

# *Swedish Art Students and Art Producers, 1938—2007*

## *Social Origins, Educational Trajectories, and Artistic Careers Some Preliminary Results*

Martin Gustavsson, Mikael Börjesson, Andreas Melldahl & Donald Broady  
Sociology of Education and Culture (SEC)  
Uppsala University

Paper presented at the SCUD Meeting “CULTURAL LEGITIMACY AND CLASS DOMINATION”  
in Manchester, November 18—20 2009, at session 2: *Trajectories*, Thursday November 19

### **Summary/Abstract**

Our presentation at the last SCUD-meeting in Bergen was devoted to the research model (focusing the relations between educational institutions/educational strategies and different social spaces or fields), the data collection and management (prosopographical databases), and the statistical methods (Geometric Data Analysis) applied in the project “The Art of Success in Art. Social Origin, Gender, Education, and Career 1938—2007”. The present paper focuses more on preliminary results from the project. Crucial questions are: which species of acquired and inherited capital are characteristic for individuals and groups that are admitted to the most sought after areas of the educational system or are successful in conquer the most prominent positions within professional domains or social fields? And how have these possessions evolved? By investigating the changes over time at, on the one hand, the most dominant school of fine arts, the Royal University College of Fine Arts in Stockholm, and, on the other hand, the field of leading artists, we try to understand fundamental social, cultural, economic and geographical conditions as well as differences according to gender and age, and thereby also to answer the question on how success in the arts was created during the Swedish post-war period.

### **Content**

1. Introduction .....	1
Research Design Prosopographical Studies .....	1
2. Social Characteristics of Art Students and Artists .....	3
A General Longitudinal Picture of Gender and Class .....	3
A Periodized Picture of Class .....	4
Class and Class Fractions .....	4
Some Words about the Principles behind the Categorization of Social Groups .....	5
Some Words about the Periodization .....	5
Class Fractions of Different Classes Distributed on Different Periods .....	6
3. Students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts 1938—1956 .....	9
The Population and the Properties .....	9
Some Basic Characteristics of the Students .....	10
Interpretation of Axes .....	12
A Class Axis .....	12
Different Modes of Preparation for and Entrance to the School .....	13
Age, Admission, and Origin .....	14
A Gendered Space .....	15
The Happy Few .....	16
4. The Field of Leading Artists 1962—1976 .....	20
Variables in the Analysis .....	20
Social Characteristics of the Artists .....	22
Interpretation of the Axes .....	22
Axis 1: Volume of Artistic Activity .....	22
Axis 2: New vs. Old Agents .....	23
Axis 3: Public vs. Avant-garde .....	25
Axis 4: Urban Cultural Social Origin vs. Rural Economical Social Origin .....	26
Conclusion .....	27
5. Summary and Concluding Remarks .....	29
Appendix .....	30

