The cultural history of politics in Swedish contemporary art.

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Abstract

Today Sweden is seen as a welfare state yet it hasn't always been so. Not until 1995, the GDP per capita rose by 50 per cent in Sweden and it rose until 2016. This growth is higher than in most other OECD countries¹. A welfare state like that without participating actively in different wars one could think that Swedish artists have all the conditions to become established internationally. Yet, I believe that Swedish artists that are known internationally are not that many. One reason could be that Sweden's political and sociological history differs from other European countries². In this thesis, I question and explore on a pragmatic level if our political climate has been influencing my own, Swedish artists and art business from establishing internationally. One part of the thesis is having the French sociologist Bourdieu's theories and the Swedish political project from the 1930s "The home of the people' as an analytical framework. The second part discusses how this project has made an impact both politically and sociologically on the contemporary Swedish art scene. The last part will discuss how the Swedish artists and galleries manage towards an international art market, with a starting point in the Western world. The thesis mixes interviews, art history and theories from different art professionals, philosophers and artists.

Keywords: Swedish art history, Swedish artists, galleries, art business models, Pierre Bourdieu.

¹ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international organisation that works to build better policies for governments, policy makers and citizens, they work on establishing evidence-based international standards and finding solutions to a range of social, economic and environmental challenges.

² Please read chapter: Det svenska Folkhemmet.

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Introduction

How has the Swedish political and sociological history affected me and other Swedish artists?

Sweden is today seen as a welfare state yet it hasn't always been so. Only in 1995, the GDP per capita rose by 50 per cent in Sweden. However, it rose until 2016. This growth is higher than in most other OECD countries³. There was a temporary downturn in the trend during the financial crisis back in 2013, but GDP per capita in Sweden started growing again in mid-2013. After two decades of relatively high growth, Sweden has climbed to tenth place on the list of OECD countries with the highest GDP per capita and has thus overtaken countries including Germany and Canada. Sweden is among the OECD countries where the increase has been greatest.⁴ One important explanation of why Sweden performs so well in international comparisons is that Sweden has been spared war, large-scale natural disasters and major social conflicts⁵. A welfare state like this could think that Swedish artists or culture workers have all the conditions that are necessary to become established internationally. Yet, I believe Sweden could have more known names than it looks today.

As a student in the program Master of Culture and Arts: Entrepreneurship in the Arts combined with my travels connected to art (participating in residencies, making studio visits with artists in different countries, interviewing curators, visiting art fairs). I have started to reflect upon how the Swedish political and social climate has influenced myself and my Swedish colleagues' setting working as artists compared to other countries. Sweden's

³ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international organisation that works to build better policies for governments, policy makers and citizens, they work on establishing evidence-based international standards and finding solutions to a range of social, economic and environmental challenges.

⁴ Ministry of Finance. The Swedish Model. The Government of Sweden. 20 June 2017. https://www.government.se/4a5336/contentassets/8416c4ff1410419090181fe503920390/the-swedish-model.pdf.

⁵ Prime Minister's Office Sweden 2013:19. *Future Challenges for Sweden*. FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE FUTURE OF SWEDEN. page 21.

political history is original because of the project led by the Social Democratic party's dominance during the 20th-century ⁶.

A change is happening in today's art market, what was once a niche trade overwhelmingly based in the United States and Western Europe has expanded into a global industry bound up with luxury, fashion, and celebrity, attracting an expanded range of ultra-wealthy buyers who aggressively compete for works by brand-name artists⁷. It is not news that these have changed the way the art market works and how it is constructed. Depending on who you ask, the global art market is currently estimated to be anywhere from \$50 to \$70 billion annually⁸. Never before has what we call art been so important to western societies: more art museums are being built than ever before, art exhibitions attract a mass audience, the art world has not only expanded globally but also socially⁹.

Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002) was a French sociologist and public intellectual who primarily wrote theories about the dynamics of power in the culture field. His key premise was that a strong hierarchy is dominating the art world. There are four central concepts in Bourdieu's sociological theory: capital, habitus, fields, and symbolic power¹⁰. Another concept connected to sociological theory is - The Law of Jante, which is a certain social behaviour specifically associated with the people of the Nordic region. The Law of Jante, also called Janteloven¹¹ is a social code that dictates emphasis on collective accomplishments and well-being and disdains focus on individual achievements. It is an underlying Scandinavian philosophy principle that applies across Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland. Understanding Janteloven is paramount to understanding both the history and modern-day cultures of these countries. The idea of Jante has its origin from the Danish-Norwegian author Aksel

⁷ Wetzler, Rachel. How Modern Art Serves the Rich. New Republic. 26-02-2018.

⁶ Please read chapter: Det svenska folkhemmet.

https://newrepublic.com/article/147192/modern-art-serves-rich. (Fetched 29-10-2020).

⁸ Ackerman, Kenny. Art Market Regulation: Why It's Badly Needed.Linkedin. 2017-11-07. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/art-market-regulation-why-badly-needed-kenny-ackerman/ (Fetched 2020-09-02).

⁹ von Hantelmann, Dorothea. *How to do things with art*. Zurich : JRP | Ringier Kunstverlag ag in co-edition with Les presses du reél, 2010. page. 9.

¹⁰ Please read chapter: Bourdieu, Pierre.

¹¹ The name Janteloven is originally Danish.

Sandemose in his book *A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks*¹² from 1933. The story is about a fictional small Danish town, Jante, where all individuals are expected to subsume their identity to the group. By having the French sociologist Bourdieu's theories, The Swedish political project The home of the people and Janteloven as an analytical framework I found it interesting to investigate to what extent me and my colleagues have been affected by the Swedish history and cultural climate.

Plenty of essays, theories and dissertations have been written about Bourdieu's theories, The home of the people and The Law of Jante. I have gotten plenty of sufficient content from Gustavsson, Martin. Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den Svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960. Diss., Stockholms Universitet, 2002. Martin Gustavsson is an associate professor at the Department of Economic History and International Relations at Stockholms University. He researches how Swedish organizations from different social spheres finance the activities with mixed sources of revenue. Another one is Svensson, Jenny, Tomson, Klara. Kampen om Kulturen. 1:2. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB 2016. A book about cultural policy change in Sweden from the beginning of the 21st century. Andersson, Daniel and Sander, Åke. Det mångreligiösa Sverige: ett landskap i förändring. Lund : Studentlitteratur, 2015 and Frenander, Anders. Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige. 2:2. Mörklinta : Gidlunds Förlag, 2014. In terms of getting an apprehension and putting myself and the Swedish art professionals with the rest of Western society's artworld. I have been taking valuable conclusions from Resch, Magnus. Management of Art Galleries. 3:3. London : PHAIDON, 2018. Resch analyzes the inner life of art galleries, supported by case studies within the Western world's greatest dealers. Magnus Resch is an entrepreneur and lecturer on cultural entrepreneurship. Also from Shnayerson, Michael. Boom, Mad Money, Mega Dealers, and the Rise of Contemporary Art. New York : PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 2019. Michael Shnayerson, a longtime contributing editor to Vanity Fair, writes the history of the meteoric rise of the art market. I have read von Hantelmann, Dorothea. How to do things with art. Zurich: JRP | Ringier Kunstverlag AG in co-edition with Les presses du reél, 2010. Dorothea von Hantelmann is an art historian and curator. She questions the relevance of art's relevance to society. I've gotten valuable theories

¹² Original title: Sandemose, Aksel, En flyktning krysser sitt spor, (TIDENS FÖRLAG, 1934).

from the German filmmaker Steyerl, Hito. *Duty-Free Art: Art in the Age of Planetary Civil War*. London : VERSO, 2017. Where she wonders how we can appreciate, or even make art, in the present age.

Yet, written theories are missing regarding my question formulation. Even though there is literature touching the theme, it's more explicit towards cultural politics in general and not specifically on the fine arts scene. The main idea in this thesis is that Sweden's economic and political actions, such as developing nationwide culture guidelines or selling and buying art are deeply embedded in Sweden's social power structures. However, my theme has its starting point from a personal interest and my role as an artist. Amusingly during my interviews, I was told by the interviewers that they also have been thinking of this question formulation.

My thesis is divided into two parts. The first part explains Pierre Bourdieu, Janteloven which is followed by the Swedish political and cultural history, to understand from where the Swedish contemporary art scene has developed from followed by a conclusion and epilogue. The other part reflects upon the current climate where I touch general issues for the artworld globally. To understand how Sweden connects and collaborates to the rest of Western societies' art world I have interviewed Swedish art professionals. I would like to give a huge thank you to Magnus Karlsson at Galleri Magnus Karlsson, Freja Harrel at Gagosian Park & 75, Ashik Zaman at Konstnärshuset/SKF, Richard Julin at Accelerator, Johan Bengt Påhlsson and all of my beloved friends and colleagues Joakim Ojanen, Anna Kinbom, Jim Thorell, Karl Norin, Idun Baltzersen, Carl-Oskar Linné, Pia König and Chris Voytal. Last but not least a big thank you to Power Ekroth, my tutor who has received a lot of crisis talks during periods when I have been close to various breakdowns.

Bourdieu, Pierre

There is nothing more difficult to understand than what appears to go without saying.

Pierre Bourdieu.

The origin

To illustrate differences between the art field in Sweden with other art fields in Western societies an inherent platform to start from is to explain Pierre Bourdieu and his theories. His theories have influenced scholars in multiple disciplines with his practice of social research and social theory. There are plenty for not to say millions of essays, books, texts that analyze or apply his philosophy onto different topics and researches. Before delving into the analysis, it is necessary to introduce Bourdieu's basic terminology.

Bourdieu meant that culture is not based on the same values that conform to other business models, like in the car-business or the stock market; whereas the richest person is on the top, because of his/her wealth. Bourdieu claims instead that the art scene/market is deeply rooted in social power structures which are not connected to the economy. In his book The Rules of Art that was first published in 1992, and in The Field of Cultural Production that was published 1993, Bourdieu examines the social world in the art field i.e. artists and authors, producers and publishers, and critics and gallerists. He views the art world as a space divided in many ways: not simply between those with high and low status, but between young and established artists, work that embraces tradition and work that challenges it, and works that appeal to a large-paying audience and work that appeals to a small group of fellow artists who offer their social esteem. The individuals that are part of the art structures have a so-called capital, (no matter what social class you belong to in society) the capital is a kind of value for the individual that defines one's social status. Social capital is therefore not about having a large social network, instead, it's more having a social position that creates the potential for the individual in this case an art professional. That capital can be a materialistic value, knowledge, economic or social value. For example, Economic capital means What you have, Cultural capital means What you know, Social capital means Who you know.

