and allocate mechanical tasks to assistants. In SoHo, competition forces integrated professionals to work alone and prevents them from forming artist circles concerned with the development of new art movements. Networks among artists are based on social rather than artistic interests; when artists interact it is to obtain moral support and a recognition of their current status, for artists with similar degrees of success tend to associate with each other.

The establishment of a reputation is necessary if an artist is to obtain success in an art world. People tend to think that an artist has a good reputation because he is especially gifted and because his works are particularly beautiful and meaningful, expressing profound emotions and cultural values. Becker (1982:351-371) departs from this conventional assumption and instead finds that the artist reputation is created as the result of a social process enacted by the art world. The latter creates reputations through a process of consensus among its participants. It uses the reputations it makes to organize its activities. Consensus is established through the cooperation of various kinds of art world members. For example, critics contribute to the process through their reviews which state criteria to determine quality art. These criteria may confirm the decisions made by an art dealer to exhibit certain work or may be the criteria which the dealer uses when he makes his decision.

As artists are aware of the criteria for quality art, they think about how the art world will react to their work as they produce it. This "internal dialogue with the art world" (Becker 1982:209) is an "editing" (Becker 1982:194) process which the artist performs to obtain the approval of those art world figures who establish reputations. As art worlds differ in size or degree of organization, the possibility of obtaining a reputation in them may differ. At any time, art worlds may favor different kinds of art and encourage different endeavors. The more complex an art world is the more difficult it is for anyone to examine all the work produced there; art and artists who obtain a reputation are those who survive a weeding-out process. Becker concludes that it is work that lasts and receives continual appreciation that obtains a reputation; no inherent quality in a work can itself guarantee it. A work becomes noteworthy because an art world says it is.
According to Becker (1982:93-130), an important factor in the establishment of artist reputations is an art world's set of distributive systems. He stresses that art distribution is vital, for what is not seen cannot be known. There is, however, a circular process involved, for the work of an artist is likely to be distributed if the artist and his work already have a reputation, while they obtain this reputation when the work is distributed. As artists want to be distributed, they give consideration to what art world distributors are willing and able to show. Artists whose work does not fit into an established distributive system may show their work by creating new distributive channels, perhaps by starting their own galleries. Distributive systems are flexible, however, and do change to assimilate work that is unconventional. Artists who are self-supporting are less influenced by distributive systems than others. Those artists working in a system of patronage, government or private, are involved in the most confining form of distribution as the artists are chosen because they provide what the patron wants. Artists working in the system of public sale to an anonymous public by means of art galleries are involved in the most complicated distributive system. This system is complex as it is regulated by various wills of art dealers who must act as intermediaries between works of art and the largely unknown demands of the anonymous public.

Becker's concept of a gallery includes all the people involved in its functioning: a dealer who displays a particular kind of work, artists who produce it, a critic or critics whose explanations and evaluations create an interest in the work, a set of collectors whose regular purchases keep the gallery alive, and a wider set of gallery-goers who attend the exhibits and spread word about the work to others. Together, the activities of the dealer, critics, and collectors cooperate to establish a reputation for the work. Their efforts shape the taste of the public, helping it to appreciate and admire the work. Through repeated visits to a gallery, the public learns to understand the works of certain artists by seeing these works and by absorbing the explanations provided them by the dealer and by the critics in their reviews of the exhibits. The respectability of the work is enhanced through the purchases of noteworthy collectors such as museums whose decisions are reliable as their judgements are considered to be knowledgeable.

The importance of the art dealer in the process of establishing reputations and determining quality art has been discussed in the American context by Bystryn (1978) who describes him as the gatekeeper to the art market. Art dealers open the gate in different ways as their ideologies vary and their galleries are run differently. Bystryn develops two analytic categories based on variations in gallery interests: one gallery type is devoted to artistic "invention" while the other concentrates on artistic "innovation". The gallery supporting invention wishes to give new art the chance to develop while the gallery supporting innovation wishes to help new art come into use. The two categories are based on a study of two dealers who were helpful in promoting New York's abstract expressionists. The interest in invention is
represented by Betty Parsons while Sam Kootz represents innovation. Committed to her artists, Parsons was involved in their work in progress, exchanging ideas with them about it and about art in general. She identified herself with her artists as she was a would-be artist herself. Parsons provided her artists with symbolic rewards through the prize of exhibits. Bystryn classifies Parsons’ gallery as a cultural institution.

Kootz was instead committed to the market and to his public; he worked to promote the art work to get it onto the market. Kootz had a background in advertising, business, and art history and therefore stood apart from artists. However, he was more able to assist his artists economically than Parsons, as by combining his knowledge of advertising techniques and his knowledge of art history he was able to create a sales technique which successfully promoted the artists and created a market for them. He had critics write introductions to exhibition catalogues and organized each exhibit through a unifying theme which he created in order to define a group of artists as a movement. His style was convincing as it was not just the manoeuvres of a smooth businessman but was also endowed with the respectable attributes of the knowledgeable art historian. Instead of symbolic rewards, Kootz provided his artists with economic ones by helping to sell their work. Bystryn classifies his gallery as an economic institution.

In his analysis of the gallery system in SoHo, Simpson (1981:15-52) makes a distinction between two gallery types which fall in line with those defined by Bystryn: galleries run commercially by professional art dealers and those run on a non-profit basis by artist cooperatives. In SoHo, the artist cooperatives are inventive while the commercial galleries are innovative. The need for artist cooperatives arose as the 87 commercial galleries in SoHo have only been able to support few of the many artists in this art world. At the 14 artist cooperatives, the work of the gallery’s members is exhibited. The ideal of these cooperatives is to allow artists the freedom to develop as they wish, in contrast to the policies of the commercial galleries which tend to demand that their artists focus their work in a certain direction in order to further marketing. The artist cooperatives are inventive as they exhibit a variety of work which has been produced without distributive restrictions. Although the exhibits at the cooperative are eclectic and although their members lack professional marketing skills, the cooperatives do help artists by exhibiting their work. The best artists in the artist cooperatives eventually receive contracts at commercial galleries, thereby achieving security, professional support, and a greater opportunity to succeed.

SoHo’s commercial galleries are innovative and commit their efforts to a particular art movement which may prove to be profitable. The commercial dealer in SoHo is involved in an aggressive drive to promote new trends. He must decide which works to choose of those produced by the great number of artists and working in difficult competition with other galleries, he has to act rapidly to stake out his territory ahead of others. When he discovers a new trend, the dealer tries to make it
more concrete by providing it with a name and by grouping its leaders at his gallery. He has them produce rapidly and exhibits their work at short, eighteen month intervals. This fast pace increases the awareness of other art world institutions such as other galleries, critics, and art magazines and forces them to accelerate their reactions. The movement broadens as the galleries which have noted the trend sign up artists who have begun to work in this direction. The critics must then review this new work as it has attracted the attention of so many dealers. According to Simpson, critics in SoHo's art world are considered conservative elements who but follow the crowd after the rapid decision making of the art dealers has decided the course of action.

Although the art critic seems to have a somewhat minor role in SoHo's art world, Becker (1982:131-164) feels that critics are important as their reviews provide the rationale which justify the attention given to a certain work of art and which provide logical arguments for excluding other work. The reviews are composed of evaluations and explanations which are the application of aesthetic systems to the individual works of art currently produced in an art world. These systems are the products of aestheticians who work to classify what is beautiful, what is art and what is not. The aesthetic systems used by the critics stabilize art world values so that individuals are able to react to a work of art in a similar way. The principles upon which these systems are based thus form an important part of an art world’s conventions. Dealers, culture administrators and collectors use the standards of aestheticians and critics to make their decisions to favor the work of one artist rather than another. The words of critics are powerful as they affect the resources that the art world is willing to give to an artist. An art world's aesthetic tradition may be formulated to set a standard which limits the number of works produced to that amount for which there is exhibition space. Where this space is relatively limited the standard may be quite high so that the work of the majority of artists may be discarded. Artists are also affected by the aesthetic tradition in their daily work and, whether positively or negatively, their work does show some form of response to it. While working, an artist may create an informal aesthetic system. His departures from the established aesthetic tradition may then be taken up by an aesthetician or critic so that a new, formal system may be established to validate the new work.

According to Becker, although aesthetic systems influence an art world, they are also themselves influenced by the workings of this art world. While reviews influence reputations, critics are influenced by aspects of an art world such as the way artists are trained, systems of financial support, and forms of distribution and presentation of the works of art. The writings of critics have to keep up with the changes in what the art world feels are important works; they have to create a consistency between the works that have already been approved and those that are most recently of interest. This influence of the art world upon the critic is the relationship brought up by Simpson; in SoHo's art world the critics follow the moves
of the art dealers as these work more rapidly than the critics and make effective use of aesthetic systems without the assistance of the critics.

The state is also an important element in the collective action of an art world, as art is produced within the framework of laws (Becker 1982:165-191). The state's relationship to art production contains aspects of intervention: support, censorship, or suppression. The state supports art production when it feels that art will develop a national culture, help keep public order, or promote the reputation of the nation among other nations. It may provide this support through various forms of funding: for stipends, training institutions or studios. Government support is not constant but may increase or decrease depending upon changes in the decisions of politicians and administrators. The state may censor art by supporting only certain kinds of art work, and by choosing for its public commissions only those artists producing such work. The state may suppress art work by labeling it obscene and prohibiting it from being exhibited. It may also punish artists who produce this work by preventing them from working as artists or by taking their lives. The state's involvement with the production of art is a pursuit of state interests which may or may not be in harmony with those of artists. For example, through its system of taxation, the state may either be a support or an obstacle to art production.

State intervention in the affairs of the arts is seen with wary eyes by many American researchers as they feel that government funding tends to serve the state rather than those producing art (cf Zolberg 1984, Martorella 1984). Zolberg (1984) has discussed variations in the forms of constraints placed upon artists due to variations in systems of support. She notes that government support is a threat to freedom when it alone provides resources to artists and art worlds, as in the case of authoritarian states. When government support is one of several systems as in liberal democracies, such support may raise the standard of patronage to a level which could not otherwise be obtained. In this case, artists are free to obtain what resources they can from both the state and the art market.

Martorella (1984) discusses the role of government support to the arts in the United States. There, government funds were seen in the 1970s as a resource that could rescue the privately run museums and performing arts companies from bankruptcy and enable the development of new productions. As art establishments felt a need to legitimize the role of the arts in order to receive government funds, an ideological justification of the arts was established: through the ideology of "art service", the arts could be seen as an institution which would serve the community. Following this ideology, the national government attempted to distribute funds to communities around the country in an egalitarian and nonelitist fashion; it was therefore small towns and folk artists that benefited from government funds, rather than those in the art establishments who originated the ideology and who wished to encourage innovation in art worlds. Government funding in the United States during
this period did not favor the aesthetic goals of art producers but instead served those who were thought to use and be benefited by the products of these people.

Although much of the collective action of art world members is directed towards establishing artists and their work in an art world, some of it is designed to bring change to this art world. As not all artists produce work that fits comfortably in an art world, some people endeavor to make the art establishment adjust to uncomfortable work, while other art world members try to create alternative art worlds. Becker (1982:300-350) stresses the importance of organizational development for art world change; change occurs when innovators succeed in taking over existing cooperative networks or in developing new ones. As lasting is a major factor in the identification of quality art, it is necessary that a work and its artist have an organizational base which will keep them alive for the world. Change may be part of a continuous, evolutionary process which is not problematic to an art establishment. On the other hand, change may be revolutionary when innovations are an attack on the status quo, and one or more groups in the established networks are threatened with displacement. The establishment may react to such change by ignoring, fighting, or absorbing it. A revolution succeeds if it convinces art world participants to cooperate in the new way.

A new art world may be born when people who have not cooperated together before begin to do so to produce art in a new way. It may develop, for example, due to a new technique, a new concept, or a new audience. Art worlds decline, on the other hand, if aspects such as the technique or audience are lost. The new art world is what Becker calls the "local art world". It is composed of participants in a local community whose interaction is face-to-face. The local world has the basic attributes of the establishment art world: producers, distributor and consumers, and remains local a long time while developing an institutional framework: a gallery, journal, and colleagues. If the network extends and there are participants occupying all the roles necessary to produce its art, it may develop beyond the local level to a new art establishment. This is possible if the local art world is able to convince the rest of the art world that what it produces is art. Important to its process of convincing the world is the local art world’s creation of a history. This history provides proof that what this world produces is noteworthy as it has a tradition, a line of development.

Becker and his colleagues have studied art worlds as sociologists. Their approach differs from the art history one as no attempt is made to deal with problems of aesthetics. The art historian wishes to evaluate and explain works of art using theories of aesthetics as his guide. Most often, he discusses the formal characteristics of works of art, relating a work to a line of development exhibited in the works of previous generations. The art historian most often limits himself to a set of art objects and writings about them. Some art historians, indeed, do depart from these limits and consider the social context in which a work of art was produced. They then try to relate this context to the work of art and to show the influence of social factors
upon the formulation of an art object. This approach nevertheless differs from the one taken by the sociologists as the art historian is still dealing with problems of aesthetics; although he is aware of sociological factors, his focus is still upon the art object, and his aim is still to provide understanding about it.

The sociologists who study art worlds leave decisions concerning the beauty or art historical background of the works produced in these worlds to their art historian colleagues. As presented above, their concern is not with the art object but with the social worlds in which the object is produced. They are interested in finding out how the various people involved in art production work and interact. Their research provides an understanding of the social processes which enable the development and existence of communities dealing with the production of art. Their concern is with social interaction, social process, social organization. Sociologists studying art worlds differ from their sociologist colleagues only in their choice of social world; they have chosen to study sociological problems in the context of art worlds rather than in the social worlds of doctors, street gangs, or unwed mothers.

In this study, I, as a social anthropologist, bring the point of view of yet another discipline to bear on the study of art worlds. This deserves a few comments. On the whole, my perspective is rather similar to that of the production-of-culture sociologists. Their sociology, like my anthropology, is qualitative and interpretive rather than strictly empirical and quantitative. It tends to be microsociological in the same sense as Firth (1951:17) had in mind when he described social anthropology as a microsociology. As Firth noted, the distinctive characteristic of social anthropology is its method of intensive observation of small units of people in group relationships. The social anthropologist prefers to observe in person small samples of a population because this first hand information does not just produce a view of general patterns but can show the variations within them. Like the sociologist, the social anthropologist is interested in social interaction, social process and social organization.

This study is about the Stockholm art world. Like the production-of-culture sociologists, I wanted to find out the relationships between people working to produce art. My point of departure was the artist and I tried to find out what his occupation was like in Stockholm: how does one become an artist in Stockholm? how does the artist establish himself? what other people does he cooperate with to present and distribute his work? To answer these questions I did fieldwork during the year 1983-84. I did the research for it by interviewing and observing a small segment of the art world population. I interviewed fifty-three Stockholm artists. I also interviewed eight art dealers (of which five were elite dealers), four art critics, six art school personnel, five government culture administrators and one administrator of a private cultural organization. I had telephone conversations with three other art school personnel and three government administrators in the field of education. Besides the interviews, I spent three weeks at a preparatory art school where I
participated as a student. I visited a variety of Stockholm art galleries every week and read the art reviews in the daily newspapers, articles in Swedish art magazines, and biographies and autobiographies of Stockholm artists. I watched television programs about Swedish artists and the Stockholm art world. The picture of the Stockholm art world which emerges from this combination of ethnographic approaches cannot be one giving equal attention to every circle of artists or every institution; it is not a total survey. But it can show recurrent themes in the careers of Stockholm artists, and in the relationships of the artists to art world institutions and to Swedish culture and society.

By interviewing a variety of artists I was able to find out what was generally important to them through the repetitiveness of their answers. I found the variations in their points of view when their answers differed. There were nineteen new generation artists (people who have only been working as artists during the last ten years). Six of these artists were experimental artists (who work to produce innovations). Twenty two artists were integrated professionals of which fourteen were well integrated professionals (artists whose reputations are well established in the art world core). Twelve artists were immigrants. I chose artists of different ages and at different points in their careers so that I could get an idea about different career stages and about changes in the artist career and the art world over time. Although I met a variety of artists, many of the people I interviewed were in or near the art world core. I found this desirable as their careers were those which succeeded in this particular art world; it was their art which circulated in the Stockholm art world core and which was to represent this world. I also met new generation artists whose successes in the art world have not yet been firmly established as well as some peripheral artists: experimental and immigrant artists. I was able to compare and contrast the careers of these artists with those of the more integrated ones.

As I was looking for artists who were visible in the Stockholm art world it was not too difficult to locate them. The most established, well-integrated artists and their work can be readily identified in art books: Olle Granath’s (1975) study provided a survey from 1945-75. One art critic also helped me select artists who worked in numerous different art directions as well as people who might be interested in my project and easy to talk to. I also asked the art dealers I met to recommend a few artists. Most of the art dealers I talked with ran what I call the elite galleries. I chose to interview these dealers after asking artists, mostly new generation artists, which the most desirable galleries were at which to exhibit. The same few names were mentioned constantly. I also noted which galleries received the most attention in the newspapers. Since I made regular visits to many of the Stockholm galleries, I also selected some artists because they exhibited at certain galleries or because their work received attention by the critics.

The first interviews were with new generation artists; I located the first one through a friend. I selected recent graduates of Stockholm’s art academy, the College
of Fine Arts (Konsthögskolan), by arbitrarily choosing names from the College of Fine Arts catalogue. At the end of each interview I always asked the artist if he could give me the names of other artists to interview. As the names I received were often friends or colleagues of the artists, I could follow networks and study the social variations in them. Some new generation artist names were mentioned by many different new generation artists. I tried to interview these artists as they seemed to be examples of people who were on their way to success in the Stockholm art world, or who for some reason were important there.

Interviews were carried out at places of work: I met most of the artists alone in their studios, the art dealers at their galleries, most of the art critics in their writing rooms, the culture administrators in their offices, and the art school personnel at their schools. I chose these locations to become familiar with the environments in which art world professionals work and to perhaps be present when they interacted with colleagues. Since most of the interviews lasted a few hours, this was rather effective although I would have obtained more backstage information if I had been able to be with them daily during a longer period of time. My search for artists interacting with one another was somewhat frustrating as they work alone and seldom have visitors. They do speak with one another on the telephone which I sometimes witnessed during the interviews. I did see face-to-face art student interaction during my weeks at the art school. This participant interaction provided a concrete and detailed picture of art school life.

The interviews were loosely structured and informal; I wanted those I met to speak as freely as possible, using no tape recorder or video camera which could permanently record sensitive statements. I also promised to write my study without using their names. To record data I relied on fieldnotes which I wrote after each interview. While, at an early stage of my work, I intended to include a collection of reproductions of the work of the artists I interviewed, I have decided against this to make it clear that my field is different from that of the art historian and to assure anonymity.

The first interviews with new generation artists taught me about art world socialization. When my own socialization into the art world had progressed, I interviewed integrated and well integrated professionals; I did not want to meet them until I felt more confident about my knowledge of the art world and until I would be able to ask intelligent questions. Since most of these artists had little time to spare on interviews, I knew that I would have to get as much information as possible during the one interview I was given. During the year, the interviews became more structured as I became interested in more narrow, specific questions that had occurred to me through my experiences and I met artists to get the answers to these questions.

Although I met most of my informants only once, I did have more contact with a few artists with whom I felt comfortable and who seemed well oriented in the
Stockholm art world and willing to help me. One of these was a new generation artist whom I call Filip, another was an integrated professional whom I call Christian. There were also three new generation: Ernst, Leo, and Tora, who were particularly helpful in explaining the activities of experimental artists. The meetings with Filip were in a variety of contexts: cafés, art exhibits as well as the showroom of a designer furniture store. My conversations with Filip always had something to do with the Stockholm art world although I had no particular questions in mind when I met him. Christian was my teacher at the art school. Besides meeting him there, I also went out to lunch with him twice, attended an opening of one of his exhibits, and made a surprise visit to his studio. The discussions with Christian focused on my work and were largely devoted to obtaining advice about ways and places to gather material. The purpose of the meetings with Ernst, Leo and Tora was more specific than those with Filip and Christian. Most of them were research into how Ernst and Leo ran their gallery for experimental art.

Besides meeting Christian and Filip in person, I talked with them on the telephone now and then. The telephone was an important tool in my fieldwork as I used it to arrange interviews and to gather some art world information, mostly replies to short answer questions that required no interview. As there was an informal, off the record, style to many of the conversations with Filip and Christian, they often said things in passing which helped me understand the art world and their artist occupations. Using the telephone to arrange interviews was very efficient for I was able to obtain some information from all the people I called, even those few who refused to meet me. The reasons they gave for not wanting to participate in the study said something about their careers and their art world.

Firth, in his comments on social anthropology as microsociology, goes on to suggest that by studying the particular and by concentrating on small samples, the social anthropologist hopes to illuminate the general and to formulate macro theories about human culture. This concern with the relationship between micro and macro finds many expressions in social anthropology, but it is not necessarily shared with other microsociologies. In this area my work differs somewhat from that of the production-of-culture sociologists who choose to work with a micro perspective in reaction to the work of those who worked with the macro point of view in which art was a reflection of an entire society. The production-of-culture sociologists concentrate on particular art worlds and on the whole do not try to understand them by examining the societies in which these are worlds are a part. My study will differ from their work as I do try to explain the Stockholm art world by relating it to the Swedish welfare state as well as by referring to Swedish history and culture. While the production of art in Stockholm depends upon the particular networks of cooperation in the Stockholm art world, these people and their immediate work context are part of a larger world and are influenced by it. Nevertheless, there are variations in Swedish contexts. While this study of the Stockholm art world does not
explain these variations some of the themes I discuss may be found throughout Swedish society.\textsuperscript{3}

In this explicit concern with the Stockholm art world as a segment of Swedish society, my study also differs, in what seems to be a characteristically anthropological way, from what has generally been the tendency of the production-of-culture studies by American sociologists. The latter have concerned themselves with American materials, and at the same time have tended to take the Americanness of the wider context for granted. Becker does base some of his discussion of art dealers on Moulin's (1967) dissertation about the French art market (cf Becker 1982:109) but rather than presenting the citations from her text as ethnographic examples from one society, he generalizes and lets French art dealers represent art dealers in general.

Social anthropologists are concerned with all societies, and with comparisons between them which help illuminate their characteristics and which may explain their differences. It may have been the classic, implicit or explicit, task of anthropological comparisons to show the variety of ways in which non-western societies differ from the western societies where most anthropologists have originated. There is also a long tradition of detailed comparisons between related non-western societies. But there should also be room for more comparisons between western societies, and between parts of these respective wholes; comparisons which can show how comparable micro units are differently influenced by their macro contexts. In my study I accomplish part of this task by comparing the Stockholm art world with the SoHo art world in New York as well as the art world of the New York School artists. I also did my fieldwork with a comparative eye as I am an American, although I have resided in Sweden since 1971. Since I am originally from New York City and have often visited there during the past few years, I am familiar with its culture and its art worlds. While I am firmly settled in Sweden, I still do not think of myself as a Swede. My point of view during fieldwork was that of the person who is aware of the cultures of two different societies yet who is not really a part of either of them. As my contact with the Stockholm art world had previously been very limited, I was an outsider there and was able to compare this world with other Swedish worlds which I already knew.
Stockholm is a rather small city. For one who likes to walk in cities, its central area is one that may be covered from one end to the other without particular effort. The population of this central part of Stockholm was 659,030 in 1986 (Stockholm Office of Research and Statistics 1986). Stockholm is a sophisticated, elegant city. It is clean, and as part of a welfare state, it is without a single slum. It does have an old working class district, Söder, which is somewhat heavy and cluttered in character, and dishevelled enough to make it attractive to bohemians. As Söder has become increasingly attractive as a residential area, however, the increasing pressures on its real estate market have pushed workers as well as bohemians out toward other and more peripheral areas of Stockholm, including the new, less fashionable high-rise suburbs, where many of the more recent immigrants to Sweden also live. The outstanding quality of Stockholm proper, however, is its old bourgeois elegance. This elegance is not of an effusive sort but rather one that is reserved, expressing the presence and taste of the city’s many upper class citizens: royalty, bankers, businessmen, and government officials. Stockholm bears the mark of its powerful nineteenth century bourgeoisie; its numerous broad avenues were designed for the gracious promenading of these solid citizens and many of its buildings, fanciful creations with graceful, curved towers, were erected to be their homes (cf Wästberg 1980).

The continued existence in Stockholm of a sizable bourgeoisie has created a demand for an art world to fulfil its cultural needs. Although prior to the rise of the bourgeoisie, the world of culture was limited to the domain of the king and his court, since this rise the bourgeois population has provided most of the public for its art world, as well as some of its producers and many of its distributors. When the
STOCKHOLM'S ELITE GALLERIES

KEY

1 Ahiner
2 Aronowitsch
3 Blanche
4 Engström
5 Olsson
6 Svenska Bilder
7 Moderna Museet
8 College of Fine Arts

- gallery clusters
- body of water
- park

SCALE 0 - 500 M
bourgeoisie became powerful, the Stockholm private art market came into being; the first gallery was Blanche, established in 1883. This private market did not, however, begin to develop substantially until the 1920s (cf Nilsson 1981:142). Today, the Stockholm private art market retains the style and ideology of the class that founded it. It is a bourgeois art world, one where interaction between participants is refined and careful, where aggression is taboo and where understatement is proper etiquette.

The bourgeois aspect of the Stockholm art world is furthered by the fact that there is no art district in Stockholm; the art world does not have its own few blocks of the city. Unlike other art worlds such as those in New York, the Stockholm art world is not identified by a street name such as Tenth Street or by a particular city district such as SoHo. Rather, it is spread out all over the city and instead of expressing its own character in its particular territorial niche, it tends to take on the bourgeois character of the city. The artists do not live in an art district but rather reside in areas that correspond to their economic statuses. Many artists do have their studios in Söder and thereby tend to further their own and Söder’s bohemian image. However, this image is more romanticized than factual. Artists have their studios in Söder for a practical reason: the rents there have been low. When they can, however, artists adopt the Swedish bourgeois values of their city and announce their economic success through the status symbols of impressive studios in comfortable homes which they desert in the summer for more rustic homes in the country. The summer house is a Swedish institution, at least among those who live in some economic comfort.

The bourgeois ideology in the Stockholm art world of today still shows similarities to the nineteenth century Swedish bourgeoisie. Its members strove to demarcate themselves from the masses and were concerned with impressing society with the superiority of that status and cultivation (cf Frykman and Löfgren 1979). This was accomplished through the expression of perfect self-control. The bourgeois presented this self-control through immaculate dress, a dignified carriage, and the suppression of emotional outbursts and the avoidance of disturbing topics of conversation. His restrained conduct enabled the upholding of a distinguished atmosphere which he felt worthy of cultivated human beings. The milieu of the bourgeoisie was to be polite; tact kept an appropriate distance between interacting parties. Emphasis was on the individual; the bourgeois was concerned about his integrity and cultivation. It is this emphasis on the cultivated which is characteristic of the private market in the Stockholm art world.

There are at present, in the late 1980s, approximately 40 well established galleries on this private market; this figure is approximate and does not include the plethora of new galleries which are constantly opening and closing. The galleries at the core of this private market and which art world professionals consider to be the most desirable exhibition spaces are a collection of six galleries which I shall call the elite galleries: Ahlner, Aronowitsch, Blanche, Engström, Olsson, and Svenska.
Bilder. The elite galleries are intended to be dignified cultural establishments, providing a milieu suitable to an old bourgeoisie. The free play of aggressive marketing and the encouragement of extravagant artistic experimentation which enabled the development in New York of Bystryn's (1978) innovative and inventive gallery types are therefore restrained in this core of the Stockholm private art market. The elite galleries deal with marketing and artistic experimentation through a policy of moderation. The elite galleries are the inventive ones in Stockholm as it is they who dare to present unknown artists working in new directions. This inventiveness has a respectable character however; often the talent of the experimental artists they present is certified by the College of Fine Arts. The innovativeness of the elite galleries is also respectable. The elite dealers wish the art they show to sell and make efforts to accomplish this; yet they do not have the aggressive, calculating strategies of SoHo dealers, as these would be out of line with proper etiquette. Rather than aggressiveness, the elite gallery dealers prefer to adopt low profiles, with subtle manoeuvring which may occur behind the scenes and in ways that do not interfere with the image of integrity and cultivation. The set of 10-15 quality galleries closest to the elite galleries with regard to a desire to show quality art follow the example of the elite galleries in their policy of moderation. They are more conservative than the elite galleries when it comes to artistic inventiveness, and tend to deal in art of a more traditional nature.

Bystryn's two gallery types nevertheless exist in Stockholm. Rather than being at the core of the private art market as in New York, they are at peripheries where the influence of the bourgeois ideology is weaker and less able to restrict the development of more extreme types. Inventive galleries are artist run spaces which exist to present experimental work which has not, or at least not yet, been accepted by the core of the art world. These galleries are temporary phenomena and lack the organizational sophistication and stability of the artist cooperatives in SoHo. Galleries with an aggressive marketing orientation are the handful of newly opened galleries who deal in international trends. Establishment figures, who find their marketing style distasteful and their interest in trends suspect and a sign of a lack of seriousness, have derogatively named them "trend" galleries.

The elite galleries are located in the most fashionable areas of Stockholm, areas suitable to their bourgeois style. Aronowitsch, Svenska Bilder, Olsson, and Engström are located a few blocks from one another in Östermalm while Blanche and Ahlner are located in Gamla Stan (see map). Östermalm is the territory of the Stockholm upper classes. While the boulevards along its borders which house exclusive shops are busy with traffic, most of the area is residential and has a dignified and private atmosphere. Here are the buildings with fanciful towers constructed for the turn-of-the-century bourgeoisie. The people on these streets wear designer clothes and are well coiffured; they ride in private cars and live in a world apart from those who ride the graffiti covered cars of the subway. Gamla Stan (Old Town) is the
original Stockholm and dates from the Middle Ages. Its streets are narrow, many are cobblestoned and only for pedestrians. There is a close, dark feeling about this area as the heavy, but low, stone buildings on one side of its streets nearly touch the ones on the opposite side. The medieval character of Gamla Stan and its many small speciality shops makes it a popular strolling area for tourists as well as Stockholm residents. With the exception of Olsson, all of the elite galleries are on prominent streets: those in Östermalm are on its wide boulevards while those in Gamla Stan are on its most popular walking streets. Again with the exception of Olsson, each of the galleries is immediately surrounded by a few other galleries. This clustering on prominent avenues in an elegant milieu encourages the Stockholm bourgeoisie to make a promenaded tour of the galleries. On this tour one may visit the exhibits, window shop in the neighboring boutiques, and meet other acquaintances who are also out for a walk.

The galleries are in buildings whose grave and weighty appearances make known the stability of these establishments and suggest that they are part of a long tradition and worthy of respect. The elite galleries emphasize their exclusiveness by a separation from the streets. Usually visitors enter them through a heavy door; in two cases the galleries are not directly on the street, and the visitor must make his way past the outer house portal and its door buzzer as well as the door of the gallery itself. The elite galleries are small. Their one or two rooms provide the space for a select collection of work. This space is reputed in the art world to be beautiful and artists wish to exhibit at the elite galleries not only because of their good reputations but because an exhibit in their rooms creates an aesthetically satisfying unity. Most of these rooms have high ceilings and all have clean, white walls. Except for the works of art, the galleries are bare. The environment created by the sparse hanging of the work is airy, yet strict. As there are usually few visitors at one time, there is a stillness which is suitable for quiet contemplation. Elite galleries are for a small public. Unlike large museums for a general public wishing to see works of artists who have been proclaimed great masters, they are intended for the few people who are interested in seeing the most recent production of a single artist, work too new to have received a definitive reputation.

While dealers in SoHo readily admit to being interested in promoting a clearly defined art movement, Stockholm elite dealers rarely do. The intensive search of SoHo dealers for new trends is not an appropriate tactic for Stockholm elite dealers. An interest in trends clashes with the bourgeois belief in quality. A good bourgeois surrounds himself with objects which are sound and long lasting. Rather than trends, the elite galleries mark their profiles with the notion of quality. Trends are something that the elite dealers shy away from, they bear the connotation of something that is temporary and superficial. As trends are suspect, so are the new set of trend galleries. The trend galleries bear witness in the somewhat peripheral Stockholm art world to the influence of the internationally dominant art worlds such as those of New York.
and Paris. It is the fast-paced, competitive, and cosmopolitan style of these big art worlds which the trend galleries try to imitate. These galleries do not go so far as to imitate the New York tactic of labeling and intellectualizing about trends. Rather, they let other art worlds do this intellectualizing and then select work which presents the new directions. They depart from the bourgeois standard of the elite galleries as their promotion style is pretentious and aggressive. Trend galleries are more ostentatious than the elite galleries, but besides being too swanky they are also too new; they have an air of the *nouveau riche* which is, of course, improper among the elite dealers. Trend galleries are more commercial than the elite galleries and invest in big business sales techniques. They submit large advertisements to the newspapers and also sell posters of the work they exhibit. One artist, Samuel, complained about the commercialism of these galleries as follows:

"They had a full page advertisement of their Hockney show. They tried to sound convincing by talking about 'relying on us'. The advertisement had that clever commercial language and attracted attention by talking aboutfalling in love with a woman on a Hockney - 'Have an affair with Celia'."

To further illuminate the character of the elite galleries and clarify what is considered proper behavior on the Stockholm private art market, a look at another institution, which this art world classifies as definitely beyond the pale, will be helpful. This institution is Bohmans Konsthandel which closed in the spring of 1987. Its owner, Tage Bohman, had sold art in Stockholm since 1954. The importance in the art world of Bohman as a controversial figure is brought out in a newspaper article by Fried (1986).

Bohmans Konsthandel diverged in many ways from the elite galleries. Many of these divergencies are noted by Fried as reasons why Bohman was considered controversial. First, while the elite galleries play down the fact that they are businesses which sell art, Bohmans Konsthandel was an establishment which stated this fact clearly. Its commercial nature was emphasized in its name - "Konsthandel" - which literally translated means art market. To obtain a low commercial profile the elite establishments use the word *galleri* (gallery). There is one exception, however, Olsson's Konsthandel. Olsson chose the word *konsthandel* despite its ugly connotations as he felt that this word more honestly described his business. He exhibits quality art but also intends to sell it.

While the elite galleries are located in Stockholm's most fashionable district, Bohmans Konsthandel was located during most of its existence on one of Stockholm's most commercial streets. Instead of the orderly sparseness typical of exhibits at the elite galleries, the exhibitions at Bohman's were profuse presentations covering the walls of the firm from the floor to the ceiling. Although the elite galleries and all other galleries in Stockholm advertise their exhibits through quiet newspaper announcements, Bohman tried to sell his products by writing advertisements whose
texts were similar to those of American car retailers and which, like them, also included a picture of himself. Fried describes these effusive notices as very personal and unusual.

While the works shown at the elite galleries are intended to represent new developments in Swedish contemporary art, the works at Bohmans Konsthandel were instead works that Bohman felt the average Swede would purchase. He never presented work with a non-figurative content. The elite gallery dealers are people who present themselves as knowledgeable experts. Bohman, on the other hand, has expressed a populist distaste for experts, and has advised his potential customers to make their choices by buying what they like. While the elite dealers respect the degree an artist has obtained from the College of Fine Arts and are often influenced by this credential when deciding whether to exhibit his work, Bohman has instead felt that anyone who believes he is an artist should be able to exhibit his work.

The quality concept used by the elite dealers to mark their profiles is one that is diffuse and essentially undefined; quality is something determined by the personal preferences of each dealer. As one dealer explained:

"I present the work I think is good. I do not exhibit one particular school art."

The quality of art is not something determined through references to art history or aesthetic theories. Although a dealer may have a strong background in art history (most of the elite dealers have completed university level studies in this field) he does not justify his decisions rationally as do SoHo dealers, but instead refers to meditative experiences:

"I choose the work I like best. I decide whether a work is good by examining it while I am in a meditative state of mind. I must therefore prepare myself mentally before viewing a new work. That is why I dislike having artists barging into my office without an appointment."

The elite dealers are not used to being put in the position where they must clearly define their particular profiles. They had a difficult time giving me a precise explanation about these when I interviewed them for this study. Dealers are more able to say what kind of work they do not exhibit than the kind that they do show:

"There is an art historical idea behind my exhibits. They are not constructivist. I don’t have one word to describe the kind of art I show and I don’t want to have one. This would be too confining. The artists I present are part of a Franco-European tradition. Not an American one; American art is just fun. The Americans don’t have the long cultural tradition that we have in Sweden..."

At the end of the interview, the dealer making the above comments said:

"This has been an interesting discussion. I’ve been forced to make my position more precise."
The diffuse aesthetic profiles or the elite galleries and the discreet behavior of the dealers who run them may in part result from the situation of the Stockholm art world in the Swedish welfare state, a state whose ideology opposes the bourgeois control of the private market. The Swedish state seeks to further the well being of all of its citizens by distributing its benefits in an as egalitarian and just manner as possible. The state interest in the welfare of the people includes their cultural needs and has led to the formulation of a cultural policy designed to further these.

Since 1974, the cultural policy of the state has emphasized "a good social environment" (cf Nilsson 1981:208). It replaces a policy of cultural uplift, in which an attempt was made to bring quality art to the citizens of Sweden in the hope that they would learn to appreciate it. Rather than trying to impose on them the taste and art conventions of the upper classes, the state has lately taken the view that art should not be the product of an elitist art world, but should instead become an integrated part of the daily lives of the people. The cultural policy is to encourage the creativity of the Swedish people and their active participation in artistic endeavors.

As in the United States during the 1970s (cf Martorella 1984), state funding is directed towards local communities and favors the general population rather than art world professionals. The Swedish policy stresses that culture is not to be monopolized by a distant city or the wealthy but should develop in each local community and be pertinent to local concerns (cf Nilsson 1981:209). The local level of government, kommunen, the municipality, should take a greater responsibility in cultural affairs than it has done in previous years. Yet, while the local government is supposed to activate local cultural development, economic responsibility still remains with the central and regional government authorities (cf Nilsson 1981:350).

The bourgeois ideology of the elite galleries is concerned with benefiting the individual. The elite galleries represent an elitism which may clash with the state ideology of public welfare. The interest of the elite galleries in quality implies an elitist selectivity which opposes the public goal of spreading benefits to the masses. Quality implies distinguishing a set of superior artists, who are to receive privileges that are denied to others. Quality also implies distinguishing a select public which has the means to purchase and to appreciate the works of these artists. There therefore exists a tension between the people and institutions working for public welfare and those such as the elite galleries who feel that the mass oriented government policy prohibits the development of a vital cultural life in Sweden. Elite dealers feel that the state culture institutions inhibit inventive-innovative activities as its decision making, which must be carried out through a large, bureaucratic apparatus, is too sluggish. The elite galleries therefore feel that they alone enable innovation and vitality in the Stockholm art world. One elite dealer explained:

"I hope my gallery will help to raise the standard of art in Stockholm. I want cultural life in Stockholm to improve. The Swedish government policy of spreading culture to the masses is wrong and produces a bland, nondescript cultural life in Sweden."

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Another said:

"I have been a forerunner and it was I who introduced certain American artists to Stockholm. It has been easier for me to do so than Moderna Museet as its curators must consider the demands of a broad public and must work through a bureaucracy. I work alone and make decisions on my own."

As the elite dealers are aware that their activities antagonize those supporting the welfare ideology, they may keep a low profile so as not to offend the masses more than necessary. If the elite dealers were to adopt the tactics of SoHo dealers and begin an aggressive drive for the sale of new products, their behavior would become highly offensive to both those working for public welfare and to the bourgeois associates and public of the private market. The elite dealers would be too commercial and too profit-seeking: ugly capitalists. Elaborate verbal constructions explaining new products would also be held too elitist. Such complicated statements could only be meant for the well-educated bourgeoisie; they could not be for the people and would therefore serve to keep a distance between them and art; culture would remain beyond their reach and they would be kept in a position of inferiority. Although "quality" opposes the ideology of public welfare, it is nevertheless a respectable Swedish concept: "Swedish quality" is a slogan often used by Swedish firms to sell products as they know that it arouses confidence in their customers. Representing quality is a lesser evil than selling trends. The elite dealers remain reserved bourgeois gentlemen as this tactic is more convenient in their social context, and avoiding offensive behavior they can operate more effectively.

