

# MAINSTREAMING ACHIEVEMENTS IN SWEDISH CULTURAL POLICY<sup>205</sup>

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## 1. Overview

In recent years there have been initiatives taken to implement a number of mainstreaming projects in Sweden through co-operation and interaction among central, regional and local levels of government; including initiatives in the cultural sector. The purpose of this report is to outline some of these achievements in the field of Swedish cultural policy.

The gender dimension of cultural policy is discussed through an analysis model made up of four different perspectives: professional art and artists' policy; citizens as audience; citizens as participants in their own activities; policy.

Mainstreaming, which is one of the points of departure of the report, is brought to life with the help of the Three R method. This approach is used to make a systematic inventory of gender aspects as regards: Representation, Resources, Realia (qualitative aspects).

Three different projects will be presented to illustrate how mainstreaming principles or gender equality can be integrated into the process of cultural policy development. These include:

- a) Local Authorities and Gender Equality (*Kommunerna och jämställdheten*)  
This 3 year project of the Swedish Association of Local Authorities produced seven reports describing the results of gender research in various social sectors. One of these reports was devoted to the field of cultural policy. (Report on cultural policy: *Kultur and Fritid - för vem?* - Culture and Leisure-time – for whom? - by Camilla Nyberg, 1998).
- b) Mainstreaming in Artists' Policy  
Project of the national Arts Grants Committee's. The process of awarding arts grants was analysed from a gender perspective and discussed on the basis of a mainstreaming perspective (*Konstnärer, kön and konstnärliga uttryck* - Artists, gender and artistic expression - by Camilla Nyberg, The Arts Grants Committee, 1998).
- c) Committees and Boards with Gender Equality (*Jämställda nämnder and styrelser*)  
The project was led by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and the Federation of County Councils with financing from the national government. The objective was to support and achieve equal representation on boards and committees within municipalities and county councils. The work was designed to develop methods for increased gender equality and to support women in their role as politicians. The project was also aimed at increasing knowledge and discussion of men's attitude to gender equality. Questions con-

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cerning leadership and communication were surveyed with the help of research and drama/theatre methods.

## **2. Gender Equality and Cultural Policy**

The basic goals of modern cultural policy in Sweden were established in 1974 and updated in 1996. Some of these goals include safeguarding freedom of expression, creating genuine opportunities for all to use that freedom; ensuring the opportunity for all to participate in cultural life and cultural experiences and engage in creative activities of their own; to promote cultural pluralism, artistic renewal and quality, thereby counteracting the negative effects of commercialism, etc. There are no cultural policy goals that apply particularly to gender equality.

Art and culture are sometimes presented as a socially separate zone characterised by equality of opportunity and gender equality. These notions of art and culture are not entirely misleading, since artistic content often implies questioning and criticism of various forms of oppression. The forms of expression are many and multifaceted, they may stand out as provocative, idealising etc.

In cultural policy discussions it is often argued that women are the backbone of culture and that the cultural field is distinct in this respect. The myth of the cultural sector being gender balanced has been re-called into question in the 1990s. Today, there is more extensive research in the field of gender theory on which to base an opinion. While culture is an area that differs from other social activities, art and culture are a reflection of the reality in which we live. A reality that does not function completely equal in terms of gender or equality of opportunity. The cultural sector is characterised by the same social structures and social culture. Despite the fact that many women participate in and are active at various levels of cultural life, the structures are still formed by traditional male norms and values.

### *Gender Equality Policy in Sweden*

Swedish gender equality policy has been distinguished by three features: expansion, annexation and universality.

By *expansion* we mean additional resources, both financial and space.

A separate *gender equality annex* was built onto "the ordinary political house"; typical, not only for the gender equality field, but a common response to the increased demands and needs of other groups or sectors. The result of this approach was that gender equality became almost the exclusive concern of only one party.

Gender equality has been formulated as a universal goal without any clear direction. More specific measurable goals, places, times, percentage rates, or economic resources have not yet been included as a natural part of following up on the implementation of such universal goals.

Despite such general policy lines, much work on gender equality has occurred around the country. For example, there are platforms for gender equality questions located in almost all workplaces and organisations, staffed with trained people. The increased representation of women in the political field has also facilitated the discussion of gender equality matters in concrete policy terms and development work. Efforts are increasingly focussed on the relation and distribution of power between the sexes. The question that must constantly be pinpointed

is what happens to organisations and society as a whole when women take up positions in the public arena, not only in terms of numbers but as formulators of issues and setters of norms (Gertrud Åström, 1997).

### *The Start of Mainstreaming*

At the beginning of the 1990s gender equality was a topical question that was discussed in various fora and from various perspectives. This may be seen as a new step. Since the 1960s gender equality had emphasised women's position in the labour market. Now the perspective has shifted to apply to power structures imposed over social developments; starting with political power, but also power on the boards of directors in businesses and in top jobs in both the public and private sectors. This extension of the gender equality field meant a dawning consciousness that gender equality is not a subsidiary issue but a perspective that is to be included in all other issues and in all other areas – everywhere, always (Main report, Swedish Association of Local Authorities 1998).

The government report "Varannan damernas" (Every other for the ladies, Swedish Government Official Reports - SOU 1987:19) had a great impact on political life in Sweden. The proposal by the government commission to have alternate lists to bring in as many women as men into political life resulted in an increase of female representation at both local and national levels. The Norwegian political scientist Helga Hernes has defined three arguments for why women should enter politics.

1. It is a matter of justice to divide power equally between women and men .
2. Women bring something new to politics – they have different experiences from those of men, other ways of working.
3. Women and men have different political interests that may conflict.