One central point in his theory is that the different social spaces are not focusing on vertical conflicts between social classes, it's also horizontal conflicts inside these classes, individuals between. According to Bourdieu, the fields of cultural production are characterized by two hierarchies: the commercial and non-commercial pole. The commercial poles are controlled by the economy whereas the non-commercial are controlled by cultural and aesthetic values. Which is worth mentioning a comparison between a pop culture which is seen as a commercial and contemporary art as non-commercial. Bourdieu claims that there is a certain homology between these two fields. The battle of social legitimacy is basically about having the most power, being the most dominant in the most dominant group, a kind of symbolic power to make people see and believe.

Tastes are almost always distasteful against others tastes¹³. Generally, in Bourdieu's theories; Intellectuals and other culture producers are skilled in using their legitimacy and mandated territory in cultural topics to "change the paradigm and turn upside down on temporary hierarchies on the obsolete taste that the bourgeoisie persists to hold on to"¹⁴. Groups that mainly establish their positions that contain symbolic value expect to leave places which have been seen as a distinct value but have lost all their classification function because other social classes have started to access that certain place.

¹³ Bourdieu, Pierre and Wacquant, Loic. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1992. page 66.

¹⁴ Palme Mikael, Broady Donald and Bourdieu Pierre. *Kultursociologiska texter.* 4:4 Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Symposion, 1993. page 213.

Examples of Bourdieu's concept applied in Swedish art history

In Sweden, at the end of the 19th-century artworks like Carl Larsson's ¹⁵ were associated with high distinction value¹⁶. However, fifty years later Carl Larsson became one of the most influential, famous and loved artists in Sweden where his artworks were seen as "the best representation of Swedishness"¹⁷. Another example is the Swedish Gallery Färg och Form that was founded in 1932, they were also seen as having a high distinction value. From the beginning, people saw that particular gallery as slightly dirty, because the gallery did not require the buyer being rich to buy, but then it developed into having a higher status due to they required that the buyer held a highly cultural capital and was accessible for few people with special highly educational degrees.

The Law of Jante

Janteloven (the law of Jante) at its simplest describes the way that all Swedish citizens and Scandinavians behave: putting society ahead of the individual, in other words, the opposite of Bourdieu where the individual competes with other individuals. Janteloven is about the group and single individuals should not differ from it. The Law of Jante, also called Janteloven¹⁸ is a social code that dictates emphasis on collective accomplishments and well-being and

¹⁵ Carl Larsson was participating in a group called Opponenterna. Opponenterna (in english Objectors) was 85 Swedish artists that were active around 1880. The group were working as a union, handed in motions in order to modernize and reform art education, exhibitions and funds for Swedish artists. However, the Swedish government rejected all of their demands. ¹⁶ The fact/value distinction: Better understood as "what is" (fact) and "what ought to be" (value), the fact/value distinction is the thin line between what is truth and what is right. It is the source of conflict between science and ethics. In its most basic sense, fact can be defined as the inarguable truths of our physical world - the material surroundings which one detects via the senses. By examining our reality through scientific methods, we hope to empirically and logically verify truths and thus to compile a collection of "knowledge". Value, on the other hand, is not accessible via the senses; it can only be derived through one's own subjective reasoning about ethics. Unlike fact, value cannot be proven true or false by any sort of scientific method. Rather, it must be compared against one's own faith or ethical worldview in order to draw personal conclusive results. Tronolone, Charlie. Terms in translation. Quine. 2004. https://www.rit.edu/cla/philosophy/guine/index.html. (Fetched 2020-10-16)

¹⁷ Gustavsson, Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960. page 6.

¹⁸ The name Janteloven is originally from Danish.

disdains focus on individual achievements. It is an underlying Scandinavian philosophy principle that applies across Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland. Understanding Janteloven is paramount to understanding both the history and modern-day cultures of these countries. The idea of Jante has its origin from the Danish-Norwegian author Aksel Sandemose in his book *A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks*¹⁹ from 1933. The story is about a fictional small Danish town, Jante, where all individuals are expected to subsume their identity to the group. It's important to mention that The Law of Jante is not a written law for society, it is more a set of unspoken social norms.

The Ten Rules of Jante

- 1. Don't think you are anything special.
- 2. Don't think you are as good as we are.
- 3. Don't think you are smarter than we are.
- 4. Don't convince yourself that you are better than we are.
- 5. Don't think you know more than we do.
- 6. Don't think you are more important than we are.
- 7. Don't think you are good at anything.
- 8. Don't laugh at us.
- 9. Don't think anyone cares about you.
- 10. Don't think you can teach us anything.

Bourdieu's theories are to say highly interesting, and his theories are very much applicable in the arts field, internationally. A possible apprehension could be that the art field works as a parallel universe towards our society. On the other hand, Janteloven is only applicable in the Scandinavian region²⁰ with that said, one can conclude that every country globally differs in history, culture and language. Reading about these two sociological extremes and thinking of what Anders Frenander states in his book *Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige*, it is hardly possible to find any foreign parallel to the Social Democratic dominance in Swedish

 ¹⁹ Original title: Sandemose, Aksel, En flyktning krysser sitt spor, (TIDENS FÖRLAG, 1934).
²⁰ Nationalencyklopedin. Jantelagen. Nationalencyklopedin.

https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/l%C3%A5ng/jantelagen (Fetched 2020-11-02)

politics. In other words, there is no other country that can be compared by the Social Democratic dominance as in Sweden²¹. By applying these sociological theories together, upon Sweden's culture and political history and to understand how Swedish art professionals have been coloured by domestic occurrences, one needs to look at the beginning of Sweden's era of welfare: The reform of the Social Democratic Party in the 1930s.

²¹ Frenander, Anders. *Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige*. 2:2. Möklinta : GIDLUNDS FÖRLAG, 2014. page 61.

Det svenska folkhemmet, The Home of the People

The speech

During the twentieth century, Sweden became a modern, progressive democratic welfare state. The Swedish Social Democratic Party dominated 63 of 79 election years since universal suffrage was introduced in 1921²². The story of the Swedish welfare state project is long and complicated, but it is intimately tied to the Social Democratic party who ruled Sweden from 1920 to 1976, 1982 to 1991 and 1994 to 2006. In 1920, the party abandoned their old position which was working-class warfare that aimed to strengthen the party's power in society. With their new profile, they wanted to focus on change, and to degrade the gap between social classes and general groups in society. It can be summed up by the metaphor that also became the name for this project, used by the Social Democratic leader Per-Albin Hansson: Folkhemmet (literally translated into "The Home of the People"). He defined their new vision of 1928 in the following way:

"The basis of the home is commonality and mutuality. A good home is not aware of any privileged or slighted, no darlings and no stepchildren. You see no one despise the other, no one who tries not to gain an advantage at the expense of others, the strong do not press down and plunder the weak. In a good home, you find compassion, cooperation, helpfulness."

During the 1930s, Arthur Engberg, the minister of education and Gustav Möller, the minister of Social Affairs, didn't know how to solve the failing culture scene with a lacking economy and private investors. This was especially devastating to Arthur Engberg who was very much dedicated to the art scene, he wrote debate articles and reviews regularly. Both of them agreed to start reforms that could save Swedish culture. They founded Riksteatern, *Sweden's National Touring Theatre* 1933, registered one 7th year in mandatory elementary school and founded Statens Konstråd, *Public Art Agency Sweden* 1937²³.

²² Frenander. Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige. page 18.

²³ Gustavsson. Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960. page 167.

A collaboration

Arthur had a dream, to create a collaboration between the working class in society together with the artists. They wished to manage and overthrow the capitalistic society in Sweden. From Bourdieu's perspective, social battles are primarily a competition for legitimacy. In the struggle for the primacy of interpretation, in reality, the intellectual and cultural producers are having the head start, even though they already occupy a privileged position within the elite. It is specific power, Bourdieu writes, "a generally symbolic power to make people see and believe", which the intellectuals and cultural producers possess: they can put this power in the service of the dominant. But they can also, within the logic of their struggle in the field of power, allow those who are in the social sphere as a whole to make use of this power.

It turned out that the global economic crisis affected Sweden very much. It became very clear that Swedish artists wouldn't survive a capitalistic turmoil, even if they didn't want to admit it —their lives depended on capitalists. In Gustavsson, Martin. *Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den Svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960*. Diss., Stockholms Universitet, 2002. He claims that even those bourgeois' who could afford to buy art, they only made symbolic economic supportive investments (in art). Still, without any responsibility in guaranteeing helping artists, this left a whole Swedish professional society to starve. Even though Arthur Engberg found a middle way solution the establishment of Public Art Agency Sweden, a lot of protests arose from the artists²⁴. The protests arose from a fear that the government would treat them as Hitler treated art and culture in Germany. The state shouldn't be too involved in what artworks should be and not be shown in museums and what theatre shouldn't and should be produced. Carl G Laurin wrote in 1937 that the cultural production field should be free from interference from outside powers:

"I read with dismay how Hitler criticizes the artisanship of art. I am anti-modernist myself when it comes to painting, but I shuddered when I read how he half-jokingly, half-seriously suggested, that one should sterilize such painters, who would not be faithful to his opinion."²⁵

²⁴Gustavsson. 2002. Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960. page 15.

²⁵ Laurin to the professor Frederic Peterson 14/12 1937. Part 1,1, no 6.

Even the author Elisabeth Bergstrand-Poulsen (1887-1955) said:

"Can you think of a more terrible thought than an art-dictatorship? Freedom is art's zest for life, or is it just a phrase? No, it is very much against me, that certain art directions would be prohibited. The battles between different art directions should be allowed to be fought in the field of art"²⁶

Even though a lot of protests arose, Arthur Engberg had founded administrative authorities for art and culture. One problem was that the Swedish government had a hard time distinguishing "real art" from "unreal" art in other words, artistic quality. For example, they couldn't decide if they should buy Carl Kylberg's "Havsluft " to The National Museum of art or not, since some politicians couldn't see what the painting was disguised as. A discussion arose, Engberg tried desperately to convince the parliament, and The National Museum's Axel Gauffin and Ragnar Hoppe head of Division, tried to help him:

" - You can't see what the paint stains are supposed to visualize, Engberg said.

- That's not his intention; he's a mystique," Hoppe replied.

- But what should I answer in the Parliament?" continued Engberg,

- If anyone asks, how such things can be bought for government money? Refer to our bylaws, Gauffin infused,

- State that the museum is obliged to purchase for its time typical works".²⁷

In the end, they decided to decline the possible purchase. The day after the Government denied the painting, a famous Swedish actress called Tora Teje bought the painting from her private wealth and then donated the painting to the National Museum. After that, Tora sent a commercialized Christmas card with a picture of a family, a father, a mother looking at their two children (a boy and a girl) beside a Christmas tree, writing only three words: Is this art?²⁸

²⁶ Laurin to the author Elisabeth Bergstrand-Poulsen 21/7 1937. Part 1,1, no 6.

²⁷ Gustavsson. Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960. page 175.

²⁸ Gustavsson. Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960. page 176.