Although the state cultural policy is mass oriented and now emphasizes the interests of the people rather than those of art world professionals, the Swedish state continues to provide funds to the art world and to play an influential role there. Despite its interest in decentralization, the government continues to fund the Stockholm art world as part of its plan to provide public welfare. The state funding of the Stockholm art world is important as it enables the existence of the College of Fine Arts, the College of Applied Arts as well as Moderna Museet (the museum of modern art). The state also assists the livelihood of some artists by commissioning them to decorate public buildings or by awarding them stipends. Although this funding helps to keep the art world alive, it also constrains this life as the sums of money which the state offer are not large. The state supported art world institutions therefore lack the resources to function as they wish. The facilities of the College of Fine Arts are in poor condition and in need of repair and enlargement; Moderna Museet is restricted in its purchases and exhibition of Swedish contemporary art; artist stipends are too small to live on and only represent supplementary income. This is particularly problematic as the incomes of Swedish artists are already diminished by the high taxation rate on their incomes; the state classifies artists as self-employed which means that it taxes them more than Swedes who are employees.
The Swedish state interest in culture existed long before the creation of its social welfare system. When state authority began to develop in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the first cultural institutions in Sweden were established through the initiative of the king as a means to glorify and enhance his power (cf Nilsson 1981:400). King Gustav III initiated Akademien för de fria konsterna, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts - Stockholm, in 1735, as an institution which would regulate the artistic standard in Sweden. Control of art production was of great ideological importance as its content was used to keep royalty, government officials and wealthy businessmen in power. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts was to keep up to date on new developments in international art and was also to act as a censor of art movements whose works represented a conflict with the ideals of the state (cf Nilsson 1981:136). The Royal Academy of Fine Arts continues to influence the production of art in Sweden as it is, for example, one of the organizations responsible for appointing artists to government art purchasing committees. Its power has been reduced, however, for KRO, (Konstnärernas riksförbundet), the Swedish Artists National Organization, the largest artist organization in Sweden, now shares this responsibility.

The Royal Academy of Fine Arts was also responsible for the education of Swedish artists. Its educational function is now established as a separate institution, Konsthögskolan, the College of Fine Arts. In the Stockholm art world it is important for artists to obtain a credential certifying their status as professionals. The College of Fine Arts is the gatekeeper to this world as it is the only institution of advanced education in the fine arts in Stockholm. Although it is a government institution funded by the state, the College of Fine Arts does not function for the masses but rather for the creation of an elite set of professionals. The College of Fine Arts retains that upper class heritage which enabled its foundation and serves to further the cultivation of a few select individuals. The heavy and pompous building in which it is housed proclaims its upper class character and reminds students and teachers of their special status.

The course at the College of Fine Arts is five years, with admission in the fall. Each of its graduating classes contains approximately 20 students, a group far smaller than the several hundred students who apply to the school each year. There are eight preparatory art schools in Stockholm; most of the students graduating from these eventually apply to the College of Fine Arts although some apply to the College of Applied Arts (Konstfackskolan) or to schools in Gothenburg or Copenhagen. The College of Applied Arts is the only other institution of advanced art studies in Stockholm, although its emphasis is not on training professional artists. One of its courses provides graduates with a teaching certificate; other courses are in industrial design, crafts, interior decorating, photography, illustrating, and monumental art. These courses vary in length from two up to five years. The College of Applied Arts is a larger school than the College of Fine Arts. In 1983 it had approximately 400
students. The number of students attending the preparatory schools has increased considerably since the 1960s when at one art school there were 12 students; in 1983 the same school had 48. The number of students at the College of Fine Arts has not increased. In 1968 there were, in its five classes, 129 students while in 1984 there were 109. The elite position of these students has thus increased with the increase in the number of prospective students.

Although Peterson and White (1979) see art academies as institutions which have tended to ensure orthodoxy, this is not an accurate description of the College of Fine Arts in the current Stockholm context. As a protector of orthodoxy, an art academy is an institution which prohibits or battles with avant-garde movements. While this has formerly been true in Stockholm, its art academy is now a source for new directions in Swedish art, and its students as well as its professors are active participants on the private art market. In Stockholm, there is a close cooperation between College of Fine Arts professors and the dealers running the elite and quality galleries. The standard of quality which the College of Fine Arts sets is one which is approved and to some extent formulated by the art dealers who are forerunners on the market. These dealers have contributed to the success of the professors, with whom they have had contact throughout their careers. The judgement and opinions of the art dealers running these galleries have influenced the careers of the professors who in turn may pass these views to their students. Rather than safeguarding orthodoxy, the College of Fine Arts plays an important role in determining quality; students graduating from this institution are recognized as the producers of respectable, quality art work.

As education at the College of Fine Arts is oriented toward the needs of the individual, there is little group instruction. College of Fine Arts students have reached the point in their artistic development where they are ready to explore artistic possibilities on their own. Each student at the school is assigned an advisory professor who is to comment on his work. When the student is ready for his debut exhibit, which may be before graduation, it is often the adviser who arranges an exhibit for the student at an elite or quality gallery. The College of Fine Arts credential reassures the art dealers when they are to decide whether to exhibit the work of the unknown artist; they are more likely to exhibit the work of artist who are College of Fine Arts graduates than those who are not. The effectiveness of the College of Fine Arts as a gatekeeper to the market and to success is indicated by the large number of College of Fine Arts graduates among the artists whom Granath included in his book (1975). Of the 79 artists listed in the index, 65 were included in a biographical dictionary of Swedish artists (Väbo Förlag 1987). Of these 65 artists, 43 were College of Fine Arts graduates. The importance of art school education for successful integration into the Stockholm art world is clear as, of the 22 artists who did not attend the College of Fine Arts, 14 had some form of art education and 10 had studied at art schools of advanced art studies other than the College of Fine Arts:
5 had studied abroad, 3 had attended Valand's Art School in Gothenburg, and 2 had attended the College of Applied Arts. Of the remaining 8 artists, one had university education while 7 were autodidacts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of artists</th>
<th>65</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College of Fine Arts graduates</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other art education</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advanced studies abroad</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valand's Art School</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Applied Arts</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparatory art schools</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University studies</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autodidact</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This collaboration between one educational institution and establishment galleries marks the particularly important limitation upon entrance to the Stockholm art world. In New York, there is no single educational institution, government or private, which has the power of the College of Fine Arts; there is no single institution which determines the quality or proficiency of New York artists. Rather, artists in New York may attend any of the many art schools and university departments around the United States. In New York, entrance to the art market occurs directly through an agreement between the artist and the art dealer (cf Simpson 1981). The dealer alone opens the gate; his decision is based on the work which the artist presents him. As the artists that New York dealers meet come from many different cities and countries they are anonymous individuals. Their reputations have not been furthered by a small set of integrated professionals with ties to the dealers. While the gate to the Stockholm art world opens for a select elite, that in New York opens to people who come from an anonymous crowd.

While the College of Fine Arts is a state institution with an elitist orientation, the state institutions founded after it are mass oriented. Most of them reflect the state cultural policy which prevailed from the end of the nineteenth century until 1974, the policy characterized by the slogan "Good art to the people" (cf Nilsson 1981:184). To carry out this policy, the government has been responsible for funding
and administering state cultural institutions and seeing to it that cultural activities can flourish.

In line with this policy was the establishment of Nationalmuseet, the National Museum of Fine Arts, in 1866 by King Karl XV. Although the intention of the royal family was originally to found an institution to glorify that state (cf Nilsson 1981:144), the museum also made art available to the Swedish people. Art was no longer the exclusive property of the upper classes but could now, at least theoretically, be appreciated by all Swedes. The National Museum of Fine Arts was to house the works of contemporary Swedish artists, although today its collection consists of the works of Swedish artists produced prior to the twentieth century. Purchasing the works of Swedish artists was a move to prevent the departures of the artists for more comfortable conditions in Europe (cf Nilsson 1981:144). It was, and still is, seen as a means to contribute to the stability of the Swedish heritage. The sale of the works of Swedish masters to foreign buyers produces anxiety, and attempts are made to prevent such losses. The museum collection is state funded; acquisitions are made by its government purchasing committee, Statens inköpsnämnd, founded in 1873. For the budget year 1986/87 this committee had 415 000 SEK at its disposal. This sum is complemented by approximately 2 million SEK from various private funds the use of which is determined by the wishes of the donors. In addition, the "friends of the museum" organization, Föreningen Nationalmuseets vänner, donates gifts, as do other private individuals (cf Söderberg 1987). Although the National Museum of Fine Arts is a state institution, it could not survive without the economic support of private sources.

Moderna Museet, founded in 1958, also contributes to the state objective of preserving the Swedish heritage. Although its scope is international and it houses a respectable collection of international contemporary art, one of its prime aims is to establish a representative collection of twentieth century Swedish art (cf Granath et al 1983). Originally an annex to the National Museum of Fine Arts, Moderna Museet became an independent institution through the creation of its purchasing committee. This committee includes two members from the museum as well as four artists; two painters and two sculptors. The artists are named by the government, following the recommendation of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and KRO (cf Granath 1986). The committee is composed, as many other government culture committees, of representatives from state and artist organizations. This composition expresses the desire of the state to make just decisions in the area of culture by including art world professionals in the decision making process.

In the fiscal years of 1983–84 and 1986–87, the government funds available to the purchasing committee for contemporary Swedish art were 505 000 SEK in 1983–84 and 570 000 SEK in 1986–87 (Granath 1986). In an article in the museum bulletin, the director of the museum, Olle Granath (1986), notes that this funding is quite insufficient. He makes it clear that the museum does not function through state
funding alone and in fact receives an equivalent sum of funds from private sources, in the form of financial grants or works of art. The "friends of the museum" organization, *Moderna Museets Vänner*, provides the museum with approximately 400 000 SEK a year through its membership fees. Part of this sum, however, may be used to buy older Swedish twentieth century art as well as international art. For the budget year 1986-87, the museum received 550 000 SEK from the state for purchases of these kinds of art.

Granath's explicit point that private and public sources fund the museum in almost equal percentages is a rather daring statement in Sweden, for private sponsorship is widely considered highly undesirable. It is believed that economic support by wealthy individuals or private industry will steer the production of art in a direction favoring capitalist interests and will prohibit the free play of art movements which contradict these interests. Moves by the directors of Stockholm's National Museum of Fine Arts and *Moderna Museet* to accept the aid of private sponsors to complement insufficient state funding have been met by great public disapproval (cf Söderberg 1986 a,b,c). The offering of stipends by private companies to promising young artists has also been considered improper. While, in the United States, public funding of culture is suspect, in Sweden public funding is considered to be nonpartisan and a force which enables egalitarian benefits. The entry of private funds into the sphere of state institutions is considered a threat to public welfare. Nonetheless, fear of capitalist influence would seem exaggerated as the art and the artists who receive private sponsorship are those who are already respectable in the art world, and whom its members have already determined should receive some form of support. The decisions of private sponsors but mark a confirmation of art world values and opinions.

Government support in the Stockholm art world does not produce the controversy that it might in American art worlds, as most of the artists who benefit by these funds have also already been recognized as noteworthy professionals by the core of the art world – the elite and quality galleries. The works of contemporary Swedish art purchased by *Moderna Museet* are pieces that the purchasing committee has seen at exhibits in the galleries in Stockholm and around the country (cf Granath 1986). The decision to purchase a work of art is often a confirmation of an elite or quality art dealer's belief that the work is of interest. The museum collection is therefore a summary of the works that the private market has already decided to support. The museum purchasing committees helps to establish an art world consensus about the value of the works that it has chosen by confirming the decisions of the art dealers.

Another government institution which through its decisions confirms those made by art dealers is *Statens Konstråd*, the State Art Council. This committee, founded in 1937 (cf Nilsson 1981:145), is responsible for the distribution of government funds for the decoration of public buildings and for providing assistance
in the decision making processes involved in this production. Besides funding works produced when a building is constructed, the committee also regularly funds the purchases of art works of smaller format to decorate the walls of public buildings. Public institutions under the jurisdiction of the regional local levels of government also purchase art with funds from these governments (cf Nilsson 1981:468). Institutions which are important art buyers are hospitals and the Stockholm transit authority, Storstockholms lokaltrafik (SL), Stockholm Transport. Five of the committee members of the State Art Council are artists who are named by the government following the recommendations of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and KRO. Two committee members are laymen and one represents Byggnadsstyrelsen, the National Swedish Board of Public Building. Representatives from the state art museums and Fortifikationsförvaltningen, Royal Fortifications Administration, act as consultants (cf Statens Konstråd 1987).

The tradition of commissioning the artistic decoration of public buildings is one which has furthered the state cultural policy of bringing art to the people; through these commissions the public has been able to see art while carrying out its daily activities. The direct impulse for establishing the tradition was the economic crisis in the 1930s. The commissions were meant to help improve the difficult situation of artists at this time (cf Nilsson 1981:145). In 1937, the state assured the artistic decoration of its buildings by introducing a regulation, enprocentregel, which states that 1% of the construction costs for a new building should be allocated to artistic decoration. This percentage has often been a more theoretical than factual one, for although buildings are decorated, it has usually been accomplished with a sum that is less than 1% (cf Nilsson 1981:145).

The commissions authorized by the State Art Council often provide established artists with a source of substantial income as the works produced are usually monumental in size, grand pieces for large public arenas. Artists apply for a commission by producing sketches of a potential work. Those who receive the commissions are often artists whose work is already well known in the art world; the committee is helped in deciding whether an artist is suitable for a commission through familiarity with his previous work. Commissions vary in prestige depending on the site and extensiveness of the work. Artists with the greatest reputations tend to receive the most prestigious commissions. Not all artists are able to work on the large scale demanded by building decoration, nor are they happy working with architects or meeting the practical limitations set by a functional milieu (cf Alton 1985). Those artists who are comfortable with this kind of work are able to specialize in public art work and are repeatedly commissioned. Paintings purchased to decorate buildings are most often works on exhibit at galleries (cf Wallmark 1986). Like the purchases of Moderna Museet, many of these also represent a confirmation of quality art dealer decisions. In the budget year of 1985/86, the State Art Council purchased 3 665 art works at a cost of approximately 10 million SEK which, according to Mailis
Stensman (1986), secretary of the State Art Council, was an insufficient grant. For the budget year 1987/88, the State Art Council received 23,410,000 SEK in state funds which is one percent of state building costs (cf Statens Konstråd 1987).

Although the decisions of the State Art Council about which artists should receive commissions to decorate public buildings are not controversial, the fact that government commissions are "user" oriented makes this form of government support problematic for artists. Since the late 1970s, there has been a law which gives government employees the right to participate in the decisions made at their places of work. This right includes decisions about the art that shall decorate these places. When a commission is to be carried out or when art work is to be hung on the walls of a building, nothing can be accomplished until the employees have given their approval. Not only is an artist limited by the architectural character of the building where his work will be placed, he is also restricted by the desires and tastes of a user public. As the state cultural policy is to further the creativity and interest of the Swedish people in art, this user orientation is something which artists must deal with. They must either refuse to adapt their work to the desires of others and risk losing a job or sale or else involve themselves in a dialogue with the users about the sort of work these want. Often artists censor their work before it meets its public and produce it as they think this public would like it (cf Stensman 1978). This process tends to prohibit daring experiments in public art production, making it unnecessarily tame.

While state support is thought to be a source permitting the free play of artistic creativity, this supposed freedom is actually hindered by the contextual condition set by the official belief in user orientation. This orientation and the tradition of wishing to increase public welfare through art has been reinforced by the development of institutions which are designed to carry out this policy although they are not run by the state. Two such institutions are Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening (SAK), the Swedish General Art Association, and Konsträmjandet, Art Promotion. The Swedish General Art Association is the first of Sweden's art associations and was founded at the end of the nineteenth century during the same period as the founding of the National Museum of Fine Arts. While the Swedish General Art Association is an independent organization, there are now many art associations at public institutions and private companies. Their boards purchase art work and arrange meetings between their members and artists and other art world professionals (cf chapters 6, 7, 8). The Swedish General Art Association works on a larger scale than other art associations and attempts to develop a greater appreciation of Swedish fine art by holding art exhibitions. It also publishes monographs about Swedish artists and holds lotteries for its members of art which the association has purchased (cf Nilsson 1981:137). These lotteries, with their thrill of gambling, are felt to be a way to attract the interest of a broad public.
As the Swedish General Art Association is a private organization it relies on membership fees to finance its projects. Since SAK directs its attention to a circle of members, there is a certain exclusiveness to the organization despite its desire to reach the people. The books SAK publishes are only available to members, as are the tickets to its lotteries. There is also a certain exclusiveness in the attempts of the association to attract a broad public through prizes of oil paintings purchased at Stockholm galleries. The oil painting is an exclusive art form and a more expensive product than mass produced and less expensive graphic arts. The tradition of using original art as a prize rather than graphic art indicates that SAK is an institution functioning with a somewhat old fashioned, bourgeois style, influenced by its nineteenth century origin. SAK is oriented toward the private art market as it cooperates with the galleries by purchasing works they show.

Art Promotion (Konstfrämjandet) is an institution whose profile is more modern and practical than that of SAK. It is in part financed by the state in the form of subsidies and was established in 1947 on the initiative of trade unions and educational associations which provide study circles for self-improvement (cf Nilsson 1981:465). Art Promotion is an institution which is more adapted than SAK to the task of reaching a broad public. Rather than making it possible for only a few lottery winners to obtain a work of art, Art Promotion provides all Swedes with the opportunity to own a work by publishing reasonably priced graphic art by contemporary Swedish artists. Art Promotion also presents circulating art exhibits, often at places of works.

Art Promotion publishes a color brochure of its current lithographs which indicates its interest in reaching a broad public. Potential buyers may peruse the leaflet wherever they wish and may then make their decisions at their own convenience. The 1983/84 catalogue presented lithographs by 28 Swedish artists. Art Promotion selects the works it publishes and exhibits from those submitted by artists to a committee of representatives of the organization as well as from KRO (cf Konstfrämjandet 1984). As this organization publishes works designed to attract a broad public, the desire for easy comprehension and appreciation is greater at this organization than the concern to develop artistic excellence and inventiveness. Although Art Promotion provides artists with work, the projects they may produce for Art Promotion are not ones which encourage great creativity and daring inventiveness. As in the case of the State Art Council, user orientation at Art Promotion tends to encourage the production of art that is somewhat tame.

Sveriges Bildkonstnärsfond, the Swedish Visual Art Fund, is an organ of the government institution, Konstnärsnämnden, the Art Grants Committee. The Swedish Visual Art Fund does not confirm established artist reputations but serves artists with low incomes and those who are relatively peripheral in the art world. Artists who are well integrated into the art world and who have stable incomes receive little of the funds from this organ. Its aim is to establish social equality rather
than to reward excellence. The Swedish Visual Art Fund was founded in 1982 in response to the demands of KRO. KRO representatives are six of the twelve board members who decide which artists shall receive funds. The state appoints the chairman of the board as well as two board members. The remaining members are representatives of the artist organizations for other kinds of visual artists such as photographers.

The Swedish Visual Art Fund allots grundersättning, a basic compensation between 2 000 and 12 000 SEK a year, to artists earning less than 50 000 SEK a year. These artists must be able to show that they have worked as artists for five years and must produce work of good quality. The organization also awards startbidrag, beginner stipends, to artists who lack the five years experience necessary to obtain basic compensation but who have obtained advanced education in the fine arts. Travel stipends, pensions, stipends for artists with acute economic difficulties, and project stipends to sponsor experimental work are also awarded. Besides these stipends, The Swedish Visual Art Fund compensates artists when any of their work which has been purchased by the state is shown to the public (visningsersättning).

Besides the Stockholm art world which is discernible through the activities of its institutions, there is a version of this art world that is presented on the pages of Stockholm newspapers. During my fieldwork year there were five newspapers in Stockholm which regularly covered the art world: Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter are national morning newspapers; Expressen and Aftonbladet are national evening newspapers; Stockholms Tidningen was a local newspaper which folded just after the fieldwork. Svenska Dagbladet is conservative; Dagens Nyheter and Expressen are liberal; Aftonbladet is run by the social democrat national organization of labor unions, Lands Organisationen; Stockholms Tidningen was a Social Democrat newspaper.

These newspapers present a survey of art world events, as well as an idea about the mood or ethos of life there. Different kinds of articles are in different newspapers and different parts of newspapers. The article in Dagens Nyheter, will serve as an example as it is the largest morning newspaper in Sweden. On the "culture page", an art review by one of the newspaper's five critics appears at an average of once a week. In the weekend supplement, the galleries announce current exhibits. In this section there is also a list of new openings. In addition, one article provides short presentations of a few exhibits, and there is also often an interview with an artist whose exhibit the journalist considers of interest. News articles provide other art world information. These discuss problems of interest to the general public, such as the injust classification of artists in the taxation system (Dahl 1985a,b), the internal conflicts of an art world institution (Hammarskog 1986), or the relationship between art and industry (Söderberg 1986a,b,c). The image of the Stockholm art world that these various articles create is influenced by the fact that the different kinds of art world participants seek different kind of publicity depending on their interests and
ideologies. The elite galleries are not concerned with attracting the attention of the general public but are instead interested in informing the select few who are already aware of their activities. The bourgeois ideology of these galleries demands that the publicity which they create about themselves be discreet. The elite galleries thus have a low profile in the newspapers; the publicity which they submit is just one simple announcement listing the names of the artists currently exhibiting at these galleries. Other publicity for these galleries occurs indirectly through mention of their names in art reviews or articles about current exhibits. In these articles, the focus is on the artist and it is not primarily the art dealers who decide what reviews shall be written nor what these shall contain.

An art world institution which has consciously sought extensive publicity in the newspapers is the artist organization, Konstnärernas Riksorganisation (KRO), the Swedish Artists National Organization founded in 1937 to represent the interests of Sweden’s artists. KRO was created in direct response to the needs of the state culture institutions. It was to be an organization from which members could be chosen to represent artists in the State Art Council (cf KRO facklig information A2). KRO is an organization which has adopted the values of the Swedish welfare state and tries to use these to improve the lives of all Swedish artists. Like this centrally administered welfare state, KRO is mass oriented and wishes to place all the people for whom it feels responsible (all of the artists in Sweden) under its protection and jurisdiction.

Part of the KRO strategy for carrying out its goals has been a publicity campaign in the mass media (cf KRO ’s Facklig Information A3 – Fackligt och kulturpolitiskt program:2). The information which it has offered the newspapers has appeared in the news section where the general public is most likely to read it. Through this publicity, KRO has hoped to produce an increased understanding of "the artist’s situation" and to move public opinion to favor a resolution of the problems related to it.

The Swedish public has learned to think of the artist as someone who presents complaints. KRO has consistently complained about the miserable economies of Swedish artists. According to KRO his incomes are among the lowest in Sweden; the average income of the Swedish artist is only 20 000 SEK a year. KRO has complained about the artist tax classification as self-employed which makes the economic situation of Swedish artists more difficult than necessary. It is more difficult than that of Swedish employees as besides being taxed more on incomes than employees, artists are also deprived of the employee right to social security. KRO has also complained that artists lack proper studios and has demanded that the local government finance the construction of suitable housing. The organization has complained that art has become a commercial product and has demanded that society combat commercialism and provide artists with distributive channels other than the private art market, thereby permitting a free presentation of art work. KRO
feels that the international mass media influence upon Swedish culture is leading to
cultural impoverishment; *KRO* has demanded that this process be fought and that
Swedish art be protected. Finally, *KRO* has complained about the exploitation of
amateur artists by the commercial interests of the private galleries and the resulting
flooding of the market: although the efforts of amateur artists strengthens Swedish
culture generally and more specifically, the ability of the public to appreciate art,
*KRO* feels that the work of amateur artists ought not be for sale.

During the 1970s, *KRO* received inspiration as well as support from the efforts
of the radical '68 artists who also wished to bring attention to the economic and social
difficulties facing artists. The campaigns of *KRO* and the radical artists (to some
extent overlapping groups) clearly influenced writings about artists and art in
Sweden. The public image of the artists in these books is a pathetic one in which the
interviewed artist can deplore his miserable economic situation, his poor housing
and working conditions as well as his difficulties with exploitative art dealers and
culture administrators. He is able to dwell on the lack of self-respect which he has
acquired because he is an artist rather than a worker with a steady income (cf Almlöf
*et al* 1979, Wahl 1970). The limited, materialistic focus of these books has forced an
impoverished characterization of the artist occupation upon the general public.

The 1970s also saw the publication of some works on the sociology of art (cf Bergmark
*et al* 1977), Cornell *et al* 1979). The authors were leftists who wrote to
oppose what they felt were deformations in the production of modern art. Although
the production of modern art ought to be a progressive form, they argue it fails in
this respect as it is controlled by a system of art world institutions which prevents
this. These books particularly addressed political organizations, trade unions and
educational associations, as the authors hoped that by making art of greater concern
to working class organizations, it could eventually become part of a politically
progressive system (cf Cornell *et al* 1979:8). These sociology of art studies as well as
the interview collections indicate the functioning of the welfare ideology in the
Stockholm art world. The left tried to further this ideology by serving as the wise
guardian of the Swedish people, deciding for the majority the problems which are
relevant for improving their lives. In addressing books to the working class, the left
had a pedagogical purpose – to make the Swedish people understand the functioning
of the art world. Their books were an attempt to steer the art world debate in the
direction that these guardians felt was best.

By repeatedly presenting the general public with information about "the artist's
situation", the problems and injustices in the socio-economic aspect of the artist
occupation, *KRO* has provided the people with a rather one dimensional picture.
Although it is important for the public to learn of the practical problems facing artists,
this materialist perspective has unfortunately hidden others such as psychological,
philosophical or historical ones which would provide a more well rounded
understanding.
The desire of KRO to organize artists to work for their collective benefit is inconsistent with the individualistic orientation of the artist career, an orientation further strengthened in the competitive world of which artists are now a part. Although some radical artists have seen KRO as an organization which might help fulfill their desires for social equality and the creation of an artist career stressing social involvement, artists in the more individualistic 1980s have begun to lose interest in KRO, disliking its bureaucracy, its internal petty battles, and its lack of concern for the individual. Especially critical of KRO are the most successful of the new generation artists; many of these artists have no intention of joining the organization. If artists continue to lose interest in KRO, it is possible that its power to influence the mass media discussion about artists and the art world will decline.

The profiles and interests of art critics, and the ideas which motivate them as well as other art world members, also influence the newspaper view of the art world. The reviews of Stockholm critics are more specialized and intellectual than news articles such as those originating with KRO. Art reviews are descriptive analyses of works of art, often including art historical references. They are therefore less easily digested and of less interest to the general public than the news articles. Art reviews are a contribution of greater concern to those who are more integrally a part of the Stockholm art world, and who are interested in knowing in detail about current art production. The total collection of these reviews written during any one period provides an idea about which galleries and artists the art world considers noteworthy. The reviews also provide information about the issues that are currently debated there. The critics each have their own profiles which are more or less related to the currently popular ideologies of Swedish intellectuals. The profiles of the critics tend to modulate with time (cf chapter 3) depending upon whether or not the dominant ideologies receive continued support. During the 1970s several of the critics had pronounced socialist profiles as Marxism was then a popular ideology. In the 1980s, the power of Marxist thought to attract intellectuals has declined and the socialist profiles of these critics have become more subdued (cf chapter 8).

In Stockholm, critics are not closely tied to any one gallery in the way implied by Becker's definition of a gallery (cf chapter 1 and Becker 1982:92-130). This is perhaps because Stockholm artists do not receive gallery contracts. Although they may tend to hold their shows at a certain gallery, they may also exhibit at others. The artist who exhibits repeatedly in Stockholm is often reviewed by one critic who has taken an interest in his work and who records developments in it. The critic therefore finds out where the artist is exhibiting and then follows him to that gallery. There is no clear cut division of the field, but each critic tends to follow a collection of artists working in a direction that interests him: one may pursue the work of those involved in a constructivist direction while another may follow the careers of postmodernist artists. A critic may often review the exhibits at one gallery because artists working in the direction he is interested in exhibit there. The critic has no exclusive rights to
the shows at the gallery, however, and other critics also review work presented there. Through his consistent interest in an artist, the critic helps to create and express his own profile while, at the same time, he illuminates certain aesthetic developments in the Stockholm art world. It is possible that some artists receive more publicity than is justifiable, and that others are wrongly left in the shadows due to the particular focus of the critics writing at the time.

The influence of the independent judgements and interests of Stockholm critics is balanced by the emphasis the critics put on the exhibits of the quality and elite galleries. The art dealers running these galleries therefore, to a great extent, determine what the critics will write about. As the critics most often review in a positive vein, their reviews confirm the decisions and tastes of these art dealers. The words of the critics help to reinforce the reputations of these galleries and make it clear to the public that they ought to visit these respectable establishments.

An example of how critics express the issues important to the Stockholm art world at a particular time is a debate which occurred in *Dagens Nyheter* in the fall of 1962. The art world recalls the debate as a conflict between Ulf Linde and Torsten Bergmark, both art critics on this newspaper. The debate actually included contributions by a number of artists and art world figures. The art world continues to remember this debate (cf Lind 1983, Alton 1984) as the issues it dealt with had an explosive effect on art world activity. The opposing positions taken by (and in part given to) the two critics represent an ideological polarization which continued to divide the Stockholm art world sharply throughout the 1970s. This polarization concerned a problem of aesthetics as well as the proper relationship between art and politics.

The debate was begun by Torsten Bergmark (1962) who wrote an article criticizing the decision of *Moderna Museet* to purchase a work by Karl-Erik Häggblad, a non-figurative collage entitled Kaskad II. Although Bergmark later explained (Lind 1983) that his critique was directed solely at this particular work, it was understood by others to be an attack on all non-figurative art. His attack was also understood to be aimed at Ulf Linde, although Bergmark did not mention Linde's name in his article. Linde was interested in modern art, and his opponents saw him as a supporter of all kinds of new and suspicious art movements. In 1960 he had written a book, *Spejare (Scouts)*, in which, influenced by Duchamps, he denied that any one "ism" or school of art contained more "truth" than any other.

According to Linde, a work of art is a cultural product rather than a natural one with its own independent characteristics. Linde stressed the dependence of the work of art upon the viewer who is the one to make sense of the work through the conventions of his culture. As a work of art is a cultural construction, Linde denied that a work of realist art contained more truth than a work of cubism or of any other "ism". Differences between works of art are due to sets of conventions guiding the decisions of the artists who produced them. Linde introduced and defended the work...
of informal artists such as Michaux and Pollock, finding them the most interesting artists since World War II. He chose their work as it had no pretensions to an absolute truth. The work was not a new "ism" which was to be considered superior to previous movements; rather, it contained the worthless - dirt, paint daubs. It was accidental and raw and could be understood with the experience of the viewer. Linde's defense of the work of the informal artists and his emphasis on the viewer in making the work of art was objectionable to Bergmark who believed in realism and who felt that a work of art had to contain a certain quality; it was wrong to say that anything could be called a work of art simply because a viewer called it that.

Bergmark has later said that his position as a defender of realism was a conservative point of view which was to some extent forced upon him by the debate situation (cf Lind 1983:21); this situation caused an exaggeration of his opposition to modern art. Nevertheless, the positions of Bergmark and Linde became symbolic of an opposition between those standing for a political radicalism that wished to bring art into the world of the people and those standing for an aestheticism that rejected the mixing of art and politics. The political aspect of these positions developed at the end of the 1960s when Bergmark discovered Marx and wrote criticism which was aligned with the political goals of radical artists. Linde disapproved of the mixing of art and politics and therefore disapproved of Bergmark's activities. The latter's alignment with representational art was conservative with regard to art history but assisted the efforts of radical artists who wished to become part of the "real world"; realism was accessible to the people and enabled the artist the possibility of communicating with them about their lives. Radicals found Linde's disapproval of mixing art and politics reactionary, but those artists and art world members standing with him chose to be radical in the world of art history. The change they sought occurred through the production of modern art; they kept change in the realm of politics a private matter. In this conflict between Bergmark and Linde and their supporters, realism came to stand for political radicalism while abstract art represented conservative elitism.

Ulf Linde is an example of a key art world figure: a person whose influence in the art world is great and lasting, who has the power to steer art world thought and activities. Linde has been participating in the Stockholm art world for the past 30 years. The superior quality of his work has made it possible for him to occupy several of the few important positions in the Stockholm art world, permitting his influence to spread among various kinds of art world participants. Linde has been an art critic, a professor of art history at the College of Fine Arts, a lecturer at various art world institutions, and the author of books, articles, and introductions to exhibit catalogues. He is currently director of Thiel Gallery, a state gallery with a permanent collection of turn-of-the-century (1880-1910) Swedish art where he also presents temporary exhibits of contemporary Swedish artists. Linde's writings have brought him the admiration of other critics, even those who have not agreed with his
point of view (cf Nylén 1985). His criticism has served as a model to emulate, or at least as a source for thought. Linde’s books are studies whose depth of research and analysis separates him from the category of art critic, and places him instead in the category of aesthetician, a person who builds theory. Linde stands somewhat alone, for the Stockholm art world does not produce theory builders but functions mostly at a more mundane level. As an aesthetician, Linde is an authority, a person whose knowledge sets him above others. As he functions in a moderately sized art world where the overlapping personal networks of participants help to make the reputations of noteworthy people expand rapidly, Linde’s authority has become especially forceful, and whatever he does or says receives great attention.

Linde’s influence upon Stockholm artists has been considerable. Many artists have admired his criticism as he has not tried to fit their work into the artificial categories used by most critics. Instead, he has been able to feel and understand the forms that the artists have produced, and has then been able to communicate convincingly about this understanding in his writing (cf Nylén 1985). Linde’s criticism has set a standard which his successors have been unable to match; many Stockholm artists currently express discontent with the reviews of the critics and often refer to Linde’s work as an example of excellence to emulate.

During his period as professor of art history at the College of Fine Arts, Linde influenced young artists by awakening them to tradition. Although Stockholm artists often dislike courses in art history, seeing them as nothing but a study of dates, Linde inspired his students as he could speak convincingly about the various works that he discussed. In reaction to the revolt of ‘68 and its emphasis on political programmatic art, Linde served as a patron to several of his students who agreed with his belief in the separation of art and politics and who refused to work according to a political program. Linde grouped them together, called them Konstnärsbolaget (the Artist’s Company), and helped them to establish a gallery which exhibited their work as well as the work of artists which they found of interest. This gallery is no longer in existence but several of these artists have become respected figures in the Stockholm art world, each following his own artistic direction. Through the years, Linde has continued to provide them with his moral and professional support. Recent examples of this support are the exhibits and catalogues he (Linde 1986, 1987a) produced at the Thiel Gallery in 1986 for Kjell Andersson and in 1987 for Bo Larsson.

Linde has expressed a distaste for much of the art produced in the 1980s as he feels artists follow trends and present work before it is finished (cf Lind 1983). As director of the Thiel Gallery, Linde has been able to express his disapproval by presenting the work of contemporary artists who do not follow trends. This has made him an objectionable figure to the artists of this decade, particularly those who produce postmodernist work. To these artists, Linde symbolizes a power they must battle with for new developments in art to thrive. As Linde is a key figure in the Stockholm art world, it is important for the new generation of artists that he grant
his approval of their work. Since he has not done so, some of these artists have tried to put Linde in a negative light to diminish his authority in the art world. Through gossip they have created an image of a Linde who has retired from current artistic developments by isolating himself at his gallery, located in a park at the outskirts of the city. They have presented his influence upon the Stockholm art world negatively as the power of a person who pulls strings behind the scenes and who is spared the inconvenience of having to show his involvement. This image of Linde served as a source of creative inspiration for the artists Max Book and Lars Nilsson who transformed gossip into art production and produced an exhibit of work in 1986 in which they concretely presented their critique of Linde.

Max Book (1987) continued his critique of Linde in a contribution to a debate about postmodernism published in *Dagens Nyheter*. This debate was started by the new critic on the newspaper, Lars O Ericsson, who, in the first (1987a) of two articles (1987a and 1987b), aroused the irritation of Linde (cf 1987b and 1987c) and one of the senior *Dagens Nyheter* art critics, Torsten Ekbom (cf 1987a) when he introduced his art historical analysis and defence of postmodernism by noting that the two critics have called the new generation artists of the 1980s eclectic producers of kitsch. In his article, Book argues that there are considerable differences between the art of his generation and the modern art prior to World War II, something which Linde and Ekbom do not seem to understand. He tries to enrage Linde and Ekbom with satirical comments about people in his childhood in the beginning of the 1960s who had themselves frozen and stored away. Book is referring to Linde and Ekbom whom he feels have lost interest in contemporary art since the 1960s.

This debate may turn out to be as influential upon the Stockholm art world as the one between Linde and Bergmark as it concerns Stockholm art world attitudes toward an art movement which may have considerable art historical importance. Yet, as Ekbom notes (1987b), the debate involves a good deal of name calling and does not keep to the subject. Particularly Linde's first contribution (1987b) gives the impression that he is concerned with holding his own in the Stockholm art world and stressing his importance there. In this article, he brings his book, *Spejare*, into the debate by accusing the new critic (and possible challenger to his authority) of having neglected to read the book. According to Linde, Ericsson writes worn out ideas which are no longer original. Linde quotes a passage from *Spejare*, showing that he had thought of the same thing twenty years ago, although realizing that it was not a particularly original idea even then.

After this general overview of institutions in the Stockholm art world, I shall make some comments about the social organization of the professional artists interacting with this world. The term professional indicates that these artists have received formal training in the visual arts. In 1985 there were approximately 2600 professional artists in Stockholm (based on a calculation of statistics provided by the *KRO* chairman, B Mörk in 1985). This number may be compared to the number of
artists in Stockholm in 1968: 1 800, and to the number of artists in SoHo in 1970: between 3 000 and 4 000 (cf Simpson 1981:73). Stockholm artists fall into two general categories: integrated professionals and peripheral artists. The category of integrated professional follows that of Becker (1982:228-233): these are artists who are established in the art world, who know its traditions and who make use of its conventions to produce their work. They are artists who have worked in the art world for a number of years. I refine this general category with a subcategory of well integrated professionals. These are artists who are well established in the core of the art world and who have obtained renown, often among a broad public. Another category, new generation artists, refers to artists whose careers have just begun; they are the artists whose work is of this decade. Some of these artists are in the process of becoming integrated professionals while others will proceed toward the peripheries of the art world. There is currently considerable interest in Stockholm new generation artists, and some of them have received the attention usually given to integrated professionals.

The category of peripheral artists is a broad one that includes Becker's categories of naive and maverick artists (cf Becker 1982:233–271 and chapter 1) but which also includes immigrants (cf chapter 3) and experimental artists (cf chapter 9). Peripheral artists are those who for one reason or another are at an edge of the art world. Immigrant artists are at the periphery of the art world because, like naive artists, they have not learned the conventions of the Stockholm art world but rather those of the art worlds from which they emigrated. Immigrant artists who do learn the local conventions through education at Stockholm institutions of advanced art studies leave the category of immigrant artist and fall into other categories, functioning as "Swedish" artists. Experimental artists are at the periphery because their work is too extreme in the eyes of the art world core and breaks too drastically with its conventions. These artists differ from mavericks as they have not yet been in the core and have not turned their backs on it. Instead, they are often new generation artists who seek core recognition. These various artists share the particular situation of working in an art world with a mixed economy system, a system with a bourgeois private art market core and a somewhat inhibiting but mostly reinforcing structure of public and private institutions with a welfare ideology. The private market is more powerful than the public sector as its decisions generate the flow of Stockholm art distribution and the building of Stockholm artist reputations. Stockholm artists therefore direct most of their attention to the private art market and it is in interaction with it they succeed as professionals. Yet considerable benefits can be reaped from the public sector. The state offers most assistance before the artist becomes a professional as it subsidizes art education. Those who wish to become artists can spend many years in Stockholm art schools and, without concern for their economies, can survive on government student loans. At the professional level, state support broadens the artist community and helps to increase the number of people...
who can work as artists. Artists who have a peripheral position in the art world and who have difficulty surviving on the private art market can continue to work through the state support from the Swedish Visual Art Fund. The state can also help Stockholm artists obtain vitality in their art productions as they can realize some art production experiments or seek new ideas in other countries through the economic assistance of government stipends. Integrated professionals can reinforce their reputations and secure their economies through public commissions or through a position at the College of Fine Arts.

As it is integrated professionals who function at the core of the Stockholm art world, it is their work which expresses the dominant character of this art world. It is therefore of greatest interest to consider the relationship of these artist to the art world. A sketch of the career of one well integrated professional, Christian, one of my most important informants, will serve as an illustration. This sketch of his career provides a background to his many comments in the chapters to follow.