It was the two first arguments that were put forward in the discussion before and after the election in 1994. There were great hopes that increased female representation would bring about change in both political working methods and content. The third argument – that women and men have different political interests was, however, controversial. The norm in Swedish politics is that men and women should co-operate.

The fact that women and men rank political issues differently is shown in a survey from the University of Gothenburg. Women are typically less positive to cuts in the public sector and more positive to higher taxes than men. The researcher Helga Hernes explains these differences in terms of women's double dependency on the public sector. Women are to a greater extent than men dependent on the public sector's child care system and care of the elderly as well as on parental insurance, for example, in order to be able to engage in gainful employment. It is important to point out that every other woman in the labour market is employed by a county council or a municipality (Hernes, 1982).

Another study showed that women and men are interested in different areas of politics. Refugee policy, family policy, environmental policy were three areas that interested women in the Autumn of 1993. Economics, foreign policy and EU matters attracted the greatest interest among men (Oskarsson & Wägnerud 1995).

One conclusion to be drawn from the discussion of women's and men's different interests, experiences and priorities in politics, which got off the ground in the 1994 election, is that poli-

tics is not equal. The newly elected women were expected to change both the contents and form of politics through their new and different experiences, which must mean that men's experiences naturally dominated the content and form of the politics of the time. The board of the Swedish Association of Local Authorities resolved in 1994 that *all issues on which the Association acts are to be analysed and monitored in relation to women's and men's situation*. In 1995, a special program committee for gender equality was appointed. The task was partly to investigate in which areas the municipalities and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities could and should act to promote gender equality. The purpose was partly to develop methods for gender equality work in the field of concrete politics together with a number of municipalities. The focus was not on the employer perspective but on the role of the municipalities as responsible for such things as child care, social services, schools, care of the elderly, town planning, culture and leisure time etc.

The strategy of the Swedish work on gender equality is, as in many other countries today, focussed on the "mainstreaming" approach – or "jämtegrering" as the Swedish translation became. Consequently, the differences between women and men in each and every political area were studied. Some of the main questions asked were:

- Who, which groups make decisions on the activity?
- Who, which groups use the activity?
- For whom, for which groups is the activity designed?

The idea of mainstreaming assumes "transparency" i.e. an analysis of the prevalent structures and norms of today. When such analysis has been carried out, such knowledge is then integrated with a knowledge of gender and gender equality, which means that steps are being taken towards activities which have greater gender equality. Decisions on changes to rules and routines, but also attitude changes that arise from the mainstreaming work, mean that gender equality will become a part of the ordinary structures and norms.

#### *The Three R Method*

Such a mainstreaming strategy can be made operational in various ways. One approach is the so-called *Three R method*. The Swedish Association of Local Authorities' municipal project adopted this method together with nine local government committees to measure gender equality in a number of different concrete policy areas involving municipal activities. Gender equality is possible to measure and can be achieved with the right will, resources and methods. One condition is, however, that an absence of gender equality be made visible and that understanding such deficiencies be increased through knowledge. These are the conditions for knowing what measures are effective in making gender equality visible and for achieving change to promote gender equality.

The three R method takes stock of, analyses and discusses gender equality in various political areas of local authority activities. The intention of trying the method was to introduce the gender equality perspective into various political activities at the municipal level. In the field of culture, the municipal cultural and leisure services committee in Växjö participated.

The three Rs stand for Representation, Resources and Realia.

The method can help in discussing how gender is represented in cultural policy, i.e. to what extent women and men are *represented* in various activities and decision-making bodies.

Using this method, the project also tried to show how *resources* are allocated between women and men in the various areas. With respect to the allocation of resources it is important to bring up the problems associated with existing statistics, but also to show what methods exist to develop routines for collecting gender-specific statistics. The way resources are allocated between the sexes is not just a matter of the economic allocation but also of how time and space are allocated.

The third aspect, *Realia*, concerns *qualitative aspects* of the activities. The background material used is partly based on research and partly on discussions on which the municipal projects have focussed.

Let's take a closer look at how this method is applied in practice.

*Representation* not only refers to political representation, but also to how women and men are represented in all groups – politicians, civil servants and personnel in a public sector operation. Representation also applies to gender distribution in and among different groups and individuals who utilise the range of cultural activities available, for example, participants in the activities, visitors to institutions etc. It is also interesting to study the difference between male and female artists' contacts with committees, councils and boards. Some questions to be posed include:

What is the gender distribution among:

- decision-makers with respect to awarding of grants and subsidies to artists, cultural institutions, independent groups and other artistic activities?
- decision-makers, teachers and students in higher artistic education?
- visitors to institutions, such as art museums, theatres and libraries?
- employees at different levels in municipal cultural activities and state cultural institutions?
- in prestigious positions in cultural life?

*Resources* applies to allocation of money between women and men. It also applies to resources in the form of time and space, for example how are investments localised and designed and what priorities apply?. What does the individual investment mean in relation to the whole? We must ask both what is to be regarded as a resource and how women and men respectively utilise these resources. In contrast to other public sector activities, target groups in the cultural sector are not found in any directories. The cultural sector's target groups are by and large every citizen. Among these groups, various priorities are made specifically for children and young people. Thus there is a continuous need to undertake target group analyses and follow-ups of who actually participates in such activities. Some example questions include:

- How are resources allocated between female and male artists as regards grants and subsidies from cultural institutions to independent groups and other artistic activities?
- How are resources allocated in terms of finance, time and space etc between female and male artists within different cultural institutions and within higher artistic education?
- How are resources allocated between female and male professional artists who are engaged by the state, county councils and municipalities and from whom works of art are bought etc?

- How great a proportion of the resources in institutions such as museums, art galleries and theatres benefit female and male visitors respectively?