As the Swedish government was giving economical support to the whole Swedish artistic society to survive, a lot of commissioned work in schools and other requests from the government arose. However, Swedish artists saw these commissions as inferior or even trashy. Instead of art existing and working for the church, royals, and delegates, it came to a point where art and culture were for the people. Nonetheless, at the same time artists thought this new solution for them was less valuable than the traditional way, where the bourgeoisie was buying artworks. So, early Swedish artists complained they couldn't afford to maintain their living due to the absence of a deep crisis but were still complaining of the solution that the Swedish government e.g Arthur Engberg and Gustav Möller were creating. In the newspaper, Svenska Dagbladet the Swedish art critic and author Gotthard Johansson wrote he had two solutions to neutralize or deflate the apprehensions the art society had around their activity. He thought it would be good if schools and other public buildings were filled with works of art. But such a change in state policy was not enough. A change must also take place in the artists that art does not become social, because it is financed from public funds. Change must come from within.

The other solution Gotthard Johansson had was to make people interested in actually buying "fine arts" to maintain the development of modern society. Some call it commercial or pop-culture. These include definitions that should focus on the culture "people" consume, unlike the fine arts or fine culture, that the "elite" was consuming. To consume pop culture, unlike fine culture, requires no special aesthetic training according to Gotthard Johansson and on quality, pop culture becomes similar to the aesthetic and/or morally substandard culture. The thing was that conditions of production and distribution of pop-cultural works are mass-produced in a standardised way and spread over large distribution networks compared to fine-cultural works which meet the requirements of originality and are spread through smaller distribution networks. None of these is however successful²⁹ in other words the artworks does not automatically hold a quality because it appertains to one or another side of commercial or non-commercial.

²⁹ Not until 50 years later with Gagosian's effort, Andy Warhol's death and so his very good friend Jean-Michel Basquiat's death, pop culture started to arouse and make a major role in the fine arts scene. Shnayerson, Michael. *Boom, Mad Money, Mega Dealers, and the Rise of Contemporary Art.* New York : Public affairs, 2019. page 141.

Historical part, Epilogue.

The Swedish Folkhemmet was a social program. It came to be known internationally as " the middle way" also known as "Den Svenska Modellen"³⁰. The model of a welfare society was categorized by three sections: the state, the market, and civil society. When these three sectors were mastered, it turned into a hegemony, a power that became a norm and standard which ruled for decades. These three sections were after World War Two able to generate a high standard and level of wealth, social welfare with the Swedish civils. However, It is important to mention that today in the 21st century, Sweden is not governed through the Project Det Svenska folkhemmet any more. The 60's grand revolution and radicalism had minimal political success yet during the 1960s, people throughout the world experienced almost continuous progress in most aspects of human and social welfare: living standards increased, life expectancy increased, levels of education increased, material production increased, as well as world trade. There was a certain spread of democracy and decolonisation was carried out almost everywhere, and in some countries, women were emancipated. This did not mean, of course, that war conflicts and dictatorship didn't exist, yet concerning previous decades and World War One and Two, were not too long ago, welfare progress was largely dominating across the globe³¹. In the 1970s, this development stagnated slightly. Which between venture capitalists came to be seen as a structural problem³². Reforms both politically and ideologically were requested. It may be worth reflecting on the diversity of values held by people in different countries, as presented from time to time in international surveys and studies³³. In a global point of view, this requested reform started by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan where they contributed to hostility towards the trade union movement and that the state constituted a major threat to the individual freedom of its citizens. Social welfare systems and education were transferred to private initiatives without involving the state. The Soviet empire collapsed and to return to Sweden, Folkhemmet was

³⁰ Frenander. Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige. page. 61.

³¹ Frenander. Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige. page 58.

³² Frenander. Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige. page 58

³³ Prime Minister's Office Sweden 2013:19. *Future Challenges for Sweden*. FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE FUTURE OF SWEDEN. page 22.

now shelved and the Swedish society welcomed a neoliberal capitalist era. So, in the 1990s, Sweden looked completely different than it did just 20 - 30 years ago³⁴. On top of that, the Yugoslav Wars increased a huge migration to Sweden in 1991. That means that Sweden during 150 years went from being a farmer's country to political wings revolutions, experimenting social programs, and migration. To be more specific; Sweden went from being a nationality based on agriculture and farmer's ideology with deep poverty and later on developed into a highly industrialized welfare country. Not to mention our new era of digitalization. Needless to say, several major changes happened during the 20th century even if Sweden has been spared war, large-scale natural disasters and major social conflicts. This makes me reflect upon if Sweden's social relations in the culture scene is more complex than it resembles. In my research, I find remnants of our different eras throughout Sweden's history in our cultural climate today. On the one hand, there is a clear apprehension that Sweden holds a strict homogeneous and hegemony where the people rely on state at the same time Sweden is a welfare country that promotes its economy on export and imports I.e. not self-sufficient. Which makes us dependent on migration where Sweden requires citizens that master speaking different languages and managing different social codes from different countries to determine future social, cultural, political and economic development and contacts. The aspirations of nationalism and homogeneity characterized the view of religion and culture for a very long time and Sweden could be seen as an ethnically and religiously homogeneous country. A so-called "ethnic nation" - a nation that was based on common historical heritage, ethnicity and religion³⁵. Nonetheless, migration has therefore contributed to the growing diversity of values. This makes me more confident to believe that Bourdieu's theories are not fully adaptable in Swedish culture society. Because of our different reforms to the political extremes and fast increased economy. It is a mix between Bourdieu, Janteloven and old nationalistic beliefs which it is not certain if they fully work together. This leaves me to live in a capitalist society where even more institutions are privatized at the same time part of a system based on a strong socialistic politics that was founded almost 100 years ago. Consumers of culture and art professionals rely blindly on the Swedish government to support and contribute to a rich cultural life in Sweden. Which is certainly

³⁴ Frenander. *Kulturen som kulturpolitikens problem i Sverige*. page 60.

³⁵ Andersson, Daniel and Sander, Åke. *Det mångreligiösa Sverige : ett landskap i förändring*. Lund : Studentlitteratur, 2015. page 29.

welcoming, but it creates a lot of friction when Sweden has shifted many times. This influences how we study, work, make decisions and arrange everyday life of the demands and needs of the industrial society.

The world is changing and we are facing challenges that are summed up in national and global goals. In a digital time that is very rapidly changing and it places demands on both structures and behaviours. What happens when so much has changed in such a short time? Where certain structures are still there but outdated and other routines have been applied in an era where digitization, socialism and neoliberalism go hand in hand parallel with each other? How does it work and how does it benefit and counteract me and my colleagues?

The following part will hopefully sort out some of these questions.

Artistic quality, poor conditions, and a lot of opinions

How do these different remnants of values from different eras adapt in reality?

So there is a kind of ambiguity where Janteloven or the ideology of The home of the people makes us care for ourselves, for example: focusing on producing exhibitions with Swedish artists in Sweden. At the same time, we are dependent on an international trade market due to that Sweden is a welfare country that promotes its economy on export and imports I.e. not self-sufficient. Magnus Resch, who wrote Management of Art galleries, writes that critics claim that an intense focus on management and the processes that accompany it might infect works of art and reduce creativity or quality.³⁶ Applying business models into the art world that has been lucrative in other businesses has also been debated.³⁷ The fact that museums receive private and state financial support has been questioned in the fear of museums being influenced by the museum staff's interests. He continues saying that artists fear that no real value will be created in the future, and exhibitions will not generate new artistic insights.³⁸ Evaluating artistic quality based on the number of visits to museums, sponsorships, curators' contacts, or pure gossip has been heatedly debated. We can conclude that this is a problem that is difficult to structure or even to solve. In Sweden 1974, a government bill was written to structuralize and prevent the above problem in Swedish culture, to counteract the negative effects of commercialism in the field of culture. No reforms had been made after 1930's when Arthur Engberg saved Swedish artists and culture by founding Statens Konstråd, Public Art Agency Sweden and Riksteatern, The Swedish National Touring Theatre so these new policies were very much welcomed and did not change until 1996 and later in 2009.

In 2007, a special committee was appointed to review the goals of these cultural government bills. The committee was called Kultur Utredningen, *The Cultural Inquiry*, In 2009, the investigation was completed and came to be called Tid för kultur, *Time for culture,* and presented the report to the Minister of Culture, which at that point was Lena Adelsohn

³⁶ Resch, Magnus. 2015. Management of Art Galleries. page 19.

³⁷ Resch, Magnus. 2015. *Management of Art Galleries*. page 19.

³⁸ Resch, Magnus. 2015. Management of Art Galleries. page 19.

Liljeroth. In the report, the committee proposed to remove the term "Artistic quality". They intend that no one has succeeded in defining what "Artistic quality" really meant and sought out forms of expression that went against a norm-critical quality (that artistic development is already doing well as it is). However, removing the term "artistic quality" would prevent cultural agencies (due to financial support) from repeating cultural activity that already has a strongly established quality stamp, such as classical theatre productions or exhibiting the same artists over and over again. Yet, not everyone was satisfied with the new proposal, instead, it resulted in a series of discussions and protests, so the committee was forced to leave the phrase like it was.

A non-established artist would probably benefit from a removal of the expression because then he or she would have a small chance to grow a career and a chance to exhibit at bigger Kunsthalle or museums. Even though it's a small chance, it's still a chance. Another example is that small theatre shows that are not within the scope of classical theatrical performances such as Carmen, or The Phantom of the Opera would be able to perform without being forced to compromise in their script. With that said, having a removal would bring diversity and the audience could experience a wider range of culture, new ways of embracing society and not only consume classics. On the contrary, my conclusion is based on my situation and my colleagues' situation. Removal from the expression would be beneficial, with the understanding that we are competing with each other and not include those who don't hold a serious attitude towards professions within culture or artistic practice.

So why were people so provoked that the expression would be removed if it would be beneficial for non-established musicians, filmmakers and artists? Stina Oscarsson was one of those that participated in the debate, she said:

"As far as cultural policy and the Minister of Culture's task is concerned, there is also a conflict of goals here that we prefer to avoid talking about. And this lies between capitalism demands for increased economic growth and art. To simply take out a brush and paint a flower, or write a poem, is by the logic of capitalism the most provocative thing we can do today. This conflict must be the starting point. For what is happening now is that we are trying to turn art into a tool in the logic of capitalism. To putty for a failed welfare policy, it

must now solve capitalism's inability to create sustainable development, integration, diversity and quality. And this conflict is not something we solve by writing into the cultural policy goals that art should counteract the negative effects of commercialism. It will do so if it is allowed to exist on its terms. We simply have to learn to deal with a society where there are parallel value scales that conflict with each other "³⁹

Quality is a variable depending on time, place and genre, but also between groups and individuals. However, if it goes to its exaggeration, there is a risk that culture or art, in this case, will become a special interest among other stamp collectors, vintage cars or some other leisure interest for the devotees⁴⁰. What do public places mean for citizens and what do the conditions look like to gain access to these places? The problem is that it can easily be developed into a certain elitism and that culture is seen as something that exists for a certain educated group of people. However, there are a few more issues to keep in mind;

Goran Djordjevic⁴¹ tried to rally artists to go on a general art strike in 1979. The strike was supposed to drain needed labour-power from employers who would then be forced to make concessions to workers' demands. Some of them responded that they were on strike already—i.e. did not produce work or new work. However, it didn't work out, it made no difference whatsoever. The reason was that at the time, it seemed to be rather confusing since they needed to define artists between what a strike was and how the strike worked. Which is quite comical, artists that always indigent to define the terms before taking action.⁴² This is a phenomenon which probably makes the art world lag behind other businesses; We are still looping in a state asking " - What is art?" " - When do you become an artist?"