Christian prepared for his career as a professional artist in the Stockholm art world through studies at a Stockholm preparatory art school and at the College of Fine Arts. He made his debut at an elite gallery where he has had two other exhibits, although several years after the debut. In the intervening years, he helped to start and run Konstnärsbolaget. While artist run galleries usually only last a year or two, Konstnärsbolaget lasted eight years. Christian's relatively long participation there instead of regular exhibits at the elite gallery where he made his debut was a somewhat unusual career move. However, he did not feel quite comfortable with his early career success and needed some distance from the art world core to retain his integrity. Christian noted his relation to the art world as follows:

"Each artist tries to establish an independent relationship to the art world, a kind of balance which lets him do what he wants. Sometimes he has to make sacrifices to retain this independence."

Since the closing of Konstnärsbolaget, Christian has, besides the exhibits at the gallery where he made his debut, also had one man shows at another elite gallery, at galleries in other Swedish cities as well as at le Centre Culturel Suédois, the Swedish Cultural Center, in Paris. He has also participated in several group exhibits.

Christian's work is nonfigurative and intellectual, and only a rather small public appreciates it. He has shown his work at galleries in the core of the private market as these have been the only institutions interested in exhibiting it. Although he would have nothing against exhibiting at Konstfrämjandets Stockholm gallery or doing a lithograph for them, the organization has never asked him, probably because his work is too "difficult" for their broad public. Christian believes in equality and in spreading art to the people, but he is not willing to adjust his work to suit the tastes of those running the institutions working for a broad public.
While Christian has received favorable reviews in the newspapers, he is quite dissatisfied with the current work of Stockholm art critics. He finds it necessary to read the art reviews and he sees or hears television or radio programs about the art world to keep up to date with art world affairs. Yet his interaction with the media tends to make him feel boxed in and nervous as the media inform the art world about which artists and what new trends are now in favor. This information involves Christian in a communication flow based on and furthering art world gossip. When the information Christian hears does not agree with his own judgements, and when he feels that the work of some artists receives undue admiration, he becomes frustrated and angry.

To avoid participating in the fluctuations of Stockholm art world fancies and to refresh his mind, Christian tries to paint for a month or two each year in other countries. Although Christian's reputation has been made in the bourgeois core of the art world, the core has not been able to support him economically as his work has not sold well. Instead, government travel stipends have made it possible for him to travel abroad. These funds have let him pursue his endeavors and to produce work to exhibit on the private market.

Christian taught for a number of years at a government subsidized preparatory art school (cf chapter 4). Government funds indirectly helped him pay the rent for his studio as he used his salary from the school for this purpose. In recent years, Christian has received other government support which has served to confirm and broaden his reputation in the art world. Moderna Museet has purchased his work for their collection, Moderna Museets Vänner has invited him to print a serigraphy to sell to its members. The State Art Council has commissioned him to decorate a public building in Gothenburg. These contacts with Moderna Museet and the State Art Council help expose Christian's work to a broader public than that of the elite galleries. Christian is currently a professor at the College of Fine Arts and has been chairman of the board of NUNSKO, Nämnden för utveckling av nutida svensk konst i utlandet, The Swedish National Committee for Contemporary Art Exhibitions Abroad (cf chapter 5). Included in his career resumé, these two positions can encourage public respect and make people more eager to purchase his work. The positions also give him the opportunity to influence the direction of Stockholm art production: at NUNSKO he could help decide which work of Swedish artists to represent Sweden in exhibits abroad, and at the College of Fine Arts, he can teach his students ideas and techniques that he feels are important.
This chapter is an aside. It differs from the others as it concentrates on the past instead of the present. Yet it furthers the argument that the artist is part of a social context and provides useful background material to help clarify the present.

The artist in the Stockholm art world must adjust to the ways of this world to be able to cooperate with the people in it. Part of this process of adjustment has to do with the flow of time, for the ways of the art world change with the passing of time. Through his interaction with art world participants, an artist may become aware that new values are coming to guide art world activities, values which he must react to in some way to continue communicating with the art world and to be able to continue working there. After several years of adjusting his career to changes in the art world, the artist will have created a relationship to this world and its past. He will also have developed a position with which he reacts to any new art world fancies.

The problem of communicating with the art world becomes especially difficult for an artist who is a foreigner to it and who has learned the ways of another art world. Immigrant artists in Stockholm must adjust to art world change that is not just the gradual (for the most part) transformation of circumstances occurring in one system. Rather, there is the problem of breaking, often abruptly, with a past in one art world and learning to adjust to the new world in Stockholm. The Swedish artist has to retain contact and continue communication with the people in his art world network; the immigrant artist must learn a new language and a new culture to initiate such contact and communication. Yet while the situation of the immigrant artist is more extreme than that of the Swedish artist, the problem that they do share is how to make sense of the art world around them, and then how to adjust their careers to changes occurring there.
While interviewing artists and other members of the Stockholm art world, I noticed that some of them reacted to certain of my words in ways that I, at first, found puzzling. My lack of comprehension of these reactions indicated that the Stockholm art world professionals experienced the meanings of some words in an idiosyncratic way influenced by their past.

Word with which I unwittingly caused some art world people to feel discomfort or irritation proved often to be part of the language introduced to the art world during the '68 revolt by politically active artists. As I was not interested in the Stockholm art world then, but was instead participating in other cultures, those of American college students and later of Uppsala hippies, I was unfamiliar with the connotations these words had in the art world. I had neither encountered them through direct interaction with the art world nor indirectly in Swedish newspapers or art magazines.

Words producing disruption were: målsättning, kulturarbeitare, isolering, and sociologi. The word målsättning (objective) arose in a question I posed to some artists about what it meant for them to be artists. "Do you have a particular objective for your work?" I unwittingly formulated this question in a way which sometimes produced associations to political programmatic art, art which radical '68 artists propagated and which was distasteful to other artists and art world professionals. It also brought to their minds the many venomous debates (målsättningsdebatter) that these radicals organized about the role of the progressive artist, debates which created an atmosphere detrimental to the work of many artists. Kulturarbeitare (culture worker) is a word currently used in writings concerning Swedish government cultural policies (cf. Nilsson 1981) and which I also find objectionable. I therefore questioned some artists about how they react to the word. Reactions were sometimes violently negative, and I realized that the word belongs to a context which was foreign to me. Kulturarbeitare is the word which was used during the '68 revolt to try to place artists "in society". Seen as culture workers, artists would not be maladjusted bohemians but rather workers, they would have a socially productive role equivalent to that of other working citizens. Some artists despised this term as they feared for the loss of their integrity as creative individuals.

I used the word isolering (isolation) because I noticed that Stockholm artists are often quite alone in their studios. When I questioned artists about this isolation they sometimes replied:

"Don't be overly concerned with our isolation."

Isolering was a word which the '68 activist had used to stress the separation of the artist from society, his elitist position in a room, the studio, where he could shut himself off from the troubles of the world. The paintings he produced there were the result of his preoccupation with his own whims and fantasies. Mention of the word isolering made artist remember debates which had made some of them feel guilty because they had wanted to work alone. Sociologi (sociology) was a favorite subject.
of leftist students, a subject where they could interpret society through Marxist analysis. With sociology, they could classify individuals into social classes or work groups and forget about the individual and his idiosyncratic ways. The term social anthropologist seemed to evoke associations to sociology and to the '68 revolt. At times, art world people became hesitant and reserved as they were uncertain about where I stood politically and seemed worried that I would use the material from an interview in a improper way.

As these words were from a period almost twenty years ago, I realized that the Stockholm art world was not only a culture with its own word associations, but that it was also a culture with a history. Those with whom I had been interacting had been conditioned by a past particular to their culture and had constructed a present reality related to the experiences of this past. Mead's theory of the past (cf Mead 1929) helps to make this situation understandable and also clarifies why individuals with similar backgrounds remember the past in different ways, why they react to words from this past in different ways.

According to Mead (1929:235), "reality is always that of a present". The past is a reconstruction which people formulate in the present through their memories. They also anticipate the future through the events of the present. Thus, both past and future are elements of the present and do not exist without a connection to it. People experience time as a flow of related events. Sometimes, something new or strange happens which causes a jolt and a break in this flow. Through the discontinuity, people can experience the succession of these events. If there were no jolts, they would not be able to see events as discrete.

Discontinuous, jolting events create new situations to which people must adjust. In this adjustment process, people reconstruct the past to bridge the jolting event with previous ones and to create continuity in their lives. This process is a redefining of past events so that they can become useful and meaningful in the present. Although people reconstruct the past in the present, the past nevertheless structures and conditions the present experiences. Previous events structure and set limits on what is likely to happen. Mead calls these events the social structural past. In addition, there is a factual, immutable past. These are events which must have occurred, given what now exists.

In line with Mead's theory of the past, I call the words which provoked informant associations, "reality conditioners": significant words or concepts from the social structural past which condition the probability of a certain response in the present. Reality conditioners can also be events or attitudes. I call actual reactions of informants to these reality conditioners, "act and attitudes of reality reconstruction": the current situation and needs of these various people made them adopt certain attitudes to these symbols of the past and led them to react in ways suitable to their present circumstances.
As this process of reality reconstruction became evident when the art world recalled aspects of the events of '68, I decided to make inquiries about this particular period to examine the process. I found a similar pronounced example of reality reconstruction among artists who have immigrated to Sweden. In the discussion below, I will take up the process of reality reconstruction using the cases of artists participating in the events of '68 as well as artists who have immigrated to Sweden.

At present, the dominant idea about the proper artist occupation differs from that popular during the years just following 1968. Along with the general move in the West towards individualism, an exhaustion with political and social movements, and a search either for a healthy, vital body or the vitality that comes from bizarre fashions or life styles, the proper occupation for the Stockholm artist is productive work with whatever interests him, and an attempt to be successful now, through a great spurt of energy. Together, the works of these busy individualists are a show of vitality, the exuberance and bubbling life of a multitude of efforts in many different directions. Money seems to be reaching the Stockholm art world more readily than in previous years. Businessmen and industrialists have amassed greater incomes and they have learned to invest in works of art. Prices for art work are high; the work of new generation artists are much higher than they were for such artists in previous years. The art world focuses on the new generation as it believes art world vitality will come from these young artists who are developing with this emphasis on individualism and personal growth.

In this context, to achieve success or experience personal well-being, it is not particularly desirable to retain the values of the activist artists who dominated the art world during the revolt of '68. The ideology of individualism and the availability of money are kinds of "reality disrupters": concepts, events or attitudes which produce discontinuity in the flow of art world events. The majority of art world members reconstruct the period of the '68 revolt to align it with current values. As one art dealer noted:

"68 was the Dark Ages."

Often art world professionals remember the '68 revolt as a terrible period for art when artists were improductive or produced work of no artistic value. One artist, Joel, explained:

"It was a time of dogmatism when the artist was supposed to be a social engagé and a producer of work with socially relevant content. We artists who produced other work were considered to be elitist egoists."

Many of those remembering '68 as the Dark Ages have been part of the revolt movement or have appeared to sympathize with it. However, they now retract their views and either admit rather apologetically that they did participate in the
movement and were somewhat Marxist or else they say nothing about their involvement but recall the period objectively as critical outsiders, innocent observers of unfortunate behavior.

The goal of politically active Stockholm artists was to turn the practices and values of the art world upside down; they wished to introduce new ways to produce and distribute art. Rather than working as isolated outsiders in their studios and rather than producing work that would be part of an elitist system of galleries and wealthy collectors, these artists wished to work with the people to create a new society. One artist, Josef, explained:

"We wanted to be part of a collectivity and to reach the masses. We hoped our work would play a role towards combating injustice in the world and towards combating the ills of the environment around us such as the evils of urban life."

The desires of these artists required alternative forms of art production as well as alternative channels for art distribution (cf Olvång 1983). They regarded the system of producing canvases for exclusive galleries and their limited public as reactionary. Rather than this form of original, unique, and expensive art, radical artists introduced an art production for the people, a low cost production that they could mass produce and distribute widely. They turned to graphic art; with this art form, they could print their work cheaply and rapidly. This work was politically programmatic; the artists wished to express a social message that all would understand. Josef explained:

"Our work was to be simple and straightforward. We wanted to shock viewers into political action."

As their work served current social causes, it was needed immediately, and radical artists had no time to deliberate about its form of quality. Josef explained:

"Our work had to be produced rapidly, and so we concentrated on content, seeing to it that this was strong and clear."

Rather than painting canvases, the radical artists printed books of lithographs, posters or underground newspapers. These forms could easily reach a wide public. People could purchase the books and newspapers at low prices and could look at them at home. The posters easily attracted attention as the artists put them up around town. There was no need to find space at a gallery, no need to meet costs entailed in having an exhibit, no need to find an approving sponsor in the establishment, no need to limit the public to those exclusive few daring to enter a quality gallery.

By trying to reach a broad public through these printed forms, the radical artists sought to fulfil their intention to work for the people. Their efforts brought them in
contact with channels outside the art world and they became aware of the problems facing the people working in these. Josef explained:

"Instead of art dealers we came into contact with other employers in need of our services such as radical political organizations, leftist theater groups, and underground newspapers. Working for these groups we learned the problems of putting together a newspaper or presenting a play. When we worked for them we were not able to follow our own whims or time schedules. We had to learn to meet deadlines and to work at short notice. We were forced to adapt ourselves to the demands of these various groups."

Artists who chose to paint collectively on a large scale found another way to reach a wide public. They exhibited these collective projects at public sites such as libraries or Moderna Museet. Like the work for radical political organizations, this collective activity also ended the private deliberations of the lone artist in his isolated studio and the career of preparing exhibits for the galleries. Instead, these artists had to communicate with one another, to adjust to the demands of fellow producers, as well as to discover possible sites suitable for the presentation of this provocative art. They also had to adjust to the problems of working on a large scale and at locations with substandard painting conditions.

Those radicals continuing to paint canvases did so in the same straightforward and aggressive style as those working with graphics or collective projects. While working alone, they worked programmatically to protest social evils. Presentation of such work demanded alternative distributive channels as it was not suitable for exhibition at the establishment galleries. Some artists or their friends therefore opened alternative galleries. These few alternative artist spaces were mostly located in Vasastan, an area located somewhat peripherally at the northern edge of the city, mostly rather inelegant, and the home of small and marginal enterprises. Thus artists also adopted the occupation of art dealers and had to face the problems of keeping a business alive. These efforts were difficult as they were often collective projects performed with leftist idealism rather than with the more practical individualism of other businesses.

With the goals and desires of the radicals of '68 in mind, I now turn to some examples of how various artists reconstruct this period to accord with their current occupations. The first, Josef, is a radical artist who, with only slight modification, continues to work as he did during the period of revolt. He has an "attitude of continuity"; there have been no important reality disrupters in his career since 1968 as he has been able to work productively in the same niche that he found for himself then. Josef was never a painter of canvases and therefore not a part of the usual artist career of preparing work for gallery exhibitions.

Rather, Josef continues to work with a photographic collage technique to produce posters and cards with a social commentary content. As the quality galleries usually do not exhibit this art form, the distributive niche for the posters is a mail order catalogue as well as sales at leftist bookstores. Josef is not interested in
following other artists back to the establishment career; it is not in his interest to reconstruct '68 as a Dark Age prohibiting the production of canvases and exhibits because his present career does not follow this pattern. Rather than a Dark Age, he instead reconstructs '68 positively. He noted:

"It was a time of stimulating activity when people from different countries and occupations opened themselves to each other so that they could work together to change society and live their lives as they felt best."

As it was during the '68 period that Josef found his niche and was able to establish a career that brought him a certain amount of success, it is important for the successful continuation of this career that he reconstruct '68 in his mind as a time of excitement and learning. The only modification in his work that he makes in consideration to the current mood in the art world is a greater attention to form. "I am no longer pressured by leftist political groups to produce work that is to be immediately posted around town and so I am not forced to give all my thought to the content of the posters. I don't have to make sure that they are understood immediately so I can spend more time preparing each piece and can think about composition as well as content. Even viewers who are not interested in the political content of my work may now find it of interest because the compositions are worthy of attention. These viewers may disagree with the message but may appreciate the form."

The artist with a positive attitude of continuity can adopt this position as his career remains productive and strong. Other artists have found it more difficult to develop their picture worlds while remaining tied to the goals of '68. One artist that I interviewed presented an attitude of continuity with regard to '68 but was not currently inspired by her work. Lill could only say:

"It is necessary that someone do this kind of critical commentary. It might as well be me."

As '68 no longer provides Lill with productive energy, she is affected by reality disrupters and it is possible that she may replace her attitude of continuity with another. It is more difficult for Lill to retain a positive attitude towards '68 than it was for the poster maker as she is essentially a painter and is tied to the establishment career. Unlike the poster maker, Josef, '68 did not provide Lill with a niche in an alternative art world, and she must now face the current demands of the art world, a world denouncing programmatic canvases with social commentary. As Lill has not found a picture world appropriate to the ideals of this world, she finds herself in an unproductive, stalemate position.

Other artists have faced this problem of producing an art form, painted canvases, whose aesthetic directions the establishment art world controls. They were either activist radicals, their sympathizers, or people who had joined the radical bandwagon and adopted their ideals as the proper strategy for their careers. When
these artists faced the reality disrupter of the move toward individualism, they salvaged their careers and identities by separating themselves from socialist ideals and retiring from the task of painting social commentary. Following the new era, these artists changed their picture world and began to work in other styles with other problems which did not antagonize the art world establishment. Rather than social commentary, artists began to work on solving the problems presented by conventional studies such as the still life. These artists are among the art world members who currently reconstruct '68 as the Dark Ages. It is not a good idea for them to recall '68 in a positive light as they wish their activism to be forgotten and now want to be accepted on the basis of their current production. Therefore, they adopt an "attitude of separation" from '68 and reconstruct it negatively as a time of ignorance and oppression.

Artists may also adopt an "attitude of separation" from '68 not because it is opportune or because they are following the crowd, but because an event of this period has caused them pain. One activist artist, Saga, wishes to wipe '68 from her mind and was wary to discuss its events. She said:

"I prefer to forget the past. It is the present which counts."

Saga tried to convince me that I should only concern myself with her present situation. She had actively fulfilled the goals of '68 by working on collective painting projects with social commentary content as well as by preparing posters for radical political organizations. In addition, she produced programmatic canvases which she exhibited at an "alternative" gallery. It was during one of these exhibits that she faced a reality disrupter. Saga explained:

"The paintings at the exhibit were attacked by vandals and maligned. The destruction of my work was a great shock. I want my activities as an activist to be forgotten."

Due to the reality disrupting event, Saga reconstructs '68 negatively as a time when she behaved foolishly. She said:

"I behaved naively. I acted as though I were working for the good of others but I was really acting to fulfill my need to be treated as a hero."

Saga attempts to establish a total separation from this past, hoping to make it into a void. She was, however, forced by my questioning to bring it to life. The present constructed by this artist is, however, related to the past she would forget. Saga continues to work with socially minded projects and despite her denouncement of her '68 activities she is still actually working to fulfill the goals of that period. She now brings art to the people by soothing landscapes which she intends to sell to hospitals. Saga explained:
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"I hope that the work will provide patients who cannot be outdoors with some of the beauty of nature."

In addition, Saga is a member of a group of artists who work collectively with residents of problem neighborhoods to produce wall murals that will activate these residents and improve the appearance of their neighborhoods. Although Saga fulfils the goals of '68 by directing her attention to the people and by working outside the studio, she is only able to do so by decrying her past activities and by labelling her present ones "therapy projects". By constructing a new category for the kind of work she does, she maintains her "attitude of separation" from the period which injured her while still producing according to the ethic of '68.

Finally, artists who opposed the goals of activist artists have another attitude towards '68. Some artists had a pronounced "attitude of negation" toward all of these goals. Rather than wishing to forget this period, they prefer to keep memories of it alive for they have used the strong position they took then against the '68 activists as an ethical guideline for proper behavior in their careers since then. As they were in the formative years of their careers during the '68 revolt, the negative attitude they had was important for determining the kind of art work to concentrate on; as a result of this decision, they made certain important contacts in the art world, among them critics and art dealers. These people helped them to build successful careers in the establishment art world. As a refusal to follow the demands of these artists, it is necessary that they reconstruct '68 in strongly negative terms.

The reconstruction of '68 that these artists make is of a period of dogmatism and lack of freedom. Christian was one of these artists. He explained:

"It was a time when the integrity of the artist was threatened. The artist's right to create as he wished was threatened by those who wanted all artists to work according to political programs. Such an idea is impossible for the artist."

The strength of the negative attitude of these artists toward '68 was apparent during the interviews. The revolt of '68 lies just below the surface of their thoughts and influences their opinions of art, people, or ideas so that they reject anything resembling dogmatism or a threat to the integrity of the individual. These artists structure their worlds by means of their ethical guideline and continue to work with a certain degree of self-confidence as they feel that they have taken a stand that is morally right.
Although immigrant artists are not yet an influential part of the Stockholm art world, they are rather numerous.¹ These artists represent a source of enrichment for art production in the Stockholm art world as they bring with them a variety of perspectives from the different art worlds from which they come.² In the case of Stockholm immigrant artists, reality is destroyed by the act of emigration and must be reconstructed in the new art world in Stockholm. In emigrating, they leave behind the art worlds into which they have been socialized and in which they have begun to develop artist identities. Arriving in Sweden, they no longer have the supporting art world contacts they had begun to cultivate at home, and their artist identities become tenuous. The names they had begun to make for themselves in their own art worlds are, to the Swedes, just the names of foreigners.

Except for a Picasso, the artist is not able to arrive in a foreign art world and continue his career as usual. The immigrant artist must construct a new reality in the new art world he has entered; he must reconstruct his identity in the new environment and rebuild his career so that it can function in this foreign land. This problem of reconstruction is particularly acute for artists who arrive in Sweden as refugees. Fleeing their countries, they are unable to prepare the ground in the new art world by gradually developing contacts there through the years, by perhaps presenting themselves in exhibits arranged through the cooperation of a gallery in each art world. Rather, the act of migration is abrupt and brutal; the sudden act allows for no subtle planning in advance, and when the move is made, contact with the homeland is broken and its art world is no longer a resource.

As the Stockholm art world is overpopulated, it is not asking for an additional influx of artists from abroad. The arrival of foreign artists does not produce shouts of joy: instead the Stockholm art world would prefer to ignore these newcomers. Yet as Sweden is a welfare state whose goal is to provide work and economic comfort for all within its borders and government authorities have had to help these foreign artists. The bureaucrats deal with this new category of employment seekers by using the new term invandrarkonstnär (immigrant artist). The result of this usage is a separation of non-Swedish artists from Swedish ones. For the immigrant artist, this means that his new reality as an artist in Sweden has been given a direction and he must deal with the fact that his identity is now that of invandrarkonstnär.

These artists have to deal with the additional reality disrupter of invandrarkonstnär, of being grouped together with other artists on the basis of non-indigenous origin rather than on the basis of artistic concern or abilities. A problem arising from this classification is that some newspaper reporters interested in the situation of foreigners review the work of immigrant artists because they are foreigners, and then interpret the work as representative of certain cultural characteristics or as representative of the work of victims of torture rather than as examples of work of international modern art. To achieve a successful career in Sweden, the foreigner must fight this reality disrupter to construct an identity and reality in the Swedish art world.
world which will be based on his abilities and where the term *invandrarkonstnär* does not apply. This reality construction involves a process of assimilation in which the artist tries to socialize into the Stockholm art world as if he were a new generation Swedish artist; he starts his career again at a Swedish art school.

For the foreign artists that I interviewed, the process of reality reconstruction to rebuild their artist careers in the new environment, has meant that they must reconstruct the past, the period which ended through immigration to Sweden, in glorious terms. Artists from Greece, Poland, USA, Romania, Hungary, England, and Korea all remember the art worlds that they left behind as well as the cultural life in their homelands as superior to the Stockholm art world and the cultural life in Sweden. They refer to the excellent art education they obtained in their own countries, to the broader cultural background of members of the art worlds there, and to the far superior quality of the art work. All of these artists have been influenced by a reality in their home art worlds whose elements serve as reality conditioners for interaction in the Stockholm art world. As reality is different in different art worlds it has been necessary for the artists to glorify their pasts to feel comfortable with the way they construct their present situation.

In general, immigrant artists use two basic strategies to deal with the new reality in Stockholm. In the first case, the artists adopt an "attitude of self-confidence" and are determined to conquer the reality disrupter of migration. These artists are usually ones who have not been forced to leave their homelands but who have chosen freely to migrate. Going through the trials of all migrants - learning a new language, learning how to interact with others, learning how the system functions - these artists become strong. One artist, Mary, explained:

> "I realized that if I wanted to succeed in Stockholm I had to believe in myself. I had to feel confident that I was gifted, and then convince others of this fact as well."

This strategy of reality salvaging tries to create a degree of continuity in artist lives by not allowing the gap produced by migration to be great enough to end their careers. In this case, it is necessary for the artists to glorify their pasts and the art worlds they come from to build up their self-confidence and to make them feel that they have an identity worth defending.

These artists realize that the Stockholm art world finds it easier to deal with those who have been socialized there; its members feel more comfortable with those whom they know, with those who share similar experiences and information. Therefore, these immigrants do not pounce on the Stockholm art world with credentials, merits, or art work achieved in other art worlds but rather backtrack on their career paths and begin again through entrance to an art school, usually the College of Fine Arts or the College of Applied Arts. In doing so, they are able, just
as the Swedes, to make art world contacts and to learn how the Stockholm art world works. For example, they can find out at which galleries it is desirable to exhibit.

Although following the appropriate path, these artists retain a distance to their colleagues at the art schools as well as to the educational procedures at these schools. As outsiders, they bear with them the reconstruction they have made of their pasts in other art worlds and art schools. This reconstruction gives them strength and lets them view Swedish schools critically in comparison to their native ones. As these artists remember their home schools as superior to the Swedish ones, they can recognize where the Swedish schools are lacking, and then react either nonchalantly and self-confidently to situations that Swedish art students might find troublesome or provide innovative ways to deal with problems and deficiencies.

Immigrant artists could see that silence was a problem at the Stockholm art schools. An uncomfortable silence frequently arises among Swedes because they are very reserved. Mary explained:

"Students were too shy and ashamed to ask questions and therefore never even learned basic techniques after all their many years at schools. Teachers held their instruction within safe, conservative limits and since nobody ever asked them they never had to explain anything or help to show how new ideas could be carried out."

The foreign artists did not respond as their Swedish colleagues and refused to accept the rules of this game and the limits imposed. Having pushed themselves into an "attitude of self-confidence" they could provoke a teacher into providing information or could respond to a negative attitude such as "You can't do that" by an "Oh, yes I can". These foreigners did not accept the limits set in their new environment but rather forced themselves and others to reach beyond them. With their "attitude of self-confidence" these artists have been able to obtain some success in the Stockholm art world. Although the majority of the heavy names in Stockholm are Swedish, some foreign artists have been able to find a niche to work in and have been able to convince colleagues and the local public of their talent. As I noted in Chapter 2, the art world tends to forget the foreign birth of artists who are fully socialized into its ways and who after many years in Sweden, act like Swedes. These artists then make their way on the basis of their work and their reputations and not because of their country of origin.

The other strategy developed by foreign artists to deal with their new reality in Stockholm is one in which the artists are overcome by the reality disrupter of migration. These artists find it difficult to readjust their lives to the new world in Stockholm. Usually they are artists who were forced to leave their homelands as political refugees; in particular, artists from Latin America have had great trouble salvaging the careers they began in their home environments. The artists following this strategy are passive and allow their careers to be destroyed by migration. They
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arrive in Stockholm having experienced trying emotional situations which have drained them of much of their energy. Rosa explained:

"It was difficult to learn Swedish and to adjust to the cold weather and the cold people. I did not have the strength left to keep up my career. I had trouble painting. The work was not as good and I painted less and less."

Through migration, the reality that supported the careers of these artists is lost; reality in the new environment tends to encourage the development of other activities and other identities.

The Swedish reality that first meets political refugees is that of government agencies whose job it is to see that these people are quietly assimilated into Swedish society, that they are given a chance to learn the Swedish language and to obtain an employment that will provide a secure livelihood. These artists meet a reality where citizens lead a comfortable, healthy life without the necessity of exerting too much effort. However, this life is based on strict adjustment to the proper schedule of full-time employment at a job which one obtains and holds securely. As it is not easy for government bureaucrats to find employment for artists, the tendency is to either suggest that they assimilate into society by reeducating themselves into employment areas that are more practical than the arts, or to find them work in positions that are somewhat related to this field. An artist may be encouraged to become a nursery school teacher or a receptionist at a museum. As these artists often lack energy and wish to enjoy the comfortable life of the others surrounding them, they accept the suggestions. Although they may feel that they will be able to paint on the side, this usually proves difficult as the artists are either too depressed or too comfortable to exert the necessary effort.

To justify their "attitude of acceptance" and the new reality they construct based on other occupations, these artists must glorify their pasts in their home art worlds to convince themselves that it is not possible for them to achieve success in the Stockholm art world and that it is best for them to begin a different career. They recall the bustling café life where artists and intellectuals offered one another stimulation and energy, they remember the fine exhibits they presented as well as the glowing admiration that they received. As Stockholm artists lead the same home oriented lives as other Swedes, there is no café life for the foreigners in Stockholm. They also resent being classified as *invandrarkonstnärer* which deprives them of their individual identities and which hinders them from serious consideration by the local art world.

Since these artists are not integrated into the Stockholm art world they are unable to find quality galleries willing to present their work, nor are they able to claim the attention of the critics. Their lack of integration often means that they do not know which of the Stockholm galleries are considered the best; it also means that their work is not in line with current Swedish production and is therefore not
acceptable in the art world core. Without the energy to break away from the pattern of the comfortable Swedish life proposed by Swedish art bureaucrats, these artists satisfy themselves with memories of the past, convincing themselves that there is neither any possibility nor any reason to become part of the Stockholm art world. They find it meaningless to try to enter an art world whose work they find absolutely inferior to that produced at home. Instead, they devote themselves to constructing a new reality and another identity.
To study the entry of artists into the Stockholm art world, I spent three weeks at a preparatory art school. I participated as a student, after having identified myself as a graduate student in social anthropology and explaining that I was at the school to collect material for a dissertation on the Stockholm art world. Preparatory art schools provide *grundutbildning*, basic training, in the visual arts. Most of their courses are two years; attendance at one of them prepares the art student for admission to the College of Fine Arts or other institutions of advanced art studies. Preparatory art schools are officially classified as *gymnasier*, secondary schools, although their students are usually older than secondary school students: most of them are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. There are currently eight such schools in Stockholm. Although the size of these schools varies, an average graduating class is about thirty students.

*Riddarfjärds skolan* offers a one year basic training course in the visual arts. This school is under the administration of the Stockholm public school system and its visual arts course is classified as one of those offered at secondary schools. Four other schools: *Gerlesborgsskolan, Konstskolan Idun Lovén, Nyckelviksskolan*, and *Pern bys Målar skola*, are classified as *fristående gymnasieskolor*, independent secondary schools. These are private schools which receive state subsidies. The schools have a tuition fee as the subsidies are not sufficient to finance all of their expenses: in 1987, the fee each term at one of these schools was 2 500 SEK. As the independent secondary schools receive state subsidies, their curricula are approved by the board of education. However, the board of education permits each of these schools to maintain its own profile and therefore does not interfere in the detailed formulation of their courses.
AT AN ART SCHOOL
The other preparatory art schools in Stockholm do not receive state support and their tuition fees are therefore much higher: in 1987, the fee each term at one of these schools was 5 000 SEK. Although these schools have applied for state subsidies, they have not received them. The government feels that there are too many art schools in Stockholm and that it is preferable to support schools in other parts of Sweden. Through decentralization, the government can fulfil its cultural policy to encourage creativity in all Swedes. Thus, in 1986, instead of subsidizing all of the Stockholm schools, the government provided funds to a school in Falkenberg, a small town on the west coast of Sweden, and to a school in Örebro, a small city in central Sweden.

Students at the state subsidized preparatory art schools and at the school in the public school system finance their studies through **studiemedel**, a government student loan which covers student living expenses. The loans of the students at the independent schools are larger than usual to cover the tuition fees at these schools. Students attending unsubsidized schools are not eligible for student loans. By not financing the students at these schools, the government makes it more difficult for such schools to exist, as it is economically more desirable to attend the state subsidized institutions. As the latter are the oldest preparatory art schools in Stockholm, they also have the most established reputations, and the art students prefer them for this reason as well.

Art students may receive student loans for a maximum of ten terms at the secondary school level and for twelve terms at the level of advanced education. As the course at each of the preparatory art schools is not longer than two years, this means that art students may finance study at several of the schools with government loans. Most students do not limit their education to attendance at a preparatory art school as the art world demands that they attend an institution of advanced art education to be considered a professional and an artist of talent. Since the College of Fine Arts does not accept more than twenty students each year, only a minority of the graduating preparatory art school students are able to continue their studies directly at the advanced level. As a result, art students make use of the possibility to study with the help of government loans and attend several preparatory schools while waiting to be admitted to the College of Fine Arts. The art school careers of Stockholm art students are often long, and those who become professionals will have obtained a solid initiation into the art conventions upon which the production of Swedish art is based.

The art school I attended receives government subsidies. I chose it following an interview and acquaintance with one of the teachers, Christian, who suggested that the school might be a good place to meet artists in interaction. Although the only professional artists I was able to observe there were the teachers, I was able to obtain some understanding of the initial orientation of the prospective artist in the
Stockholm art world. Being at this school also helped me become further acquainted with Christian and to continue finding out about his career.

The students at the school had a variety of art backgrounds and were admitted on the basis of samples of their work; some students had attended other art schools, many had attended a study circle in drawing or painting, others had no previous formal art education. The students followed courses in painting or sculpture through studies of nudes and still lifes. The school has been functioning in the Stockholm art world for the past twenty-five years and has had time to develop its own particular profile. At this school, the students learned to become artists through a curriculum based on an ideology of individual work. This focusing on the development of the individual put the school and the Stockholm private art market in harmony and made the school a suitable place to prepare for participation on this market.

While at the school, I participated in the painting classes. The painting studio was organized according to the conventions of traditional art schools; there were no important differences between this room in Stockholm in the 1980s and that in Matisse’s school in France at the turn of the century or the one where Robert Henri taught in New York during the 1920s. The one idiosyncratic detail was a heavy construction on the ceiling of green wheels and other loom parts, reminders that the room was formerly part of a cloth weaving mill. The room was large and worn and, as a conventional art school studio, it was lit by daylight, one of the basic elements of the conventional painting apparatus.

Every weekday, the thirty pupils participated in the conventional educational form for preparatory art school studies. They stood before easels in a semi-circle around the room, and, dressed in old, black or neutral colored clothes, they looked as worn as the room. As the room was not large enough for this many pupils, the students had to stand at elbow distance from one another, wedged in between the easels and palette tables. The atmosphere was solemn as the students concentrated on the object of study: a nude model seated on a cloth covered bench on a raised platform at the front of the room. The teacher instructed the students by circulating around the room and stopping at each easel to comment to each student about his work. Besides these muted comments and the sounds of the brushes on the canvases, the room was silent as talk was not permitted during the study sessions. By interacting in this room, the students began to understand the occupation of the professional artist as well as the culture of their art school.

The painting studies were alternately three week studies of a nude and of a still life. Following these morning studies were short, afternoon classes in art history, composition, sketching, and in the use of art materials. Through the model studies, the students learned the conventions of western painting. Some of these were a grammar whose elements artists use to communicate visually with others. Its elements include a particular use of line, plane, shadow, form, color, contrast, proportion, perspective, volume, and rhythm. The students combined these elements
using conventional materials such as oil paints, turpentine, paint brushes, rags, canvases, and palettes. Their techniques were also conventional; for example, they used the full swing of the arm to make their brush strokes, a technique which many other artist generations have used (cf Henri 1984:74). The desired result was a composition which resembled the model. As professional artists, the students would eventually be able to depart from the conventions they had mastered to create new conventions for their own picture worlds.

The students were to learn these painting conventions through practice: daily work whose repeated sessions also increased their familiarity with the art materials and their competence in the craft of painting. This was a routine which followed the example of previous generations. Traditionally, the students should have been under the guidance of a master teacher, but at this school, three teachers shared the responsibility and each taught one or two mornings a week. Of these three, Christian was the dominant figure whose attitudes and opinions most influenced the students.

Instruction was individual, consisting of teacher comments to each student while he painted. During this work routine, the teacher never held a discussion for the entire class nor did he choose one problem for particular consideration. Christian explained why the routine was individual oriented as follows:

"The instruction here is an answer to the student's observations and the expression of them that he has painted. In such a mixed group with both first and second year students, one can't have instruction for the whole class. The individual instruction presses harder on each student's initiative. He can't hide behind the group."

The students had to rely on their own judgements to decide what to concentrate on in each study. In this way, they were in the situation of the professional artist who must make his own decisions alone in his studio. They had to deal with the problems they would have as professionals. As there were three different teachers, there was a certain discontinuity in the interaction between the teachers and the students. Students listened to the critical comments of their teachers, but they also had to learn to rely on their own judgements because they were not able to communicate with the teachers at will and might also receive contradictory opinions from them. This situation again emulated that of the professional artist who must expect others to judge him and to hear various opinions about his work but who, in the end, must make the final decision about how to proceed.

Teacher comments were often criticisms expressing their opinions of the student work. In general, the teachers refrained from saying how the student should continue his work or how he should correct mistakes as the student was to decide this himself. The teachers did give direction to the work and put limitations on what the students painted by making suggestions based on conventions for the painting of nudes. This is not to say that the teachers themselves recognized these suggestions as conventional. Christian explained his remarks as follows:
"I have never cared about the historical aspect of teaching. I don't think I use standard expressions. What I say to a student depends upon what he has seen. I have to use my own observations of this work and can't rely on old tools. Maybe I'm a little too sensitive here. But I hate mechanical knowledge."

Nevertheless, the recommendations that the teachers offered have evolved from a long tradition and similar ones have been made in previous generations. When the students painted a nude, the teachers told the students to paint a whole figure and not just one part of the body, to pay attention to the way they painted the feet, to contrast straight and curved lines, to develop color relations within their compositions and not to try to copy colors they saw on the model. Matisse also taught these things. One of his students, Sarah Stein, recorded his comments in 1908 (cf Flam 1978:44-45):

"It is important to include the whole of the model in your drawing, to decide upon the place for the top of the head and base of the feet and make your work remain within these limits..."

"Do remember that a curved line is more easily and securely established in its character by contrast with the straight one which so often accompanies it..."

"This foot resting upon the model stand makes a line as sharp and straight as a cut."

"You are representing the model, or any other subject, not copying it; and there can be no color relations between it and your picture; it is the relation between the colors in your picture which are the equivalent of the relation between the colors in your model that must be considered."

As emphasis was on the individual work process, students learned that they must follow their own work rhythms, and they therefore established schedules which did not necessarily coincide with the hours of the classes. Officially, attendance was obligatory, but nobody was especially interested in controlling it. There were so many students attending the morning sessions that the teachers had trouble finding enough time to talk to each of them. The teachers were therefore not terribly concerned when some of the students were absent. As the painting studio was open to the students at night and during the weekends, students could choose to work at odd hours. Following their individual needs, students came and went as they pleased; some arrived halfway through the session, while others arrived punctually every morning and worked the entire morning; still others disappeared for a few days and worked at night or at home. These individual flows to and from the school tended to accentuate individualism there.

To make the students understand the importance of hard work and discipline for the attainment of quality art production, Christian propagated a Lutheran work ethic. Through his behavior, Christian impressed upon the students that an artist is a serious person who does not waste his time in idle conversation but who instead devotes himself to hard work. To exemplify this, Christian restricted his contact with
the students to the work aspect of school life; he interacted with them in a conscientious, concentrated manner, but almost always in the studio. Christian emphasized the seriousness of the artist occupation by refraining from frivolous collective activities and rarely joined the students in the coffee room during the two morning pauses. The only of the many school parties he attended were those at which staff attendance was obligatory. He never ate lunch with the students but instead rushed off at the end of each session, hastily dodging students who sought additional attention with a nervous:

"I can't spend all my time teaching. I have to go to my studio and get to work."

Christian also tried to show his students the importance of order in the studio for an effective work process. Order was necessary to encourage concentration, clear thought, and productivity. To obtain order in the studio, Christian sometimes had to begin a lesson by having the students clean the room. His order opposed the disorder in the three other areas of the painting department: the coffee room, the front hall, and a small room where students worked without a model. Rather than the worn, but disciplined order of the studio, in these areas there was a bohemian chaos. The front hall was cluttered with coats, smocks and old shoes; in the individual painting area the floor was covered with discarded papers and canvases. The coffee room was filled with cigarette butts and smoke; numerous coffee cups waited to be washed, left here and there on the long table, in the sink, and on the counter. In these interaction areas, the students relaxed and confided in one another after the silent concentration of the painting sessions. Disorder was a student contribution to the school culture.