The concept of *Realia* refers to the qualitative content of the political area, that is the values, norms and quality measurements that steer an operation and who constitute the norm in the operation. It is quite simply a matter of whose needs are met in an operation. Is it designed with both women and men in mind? How great a scope for action do women and men have within the operation? Are the experiences and interests of both sexes provided for to the same extent? Questions concerning *Realia* could also include matters of representation and resources, since these can indicate what the norm is. Such examples include:

- What are the norms and values that shape the view of the development and renewal of art genres?
- Which causes and factors/circumstances can explain the economic and social differences between female and male artists?
- Which norms and values steer the citizens' opportunities for experiencing both women's and men's artistic expression?
- What significance does gender distribution on boards and committees, various types of steering group and personnel groups have?
- Which norms and traditions characterise the individual and groups of artists who are given support by the municipalities, the Arts Grants Committee and the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs? Is the traditional gender pattern benefited/followed in awarding grants or are repertoires that overstep gender boundaries permitted? Does the policy for awarding grants promote a balanced allocation of resources to artists in terms of gender? Are gender aspects included when decisions on awarding grants are made?
- How great a proportion of the municipalities', the Arts Grants Committee's and the National Council for Cultural Affairs' grants go to men's and women's respective artistic and cultural work?
- What knowledge of gender equality and the gender perspective do decision-makers in the municipalities, the Arts Grants Committee and the National Council for Cultural Affairs have?

#### *Swedish Gender Equality Policy in the Area of State Cultural Policy*

In a document (1996/97:41) concerning gender equality policy the government has emphasised the need and requirement to report on current efforts. The collection of gendered statistics and other factual material are therefore required. The Ministry of Culture has indicated in an official document on appropriations for the 1995/96 budget year that the National Council for Cultural Affairs must report on gender differences in the allocation of its grants.

In its budget proposal for 1998/99, the government writes that

*an important aspect of the government's contribution in the area of culture is gender equality. Women and men are to have the same opportunities, rights and obligations in all important areas of life. The government requires that authorities are to report the awards of grants by gender. Among other things the National Council for Cultural Affairs must strive to achieve a clear distinction between women and men in the official cultural statistics. Authorities which award research and development funds in the areas of culture and the media have been instructed by the government to increase gender equality in research and development projects (p 21).*

The government also stipulates that follow-up and evaluation of gender equality measures are to focus on how the gender equality perspective has made an impact in the various areas, what results have been achieved and how analyses and gender equality policy consequences are reported in the official reports given by special researchers or committees. An important factor is gender distribution among members of government boards and committees.

In the official document on appropriations for the Arts Grants Committee in 1998 the government states the following as regards monitoring of the economic and social situation of artists:

*The goal is, through broad monitoring of the economic and social situation of artists, to create the conditions for an evaluation and development of the government efforts in this area. The Committee shall, thus, complete the work being done on developing general methods for this. Any differences between male and female artists shall be pointed out.*

When reporting back, the Arts Grants Committee is also to describe the reasons for any differences between male and female artists. Government authorities thus have a responsibility to promote gender equality between male and female artists when making decisions concerning purchases and exhibitions and when allocating various forms of subsidy. There is a clear need for an integrated study and development work to be able to establish how artists' and cultural policy function from the point of view of gender equality. In the light of this and the government's strategy of mainstreaming in gender equality policy, this perspective should also be drawn attention to in the government's work on artists' and cultural policy. The National Council for Cultural Affairs and the Arts Grants Committee are planning a joint mainstreaming project on the basis of the matters in which they are involved.

### **3. Analysis Model**

The analysis model used in this report has emerged in an attempt to clarify how different processes evolve in parallel and how these are linked with each other. The purpose is also to show how state cultural policy and professional art exercises influence on the structures and norms at the local level. Activities in the cultural sector are linked with the system of rules and norms created in social processes and in order to make visible how gender equality functions in the cultural area; a link between social impact and the historical process is important. It is also important for both politicians and personnel in government and private organisations

to have knowledge of prevailing power structures and norms. This knowledge provides support in a concerted effort, collective and individual, against the system and rules that constitute an obstacle to gender equality.

In this short report no comprehensive analysis is given of each area of the four perspectives listed below. Here we will elaborate on point 1, Professional art/artists' policy and point 4, Politics. A more detailed description of the entire model can be found in "Gender Perspectives and Mainstreaming Achievements in Swedish Cultural Policy", Camilla Nyberg, 1999.

<b>Perspective of analysis</b>	<b>Areas of analysis</b>
1. Professional art/ Artists' policy	Art and culture as a system of ideas, ideals and norms
2. Citizens as audience	Exhibitions, concerts, theatre and dance performances, Libraries
3. Citizens as participants in their own activities	Cultural arts and music schools Adult Education Associations, societies
4. Politics	Cultural and leisure services committee at local/regional level Ministry/Cultural committee Government cultural authorities Cultural institutions etc.

#### **4. Professional Art and Artists' Policy**

Artists' policy has three purposes. *The first purpose* is firm and applies to policy in relation to the artists. Society has an interest and a responsibility to improve conditions for individual artists and groups of artists. The purpose of improving conditions for individual artists and groups of artists should be analysed on the basis of various aspects of fairness. One of these is fairness between female and male artists.

*The second purpose*, which is usually called art policy, concerns the efforts made to support the development of each art genre. Through investments made to occupationally active artists societies/associations ensures that each respective art genre will continue to exist and develop through specialisation but also groundbreaking changes. An increased element of women's art may be seen as an important condition for quality-oriented development of the art genres.

*The third purpose* of supporting artists is to enable people to participate in artistic experiences. This perspective of artists' policy is also an important focus in the entire work of cultural policy. Enabling increased participation in cultural life for all citizens.