³⁹ Oscarsson, Stina. *Svårt att tala om kvalitet i konst*. Dagens Nyheter. 2015-02.03. https://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/kronikor/stina-oscarson-svart-att-tala-om-kvalitet-i-konst/(Fetc hed 2020-10-03).

⁴⁰ Arrhenius, Sara. Okänd adress, konstkritikens nya och gamla uppehållsorter.

⁴¹ Steyerl, Hito. *Duty-Free Art: Art in the Age of Planetary Civil War*. London : Verso, 2017. page 40.

⁴² Steyerl. Duty-Free Art: Art in the Age of Planetary Civil War. page 41.

"It is a way of not letting the art world and its logic determine the rules of the game. A lot of people know what they want in the studio and know what they want from their art, but do they know what they want from the art world?"

Stanley Whitney

It's not news that most of the artists are doing internships, contributing to hundreds of productions without a fee or a fee that is almost non-existing, it's just a small percentage that can survive living as an artist. However, what differs Sweden to other countries is The Swedish Grants Committee. The Swedish Grants Committee was founded 1976 and their function is to support artists and other people within a culture who work with the areas of visual art, design, music, dance, theatre and film. The Arts Grants Committee shall, in international contexts, promote the role of culture as it relates to freedom of expression and democratisation. The committee allocates 140 million SEK and 2 100 grants each year⁴³. The Swedish Grants Committee is an example of Sweden's different political eras. On the one hand, the committee supports artists that live and work in Sweden. This functions to help artists to survive and maintain a diverse culture which gives nutrition to a democracy. A sanction from Artur Engberg's achievements and the project The Home of the People where citizens rely on and get support from the state. On the other hand, it's far from everyone that is granted. Around 7000 applications are received by the agency and around 1800 applications are granted. This is where Bourdieu and his social theories could be applied. Does it work to maintain a system whose main purpose is to operate democratically and emphasize artistic quality independent from Bourdieu's social hierarchies? For sure, one can apply his theory to Sweden, so who has been granted?

A reminder of Bourdieu's sociological theory: Economic capital means what you have, cultural capital means what you know, social capital means who you know. 2017 The Swedish Radio's program Kaliber found members of the Swedish Arts Grants Committee

⁴³ The Swedish Arts Grants Committee. *Grants & Allowances*. The Swedish Arts Grants Committee. 2015-09-17. https://www.konstnarsnamnden.se/default.aspx?id=11332. (Fetched 2020-11-04)

granting several million Swedish kronor to people to whom they were working with or have recently been working with. In an article from Läget, April 2020 they wrote; this year, 57 filmmakers received project funding from the Swedish Arts Grants Committee. 35 of those who were granted were based in Stockholm and only one came from the North of Sweden. The Northern filmmaker Viktor Johansson replied: " - I think you can get to the bottom of why this has happened. Do you feel as a filmmaker that you have to move to Stockholm? I think so". The administrator for theatre and film at the Swedish Arts Grants Committee, Tina Pettersson, responded to the criticism: " - Sadly, we didn't make it all the way this time. But we are looking at the geographical spread year-on-year and we have several rounds of support where we will adjust. There will be funds distributed to the northern counties during this year," she told Kulturnytt in P1.⁴⁴ In Sweden's civil law tradition, in administrative decree no.16 § it is written:

"Anyone who, on behalf of an authority, takes part in the proceedings in a way that may influence the authority's decision on the matter is disqualified from:

1. He or she or a related party is a party to the matter or may otherwise be presumed to be affected by the decision to a not insignificant extent.

He or she or a related party is or has been the representative or representative of a party to the case or to anyone else likely to be affected by the decision to a not insignificant extent.
He or she has participated in the final handling of a case with another authority and, as a result, has already taken a position on matters to be examined by the authority as a superior body.

4. There is some other particular circumstance which calls into question his or her impartiality in the case.⁴⁵"

⁴⁴ Svensson Johan. *En norrlänning på 35 stockholmare får filmstöd*. Läget. 2020-04-02. https://sites.jmk.su.se/laget/2648-en-norrlanning-pa-35-stockholmare-far-filmstod. (Fetched 07-11-2020).

⁴⁵ Justitiedepartementet L6. *Förvaltningslag (2017:900)*. Sveriges Riksdag. 2017-09-28. https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/forvaltnin gslag-2017900_sfs-2017-900 (Fetched 2020-11-03).

" - This industry is so small, there are a lot of people working together in different constellations. Just because you're friends, or you know a person, doesn't mean that the public official's decisions are influenced by the official's interests. It's about how to judge the artistic quality of the application. And a friendship can be on a lot of different levels." Cecilia Langemark answered, former branch head of grants and allowances at Swedish Arts Grants Committee. Although, already back in 2008 the Swedish National Audit Office did an investigation in which as many as 19% of all artists knew about one or more cases of conflict of interest⁴⁶. This strengthens the conclusion in chapter Historical part, epilogue. I.e. On the one hand, people of Sweden rely on their state, and at the same time, Bourdieu's sociological theories manage. Since 2008 Swedish Arts Grants Committee has gotten critique of how the application process is handled. When Kaliber sent their radio show The Swedish Arts Grants Committee answered:

"In the broadcast on 4 September 2017, The Swedish Radio's program Kaliber addresses questions about conflict of interest in the decision and handling of scholarships and grants within the Swedish Arts Grants Committee. Kaliber is based on some examples in one of the Swedish Arts Committee's working groups. The examples relate to the participation of some members in the working group's decisions without notifying disqualification in cases where there was or had been a work-related link to artists who applied for scholarships or grants.

The Arts Committee has taken note of Kaliber's information and spoken to the relevant members. In the examples mentioned, all Members have considered that there have not been circumstances which could have upset confidence in their impartiality in the decisions in question. Therefore, no conflict of interest has been notified."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ H Eriksson, Annika. *Kaliber. Musiker emellan – Var hamnar skattemiljonerna?* (Radio) Stockholm. Sveriges Radio. https://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/945535?programid=1316 (Fetched 2020-11-04).

⁴⁷ Konstnärsnämnden. *Angående uppgifter i radioprogrammet Kaliber den 4 september 2017*. Konstnärsnämnden. 2017-09-04. https://www.konstnarsnamnden.se/default.aspx?id=20820. (Fetched 2020-11-07).

However, this year 2020, The Swedish Government decided on an amount of around 500 million Swedish kronor to hand out to the Swedish Arts Grants Committee for them to distribute the money to culture workers that were deeply affected by the Coronavirus. Yet, the Swedish Arts Grants Committee made the same mistake again and got criticised. Because of those artists who were granted were artists who already earned more than 1 million SEK per year and rejected those art professionals that already live on small margins. The Swedish Arts Grants Committee answered " - We have treated everyone equally and not made a distinction between cultural creators who make a lot of money, but looked at the loss of revenue, which was our mission."⁴⁸

Go West

Leaving Sweden for a while and going abroad to investigate what art professionals have been writing about social status and artist careers. Resch writes that artists' careers can be mapped onto three key phases:

- The shopping phase
- The decision phase
- The financial phase

The shopping phase is characterized by young artists with impressive exhibition records at varying locations, particularly off-space, who are funded by scholarships and hope to be spotted by an alpha or beta gallery. The second phase, the decision phase is characterized by more mature artists, those who enjoy success and popularity, who are becoming identifiable, who have found their role in the art market and who may or may not have representation. Then the final phase sees the departure of the vast majority of artists, who abandon full-time work as artists and follow other pursuits. The work of a small fraction of artists is, and as

⁴⁸ Benaissa, Mina. *Konstnärsnämnden om kritiken: "Vi har behandlat alla lika"*. Sveriges Radio. 2020-07-20.

https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=478&artikel=7505394. (Fetched 2020-22-07).

Resch himself chooses to use the word "successful" is traded on the secondary market, both during their lifetimes and after their deaths.⁴⁹

Dorothea von Hantelmann argues that it is the format of the exhibition that is the key factor for a successful artist⁵⁰. She compares art exhibitions as a fairly new ritual that is specific to Western society. She claims that the role of the artist is quite utilitarian. According to von Hantelmann, museums are the context which is helping people to formulate a social nexus with each other, (however not everyone in society visits museums so the nexus she is referring to is probably within the society of the art world and Pierre Bourdieu's theories). But von Hantelmann writes that these spaces "defines and shapes history and presence". That sounds like a big responsibility for an artist - to be one of the key headlines of defining society, of course not as big if it worked generally for society as a whole. As Resch has explained in his book, there are different consumers for art and not everyone is a consumer.

So what is the artist's role? Is it to criticize or comment over certain circumstances? What is interesting is that von Hantelmann originates her discussion on a paradigm where art is created from a platform of criticality and to Immanuel Kant, "The philosopher of the great investigation into the nature of critique". It is pointed out in her theories that the function of the artwork is characterized by the unity of critical intention and their irrelevance to real circumstances. Therefore the work of art does not have any other option than to formulate a factually hopeless critique. The issue with critique is not that it takes a stand for or against but rather becomes a dilemma⁵¹. The criticism is based on the paradigm that maintains and provides the framework of the occurrence, in this case, art. Von Hantelmann writes: " - It is for the very same reason that the term institutional critique is misleading. There is probably no other contemporary artistic phenomenon that precisely by its critique of the institution has provided it with such a substantial discursive foundation. It is characterized by remaining closely attached to what it turns against."⁵²

⁴⁹ Resch. Management of Art Galleries. page 60.

⁵⁰ von Hantelmann. *How to do things with art.* page 10.

⁵¹ von Hantelmann. *How to do things with art.* page 180.

⁵² von Hantelmann. *How to do things with art.* page 181.

In bourgeois's view, The avant-garde failed because of the repressive character of the art world system in our society. For the bourgeois, it is an art as an institution that prevents art from having any real effects on society. Which is, unfortunately, a quiet dark point of view.

So having a huge responsibility in a context where you are expected to criticize something that maintains your practice without making any impact, let's go back to Goran Djordjevic and the rally; So, why didn't it work out? Why didn't they manage to go from defining the protest to taking the protest in action? Of course, labour in the art field has always been different from labours in other areas and as Bourdieu claims, that the art world itself maintains its modus operandi. Would the Swedish Grants committee work if the commissioners didn't know anyone of the applicants? Because, at the same time, it can be difficult to find a different system than that professional artists judge other artists. How can one judge if an application holds an artistic quality without having artistic experience of its own?