The student disorder was a youth protest. These young adults were experiencing a prolonged adolescence; although physically older than adolescents, many were still preoccupied with adolescent problems of growing up. Adolescence does not have to be a problematic period of life, but these students did have the need of some adolescents to break with the values of their society. Rejecting the efficiency and cleanliness of Swedish society, the students sought a way of life in the chaos of bohemia. The possibility for creating a bohemian milieu in the coffee room comes from one of the teachers, the owner of the school, who had previously established a tradition of weekly candlelight gatherings there for song and poetry reading. As such gatherings are no longer popular in the Stockholm art world, but are rather part of the more bohemian and romantic art worlds of previous generations, the students have transformed them into dance parties. They have expanded the area for this interaction to include the painting studio which they empty to make room for dancing. Yet, the coffee room retains its identity as a place for bohemian socializing.

Teacher order and student disorder are symptomatic of a distance separating the professional artist and the unprofessional art student. While the professional artist knows he must maintain order to further his career, the unprofessional student is not yet convinced.
As a professional artist, Christian knew the inside story about the culture of professional artists. He had experienced many rough years in the business and knew its problems. The students had not yet faced these problems and still had some romantic ideas about the artist occupation. Had Christian provided his students with more information about the art world he might have helped lessen the gap between him and these students. As he refrained from doing so, his knowledge instead marked a separation. This separation between the professional and the student exemplifies Becker’s idea (1982:59) about the distinction between the conventions taught at art schools and those actually used by professionals. The students at the art school learned the conventions of painting and the work routine of the artist in his studio but learned little about the culture of professional artists and the conventions governing interaction between them and other art world professionals.

Christian kept his distance from his students as he did not want his identity as a teacher to replace his identity as a professional artist. He worked at the school to supplement his income so that he could continue working as a professional. If he became too involved in teaching he would not have enough time or energy to do his own painting. In Geer’s (1973) study of the lack of commitment among teachers, she found one reason for indifference is that teaching is but a transmission of knowledge to others; while helping others, the teacher is not an active producer. This situation is particularly true for the professional artist who teaches. His occupation is to produce art and he would much prefer to be actively producing it than passively watching others.

Despite the bohemian behavior of many of the students, most of them presented themselves as seriously interested in becoming artists and they saw their participation at the school as a step toward this goal. They attended classes, talked with one another in the coffee room, ate lunch together, and went to school parties. The majority of these students accepted life at the school and adjusted to its demands. They accepted the school culture, individualism as well as the Lutheran work ethic of their teacher. Their following comments illustrate this acceptance:

"Art is a serious business. To be an artist takes many years of hard work. You have to be very well disciplined and self-reliant."

"I am the only one who can decide how my paintings should be done and whether they are good or not. It is difficult for another person to judge my work as it is so individual. Nobody can say whether I will develop into a good painter or not."

"Not everyone can be an artist as you have to work alone. If you have to meet other people you may find the life of an artist difficult."

These comments show that the students had begun to adopt the attitudes of Stockholm integrated professionals. In the interviews for this study, integrated professionals often expressed similar views.
Although they generally accepted the school culture, the students did vary in their attitudes toward the school and in the seriousness of their commitment to the career of the artist. Unruh (1979) has pointed out that social worlds always have different degrees of relevance for the different social types participating in them. Those for whom a social world is most relevant and most important possess and accumulate the most knowledge about it. The students for whom the art school was most important were those few who unquestionably intended to become professional artists. As they were seriously committed, they felt responsible for organizing school activities and for seeing to it that the quality of their education be as good as possible. It was therefore they who acted constructively to organize a meeting to protest faults in the school curriculum.

These committed students presented themselves as the most knowledgeable about the school as well as about the art world. It was they who could provide information about stipends or studios. These students were those most anxious to attend the College of Fine Arts and it was they who informed others about admittance procedures there or who were able to gossip about its professors. It was these students who had some links to the professional culture through their student friends at the College of Fine Arts. Using their superior knowledge and intense interest, they confidently presented themselves as potential professionals and this confidence convinced the others that they would be the ones to attend the school. One of these students was, in fact, admitted to the College of Fine Arts following the course at the art school.

Some of the students at the school were not deeply committed to becoming artists, and they participated in school activities as transitory visitors. One student, Harry, who was also a rock musician, rather clearly expressed his transitory status. Harry explained his interest in painting as "joy in splattering paints on the canvas". For Harry, painting was a form of pleasure, and a diversion from restrictions in other areas of his life. He was not particularly pleased with the instruction at the school. The daily drudgery of the model studies and the discipline necessary to produce them successfully did not suit his desire for freedom. As a member of a band, Harry was often on the road and had to be away from the school for several days at a time. His participation in the school routine was irregular and somewhat nonchalant. When Harry joined the others in the coffee room, he did not restrict his topics of conversation to school or artist subjects but also included topics outside the school context which often had to do with his experiences as a musician. Harry used his musician occupation to distinguish himself from the others. His emphasis on seeking pleasure in painting also marked a separation from the students who did accept the serious work aspect of painting, including its drudgery. Harry's pleasure seeking as well as his transitory participation at the school also seemed to irritate the teachers as he threatened student acceptance of hard work: the life style of this musician-art
student was not that of the serious visual artist and the other students ought not to emulate it.

The student at the school who most explicitly and constantly expressed her dissatisfaction with the curriculum was Fanny, a woman who rebelled against the limitations imposed by the model studies and who produced work intended to arouse debate. Fanny acted with the seriousness of the majority of the students and shared their desire to succeed as an artist. Yet, unlike the majority, she refused to accept the terms which the school presented as necessary for students to comply with to succeed. Fanny worked with cut paper rather than the conventional oil paints and made compositions of the model which were very free interpretations bordering on the nonfigurative. Most of the other students had conventional tastes in art and disliked the new expressionists who were currently in vogue. They found particularly repelling the work of Michel Topor with his provocative sensuality. Fanny, on the other hand, admired art experiments and provocative vulgarity, and she spoke enthusiastically about the pornographic work of a young artist she had recently seen. Through her own nonconformist work, Fanny was able to create a heated debate at one of the group discussions which were held at the end of each three week period. Another student denounced Fanny's work as "trend", and a conflict developed between another rebellious student, Jarl, and Christian about what was permissible in a model study. Jarl wondered:

"Is it necessary to recognize the nude in our compositions or may we work with one detail of the body and do something that is more or less nonfigurative."

Christian's reply was:

"If we let you students work too freely you'll end up doing just anything at all."

Although Christian's work is nonfigurative, he could not let his students work in this way as they had not yet mastered the basic techniques of the craft of painting. Until they had done so, they would have to work within the limits set by the conventional model study.

By questioning the school conventions, the rebels provoked a conflict which proposed change. However, change would be difficult to obtain. This demand for innovation, like many others, met a negative response because it meant a disruption of a long tradition and threatened a comfortable status quo. If the restrictions set by conventional model studies were loosened, the teachers would face the problems of innovation: uncertainty, decision making, and conflict. They would have to be strongly committed to teaching at the school. As these parttime teachers were more concerned with their own art production than with teaching, innovation was not something with which they wanted to deal. It would have consumed even more of their time and energy than the current school curriculum.
Although the teachers taught an ideology of individual work, their pupils did act collectively in response to several student problems. This collective action mostly took place in the non-studio areas of the school as well as at the café where the students ate lunch or at their many parties. However, even the studio became a collective action area during the pauses in the painting sessions. While the students discussed many of their problems during moments of leisure, they retained their identities as art students. Conversations between students were noteworthy for the strictness with which they kept to this art student identity; they provided very little information about other aspects of their lives.

What were the student problems? First, the students all experienced the problems of the school environment. In the winter, the rooms were either too hot or too cold, and sometimes the heating did not work at all. The key to the studio disappeared now and then, and those arriving on time in the morning had to wait in the cold foyer until someone found it. There was not enough space in the studio to work comfortably, and the pupils had to get used to working at close quarters with one another. This was especially trying when a student was having a personal crisis and provoked conflict in the group. The students complained about the environmental problems to one another but did not try to ameliorate them. Although the problems were bothersome, the students accepted them as they were part of a special environment which helped to distinguish their identities as art students. Its defects marked a concrete difference from other social worlds: at the art school there were special problems which "only we art students" experience. Physical misery in an old, decrepit studio made them feel like artists.

The tribulations of the work process were other problems the students shared. The daily painting sessions were repeated confrontations with uncertainty, mistakes, and the inability to make the painting tools produce as desired. Days of frustration and boredom could follow a period of ease and productivity; students fell into ruts and did not know how to get out of them. Facing the continual and conflicting criticisms of the teachers was also confusing. The students shared hours of work that drained their energy and made them depressed. These work problems were a constant topic of conversation in the coffee room and at the lunch café. The students also discussed their work in the classroom during the pauses. In small groups of two or three, the students stood or sat before one of their canvases and discussed it. Although the ideology of individual work said that the artist is the best critic of his work and that he should produce his work independently, in fact, students did learn from one another and included discussion as a part of their work routine.

By daily airing their problems, students eased their misery as they recognized that others experienced similar worries. At the same time, they legitimized the existence of these work problems. The students were newcomers to the craft of painting and still had much to learn. They found it necessary to discuss their individual work problems with others and, through their interaction, they
transformed these problems into proper elements of the school culture. They also began to understand the occupation of the artist and what it means to learn the craft of painting; these problems were not just individual failings but were part of the creative process.

Beside these informal discussions, the school organized a collective discussion of the work of the group at the end of each three week study. It was at one of these discussions that the rebels questioned model studies. At these group discussions, each student placed his work before the class and the teachers and students criticized it. Each student also expressed a critique of his own work. The teachers felt that the criticism offered at these sessions gave the students the opportunity to distance themselves from their work and to see it more objectively. With the distance and the criticism, the students were able to share the experience of the artist who exhibits at a gallery and meets the reactions of a public. While the teachers created a context for collective action, they still emphasized the individual and his development. The session was still part of the ideology of individual work, although apparently a contradiction to it. The collective context did provide an opportunity for the students to learn from one another. The accumulation of comments about the various works, repeated approval of a certain type of work or disapproval of another, created a collective perspective toward what was good art and what was not. The students also constructed this perspective through talk, in the coffee room or during lunch, about exhibits they had seen, or about art reviews they had read in the newspapers left in the coffee room.

Emulation also helped to construct the collective art perspective. Students standing next to one another during a model study tended to produce studies with similar solutions to problems. As students received new places in the studio every three weeks, the work of the group was to some extent a collective product, the work of each student having been influenced somewhat by the work of the others surrounding him during the various sessions. Student canvases were not the result of an isolated work process but were combinations of impulses from other students, from the teachers, from art exhibits and art lectures, from art books and newspapers, from the society around them. Students snapped up information in bits and pieces and it appeared in their work. This process concretely exemplifies Becker's (1982) thesis that art is collective action, not the work of an isolated individual but the product of many helping hands.

Students also shared the problem of the quality of the instruction at the school. As I noted above, the instruction lacked continuity. In addition, the model did not always come to work which disrupted the study as a student or the teacher had to be the model. The latter solution introduced additional problems, for the teacher was then unable to comment on the student work. The students found the afternoon courses especially unsatisfactory as they felt they were poorly planned and boring. As the backgrounds of the students varied considerably, those who were better...
equipped were particularly dissatisfied. Although the students tried to solve these problems by organizing a meeting at which they presented their complaints to the teachers, it could only be a friendly confrontation as it was candlelight dinner. The mood at the party was far too warm and gay for battles; nobody wanted to disrupt the festivities nor did they want to create a lasting conflict which would harm the school atmosphere which they nonetheless enjoyed.

The students were also concerned about the problem of how to survive in the art world. Students tackled this problem through the informal exchange of information and advice. Their coffee room talk included many conversations about the future. One topic was the College of Fine Arts which most students hoped to attend. Students presented their various theories about what kind of art the College of Fine Arts professors were looking for and they debated whether or not one could gain admission through contacts. As most art students are not admitted to the College of Fine Arts, the students at this school had to consider alternative ideas about how to continue their careers. The students provided one another with information about stipends, studios or part-time jobs as models or commercial artists. They sought this information and advice in the student circle as they had so little informal contact with their teachers who, with many years of experience, ought to have been authorities on the subject.

Finally, students shared the problem of their prolonged adolescence. The growing problems of these students and the process of becoming independent adults influenced their situation as art students. They expressed a youth protest by disordering the collective interaction areas; they expressed their desire to socialize as young adults by holding many parties. Both the disorder and the parties were collective contributions which assisted them in their development toward maturity. Although the student bohemian forms did influence the school culture and their lives as art students, these forms contradicted the order of their teachers and of professional artists. The students were united in the conflictful position of wishing to free themselves through chaos and wanting to become artists, orderly and self-controlled professionals.

The collective action of the students was a reply to problems temporarily facing them as preparatory art school students. The students who become artists will outgrow most of these problems and face those of the professional in interaction with other art world professionals. Yet in the studio, the artists will continue to use the individual work process which they learned at school. There, they will think of themselves as self-sufficient individuals who work at their own easels, hold their own brushes and make their own final decisions. Individualism will be an important factor in their careers; its strength will contribute to their ability to survive.
While Simpson (1981:61) discusses the career of the SoHo artist, members of the Stockholm art world say that the professional artist performs the role of the artist (konstnärsrollen). I think of career as a sequence of statuses in an occupation and role as a part that an individual enacts, not necessarily in an occupation. The artist role that the Stockholm art world thinks of changes from generation to generation along with the changing ideals of each period. For example, in the 1970s the artist role was the social revolutionary. The Stockholm art world has tried to maintain the romantic image of the creative genius and has not been very willing to admit that its artists are part of a work context. The leftist writers I mentioned in chapter 2 have been an exception, but while they place the artist in a social context, they retain the term konstnärsrollen (cf Nordström 1979:31, Björk 1977) to describe his activities. As the term career popularly connotes the aggressive activities of businessmen and industrialists, art world professionals find that it is not the appropriate word for the creative occupations of Swedish artists, people who have not presented themselves as careerists. Although Simpson uses career because it is part of the terminology of the social scientist, it may be more natural for him; he and other New Yorkers are used to thinking of American artists as careerists for these are part of a context where one must be aggressive and calculating to survive. The Stockholm art world is becoming more cosmopolitan and, probably through the influence of New York colleagues, Stockholm artists have begun to admit that they are actively pursuing careers. Although the artist roles of Stockholm artists have played down the occupational aspect of their activities, these artists have always had a career awareness, and it has been necessary for them to plan, make decisions, and act in a forward manner to become integrated professionals.
The Swedish artist, Evert Lundquist, provides examples of this career awareness in his autobiography (Lundquist 1984). The tone of this book is gracious; Lundquist presents the respectable image appropriate to the artist of bourgeois background who began his career in the 1930s. He has entitled the book *Ur ett målarliv* (*From a Painter's Life*), expressing his interpretation of his artist activities: they are his life. He is not just referring to a profession but to his personal life as well. Nevertheless, Lundquist provides material which indicates that he did actively work to establish himself in the art world and that he was consciously pursuing a career.

First, Lundquist took the initiative to arrange his 1934 debut exhibit (cf Lundquist 1984:75). Following recognition in Sweden, Lundquist tried seriously to receive recognition in other countries (Lundquist 1984:131); some of the exhibits he held in Europe (in London, Milano and Paris) and the USA were ones he arranged. Lundquist discontinued these efforts in 1964 (cf Lundquist 1984:164) when he participated in the Guggenheim International Award and discovered that monetary interests largely control the international art world. Lundquist summed up his achievements through a retrospective exhibition at *Moderna Museet*; it was he who suggested that the museum show his work (cf Lundquist 1984:170).

Besides taking an active part to arrange exhibits, Lundquist also indicates that he was aware of marketing trends and marketing results. Lundquist was sensitive to marketing even in France at the outset of his art studies. He understood that his style of painting had been popular several decades ago and had become *passé* (cf Lundquist 1984:61) but he chose to work in this direction although he knew this was not a wise marketing decision. Lundquist was not oblivious to money making and notes that he had no notable financial success until late in his career in 1957 when he exhibited at the College of Fine Arts (cf Lundquist 1984:102).

Although the style of the career of Stockholm professional artists changes through the years, the actual stages of the career that culminates in some form of integration into the art world remain relatively constant. The first stage of this career is the period of socialization into the art world through participation at Stockholm art schools; the period begins with preparatory art schools and ends with enrollment at the College of Fine Arts. The second stage is the period of integration seeking: the professional artist tries to establish himself on the art market through regular exhibition in Stockholm as well as around the country and abroad. In the final stage of the career, the artist becomes a well integrated professional (cf chapter 2) and receives the important positions, commissions and exhibitions which the Stockholm art world offers to reward its famous artists. Most artists never arrive at this career stage but continue their efforts to obtain art world recognition. Stagnation and failure threaten the career at each stage and may cause it to end.

The first stage of the career of the Stockholm artist is about ten years. The successful student passes from preparatory art schools (cf chapter 4) to the College of Fine Arts. The College of Fine Arts is a symbol of achievement for the art student
as admittance to the school is so highly selective. Usually a student must apply several
times before being allowed to enroll. Application to the College of Fine Arts is a
particularly trying experience as each student knows that he is competing with most
of the art students in Stockholm as well as those around the country. During the
spring, there is a nervous atmosphere in art student circles as the students are all
working feverishly to prepare portfolios for the College of Fine Arts admissions
committee.

Refusal means that the art student must decide whether to continue to seek a
career as a professional artist or whether to find another occupation. If the student
decides to keep working toward the artist career he must rely heavily on his belief in
himself. Without the assistance of the College of Fine Arts, the art student must
either be admitted to another preparatory art school (which is not always easy) or
find a studio where he may work on his own. At the art school, the student obtains
the security of belonging to a concrete organization. If he is admitted to a state
subsidized school, the student receives temporary economic security as he may
support himself through the government student loans. Yet, if he studies at several
preparatory art schools, the student accumulates large debts; as he has not yet been
accepted at the College of Fine Arts, this accumulation may not be a good
investment. If the student continues to work on his own, he must find a job which will
support the costs for his art work and his living expenses but which will also allow
him time to paint.

The art student who is accepted at the College of Fine Arts can continue to
support himself during the five years he studies there through the government
student loans. The accumulation of debts is less trying for the College of Fine Arts
student than it is for the preparatory art student, as the former is closer to attaining
his goal. Although the College of Fine Arts policy is to select students whose work
it thinks it can help develop, the work of the College of Fine Arts student is often
rather mature and is often almost professional. After years at preparatory art schools,
this student is well grounded in Stockholm art conventions. He has also begun to
learn about the career of the Stockholm artist. This is why he has enrolled at the
College of Fine Arts, for integrated professionals ought to graduate from the College
of Fine Arts.

The College of Fine Arts is steeped in tradition: each year the school posts a
list of names of those it accepts on a wall inside its front door. The students on this
list follow convention by reacting to this news with ecstasy. The response in 1925 of
Evert Lundquist (1984:44-45) remains typical:

"Well, then came the most important day in my life, to that point, and that was when I walked
down the academy's broad and revered stairs after having read my name on the list of accepted
applicants which had been hung up in the lower vestibule. I felt as though the world lay open
before me and that life stretched light and bright and long. This warm fall day in September 1925
I felt, as they now say, "high", and I thought that the girls I met looked at me in an absolutely
special way which meant to say: 'Look, there goes the fellow who was accepted at the art academy!'\footnote{1}

This feeling of being someone special remains with the student during his years at the College of Fine Arts. The student acquires the desire of the professional to demarcate his artistic individuality. He wishes to create a personal picture world which he can continue to develop during his career as a professional. Although the College of Fine Arts student wants to express his individual artistic development, he also often tries to express his exceptionality as a person. This individuality may be an extension of his artistic style but may also be a substitute for an artistic development that has not yet materialized. The student announces his personal individuality through provocative advertising. Using symbols of dress and speech or assisting props, the student tries to distinguish himself from his colleagues.\footnote{2,3} A recent College of Fine Arts graduate, Filip, explained:

"Most of the students wanted to be radicals and wore jeans and plaid shirts. My philosophy is moderation. I avoided dressing like them. You see, my hair isn't too long or too short, just right."

One of his fellow students, Anton, irritated his colleagues by adopting mannerisms and a language style which were mysterious and esoteric.

"Beauty!" cried Anton suddenly as he pounced into the studio of a neighboring student, Ernst.

"Oh, you mean broads!" replied Ernst.

Ernst demarcated his own distinctive style by playing with language. Rather than allowing the intruder to open a discussion about aesthetics, he resorted to slang and turned the outburst of the intruder into a description of women.\footnote{4}

Often, students try to distinguish themselves by showing solidarity with another subculture or clique of colleagues. Currently, some College of Fine Arts students express their solidarity with rock musicians; they wear the tough, black clothes of these musicians and imitate their slang expressions. The colleague clique is a College of Fine Arts tradition (cf Lundquist 1984:49) which contributes to the personal and artistic development of its students. The clique provides moral support as well as relief from trying daily creative effort. Female students find the moral support of the colleague clique especially important as they often feel that their male teachers and colleagues discriminate against them. One woman graduate, Dorotea, explained:

"I had a group of women friends at Mejan.\footnote{5} We usually met in my studio for coffee in the afternoons. We kept together and tried to give each other support. Women students have difficulty being as aggressive as the men students and are sometimes hurt by their inability to defend themselves against the criticisms of male colleagues and professors. We appear to be more insecure and it's easy for men to look down at us and disregard our thoughts and ideas. 'Little friend!' they say and laugh condescendingly."
The interactions of these colleague cliques sometimes contribute to the learning process. As students often form cliques because they share a taste in art, work style, or stage of artistic development, their collegial interactions can help them clarify their ideas about art, increase their knowledge of art history or improve their artistic techniques. The comment of Maria illustrates this point:

"My friends and I are not as mature artistically as many other students. Our knowledge of art history is pretty limited and so we try to help each other by bringing along books about the work of artists whom we're interested in. We sit and look at the pictures and usually get all excited and happy. It's great having friends to share this excitement with; outside Mejan there aren't many who are interested in art."

Colleague cliques also form around an ideological position; this was particularly true during the '68 revolt when students aligned in cliques varying in support for this movement. Pelle, an artist who was a College of Fine Arts student then, recalled:

"We used his studio as a meeting place. It even had a name so people knew what our position was. We were radicals and wanted others to know it."

As friendships made at the College of Fine Arts occur during the formative years of the artist career, they are often especially meaningful and last throughout this career. Yet, artists interact less frequently with College of Fine Arts friends after graduation as they find new support groups in their families. Artists, nevertheless, remember these friends warmly and when they think about them continue to feel their support. One integrated professional, Albin, noted:

"I have hung the work of my friends on the walls here (his studio); we were good friends at Mejan; the work reminds me of our ties. We don't see each other so often now."

Colleague cliques based on aesthetics could become art movements as the ties formed are between new generation artists working together in search of artistic direction. These cliques are generally the only ones which Stockholm artists form as they tend to work as isolated units. Circle building is a phenomenon more prevalent among art students or artists who are just beginning their careers; these may still be uncertain in their craft, have not yet developed an individual picture world, and may still be willing to listen to the advice of colleagues. The Impressionists are an example from international art history of the change from the student support group to established artist isolation. The Impressionists actually worked together during a relatively short period of their early careers, about ten years. According to Merrill (1970:256) they did much of their best work after they had ceased to function as a group and had begun to work independently, each artist living in a different part of France. Despite the potential of the College of Fine Arts cliques, they are usually
more vital as moral support groups than as aesthetic impulses. Clearly defined art movements do not usually develop from these cliques, and most often they help the art student to achieve the self-confidence he needs to continue his career on his own.

The colleague cliques represent an exceptional collective spirit in an educational form that otherwise focuses intensely on the individual; at the College of Fine Arts, each student has a unique course. As at the preparatory art school in chapter 4, there is an ideology of individual work and emphasis is again on individual artistic development. The College of Fine Arts encourages individuality by providing each student with a studio. This collegial separation diverges from the instruction at preparatory art schools where all of the students work in the same room. It is a step towards professionalism as the work form is that of the professional artist. Like the professional artist, the College of Fine Arts student wants to work in privacy. Competition among students creates the need for room where each of them may work in peace. As artistic development is viewed with great seriousness, each project is important and the student does not want to be bothered during his creative process; like the professional artist preparing for an exhibit, the College of Fine Arts student is not always eager for prying eyes to see his work before it is completed.

Each student is guided by a professor. The College of Fine Arts professors direct the decision making of their students to varying extents, depending upon their pedagogical philosophies. Some professors feel that their comments should be few to permit the student to experiment: Evert Lundquist was one of these (cf Lundquist 1984:146-50); he modestly felt that he differed from his students only in his longer experience with life. His comments about the work of his students were intuitive, based on this experience, and were intended to help them reach their own forms of expression. Other professors have definite ideas about how to produce art and press their wills upon their students, influencing the technical or stylistic aspects of their work. Students dissatisfied with the pedagogical style of their advisers may, and sometimes do, seek the help of others.

As College of Fine Arts students are almost professionals, they sometimes experience interaction with their advisers as more valuable as social relationships than as pedagogical ones. Måns noted:

"I didn't really learn so much about art from my adviser. I learned more from him socially, for example, when he invited me to his home in the country. We had a good relationship and I enjoyed his company."

Filip noted the non-artistic content of the conversations he had had with his adviser:

"He flipped rapidly through the drawings I had been working on and seemed glad to get that over with so he could talk to me about his new car. We're both interested in auto mechanics so we often talked about motors; I guess it was more interesting than talking about art."
Although not always a discussion of art, the informal communication between the student and the professor helps the student to graduate into the position of the professional artist; through this socializing, the student discovers the attitudes and problems of this more experienced artist and learns to understand and behave like him.

As I noted in chapter 2, College of Fine Arts professors sometimes assist their students in their initial contacts with the art market. Some professors use their reputations and relationships with the elite galleries to establish a contact between them and their students. The patron position is relatively new for these professors as their predecessors discouraged College of Fine Arts students from exhibiting their work at an early stage. These students were not allowed to have exhibits while still studying and usually did not have their debuts until several years after graduation. These debuts were often at galleries of modest reputation. The pace of the artist career was more genteel then, and the young artist gradually worked his way up to an exhibit at an establishment gallery. As he had learned during his years at the College of Fine Arts to have a self-effacing attitude about his work, the student was wary to show it and had a terrible respect for the moment when he would actually present it to a public. The career of Lundquist is an example of the slow pace of the artist career in previous generations and of the independent position of the College of Fine Arts graduate. His debut occurred three years after graduation and was an exhibit which he arranged himself (cf Lundquist 1984:75).

In recent years, College of Fine Arts professors have encouraged their students to adopt a self-assured style and to present their work as soon as possible. Some professors have been influenced by the more aggressive style of the New York art world, and in the hope that the new generation of Swedish artists will be able to compete internationally, they teach their students that artist self-confidence is important and that they should be eager to present and sell their work: the student must have an outgoing, confident manner to convince art dealers and foreign guests that his work is of interest and worth buying. There is an increased emphasis on productivity; students should be hard-working and produce at a rapid and steady pace so that they may be able to compete on an art market that is increasingly fast-paced. Måns explained his tactic as follows:

"It is important to make contacts in ever-widening circles. You have to make yourself known by lots of different people with different spheres of influence. You can't let your name be forgotten so you have to keep exhibiting often. I have to stay in Stockholm so that I know what is happening and so that I can keep making contacts. If you're in the country you don't keep up with things and people forget you exist."

Although not all College of Fine Arts students adopt a self-confident style, a new, outright careerist artist type has developed in this generation. The attitude of the careerist artist in Stockholm is similar to that of the professional in SoHo who has been to some extent a model for these Swedish artists. As I mentioned in chapter
1, the SoHo professional is practical and realistic and pursues his career with as much "deliberate concentration" (Simpson 1981:74) as people who intend to be doctors or lawyers. The SoHo artist analyzes his situation and makes decisions which should further marketing, although they may conflict with his creative drive. The careerist, new generation artist in Stockholm also openly admits that he pays close attention to business. He is intensely aware that he will not obtain success by creative efforts alone but must also plan his work and make wise tactical moves.

The forward, "making it", style which College of Fine Arts students have adopted to some extent precedes the establishment of a similar style among art dealers; these prefer to retain their bourgeois propriety. Recent College of Fine Arts graduates openly discuss career tactics as well as the necessity for self-promotion. They take the offensive in part to impress the art world, but also because the art dealers to not promote their work in the way they desire. Yet despite the bourgeois style of the art dealers, it is their increased interest in the work of new generation artists which has helped to stimulate artist self-confidence.

As the artist career no longer has the slow start of previous generations, a fortunate artist may obtain economic security at the outset of his career. He does not have the long wait of Lundquist who only achieved economic comfort late in his career (cf Lundquist 1984:102). College of Fine Arts students may now begin to show their work while still studying. The College of Fine Arts has its own exhibition space where students present their work. Looking for new talent, the art world finds these exhibits of interest; critics often review them while art dealers sometimes offer students a show at their galleries. By the time a student graduates, he may have exhibited at an establishment gallery and may have developed a good relationship with it.

Integrated professionals whose careers have accelerated slowly find the rapid pace of the new generation artist careers offensive and undesirable. As Rudolf explained:

"Young artists are in too much of a hurry. They're not satisfied if they don't make their debut at the top. I made my debut at a modest gallery and worked my way up. There's so much business and money involved now. These young people get too much money right away before they've had a chance to develop their work. The market has become too commercial; artists don't have time to mature. Making art is a life long process; it takes time and long, hard work."

The second stage of the career of the Stockholm artist, integration onto the market, is a process of reputation establishment: the work of the artist as well as his name must become familiar and respected in the art world. Continual recognition makes reputed work (cf Becker 1982:365). To obtain this recognition, there must be a consensus of approval among art world professionals. When they perform their occupational activities, they move art production in certain directions. The artist therefore makes career decisions which he hopes will coincide with the ones of dealers, critics, and collectors so that they can grant approval of his work.
If an artist obtains a lasting consensus he achieves success. Simpson (1981:57) defines this term as a combination of sustained critical recognition and a sufficient number of sales to achieve a middle class standard of living without other supporting employment. Unsuccessful artists are those who do not obtain both recognition and economic comfort. By calling artists who do not have a middle class standard of living unsuccessful, Simpson greatly limits the number of artists in Stockholm and in New York who may be considered successful. In both of these art worlds, artists can often receive sustained critical support although they still have difficulty finding enough people to buy their work to provide economic stability. In Stockholm, the works of an artist may attract the attention of the art world but may be done on such a large scale that only but the wealthiest collectors can purchase them. The artist may sell one painting to *Moderna Museet* and one to a private collector, but these sales, spread out over the period between the current exhibit and the next one, hardly provide a middle class income. Moreover, some artists may obtain financial stability although they do not receive the approval of the critics. To classify these two artist types as unsuccessful does not lead to fruitful analysis. As artist careers fluctuate and are long range processes, it is difficult to say whether an artist is actually unsuccessful or whether the career is just at a temporary lull. It is therefore preferable to use the definition Simpson provides for success as an artist ideal while refraining from classifying artists as successful or unsuccessful.

According to Simpson (1981:72), the artist who attains success is one who is able to consolidate the random and uncoordinated recognition he receives from a variety of sources to create a career momentum. There are two strategies which Stockholm artists tend to adopt to achieve this career momentum. The artist may follow the example of the recent College of Fine Arts graduate quoted above who sought recognition in ever-widening circles with less thought to their standards of quality than to their quantity and breadth of influence. He may, on the other hand, be highly selective in the choice of ever-widening circles, limiting his sphere to fewer, but more respectable ones. By limiting himself to an elite, the artist more clearly defines his work as quality and reduces the risk that it may be mistaken for anything less.

The desire of new generation artists to seek their debut at the top of the gallery pyramid is in line with this latter tactic. If they start their careers there it will be easier for them to obtain recognition, for they can make use of the good reputations of these galleries; an exhibit at one of them is a sign to critics, collectors, government and private culture administrators, and other art dealers that the work is noteworthy.

When an artist makes his debut at a gallery, he often becomes part of a stable artist/dealer relationship. Although Stockholm art dealers do not write contracts with artists (as is the case in New York), an artist often returns periodically to one gallery to present his new work. The artist/dealer relationship is sensitive as the partners must rely on trust and the satisfaction of emotional needs to keep their relationship
constant. As each of them acts to benefit his own career and makes moves that do not always advance the good of the other, the relationship has elements of conniving and distrust. These elements may underlie the relationship as the partners have used them to establish it. Filip explained the subtle strategy he contrived to establish a relationship with a dealer as follows:

"I decided that it would be best to start at the top so I chose X’s gallery. I started going to see his exhibits and asked him questions about the work he showed. After a while he got to know me. He finally found out that I painted and was a student at the College of Fine Arts. I showed him my work and he decided to show it."

The dealer may connive when he tries to decide whether to exhibit the work of an artist. He may make use of his bourgeois manner and is usually able to refrain from expressing a negative word about it. Rather, the dealer sidesteps the uncomfortable problem of declaring that the work is poor, or not to his taste by claiming that his gallery does not deal with that kind of work; most certainly another gallery would be a more suitable place to exhibit. The dealer always expresses himself pleasantly; he treats the artist with the greatest tact and always appears to lead the conversation in a positive direction. A negative reply may be so swaddled in pleasantries as to hardly be recognizable as one.

If a relationship begins, the dealer and artist face a great deal of uncertainty. The dealer may never be sure that the art world will approve of the work of the artist he has chosen nor is there any guarantee that the artist will continue to produce work that the dealer and the art world find interesting. The artist, in turn, is never certain that the dealer will continue to show his work. The artist is also not always sure that the dealer makes wise decisions and is doing the best he can for him. Uncertainty may plague the setting of prices, the time of the year for the exhibit or the way the exhibit is hung. The artist may also feel insecure about his status among the other artists exhibiting at the gallery. When his work is shown in a group exhibit, the artist may worry that the dealer has not given his work the attention it deserves. As it is important to stand among equals, he may also worry that the dealer has begun to choose artists whose work is not of as good quality as his own. Each false move the dealer makes may diminish this reputation.

Although SoHo dealers and artists write contracts, uncertainty also troubles these partners. Both SoHo (cf Simpson 1981:82) and Stockholm dealers know that they can gain the confidence of their partners by coping with their personal problems and establishing a personal tie. Artist/dealer relationships are emotional as well as economic.7 As in SoHo (cf Simpson 1981:83), Stockholm artists stereotype dealers as dishonest while dealers stereotype artists as childlike and stubborn. Simpson (1981:83) notes that the emotional ties formed in artist/dealer relationships help the partners to see one another as exceptions to the rule. This seems also to be true of Stockholm artists while Stockholm dealers seem to use the artist stereotype and
make artists dependent upon them by behaving like comforting parents. One Stockholm dealer noted how he gains the confidence of artists by listening to them:

"Artists need someone to talk to. They have all kinds of problems from the health of their great aunts to the rent for their studios. They know that I'll listen to them and so I become a kind of therapist."

Another dealer explained how he manages artist distrust and childish behavior:

"You have to humor them. You make them think they're getting their way even though you make changes in their plans. You've got to use psychology."

The Stockholm dealer also gains artist confidence through the understanding of the professional problems facing artists that he has gained during his years working with artists. As artists are rather isolated from one another, the art dealer is one of the few people with whom an artist may talk about his career. The dealer also has a thorough knowledge of art world affairs as he meets many art world people at his gallery who give him inside information about these affairs. The dealer can use this information to help the artist make career decisions.

The art dealer can influence an artist aesthetically by encouraging him to visit his gallery. The work hanging there may stimulate the artist and keep him up-to-date with some of the work currently produced in Stockholm, work that may present aesthetic problems and interests which are similar to his own. At the gallery, the artist can meet other artists; through their interaction about work, the artists may spur one another to work harder or to experiment with new ideas. The dealer sometimes visits the artist in his studio which helps the dealer keep an eye on what the artist is producing. The dealer may influence the flow of this work in progress through the comments and criticisms he makes about it.

Once the artist had presented himself to the art world through the debut exhibit, he and the art world begin the process to broaden and reinforce his reputation. This artist broadcasting is a collective action process which demands the combined efforts of networks of art world participants: an artist, art dealers, culture administrators, art critics, and responding art world publics. Exhibit broadcasting of the work of the artist is an important part of this process: it occurs first in the Stockholm art world, and then, throughout Sweden, and perhaps finally, abroad. Media broadcasting of the artist name in newspapers, on the radio and on television is another important aspect.

In exhibit broadcasting, art dealers and museum directors influence the pace of the exhibiting sequence as they decide which artists may show their work. The Stockholm artist currently tries to show his work in Stockholm every three or four years: this rate is considered rapid enough to keep the artist in the minds of the art world, yet slow enough to allow the artist time to grow. Sign of development is an important criterion in the evaluation of artist production; if the critics find that the
work has not developed they report this as a production defect. Some artists find the three or four year rate too rapid as they are used to the more genteel one of previous generations. Some new generation artists find it too slow as their productions provide material for yearly exhibitions.

An artist can multiply the number of his Stockholm exhibits through the assistance of galleries who may offer to show work that his "regular" dealer is wary of. A variety of initiatives may help arrange exhibits around Sweden and abroad: province dealers and museum directors who have seen the work of the artist may offer to exhibit it; the artist may try to arrange exhibits himself in desirable locations such as New York or Paris; the "regular" Stockholm dealer may help to arrange exhibits through his own network of contacts. Finally, NUNSKO, The Swedish National Committee for Contemporary Art Exhibitions Abroad, may ask the artist to represent Sweden in international contexts such as le Centre Cultural Suédois. The final decision about exhibiting rests with the artist who must weigh the career advantages and disadvantages of each exhibition alternative. As these various exhibition offers and alternatives do not materialize at regular intervals nor in time to the pace of art production, the artist decision making process may be quite difficult, involving much uncertainty and stress. Energy that might be devoted to the creative process must often be spent on evaluating the pros and cons of alternative exhibition possibilities. Lill explained:

"At times there aren't any offers and everything is too silent. But suddenly I get several offers at once; then I don't know which galleries to choose."

The artist Sara said:

"I got an offer from a woman in Malmö. She wants me to exhibit at her gallery this spring. But I haven't made up my mind because I'm not really ready to show the new work yet. I don't want to show it before I'm sure it is as I want it. But I don't want to miss a good chance. I'm also not sure that her gallery is the best place to show this work. I might get a better offer. I feel very pressured by galleries; I'd really rather not exhibit at all, but I have to."

In this case, the necessity to achieve career momentum conflicts with the artist production rate and quality standard; the artist must exhibit to keep her career going but may have to compromise the standard of her work to do so.

Artist name broadcasting depends upon the ability of the artist to present his work publicly. Art worlds may hear and see the artist name through the exhibits he presents and may gradually begin to recognize it. Artist name broadcasting is almost as important in establishing a reputation as acquaintance with and appreciation of the work of the artist. Simpson points out (1981:85) the importance of the artist name to the reputation building of SoHo artists. These artists were dismayed because the public seemed to disregard individual works in their productions and to only
recognize their trademark names. Yet the recognition of these trademarks convinced the public to purchase their work.

The special care which Stockholm artists devote to the formulation of a good name suggests their importance. Artists pay the same attention as movie or rock stars to the sound of their names and to the ability of these names to attract the public. They may change their names so they are easier to remember and easier to pronounce. Filip noted:

"My name isn't strong enough. My friends told me to change it. I have a nickname which is a little funnier and which people like and remember more easily."

Stockholm artists often have nicknames which they adopt or receive at the outset of their careers, particularly at the College of Fine Arts. Lundquist (1984:49) provides a College of Fine Arts example; several of his friends there had peculiar nicknames: Holger Hjort was Kycklingen (Chicken), Stig Munthe-Sandberg was Pia Dunko, and Göta Hellström was Klicken (Spot). Artist colleagues refer to Lundquist as Ludde. These humorous substitutes for conventional and ordinary names contributes to the initial efforts of the young artist to mark his artist identity. Their humorous content makes them into jokes which disrupt order by playing with it; using the nickname, the young artist marks a break with his pre-artist identity and emphasizes that he has now adopted a special, artist one. The possession of a nickname helps the artist to stress that he is an integral part of the art world, as art world interaction has produced the name and as art world professionals are usually the only ones who know it. Nicknames are a form of art world inside information: one is in the know if one has one, if others recognize it, and if one can recognize the nicknames of others.