*Art – a System of Ideas, Ideals And Norms*

Culture and art provided by artists can be seen as part of a social process in which values, traditions, behaviours and female and male identity are transferred. These processes can be studied and analysed as a social field. By social field is meant that art is regarded as an arena in which knowledge, skills and norms are expressed and passed on to the individuals participating (Broady, 1990). Within the social field we regard artists' forms of expression as a system of norms, ideals and ideas, which have significance for our understanding of ourselves and our time and history. The cultural expressions are also important to show "pictures" of renewal and change. The conditions for professionally active artists express various norm systems, referring, for example, to the view of gender equality. Through discussing gender equality in professional art and artists' policy we can describe the superstructure that both frames cultural policy at the local level and illustrates prevailing norms and ideals that exert influence on us all as individuals.

The cultural product, or creations such as novels, films, plays and works of art constitute as well as represent gender identities. The artists, not least those whose impact is great, have great power to influence our attitudes and values. From this, it is important to study what art says to us as spectators. It is a way of describing women's and men's conditions of life and behaviour. The artists participate in the process itself of forming these identities. It can therefore be said that cultural policy is localised at the actual heart of the complex order within which gender distribution is (re)produced in society (Jordan, 1995). Ultimately, cultural policy is about different values, where different groups are fighting for space. The traditionally class-based cultural policy must now to a greater extent than before be supplemented by a gender perspective and an ethnic perspective. In the same way as the question of which social groups are allowed to find expression in the cultural institutions is important to ask, we must also ask to what extent women and men respectively have power over the values to which the cultural institutions give expression. Which cultural forms of expression and works are regarded as worthy of showing and which are hidden away? To what extent are women's artistic expressions brought to the fore today? (Jordan 1995).

*Representation and Resources Among Artists*

In this section, representation and allocation of resources between artists as regards education, income and grants is described. The section is followed by qualitative arguments concerning male and female artists' social and economic conditions and artistic forms of expression.

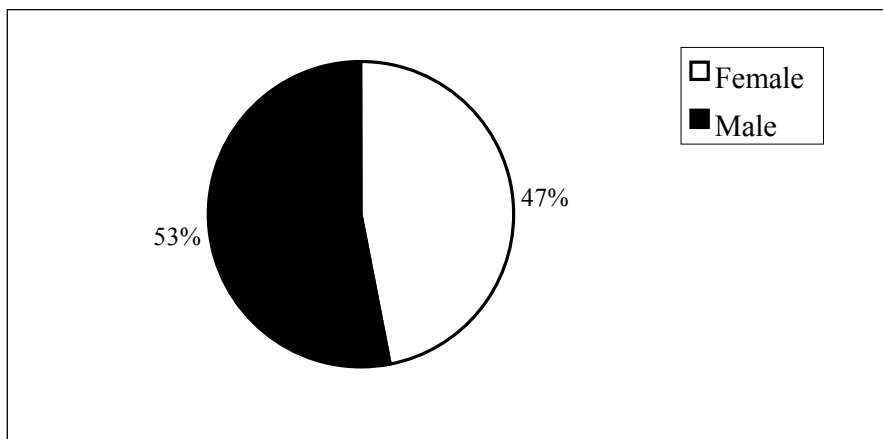
*Representation of Women in Arts Education*

With regard to education, we can note that great changes have taken place in the last 20 years. At present approximately the same number of women as men study at artistic institutions of higher education (see among others Stenberg, 1992). Within the course of study there is variation between different subject specialisations, but in general there has been extensive levelling. Among teachers and principals within the artistic courses of study an even balance between the sexes has not been achieved. In 1990 there were women in all classes of the courses for musicians except trombone, trumpet, tuba and guitar. In the church musician course there were as many female as male students. No women attended a composer class but two women took part in the course for conductors. In the 1992-93 academic year women students increased both in composition and conducting, even though they were still in a minority (Öhrström, 1993).

### Male and Female Artists' And the Difference in Income

From 1970 to 1990 the number of artists has increased by over 60 per cent. Women account for the greatest part of this increase. A reasonable estimate is thought to be that there are about 25,000 occupationally active artists (Swedish Government Official Reports SOU 1997:183). Of these 47 per cent are women and 53 per cent men (SOU 1997:190).

**Figure 1: Share of male and female artists in Sweden, 1997**



The results from the government study on artists subsidies show that female artists' incomes are on average 85 per cent those of male artists. The tendency is for the proportion of women to become lower in higher income categories. For artists with gross incomes in excess of SEK 160,000 the percentage of men in all groups is greater than that of women and grows as incomes rise. Of those who earn over SEK 160,000 the percentage of women is only about 30 per cent.

The official government reports "*Arbete åt konstnärer*" - *Work for artists* (SOU 1997:183) and "*Generella konstnärstöd*" - *General subsidies to artists* (SOU 1997:184/190) take up the gender perspective to a greater extent than earlier reports but do not pursue any argument on the basis of a conscious gender equality perspective.

### *Leaving School: the Labour Market for Female and Male Artists*

Of the number of artists with higher education in the whole country 48 per cent are women and 52 per cent men. Among the graduate artists working in gainful employment after their studies the gender distribution is 46 per cent women and 54 per cent men. If we examine the group with higher education but not gainfully employed, the percentage of women is clearly higher than that of men, 30 per cent of the women and 24 per cent of the men (SOU 1997:183).