According to Kant, time and space are necessary conditions for us to perceive or understand anything. With this said, what kind of time and space is necessary for contemporary art to be able to define time and space today? Lacking in von Hantelmann's theory is a modern point of view, she is still theorising that the art world wouldn't be digital. Talented and unestablished artists today have more channels to break through than even just twenty years ago. At the same time as opportunities to convey their art have increased, the range of artists has also increased. Artists can promote themselves and their art through their blogs, websites and platforms that are created just according to their needs.

Resch writes however that art institutions must fulfil two purposes: they must create artistic, meaningful, highly appreciated exhibitions, and they must consider profit by employing professional management to attract new customers. If you were to apply a business model from another business to art, it would first and foremost mean building a brand⁵³. Galleries, museums, and artists would need to develop a strong profile combined with having the right connections and identification as to be one of the key headlines of

⁵³ Resch. Management of Art Galleries. page 21.

defining society. Is this true? Still, an answer is lacking, and the same questions will be asked which are mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, " - What is art?- When do you become an artist? - What is a successful artist?" Is it someone who makes incredible works of art but no one sees, someone who knows those who grants, or going to residencies, or someone whose works of art sells rapidly and his or hers exhibition CV soar?

So where on the scale between Bourdieu and The Law of Jante am I? No matter if it's conscious or not, I am dependent on my artist colleagues i.e. their choices are affecting me and vice versa. One of the main issues I believe is that the social world peopled by artists is based on the single individual's skill of climbing the social hierarchy ladder. This phenomenon does also happen in Sweden, which has already been explained as a country that holds a dominant and strong affinity aversing individuals that detach. Consequently leads to me and my Swedish artist colleagues operating two sociological extremes simultaneously.

Our global digital era has undoubtedly made major impacts on the art market. Suddenly galleries, companies, art collectors, artists and other stakeholders can connect and communicate with whoever, whenever and even faster than ever before. With more opportunities for communication comes a greater need to be flexible and to be able to update themselves for profit and success in the market, a factor that has also affected the art market and its rules of the game. Within the global aspect, the art market has developed into a commodities market. A regulation praxis which is common in other businesses is missing in the art business. Experts agree that the most problematic issue in the art world⁵⁴ is the unregulated market; the conflicts of interest, the lack of transparency, secret commissions, and price manipulation. The main issue here is that the art market on a global platform lacks adaptable laws. Yet, this is one of the very few unregulated markets left in the global economy that is in the same time one of the oldest and more established trades in the world,

⁵⁴ Kaplan, Isaac. *Should the Art Market Be More Heavily Regulated?* Artsy. 2016-05-23. https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-should-the-art-market-be-more-heavily-regulated. (Fetched 2020-10-23).

characterized by very old principles and conventions⁵⁵. This makes the business structure in the arts field much more problematic. In any other business the regulations come within, this means that demand and supply forces are enough to regulate trade and achieve optimal prices automatically. It means that brokers, collectors and others in the art field do businesses with enormous amounts of money based on trust, reputation and - Bourdieu's theories. Since there aren't any strict regulations, the price and cultural value of an artwork can shift rapidly because disagreements can arise during the discussions when valuing an artwork. It is also very important to note that the value of an artwork can also be dependent on who is valuing it, i.e. that participant's status which makes them dominate the market. Not necessarily institutions or exhibitions per se, but mostly when valuing artworks on the secondary market, therefore, some may have more interest in regulating the market than others. In an unregulated environment, it may well be precisely this characteristic that makes the market so profitable to anyone with some insight on how it operates. Ben Loveless, the director for Nordenhake Stockholm, says that he is very careful to whom he sells artwork. The art market reporter Georgina Adam in the Financial Times in 2010 explained it " - It is a balance, but operating on the secondary market makes very long-term investments in the careers of certain artists possible. The cycles are far more extreme if you just do primary."

Coming back to the fact that the art market is based on trust; Trust is the ability to accept vulnerability before other parties. Economically speaking, it is not a rational behaviour and may be explained as a behaviour seeking the avoidance of risk. Usually, trust and transparency are perfect substitutes; However, when transparency is low, additional trust is to seek, and then they become complementary. It is said that a transparent market is an efficient market, which would lead us to argue that added transparency is necessary to transform the art market into a "real industry".⁵⁶ Not to mention all the frauds, especially when the art business is more and more moving into the digital world, hackers are using email scam to intercept payments between galleries, collectors and others. The fraud is relatively simple. An

⁵⁵ Artemundi Global Fund. *Unregulated Art Market*. Artemundi Global Fund. 2015-03. http://artemundiglobalfund.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Unregulated-Market-Finance.p df (Fetched 2020-10-25).

⁵⁶ Artemundi Global Fund. *Unregulated Art Market*. Artemundi Global Fund. 2015-03. http://artemundiglobalfund.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Unregulated-Market-Finance.p df (Fetched 2020-10-25).

example is the following: criminals hack into an art dealer's email account and monitor incoming and outgoing correspondence. When the gallery sends a PDF invoice to a client via email following a sale, the conversation is hijacked. Posing as the gallery, hackers send a duplicate, fraudulent invoice from the same gallery email address, with an accompanying message instructing the client to disregard the first invoice and instead wire payment to the account listed in the fraudulent document. Once money has been transferred to the criminals' account, the hackers move the money to avoid detection and then disappear. The same technique is used to intercept payments made by galleries to their artists and others. Because the hackers gain access to the gallery's email contacts, the scam can spread quickly, with fraudulent emails appearing to come from known sources.⁵⁷ Or an art broker-dealer is valuing an artwork lower or higher because he or she is corrupt, gets payments or other personal interests. However, since the art market is quickly growing, changing and shifting, the trading of contemporary art would similarly be better functioning by allowing proper regulation. It would help artists, for example, to earn a living competitively, and raise the ethical standards of the market more generally.⁵⁸ I start to ask myself if I'm part of maintaining a democratic society or if I'm only stupid to have chosen a career path based on reputation, trust and social codes? Without any economical security and lack of contracts, job descriptions of what I can expect from others and what others can expect from me.

Hito Steyerl, a German filmmaker, moving image artist, and writer claims that just because our digital era made communication and madTwittere communication and access to artworks easier had made the contemporary economy of art more in the present than traditional ideas of labour-power tied to the production of artworks. Presence as in physical presence, as in an artist's attendance. In addition to delivering works, artists nowadays have to perform

⁵⁷ Cristina Ruiz, Anna Brady, Sarah P Hansson, Julia Michalska. *Galleries hit by cyber crime wave*. The Art Newspaper. 2017-10-31.

https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/galleries-lose-large-sums-to-cybercrime. (Fetched 2020-08-24).

⁵⁸ Graham, Jason-Louise. Art Exchange? How the International Art Market Lacks a Clear Regulatory Framework. In *Art, Cultural Heritage and the Market*. V. Vadi and H.E.G.S. Schneider (ed.) 314 - 337. Springer-Verlag. Berlin Heidelberg. 2014.

countless additional services, which slowly seem to become more important than any other form of work. Steyerl writes;

" - The Q&A is more important than the screening, the live lecture more than the text, the encounter with the artist more important than the one with the work. Not to speak about the jumble of quasi-academic and social media PR formats that multiply the templates in which unalienated presence is supposed to be delivered. The artist has to be present, as in Marina Abramović's eponymous performance. And not only present, but exclusively present, present for the first time, or in some other hyperventilating capacity of newness. Artistic occupation is being redefined as a permanent presence." Steyerl continues, " - The market economy of art has its economy of presence which revolves around art fairs, with their guest lists, VIP areas and performative modes of access and exclusion on every level. People have been saying that previews of mega-shows have become completely inadequate for High-net-worth individuals. Really important people are only present for the pre-preview."

She describes it as the physical presence of people is, on average, cheaper than the presence of works that are needed to be shipped, insured and/or installed. You capitalize on people's desire to widen their networks or contacts. In other words, presence can be easily quantified and monetized. It's a thing that few people get paid for and a lot of people pay for. Presence also means permanent availability without any promise of compensation. In an age of growing range of tools of communication, including the internet such as Instagram posts, Twitter tweets, influencers, online sharing, online networking, and LinkedIn. The human presence is one of the few things that cannot be multiplied indefinitely. One problem though is that presence means to be occupied but not hired or employed. You are reserved for a potential engagement. As the relationship of a gallerist and an artist. According to William J. Mitchell,⁵⁹ The economy of presence is characterized by a technologically enhanced market for attention, time, and movement—a process of investments, he states that presence choice occurs when an individual decides whether a face-to-face presence is worth the time and money. Presence becomes a mode of investment. Steyerl thinks that as with cryptocurrencies, there is no central institution to guarantee value; instead, there is a jumble of sponsors,

⁵⁹ William John Mitchell 1944 - 2010, was an Australian-born author related to design and arts practice.

censors, bloggers, developers, producers, hipsters, handlers, patrons, privateers, collectors, and way more confusing characters. Value arises from gossip-cum-spin and insider information. Fraudsters and con artists mix helter-skelter with pontificating professors, anxious gallerists, and couch-surfing students.

So, in Bourdieu's theory, he claims that the hierarchy within the art or you might say the cultural world is not only based on economical values or capitals; other values are also, if not, much more valuable to have in the art business. These are symbolic and social needs. But, if the art world is based on social needs and not as other businesses which are based on economy, then, theoretically anyone no matter what social class in the society you come from can benefit and raise your status with different capitals that is part of Bourdieu's theory. With that said, why is the art world still so exclusive and unattainable for others outside the art-bubble? A key reason is that the phenomena of rules for the crowd in the art world is making people outside the crowd feel they do not belong in a narcissistic kind of way, like Tod's shoes, a Rolex Daytona or a Hermés Kelly bag, they achieve the same effect as being seen at a certain event to demonstrate their association with a particular group. Besides, communication with others and meeting peers are satisfied by an art gallery visit. Second, an art gallery visit, like a museum, could also stimulate needs that are related to the works of art. These can be emotional and cultural needs or simply to let art help them to resolve a problem, to inspire them to escape from daily problems or to fulfil a constant need to learn. This description is supported by a study on audience motivation, choice and relationships with cultural products and services written by Pulh Marteaux & Mencarelli in 2008. The authors argue that there are seven broad consumer trends:

- Consumers seek a shared rather than an individual experience.
- Their senses need to be stimulated in several ways.
- They wish to get involved and become a spectator.
- They want edutainment combining the acquisition of knowledge with an emotional response.
- They wish to choose following their wants and needs and a mix of genres. precedence to one or the other.

- They want it all and want it now.
- They want to integrate new technologies in consumption.