Gossip is an important name broadcasting mechanism. This gossip is most easily available at galleries as many kinds of informal art world interactions occur there: between artists and their dealers, artists and their colleagues, dealers and critics, artists and critics or dealers and collectors. Galleries are natural art world meeting places as they are public art world territories. They are more natural places than, for example, restaurants which are not the exclusive territory of the art world: people from many different worlds frequent them. Unlike restaurant owners, art dealers do not charge their public for being there; the art they show also provides a more aesthetically satisfying atmosphere than most restaurants. Art dealers are interested in making the names of the artists they exhibit well-known in the art world. They are easily able to disseminate gossip about these artists to the various kinds of art world professionals with whom they come in contact. Through gossip, the artist names come to life and become interesting and important.

Artists, art dealers, museum directors, art collectors, and art critics are all artist name broadcasters. Artists broadcast their names when they sign their work, when they arrange to exhibit it, and when they make contacts with different art world
professionals or art world publics. Art dealers and museum directors broadcast the artist name when they give an exhibit, advertise in the daily newspapers, and present work to collectors, art critics or other art world people. Art collectors broadcast the artist name when they hang work in their homes or places of work and show it to their guests and colleagues. Critics broadcast through their reviews which print the artist name in black and white and place it in a respectable, cultural context which reaches a national public. Critics and journalists who spread the artist name on the radio or television also reach this national public.

Art reviews (cf chapter 2 and 8) have great symbolic value as they are few, but those interested in art read them conscientiously. The opinions expressed in the reviews help direct the flow of art world activities and may influence the decisions of dealers, collectors and culture administrators. Artists find art reviews controversial, and often disagree with what the critics have written. At times, an artist even has difficulty recognizing his work in the word pictures that the critic has constructed from it. Art reviews may sometimes threaten artist identities. However, as it is important to publicize the work, artists must accept these irritating articles. The ill-will that an artist feels for the distorting critic is just slightly less than the anger he feels for the ignoring one who responds to his exhibit with silence. The silent critic puts a black mark on the artist reputation for if the exhibit is not reviewed it is apparently not of interest; one of the greatest artist fears is critic neglect. The printed artist name is important: the text surrounding the name is secondary. If a critic writes regularly about the work of an artist who becomes renowned, his reviews will have helped to further the careers of both of them. Nord (1979) has noted that a form of symbiosis may develop between an artist and a critic. The reputation of the artist is able to grow through the words of the critic; through the growth of the artist reputation the critic becomes renowned, for he has had the insight to realize the value of the work of the artist.

In Sweden, television and radio are run by the state. They are communication channels intended for a broad public and meant to be forms of public education. Swedes are, in fact, avid television and radio program consumers. The television and radio programs which are about Swedish art worlds usually consist of presentations of well integrated Swedish artists and their work and, to a lesser extent, presentations of Swedish art worlds. As these programs are intended to educate the general public, they are more easily digested than art reviews with their more compact verbal arguments. Radio and television are therefore media forms which are especially suitable for broadcasting artist names to the Swedish people. Like the art reviews, however, these programs are few in number; they too have great symbolic value in the Stockholm art world and its members consume them all. Artists sometimes dislike these programs because they are jealous of their broadcasted colleagues. Some artists feel that artist programs market trends or serve to further enforce false myths about artists. For example, programs about certain turn-of-the-century
Swedish artists tend to stress their lack of social adjustment which has been classified as mental illness. These programs further the myth that artists are not quite respectable and normal citizens. Due to such programs, some artists feel embarrassed or ashamed to say they are artists, fearing that people see them as strange or unpredictable. Nevertheless, television or radio broadcasted names reach the entire art world and a broad, general public, and this positive aspect may outweigh its negative ones.

The final career stage of the artist who has succeeded in becoming well integrated into the Stockholm art world begins following years of reputation building, name broadcasting, and hard work in the studio. In this final stage, the art world fully accepts this artist and looks upon him with respect. He may receive a position at the art world institutions of advanced education; he is often one of the unquestionable candidates for important public commissions; he often receives a retrospective exhibition at Moderna Museet or one of the other larger exhibition spaces such as the Thiel Gallery.

When the artist becomes a professor at the College of Fine Arts he becomes an art world integrator, as he is then responsible for helping art students become professional artists. Since the College of Fine Arts is the educational institution which provides the Stockholm credential of artistic professionalism, the assistance that the artist-professor gives his students should contribute to integrating them harmoniously onto the Stockholm art market. In a way, the artist-professor begins his career again, for his meetings with student remind him of the first trials and errors of his own student days. When Lundquist began his period as College of Fine Arts professor he experienced a renaissance; he relates (Lundquist 1984:143) how, upon reentering the College of Fine Arts, he was just as proud as he had been when first accepted as a student and just as eager to get down to serious work.

Art world rewards such as a position at the College of Fine Arts force the integrated professional to interact with many art world participants, perhaps more intensely than in previous years. Yet, at the end of this final stage of his career, when his reputation has been established, the artist may be more selective in replying to art world offers and demands. Rather than spending so much effort broadcasting his work and name, the mature integrated professional may seek anonymity and the freedom to work as he wishes.
Although Stockholm artists must publicize and exhibit their work to succeed, they nevertheless spend most of their time in the studio producing it. The daily work routine in Stockholm studios resembles the one in New York although it is not as hectic as the New York one. As the careers of Stockholm artists have now been influenced by those of New York artists (cf chapter 5), one might believe that the work routine of Stockholm artists is an imitation of New York colleagues. Yet as there has been a certain continuity in the careers of Stockholm artists, it is wrong to explain the work routine of these artists in this way. Rather, influences from the Swedish context have worked toward producing a work routine similar to the New York one. Three of these are the Lutheran work ethic, Swedish bourgeois etiquette, and the revolt of '68, factors which I have previously shown have played an influential role in the Stockholm art world. A fourth influence is Sweden's bureaucratic tradition which has been putting strict order into the lives of its citizens since Sweden became a nation in the sixteenth century during the rule of Gustav Wasa (cf Åberg 1978).

Simpson (1981:88-89) characterizes the daily work routine of SoHo artists as orderly and rational. SoHo artists see themselves as involved in a disciplined work routine whose goal is the systematic solution of problems; these artists do not wait for inspiration or a great idea but act, methodically and resolutely. The work of the SoHo artist is a tension filled, highly competitive occupation. In response to the demands of their art world, SoHo artists work intensively, between six and ten hours a day. As their production must be rapid and plentiful, they refer to each other as "machines" (Simpson 1981:88), an expression stressing the fast pace and efficiency of this output.
The studios of SoHo artists are functional rooms where the artists have eliminated all sources of distraction. Efficiency demands that they keep all equipment clean and orderly, so that they waste no time searching for a misplaced tube of paint or cleaning a necessary brush. They remove disturbing sound from SoHo streets by covering it with the white noise of loud rock music. The New Realist artists, who work with photographic images and who were popular at the time of Simpson's study in the early 1980s, also remove the time limitation of daylight by blocking out natural light, covering their windows with dark curtains and working with artificial light. Finally, SoHo artists eliminate social distractions by not allowing friends or colleagues to make casual studio visits and by discouraging those who try to make them.

Through visits to the studios of Stockholm artists, I found that these artists work rather similarly to SoHo artists; the emphasis in Stockholm is also on disciplined, hard work and on an orderly milieu. Although Swedish time is not quite as fleeting and precious as it is in New York, and although Stockholm artists do not use the "machine" metaphor to describe themselves, Stockholm time is beginning to resemble New York time. Prior to the current desire of the Stockholm art world to keep up with the accelerating pace of the international art world and prior to the recent interest of Stockholm art dealers in young artists who can produce rapidly (cf chapter 5), the concept of time was associated with the idea that the work of the artist was a lifelong process. Artists thought of their time in a long range perspective; each saw their occupation as leading toward the creation of a masterpiece, a product which would evolve after a lifetime of trial, error, and increasing insight into the creative process. As the life of the artist had an unknown length, he never knew how much time he had left to accomplish his masterpiece. Growing older, the need for the artist to produce this work and to finish "in time" intensified as time began to run out in an acute and tangible way. Yet, prior to old age, time moved at a genteel pace and the artist experienced his situation as one in which he was at ease to contemplate and consider the development of each new work. Established artists over forty therefore disapprove of the impatient ambitions of new generation artists. Recall the irritated comment of Rudolf in chapter 5.

Older artists are uncomfortable with the new version of time. An intensive work style which is adapted to closely spaced exhibition deadlines is threatening to their world view: if a young artist can achieve success at the start of his career, is making art really the mastering of the creative process; does the work of an artist have to be a lifelong process? As these experienced artists are aware that their work routine is less fast paced than that of colleagues in New York or of the new generation in Stockholm, they excuse their deviating pace and outlook by claiming that they are lazy. Samuel explained:

*Oh, I'm just lazy. I'd like to be as efficient as some New York artists. I saw the production planning schedule of one of them in a magazine. It reminded me of the charts that economists
have to make large companies maximally productive. It was impressive, but I'm not so organized
and rational."

When middle aged artists claim that they are lazy, they are not really being
honest; what they are saying is that they do work hard but that they do not spend
exorbitant amounts of time planning their production nor do they work in an
extravagantly nervewracking manner. Hard work is actually an important ideal of
Stockholm artists; as I noted above, it is a quality which they feel is necessary to
achieve good art. Generally speaking, Stockholm artists do have a work style suitable
to the task of creating maximum productivity and efficiency.

Lutheranism has contributed to a serious work ethic in Sweden. While many
Swedes are not regular churchgoers, they have learned the Lutheran ethic through
other institutions which have all been permeated with its belief in hard work: the
home, the school, the mass media, literature, places of work. In a social context which
believes that the respectable citizen works eight hours a day, Swedish artists find
themselves in an uncomfortable position. As Swedes stereotype artists as bohemians
who drink wine and do not work, artists feel guilty and ashamed that they do not have
the set work day of other Swedes. In response to these guilt feelings and the
disapproving thoughts of their fellow Swedes, artists stress, sometimes in an
exaggerated way, that they are hard working people involved in a serious occupation.
When I asked them how long they worked each day they usually answered:

"I work from 9 to 5, just like everyone else."

It is also these guilt feelings which make these artist reprimand themselves by
saying that they are lazy. They are forced by Lutheran sternness to feel that efforts
which are less than fantastic are reprehensible. As Stockholm artists have been
brought up in this Lutheran tradition of hard work, they are well prepared to keep
up with the pressing demands of the art market and work long hours in a regular and
systematic fashion.

The revolt of '68 has also made Stockholm artists emphasize their role as hard
workers. As I noted in chapters 2 and 3, many Stockholm artists became involved in
the effort to move artist activities out of the isolated studio and into the world of the
people. Artists wanted to think of themselves as workers; some even wanted the artist
to produce his work in factories and become part of the working class. Although the
idea was to get the artist out of his studio, this worker occupation for the artist may
have helped to induce the current emphasis artists place on the studio as a place of
work; in the studio, the artist has a set work day: Monday through Friday, from nine
to five. The artist is now back in the studio but he stresses that it is a work space and
distinct from areas for social activities. Artists have made this clear through their
efforts to obtain more and better studios. As I noted in chapter 2, the artist
organization KRO, the Swedish Artists National Organization, has carried on a
campaign to make the public aware that the working conditions for artists are poor and to demand space that artists can afford and where they can work properly.

In Stockholm, it is important for the artist to have a studio, for it concretely expresses and legitimates artist activities; in this particular space one practices the occupation of visual artist. Besides strengthening the artist identity, the studio also makes it clear to others that the artist has a place of business. Christian pointed to the many paintings in his studio and said:

"My studio is also my storehouse. It is here I store my goods."

To have a studio lessens the feelings of shame that the artist has for being an artist rather than an auto mechanic. Unfortunately, not all artists can afford to have a studio as rents in Stockholm are very high. The studio is a status symbol, a sign of artist occupational well-being; the more representative and well-equipped the studio is, the greater the artist accomplishment. Artists unable to afford both a studio and a home solve the problem by either living in the studio and putting a twenty four hour emphasis on the occupational identity, or by designating a room or corner of a room in the home as a work area. They enter the occupational identity through a change of attire: from daily clothes to artist work clothes: casual wear that can be spattered with paint, perhaps an old pair of slippers.

Although the studio helps the Stockholm artist present his occupation as a respectable one, it is not just an object with symbolic value but is a room which is concretely and practically necessary. The artist needs a studio to efficiently carry out his occupation. Christian explained:

"I need a studio to work in so I can cut myself off from everyone else, including my family. I can work better in my studio because there is nothing else to do there. All you can do in the studio is work. I get there at about nine and go home again at five. I concentrate on my work and then leave it there when I go home. I let the work rest and don't think about it again until the next day. If I had to work at home I'd always be looking at it and never get a moment's peace."

Like his New York colleague, the Stockholm artist also saves time and energy by organizing the space in his studio so that his equipment is easy to find and does not provide an obstacle to the work process. As in SoHo, the studios in Stockholm are orderly and clean; in these rooms there is no bohemian chaos and there are no remnants of Dionysian pleasures. Rather, studios contain but the tools of the artist occupation: an easel, a cart with paints, a bureau or closet for storing completed works, an easychair where the artist can study the work in progress or where an occasional visitor can sit, a desk for drawing and correspondence, a shelf for art books, a telephone, a radio, a coffee cup, an ash tray and sometimes a bed.

The exception to the disciplined order of these studios is the chaos in the studios of some new generation artists who work in a direction known as "bad art" (cf chapter 9). As these artists wish to disregard aesthetic conventions and create an "ugly"
disorder in their work, the chaos in their studios is an intentional part of their aesthetic program. Through their spray paint spattered rubble, they oppose the proper standard of competent cleanliness of their more conventional and established colleagues; they wish to show that art need not be made in an environment of clinical sterility. The anti-establishment revolt of these artists to order and cleanliness is in part meant to antagonize the powers which push art into the world of big business and that force artists to become "machines" and produce for a fast paced market. The chaos of these artists is also a revolt against the standard of strict order and cleanliness of Swedes in general.

These artists revolt against the ideal of order and cleanliness which has been inherited from the turn of the century Swedish bourgeoisie (cf chapter 2) and which has embedded itself throughout Swedish society. The orderliness in the studios of Stockholm artists is not just an adaptation for efficient production but is a standard which these artists learned in childhood. The revolt of "bad artists" is in part similar to the prolonged puberty revolt of the art students in chapter 4. They revolted against Swedish orderliness and tried to create a chaotic environment. Integrated professionals are not going through such a revolt, and they adopt a standard of cleanliness which is socially acceptable in Swedish society. This order does further an efficient production style; professional artists in Stockholm are again well prepared and easily able to produce for a fast paced market.

Stockholm artists also obtain order by using planning calendars. Although somewhat similar to the planning devices of New York artists (recall the complex, long range planning chart that Samuel described), these pocket-sized planning calendars are more likely a Swedish influence, once again an expression of the need for Swedes to keep strict order in their activities. As Sweden is a bureaucratic society, a typical sight among white collar workers, from professors to secretaries, is a group of two or three colleagues, each with a little grey planning calendar in hand, discussing the appropriate time for an upcoming meeting. As Stockholm artists have also begun to organize their time in preplanned units, they are becoming incorporated into this bureaucratic style.

Stockholm artists schedule art world meetings with critics, dealers and collectors as well as exhibit openings with the care of industrial executives. Those artists who most often refer to their planning calendars are integrated professionals whose reputations have made their work in great demand. Often these are artists who are heavily involved with public commissions. These assignments require numerous contacts with co-workers such as architects or culture administrators, and the artists must use calendars to make the best use of time. Artists who are on the boards of government cultural institutions such as The State Art Council or NUNSKO also need planning calendars to carry out their various responsibilities efficiently. They must book time for board meetings, for visits to exhibits to purchase art, or for travels abroad to attend an exhibit opening of a Swedish artist.
Artists give priority and prime time to their regular art production in the studio and schedule other meetings at hours when they are least productive. When I telephoned artists to schedule interviews with them, they often sounded tense and they worried about whether they would have enough time to get their work done. Although Stockholm artists are not under extreme pressure, they are rather busy, particularly integrated professionals in demand, and their time is precious and ticks too rapidly. Christian was thinking about buying a calendar and explained:

"I usually write down appointments on loose pieces of paper. My colleagues keep telling me that I'd better get a planning calendar so that I don't mess up things. I could miss something this way."

The telephone is another ordering tool of Stockholm artists. Like their New York colleagues, Stockholm artists use the telephone to make rapid business communication. By telephoning, the artist can remain in his studio and have more time to work on his art. He is also more able to maintain the privacy of his work room. Talking to colleagues on the telephone, he may keep their curious eyes away from his work until he chooses to show it to them. Should an artist wish to break his isolation and talk with friends or colleagues, he can use the telephone to visit with them, saving the time and energy necessary for a face-to-face visit. Regular use of the telephone once again makes the activities of Stockholm artists like those of Swedish bureaucrats, for like these white collar office workers, the artists can conduct a good deal of their business transactions on their office telephones. The studios of Stockholm artists are private places to which the artists invite few people. Stockholm artists, like their New York colleagues, discourage spontaneous visits to their studios and give priority to their work by cutting themselves off from all unnecessary interpersonal interaction. Samuel expressed his negative attitude towards visitors as follows:

"The door to my studio is always closed but should someone open it and try to come in I give them such a nasty look that they usually understand that they're not welcome."

As Stockholm artists are not anarchistic bohemians, but rather serious professionals involved in a creative and demanding business, there is none of the playful interaction of bohemians in these studios. These artists do not fulfill the stereotype of many Swedes: people do not hang around studios drinking wine and philosophizing. Nor is the talk, talk, talk about art and life which was typical of artists in the New York School of the 1940s (cf Ashton 1979:53 and chapter 8) a true picture of the Stockholm art world. Rather, the studios of Stockholm integrated professionals are usually empty and the artists work alone in concentrated isolation. Samuel explained:

"If I want to get anything done I have to work alone."
Productive work and successful results only come when the artists are able to give their work all their attention. To sit and talk is usually considered an unproductive waste of time. Hanna explained:

"I always feel guilty if I don't work the hours I'm supposed to. I don't like to waste time taking coffee breaks and talking to people. I feel restless when I do that and know I should be back at work and not spending my time idly."

As I noted in chapter 5, interaction among Stockholm artists as colleagues is minimal and such interaction rarely occurs in the studio. Although artists may have their studios in the same building they do not interact regularly. Rather, they keep their studio doors closed, for besides wishing to prevent distractions, artists wish to assure privacy and keep out competing artist neighbors. As in New York, competition is a force which induces distrust among Stockholm artists who fear that someone will steal their ideas or that colleagues will see work that is incomplete; a view of such work would misrepresent them and create a negative impression. The result could be derogatory gossip about their abilities. In private studios, Stockholm artists can experiment with their work and develop as they want. They need not be disturbed by the questions and opinions of others. These can come when the work is completed and on exhibit. Then, Stockholm artists break the privacy of the studio and present the work to the eyes and minds of the public.

Stockholm artists may also want to work in privacy because the Swedes generally tend to cherish a good deal of personal freedom and privacy from one another. *Den svenska ensamheten,* Swedish solitude, is a concept Swedes commonly use to explain the Swedish character: the Swede is an individual who is distant, who does not pry into the affairs of strangers or even of friends, who is not easily spontaneous. The doors of Stockholm apartments are as closed and forbidding as those of artist studies. "*Låt mig vara i fred*", "Leave me alone", says the Swede when expressing this need for keeping a distance from others. Hannerz (1983:18) notes this Swedish desire for breathing space and explains that nature is important to Swedes as an escape from the demands of others and as a place where one is free to do as one pleases. Although Swedish artists may isolate themselves from each other to fight competition and to produce a work environment inducive to concentration, they may also choose to be alone because they are Swedes in whom the characteristic of Swedish solitude is pronounced; they may seek privacy because they are individuals who feel and work best when alone. Swedish solitude works to the advantage of competitive Stockholm artists; while competition forces them to keep a distance from colleagues, Stockholm artists can easily adjust to this work requirement as they are already used to this isolation as a part of their national heritage.

Although artists stress that they must work in an environment where they can achieve a concentrated state of mind, they usually prefer to hear sound rather than
silence. The radio is a piece of standard equipment in Stockholm studios. Unlike New York artists, Stockholm artists use the radio to prevent total isolation and to provide a continued contact with the rest of the world. The radio gives the artist one-way contact with human voices and minds which he can turn on and off at will. The artist can listen to the radio when it suits his work, unlike face-to-face contact with others which he cannot so easily control as the others then can make decisions as well.

There are only a few radio stations in Stockholm, and artists have expert knowledge about their programs. They are often interested in the many presentations of national or international social problems. Some artists can even provide a criticism of the contents of these programs in a historical perspective. Such programs may influence the general mood in the art world or may give artists information which they may eventually incorporate in some way in their work. Other artists get fed up with the continual emphasis on the worries of the world and prefer listening to the classical music programs or to their own record collections. As I noted in chapter 5, programs devoted to the arts are especially important to artists as a source of art world information and gossip. The programming choices of Swedish radio producers unite individual artists as they can relate to one another by taking a stand on the contents of the programs they listen to.

While Stockholm artists do work intensively, not all of this work is painting or sculpting. At times, the artist must take care of practical tasks which support and further the creative process. Artists must often also do other work besides their regular art production to make money to support this production. Many of these "improductive" moments take the artist out of the studio and sometimes out of the art world. At these points which help make art production possible, the artist must often interact and deal with others.

Although Stockholm artists have different work routines, they usually have a period of the day when they are less productive and feel the need to leave the studio. Christian noted:

"I usually feel restless after lunch. I work best in the morning when the day is new and undisturbed. In the afternoon I usually take a walk, sometimes I visit a gallery or go downtown. Then I come back to the studio again."

Filip also discussed this production break:

"Although I'm from the city, I have to get outside and get exercise and air. I bike a lot. When the weather is bad and I can't get out I don't feel well. Since I'm a night person, I work late and get up late. I begin work in the afternoon while the light is good, but then I take a break and go out. I often have errands to do and the stores are only open during the day. So I get them done and then continue working in the evening."
This apparently improductive period is a time when the artist feels he has had enough and when he must break off his active creative work to retain his mental well-being. There is a feeling of tension and lack of air as if he were being swallowed up by his work. Filip noted:

"I think it's the artists who don't leave their studios and work there all the time who get sick and out of balance."

The production break is a necessary pause when the artist rests, physically and mentally, and when he lets the things he is working on settle. While not consciously thinking about them, he may find a solution to the problem at hand and can continue to deal with it in the next productive hours. Amos noted:

"Even though I'm not actually painting, I still continue to work subconsciously while I do other things. I can be cleaning the studio and I'll get an idea about what to do with a painting."

During the production break, the artist takes care of practical aspects of his art production. Artists often begin their creative process with a preparatory period of thumbnail sketching or scribbling. The scale of these drawings can increase during the process and the medium the artist uses can become more complex. He can change from pencil, charcoal or chalk to watercolor. This period can last a few days but also a year. During this time the artist may buy the supplies he will need to produce the final large scale works. He may go to one store to buy quality watercolor paper, another for paints, brushes, and canvases. Some artists can afford to order frames for their canvases in the dimensions and formats they desire. Artists with tighter budgets purchase the wood and then construct the frames themselves.

When the artist who begins his work on a small scale starts to work at full scale, he deals less with ideas and more with his skills and techniques. He uses his medium to realize an idea. Filip noted:

"The scribbling stage is more exciting because I'm playing with ideas. The final stage is more trying because I become an artisan and have to use my skills properly to get the painting done."

At this point, the artist may do a lot of waiting. He often fills this time with practical tasks or activities that are relaxing. Filip explained:

"Although I work with watercolors my paintings are not spontaneous but can have seven layers of color. There is a lot of waiting while each layer dries. I keep up with my correspondence or watch television or listen to the radio. I'm so neurotic I can even watch television and listen to the radio at the same time."

Some artists study their work while they wait; they continue to participate in the art production process. Christian noted:
"Artists do a lot of looking in the final stage. You look and look to see if the painting is working."

When the artist has completed the work of one period he goes to a photographer and has him make color slides of each piece. The artist will show the slides to art dealers or other art world professionals when he wants to exhibit or sell them. He orders as many as eight slides of every piece. Some of these show the whole work while others are close-ups of details. If the artist cannot afford to pay a photographer, he must do the photography himself or do without slides.

During the work process, the artist will probably be arranging the practical details for an exhibit. The work for the exhibit is usually the pieces he is currently producing, but may also be earlier works in a long range perspective for a retrospective exhibit or it may be relatively new work that the artist has not shown outside Stockholm. Especially when the exhibit is outside Stockholm, the artist spends considerable time corresponding with the gallery. Filip's explanation of what this correspondence is about shows what kinds of practical activities the artist carries out prior to an exhibit:

'I'm going to have an exhibit in Luleå. First, I sent the gallery a few slides of my work to see if they'd be interested in showing it. They replied that they wanted to see more slides before deciding. So I sent some more and they wrote that they would show the work. They said I could exhibit in November or December. I wrote back that I preferred November and asked for the floor-plan of the gallery so I could decide how many paintings I should send them and think about how they would fit the room. They also sent me a copy of one of their opening invitations which is just a plain stencil and not very nice or eyecatching. I wrote and said I'd take care of the invitations myself. I want one on quality paper with a reproduction of one of the paintings in the exhibit on it. Now I have to decide how to ship the paintings up there and have been calling places to find out what the prices and alternatives are."

Although Stockholm artists do not encourage casual studio visitors, they do spend some of their time with visitors who come on business. These may be collectors who wish to purchase a work. Dealing directly with the collector, the artist can set a lower price than the one at a gallery where the art dealer receives more than thirty percent of the sale price. The artist also meets with art dealers who may be interested in exhibiting his work as well as journalists who want to write an article about him for newspapers or art magazines, or interview him for a television or radio program. Artists may even meet an occasional social anthropologist or art history student who is gathering material for a thesis or a paper. All of these visits may be quite lengthy and the artist must usually act as a host and serve coffee or, if he works at home, a meal. While some of these activities are lucrative, others are not. In the latter cases, the artist sometimes feels used as he serves the interests and fills the wallets of others.

Despite the high prices on contemporary Stockholm art work (between 15 000 and 20 000 SEK for one painting), most Stockholm artists have difficulty making ends meet. They must usually spend part of their work week trying to make money from a variety of sources other than their regular art production. Artists may work a couple

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of mornings a week teaching at art schools (cf chapter 4). Some spend several months 
producing a work for a public commission. Artists can work between a week and a 
month with a printer to produce lithographs. They then sell these to art associations 
or government institutions. The artist who sells to art associations will spend some 
time calling companies and meeting with the boards of their art associations. Filip 
noted:

"I usually call them after lunch when they're drowsy and probably don’t want to get back to their 
work. My call is a great excuse for them to not do what they're supposed to. Its difficult selling 
to art associations because they usually want graphics which I don’t have and because its not just 
one person who decides what they’ll buy. Everyone on the board has to give his opinion. I've 
been to places where each board member wanted a different work. The company I liked best 
was one where an art association member came to my studio, chose what he wanted and said 
that the others would just have to accept his decision. He seemed to know a lot about art and 
his decisions were probably worthy of respect."

Money seeking activities related to the art world can also help to further artist 
reputations and have a symbolic as well as an economic value. "Bread jobs" outside 
the art world have no symbolic value, but their financial support helps to provide a 
sense of security and sometimes a stimulating complement to art production. New 
generation and peripheral artists are those who most often have to seek employment 
outside the art world as their reputations are not sturdy enough to get them jobs at 
art schools or public commissions. The artists in the following four examples are new 
generation and peripheral artists.

Some artists work on a free lance basis for printers who need help producing 
logotypes or illustrations. Filip noted:

"I have an extra job now at a printery. I draw the design for logotypes. I never know when they’ll 
call and I really can’t say no if they call when I’m too busy to work there, since I need the money.
It’s quite a challenging job because the companies who want the designs are never satisfied. They 
always have one idea in mind, and I don’t always know exactly what that is."

Other artists work at hospitals or at the post office. These institutions often 
need extra personnel and they are the first places people go when they want a job 
that does not require special skills. Artists who work at these institutions often find 
the employment enjoyable as a relief from their creative occupation. Allan works at 
the post office. He noted:

"I work at the post office during the evenings. It’s not at all demanding intellectually and I can 
take a break from my art work. The job gives me a chance to get out of the studio and be with 
other people. I have many friends at the post office – lots of young people in the arts work there, 
and I enjoy talking to them. We sometimes have parties. I’m having one next week. I’m going to 
charge admission and get the money to pay the rent for my studio."
Tora works at a hospital. Like Filip, she is on call and never knows when she will have to work or how much money she will make during a month. She explained her attitude toward her hospital job as follows:

"When I put on the white coat at the hospital I am no longer an artist but someone who helps people. It's satisfying because I can see that people appreciate what I do. I'm glad I have the job because then I don't have to worry so much about how I'll make money from my art. Since I work with performance art, my income from art is negligible. To keep working experimentally, I need the income from the hospital."

The particularly enterprising artist may create a niche for himself on the commercial market and may produce and distribute an item for it. Filip explained:

"There is very little quality stationery in Sweden so I'm providing some. I've printed a few postcards with my own work on them. I show them to shops and museums and hope they'll sell them. You have to have a clever sales technique and think about how you present the cards to them."

While Filip is an artist who has thought of several ways to make money and is perhaps more enterprising than most artists, his simultaneous involvement with several money making activities is something which many artists do to keep their art production going.

When Stockholm artists work on their art production, they do remain in touch with their art world even when they are physically isolated from it. Throughout the entire process of creating and producing their work, Stockholm artists consider art world tastes, and expectations. They respond, more or less consciously, to the demands of the Stockholm art world when they choose, from among possible courses of action, those which they believe will be best for their art work and their careers. These choices help to determine the form and content of Stockholm art work. Artist decisions are not always in accord with the art world and may even clash or rebel against it. Becker (1982:209) calls artist anticipation of art world reactions an interior dialogue with the art world. He (1982:198) calls the process of making choices, editing, and the moments when the artist chooses, editorial moments.

Becker (1982:197) sees a work of art as an object developing from a large number of possibilities; the artist selects or edits format, materials and content from numerous alternatives; the final product is the result of his particular combination of choices. Many artist choices are not conscious, but rather, habitual or intuitive, taken for granted moments of the work process. Conventions, the standard solutions agreed upon by art world participants, simplify the editing process by providing artists with alternatives which have already proved to be successful choices. According to Becker (1982:204), when artists work with conventions they participate in the art world as they accept the choices its members have authorized. These choices refer to all the decisions involved in the production of art and include aesthetic and craft
problems as well as proper behavior towards art world members. By accepting these choices the artist accepts art world constraints and obligations.

I considered the editing phenomenon in the artistic choices of Stockholm artists through a series of interviews with artists who were mostly well integrated professionals. The questions I asked were largely based upon painting problems discussed by the French painter, Jean Bazaine (1974). Although Bazaine is not part of the Stockholm art world, the questions he poses are broad and basic to the production of contemporary visual art. By using these questions brought up by a painter, I felt that I would be asking questions that were relevant to other visual artists and not only of interest to a social anthropologist. The Stockholm artists responded to the questions readily. In part, this may be because most of the artists possessed assurance about their work as they had been artists for many years. On the other hand, most artists do not like to discuss individual works as they feel that these should speak for themselves and that the questions asked about them are foolish: "What is that?" "What does that mean?" The questions I asked were formulated in general terms about the entire work process. Artists could show me their work to exemplify what they said but could also speak more broadly and did not have to mention their own work; the artists did not have to feel they must defend or explain particular pieces.

More important, the ease of the responses shows that the problems were part of Stockholm art world thought. The questions I asked concerned how to begin a work, its completion, mistakes, the choice of media and content, the relationship of the artist to reality, how the artist experiences the creative process as well as reasons why he paints or continues to paint. Although answers differed, they did form a set of alternatives from which the artists repeatedly chose replies. The answers to some questions formed a very narrow set of alternatives. Artists were often aware that a question had alternative answers commonly circulating in the Stockholm art world as they could begin their reply by saying: "I like the one which goes..." This awareness, along with the repetitiveness and limited variety of answers indicates that the thoughts are part of a social context, and that choices are made through interaction in this context, through an understanding of its values and ideas.

The most outstanding example of a narrow set of alternative answers were the replies to the question: "What does painting mean to you, why do you paint?". They reply of Bazaine (1974:15), an abstract painter, had to do with passion: the passion to paint, a desire to gain control over the world around one. Painting has to do with freedom; it is an act of searching (Bazaine 1974:34, 49). Bazaine stands in opposition to those artists who believe that their work should have a programmatic goal. He therefore says that painting is not a language and seeks no dialogue; painting tries to obtain a harmony with reality (Bazaine 1974:50).

The key words in the Bazaine text are passion, seeing, goal, search, language and reality. These terms are also relevant for Stockholm artists although all do not
agree with the Bazaine interpretation of them. Rather, Stockholm artists take positions in a set of answers which agree or disagree with Bazaine to various extents. For example, artists often replied that they do see painting as a language. The answer of Patrik was typical:

"I had difficulty expressing myself verbally and had trouble learning in school. Painting gave me the means to express what I could not say."

Those artists who did not choose this reply alternative usually thought of painting as a form of research. Artur said:

"Painting is a kind of research into the world around me."

This alternative was sometimes declaimed by artists choosing the language alternative as they felt that painting was an intuitive, irrational occupation while the intention of research was to prove a thesis. Elias said:

"The researcher works objectively and makes rational decisions. The artist doesn't want to prove anything."

Artists often experienced their occupation as a long, continual struggle. Samuel said:

"To be an artist it tough. I suffer with every work I do."

Others flatly disagreed with this description and saw their work as a form of play. Valdemar said:

"I can be amused and get interested in things that others would never notice. I could probably even enjoy being stuck in a ditch."

Another dividing line about the artist occupation concerned the relationship of the artist to reality: some artists saw their work as an attempt to seek contact with reality and to express it. Albin said:

"I get my inspiration from the world around me."

Those who did not stress this desire to understand a concrete world around them had a more abstract position. Some of these artists considered intellectual problems while others delved into a world of emotions and feelings. Artists who chose to retain the concrete relationship to reality often disapproved of the interest in other realities as this meant a departure from "the real world". Hanna explained her interest in another reality as follows:
"I am more interested in considering problems coming from within me, from an inner reality."

The artist positions responding to the question: "What does painting mean to you, why do you paint?" are answers conventional to this period in the life of the Stockholm art world. The inner dialogue of Stockholm artists with their art world had had a limiting or "homogenizing" effect upon artists; they talk and think about their work using one limited set of terms.¹ During other periods, other answers have been conventional replies: during the '68 revolt when, as I have noted in chapters 2 and 3, a number of Stockholm artists tried to be political engagés, the answer to the question about why one paints might have been that the artist saw painting as a means to fight social injustice and to express the illnesses of society. No interview answers departed from the set of conventional ones because the artists I questioned are well integrated into the thought patterns of their art world. Yet since artists can make choices, they can fight convention and discover new thoughts and innovations. Artists who have more peripheral relationships to the Stockholm art world whose frames of references differ somewhat from those of integrated professionals might have offered more egocentric or innovative replies.

Another conventional painting problem is how to begin a work. Bazaine (1974:11) speaks of "the desert of the white canvas". When I mentioned this phrase to Stockholm artists, I received earnest, spontaneous reactions: a response to the familiar. To face the emptiness of the untouched canvas or paper is, for many Stockholm artists, a frightening, or at least, a difficult experience. Hanna explained:

"Getting started is hard. I try to break the void by painting a few random lines which I may later remove or change but which at least get the painting on its way."

Artur said:

"I choose to paint on a surface that already has some content such as on used canvases or on wooden boards."

As I noted above, Stockholm artists often scribble or sketch until they discover an idea to work with. It is not so difficult for them to get started on the smaller scale. They can play with ideas and use up a lot of paper without worrying about how expensive it is. When they decide what to do, they can face the empty canvas and can feel quite sure that the costly canvas will not be wasted. These various attempts to fight the emptiness of the untouched canvas (or paper) are responses to an idea that artists have learned from one another. There is nothing innately frightening about an empty canvas; but facing its emptiness, the artist must answer the question: "What shall I do?" This problem is difficult as it introduces the whole, long series of choices that the artist must make during the work process. Although Stockholm artists share the problem of what to do with the three year old child who asks his mother what he
shall draw when he lacks inspiration, the problem for these professionals is much greater. Through participation in the art world, the artists have learned that what they are doing is a serious business. They know that the decisions they make to produce their work are important; the result of these decisions, the completed work, will contribute to the success or failure of their reputations and their careers.

When an artist begins a new work it may not be just anything. There are certain demands from the art world that he must attempt to satisfy. For example, new work must show that the artist has developed, that he has come further with his picture world and is now more clearly able to express it. With the social demand of a development of a picture world, the artist may not choose to work in an entirely different vein but must produce something that is recognizable as his. Lill noted:

"I may enjoy drawing cats when I'm on vacation but cat drawings are not what I choose to show at an exhibit. My reputation was established by doing paintings which show the negative aspects of urban life and it is such work that I show."

Following her interior dialogue with the Stockholm art world, Lill has decided that the cat studies must remain private work. She does not want to harm her reputation by showing work that is not part of the picture world that the art world can see is hers. She continues to work with the urban studies because she feels it is these paintings the art world expects of her. Lill develops these studies and lets them leave the studio to become her public work.

An artist may be able to work with one motif or idea during many years, finding different problems to tackle within the area he has chosen. During this period, he can fulfil the expectations of his public by producing several paintings recognizable as his work. Joel explained why he works with variations on a theme:

"If I work on a series of various related projects I have less difficulty facing an empty canvas as the importance of each painting diminishes. I don’t have to put everything into one painting but may spread out what I want to show among my different paintings."

Kaj also works with several related pieces:

"I work on several related paintings simultaneously. Then each painting is not so important, and I feel more free to experiment as I may try different things as the ideas occur. The variations, in turn, give me ideas for new variations. If I completed one work at a time I might forget the variations for the other paintings or I might be more uncertain as to which one of the ideas I should use in the work in progress."

However an artist works, eventually he may feel that he is stuck and not getting anywhere. At this time, to face the empty canvas is very difficult. Christian explained:

"I have to break through my picture world to get to the other side. I have to break away from the limits that are binding me to get to something new."

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In this situation, Stockholm artists often speak about "surprising themselves" (cf Millroth 1981:112). Christian also noted:

"I have to stop thinking."

To depart from conventional solutions that have become boring and to achieve something new, the artist must unlearn conventional methods and disregard the expectations of the art world (cf Becker 1982:204). Becker notes (1982:204) that artists who work with conventional forms can refer to previous attempts by other artists as well as to art criticism evaluating these forms. The decisions of those who depart from these solutions are more difficult as there are no established guidelines to assist them nor an anticipated audience response to adjust to. Those working experimentally do not know whether the choices they have made are successful or not, or what changes they should make in the future. Secret work is what Becker (1982:207) calls the pieces that artists choose to keep private, as they fear that the violations of conventions in this work will alienate the public who may not be able to understand this unconvenonality.

Mistakes are sometimes a way to break binding limits and can thus work positively. Bazaine (1974:34) points out that it is just the "impossible" character of the mistake, its dissonance and lack of balance, which may be an opening to something new, something to develop. Many of the artists I questioned agreed with Bazaine. Artur explained:

"For me, the word mistake has positive connotations. There are always mistakes; a painting never turns out exactly as one plans. Mistakes make chaos and although this chaos may be difficult, in the end the mistake may lead to an interesting painting."

Even those artists who saw mistakes as a negative element often took faults lightly. Alfons explained:

"I know that the thing I wanted to express is still within me and that I'll be able to express this more perfectly later on."

Many Stockholm artists see their occupation as a process of going from one mistake to another and in which one gradually learns from them. Joel noted:

"At the end of my career, I will have worked out my mistakes and will have obtained the most satisfactory solutions to the problems I have dealt with."

An example of the positive mistake and of how an artist attains interesting results when he disregards conventions are the following comments from Ralf who decided to work with a new kind of paper:
"I had never worked with rice paper before. When I tried to paint on it with water based color I got into trouble because I could not get any rich hues as the paint was absorbed by the paper. I liked the effect anyway and decided that fumbling along with the unfamiliar paper was exciting and an opening to something new. Usually watercolors are done on a rather small scale, but I decided to work on a very large scale which was really crazy and impossible as the paintings would require lots of color which would mean spending huge sums of money. I made things even more difficult for myself by choosing a length for the paper which would be longer than the length of my studio. Besides being difficult to work with, this grand scale caused me problems with a dealer as the format was too large for the gallery where I usually exhibit. I got into a fight with the gallery and had to spend time trying to find a place where I could show the work."