The terms of reference for the government study on the artistic labour market "*Arbete åt konstnärer*" - *Work for artists* (SOU 1997:183) were design to provide a survey of labour market policy in relation to the artistic occupations and to analyse the imbalance prevalent on the artistic labour market. The investigator believes that labour market policy measures exacerbate the imbalance rather than mitigating it (SOU 1997:183). Only a partial solution can be achieved through labour market policy. It is therefore proposed that the structural problems be solved through cultural policy measures to a greater extent than at present, and a number of

proposals are made. The terms of reference state that the report should give an account of gender equality policy consequences. There is very little of this in the report.

#### *State Allocation of Grants*

The Arts Grants Committee allocates state grants and scholarships to individual artists in the area of visual and spatial arts and in the areas of sound, stage and film. The Arts Grants Committee supports artists through various grants that are allocated in the form of working scholarships, pension grants, project grants, travel grants and grants for international cultural exchange. Altogether the Committee deals with about 7,000 applications a year. Over half of these, more than 4,000, fall under the Visual Artists' Fund.

In addition, the Arts Grants Committee, together with the Swedish Authors' Fund, makes proposals to the government concerning new holders of an income guarantee for artists.

Other authorities and funds also allocate grants to artists, for example, the National Council for Cultural Affairs and the foundation Culture of the Future.

#### *Gender Representation on the Arts Grants Committee*

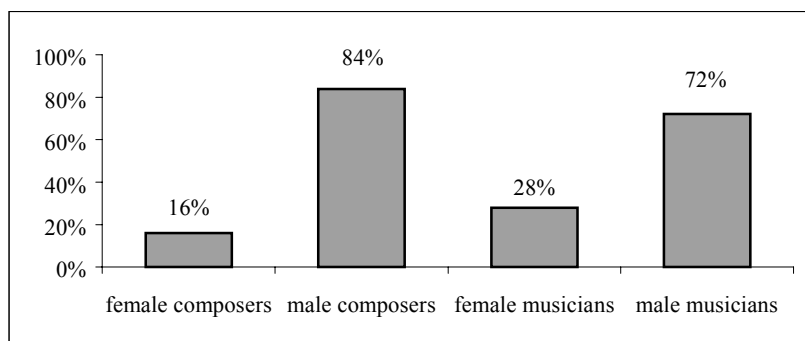
The Arts Grants Committee's has an even gender distribution generally, both among personnel and on committees and working groups. One exception, however, concerns the chairman and executive positions, which are held by somewhat more men than women. The general tendency in the cultural sector is that there are relatively many women in the sector, but in the higher and more prestigious positions men still predominate. However, no total survey of all institutions, operations and committees is available.

#### *Allocation of Resources (Grants/Scholarships) by the Arts Grants Committee*

If we move to the allocation of resources in the operations of the Arts Grants Committee, the picture becomes somewhat more multifaceted. Artists grant are generally granted for three years.

A general pattern is that the longer the period of time on which the grants are based and the higher the amounts are, the more often men are given more. The clearest example is the long-term scholarship, 70 per cent of which has been allocated to men. In the field of visual arts the survey shows more or less an even distribution. The exception is, however, the major working scholarship, which has been awarded once a year since 1992 to four men and two women. The greatest distortion is among composers. Altogether male composers received 84 per cent of the Committee's scholarships, while female composers only received 16 per cent. The explanation lies partly in the fact that there are very few female composers, but there is nevertheless reason to discuss further how female composers can be brought to the fore. As the realia discussions will show, there is reason to make efforts in other areas of artists' and cultural policy in order to bring about long-term improvement in opportunities for female composers. In the field of musicians/singers the awarding of grants is also distorted (72%/28%).

**Figure 2: Share of awards granted to female/male composers and musicians, 1997**



Of the applications for working scholarships, females accounted for over 50 per cent during the period 1994-97 (all artistic areas). A more even gender distribution is evident in stage/film. For example, women received 60 per cent of the working scholarships in this field.

There is an interesting pattern in the awarding of project grants, which are fewer in number and involve smaller amounts. In this area, women predominate in the number of project grants received and of the larger amounts. The opposite situation applies, however, for internationally directed grants. This is a tendency that both research and gender equality work has often indicated. The more prestigious the area, assignment, grant and position, the more men. The project grants are, however, also regarded as prestigious to receive, but the question is in relation to what.

In accordance with the ordinance (1976:504) on income guarantees for artists, a guarantee can be given to artists who stand for art of high quality and major significance for Swedish cultural life. The government determines who is to receive the income guarantee on the basis of proposals, consultation and statements by the Arts Grants Committee and the Swedish Writers' Union. In 1997, 149 artists in Sweden had received an income guarantee. The gender distribution was about 25 per cent to women and 75 per cent to men.

#### *REALIA – Concerning Qualitative Aspects of Professional Art and Artists' Policy*

What is the significance of being either a man or women on one's artistic craft? The statistics in the previous section show differences in such things as relative income, but how should we analyse the statistics and the norms that are found in the field of art? Various research results are applied to the cultural policy questions asked.

#### *Artists' Socio-Economic Conditions From the Gender Perspective*

As stated earlier, society has an interest and a responsibility to improve the conditions for individual artists and groups of artists. Such conditions, however, have had to adapt to the general political measures such as social, labour market and tax policy. The problems of recent years in the labour market have led to a certain turn in the discussion on labour market policy measures for artists. Increased cultural policy control of labour market policy measures in the artists' market has been demanded (SOU 1997:183).

The purpose of improving the conditions for individual artists and groups of artists should be analysed on the basis of various aspects of fairness. One of these is fairness between female and male artists. Gender equality is about women and men having the same opportunities,

rights and obligations in all material areas of life. Female artists' freedom to bring up questions, values on the basis of their experience as a woman and artist is an important value for them as a group but also for society as a whole. The freedom of expression of artists is an inalienable part of a society's democratic efforts.