Even though it was rough after World War II the world economy was starting to recover, during this time you didn't need to be born wealthy to start a gallery.⁶⁰ For example, decades after her death, Betty Parson would be praised for taking on women artists and gay artists (but her efforts were not appreciated at the time). During this time, galleries, artists and collectors were working tight together. Taking Jim Jacobs as an example, that spent much of his time coaxing artists to finish their works, nudging harder when the gallery's rent was due. He would help John Chamberlain weld his car metal sculptures, then dash over to the Factory to do more silkscreens for Warhol. Coming back to Magnus Resch and his book "Management of the art gallery", where he divides gallery visitors into six categories, each with different motivations:

- Art lovers Buy for the love of art, to extend their collection, or as a source of inspiration
- One-time buyers Buy to signal (or aspire to) social status or for decorative purposes
- Dealers/Professionals Buy to resell or in the name of a client.
- Investors/speculators Consider art as an alternative investment, art flippers
- Museums/foundations Buy for permanent display
- Corporate Collectors Corporations such as UBS, Bank, Jp Morgan Chase and others.

According to Resch, the market's most frequent buyer at an art gallery is the Art lover, who represents the old-school type of collector. By having this very expensive interest they are climbing the social ladder only by having an interest in buying art. A perfect and often quoted example is Herbert and Dorothy Vogel, who spent most of their money collecting art. Over thirty years they amassed an astonishing collection of 4500 artworks, stored in their one-bedroom apartment. Art lovers are keenly interested in the development of artists and usually have a relationship with the gallerist. Another example from a gallery view is Hauser

⁶⁰ Shnayerson. *Boom Mad Money Mega dealer and the Rise of Contemporary Art.* page 15 - 61.

and Wirth, despite its accelerated growth, the gallery has made its reputation as a business where the artists come first, they are happy to wait as long as it takes to bring slow-emerging artists to fame. Today in the 21st century, interestingly there is this climate: It is seen as dirty if you buy art for investment. Instead, you buy yourself a higher-level on the social status ladder. Even though many people do buy art for the investment but probably holds it as a secret motive.

" - Many times artists feel that changing galleries will change the perception of their work, but those changes might not always work."

Mary Boone

The art business trades in things that have no price, it belongs to the class of practices in which the logic of the pre-capitalist economy lives on (as it does, in another sphere, in the economy of exchanges between the generations). ⁶¹ In Boom: Mad Money, Mega Dealers, and the Rise of Contemporary Art by Shnayerson, Michael there was a major turn in the art business during the 80s when Andy Warhol died, and shortly after Jean Michel Basquiat. Larry Gagosian raised the prices of their work to the extent, and the market with ridiculous prices was born. Even though, the preconditions are still that you buy an art piece because of social status and not for an investment. A good example of this is Saatchi, a collector and gallerist. His unofficial nickname is "Artflipper" - which means an art dealer that buys new, unestablished art from young artists and then sells it with profit. Many galleries see buyers having one artwork for between 20 years and their whole lifetime, even if you sell an artwork after 10 years you can get a title as an art-flipper.

⁶¹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Johnson, Randal (ed.). Columbia University Press. 1993. page 74.

Artistic quality, poor conditions, and a lot of opinions, Epilogue.

I believe it is a mix between Bourdieu, Janteloven, old nationalistic beliefs, which I am not convinced if they fully work together. This leaves me to live in a capitalist society where even more institutions are privatized at the same time I am part of a system and cultural profile based on a strong socialistic politics that was founded almost 100 years ago. Consumers of the culture, artists, rely blindly on the Swedish government to support and contribute to a rich cultural life in Sweden. Which is certainly welcoming, but it creates a lot of friction when Sweden has shifted many times which influences how we study, work, make decisions and arrange everyday life of the demands and needs of the industrial society. To get a more diverse explanation of these thoughts, I decided to contact different art professionals in Sweden that have been working, living both abroad and in Sweden. The choice of people is based on their impact on Sweden's contemporary art scene.

Interviews

Magnus Karlsson

Galleri Magnus Karlsson is one of the leading galleries for contemporary art in Stockholm. The gallery, owned and operated by Magnus Karlsson, represents over 30 artists, mostly Swedish but also international. Among them some of Sweden's most famous artists such as Mamma Andersson, Jockum Nordström, Klara Kristalova and Dan Wolgers;

" - As a gallerist, it is important to have artists you like and not think about who's artistry suits with whom and what is beneficial for me like a gallery. Art is not like other businesses and therefore you cannot work as if it were a saleable commodity. Even though many claims that you can, but then you will delete the sparkle I think, and on a personal level and why I even started a gallery to do it because you simply just love it. That's why I think scholarships and funding for artists are great. For artists, to make great art, you cannot overthink what

would be sellable and what not. I believe the greatest art is the one you do for yourself, the one where you do not include anyone else than yourself and your imagination. That's why it is great with fundings because then the artists are calm enough to work in their studio undisturbed. I know other gallerists may not agree but this is my opinion. I have stopped participating in art fairs cause I simply don't feel it is as fun anymore, it is not the same today as it were a couple of years ago. Nowadays I focus on having a more local profile but what market and to whom I sell to comes and goes. Today most of my customers are Swedish buyers, and maybe that is because of Covid-19. But in my younger years, I was determined to open a gallery in NYC. But you know, life comes in between and I decided to stay in Stockholm. But I first met David Zvirner it was, probably 25 years ago and we have always gotten along very well and have the same taste. Back then David wasn't a mega gallery, it has been growing after. And I admire and like his way of doing businesses."

Richard Julin

Richard has a long resume, today he is the artistic director of Accelerator and most recently deputy director of the museum at Magasin III.

" - I have been active for 20 years and before that, I have worked in France and Germany so I have some kind of experience from other places than Sweden. So for me, it is very clear that this Swedish heritage, in many artists, is characterized by an attitude that culture is a matter for the government. It is not that it is up to everyone to fight their way through as it is, for example, in the United States. But there is a kind of basic attitude, especially among older artists that think: " - I don't need to have a larger gallery or exhibit in fancy places" instead

the whole art-machinery rely on the state, where you can apply for project grants for example. I don't want to put any value in that but in my point of view, the Swedish art world has been extremely marked by that. Another example is that many of the older generations had, which they nowadays removed, a salary for life, paid by the government granted to those

who have been active as an artist long enough. This applies to visual artists, musicians, choreographers, filmmakers. I think that could be a reason why the older generation of artists was not motivated enough to get out into the world as much. That is one thing, the other thing is that I have also thought about, and as many others have said to me is that Sweden perceives

itself as so small, and we compare ourselves so much so with abroad all the time. It's like in Sweden we say, " - We're the Venice in the North!" or " - That restaurant, it's just like you're in Brooklyn!" so there's always this one compartment, it's like saying, " - This is Swedish and we have a shitload of many amazing artists who live and work here in our country". I do not know if it is linked to the Law of Jante⁶² or what it is but I think that affects the mentality of

Swedish people. However, I think it's about to change, I mean, because of The social democrats' long dominance in Sweden, that paved the way for neoliberalism to flourish and perhaps, I don't put any value in, neither reflect upon if its good or bad outcome

consequence, but it embraces a kind of attitude that it is a competition simply.

We have this strange thing that, only one person at the time, fills the number one leading throne for every genre. In the Swedish film business, it has been Ingmar Bergman for a very long time on that throne, then that place was occupied. It's the same in the art world, we've had an incredibly famous artist, Anders Zorn, in his days he was richer than the Swedish king, and Anders Zorn was the number one Swedish artist and everyone else didn't concur him out. So, when you say " - But we only have Karin Mamma" it goes a bit in line with that. There are many Swedish huge artists abroad, like Henrik Håkansson or Karl Holmqvist for example. But Karin Mamma is the one that has the number one spot. Or in the music industry, in the past it was Abba, now it is Robyn, you fill only one place in some way. I have no idea if it's true, it's only my speculation.

When you talk about career and so, as a curator, I have never had a problem with wanting to do things, it has always been my goal, whether it is successful or not, or if it's good or bad things you do if you manage to constantly do things - Then it becomes a career- It's the same for artists.

I think of the artists I have been working with, when I feel that " - This person is acting as an artist" It lies very much in the making, to do stuff. So it is important to find ways where you somehow find contexts where you manage to create things as an artist or curator. I have no problem talking about career, but for me, it means doing things. Stockholm is a small duck pond, and my experience is that it is possible to do things but it may not always be so easy. It

⁶² The Law of Jante is a literary element that has been assumed by some to explain the egalitarian nature of Nordic countries. It characterizes not conforming, doing things out of the ordinary, or being personally ambitious as unworthy and inappropriate.

is the most important thing, to feel hope and wanting to continue, to find new ways, and to hold on to your inner beliefs. Knowing the reason why you continue with art because there is a hell of a lot easier ways and jobs to go than to work in the cultural sphere, it is the most important thing that you cannot forget, your inner hope. Once you have got a few, and you can show that this institution is capable of producing great works at the level it claims, then over time it will not be as difficult to get more artists here. I started at Magasin 3 when some big names had already been shown, so when I immediately started to ask some of my heroes, who are one of the most famous and the first one I started working with was Tony Oursler. He asked his gallery and then they looked at what Magasin 3 was a kind of place and I said, "

- But we want to produce new artworks, our budget looks like this, do you want to do it?" Then almost everyone thought it's great, so it's a combination of:

1. What you radiate, 2. What context people want to exhibit at, and 3. What kind of resources you have.

You can't hide the fact that those three pinpoints are essential. Then over the years, I have understood that we at Magasin 3 have never had gigantic budgets compared to other Kunsthalle. We have only used the money very well. If I compare with what I have learned over time what Moderna Museet has put on its budgets on their exhibitions, and Bonniers in recent years, Magasin 3 have been much, much lower. However, I have been involved in producing a lot. I have a background as an industrial designer so I have kind of always been very involved in the production. We have not brought in large groups of people who have been co-producers or architects, we've kind of handled the production ourselves. For what we have achieved, I think that we have created many new exciting things with good means, but it has not been that we have just bought it. When I finished at Magasin 3 we had done about 40

It's more about being in a place that already had a very strong charisma and a good reputation and then kind of continuing building on that. The artists themselves rarely have the ultimate

exhibitions of which almost all had new productions in themselves.

power, whether you are a filmmaker or an artist or so it has also gone like this that the curators had a vast power position and then another person, the gallerists had before a really big impact. The collectors have a lot, but it is rarely the artists who have the greatest power in

the art world. To participate and be represented abroad, you have to be signed to a large gallerist. And I wonder why not more Swedish gallerists collaborate with gallerists abroad,

Stockholm is not the centre, we are on a periphery. London, NYC, Zurich are the ones that dominate. And there we have it, maybe a connection to Swedish history. In Sweden, we do not have the tradition that exists in other countries, that with the economy and money comes a kind of responsibility to make sure that culture is continuing to live. Very few capitalists in Sweden have the feeling that they need to help the culture, instead, they buy boats, cars and play golf. I think that is very much about the fact that for a long time we have been leaning towards the State. That the government takes care of the culture. In other countries, it looks like where there is money, there's a tradition of helping and supporting culture because the culture is a guarantor that a country continues to be civilized."