Ralf disregarded all the mistakes he was making by departing from proper methods, conventions, and the demands of the art world because the mistakes led him beyond boring limits to something he found interesting and which he could explore. By following a mistake he was able to obtain positive results: a successful show at a large exhibition hall, good reviews from the critics, and an appreciative response from the public.

Not all artists are so daring or so easily able to use their mistakes, especially in the aesthetic aspect of their work. Integrated professionals have each developed an individual picture world: during a period of time they have formulated, in a dialogue with the art world, a set of conventions for their work, a particular standard that directs their decisions. These conventions tell the artist what is right and wrong in this context; through experience he can rather easily, and even dogmatically, say what is a mistake. He may rapidly throw away work that he feels is clearly faulty and departs from the conventions of his picture world as he takes it for granted that this work is unacceptable. The artist is blind to elements in it that could lead to new openings and cannot see the work in a new way. Some artists are not so quick to discard this faulty work. They let time pass and, looking at the work with refreshed eyes, they discover solutions to the mistakes they have made. The solutions may mean that the artist can see the work in an unconventional way. Yet they may also be conventional answers and the artist just corrects faults to conform with his established picture world. Albin explained:

"I usually hang up work that I'm not satisfied with around the house so that it may irritate me. Eventually I decide what is wrong and what I can do to correct the mistakes."

One problem which Bazaine does not discuss but which did come up during the interviews concerns choice of media. Some artists use various media, alternating between, for example, painting and sculpture, as a way to stimulate their productivity. Artur explained:

"I change to a different medium when I become bored or stuck with what I am doing."
Although artists such as Picasso and Matisse were able to work freely in a variety of media, Stockholm artists do so despite group pressure prohibiting this. Samuel said:

"I often feel guilty when I change media because people think you're just dabbling. They want you to stick to your own thing. Painters are only painters. Sculptors only sculpt."

The Stockholm art world disapproves of media changes as it feels this is evidence that an artist has insufficiently developed his competence in "his own medium"; to obtain competence in one medium is difficult enough; one is certainly not capable of producing quality work in a second medium.

Stockholm artists are able to switch media if this complies with the demands of the art world. Artists may change between the media of painting and graphics as the latter medium lets artists sell cheaper and larger quantities of pictures to a wider public, something which, as I noted in chapter 2, falls in line with the current government cultural policy (cf Nilsson 1981). Government institutions seek reasonably priced art work. Although they are rather important customers, government institutions cannot afford an equivalent quantity of work in the medium of the higher priced oil paintings. As Filip pointed out earlier in this chapter, the art associations at private companies also prefer to buy the lower priced graphics. With the exception of wealthy art collectors, the same is true for members of the art public. To obtain sales, many artists adapt their work to the needs of buyers and choose to make a series of graphic prints which are thematically similar to the paintings they have just completed.

Besides choosing an appropriate medium, Stockholm artists must also make choices about the content of their work. As I have already mentioned, the art world must be able to see that the work before them is a product of a particular artist. In addition, the content of the art work ought not be too offensive; an artist who is too daring may find it difficult to exhibit his work and may also encounter problems of a legal nature. Becker (1982:201) notes that artists consider whether they will receive funds if they exceed the limits which the art world accepts. Content is particularly important when a work is for a public commission as it then represents the state and can influence public morale. The public transit authority, Storstockholms Lokaltrafik (SL), Stockholm’s Transport, sets explicit limitations on content and refuses work for its subway stations whose content is political, religious or pornographic. This employer also rejects work that is too expensive, that may be dangerous to those who use the subways, and that takes too long to produce. The artist must construct the work using materials which are difficult for vandals to destroy as well as easy to replace and repair (cf Linnér 1981). Artists who wish to receive funds from the transit authority must plan their work to comply with all of these demands and make numerous decisions which influence the entire production process.
Some artists have trouble adapting the content of their work to government employer demands. Some come into conflict with these employers who may find the contents of the work too aggressive. Hanna remarked:

"They thought this painting was unsuitable for the walls of hospital wards because they felt patients require art that calms. This painting is rather wild: I guess they thought that the colors and the movement in it would be too frightening for people who are sick."

Artists who have experienced such conflicts sometimes anticipate the reactions of future government employers and, in a self-censoring, editing process, choose to tone down their work. Hanna continued:

"These paintings are more calm and pleasant then the rest of my work but more acceptable to those who purchase for hospitals. They seem to like pastel colors better than reds and bright blues."

Other artists refuse to undergo this self-censoring process and either do not bother with this kind of work or else offer government buyers work they have already completed. Valdemar explained:

"I ask them to accept what I have to offer."

These artists rely on the power of their reputations to convince the buyers that there is absolutely no question concerning the appropriateness of the work.

Another problem which Bazaine discusses (1974:41) concerns how the artist knows when a painting is finished. He says that a work is complete when it appears to be the beginning of something. Stockholm artists reply that it is difficult to know when a work is complete and they refer to an intuitive decision making process. Albin explained:

"I often let the painting rest awhile and then see whether it is able to convince me that it is finished."

This meditative process does not mention deadlines, upcoming exhibits or culture administrators who await the arrival of a work they have commissioned. The process exists in an unmeasured, open-ended context. Yet, artists do have to adjust the time they allot to each painting to demands of the market, and as Becker says (1982:202), a work may be called complete with the arrival of a deadline. As I noted above, the pressure to exhibit frequently has increased in the Stockholm art world, and the somewhat luxurious system of collecting work for an exhibit and showing it when one felt it was ready has largely been replaced by a system in which the demands and needs of the galleries are decisive. Younger artists who have only been part of this latter system more readily acknowledge the influence of marketing forces on the
completion of their work. They sometimes complain that the trend to decrease intervals between exhibits poses a problem as it may hinder them from accomplishing their best. Sara said:

"I do not want to exhibit work that is incomplete, but the short exhibit interval does not always give me time to decide whether work is actually ready to be shown. Since I have to exhibit to survive, I guess I'll have to make compromises."

The comments of Stockholm artists about the decisions they make in their work process indicate that they are not yet geared to a totally rational process; Stockholm artists differ from their New York colleagues as they still retain a degree of naïveté and are not quite as business oriented as the New Yorkers. A certain amount of rational and calculating activity nevertheless exists in Stockholm, especially among new generation artists. One indication of such activity is the choice of some artists to limit the content of their work to areas that will satisfy buyers. Artists who choose to work simultaneously on several related works also act rationally; this tactic provides them with a collection of variations on a theme which are numerous enough to constitute an exhibit. Yet, irrationality still seems to be quite vital in Stockholm if one considers the general outlook of Stockholm artists. The replies to the question: "Why do you paint, what does painting mean to you?" support this argument. Many artists thought of painting as a language, as a means of self-expression. This viewpoint is one where irrationality and chaos are natural elements. The artists who saw their occupation as a form of research expressed a viewpoint more suitable to a rational work process. However, among these were artists who saw this research as a form of play: investigation for the sake of pleasure rather than for economic benefit or for uncovering any specific information. Currently, Stockholm artists tend to choose their occupation for their own self-satisfaction: to express themselves or to understand the world around them.

The replies about how the artist knows when a work is complete also point away from rationality. Stockholm artists said they rely on an intuitive process in which they let time pass and wait until the work convinces them that it is finished. Since Stockholm artists refer to this intuitive process, their thoughts are not entirely bound to the meeting of exhibition deadlines and they are not entirely trapped in a rational, mechanical form of production with no breathing space. The example of Ralf and his experiments with rice paper also shows there is time and space for irrational art production in Stockholm.

The Stockholm artist is still free enough to allow himself to follow a risky course initiated by a mistake. While his SoHo colleague may see his occupation as one in which he is always getting in and out of trouble (cf Simpson 1981:89), the Stockholm artist does not yet have to get out of trouble but is still able to follow it.
The exhibit opening is a difficult moment for the Stockholm artist as it ends the relatively private relationship that he has had with his work, a relationship which often has an emotional aspect. At the opening, viewers begin new relationships with the work and endow it with a variety of interpretations, interpretations which the artist may find totally incomprehensible. Collectors who purchase work take it from the artist, who, although pleased to make sales, also often experiences a sense of loss. One artist, Susanna, explained:

"My paintings are like my children. I feel very sad when they've left me."

Christian pointed out the sensitive state of the artist at the opening and commented:

"The opening is like the last day of school when all the students have to dress up and all the parents come to see them graduate. Graduation is a formal occasion: everyone sings the national anthem, each class sings a traditional song, and the principal gives a speech. Everyone is excited, nervous and uncomfortable. The opening is just as uncomfortable and nervous an occasion as this last day of school. Since the artist is so tense then, he ought to be treated very carefully. The gallery ought to give him good food to eat and make him feel at ease. Unfortunately, this usually doesn't happen."

While Stockholm artists find the opening a trying experience because they and their work are on view, they have a surprisingly naive outlook concerning the career risks that the opening presents. Although Stockholm artists make decisions about the opening which involve taking risks, they do not think of them in terms of risk and find the use of this term offensive. In part, this is because they associate risk with the
crass, moneymaking endeavors of stockbrokers and yuppie *nouveaux riches*, activities which are improper according to the old bourgeois and leftist ideologies of the Stockholm art world. Stockholm artists also do not see risk moments as risks because they take these moments for granted as acceptable and natural parts of their occupation. They cannot see them as controversial but bear the conflicts and problems that they pose because these are just situations artists face.¹

Despite disbelieving artist attitudes, the opening of an exhibit is a career risk moment. The work that the artist has produced during the previous few years is there made public and subject to art world evaluation. If opinions are favorable, the reputation of the artist gains strength and his career moves in a positive direction. Yet the art world may also remain silent and may be indifferent to the work. Or the art world may find it awful and rave against it. In these two cases, the artist career falters and can take a setback. Sometimes, however, this raving can push the career on its way as the artist becomes provocative and therefore interesting.

Besides a reputation risk, the exhibit opening is also an economy risk for the artist. As the exhibit represents the work of several years, it would be desirable for the artist to sell enough of the work to cover his expenses for this period of time and provide him with a reasonable salary. Unfortunately, the artist cannot count on breaking even or on making a profit. When the exhibit opens, he has no idea how much he will sell and does not know if he will sell anything at all. Although the exhibit might receive critical acclaim and boost the artist’s reputation, the show may be a poor economic risk and he may nevertheless sell none or few of the works.

Since the exhibit is a high economical risk for the artist, the question of what prices he should set for each work is an important one. Stockholm artists do not have backgrounds in marketing or economics; unlike some of their SoHo colleagues (cf Simpson 1981:75) they do not consider taking courses in marketing so that they can scientifically determine how to sell their work. For the Stockholm artist, art work price setting is somewhat of a mystery, a calculation derived from complicated art world factors. He knows that the prices on his work must always rise and that they should resemble those of other artists in his generation. Yet he does not trust his own judgement and he often prefers to place the responsibility for the risky price setting on the art dealer, whom the artist believes has more knowledge of marketing. As Stockholm art dealers share this belief, price setting is often a compromise between the artist and the dealer. The artist may suggest a price and the dealer may have the final word and adjust the price slightly to a figure he finds most suitable to current market conditions. Placing risk responsibility on the authoritative dealer is particularly true of the new generation artist who lacks art world experience and for whom price setting is especially sensitive.² The debut price on the market must not be too high as collectors will not want to risk such a purchase: to purchase the work of a debutant is already a risk as nobody knows if the artist will continue to produce good work; an exorbitantly high price only increases the risk of the purchase. Yet the
price must not be too low, for collectors will take this as a sign that the work is not
good and therefore also a poor risk.

The art dealer can accept risk responsibility as the risks of the opening are not
as great for him as they are for the artist. As Christian noted:

"The artist only had one of the art dealer's ten openings in a year. If the one exhibit fails, the
artist loses but the art dealer has nine others which may be successful."

Yet the task of the art dealer in the production of art is to present art work to the
public and he must do so convincingly even if each exhibit is not vitally important to
him. It is the occupation of the art dealer to carry on a process of persuasion to
convince the art world that each opening at his gallery is a special art world event.
He must make it clear that the work on exhibit is especially interesting, that it
deserves critical acclaim and that it certainly ought to be purchased. As most of the
Stockholm galleries deal with a bourgeois public, they are run according to bourgeois
conventions. Stockholm art dealers must therefore convince imperceptibly; their
bourgeois process of persuasion is subtle: it never disturbs, is never gauchely
aggressive.

Bourgeois style helps to stress the importance of the opening by making it
appear a formal, festive event for the elite. In principle, the exhibit is open to all who
dare to enter the gallery. The Stockholm opening is called a *vernissage*, which stresses
an interest in a select public. The use of the French term ennobles the event and
makes it part of the world of those familiar with this language: a *vernissage* is not an
event "for the people" but for an educated and sophisticated minority. Newspaper
notices and personal invitations announce the opening. Both of these are discreet,
formal, and in "good taste".

The involvement of Stockholm artists in the sending of invitations is largely a
matter of inviting friends. The problem is then to remember everyone. As Filip
explained:

"It's unfortunate when the artist doesn't have the current address of a friend and can't send him
an invitation. If the person comes to the opening anyway, the artist is very pleased, but also
embarrassed, and has to explain to the friend why he didn't invite him. Sending invitations is not
so much thinking about whom to invite but just trying not to forget anyone. I invite art associations
and perhaps someone who might be wealthy enough to buy something, but mostly I just think
about my friends."

The more experienced Christian also emphasized that it is to friends that the
artist sends invitations:

"I just send invitations to friends. It's as simple as that. I almost got angry when you asked about
risks and wanted to know whom we invite."
While more calculating artists, such as marketing oriented New Yorkers, might recognize that the sending of invitations is a risk moment, Stockholm artists do not (or at least do not admit this). The calculating artist could debate about which people would be most desirable to invite, such as a critic who has shown favorable interest in his work. He would think about which people to avoid, such as boisterous acquaintances who might disturb other opening visitors. Stockholm artists do not admit that they send invitations to critics but say that they think the art dealer does this. Filip wondered:

"Doesn't the dealer do that?"

Again, as with price setting, the art dealer gets the responsibility for dirty work; while the artist could harm his honor by inviting a critic, the art dealer runs a smaller risk of this as his interest in the exhibit is not as great; he is a more impartial person who is just doing his job. Despite their gentlemanly behavior, the art world stereotypes art dealers as somewhat crafty, and it expects them to do somewhat improper things offstage, such as sending critics invitations to their exhibit openings. Nevertheless, art critics do say that artists send them invitations, so Stockholm artists are not all as naive as they would seem.

One of the important elements on an opening announcement is the name of the gallery, for its reputation can persuade the art world and the general public to attend the opening even when the name of the artist is unknown. The elite galleries persuade using the good reputations of one another and announce their openings together in a newspaper advertisement entitled 6 gallerier (6 galleries). The location of the gallery, the architecture of the building which houses it, as well as the appearance of the gallery rooms, may also be persuasive. As I noted in chapter 2, the elite galleries are located in the most fashionable Stockholm neighborhoods, they are housed in imposing buildings, and their rooms have an air of elegant simplicity.

Yet the most important persuasive elements at the opening are the works of art themselves. These have already convinced the artist and the art dealer that they are worth showing. The artist has selected from his current production those pieces he thinks are best, having already pruned away work that he finds less convincing during his work process in the studio. Filip explained:

"I don't think that I am taking a risk when I exhibit my work because I get rid of mistakes before I get to the finished product. Whatever I have completed is good work and not anything I have to be afraid to show."

Sometimes the artist selects too many pieces for the gallery rooms in which they will be shown. Then the art dealer takes the responsibility and makes the final decision about which of these to exhibit and which to lay aside. Filip explained:
"At my debut I was still too inexperienced to know which paintings were the best. So I let my dealer choose which ones to hang. He put the other few paintings in his office and then showed them to people if they wanted to see additional work. He did sell some of these as well."

The work on exhibit convinced the art dealer when he saw a sample of it as slides. As I pointed out in chapter 2, the decision making process of the elite dealer is an intuitive one concerning the quality of the art work. The chance that the elite art dealer takes is that this intuitive process is accurate and that he is not the only one to find the work quality art. Having decided a year before the exhibit to let the artist show work at his gallery, the Stockholm art dealer takes the risk that the rest of the work that the artist produces for the exhibit during the year will be equally interesting.

Now that the works of art are on exhibit at the gallery, they must convince opening participants that they are fine and remarkable pieces. In Stockholm, the work must speak for itself as etiquette prohibits the dealer from convincing the public with aggressive verbal arguments. Yet the work needs a helping hand and must hang so viewers can most readily appreciate it. The exhibit hanging is one of the most risky aspects of the opening. While the good hanging presents the work to its best advantage, a poor one distracts the viewer, tires him, and prevents him from seeing the work. A good hanging is therefore a powerful persuasive factor.

The successful hanging is an aesthetically satisfying whole; in Stockholm, the hanging complies with bourgeois convention and is orderly, clean, and precise. Precision is an especially valued quality, and exhibit hangers use a ruler to make sure that the paintings are perfectly straight and exactly at a certain height. There is never anything cluttered, chaotic or uncontrolled at a well-hung Stockholm exhibit; its polished exactness is that of the well-bred Swedish gentleman and it makes a correct and dignified impression on its public. To attract viewer interest, exhibit hangers pay careful attention to the effects of the works of art upon each other and consider the relationship between these pieces and the size and shape of the gallery rooms. They work like artists and give thought to factors such as light, space, color, variation, and rhythm.

The following field note description of the exhibit of Christian is an example of a well-hung show:

"Christian’s opening was at an elite gallery where his work was hung in a clean and airy manner. His work was non-figurative and intellectual: he played with a variation on one kind of form. Its cerebralness satisfied the demand of this elite gallery for work that evokes thought and takes time to understand. Christian’s choice and application of color departed from bourgeois sedateness, however, and was rather wild and aggressive. Although this expressed the artist’s personality, it may also have been a move on his part to comply with current international interests. Surrounding the paintings were substantial areas of empty white walls which established a sense of harmony in
the room and made the work more agreeable to reserved bourgeois viewers. Some more subdued watercolor versions of the oil paintings also neutralized the forceful brush strokes in the paintings. Carefully framed and packaged under glass, these more discreet watercolors helped to uphold bourgeois decorum."

The opening of Ivar is another example which shows the important influence of good hanging and framing in a refined gallery environment. Art with a political content becomes acceptable through their help. Had this work been haphazardly posted at the café of a leftist political group, it would very likely have gone unnoticed in the core of the art world.

"Ivar is an artist whose leftist ideals had previously been incompatible with exhibition at bourgeois quality galleries. However, with the general decline of political activism among Swedish artists, Ivar has decided to adapt himself to the bourgeois system and present his political message within this system. The exhibit was held at an elite gallery, as the quality of Ivar's work has enabled him to develop a reputation in the core of the art world. The leftist political content of the work was a potentially disruptive element in the bourgeois milieu but its message became inoffensive to bourgeois taste as the drawings were humorous and their lines and colors were light and inviting. Again, as in Christian's case, the careful mounting and encasing under glass as well as an airy hanging tamed the work and transformed it into respectable art."

The opening of Alfons is an example of an exhibit with an unconventional hanging. In this case, a conventional hanging does not tame the wildness in the work; instead, the artist has accentuated it by hanging the work so that viewers experience rough edges and coarseness.

"The opening of Alfons took place at a gallery which was neither an elite nor a quality one but nevertheless rather popular among those who are interested in work which is unconventional and perhaps too aggressive or messy to hang at the quality galleries. This gallery is one of those on Hornsgatan in Söder. Its appearance is different from the elite galleries: the rooms are irregularly shaped, the floors creak, a narrow winding staircase to the low ceilinged upper floor suggests a sense of mystery, and the small, attic-like rooms on the upper level produce an unconventional atmosphere. The people who visit the gallery are more bohemian than those who frequent the elite galleries.

The paintings Alfons presented were oversized canvases with a humorous, sexually provocative content and a wild style; this work would not be terribly comfortable in the refined elite galleries. Alfons had hung it in a way departing from the airy regularity of the bourgeois exhibit; rather than evenly distributing the paintings on the walls of the gallery, Alfons chose to hang the two most prominent works in the front window of the gallery. Their provocative content could attract even the most bored people passing by. Alfons took away the usual
space in the middle of the gallery by dividing the area with a coarse, dark material behind and parallel to the paintings in the window. By breaking up space in this way, Alfons created a somber, irregular, and interesting environment which announced his opposition to conventional exhibit form.

Finally, the opening of Ernst is an example of an exhibit where a poor hanging hinders interesting works from showing itself to best advantage.

"Ernst works in several media: painting, graphics, photography, and constructions. Unfortunately, he wanted to present as much work as possible which resulted in a rather cluttered exhibit. Although a professional hanger attempted to produce an airy effect when placing the paintings and graphics on the walls of the one exhibition room, there were far too many pieces to make it possible for him to succeed. Ernst had been allowed to place his constructions as he pleased and was also permitted to present glass cases containing pamphlets and books that he had printed. The abundance of material made the show overworked and heavy; to look at so many things was exhausting and it was difficult to concentrate on any of them. The works were, however, carefully produced and showed that they were the work of an expert craftsman."

The exhibit hanging is often a conflictful event which can produce discord between the artist and the art dealer. This discord signifies the importance of the hanging as a risk moment and as a persuasive element. Some dealers refuse to let any artists hang their exhibits. Others are more clever and let the artist believe he is getting his way although it is in the end the dealer who makes the final decision. One of these art dealers explained:

"Artists produce the paintings but are not good at hanging them. They don't have enough distance to them. They have trouble choosing the ones which should be exhibited and don't know how to show them so that they are convincing. You have to let artists think they are getting their way. I give them the chance to hang the exhibit but I make subtle suggestions and show them that my ideas are best."

Filip's dealer used this tactic. Filip explained:

"I didn't know how to hang the work so he took the paintings, hurried back and forth with them between the two rooms of the gallery and very quickly made an exhibit of them. He was really quite impressive."

In this case, it is again the authority of the art dealer which give him the risk responsibility. By taking responsibility, the dealer can increase his reputation as an authority if his decisions are successful.

Other dealers avoid conflict with artists and place the risk responsibility on professional hangers, people whose job it is to hang exhibits. The dealer and the artist accept their judgements because they are those of the impartial outsider and because
hangers are recognized as competent authorities. One of these hangers helped to hang the exhibit of Ernst. As this hanger, unfortunately, only influenced the hanging of the work on the walls and had nothing to say about the quantity or placement of the other work, he was not able to make the exhibit a satisfying whole.

The gallery milieu serves the bourgeois persuasion process by conditioning opening interaction. The precise order and discreet elegance of the setting is a frame which has the power to persuade opening participants to adjust to its demands. Within the bourgeois frame, there is little risk that opening participants will act provocatively or damage the success of the opening. Entering the gallery, they straighten their posture and act with the quiet reserve appropriate to this milieu. The greetings they exchange with the artist and others are not loud and bubbling, but rather cool and elusive; etiquette discourages warm hugs and kisses and instead encourages correct handshakes or quick pecks on the cheek. The participants interact using conventional opening props: attire that is more formal than usual as well as offerings of flowers, gifts and congratulations. The formality of these conventional elements as well as the formality of the gallery setting contribute to the persuasion process. Participant interaction with them helps to stress that the opening is a special event demanding attention and respect.

The demands of bourgeois etiquette may also contribute to making the opening a trying experience. New generation artists and their friends are often people who have not yet learned to interact comfortably with opening etiquette and who are not always willing to comply with its demands. The following description from the opening of Ernst shows how some of these people manipulated the conventional opening props.

"Although this opening was not Ernst's debut, it was apparent that Ernst had not exhibited very often in galleries with a bourgeois style and that he was not comfortable in this setting. Ernst's opening provides an example of an artist who has begun to establish himself as an experimental artist in a peripheral segment of the art world but who has also begun to receive acclaim from the art world establishment. Although Ernst usually exhibits at his own gallery, a temporary exhibit space (cf chapter 9) designed to provide experimental artists with the opportunity to show their work, he had decided to hold an exhibit at an established gallery. While he is an experimental artist, he still wants to obtain a reputation in the core of the art world. He would also appreciate the income from possible sales from this market for the exhibits at his own gallery provide no income as no prices are placed on the work.

At Ernst's opening, he and his friends were aware of the behavior proper to the opening but, as they were part of a young, rebellious segment of the art world, they turned this behavior on its head and their interaction was more a satire than a serious act. In this way, Ernst expressed his mixed feelings toward the exhibition at an established gallery; he knew what proper behavior was but was not quite willing to perform. Ernst knew that he should be attired in a suit but
the suit he chose to wear was a black, second hand one whose ancient origin was a clearer statement of provocation that acquiescence to propriety. Ernst’s friends were also dressed in dark clothes expressing their avant-garde manner. They were aware that etiquette demanded the offering of congratulations and gifts. The congratulations were indeed said quietly and in a subdued manner complying with the bourgeois style. The gifts, however, expressed the rebellious nature of these people: rather than red roses, they offered carnations dyed pale green; rather than chocolates, they presented loaves of home baked bread. Ernst’s friends refused to socialize in the conventional conversation clusters and instead of standing upright, they chose to sit together on a low ledge just above the floor. They seemed more a protesting sit-in group than a respectable bourgeois public."

Unlike these newcomers, integrated professionals have, with exhibiting experience, become accustomed to opening etiquette. They are more poised and their openings are often performed with an air of habitual routine. An example of one such opening is that of Christian.

"Christian presented himself with a relaxed, pleasant manner and hid whatever anxiety he may have felt behind the bourgeois mask of neutral comportment. He fulfilled the demand for respectable, proper attire by wearing a cardigan sweater and slacks: the outfit was more casual than that of some of the public attending the exhibit, yet appropriate as the artist is expected to appear more bohemian than his public. The number of people attending the opening was far less than at debut exhibits. This opening was not disturbed by a crowding, excited public; it was a quiet event. Christian’s friends sat by the front windows and looked at the paintings and people. Unlike Ernst’s friends, they did not dress or behave provocatively but rather comported themselves in a style that was casual but respectable."

As the most important persuasive elements at the opening are the works of art, participants must be able to interact with them. Conventionally, each participant interacts with the works by slowly promenading around the gallery and stopping before those works which catch his eye. This tour is discreet and dignified, it has no jerks or exaggerated movements for such would offend bourgeois etiquette. Following his tour, the participant often clusters with a few others in the middle of the room. In these observation clusters participants may continue to look at the art while socializing quietly with friends and colleagues.

The size of the opening public is an element which presents a risk to the success of the opening. The ability of each person to concentrate on the art may vary with the number of people in the room. A large public is desirable to make the opening more festive and to make the exhibit appear successful. However, a great many people in small gallery rooms makes art work interaction difficult, and the social aspect of the event tends to overpower its art appreciative one. Art world people who
are seriously interested in seeing the work usually visit the exhibit after the opening, when the gallery is calm and they are less likely to be distracted by fellow viewers. The following opening description exemplifies an event where the public is entirely too distracting.

"The debut opening of Filip was very nearly an ideal opening as it was held at an elite gallery, the quality of the work was also respectable as were its hanging and the public viewing it. Yet this artist had many friends and he had invited them all. The gallery was completely full. The close positioning of all of these people made art viewing almost impossible. The enactment of a refined bourgeois manner was also problematic for visitors had difficulty preventing body contact with one another due to the lack of space; the jostling of all of these people, many of whom were not regular art world participants, created a joyful party atmosphere rather than a serious, concentrated one."

A Stockholm artist who works in another art world may have difficulty creating a festive atmosphere in Stockholm as friends and colleagues are in another country. Yet the lack of participants permits a serious viewing of the work. Such in the case of Frideborg whose opening was almost empty despite her international reputation.

"At Frideborg's opening the gallery was almost entirely empty. Although Frideborg is a well-established artist, her reputation has been made more in New York than in Stockholm and it is in the USA she has her public. Despite the fact that the exhibit was held at an elite gallery, the opening did not attract a large crowd. The very intellectual and extremely clean and carefully executed paintings were hung in an orderly fashion on the walls of the gallery, creating a dignified, if cold, atmosphere: it was the respectable bourgeois milieu at its extreme. Only the artist, the art dealer, and a handful of friends attended the opening. Interaction was minimal and only slightly interfered with their ability to concentrate on the paintings."

At Stockholm galleries, bourgeois etiquette prohibits all interaction that may cause a disturbance. Nothing must cause emotional imbalance or disrupt the fine grace of the opening performance. This restriction encourages a communication distance between opening participants as well as various kinds of interpersonal avoidance. Interaction restriction prevents explicit or aggressive support of the art on exhibit. Although the art dealer is the opening host, he is a discreet participant. He has been responsible for organizing and administering the event, but at the opening he lets his guests enjoy the exhibit undisturbed; he must never impose on them or make them feel he is about to force them into making a purchase. The dealer stands unobtrusively in a corner and awaits situations requiring his assistance (such as a possible sale) or retires to his office to reappear upon the arrival of influential art world figures whom he greets with a correct handshake and a few words of welcome. The dealer is at all times a refined and well-mannered gentleman.
Although he may be contemplating the business problem of which collector to
convince to purchase a work, he makes this a backstage concern which he will act
upon at a more suitable moment, perhaps in the ambience of a finer restaurant or
bar.

Restricted interaction separates the artist from the art world and his public. This
separation may be trying as participants may not be honest and spontaneous
with one another. Yet distance and avoidance contribute to the persuasion process
as no negative interaction can occur to prevent the success of the artist and his work.
Members of the general public conventionally avoid the artist. In their eyes, the artist,
to some extent, remains the romantic genius as well as a bohemian whose life is more
free and chaotic than their own. The artist is a person who is different and perhaps
strange but whose special talents make him awesome, someone from whom one must
maintain a respectful distance. The awe of the public is sometimes a concrete
response to the reputation of the particular artist having the exhibit. The public may
then feel shy in the presence of a famous person who has produced publicly acclaimed
work. As the artist desires public admiration, he makes no aggressive moves to
diminish the distance between him and these people, letting this separation further
support the conventional aura of mystery surrounding him.

The artist may also keep a distance from the public because of the, to him,
sometimes baffling fact that these people have the power to influence his career.
Although the general public does not have the more concrete influence of art world
professionals and collectors, its members may further his reputation and standard of
living by choosing to admire or purchase his work or hinder his chances to succeed
by disliking or ignoring it. The artist may harbor a sense of ill-will for the public as
he feels its power is not always justified; he often believes that these viewers have
little ability to judge or understand. This attitude has, in part, developed from his
communication with some of them either at exhibits or at art associations. As I noted
in chapter 2, art associations arrange meetings with artists who talk to the members
about their work. The idea behind the meetings is to lessen the distance between the
people and the artist. Many of the questions the members ask tend to alienate the
artist, however, as he finds them quite distant from his way of thinking and difficult
to answer. The questions are also often tiring clichés. Filip expressed his irritation
from one such question:

"I haven't lectured at art associations but I've met their board members. People are always asking
me about my source of inspiration. 'Where did you get the ideas for your work?' It's a bore. They
expect some grand and mysterious answer which I don't have. I often get an idea by looking at
quality magazines. I may notice a small detail in a picture that I can play with. I think this
explanation disappoints people: its not what they are looking for."

To avoid the misery of answering of these "stupid" questions, the artist may keep his
distance from the general public at the opening.
Many Stockholm artists never like to talk about their work, even with art world professionals, for they feel that visual art is work to see and not to talk about. The comment of Evert Lundquist (1984:178) is typical:

"Moreover, I have the feeling that the older I've gotten the less eager I am to talk about art and to talk about my own painting. I paint – it is my means of expression."  

Due to the distance the public and the artist maintain from one another, the Stockholm artist has a rather dim idea about who the people in the public are; often only art world professionals are "real" while the public is an abstract unknown. At the opening, the artist and the general public eye one another from afar and imagine who the other is.

Opening participants with various art world professional interests bring with them demands which further their different careers. To fulfill these demands, such participants require the cooperation of other art world people. As the demands can be impertinent and as they can place others in the uncomfortable situation of having to refuse, sets of art world people avoid one another to prevent the disturbing embarrassment of unfulfilled demands. One set of art world people with varying interests is the artist, on the one hand, and critics and collectors, on the other. The artist views collectors and critics as categories situated in the "they" position of a we/they relationship. The artist depends upon the good will of collectors and critics to succeed or to survive as it is they who provide him with the necessary rewards of financial support and critical acclaim.

The collectors and critics, in turn, see the artist as "the other" as they each depend upon him for success in their endeavors. The artist must produce work so that the private collectors may have something to purchase and either increase their social status by owning a fine work of art or their economic status by owning a work of art that has strong monetary value. The collectors from government institutions depend upon the production of the artist so that their occupation as culture administrators will have a function; they must be able to purchase work that will add grandeur or at least charm to government institutions. The critics depend on the continual production of the artist to have something to write about.

By avoiding one another at the opening, the artist, the collector and the critic prevent situations which might be difficult for them as well as the risk that these situations could produce conflict. For example, the collector and the critic may avoid the unprincipled artist who might request that the collector purchase a painting or that the critic write a favorable review of a poor exhibit. The artist, in turn, may flee from collector and critic demands that he accept their compliments as these may be insincere and patronizing, offered only to reinforce the importance of their art world influence. Artists may also maintain a distance to some collectors out of respect in the way the general public keeps its distance from artists. In Stockholm, the most important collectors are also on the boards of many art organizations such as
7 EXHIBIT OPENINGS

*Moderna museets vänner* or *Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening*. They therefore visit exhibits not only on their own behalf but as representatives of and purchasers for these organizations. As such, these collectors are powerful art world figures and it is understandable that artists are not keen to address them. An artist’s avoidance of collectors may be so total that he may continue to ignore the collector even during the completion of a sale; the transaction may occur entirely between the dealer and the collector while the artist observes at a distance. The following example from the exhibit of Ernst shows this kind of avoidance:

"A group of three collectors chose a work of graphic art for purchase without speaking with the artist about it. The sale was carried out between the collectors and a gallery employee. Ernst remained surrounded by his friends and observed the collectors from afar. As one of these collectors was well-known in the art world, Ernst was probably quite curious to know which piece he would purchase but, to avoid embarrassment, he refrained from accosting him."

Politeness is a significant element to avoid a negative mood at the opening and to uphold the illusion that it is an uplifting and harmonious event. Polite interaction is particularly pronounced in the relationship between the artist and his friends and colleagues who are often the majority of those at the opening. The artist has invited them to share his moment of glory but also to assist him by populating the event. Friends and colleagues are a source of artist moral support; by attending, they show the artist that they believe in him and that they are willing to help him succeed. There is an element of reciprocity at work, for colleagues may attend the opening in return for favors the artist has paid them; they, in turn, expect the artist to support them when they exhibit their work.

As moral supporters, friends must say and do things that will make the artist feel good. They must come to the opening, but ought not to leave following a hasty viewing of the work; instead they must remain to socialize. Friends must not ignore the artist but must greet and congratulate him. Convention also demands that friends offer the artist a gift expressing their joy that he has succeeded in producing an exhibit. If they are polite enough to carry out these responsibilities properly, they help the opening to move along smoothly. Yet, the polite, self-controlled interaction which etiquette permits tends to restrict their ability to help the artist feel at ease. Soft voices and reserved body movements are not always as comforting as warm and spontaneous outbursts. Friends may also have difficulty reaching the artist because reserve has become strongly ingrained in the Swedish character. They are tongue tied because this is the way Swedes have behaved for generations. Although the gallery milieu may further tie their tongues, Swedes are generally so reserved that their shyness dampens spontaneity in almost all situations.

Due to special factors, not all openings comply with bourgeois etiquette and interaction at them is less reserved. The debut exhibit of Susanna was one such opening; many of her friends were actors and therefore behaved in a more extravagant, open way than most Swedes.
"The visitors at the exhibit of Susanna were as numerous as they were at the exhibit of Filip and they prevented one another from getting a clear view of the art. Many of these visitors were from the theater, and they had a rather loud and outgoing manner. The artist participated in their theatrical behavior by greeting them wearing a crown of paper flowers that one of the guests had given her. Warm, open emotions replaced bourgeois neutrality; besides joy, the guests openly expressed anger for one another; one outburst led to the abrupt flight from the gallery of one of the disputing parties. Distressed, the artist begged a guest to run after the departed one to restore her peace of mind."

The art world policy of silence concerning evaluation and discussion of the art work at the opening in the presence of the artist works with politeness to ban negative expression and conflict. Viewers must not disturb proper etiquette and risk hurting the feelings of the artist by proclaiming outright criticism of it. Discussions with the artist about his work are often embarrassing. The work of many artists is idiosyncratic and extremely specialized, as they strive to develop personal picture worlds and often deal with special problems derived from their concentration on these worlds. They and those few who are well initiated with their work may be the only ones who are aware of or are interested in these problems. Therefore, many viewers, particularly those of the general public, feel uncertain and uncomfortable before new work. They feel embarrassed because they do not wish the artist to see their uncertainty, as this might worry or insult him, and as they do not wish to make fools of themselves. Those colleagues, critics and collectors who are familiar with the work of an artist, on the other hand, sometimes feel embarrassed when meeting the artist if they are disappointed in his exhibit. They cannot say that the work on exhibit is not a meaningful development of the problems the artist has been studying. Nor can they say that they find the problems meaningless to begin with and wish that the artist would find something else to do. They also feel embarrassed when trying to express their appreciation of an exhibit, for educated in a society which traditionally prohibits spontaneous emotional outbursts, they feel unnatural when they break their neutrality.

The face-to-face meeting with the artist and his work is especially embarrassing for his morale supporting friends and colleagues. Arriving at the opening with the hope that the work will be exciting, but knowing that it may be a disappointment, these friends and colleagues are in the uncomfortable situation of having to provide support for work whether they like it or not. Although the debut exhibit of Tor received good reviews, polite avoidance and silence were noteworthy at his opening.

"The debut exhibit of Tor took place at an elite gallery; the work he presented was respectable: substantial, well-done, and moderately innovative. The public he attracted was also respectable: a quiet collection of College of Fine Arts friends, a few art professors, and a few members of a fashionable public. The work was hung in an airy, even manner and the number of participants was small enough to let them concentrate on it. The fashionable public refrained from contact with the artist, his friends or the art professors. The friends of the
artist and the professors talked with one another in a discreet, pleasant way. The professors refrained from lengthy contact with the artist, thereby avoiding having to discuss the work; they, however, joked with one another about it when the artist was out of earshot; their sophisticated, bantering conversations hid explicit opinions.

As the art world knows that many artists prefer silent art work reception, friends and colleagues use this attitude to avoid risking embarrassment and discord. Silence is legitimate and prevents hurt feelings and foolish behavior. The conversations at the exhibit of Ernst are typical avoidance strategies:

"Ernst’s friends complied with the bourgeois strategies of politeness and silence and refrained from emitting remarks that would worry him; rather than discussing the works of art, they talked about each others’ earrings or about their plans to travel to France."

While silence and tact prevent interaction that could harm the opening, they do separate the artist from the art world and his public and make him feel uncertain, as he does not really know what people think of his work. By not really telling the artist anything, the general public and art world professionals leave the artist alone to wonder whether the work he has done has any value, whether his occupation is meaningful, and whether he is wasting his time producing art. This doubt becomes especially pressing when the exhibit is not "successful", when the work is not sold and/or when critics do not review the exhibit or when they respond to it with mild platitudes. The artist Ernst noted:

"I have to transform doubt to a positive force."

The artist must take the risk that his own belief in his work is correct. He must transform the unsaid remarks and the pleasantries into the possibility that his work is good, that he is on the right track and working in a positive direction. Doubt must become a force to further his production. Without a sincere response from his surroundings, the artist turns to himself for moral support and must convince himself that his occupation is, after all, worthwhile.
In his work, the critic tries to present a work of visual art in a verbal composition. The critic is a verbal specialist and ought to have no difficulties doing this. Yet the critic does not have the words to reproduce visual art. Whatever he writes, he will always leave something out because visual art and art reviews are products of distinct symbolic modes. The terms of each of these modes do not exist in the other (cf Gross 1973) and therefore one cannot produce visual art with the verbal mode or art reviews with the visual one. Each of these modes is particularly suitable for dealing with certain kinds of expressive problems. The visual mode is especially good at dealing with spatial problems and can show the spatial nature of objects as well as the relationships between objects in space. The work of visual art is a form that functions as an integral whole, through the relationships in a spatial structure (cf Langer 1953). While visual art is spatial and the viewer can see its parts in any order, words are put together linearly and only make sense if one reads them in succession (cf Olvång 1987:16). Words are stable units which one combines to produce wider ranges of meaning (cf Langer 1960). A verbal text is especially good at expressing thought, carrying on an intellectual argument or recording knowledge about the world.