*Women and the Practice of Art*

Which factors affect women who have chosen an artistic occupation? In what way do female artists' conditions differ from those of male artists? The psychologist Anna Lena Sundlin has studied a female experience of being an artist. With the main responsibility for children and the home many find it time-consuming to combine a family with an artistic occupation. Increased gender equality in the private sphere may hopefully improve women's future opportunities to put more time into their own occupation (Sundlin, 1992.)

In her essay "Why have there been no Great Women Artists?" the American art historian Linda Nochlin maintains that women have been inhibited by their sex in art as in other areas through upbringing and institutions, just as black people have been inhibited by the colour of their skin. Artistic creation takes place in a social situation, it is directed by factors such as the teaching at art colleges, prevalent taste, social and economic conditions, the wishes of customers etc. These basic realities have far too often been obscured by the myth that emerged during antiquity and that was fostered by the renaissance and Romanticism of the artist as a natural – not to mention godly – genius who needs no schooling. What was fatal for women was that artistic creation through analogy was equated with sexual creation and for a long time there were unclear notions concerning this. For a long time men were seen as those who gave life, while women's function was only to accommodate and nourish the foetus. The conclusion was drawn that it was against woman's nature and above her capacity to produce anything independently in art, literature and science. Such attempts put her femininity at risk (Ingelstam, 1982).

Why do so many talented women study to be artists, only then to disappear somewhere along the line, something that both teachers at colleges of art and people in the "world of art" unanimously agree? Do women reach "glass ceilings" in their education and then simply give up? With regard to scholarships and exhibition opportunities it would seem reasonable to suppose that men choose their male colleagues. They have always been there and they know each other. Several artists also believe that what the female artists are expressing is perhaps unfamiliar to the audience. Is artistic expression completely asexual, giving the recipient an experience in which the gender question itself is subordinate? The answer to this question may be yes, but at the same time art in various forms is something that illustrates women's and men's different conditions in society as a whole. What men do is "normal", their interpretations and their expressions have had and have priority of interpretation. The argument agrees with gender theory research, which often takes up the lack of knowledge of man as a sexual being. Man has not been the subject of scientific study despite the fact that it is man who is always studied. Man has been studied on the basis of his being a "human being", not taking gender aspects into consideration. In comparison with what has been written on woman in the past twenty years, research on men has not produced any extensive material in Sweden. But with the help of international research we can today see that masculine research, i.e. studies of men as men and their relations to other social factors, is growing (see for example Ekman, 1993 and Jalmert, 1993 ).

*Woman and artist* was the name of a seminar organised in the Spring of 1998. Some of the conclusions were:

- There is a need for natural meeting places – arenas for cooperation among women.
- The dimension of parenthood is important not to forego.
- Women experience difficulties in daring to take new paths alone for fear of losing status, scholarships and exhibition opportunities.
- A survey of statistics and decision-making process from a gender point of view in the art world is necessary.
- Women face difficult economic situations and problematic employment conditions.

### *Scholarships And Grants From the Gender Perspective*

The policy for scholarships in Finland in the 1990s, generally speaking, had a levelling effect between the sexes. Altogether the number of scholarships that were awarded to women was proportional to the number of applications from women. So about one third of all those who applied and received long-term scholarships were women. Lack of gender equality is greatest in music and visual art. 51 per cent of Finland's visual artists are women but only 37 per cent of the scholarships went to women. In the field of music, 21 per cent are women but only 9 per cent of scholarships go to women. Even as regards the size of scholarships there are gender differences. The scholarships that women receive are on average much smaller than men's. At the same time they are of very central importance for the livelihood of artists. (Kangas 1997).

Similar patterns emerge from a survey conducted of the Swedish Arts Grants Committee's awarding of grants. The larger and longer grants go, to a greater extent, to male artists, while the women predominate among recipients of project grants, which are shorter and more restricted. Even the material for the internationally directed grants shows a tendency towards more men. Within the gender equality debate in politics many female politicians emphasise that international assignments etc are given primarily to men.

### *When women enter, power exits...*

Professor Anita Kangas has examined scholarship policy in Finland from a gender perspective; scholarship policies being the central operational strategy of the art policy system. The National Arts Councils are the bodies that make decisions on the state artists' scholarships. The gender structure of these councils changed considerably in the 1990s. It can be said that the state and counties' art administration was feminised, even though the male members are slightly more if all the councils are put together. An interesting question that Kangas draws attention to is whether the power over art policy disappeared somewhere when the system was feminised. The role of the Central council has changed towards being more of a managerial bureau and its position as an art policy lobbying organisation has declined (Kangas 1997).

Kangas also discusses the concept of the glass ceiling – the often-invisible borderline that women cannot or believe themselves unable to get past. It is above this ceiling that the greatest creation and the most unprejudiced, most innovative art exists. Above this are those who directly and indirectly determine the quality of art: directors, those who get the long scholarships, artistic leaders of art institutions or festivals, chairmen of boards, professors etc.

The question that arises is how female artists are to organise themselves in order to influence prevailing conditions in joint efforts. Do the trade union organisations discuss subsidies and the work of change as regards conditions for female artists?

### *Gender Systems and Use of Time*

Why do the awarding of grants or other allocation of resources not follow our efforts towards gender equality? At present many women are found in decision-making bodies, but changes are slow. There is a glass ceiling and ignorance of women's experiences and perspectives. The differences are difficult to explain in terms of women's individual deficiencies or weaknesses. Is there discriminatory practice?

An important explanation can be sought in women's use of time. Children and housework are still today taken care of more by women than men. Women do 33 hours of so-called unpaid work and men 20 hours per week (Statistics Sweden 1992). In gender theory research the use of time is used as one of the explanations for the survival of the gender contract between the sexes. This works so that women cannot as easily be included in contexts where men pursue careers. At the same time gender norms in the field of art are stronger than what one may believe at first glance.