Ashik Zaman

Ashik Zaman is the founder and editor-in-chief of the online publication and the mobile artistic platform C-print. He has previously worked creatively within the Nordic art fair Market Art Fair and has as a freelance curator.

" - I think it's first important to make a mind-note, or more than just a mind-note, on what Sweden is being compared to? Yes, if you think of "household superstar names" in the international art circuit, Sweden's contributions to such groups might not be that many at all; you easily primarily arrive at an artist like Mamma Andersson (who is represented by one of the top mega-dealers) and perhaps then in the same breath will come to think of Jockum Nordström (although there's a stretch even between those two in terms of international standing). There's also Klara Lidén and Nathalie Djurberg. It also wouldn't be fair not to mention Hilma if Kint most recently who now posthumously, in fact, is a superstar name, as a result of that major survey of her work that was carried out by Moderna Museet (a public institution technically operating under the Culture and Arts Ministry, which is good to note in terms of talking about structures that relate to politics). But there are of course quite a few more who have had credible international exposure and recognition over time through biennials and international galleries (which might not amount to a representation by Gagosian, Hauser & Wirth, Thaddaeus Ropac and the likes) but still amounts to successful international trajectories. People like Matts Leiderstam, Nina Canell and Karl Holmqvist are easy to forget but have also been around their fair share around the globe. Looking also at

other Western countries except for the grand nations like the UK and France, I guess most countries also don't show numbers in terms of mega-gallery representation that significantly

puts Sweden to shame. Also, I feel in terms of public money creating structures for international trajectories and crossovers to emerge for Swedish artists; Sweden has public entities like Statens Konstråd, Statens kulturråd and IASPIS which are possibly quite well-funded and do their fair share for the promotion of Swedish contemporary art. So complex but I would think one of many answers must lie in the access the art scene has as well to private money which is limited. In the great scheme of things and machinations that drive the art world forward, I think collectors are an important factor and network that help

"stars" to emerge and get across around the globe. My impression is that collectors are relatively few and structures that help foster and nurture incentives for public money to be invested in the art are scarce. Tax legislation doesn't seem to benefit the emergence of international corporate collections which can be compared to a place like Germany where for

instance, banks get involved in the art scene to a larger extent. As well if you look at it, what are the platforms where international stars can be created "overnight"? Yes, there are

biennials but aside from that and more so it's art fairs, where greater art dealers than our Swedish ones can take notice of a Swedish artist and influential international collectors do the same. Most Swedish galleries don't have that sort of money; it's a handful that can sustain the risk of doing big expensive fairs being an obscure gallery from the Nordic region. But that's how Mamma Andersson, Jockum Andersson and Klara Kristalova probably were "made". By

Magnus Karlsson bringing their work to Frieze or the Armory Show where exposure was had, facilitating the interest of mega-dealers and such. And it comes back down to money. The pricing of art is significantly different in Sweden for entry and mid-level artists than in some other places (also I've compared to Vienna where it's really rare for entry-level artists to

begin anywhere below 2-3 K euro) which of course impacts revenue and the finances of Swedish galleries. Swedish galleries operate with really small bodies of staff; where's the time and resources to promote the artists in a representational model where Swedish galleries represent 20 artists, with two staff members (including the owners). Too little private money and too little support to do art fairs (which is something that the Swedish Gallery Association has raised questions about) I think is part of the answer to your question. I think of something like Phileas in Vienna/Austria; a private fund to enable contemporary art projects by Austrian

artists and art projects in Austria; where are the Swedish equivalents to that? (http://www.phileasprojects.org/).

I do think it's difficult to compare the success Sweden has in other artistic disciplines like music and fashion to contemporary art (although let's not forget about "the Nordic Miracle" in contemporary art that arose in the '90s; an expression co-coined by Hans-Ulrich Obrist in 1998 and which informed Ann-Sofi Sidén and others. The Nordic Miracle in art I guess could be compared to the Nordic fashion wonder in the '00s. At some level, of course, it's all political and identifying contemporary art as possible international trade and export and investing money in it accordingly and doing some public "lobbying" to promote contemporary art which is still rather distant for the average cultural consumer. A different attitude towards wealth and displays of wealth here than in other places in the world surely also plays an impact, getting back to the influence of a socialist societal structure ridden by jante."

Freja Harrel

Freja moved from Stockholm 2010 and started to work for Gagosian in 2011. In 2014 she was driving past this location on 821 Park Avenue and called Gagosian directly. Since then she has been the director for Park & 75 in New York.

" – Larry Gagosian is brilliant and has outstanding memory; he remembers everything. He knows everything. He is truly a shrewd businessman. But it's easy to collaborate and work with him. However, I understand that seeing it from the outside, it looks like he is very much unapproachable. Karin Mamma Andersson had some big shows internationally, but not so many more. In my work, the first thing you look at before you sign someone is how many major exhibitions these artists have participated in, if they are represented on biennials, fairs, Fiac! or museums, mainly in NYC and London. But it's a self-reinforcing circuit you know, I mean, the curating team at museums are also looking at who is representing the artists they are considering to exhibit. If the artist doesn't have a legit and substantial international representation, it's tough to motivate participation in bigger museum shows. What I would like to know is why Swedish galleries don't collaborate more with other galleries? I mean, If

Swedish galleries don't think of a business model to grow as a gallery, then their artists will not grow either. Sweden feels parochial, it's very Swedish not to be interested in turning around their way of handling art and business. Take CF Hill and Fotografiska for example, they work with a distinctive business model and this makes it difficult for them to be fully accepted in the Swedish contemporary art scene. It's reluctant towards finding new ways of growing or collaborating rather than an attitude "let things stay as they are". Another thing I

believe that is probably a reason is that no Swedish embassy supports Swedish galleries internationally. A lot of other Embassies do sponsor galleries that come from their nation to be able to afford to participate in different fairs around the world."

Johan Bengt Påhlsson

Johan started as an editorial writer at Svenska Dagbladet. Later on, he became rector of Konstfack, University of Arts, Crafts and Design and then became a cultural councillor for the Swedish Embassy in Berlin.

"- To understand how a nation created the identities that define the nation, the periods when "the future was constructed and the past reconstructed" must be studied. The national symbols and myths that are associated with the national self-image and identity usually have roots further back in time. By this, I don't think it's The Home of the People is the reason, instead, if you reverse, it goes further back than the 20th century. Sweden has always been a very poor farmer's society and has been a very homogenous population. We have never in any century been interested in culture, what has been dominating interests in technique and trade also. Folkhemmet is a consequence and a product of Swedish history, and resistance of sticking out, Sweden has been a structural popular movement and been very hard, almost impossible to get private money to fund or invest in culture. And even if we have an amazing funding structure today, the government will never be able to stand alone, without the church or private investors. This is why traditional culture is not as developed as the Swedish pop culture."

Interviews time out

Being creative and crossing boundaries, trying to evolve an artistic practice is very much so deeply rooted in the Swedish citizens' veins and culture. This makes the society and citizens in Sweden limit themselves in being as comfortable in distinguishing from the project Folkhemmet and old Swedish culture. Sweden's social homogeneous group of citizens are so polite and loyal to each other, because of our political and economical climate, that it just happened naturally, as Richard Juhlin claims that there's one throne allocated to one person for every field. Johan Bengt Påhlsson has a point where he says that the Swedisness of not valuing art is something that has been coined much further back than Det Svenska Folkhemmet, The Home of the People was founded.

Compared to pop culture, pop culture has always gone hand in hand with neoliberalism as concluded in the Historical part, Epilogue. Yet, contemporary art or fine art hasn't. Contemporary art is still based on Bourdieu's theories and old conventions which we can conclude in the chapter The rules of the game. It has simply not caught up to new modern liberalism which makes the art world working in this dialectical relationship: at the same time developing and at the same time stagnating. It is a difficult balance, compared to pop culture, music and film. The difference is that from the very beginning, anyone could consume pop culture, which you couldn't do with art. This is why this issue is so complex and difficult to have one and a straight answer. But it might be a reason why Sweden is not dominating as much in the art world as it does in for example pop culture.

Another aspect is what I truly appreciated when talking to Freja. It's impossible for an artist today to be seen solo, you need the whole machinery. It goes hand in hand, large museums do not want to exhibit artists who do not have a prestigious gallery supporting them, and large galleries are not interested in signing artists who haven't exhibited in important contexts. Unfortunately, more Swedish gallery owners English does not cooperate with other galleries abroad than who does. Unestablished artists today have more channels to reach through than just twenty years ago. At the same time as opportunities to convey their art have increased,

the range of artists has also increased. Coming back to what Johan Bengt Påhlsson said, in Sweden, you rely on the state, to take care and maintain a living culture. Therefore People with money in Sweden do not feel as obligated to support themselves as in other countries and therefore there is not a general cultural interest among people in Sweden, as Richard Julin said or Ashik Zaman. That the Swedish art scene has limited private funding, instead you maintain your social status by buying golf clubs or fancy car etcetera. In the great scheme of things and machinations that drive the art world forward, I agree with Ashik that collectors are an important factor and network that help artists to emerge and get across around the globe.

Interestingly, management principles have filtered down even to the artists themselves. Successful artists such as Andy Warhol, Richard Prince or Jeff Koons used marketing tools as a strategic practice. They created a recognizable look, name and style - in other words, a brand. Successful artists can be thought of as brand managers, actively engaged in developing, nurturing, and promoting themselves as recognizable products in the competitive cultural sphere. This collides with our social impacts from the project Folkhemmet. Globalisation has meant that there has been increased tolerance for neoliberal tendencies and individualist self-assertion, but any real respect for this has never entered into force. Even though von Hantelmann believes that the responsibility is on the artist's shoulder to change and give nutrition to new ways of reflecting or criticizing the society I ask myself: " -Would Lyotard or any other Philosopher have the same philosophical questions if they lived today?" I don't think so, and when I ask Sven-Olov Wallenstein, a professor of Philosophy at Södertörn University, he wouldn't. Does this mean that fewer and fewer things are impossible? Perhaps it just means that the conditions for possibilities as such are subject for change? The world is changing and we are facing challenges that are summed up in national and global goals. In a digital time that is very rapidly changing and it places demands on both structures and behaviours. What happens when so much has changed in such a short time where certain structures are still there but outdated and other routines have been applied in an era where digitization, socialism and neoliberalism go hand in hand parallel with each other?

Are both the possible and the impossible defined by our current conditions? I decided to continue my research by interviewing art professionals in Sweden, but this time I asked artists:

Swedish artists

The participants are chosen by thinking of diversity with age, exhibitions cv and gender but the common thing all have is that they all operate in Sweden. The following questions were asked: What is a professional (or if you need/want to use other words, for instance successful) artist according to you? How do you, (if you need to measure) an artists career? and where do you put yourself on that scale? The majority of the asked artists declined to participate due to shyness or lack of time to work at one of their many day jobs.