Langer (1953) believes that only the meaning of words can express cognition and that visual art cannot handle this task but deals with emotion. Yet while visual and verbal modes each have their strong points, they are not completely distinct. Verbal art forms – poems, plays, literature – tend to act on the senses and produce an emotional response as well as an intellectual one. The efforts of the painter who works with forms on a canvas produces knowledge about space. Although some visual art may produce emotional responses, this is not true of much modern art which often
HUR MAN FÖRKLARAR BILDerna FOR DEN DÖDA HAREN
EXPLAINING THE PAINTINGS TO THE DEAD HARE
JOSEPH BEUYS

HUR MAN FÖRKLARAR BILDerna FOR DEN LEVANTE KANINEN
EXPLAINING THE PAINTINGS TO THE LIVE RABBIT
STEN ETLING
succeeds because it is intellectually satisfying: the artist has been able to use space to create a construction that stimulates thought. The forms and colors that the painter uses have something in common with the words of the writer. Like the writer, the painter plays with the elements of his symbolic mode and rearranges them until he can make them say what he wants.

Despite certain similarities, the distinctiveness of the two modes remains as well as the difficulties of making transpositions between them. The difficulties of communicating verbally about visual art are suggested in several aspects of the Stockholm artist career that I have discussed in previous chapters. At the preparatory art school (cf chapter 4) the teachers could not readily articulate verbal solutions to student painting problems. The students were told to solve their problems on their own through practice. This same difficulty in verbal articulation helps to explain why College of Fine Arts graduates (cf chapter 5) feel that they learned more from their advisers socially than artistically. The example of the professor who rapidly flipped through the drawings of his student and then changed the subject to vigorously discuss cars indicates that the two had no words to talk about drawings but many to talk about automobile mechanics. Although the ban on discussions of the works presented at the opening of an art exhibit (cf chapter 7) is a form of politeness which prevents hurting the feelings of the artist, this convention also protects art world members from becoming involved in verbal discussions that they cannot successfully hold. Lundquist’s (1984:178) unwillingness to speak about his work in the later years of his career indicates that some experienced artists no longer find it necessary to try to accomplish a task that is fruitless.

As art reviews and visual art are the products of distinct symbolic modes, the critic can only produce work that the terms of his mode allow: he can interpret, describe or evaluate visual art. He cannot, however, present the work of art as the integral whole that the viewer sees while standing before it. The art review is therefore a limited construction which can complement direct interaction with the art work but which can also stand between the viewer and the art work and prevent true appreciation of this work. The art review is a communicative form in its own right which is good when it can convincingly motivate an intellectual argument. According to Sontag (1982), critics find the rationale for their work by assuming that there is some content in the work of art that is unclear and which they must manage and clarify for others. She sees criticism as mental schemes of categories which an interpreter creates by manipulating a work of art. Sontag therefore feels that criticism violates art by making it an object which critics use for their own purpose. She argues for direct interaction rather than through the mediating work of criticism.

Yet direct interaction alone may not be sufficient for the individual to understand a work of art. Following Piaget, Gross (1973) notes that only action provides real understanding of an expressive work. To understand a painting, one must paint. The person who has tried to work with a symbolic mode has acquired a
familiarity with it and in his face-to-face contact with works of art, this familiarity can help him to comprehend them. Gross' competent art viewer would therefore not have to depend on the possibly distorting art review. The art review might still be valuable to stimulate the viewer who, despite his familiarity with the visual mode, is unable to make sense of a work of art or who is interested in the opinions of others.

While art reviews have their limitations, they can be effective to greater or lesser extents depending upon the social context in which they are written. In her study of the New York abstract expressionists, Ashton (1979) provides one example of the attempts of critics to interpret and explain visual art. These critics worked in the social context of New York City after World War II which was quite different from that of Stockholm critics today. The work of these New York critics was important to the success of the abstract expressionists, or the New York School, as these writings helped to make the work of the artist legitimate to New York intellectuals, the audience for New York avant-garde art. The critics formulated theoretical explanations that intellectuals both understood and respected. These explanations convinced this public that art should be created as the abstract expressionists proposed.

The New York School artists interacted nightly at the Waldorf Cafeteria in Greenwich Village, a simple and inexpensive place where they talked at length about their work and problems as artists. Ashton stresses the talkativeness of these artists who needed this interaction to formulate an artist identity. Each of the artists had come from different corners of America where they had been isolated in settings where the concept of the serious artist did not yet exist. Clement Greenberg, who became one of the most important critics of the period, also frequented the cafeteria. By regularly interacting with the artists, Greenberg became familiar with their problems and sensibilities.

The New York School artists were interested in the works of great contemporary thinkers. The theories they debated with Greenberg and others were Marxism, Jungian and Freudian psychology, surrealism and existentialism. The New York School artists were particularly interested in surrealistic and existentialist thought. The surrealistic preoccupation with myth, metamorphosis, risk and painting as an event, helped the artists to understand their creative processes. The existential concepts of "situations" and "ambiguity" stimulated discussion about the ambiguity of the situation of the painter. As they had become disenchanted with Marxism and the demand for social involvement, the artists grasped the existentialist idea of realizing the "self through the full and intense development of individuality" (Ashton 1979:187). Sartre's concept of subjectivism, "man is not other than a series of undertakings" (Sartre, quoted in Ashton 1979:181) led to attempts to make thoughtful, self-searching paintings and to make artists feel that their work mirrored their personalities (cf Ashton 1979:182).
The New York School received intellectual stimulus from some of the most important European artists who came to New York as war refugees. Contact with surrealists such as Ernst, Tanguy, and Masson as well as abstract artists such as Mondrian and Lipschitz enabled the Americans to learn the most sophisticated and avant-garde European theories directly from the theorists. The Americans also learned a synthesis of the European art theories in the studio school of the artist-teacher, Hans Hoffman. His approach was aesthetic, and he developed in his students an urbane art-for-art’s sake ideology (Ashton 1979:79) which was lacking in the American art world. Hoffman’s formulations were a conceptual apparatus for the New York artists as well as for Clement Greenberg who also attended the school. The idea that the essence of the picture plane was flatness, and concepts such as positive space, negative space, and the inviolable picture plane, as well as the idea of plasticity and an interest in transferring three dimensional experience to two dimensions, gave the New York artists and Greenberg a common verbal language. They could use this language to communicate with one another, and with the public as well. Greenberg, Harold Rosenberg, and a number of other serious critics created a great verbal flow in literary and political reviews such as The Nation, Partisan Review, and The New Republic, using the sophisticated theoretical terms which suited their intellectual readers (cf Ashton 1979:157–58). They did not write in American art magazines, as these were not yet aware of, or were not yet interested in, abstract expressionism.

New York art dealers also used theoretical terms to promote the artists. Bystryn’s (1978) analysis of an art dealer of this period, Sam Kootz, is one example. Kootz had written two books on modern American art and was therefore an art authority and well-oriented in the discourse of articulate intellectuals. He understood their demand for categories and was able to legitimize a style or movement by defining it and locating it in art history. As I noted in chapter 1, Kootz had critics or literary men write the introductions to his exhibit catalogues. He presented exhibits with unifying themes which made the work appear to be examples of an art movement: Intrasubjectives was the title of one of his shows. Kootz also used his knowledge of art history to explain and justify the techniques of his artists. The forceful brush and large canvases of one artist became an expression of existentialist philosophy, a desire for thorough and conscious self-expression.

All those involved in establishing the legitimacy of the New York School, the producers, distributors, and consumers, shared a conceptual apparatus. They could therefore communicate relatively easily with one another, and the verbal interpretations of the works of visual art could occur relatively painlessly. The impossibility of reproducing visual art form with words remained, and none of the critics ever verbally expressed the visual art as integrated wholes. Yet they did use concepts that helped explain how the New York School artists saw space and how they worked with it on their canvases. By understanding and using the same language
as the artists, the writers avoided misunderstanding and strife in the art world. They also expressed rather well the intentions of the artists and were able to convincingly show the significance of the art work to the public.

Unlike the New York School, most Stockholm artists and the members of the Stockholm art world do not share a conceptual apparatus. Transpositions between visual art reviews in this art world are more difficult than they were in the New York School art world and the efforts of the critics cause dissatisfaction and strife (cf chapters 2 and 5). The disapproval of Stockholm artists for the work of the critics is a traditional attitude that began with the establishment of the profession of the critic. Yet the backgrounds of Stockholm critics as well as the particular way they write are related to the social context of which they are a part. I therefore interviewed four of these critics to find out who they are, how they work and what are their relationships to Stockholm artists and the Stockholm art world. I also studied Stockholm art reviews to find out what it is in their form and content that arouses discontent. The following discussion refers to the critics working during 1983-84.

Stockholm art critics have university education in art history but are also people with a variety of experiences from different parts of the visual art worlds as well as the art worlds of music and literature. Some of the critics painted in their youth although only one of these has worked professionally as an artist. Some write plays, essays, and poetry and have worked on art magazines: one of them has also been a drummer in a rock band. One has run an art gallery for experimental work and has also been in the theater. Another has produced programs about art on the radio and television and lectures at art associations. Still another was a pop singer, has administered art shows and has lectured at the College of Applied Arts and at the College of Fine Arts.

Stockholm art critics are mobile art world people who have seen the art world from different perspectives and who try to find places in it where they can participate. They have no particular training to write art criticism in the newspapers but have taken their art history education and their own creative talents and have worked their way around the art world until they have happened to arrive at the position of art critic. Although one critic said that she has always wanted to write art criticism, this is not the case for many of them, especially those who use their incomes from criticism to support literary endeavors. The position as art critic can be a springboard to more lucrative and prestigious ones, such as art history professor at the College of Fine Arts or director of Moderna Museet or The Thiel Gallery. As Stockholm artists are aware of the speckled backgrounds and interests of the critics, they sometimes see critics as people who are not really devoted to reviewing art but who are trying to further their careers as writers or as art world figures. The critics are thought of as greedy bloodsuckers who use the work of artists for their own survival and benefit.

Most Stockholm art critics who have positions on newspapers have held them since the end of the 1960s when positions became vacant. During the 1980s there
have been no funds available for new positions, and critics have had to share existing ones or work on a freelance basis. One critic referred to this situation as one reason why artists are dissatisfied with art reviews:

"Each artist generation should have a critic who is from the same generation and who has experienced society and social events with them. The new generation of Stockholm artists does not have this critic and is without someone who understands their work."

Many Stockholm critics were Marxists at the outset of their careers as this ideology was in vogue. Two critics continue to write ideological criticism. One of them explained this criticism as follows:

"I try to see the relationships between art and the society in which it was produced."

Although they may retain their socialist ideals in a general sense, most of the critics refer to their Marxist periods in the past tense. One of these noted:

"I was a Marxist along with everyone else."

Yet the reputations of these critics as Marxists may continue to antagonize those artists who reject the involvement of Marxist ideology in the art world and may in part explain the negative opinion these artists have of Stockholm art reviews.

Stockholm critics take the point of view of the observing public, and they differ from the New York School critics who cooperated with the artists to present their work to the public. One critic explained:

"There are a few artists who want the critics to verbalize their ideas for the public. I don't want to do that. I work independently and not in collaboration with artists."

Unlike the New York School critics, Stockholm critics have not studied at an art school with the artists they write about. Stockholm critics are familiar with the theories of great thinkers. Yet they do not use the terminologies of these thinkers when they write. Nor do these critics meet regularly with artists to discuss art or abstract thought. Most Stockholm artists do not use abstract theories in their work and do not communicate with one another about these.

Stockholm critics are wary of aligning themselves with Stockholm artists or even admitting that they have helped to promote any of them. The Stockholm art world is quick to see such collaboration as corruption and as the use of influence rather than as a collective effort to help the development of innovative art. The critics tend to avoid artists to prevent being asked to review their exhibits. The critics keep their distance to show that they are honorable and uphold a standard of ethics which rejects favoritism or bribery. Their reviews are the products of upright, independent individuals. Critics also avoid artists as they have learned through experience that
artists have difficulty accepting negative criticism and they react very emotionally to what critics write about them and their work. One critic explained:

"Artists are very dependent upon art reviews to advertise their work. They react more personally than writers who are not quite as dependent on reviews and who have other channels which promote their work."

Another critic said:

"Artists have difficulty separating friendships from professional occupations. Critics may have artist friends but often lose them when they write reviews that are not flattering. Artists don't understand that critics are not their friends when they write but are independent professionals. Critics eventually become isolated people because they know that their friendships with artists will always end in fights. They become suspicious of the artist who tries to make their acquaintance as they fear that the artist will use friendship as a means to get favorable publicity."

Influenced by Linde's (1960) idea that the viewer makes the work of art, Stockholm critics stress their interaction with art works and explain that their reviews are solely the results of these interactions. One critic noted:

"I am an observer and look at an exhibit as a member of the public. I don't want to have background material about the work or information about the artist. I present my reaction to what I see. It is a personal reaction and may be quite different from what other critics see and write. As the reaction is personal, I don't always have something to say about the exhibits I go to; sometimes the works don't say anything to me. At times I want to leave an exhibit after five minutes but I know people are watching me and I have to stay there and seem to be looking at it."

Stockholm critics write for their readers and feel that their job is to write good essays that will give these people an idea about the work on exhibit. Although the critics do not know who their readers are, they do know that their audience is large and therefore varied. Two Dagens Nyheter critics noted:

"The newspaper has made several surveys to find out how many people read the culture page. Apparently there are as many people who read it as who read the sports pages."

The task of the Stockholm critic is more complicated than was that of the critics writing about the New York School. The New York critics wrote in reviews and journals and had time to ponder, develop concepts, or reformulate what they wrote. Stockholm critics who write in daily newspapers do not have much time for any of these things as they must produce their work rapidly to meet short print deadlines. The New York critics addressed one public: the intellectuals. The Stockholm critics, on the other hand, must address a mixed public: in part, anonymous and general, in part, people related to the art world. Stockholm intellectuals, especially those at the university, seem to have little to do with the Stockholm art world as they parochially
confine themselves to people and activities related to the university and to their particular academic fields. They are more interested in the book reviews of the literature critics than in art reviews since books are more a part of their academic world than visual art. The salaries of most Stockholm intellectuals are paid by the state and are not sufficient to allow them to collect art. Stockholm collectors tend to be the more wealthy industrialists and businessmen. As the intellectuals do not dominate the art world public, Stockholm critics do not have to formulate analytic concepts for them. Yet they must present themselves as knowledgeable experts to be worthy of art world recognition and to obtain the respect of the people. The task of the Stockholm critic is therefore to find a form that will satisfy this mixed public: he must write authoritatively yet plainly.

While the demands of the newspaper context limit the degree of abstraction in Stockholm art reviews, the situation of art critics in the context of the Swedish welfare state is also an important contributing factor. While art reviews are the most intellectual of the Swedish newspaper articles about the Stockholm art world, the Swedish cultural policy to spread art to the people influences the work of Stockholm critics and dampens efforts to write esoterically. Reviews must not be too abstract as such work would prejudice possibilities for the general public to understand and appreciate them. In the case of leftist critics, the desire to make art available to the people is a conscious goal as this expresses their ideology. An example of this point of view is the following comment by a former Marxist critic:

"My job is to 'open' the picture for the public so that viewers will be able to make sense of what they see."

This critic has often lectured at art associations and has noticed that many people are uncomfortable and perplexed before works of art. She continued:

"With few means, I have been able to help them understand these works."

Critics who have noticed the hesitancy of art viewers do not wish to increase it by using abstract, academic terms. When I asked critics whether they tried to formulate concepts in their work, they were generally confounded.

"Concepts?" they replied.

With the exception of those critics who write ideological criticism, the critics say that they have no method and neither work with any particular concepts nor try to develop new ones. One of these critics, a former Marxist, said:

"I have a strong background in philosophy but I don't tie myself to any theories. I use my knowledge and try to go beyond the theories I have studied to meet current problems."
Another critic noted:

"I don't have any method but I like to have both "high" and "low" in my work: art history as well as life in the art world."

The concern of the researcher to provide understanding through concepts does not seem to be an appropriate way to 'open' a work of art to the Swedish people. While Stockholm critics have university education in art history they see their field as distinct from that of university art historians. One critic explained:

"I deal with current events and art that is being produced now. Art historians are not interested in this art and don't have anything to do with the art world. They keep to the past. It is strange that they're not interested in contemporary art history."

Several Swedish critics and art historians note this clear separation between the occupations and interests of Stockholm critics and art historians in articles they wrote for a symposium held in 1987 to discuss the language differences in the writings of critics and researchers (Johansson et al 1987). While Johansson (1987:30–31) (editor of the art magazine Paletten and art historian) deplores this situation and feels that critics should have contact with researchers and make use of research innovations, Sörbom (1987:25–26) (aesthetician) explains that critics and art historians function in two different systems: critics are part of contemporary art production while art historians are not, but instead work to increase knowledge about art. As critics and art historians work in two different systems, they have different languages. The terminology of one group may therefore be confusing and irrelevant to the other.

Another symposium participant, Bengt Olvång (1987:16–17) (critic for Aftonbladet), who writes ideological criticism, rejected semiotics as a method for art criticism. One of the reasons he objects to semiotics is the difficult level of its language and concepts. Semiotics is an inappropriate method because critics should write as simply as possible. This is necessary because:

"We are the pedagogues of the people."¹

Moreover, semiotic concepts were formulated to study verbal texts rather than visual expression and cannot deal with the special problems of visual art. Olvång does not reject all analytic methodology and suggests that the work of Panofsky is more suitable than semiotics for analyzing visual art. Olvång is one of the Stockholm critics whose work most clearly expresses a populist point of view. While it is perhaps more extreme than the viewpoints of others, his comments about semiotics show the tendency among Stockholm critics to forgo the use of any difficult conceptual apparatus.
Still, even critics who are less devoted to popularizing art tend to write with a low degree of abstraction. The striving of the Swedish welfare state to popularize art has established a standard for the art review to which the critics conform. There are slight differences in the art reviews of the various critics and newspapers. Those in the conservative *Svenska Dagbladet* and liberal *Expressen* tend to restrict discussion to the formal aspects of the art work and present little sociological information about the art world. Those in the liberal *Dagens Nyheter* contain a mixture of both of these elements as did the Social Democrat *Stockholms Tidningen*. The reviews of the social democrat *Aftonbladet* often contain social commentary and try to relate art to other aspects of society. The reviews of *Stockholms Tidningen* were written with the most informal language which corresponded to the rough layout of the newspaper. Yet the stylistic and ideological variations of the critics and the newspapers do not to any great extent influence the amount of theoretical language in the art reviews. As the reviews of Stockholm critics conform to the general standard, the critic for *Stockholms Tidningen* could begin to write reviews for *Svenska Dagbladet*, a newspaper at the other end of the ideological scale, when *Stockholms Tidningen* folded.

I have tried to illuminate the general standard for Stockholm art reviews by studying the reviews of the critics for *Dagens Nyheter* during 1983-84. I chose *Dagens Nyheter* because it is the largest morning newspaper in Sweden and its cultural page has a large public. *Dagens Nyheter* also has the greatest number of critics writing for it; the variations in their work cover the range of variations in the reviews of the Stockholm critics as a whole. I also chose this newspaper because its political viewpoint lies between the extremes of *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. The artists and art world people I interviewed also expressed most interest in the work of the critics on *Dagens Nyheter*.

Five critics wrote 38 reviews. Of these reviews, twelve articles were entirely devoted to exhibits of established artists, ten discussed new generation artists, nine compared the exhibits of an established with a new generation artist, six dealt with large, group exhibitions, and one was an article about two older professional but peripheral artists. The large percentage of reviews about new generation artists reflects the current interest in Stockholm for the work of this generation. The exhibit and the ensuing review of the two peripheral artists protested this trend. In general, the critics reviewed the exhibits of the elite and quality galleries.

This collection of reviews indicates that the Stockholm critics address the readers of a mixed public. In each review, the critic orientes all his readers with a verbal description of the work he presents. The verbal description can be of the motif that the artist has painted or about the technique that the artist appears to have used to produce his work. These descriptions are usually somewhat lame compared with the art work. For example:
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The canvases are covered with loops of curved brush strokes in unmixed synthetic colors: blood red, burning gold, bright pink, green, and cascades of blue. Warm against cold. The colors produce crossing, zig-zag movements across the surface, and the whole thing is actually most like Japanese textile prints with their mixture of natural forms and abstractions.

Although this critic describes the colors in the painting as well as the type of movement they express, she is unable to present this painting in its entirety, the independent whole that the viewer experiences when he stands before it. The words are unable to relay what happened when the artist used space and the elements of painting to produce this particular painting.

The Stockholm critic often resorts to personal associations he made while seeing the exhibit to make the verbal description more interesting and perhaps more comprehensible to the general public. For example, these associations or comments may express uncertainty about the work:


I am uncertain before these paintings. They are strangely repulsive and stimulating at the same time.

The associations may help give the review a certain charm and a personal touch, although they tend to reveal more about the critic than about the works of art:


When I see them I immediately recognize them, the rooster and the hen from my childhood. When one drew a string they began to peck with rocking movements.

Harald Lyth and Ulf Linde remind me of this toy one evening when they talk with the public at The Thiel Gallery.

In this case, childhood memories make the discussion concrete; toy roosters and hens are objects that a broad public can relate to. On the other hand, the people they describe are art world figures; those who appreciate the comparison to pull toys are art world participants.

The Stockholm critics also use art history references to describe the works they review. By referring to the names and work of other artists they can classify the works they discuss. When a critic places the artist in an art historical tradition, he helps readers get an idea about what the work looks like. If the artist works in a style similar to that of Giacometti than his figures must be very tall and thin.
Millhagen searches for signs for this soaring. The desire for weightlessness, non-being. Mondrian's and Malevitch's squares are, of course, in "the table". But what lifts the drawings is the seriousness of the project.5


Certainly one recognizes de Chirico's board floor, Picabia's absurd machine parts and other of modernism's relics. But the whole still has its own tone, both a deserted absurdity and a dynamic force.6

The pedagogical aspect of these references is limited, however, for to appreciate them fully readers ought to be familiar with the works of the artists that the critics refer to. In the above examples, the critics do not help the general public by expounding on the art history references but write assuming that the readers have a background in art history. Nevertheless, a reader whose art history background is weak may gather some information: Mondrian worked with squares and Picabia with machines.

The critic sometimes describes various stages in the development of the work of an artist; by providing these stages he can argue about whether the artist is progressing in a positive direction or whether the current exhibit is a fair representation of the work of the artist. These development stages also make the art review more like an art history text and enhance its intellectual value and seriousness. By art history name dropping, critics show their art world authority and make their reviews acceptable to other art world professionals. The art history references separate the reviews from mere journalism and make them the products of knowledgeable specialists.

Peder Alton, DN, Feb 20, 1984, "When the Motif is the Painting", Björn Hallström, Färg och Form. (The critic complains that the retrospective exhibit does not include the best work of the artist.)

He was greatly dependent upon the tradition of Cézanne and cubism. The scale he dealt with was limited, but when he had finally defined it, he developed a very sure sense of form. And it is fascinating to see how he gradually reaches the point when everything is put at stake. It happens during the years at the end of the 1950s, then he returns constantly to it, but he never goes beyond it.

It is during these short periods when his painting seems to dissolve that he is best...7

The critics also stress that their reviews are exclusive, specialist products by using an abstract vocabulary. These words are, however, not motivated. They are not part of any particular theory and do not present new ways of seeing. With these words, the critics communicate with educated readers who are familiar with them. The expressions such as synteser (syntheses), måleriska tecken (pictorial signs), metafysisk svindel (metaphysical dizziness), and elegisk underton (elegiac undertone), in the
quotation below do not address the general public. Despite their objective to open these paintings to the people, the critics hide the work behind a fence of unnecessarily difficult language.


These too heavy wooden figures are syntheses of movement and forms and signify people.


I think that Harald Lyth is searching for pictorial signs for a metaphysical dizziness.


The symbolic is not intrusive, one senses it only as an elegiac undertone in the paintings. In one painting such as "Tide" the lonely figures on the beach, turned away as in Caspar David Friedrich, have a tragic aura. The dazzling sail in the sunny haze reminds me of Kylberg, an ascetic, parsimonious Kylberg without the glowing use of color.

Although the language in the reviews of the Stockholm critics tends to be for the art world elite, the evaluations in the reviews lean toward the people. As Stockholm critics do not share a conceptual apparatus with the artists they write about, they instead argue using values ingrained in the character of the average Swede. By placing these values in the formal texts of their reviews, the Stockholm critics further reinforce these Swedish values as the printed context demands public respect. Critics often praise a piece by referring to the hard work it shows as well as to the clarity of its composition. Swedes appreciate these praises as they admire hard work and cleanliness.

Clarity

Clear demarcations, whole surfaces, forceful forms, no hesitation, or vagueness.

Hard work
Ingela Lind, DN, Jan 17, 1984, "A Table, an Altar", Lars Millhagen, Waldemarsudde.

The drawings, on the other hand, are not only beautiful, but impress moreover through their manic searching.

Critics praise maturity and the development of a personal picture world as these are accomplishments which also imply the hard work of the artist. The critics disapprove of work that is not fully developed, is hesitant or spontaneous as these are not in accord with the standard of hard work. Nor are pieces that are too simple or too easy to produce. The critics follow the general tendency in the Stockholm art
world to feel that those whose work is too quickly produced or too spontaneous are somehow cheating and not putting in their full share of effort.

**Maturity**

It is a carefully prepared, mature debut Sten Etling celebrates with his paintings at gallery Aronowitsch.\(^{13}\)


But this is actually his first separate exhibit in Stockholm. Such weight and maturity can also occur after long and patient waiting.\(^{14}\)


Yet there is no question that it is an independent and especially mature debut Dan Wirén undertakes at Gallerie Blanche three years after completing his studies at the College of Fine Arts.\(^{15}\)

**Personal picture world**

It is not common that debutants have such an accomplished and personal picture language, such a sure control of form and technique.\(^{16}\)

**Spontaneity**

When even spontaneity has its style, honesty can no longer be taken for granted. Self-examination will have to take over where innocence ends.\(^{17}\)

**Too easily produced**

His art has hardly any argument other than that he convinces with a certain, surprising beauty. I think the result is often more pretty than fantastic. As if the tightrope was stretched too near a safety net of routine dexterity and good taste.\(^{18}\)

The Stockholm critics disapprove of work that is weak, sentimental or too sweet. Such work conflicts with Swedish heritage which demands that Swedes be serious, self-controlled, and show strength of character.
8 THE ART CRITICISM

Weakness
Arne Törnqvist, DN, Nov 27, 1983, "Cloth Monuments and Studio Milieu", Dan Wirén, Galerie Blanche (example of the opposite).

Clear demarcations, whole surfaces, forceful forms, no hesitation or vagueness.19


The good also lacks a clarifying opposition. It becomes weak and powerless.20

Sentimentality

The exhibit has, however, clear weak points. The sentimental small animals... crumbs for the public and a kind of staple item...21

The critics shy away from work that is very difficult to understand. Difficult art implies elitism and is not produced so that the people can appreciate it. Work must not be pretentious for this suggests that the artist has an arrogant attitude and that he places himself above the crowd. Swedes fear such behavior and follow the jantelagen which, among other things, says that none shall be, or appear to be, better than others: Du skall inte tro att du är någon (Do not think that you are anyone).22

Pretension
Ingela Lind, DN, Jan 30, 1984, "Scenography about the eternal", Jan Håfström, Olsson.

The aura which has fondled Jan Håfström's art hides it. Here is also a pomp, a pretension which irritates.23

Besides describing and evaluating works of art, the Stockholm critics sometimes include sociological information about the Stockholm art world. This kind of information is concrete and the general public can readily understand it. A critic sometimes provides biographical material about the artist. He may explain that the exhibit he is reviewing is the debut exhibit of the artist or that the artist is a pupil of one of the professors at the College of Fine Arts.

Arne Törnqvist, DN, Nov 27, 1983, "Cloth Monuments and Studio Milieu", Dan Wirén, Galerie Blanche.24

And one does not have to ask oneself who has been his teacher in construction. Tommy Östmar has a finger in this exhibit.

At times the critic uses a topic of current interest in the art world as an organizing theme; the exhibits he reviews exemplify the problem he discusses. Together, articles with sociological themes give insight into art world current affairs. Such articles include topics such as the implications for art and artists of the art fair,

At other times a critic includes sociological information in passing comments which add spice to articles by providing them with a touch of gossip.


Eighty-seven original lithographs in a new publication of facsimile prints (of which all 225 copies have been sold through word of mouth) have begun their exhibition tour of Sweden under the auspices of *Konstfrämjandet*.\(^{26}\)

Sociological information that is a general orientation for a broad public can be gossip for the more initiated art world professionals. The quote about the exhibit of Wirén has a gossiping style and although it provides information for all, the critic leans toward the informed art world public; these people know that Tommy Östmar was a professor at the College of Fine Arts and the critic does not bother to explain this to them. The less informed general public reads that Östmar was Wirén’s teacher although it is not quite sure when or where. While the gossiping of the critics may create an interest in art reviews, it is not one of the most noble elements in these texts and as I noted in chapter 2, it irritates Stockholm artists and contributes to their distaste for art reviews.

Stockholm critics write mixed reviews for a mixed public. It is perhaps the mixed quality of their work which evokes a discontented artist response. These texts try to please different people with widely varying backgrounds and interests. The results are most often weak compromises. Art history tends to suffer in Stockholm art reviews; the dislike of Stockholm artists for this subject is possibly a response to its superficial use by the Stockholm critics. The New York School artists interacted with critics who used the same art historical/aesthetic conceptual apparatus as they did. This apparatus was meaningful to the artists as it had been developed in their work context and answered and explained their work problems. The art history references that Stockholm critics use in their reviews are not meaningful to Stockholm artists in this way, for these artists have had nothing to do with choosing them. Famous names are not enough for the Stockholm artists and do not clearly say
what they are doing. Yet Stockholm critics may not work as Greenberg and his colleagues, for theoretical analyses are not suitable texts for the general public. Unfortunately, the way the Stockholm critics make art history references is still not geared to the general public as the references assume a good art historical background. In the end, the only people who benefit from these references are art world professionals who have not yet seen the work and who want a vague idea about what it looks like.

Perhaps Stockholm art reviews would be more interesting if the critics tried to work in collaboration with the artists whose work they review. These collaborations would be thought of as honorable endeavors to further the development of modern art. The example of the critics who wrote about the New York School shows that artist-critic collective action can produce noteworthy articles and also encourages a stimulating art world with a positive spirit. Serious artist-critic endeavors in Stockholm would do much to diminish current feelings of discord and distrust.

A Stockholm example, an exception to the rule, of what such serious collaborations might produce is an article by Carl-Johan Malmberg (1984) for *Svenska Dagbladet* about an exhibit of the integrated professional, Jan Håfström. Malmberg is a film and art critic but is not one of the regular *Svenska Dagbladet* art critics. He works with Håfström and a few other people from different art worlds to produce a small cultural review called *KRIS* (*Kritik, estetik, politik – Criticism, Aesthetics, Politics*). Malmberg knows Håfström and is familiar with his aesthetic interests. In his article, Malmberg differs from other Stockholm critics and tries to help an artist present his work.

The article was not published as an art review but as a contribution to a column at the bottom of the culture page called *Under strecket (Below the Line)* which contains one item of cultural interest. The Malmberg article is noteworthy as it is a serious interpretation of an exhibit rather than the standard description and evaluation of most Stockholm reviews. As a well-developed composition which presents a convincing argument, it does help to 'open' the works of art. While some Stockholm critics may have a pedagogical goal, they are less successful than Malmberg as they work at a distance from the artists they write about and are therefore not able to explain the work of these strangers convincingly. Instead of serious interpretations, their reviews tend to be but casual opinions.

Håfström has an important reputation in the Stockholm art world and therefore four other Stockholm critics reviewed the exhibit Malmberg discusses. Håfström is one of the exceptional intellectual artists in Stockholm, and although he previously painted figurative works (such as *Farmor* (1972), a portrait of his very wrinkled and plain grandmother) which the Stockholm public has greatly appreciated, he now works in a more esoteric vein, nonfiguratively on canvases as well as with three dimensional objects. In the exhibit Malmberg interprets, Håfström consciously attempted to distinguish visual art from verbal expression. Among the works
composing the exhibit, there was a canvas whose only figurative object was a ladder, another was an old panel which resembled a window, a third was a wooden box, while a forth was a large canvas divided into 32 segments. The works were quiet, the canvases were painted in black, grey, and shades of yellow and brown. The pieces worked together with the interior of the gallery and formed one integral whole. When I saw the exhibit, I felt emptiness.

Appropriately in an article about non-verbal, visual communication, Malmberg recognizes that his words are only provisional, and points out that the viewer must interact directly with Håfström’s work. He points out that Håfström is sceptical of the illusion which artists work with when they paint a work that is to appear to be as real as the model for the study. In this exhibit he works with reality: everything in it is what is seems. The pieces work together in a real space in which the viewer is a participant. Malmberg explains that Håfström is not a concept artist but is instead trying to free himself from the verbal sphere of concepts to arrive at the non-verbal, non-conceptual, the sensual. The large, segmented painting, *Målning utan ord* (*Painting Without Words*), is an attempt to produce a wordless, aimless experience. This painting and the other elements of the Håfström exhibit are forms for experiencing the world before it becomes set by verbal concepts. Through the interpretation of Malmberg, the concern of the visual artist with space, undefined but real, becomes quite clear.

Three of the critics reacted negatively to the exhibit, finding it boring (Stam 1984), diffuse (Olvång 1984), and about to annul itself (Lind 1984). Two of them found it pretentious (Stam 1984 and Lind 1984). Håfström is considered by many in the art world to be a pretentious person. It seems that the critics were influenced by his manner when they considered his work. While most of the critics understood that Håfström was consciously dealing with the problem of non-verbal communication, they could not find this concern worth encouraging, although it ought to be important to all visual artists as well as to all those interested in visual art. Against these derogatory comments the interpretive support supplied by Malmberg is especially important as it alone helps the public see the value of Håfström’s study. Ideally, the viewers should be able to understand the Håfström exhibit without an interpreter. Yet here he seems necessary, so that the opinions of the other critics will not be able to close the eyes of the public.
In previous chapters, I have focused on the core of the Stockholm art world: on the artist career leading toward integration into this world as well as on establishment art world institutions and people with whom Stockholm professional artists interact. In this chapter, I shall consider a periphery of the Stockholm art world: the activities of some new generation artists who, during my field work year, 1983-84, formed three different clusters which each produced art either collectively or with a collective ideal. Some of the activities of these artists were not only a source for art change, but were also a source of change for the social organization of the Stockholm art world, as the art forms the artists worked with often demanded new forms of art world cooperation. Yet the artists carried on some of their activities in a manner conventional to the Stockholm art world, although they believed that they were working unconventionally. To realize some of the art changes that the artists offered, the Stockholm art world core would have to adopt the social organizational changes that followed the art forms. Professionals in the art world core would have to alter or at least broaden their views and practices concerning the occupation of the visual artist, they way to show art, and the way to evaluate it. Such changes would conflict with the current interests of these professionals. The work of these artists that core professionals therefore selected demanded only slight social organizational changes. The professionals could accept these changes which would further their interests. In doing so they could foster avant-garde art without losing their power in the art world.

Change can occur at art world peripheries because certain characteristics of these outer limits encourage it. When the artist is far from the art world core, his direct contact with establishment institutions is minimal. Although this would be
disadvantageous to an artist who is ready for the judgements of these institutions, it is disadvantageous to the artist who has not yet arrived at a clearly defined picture world or who does not feel that he is ready to show his work to the art world core. Invisibility at the periphery gives this artist time: as he is not tied up with the demands and schedules of the art market, the time of the peripheral artist is his own, provided that he can find some means to support himself which will give him time to work as an artist.1

With this time, the peripheral artist can experiment with media and ideas and develop a distinctive artistic identity. The invisibility and the time let the peripheral artist experiment more daringly and anarchically than the artist who is limited by the expectations and demands of the art world establishment. While the integrated professional must consider his reputation, the peripheral artist whom the art world core has not yet rated, has nothing to lose and may produce work that is not marketable. This opportunity to experiment is a potential source of change for the Stockholm art world; through these experiments, artists may produce fruitful developments which the art world can adopt, distribute, consume and further develop. The experiments which are successful are likely to gain establishment attention, and perhaps acceptance, for either the artist will show this work to an establishment art dealer, or a critic will review it after he has been introduced to the work through a tip from an admiring colleague of the artist.

Lack of visibility in the art world core can encourage the rudiments of a new art world (cf Becker 1982:314) to develop from the interactions of peripheral artists. As may be recalled (cf chapter 1), Becker's local art world is a circle of cooperation where interaction does not extend beyond face-to-face contacts. This kind of art world may form as peripheral artists begin to cooperate with one another when they find that they need institutional and moral support. The artists may need somewhere to show the experiments they have been working on and may develop a local distributive network: they may open their own galleries. They may need critical feedback from competent colleagues and may act as critics for one another. They may need to borrow artist materials or they may need to collaborate with other artists to produce their work: they may increase their productivity through the exchange of resources. Finally, they may cooperate with one another because they need friends to cheer them up when they are depressed.

The networks of peripheral artists are usually temporary replacements for establishment support, but they could theoretically become a full-fledged establishment art world (cf Becker 1982:310ff). Then the networks would no longer be face-to-face and local but would be wide and durable. Aspects of the local art world are possible sources of social organizational change in the art world core. While the art of a local art world gallery might become desirable in the art world core, a new kind of gallery or art space might also become desirable and necessary
to show the new work. Both the art and the distributive form would have to become part of the art world core.

The peripheral artists I shall discuss here are of interest as they saw themselves as an avant-garde; they purposefully worked to produce change in art as well as the art world. There was some interaction between the three clusters, as the kind of art each produced had some similarities. As new generation artists, the people involved had just begun their careers as professionals. Most of them had attended the same Stockholm art school at the same time: the majority were recent graduates of the College of Applied Arts, although two had graduated from the College of Fine Arts. I shall concentrate my discussion on the cluster of two male artists, Leo and Ernst; I call their cluster the Concept artists as Leo and Ernst worked with concepts and presented their ideas in experimental forms: objects, installations and performances. Ernst graduated from the College of Fine Arts while Leo graduated from the College of Applied Arts.

I shall call the other clusters the Performance artists and the Wild artists. The Performance artists were five women. They had some ties to the Concept artists as the interests of the two clusters were related and because the strongest of the Performance artists, Tora, had been a friend of Leo since their years at the College of Applied Arts; the two had become friends because they had come from the same city. The Performance artists concentrated their efforts on performance art. There were three Wild artists: Micke, Oskar, and Maud. They painted canvases in a direction known as "Bad Art" and their work was wild and "ugly". They also did some performance work which created ties to the two other clusters.

The aesthetic of the Wild artists was rather different from the reserved and intellectual work of the Concept artists; there was less interaction between these two clusters than between the Concept and Performance artists. The Wild and Concept artists also seldom met because the art world establishment had given the work of the Wild artists a lot of attention in its search for new generation artists whom the international art world would find of interest. Other art worlds had already begun to show "Bad Art" and the work of the Wild artists was to be the Swedish contribution to this art direction. The Wild artists were often busy with visitors (Swedish and foreign) and events which art world figures arranged to promote them. This concentrated promotional effort was a move toward a new, aggressive marketing technique and differed from that of the elite dealers. The response of the Swedish art world core to the demands of the international art world as well as the use of the new marketing technique were changes in the social organization of the Stockholm art world. Stockholm professionals promoted art to cooperate with colleagues abroad and used the distributive techniques of these colleagues to attract their attention. Although these changes were not revolutionary, they were necessary for the work of the Wild artists to gain art world recognition. Had the art core professionals not felt that the Wild artists could further their desire to make
Stockholm more visible in the international art world, it is possible that the artists would have had a more difficult time attracting art world attention.

The Wild artists were no longer entirely part of the periphery but were becoming integrated professionals. The establishment attention gave the careers of the Wild artists a sturdy support and, although these artists did not interact often with the Concept or Performance artists, the positive aura surrounding the Wild artists had rubbed off on the two other clusters. All of the artists felt self-confident and considered their work particularly meaningful. Although they were at a periphery of the art world, they felt that this situation would be temporary; eventually the establishment would recognize the value of their work. Although the artists disliked the ways of this establishment, they did hope to succeed in the art world core.