We must increase our knowledge concerning gender, both as regards its conscious and its unconscious influence. A part of the explanation for the differences that exist can be sought in theories on the gender system. The Swedish historian and researcher on women's issues, Yvone Hirdman, has formulated a theory on the gender system that describes how the order of sexual power in society is constructed. The gender system has two main characteristics, i.e. follows two principles (segregation and hierarchy). The first suggests that women and men are kept separate and do different things. The sexes are to be kept apart and the result is the segregation we see for example in the labour market and in women's greater responsibility for unpaid work. The second principle means that there is a male norm that what men do is better than what women do. A consequence of this is that the men are found at higher levels than the women in society's power hierarchies (Hirdman 1989).

Discussions of power structures must be made visible and become a natural part of the development work of institutions. This requires will, goals, knowledge, resources and methods. In this work, organisations and authorities must see women not just as a factor that changes statistics, but that women by their right to formulate their questions on the basis of their experiences also become norm setters. This is a development that not only "benefits" women but which contributes to a more democratic society, which men will also benefit from.

## **5. Development and Innovation in Art Genres**

A further purpose of artists' policy is usually called art policy and concerns measures to support the development of every art genre. By means of measures for professionally active artists, society ensures that each respective art genre will live on and be developed through specialisation but also groundbreaking changes. An increased element of women's art may be seen as an important condition for quality-oriented development of the art genres. The researcher Barbro Werkmäster has described how patriarchal society, with its lack of symbols of female creativity, leads to identity conflicts among female artists even in our time. She believes that the conflicts become insoluble if the contrasts are not seen, i.e. differences in sym-

bols and ideals, as social constructions. But if they are seen in terms of the gender perspective they become creative challenges (Lindberg/Werkmäster, 1975).

Women and men encounter partially different expectations during their childhood both in the private and public sphere. Society has different expectations of women and men. Despite considerable efforts and gender equality aspirations we still have a strongly gender-segregated labour market. Women and men also show different patterns in different areas, for example in interests and leisure activities. Since we can say that women and men live partially different lives it is therefore probable that women seek partially different forms of expression, themes, material for expressing themselves artistically. In other words, a rich and interesting development potential lies within different art genres through women's creativity.

More women have taken up important positions as critics and exhibition organisers. Female artists have become visible and there are clear signs that the concept of gender and the male-female relations are in process of change. This development is difficult to survey but the changes in the art world can perhaps be seen as a harbinger of a new relationship between the sexes de facto becoming a reality. In today's art world there is a spectrum of current angles such as race, class and gender. The gender perspective seems to have been established for about the last ten years in the Anglo-American world of research and the gender perspective is found in many places. This is also coming to Sweden (Lindberg 1995).

#### *Assessment of Artistic Quality - Women Represented in Museums and Galleries at the National and Municipal Level*

According to the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition lists from the opening of the museum in 1956 until spring 1994, 352 exhibitions were arranged during that time. During the period the museum had 59 exhibitions of collections in which male artists predominated. In the 67 separate or individual exhibitions, 56 men and 8 women were represented (Exhibition list of the Museum of Modern Art).

In the study in which the Museum of Modern Art's exhibitions were examined from a gender perspective the assessment criteria for artistic quality were questioned on the basis of the absence of a definition of the concept of quality. The terms of reference for the state art museums states that efforts shall be made towards artistic and cultural innovation in contemporary painting, sculpture and photography. As the exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art consist of 90 per cent works of male artists it can be concluded that the decision-makers there do not consider female art to be artistically innovative or of interest for contemporary painting. The museum is responsible for the promotion of art, art interest and art theory. But since the activities include women's art to a very small extent the question must be asked how modern art is to reflect society of today. Since there are just as many female as male artists today the question should be asked why there are no special measures for female artists or if gender should be one of several criteria in the choice of quality in the terms of reference for the museum (Falkenberg 1993).

Exhibition statistics from the ten well-established private galleries in Stockholm for the years 1990-91 show that female artists accounted for 20 per cent of the total 119 separate exhibitions. The hidden discrimination of female artists also has serious consequences for Swedish art – including male art – since the dialogue between the sexes becomes disproportionate. The consequence is that art as a mirror of society does not fulfil its function, since society is not complete without women (Falkenberg 1993).

At the municipal level, a survey was conducted of artists who exhibited in the art gallery in the municipality of Växjö. During the period 1992 to 1996 the art gallery exhibited a total of 186 male artists' work and 137 female artists' work. If we look at the artists who enjoyed separate exhibitions the men dominated by 80 per cent (15 separate exhibitions were arranged during the period). The women were, on the other hand, in the majority at a jubilee exhibition with several participating artists. The jubilee exhibition constituted, however, only one exhibition, compared with the fifteen separate exhibitions where male artists were predominant.

The municipal cultural committee also studied the purchases of art during the same period. The selection is made by the art curator. The works of art are bought from the exhibitions shown at the galleries in Växjö and the Växjö Art Gallery. It proved that altogether the municipality had bought 20 works of art by men and 17 by women during the period 1992-1996. As a percentage, there is a slight preponderance of male artists (54 per cent) but most interesting was the fact that the average price was considerably lower for the women's works than for the men's. The average price for the male artists' works was SEK 5,875 while the average price for the female artists' works was SEK 4,240.