Joakim Ojanen

" - Some artists are artists for life so I agree. No matter how I would support myself or how little time I would have, I would always try to get an outlet for my creativity. It's something that just needs to come out. When I decided to invest as in working with art, I said to myself that I would be very happy if I could do an exhibition at a gallery every two years and be happy if I could sell enough to afford a few months. That is surely what is a reasonable goal in addition to the fact that one may hope for scholarships.

Some friends of mine have applied for a working grant and been rejected those grants for years. By that, they have personally got knocked down and decided to completely leave the art field if they won't get it the next year, and this has also happened.

The word successful, hm, I connect that word very strongly to something that has to do with a career. If I'm going to think about my career in the arts, I see myself as successful. I get to exhibit in large parts of the world, in galleries I dreamed of exhibiting at together with artists I've been a fan of. A lot of people are showing interest in what I'm doing right now. The last few years, my art sells very well and money is suddenly no problem anymore. It is a huge advantage to have money, to afford buying materials when you are going to make art,

especially when working with sculpture. I don't have to compromise anymore on what materials I use, I can go up in scale and have a great studio to work in. I can afford to test things I couldn't test a few years ago.

But a career is one thing, and certainly not the whole part of being an artist. What I have always held high, with other artists and something I constantly strive for myself is that I think the most important thing is to constantly try to push myself to get better. It can be being stuck in your little corner, trying to niche yourself and become as good at one thing as possible or dare to try new ways of doing things. I don't know if success is the right word for it but it's an important quality and something I respect a lot. Then there are completely different parts of the art world. I am a part of the gallery-art-world where galleries are the basis for showing things and the one I have the best track of and mainly artists born in the 70-90s. Then I believe that Sweden's art scene is completely separate with its hierarchy which in most cases only applies in Sweden but then probably every country has its hierarchy system I guess? It makes things a bit difficult as you asked for, to put myself on a scale, where you are, and it may not be fascinating either. Swedish galleries are very bad at getting artists out of Sweden.

Magnus Karlsson has been good before and has Karin Mamma Andersson, Jockum Nordström, Jens Fänge and Kristavlova at large international galleries, but he has stopped showing at big fairs now so it might be over. I am represented by five galleries; The Hole in NYC, Nanzuka in Tokyo/Hong Kong, Richard Heller in LA, Ruttkowski;68 in Köln/Paris and Larsen Warner in Stockholm."

Anna Kinbom

" - For me, it's one who's decided to invest in art. By that I mean, one who is actively seeking assignments and strives to live on his or her art. Since it takes a long time before this goal is reached, I think that aspiration is what makes one professional."

Jim Thorell

" - I would describe a successful artist as someone who can manage their time to keep making art through the ups and downs of private economies, substance abuse, personal and professional relations etc. If on top of that you can purvey relatable work that inspires your peers and your audience you are what I would describe as successful.

And a measure of a career can be affected by traditional standards, of course, markets, institutions but the importance of these fluctuate and sometimes deflate and surprise.

I think it has more to do with relevance and community than institutions. I would place myself at the very beginning of a career as an artist, and I don't know if I will always do that. I think the novice has a good mindset to keep."

Karl Norin

" - I think a professional artist is an artist who identifies as such. Since artists do not need to have clients, it becomes up to themselves to decide when they cross the border between hobby activities and professional practice. Even the Tax Office, the Employment Service or the Social Services do not have clear rules for when an artist is considered to be a professional. This is a social problem for artists and along with livelihood challenges a contributing cause of burnout, stress and exclusion. It is even more difficult as an artist to judge whether he is achieving success or not. Certainly, success can be measured in sales, several prestigious exhibitions or assignments, but ultimately it is about what goals the artist set for himself. I find my artistry like my parenting as I'm never enough - and I probably want it that way."

Idun Baltzersen

"- I define a professional artist as someone that has an art education or experience, that still finds the time to create and perhaps has a studio. I don't think the term professional artist needs to mean that artwork is that person's main source of income. I think this is a very Scandinavian point of view though. I've heard American artists in the same stage of their careers as I call themselves "young professionals" and I found it very cringey. I think the definition of a "young professional" is something very different and more capitalist than how I defined professional artist. The term success I find problematic to define, because wherever I look there is always someone more successful. I think a successful artist is someone who can do the things I wrote in the paragraph above, as well as having a decent income, maybe they work as an art professor.

I try to not focus so much on the artist and rather just look at the work. At the beginning of my career, I used to compare myself to others a lot, looking at other artists I admired and comparing my achievements with what they had accomplished when they were my age. This just led to a lot of anxiety, so that is why I try hard to never compare myself to other artists nowadays. I think the focus of the art world about lists of who is cool or powerful, who is hot or not and what is trendy is ridiculous. If I put myself on a scale there will always be someone younger or more successful. But I do consider myself a "successful artist", this has a lot to do with the fact that I can live from art. Not having to constantly worry about money has had a very positive impact on my quality of life. The bigger part of my income comes from the rule that 1% of all new buildings budgets should go to public art, a classic folkhemmet idea."

Carl-Oskar Linné

" - I would like to sum up my answer by attaching the following Instagram-post created by avocado_ibuprofen. It's sad what it's about."



Pia König

"- Someone who has chosen the artist's starting point to highlight issues, tell stories, see from other places than the generally accepted. Someone who trained as an artist worked with art primarily as his main occupation. The better it goes for the artist the less other day work equals more concentrated work, equals more work to exhibit, equals more income opportunities. Although it is interesting day jobs (teachers, art consultants, etc.) it takes some energy/time, from what could have been done in your studio."

Anonymous

" - A well-filled CV, an artistic education, scholarships, exhibitions, institutions acquiring your work, invitations, academics being interested in your work, etc. etc. are of course classic and known ways to measure artistic success.

In artist careers, outer success helps to create a sense of professionalism and belonging and often leads to a sense of increased security in the artist role (and sometimes, but not always, in terms of financing your profession). (Also, the increased possibility of a continuation of the artistic career.)

The outer marks of success, although of course they matter and are significant, are just one side to the story though. Art, as we know, is about a lot of different aspects and truths all at once, while outer success is a measurement tool of sorts. Tools of measurement, if not dealt with in great analytical detail, are almost always reductive in some way. So I would say that the artistic process and its relationship to value and success are complex and need to be handled with some caution.

In short, as this is indeed a complex topic - even for sociologists-I will just say that being a professional artist and feeling that you have legitimacy as an artist is hopefully not only about having an impressive CV (how boring would that not be?) But yes, to be real and crass, of course on a professional level, good merits and funding are doubtlessly beneficial to artists' careers.

To answer the question on my own experience of success or lack thereof, having said all the above, the magic for me with making art lies in a relationship with the art/material/action and ideas/thoughts/facts/truths/untruths/stories, and a desire and need to convey and communicate

something. The work is fuelled by an investigation that leads me to continue. There's an ongoing need and desire to develop methods, thinking, material and metaphorical spaces for new connections to happen. I think for me, the professionalism comes in taking this process seriously, to invest in it, treat it as something magical and give it all the time and focus I can

give it.

Success for me is connected more to that process than to anything else. Outer success will often help to enable with time and more resources. But without the inner drive and sense of purpose, doing art would probably be quite unrewarding."

Conclusion

That means that Sweden during 150 years went from being a farmer's country to political wings revolutions, experimenting social programs, and migration. To be more specific; Sweden went from being a nationality based on agriculture and farmer's ideology with deep poverty and later on developed into a highly industrialized welfare country. Not to mention our new era of digitalization. Needless to say, several major changes happened during the 20th century even if Sweden has been spared war, large-scale natural disasters and major social conflicts. This makes me reflect upon if Sweden's social relations in the culture scene is more complex than I thought.

In my research, I find remnants of our different eras throughout Sweden's history in myself and Sweden's cultural climate. On the one hand, there is a clear apprehension that Sweden holds a strict homogeneous and hegemony where the art professionals rely on state grants and personal promises. Not to forget that consumers of the culture, artists rely blindly on the Swedish government to support and contribute to a rich cultural life in Sweden. Which is certainly welcoming, but it creates a lot of friction when Sweden has shifted many times which influences how we study, work, make decisions and arrange everyday life of the demands and needs of the industrial society. I believe me and my art colleagues are influenced with a mix between Bourdieu, Janteloven, old nationalistic beliefs. This creates friction, where you as an art professional are forced to handle these extremes of sociological norms. Of course, different social and cultural attitudes have different influences in different countries. Still, It leaves me and my colleagues to live in a capitalist society and at the same time are part of a system which is based on a strong socialistic politics.

Compared to mass culture that has always gone hand in hand with neoliberalism as concluded in the Historical part, Epilogue. Yet, contemporary or you might say fine art hasn't. Contemporary art is still based on Bourdieu's theories and old conventions which we can conclude in the chapter Artistic quality, poor conditions and a lot of opinions. It has simply not caught up to new modern liberalism which makes the art world working in this dialectical relationship: at the same time developing and at the same time holding on to the past. It is a difficult balance, compared to mass culture, music and film. Anyone can consume mass culture, which you can't do with art. Mass culture has moreover closer channels to unify societies. Art is more inaccessible and elitist. This is why this issue is so complex. But it might be a reason why Sweden is not dominating as much in the art world as it does in mass culture.

How do you run a business where your profit increases because of social status and not by the economy? My conclusion is that if you want to be able to work as an artist full time, it is a necessity to acknowledge Bourdieu's theories where individualism is valued more highly. This creates a problem as in how to set yourself in the art world in Sweden. Because not only are there two different sociological phenomenons, they are also each other's extremes. The role as an artist in Sweden collides with Sweden's normative heritage. Because the social climate has rhetoric in which the nation is more important than the individual, and at the same time we have chosen the fate of a career that depends on global cooperation where the prerequisite for opportunities is to act individualistically.

"There is nothing more difficult to understand than what appears to go without saying."

Pierre Bourdieu.

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11. The name Janteloven is originally Danish.

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16. The fact/value distinction: Better understood as "what is" (fact) and "what ought to be" (value), the fact/value distinction is the thin line between what is truth and what is right. It is the source of conflict between science and ethics. In its most basic sense, the fact can be

defined as the inarguable truths of our physical world - the material surroundings which one detects via the senses. By examining our reality through scientific methods, we hope to empirically and logically verify truths and thus to compile a collection of "knowledge". Value, on the other hand, is not accessible via the senses; it can only be derived through one's own subjective reasoning about ethics. Unlike fact, a value cannot be proven true or false by any sort of scientific method. Rather, it must be compared against one's own faith or ethical worldview to draw personal conclusive results. Tronolone, Charlie. Terms in translation. Quine. 2004. https://www.rit.edu/cla/philosophy/quine/index.html. (Fetched 2020-10-16)

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27. Gustavsson. Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den svenska konstmarknaden 1920-1960. page 175.

28. Gustavsson. Makt och Konstsmak, Sociala och politiska motsättningar på den

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