The interaction styles at the parties of the artist clusters give a general idea about their social environments and the differences between the clusters. The artists expressed the distinctiveness of their clusters through symbols of identity: their clothing, the interior decoration of the room in which they held each party as well as the way they communicated with one another said something about who they were or how they wanted others to experience them. These parties were sometimes rather large gatherings where participants were often strangers. A party of the Performance artists to celebrate the opening of their gallery had a particularly interstitial, fluid and anonymous character. Each of the five women had invited her own set of acquaintances which she had acquired in artist and other social contexts such as her part time job or her neighborhood.

A gathering at the gallery had preceded the party. There, the women had wished to create a feminine atmosphere which they accomplished through a collective performance in which all of those present had participated. As each guest entered the newly whitewashed basement, one of the artists had given him a small plastic bag filled with Indian beads which the artist tied to his wrist. The artists cut a slit in the bottom of each bag, and as the guests moved about the room, the small beads had fallen silently to the floor. In the candlelight, the floor had glowed softly with colors. The large, round curve of the punch bowl offering a wine dyed a pale, spring green had also expressed femininity.

Following this performance, the guests had walked to an apartment for the party. The guests were under 35 years old; some had dressed in black but most had been less provocatively attired and wore casual jeans and sweaters; their style was bohemian but not aggressively so. Many were still art students; the professional artists were almost exclusively new generation artists. The guests had filled the apartment and had sat on chairs as well as on the floor, drinking wine and talking. Conversation had competed with a tape recorder which had played folk music from different countries. The guests often began a conversation by posing the question: "Which of the women invited you?" Other conversations had begun between people who tried to remember other contexts where they had met before, often art schools.
The conversations turned to discussions about work which was often some form of art production, usually the beginning of a career. The guests gave one another tips that might help their careers; some had tried to make a concrete tie with another through the exchange of telephone numbers. These conversations were urban in character and displayed the informality and openness of people who are used to interacting with strangers in a fluid and changing city environment.

The style of the opening party held at the home of the Concept artist, Leo, was somewhat similar to the party of the Performance artists as it had had a casual, easygoing atmosphere. However, it was a more exclusive, intimate gathering and a circle of close friends had attended. As most of the people at this party knew one another, the party had lacked the fast paced, exploratory excitement of the Performance artists’ party. As Leo and Ernst are both serious people and somewhat reserved, the conversations among the artists at their party were serious and had dealt in part with current occupational problems. At this party there were fewer colleagues than neighbors, perhaps because Leo and Ernst felt more comfortable with non-initiates who would not disturb their artist identities but who did provide warm companionship. Although many of the participants had had little need to be impressed, Leo’s wife had made an effort to create a party which she thought would resemble those held by the art establishment and there was a bountiful spread of hors d’oeuvres and salads. There was a brighter and more clean cut style at this party than at the one held by the Performance artists. While there had been a bohemian anarchy at the party of the Performance artists, at the party of Leo and Ernst, there was an air of stable conventionality and order.

At the party of the Wild Artists, the guests were people who did wish to present an aggressively anti-establishment image. They had dressed in tough, black clothes: black boots and leather jackets, dark sunglasses and black eye makeup. Lesbian guests had stressed their anti-establishment position by openly declaring their sexuality and freely caressing on another. The gathering of the Wild Artists began with a cabaret, a show which they and a few friends presented in the avant-garde tradition of Cabaret Voltaire. They performed in the dark basement studio of the Wild artists who had temporarily remodelled it into a subterranean theater by removing all work materials and making the room totally bare except for squares of cellulose padding for seats. While waiting for the performance to begin, the audience had been cool and quiet. This cool attitude had continued throughout the performance which was a series of sketches about world history, from the French revolution to the 1960s. As the show was supposed to have been comic, the audience silence is noteworthy as the guests ought to have been laughing. Although the audience was enacting a contrived manner which rejected easygoing laughter, it may have been silent because the show did not have an avant-garde form nor was its content provocative. The show did not create the break with conventions and reality which would have made them laugh.
Despite differences in artistic interests and interaction styles, the three clusters shared the same periphery of the art world as they all saw themselves as participating in avant-garde alternatives to establishment activities. Since they believed that their work was unacceptable in the art world core, they saw the networks through which they produced and distributed it as an alternative art world. I do not see the local world of these artists as an alternative world because the artists hoped that they would eventually become part of the Stockholm art world core. The local world is only an alternative world if it achieves a social organization which is stable and well developed enough to operate as an independent phenomenon; there is then no artist interest in joining the old establishment art world. The works of the artists in the three clusters were, nevertheless, the products of individuals motivated by an oppositional drive; although the artists wished to succeed, they opposed the ways of the art world establishment and the limitations that is places on the art that is shown in Stockholm. The Concept and Performance artists strove to make their work exist despite lack of interest in the art world core. The Wild artists had also carried on this struggle, and although these artists had begun to achieve establishment recognition, they did not really believe that the attention would last; their attitude remained oppositional.

A factor which had encouraged the growth and development of the oppositional stance of most of the artists in these clusters was that they had graduated from the College of Applied Arts rather than from the College of Fine Arts. There they could have learned a rebellious attitude from the teachers as many of these had been political activists during the revolt of ’68 and continued to uphold their leftist ideological position. The activist reputations of these artist-teachers served as possible models for the careers of their students. Their ideas about art as well as their attitudes toward the Stockholm art world influenced the development of the ideas and attitudes of several of the artists I discuss here. Although not all graduates of the College of Applied Arts become rebels, the artists in the three clusters did adopt this oppositional position.

Since many of the artists in the three clusters did not attend the College of Fine Arts, they had also missed the immediate contact with those professors who acted as patrons to the Stockholm art world establishment. Neither the attitudes of these professors toward the Stockholm art world nor their opinions about art had been able to influence them. As I noted in chapter 5, the College of Applied Arts has been a school which prospective Stockholm artists have attended prior to the College of Fine Arts. Although the College of Applied Arts now has equal formal status with the College of Fine Arts as an institution of advanced art education, the College of Fine Arts is the institution from which most Stockholm integrated professionals have graduated and it continues to be the most desirable institution in Sweden to attend. Those whose school careers have been completed with the College of Applied Arts
rather than the College of Fine Arts have not been fully socialized into the art world core.

The three artist clusters expressed their oppositional position in their work. The Wild artists departed from convention by producing paintings collectively. They tried to introduce confusion into the Stockholm art world as one individual was not responsible for each work and whom viewers could praise or boo. Viewers had to accept the idea that the paintings were the product of a group, and that this work could not exist without the participation of all three of the artists. As the Wild artists had a group name, art world professionals could manage this problem by referring to this name and making it the art producer.

The Wild artists also provoked Stockholm art world conventions for fine art production by painting their canvases with unconventional materials and in a manner that disregarded current aesthetic standards. Rather than oil paint brushes, the artists used spray paint and spray guns; rather than paintings whose colors and compositions were clean and well done, the artists produced work whose colors were muddy and whose compositions were wild and chaotic: "ugly" paintings rather than "beautiful" ones.

Art historic concerns as well as judgements of artistic merit aside, it is understandable that the Stockholm art world gave the Wild artists more attention than the Concept or the Performance artists: the work of the Wild artists departed least from the social organization of conventional art world institutions. Although their work was collectively produced and "ugly", it was still largely canvases which galleries could exhibit, critics could review, collectors could purchase, and which *Moderna Museet* could store and save for posterity. The artists in the Concept and Performance clusters had more difficulty with the establishment, as they went a step further than the Wild artists and, in reaction to the ways of the art world core and the career of the artist there, they consciously rejected canvas painting as an art form. This rejection echoed an idea proposed by a teacher at the College of Applied Arts when he was a '68 activist. The following comments of Leo are a well thought out anti-establishment aesthetic position which could be a source of art world change: Yet his opening statement and most of his concluding one are a continuation of an oppositional position from the previous artist generation, and it is actually a somewhat conventional rather than entirely new position; the argument is part of a tradition of opposition.

"We feel that the canvases painted for the art market are a form of work produced for sensation to satisfy the emotions of a craving public. Rather than being producers of sensual tantalizers, we wish to produce work that is the result of research and which presents an idea. We think of ourselves as experimental artists. Our art production deals with a number of concepts which we are in the process of studying. We often create constructions, art objects, or work with the space provided by a room to make an installation. The art work is then composed of objects and a space arranged together to form a complete whole. Of course, this kind of art cannot be purchased, but for us, producing the art is far more important than selling it or exhibiting it."

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New to the tradition of opposition was the decision of the Concept artists to work with concept art. The activists of '68 had seen concept art as an elitist art form, intellectual, and not readily accessible to the masses. The students of these activists adopted the '68 activist opposition to canvas painting but disregarded the disapproval of concept art. These students also departed from the '68 activist desire to show their work to the masses; the Concept artists were primarily interested in art production. As Leo and Ernst produced no paintings, the art change that they could provide the Stockholm art world would be the result of their search to work without the painting medium. Yet while the artists felt that their work was an alternative to work that the art establishment presented, in fact, Stockholm quality galleries, in particular, the elite galleries, do exhibit concept art. Although artists who produce such work have greater difficulty finding a gallery which will exhibit the work, some galleries are interested in showing the latest developments in art and provide exhibition space although they make no sales from the shows. The work of Leo and Ernst was not an entirely new alternative but rather a development and extension of existing concept art work which galleries show to a narrow public. The change which Leo and Ernst could bring to the art world core would be the production of interesting additions to the sphere of concept art.

The creation of a distinctive addition to concept art was an important concern of Leo and Ernst. They emphasized the distinctiveness of this work by opening a temporary gallery where they showed their kind of concept art. Ernst explained:

"The gallery is supposed to be a place where we can show our particular kind of concept art. But we are not able to produce enough work to fill a year of showings so we are forced to invite other artists to exhibit their work. It's important that their work fits in with ours so that a distinction can be made between the concept art we show and that shown by others."

This interest in creating a stylistic niche is the same one occupying artists seeking success in the art world core. This establishment art world concern shows the influence of the art world core upon its periphery. Although Leo and Ernst had wanted to create an alternative to the mainstream, their minds had still functioned as artists seeking establishment careers.

By opening their gallery, Leo and Ernst had to meet their own aesthetic and art production demands, as well as make their own decisions concerning art distribution and presentation. Leo and Ernst opened their gallery in an old building at the edge of Vasastan, a Stockholm area where some artists live but which is rather far from most of the galleries. The gallery was peripheral geographically as well as artistically. Although the artists had intended to open an alternative space, a room where artists could show art that was unacceptable in the art world core, the alternative that Leo and Ernst created was still conventional with regard to institutional style and form; their gallery was almost identical to establishment ones.
Leo and Ernst formulated their gallery like the others in Stockholm by presenting a series of scheduled exhibits, sending invitations and offering opening parties. They also designed it as a conventional gallery with clean, white walls whose surfaces were not to be soiled. Judging by its exhibition form, the gallery of Leo and Ernst was a peripheral addition to the core art world rather than an alternative form which could have led to a new kind of art world or which could have produced social organizational change in the art world core. Leo and Ernst could have been more unconventional and could have created a space which artists could readily use for the performance art which interested the three artist clusters and their colleagues. This kind of space would have been one which artists could have damaged and soiled, a space where artists could have performed or exhibited more spontaneously without following an exhibition schedule.

Despite the conventional form of their gallery, Leo and Ernst did have an unconventional attitude toward its business aspect. Their gallery was not meant to last but would only be a momentary occurrence; the artists had not been interested in creating a viable institution in the Stockholm art world. None of the work they presented was for sale. Leo and Ernst had not been dependent upon sales as they had supported themselves through government stipends. As a temporary exhibition space where no income could be made, the gallery was an alternative to core art world establishments; here Leo and Ernst provide an important social organizational innovation for the art world core. Yet the concern of Leo and Ernst for a no sales exhibition space was part of the tradition of opposition and its struggle with capitalist art dealers and was not a new idea. Leo explained their attitude as follows:

"We know that our gallery will only be open temporarily. This building is going to be renovated next year and we won't be able to pay the rent then. The gallery is not supposed to be a business. None of the work we exhibit is for sale. We opened the gallery as a space where we can see and show our work. It was originally my colleague's studio, but as it was located on the street level with its own entrance, we thought it would be a good exhibition space."

The gallery collaboration had begun only two months before I met Leo and Ernst; they were forced to close the gallery after a year in operation. Exhibition collaboration continued in other forms; one tactic was to rent a space during a two month period so that they could show a three part series of exhibits. The short life of this gallery endeavor is typical of galleries run by new generation, experimental artists. As these galleries are a fluid aspect of the Stockholm art world, opening and closing at frequent intervals, they do not form the basis for the creation of an alternative art world with a stable social organization. Their fluidity is also not something which establishment art dealers would wish to adopt. The artists running these temporary galleries can show their work and those who attract the interest of the art world core continue to exhibit at stable establishment galleries. The temporary galleries remain momentary occurrences at the periphery of the art world.
The innovative way Leo and Ernst conceptualized their gallery was another source of social organizational change for the art world core. They thought of the gallery as a source of energy. Leo explained this as follows:

"Energy is one of the basic concepts in our work. Energy is produced in the gallery when our work is placed there. We receive energy ourselves when we are able to see a completed version of our envisioned idea, we can think about what we have accomplished and receive energy for the production of new ideas for further work. The gallery is a source of energy for those visiting the exhibits as well. By existing, the gallery draws interested viewers to it as a magnet attracting metal. Once there, these viewers are filled with the energy that they have received by communicating with the art work as well as with those people they have met at the gallery."

To intellectualize in this way about a gallery is highly unconventional in Stockholm. The thought Leo and Ernst gave to the institution of the gallery in terms divorced from the art market system and bourgeois ideology is a suggestion which could stimulate innovative art exhibition in the art world core. Yet the influence of their ideas upon the core was limited as Leo and Ernst consciously kept the gallery at a low degree of visibility from the core. The artists established this low visibility strategy to help them get the time to create a distinctive stylistic niche. Leo and Ernst were not especially concerned with spreading their ideas but were more interested in finding clarity in the kind of art work they were doing. The low visibility strategy was peculiar to the Concept artists; the other artist clusters did not manipulate their art world visibility so explicitly.

By using this low visibility strategy, Leo and Ernst took advantage of the breathing space provided by location at an art world periphery. Following the low visibility strategy, the artists took their time in opening the gallery; rather than hurrying to present a first exhibit, they spent a few months discussing their aesthetic position to make sure that they both understood what kind of art they meant to produce and present. Leo explained:

"We did not want to open the gallery before we had reached a clear idea about what kind of work we would be doing and showing. Through our discussions as well as those we have had in previous years, we've been in the process of evolving a collective identity. This collective identity is becoming so clear to us that it is becoming difficult to distinguish between our individual art productions."

Leo's and Ernst's pointing out that their productions were collective projects was an unconventional move; they distinguished themselves from the individualism of the art world core by continuing the '68 tradition of opposition and seeking a niche for collective habitation.

One element in the Concept cluster strategy of low visibility was the kind of broadcasting (cf chapter 5) that these artists used when they wanted to notify their public about the opening of an exhibit. Leo and Ernst kept this information very selective and spread it in an unconventional way. Rather than sending the
conventional opening invitation, Leo and Ernst produced photographic art posters to advertise the exhibit. They sent them to a number of friends and colleagues but refused to put any of these posters up in town. Leo explained:

"An active publicity campaign would contradict our principle stressing the importance of producing art rather than showing it. Those receiving the posters are able to hang them up if they want."

This unusual low visibility broadcasting was an effort by these artists to achieve a distinct identity. By inviting a select public to their exhibits and by sending them art posters, Leo and Ernst created a sense of mystery about their work and their gallery. The selective poster distribution marks a departure from the '68 activist approach. As I noted in chapter 3, the '68 activists used this mass media form as a cheap and effective way to reach the people. While the '68 activists had mostly been interested in producing posters with strong and direct messages, and did not have time to consider quality, Leo and Ernst printed their posters with great care and the content of this work was rather esoteric and sophisticated. By choosing to reach a select audience and by concerning themselves with quality, Leo and Ernst departed from the '68 activist tradition and instead imitated the concerns of the art world establishment.

The low visibility tactic of Leo and Ernst prevented the critics from receiving a poster. The artists neither notified the critics that they were going to have an exhibit nor sent an announcement to the newspapers. This avoidance of the critics and the mass media softened with time, and visibility increased and the newspapers were notified as the artists gained confidence in themselves. One critic responded to the gallery with a short notice identifying it as a place for new impulses. The gallery may have received attention as part of the art world trend to advertise the work of new generation artists. The artists responded to the attention with cynicism. Leo noted:

"The critic came to the gallery because she is a careerist looking for new artists to discover and present. She just wanted to glorify her own reputation."

In part, the negative opinion that Leo and Ernst had of the critics was an attitude which imitates that of integrated professionals, and they probably learned it from interaction with them. Although Leo and Ernst had wanted others to interpret their avoidance of the critics as a distaste for the art establishment and for the careerism of the critics, this avoidance was also a result of their insecurity and lack of self-confidence. Leo and Ernst eventually wished to acquire successful reputations in the art world core, and they were therefore dependent upon positive recognition from the critics. Despite their antagonistic pose, Leo and Ernst wanted the critics to write about them; they just did not want the critics to destroy them in the process.

The feelings of Leo and Ernst for the public were as ambivalent as those they had for the critics. Ernst explained this disinterest in the public as follows:
"Since we are mostly concerned with producing art, we are not interested in the public. At one of our performances we considered locking the door to the room so the public would not be able to get in."

This attitude induced two additional aspects of the low visibility tactic. The artists opened the gallery irregularly, only a few hours a week. They gave no consideration to times when the public might most readily attend the exhibits. As the opening hours changed with each exhibit, it was difficult for the public to reserve a time for regular visits. When the gallery was open, this fact was somewhat unclear as rice paper shades covered the door and the front window. Although the artists had kept the white shades drawn to create a certain atmosphere in the gallery, the covered windows tended to make the gallery appear closed and made an inhospitable impression upon potential visitors. As one of the Wild artists, Oskar, noted:

"I wasn't sure you were open. Why do you have the shades down?"

The apparent inhospitality of Leo and Ernst also tended to further the impression that their gallery was exclusive. The public which gained entrance to the gallery consisted mostly of friends. Many of these people were colleagues or artists in other media. Kadushin's (1976) finding that the activities of artists are visited by other artists is confirmed here. It was a social circle which responded to the gallery, providing it with life by acknowledging its existence.

Some of the members of the social circle were people the artists had met in contexts outside the art world. Former neighbors were particularly important. Leo explained:

"We all (both the artists and their friends) used to live in the same building. It has been torn down now and we've all had to find new places to live. But while we lived there we became good friends with one another. The house was a source of artistic inspiration and we were all involved in our art work in some way."

Although these neighbors and friends did not participate in the art world and could not provide the artists with professional support, they were important sources of moral support; Leo and Ernst could count on their interest and on their attendance at gallery openings. Although these friends could not help the artists succeed as they had no power in the art world, their presence made the exhibits appear exciting by making them well populated. As the friends were not critical colleagues, these were able to create a comfortable atmosphere at the exhibits; Leo and Ernst were able to relax with their friends as they were not judging them.

The art world initiates in the social circle were colleagues who were interested or involved in experimental art work. The majority of these colleagues were part of the same artist generation as Leo and Ernst. All these artists had just begun their careers and were open for new creative impulses which they could obtain from visits.
to the gallery. By visiting the gallery, artists could also make the acquaintance of one another. They could exchange information about art world professionals and events, discuss possibilities for economic support such as government stipends, or perhaps help create the possibilities for art production collaboration. Interaction at the gallery could give the artists new ideas for art production experiments or satisfy their search for personnel to participate in them.

While most of the artists who visited the gallery had not yet become integrated professionals, they could provide Ernst and Leo with professional support. Although a new generation artist is not yet firmly established in the art world, he has often made contacts with some core professionals, perhaps during his socialization process at the College of Fine Arts or through repeated visits to elite galleries. An example of the workings of such links with the core of the art world explains how I was able to meet the Concept artists. Filip, who had been a classmate of Ernst at the College of Fine Arts, gave me a tip about the Concept artist’s activities. Filip had begun to establish himself in the art world core and his artistic activities were more visible than those of Leo and Ernst. Filip also tried to encourage his elite art dealer to attend one of Ernst’s exhibits at another gallery and had in this way acted as a go-between for Ernst and the art world core.

The decision of Leo and Ernst and the two other artist clusters to work with performance art most clearly announced their art world unconventionality. While all of the three artist clusters were interested in performance art, the Performance artists were those most exclusively involved with it. The interest of the Performance and the Concept artists in this art form had resulted from their rejection of canvas painting. Performance art is a twentieth century avant-garde form. It is live art by artists (cf Goldberg 1979). The form varies with the intentions of each artist and draws upon different art media: literature, film, theater, music. One of the artists in the Performance cluster, Tora, explained performance art as follows:

"Performance art is an art form in which the artist gives the participants a task to perform. This task is the only given factor for the performance. Performance art is different from a dance performance because it is not choreographed and structured. A performance is rather a presentation whose content is spontaneously evolved as the performers attempt to carry out the task."

The artists in the three clusters, in particular the Concept artists, were able to present the ideas that interested them by giving the performers the task of contemplating a concept.

Working with performance art, the artists were at odds with the social organization of the Stockholm art world. While the art world core sought the canvases of the Wild artists as these conformed to its social organization, it disregarded their work with performance art as these activities did not serve the interests of the establishment social order. Performance art does not fit into the social organization of the conventional art world as a performance has no price tag and is
not a lasting object, but ceases to exist after its enactment. Besides being beyond art market control, performance art does not comply with the system of gallery exhibition. A gallery presents each exhibit during a three week period, something which is not possible with the non-repetitive live show. The site of the gallery is also not always appropriate for performance art; these shows sometimes must take place in spaces outside the gallery. To enact one performance, the Performance artists had to work in a deserted and run down factory. The performance was the interaction of the performers with the space in the factory rooms; some of this interaction was scrubbing and cleaning the rooms, some was packaging a large room with rope.

Performance art is also difficult to judge as it is non-repetitive and spontaneous. Critics are used to being able to contemplate art work at their convenience; they are used to being able to see the work alone and to be able to return to it again to get further information or ideas. They are used to criticizing art work that is part of a tradition which they refer to when they interpret and evaluate. They are also used to being able to identify a particular individual as the producer of the work. Performances break these habits as they occur only once, usually with a public present. As performance art is such a loosely defined form and because Swedish artists have only recently begun to practice it, there is hardly any tradition for Stockholm critics to refer to and there are hardly any standards by which they can evaluate it.

In performance art, one artist is often not clearly responsible for the work. Instead, an artist may be a designator of tasks for others to perform but also one of several artists/performers enacting tasks which they have thought up together. The art critic, who is used to criticizing a sole producer, therefore has difficulty deciding at whom to direct his remarks. As performance art is an avant-garde art form which is also particularly lacking in conventions or structure, the public which sees it must be knowledgeable to appreciate the work without the help of interpreters or pedagogues. As performance art lacks a Swedish tradition and as it is not a form which establishment institutions present, it does not receive the attention of the general public. Instead, its public is the small group of initiated experimental artists and their sympathetic friends.

Since most of the art world core did not see the performance art of the three artist clusters, the work in this direction did not have to meet a set standard or a set of demands. It could therefore be quite experimental and vary greatly in ambition, content and style. Tora noted:

"Leo and Ernst always put a lot of effort into preparing a poster for their shows. Their work is very exact and careful. We're not at all so pedantic in our group. If we get a poster up at all its very functional; just a piece of paper with the address and time. We're not too worried about what it looks like."
As they were invisible to the core, the artists in the three clusters sought contacts with other artists who had similar interests and who were located near them at their periphery of the Stockholm art world. They joined forces with artists in other media who also worked with performance art. This collaboration, an intersecting of different artist clusters, produced an interstitial art production phenomenon. The intersecting of different clusters was advantageous to the various artists since they could use the different resources of each cluster. Performance collaborations of visual artists and avant-garde musicians could give the visual artists a performance space as they were able to work in the hall run by the musicians. A dance group could give a visual artist the personnel he needed to enact a performance; the visual artist could return the favor by providing the dance group with costumes or scenery.

These collaborations created a local art world where performances were produced whose existence was little known outside this world. The intersecting of the artist clusters was a rather fluid, anarchistic phenomenon which depended upon chance interaction and spontaneous ideas. As performance art is a wide open, free form, it seems to thrive in a situation where there is room for anarchy, change, and experimentation. The clusters of artists who worked with performance were therefore in an advantageous position at the fluid periphery of the Stockholm art world. If the artists had become part of the art world core, they would have lost the possibility of meeting others who were in a process of intensive seeking and willing to try anything. To become part of the establishment would have meant stability, the adaptation to the demands of a public with rather set ideas as well as limitations on the number of people who could have participated in the work and on the range of ideas which the artists could have considered, all factors which appear harmful to a healthy development of performance art. Although a stable social organization may not be desirable for performance art, its artists have not had the resources to establish this and there is as yet no hall in Stockholm devoted exclusively to performance art. As performance artists have not been able to make the art world core change its social organization so that performance art can function there, it is likely that this art form will remain a peripheral one in the Stockholm art world.

While performance art is a peripheral art form in Stockholm, a few individuals from or near the art world core do see the performances and can bring them to the attention of their colleagues. Impressions these performances have on integrated professionals may encourage change in their own work or at least give them the excitement and impulses to continue their efforts. The knowledge that experimental activities do exist at the art world periphery may be sufficient to provide core art world professionals with enthusiasm and new life; despite lack of direct contact with the periphery, the core may feel uplifted because it wants things to be happening in the art world; activity at the periphery is a sign of vitality and promise for the entire art world.
Toward the end of my fieldwork year and following it, some of the experimental artists I have discussed here have been visible in the art world core. In these instances they have not been part of their artist clusters but have been individual artists pursuing their own careers. It is then the art world core has been able to accept them for they act in accordance with core organization. The Wild artists have most clearly departed from their previous collective endeavors. Toward the end of the fieldwork year, they exhibited together at an elite gallery, but rather than presenting collectively produced work, they each showed their own individually signed paintings. Following this exhibit, each of the artists has exhibited separately, each developing his own picture world and art world reputation. Of the artists I have discussed in this chapter, these three artists have continued to receive the greatest art world recognition and approval. Ernst has also been visible in Dagens Nyheter: once as one of the artists whose work would participate in an exhibit of Swedish art abroad, once as the small publisher of art books, and once as one of the exhibitors at an exhibit of experimental arts. Tora's name has been visible on Swedish television as the scenographer of a ballet choreographed by a man who was once part of her artist social circle.
Chapter 1

1 In the following table, there is a further breakdown according to sex.

Table 1. Stockholm artists interviewed

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of artists</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total female</td>
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<tr>
<td>New generations artists</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Experimental artists</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Integrated professionals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Well Integrated professionals</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Hannerz (1976) also notes the use of the general-purpose informant who gives information on a variety of topics about one’s field.

3 The problems facing the working class woman and the Stockholm art dealer are quite different but the extreme order and cleanliness in the Stockholm art gallery (cf chapter 7) is the same as that in the working class Swedish home.
Both derive from values of the turn-of-the century Swedish bourgeoisie (cf Frykman and Lövgren (1979).

Chapter 2

1 For a discussion of the relationship between art and the cultured needs of the bourgeoisie see Bourdieu and Darbel (1970).
2 The Swedish bourgeoisie today tends to play down class distinctions in situations where its members must regularly interact with people who are not as economically well situated as they or with people who have a leftist ideology. Yet when the bourgeois is in a context such as the art world where he wants to maintain control he does not hide his status but instead expresses it clearly which keeps intruders away.
3 In the spring of 1988, Blanche was in the process of moving to a building in Östermalm which will strengthen the importance of this area for the art world.
4 David Hockney is a twentieth century English painter.
5 This statement should not be seen as a criticism, but as an interpretation of the culture of the Stockholm art world.
6 The College of Applied Arts is reputed to be a school sympathetic to political activism. As one of the faculty members has noted, he and several of his colleagues were political activists during the '68 revolt (cf chapter 9 for a discussion of the influence of their radicalism). The proletarian character of the school is reinforced by the functional, factory-like building in which it is housed.
7 In the spring of 1987, there was a debate on the culture page of Dagens Nyheter in which the College of Fine Arts was criticized because its professors did not provide structured, formal instruction. The professors replied that the school offers advanced studies and that the students have the competence to work on their own and can consult their adviser when necessary.
8 Interview with Nina Öhman, Nov 25, 1983, Moderna Museet.
9 Interview with Torbjörn Lind, Nov 21, 1983, the Swedish Visual Art Fund.
10 Debates about art movements are common occurrences in art worlds. Moulin (1967) discusses the strong divisions in the Paris art world during the 1960s about figurative and nonfigurative art, a debate similar to the one between Linde and Bergmark.
Chapter 3

1 In 1987, *Konstnärscentrum*, the Artists Center, an organization established during the 1970s as an employment office for artists, started to compile a survey about immigrant artists because the center noticed that many artists of non-Swedish birth came to them for help. This survey was to include the number of immigrant artists registered at the center and residing in Stockholm. Unfortunately, the survey was not finished before this study was printed.

2 In Stockholm, in 1986, immigrant artists were part of a group of 56,480 foreigners (cf Stockholm Office of Research and Statistics 1986). In Sweden as a whole at that time there were approximately 1,000,000 immigrants (cf *Invandrartidningen* 1986. Most of the information in the following two paragraphs is also from this source.) These included approximately 400,000 foreign citizens, 317,000 people who have become Swedish citizens, and 286,000 people who were born in Sweden but who have at least one foreign born parent. Some of these people were sought by Sweden’s industries following World War II. Workers were not attracted to Sweden in large numbers, however, until 1964, which saw the arrival of thousands of Yugoslavs, Turks, and Greeks. Nevertheless, before 1981 half of the immigrants in Sweden were from Scandinavian countries, in particular from Finland: between 1968 and 1970 there were 100,000 Finnish immigrants in Sweden. Since 1974 few non-Scandinavian immigrants have sought employment in Sweden as unemployment has been rising.

Besides being a country offering employment, Sweden has also been a place of asylum. Since 1941, Sweden has had what is officially called a "generous policy" toward refugees and has in recent years been a country to which people have come from around the world. Since World War II the larger refugee groups coming to Sweden have, in chronological order, been: Baltics (30,000), Eastern Europeans from camps in Italy and Austria (25,000), Hungarians (8,000), Czechs (10,000), Poles (6,500), Americans (800), Greeks (10,000), Uganda Asians (1,000), Assyrians/Syrians (12,000), Latin Americans (12,000), Chinese boat refugees from Vietnam (4,000), Eritreans (a couple of thousand), and Kurds (a few thousand). While the Swedish government has not had too much difficulty in quietly integrating these immigrants, the most recent refuge flow from the Middle East, which has included a certain amount of illegal immigration, is beginning to put a strain on the Swedish authorities and on the eagerness of Sweden to serve as a country of asylum.
NOTES

Chapter 4

1 Telephone conversation, Claes Cornelius, Skolöverstyrelsen (Board of Education), 1987-03-10.
2 Telephone conversation, Claes Cornelius, Skolöverstyrelsen (Board of Education), 1987-03-10.
3 Telephone conversation, Lotta Borg, Studiemedelsnämnden (Committee for Student Loans), 1987-03-10.
4 During my fieldwork year, Christian was still teaching at a preparatory art school. The summary I present of his career in chapter 2 as well as some of his comments take into account the years 1984–88, following fieldwork until the publication of this study.
5 The study circle is a popular, self-improvement educational form, for the most part run by labor organizations. Each organization offers a wide variety of courses, although the emphasis is on arts and crafts and languages. The courses are open to the general public and there are no prerequisites for the first term of each course.
6 Ideology of individual work is a concept from Kleinman (1983).
7 For a discussion of the concept of prolonged adolescence see Berger (1971).
8 Becker (1982) also notes the difficulties innovations have in breaking the status quo.
9 I wish to point out that I am not criticizing the teachers at this school. I do wish to suggest that Stockholm artists who must supplement their incomes by teaching at art schools are in a difficult position as they usually do not have enough time or energy to excell both as an artist and as a teacher.

Chapter 5

1 "Ja, så kom den dittills största dagen i mitt liv och det var när jag gick nedför Akademien breda, vörnadsfyllda trappor efter att ha läst mitt namn på listan som hängts upp i nedre vestibulen över antagna sökande. Jag tyckte att världen låg öppen och att livet sträckte sig lätt och ljust och långt framför mig. Denna brittsommardag i september 1925 kände jag mig, som man säger nu för tiden, "hög" och jag tyckte att flickorna jag mötte tittade på mig på ett alldeles särskilt sätt som sade de till varandra: "Titta, där går han som kommit in på Konstakademien!"

Akademien here refers to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts – Stockholm. Part of the College of Fine Arts is housed in its building. Another part is on Skeppsholmen near Moderna Museet. Konstakademien here refers to the
College of Fine Arts. Colloquially, people usually call the College of Fine Arts Akademien, Konstakademien or Mejan and do not stress the distinction between the two separate institutions, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and the College of Fine Arts.

2 See Turner (1969) for a discussion of how Hausa migrants use symbols of dress and speech from their traditional culture to build political power in contemporary Nigeria.

3 See Goffman (1959) who uses the term "personal front" to refer to items such as the dress or bodily gestures of an individual which others expect to accompany him and be part of his presentation of self.

4 Ernst is an experimental artist (cf chapters 7 and 9). He graduated from the College of Fine Arts before my fieldwork. This anecdote about him was told to me by one of his friends.

5 See note 1.

6 See note 7, chapter 2, about the Dagens Nyheter debate about the instruction at the College of Fine Arts.

7 Moulin (1967) notes that while French art dealers sign contracts with artists, they insist that their legal obligation is secondary to their moral one.

8 Artist broadcasting is a term developed from the term cue emission which Leeds formulated (1964) to describe how Brazilian careerists inform others about the status of their careers.

9 See Douglas (1968) for a discussion of how jokes disrupt order.

Chapter 6

1 For a discussion of the homogenizing affect of culture see Hannerz (1980).
2 Interview with Bertil Linnér, SL (Stockholm's Transport), 1984.

Chapter 7

1 For a discussion of risk as an acceptable phenomenon see Douglas (1986).
2 Both Becker (1982) and Moulin (1967) note that the art dealer who presents contemporary art is a person willing to take risks.
3 While white walls are part of the international aesthetic for presenting contemporary modern art, these walls are still those of a fashionable Swedish building and have quite a different character from the white walls of a SoHo gallery in a former factory. In Stockholm, the white walls are incorporated into the bourgeois setting, and with the particular way the art is hung on them, they help to express a Swedish order.
4 "Jag har för övrigt en känsla av att ju äldre jag blivit desto mindre benägen är jag att tala om konst och att tala om mitt eget måleri. Jag målar – det är mitt uttryckssätt."
5 For a discussion of embarrassment see Goffman (1967).
6 For a detailed discussion of this point see Bourdieu (1984).
7 Some artist colleagues take advantage of this tradition for they wish to compare the exhibiting artist's success with their own by seeing who else attends the exhibit, if any of the critics or important collectors come, and if the artist sells anything. As friends and colleagues are expected to spend time at the exhibit, their lengthy observations are not impolite or suspect.

Chapter 8

1 "Vi är folkets pedagoger."
2 Ingela Lind, DN, 1984-02-18, "'Häftigt' ett vagt ord", Björn Wessman, galleri 16.
3 Ingela Lind, DN, 1984-03-24, "Den måleriska dramatiken", Kjell Andersson, Olsson.
5 Ingela Lind, DN, 1984-01-17, "Ett bord, ett altare", Lars Millhagen, Waldemarsudde.
6 Torsten Ekbom, DN, 1984-03-03, "Svensk konst blir bättre", Martin Engström, Galerie Blanche.

Harald Lyth och Ulf Linde får mig att minnas denna leksak en kväll när de samtalar med publik på Thielska galleriet.


Visst känner man igen de Chiricos plankgolv, Picabias absurda maskindelar
och andra modernistiska relikter. Men helheten har ändå en egen ton, på en gång ödsligt absurd och dynamiskt påträngande."

7 Peder Alton, DN, 1984-02-20, "När motivet är målningen", Björn Hallström, Färg och Form.
"Stora delar av hans produktion finns inte med. Framför allt saknar jag många av de stramt classicistiska arbetena från sent 50-tal och tidigt 60-tal...


Det är under dessa korta perioder då hans måleri tycks på väg att upplösas som han är bäst...

8 Ingela Lind, DN, 1983-10-21, "Levande begravda", Torsten Renqvist, S:t Nikolaus.
"Dessa övertunga träfigurer är synteser av rörelser och former och betecknar människor."

"Jag tror att Harald Lyth söker måleriska tecken för en metafysisk svindel."

10 Torsten Ekbom, DN, 1984-05-04, "En tragisk aura", Lars Grandin, Thielska galleriet.
"Det symboliska är inte påträngande, man anar det bara som en elegisk underton i målningarna. I en målning som "Tidvatten" får de ensamma figurerna på stranden, bortvända som hos Caspar David Friedrich, en tragisk aura. De lysande seglen i soldiset för tankarna till Kylberg, en asketisk, sparsam Kylberg utan den glödande koloriten."

"Klara avgränsningar, hela ytor, kraftfulla former, ingen tvekan eller vaghet."

"Teckningarna, däremot, är inte bara vackra, utan imponerar alltmer genom sitt maniska sökande."

13 Torsten Ekbom, DN, 1983-09-17, "Återanvända former", Sten Etling, galleri Aronowitsch.
"Det är en noga förberedd, mogen debut Sten Etling begär med sina målningar på galleri Aronowitsch."
14 Torsten Ekbom, DN, 1984-03-03, "Svenska konsten blir bättre", Leif Botler, galleri Aronowitsch. 
"Men detta är faktiskt hans första separatutställning i Stockholm. En sådan tyngd och mognad kan väl också uppstå efter lång och tålmodig väntetid".

"Ändå är det inget tvivel om att det är en självständig och sällsynt mogen debut Dan Wirén begär på Galerie Blanche tre år efter det han avslutade sina Akademistudier."

16 Torsten Ekbom, DN, 1983-09-17, "Återanvända former", Sten Etling, galleri Aronowitsch. 
"Det är inte vanligt i debutsammanhang att möta ett så färdigt och personligt bildspråk, en så säker behärskning av form och teknik."

"När även spontaniteten får sin stil är ärligheten inte längre oproblematisk. Självrannsakan får lov att ta vid där oskulden upphör."

"Något argument har väl knappast hans konst än att han övertygar med en tveklös, överrumplande skönhet. Själv tycker jag att resultatet ofta blir mera snyggt än svindlande. Som om linan spändes lite för nära ett skyddsnät av rutinerat handlag och god smak."

"Klara avgränsningar, hela ytor, kraftfulla former, ingen tvekan eller vaghet."

"Det goda saknar också ett profilerande motstånd. Det blir menlöst och kraftlöst."

21 Ingela Lind, DN, 1983-10-21, "Levande begravda", Torsten Renqvist, S:t Nikolaus. 
"Utställningen har dock klara svackor. De sentimentala smådjuren... smulor för publiken och ett slags brödföda..."

22 This term is an invention of Sandemose (1968 orig 1933). He was a Dane who fled his home, a village which he calls Jante in his book, to live and write in Norway. Sandemose writes about the narrowmindedness of the people in Jante, but Jante is a symbol for narrowmindedness in general.

"Den aura som har smeckts fast runt Jan Håfströms konst skymmer den. Här finns också ett högtidlighållande, en pretension som irritarar."

"Och man behöver inte fråga sig vem som har varit hans lärare i konstruktion. Tommy Östmar har ett pekfinger med i den här utställningen."

25 See note 1, chapter 5 for an explanation of the term Mejan.

"Åttiosju originallitografier till nyutgåvan i faksimilitryck (av alla 225 exemplaren sålts genom viskningsmetoden) har påbörjat sin utställningsturné runt Sverige i Konstfrämjandets regi."

Chapter 9

1 See Kadushin (1976) for a discussion of invisibility as a characteristic of social circles.
2 See note 2, chapter 5.
3 See Goldberg (1979) for a discussion of Cabaret Voltaire, a café-cabaret in Zurich started by the Dada artists Ball and Henning as a center for musical performances and poetry readings.
4 See Strauss (1978) for a discussion of the fluidity of social worlds.
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