The municipal example can be compared with a survey made for the Swedish General Association of Fine Arts (SAK). SAK had 34 separate exhibitions during the period 1970-1992, of these 31 were by men and three by women. (Falkenberg 1993)

Within the scope of the municipal project the culture and leisure services committee discussed whether the gender mix in a jury of this type influences the choice of works. Some were of the opinion that it is of no interest if there are women or men on the jury, since it is the artistic quality that is being assessed. Others thought that the point of departure for such an argument assumes that there is objective artistic taste where individual, social, professional and cultural differences would not affect choice. If men and women have partly different experiences it is also probable that they could be reflected in a jury decision.

The discussion of artistic quality from a gender perspective should be brought to the fore and its problems examined further. In the discussion on artistic quality the question is problematised if one takes the gender system's structure and culture as a starting point. The view of artistic quality is created, reproduced, influenced, changed by the structure and culture of the gender system. A number of questions become important to ask.

### *Hierarchy*

- What is the significance of the fact that female artists are not found as much in prestigious positions in the field of art?
- What is the significance of the fact that female artists do not have access to the same extent as men to formal and informal arenas of decision-making, where concepts and decisions on artistic quality are determined?

### *Culture*

- What influence do norms and values regarding gender have on how male and female artists determine what is high artistic quality?

- What influence have female artists had as regards setting new norms and formulating new problems in the field of art and developing the quality concept?

### *Segregation*

- What influence does "the separation" (for instance choice of music instrument) of male and female artists have for how male and female artists regard artistic quality?

## **6. The Political Arena**

Jumping now to politics, the fourth perspective of our model of analysis. By politics we mean the political arena of decision-making, but also associated groups, personnel in public institutions, administration and enterprises. How do women fare in the political arenas of culture in Sweden? There are no comprehensive statistics on the gender distribution of decision-makers for the entire field of cultural policy. Within the framework of the material on which this report is based, there are statistics for gender representation in municipalities and the Arts Grants Committee.

### *Representation Among Decision-Makers*

A major re-organisation of culture and leisure activities in over 150 municipalities took place during the 1990s; the result was combined culture and leisure service committees. Prior to the reorganisation, women represented about 85% of those working in the cultural sector while men made up 60% of the leisure services sector. Consequently, there has been a change in the number of women working both in the leisure and cultural service sectors and the result has been a drop in the percentage of women holding managerial positions. The percentage of female cultural heads of department used to be more than 50 per cent but is now less than 30 per cent. The pure leisure services departments only have 10 per cent female heads of department (Swedish Association of Local Authorities 1995/1996).

While 80 per cent of municipal employees are women almost 70 per cent of the managers are men. 95 per cent of municipal heads, i.e. the highest managerial level in the municipalities, are men. The largest proportion of female managers is found among cultural, library and museum directors, county librarians and municipal district directors.

In other words, gender equality has not reached the level of decision-making in the municipalities, either among civil servants or politicians. In 1995, 35 per cent of the *chairpersons* of the cultural and leisure services committees were women, in the pure cultural committees the distribution was 58 per cent female chairpersons. In the pure leisure services committees 20 per cent of the chairpersons were women. This development may, however, be seen as positive since the strong segregation between men and women has been broken and women and men are now found "in the same place". In Sweden we have a clear distinction between so-called hard sectors, where the men are and so-called soft sectors where women can be found.

*The Arts Grants Committee's organisation* has an even gender distribution, both among the personnel and in committees and working groups. One exception is, however, the posts of chairmen and directors.

- Altogether an even gender distribution on boards and working groups
- The five chairperson's posts are held by 2 women and 3 men. The same applies to vice-chairmen. In other words, a certain preponderance of men in governing positions
- The personnel is evenly distributed in general.
- The Chief Executive and IASPIS directors are men.

With respect to the National Council for Cultural Affairs, for example, there is a male director, while the chairman of the board is a woman. The foundation Culture of the Future, however, has both a male director and chairman. The same applies to the KK foundation.

*REALIA – The Power of Art And Political Decisions*

What is effect of a lack of female role models in art, culture and media on young women and men and the society we are creating? Media research shows how the mechanisms function which affect the process of forming our self-perceptions and identities. The mass media are in themselves a form of culture, which also produces and shows art and culture in a narrower sense. Research conducted at Lund University has demonstrated the role the mass media plays in forming our self-perception. Watching television strengthens boys' self-perception, while inhibiting that of the girls. An explanation for this difference is that the girls, through the socialisation process, become increasingly aware that men have greater power and higher prestige in society. Girls also often encounter appreciation for their lack of independence and lack of self-assertion. The researchers of this study believe that the experiences of girls during their childhood and adolescence contribute to the development of high self-criticism. Low self-esteem can thus be seen as the girls' way of responding to the cultural expectations of society (Johnsson-Smaragdi 1993).

Research results such as these are important to bring forward in order to increase the legitimacy of the gender equality discussion in Swedish artists' and cultural policy. By increasing knowledge and intensifying this discussion, decision-makers can be motivated to take gender into consideration to a greater extent than they do today when setting their priorities in allocating resources. The need for more female forms of expression in the media and in other arenas, such as leisure time activities and schools, is important for developing a more gender-balanced self-perception in the future. A balance between positive pictures of women as well as men is probably an important condition for a fundamental long-term change in the stereotyped gender identities that society offers girls and boys.

By analysing the field of professional art we can also approach a partial understanding of how the control of norms is at both individual and organisational levels. Active decision-makers, managers, leaders and teachers have been affected by various experiences, from such things as overall social systems, professional art and the courses of study they have attended. By increasing knowledge of the significance of gender on the formal structures and norm systems we can as individuals and groups of individuals be more aware and take a more active approach. Groups of individuals can push through changes that in the long run also affect the overall norms and social structures. Gender equality in Swedish cultural policy is almost completely unproblematised and should be brought to the fore in the ongoing development of the cultural policy field, both in research and direct cultural activities.

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