## 1. Introduction

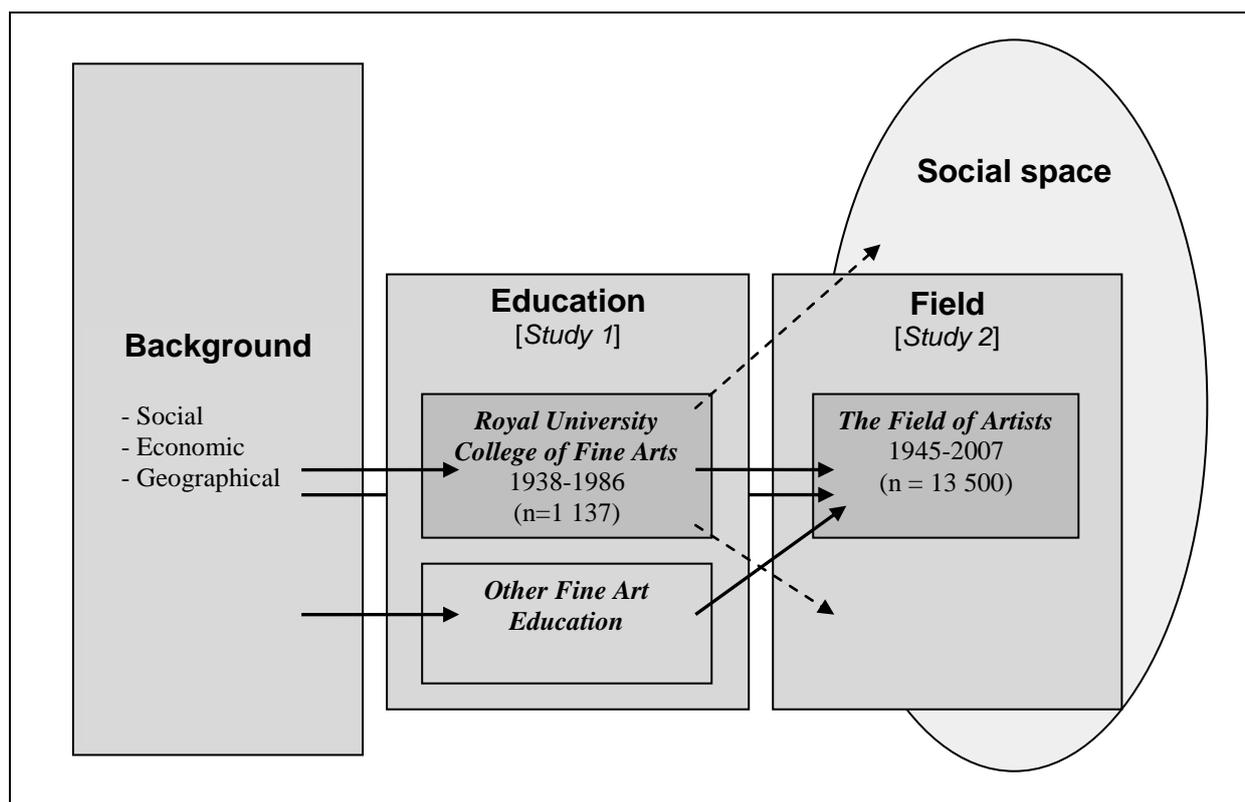
This paper tries to answer three questions:

- 1) What groups populate the leading school of fine arts in Sweden, a public cultural institution, part of the production and reproduction of legitimate culture, and the leading positions in the Swedish field of art?
- 2) How do the characteristics of these groups change over time?
- 3) How are social origin related to other properties, especially those associated with investments in field specific capital, and how are these characteristics structured among the student at the school and the artists in the field?

### *Research Design Prosopographical Studies*

As been said in the last SCUD-meeting in Bergen the *Art of Success in Art* is governed by the ambition to capture and distinguish different trajectories through art education and the art field (see figure 1).

**Figure 1. Research Design Prosopographical Studies—Once again**



We are tracing the individuals' steps along their paths from the cradle, through education in art at different institutions to destinations in various parts of the field of art, or elsewhere (see arrows in figure 1). For this purpose, we have constructed two interrelated studies: one of an elite art school in Stockholm and its students and one study of the art field and its artists.

In study number 1—of the *Royal University College of Fine Arts*— we investigate the social, geographical and in some cases economical backgrounds of the student, as well as their

fortunes/misfortunes during their time in school (e.g. how are various scholarships distributed). In study number 2—of the field of art—the distinctive features of artists who have managed to occupy important positions in the field of art are in focus. Here, as in study 1, we take a closer look at the artists' inherited social assets as well as their acquired educational resources, from different schools (not only the *Royal University College of Fine Arts*) and/or through private studies. In this project, which combine sociology of education with sociology of culture, we will, in other words, be able relate success or misfortune during the school years to different career trajectories and—vice versa—artistic careers to detailed information of former educational investments.

Our primary data have been gathered from a wide range of sources. In the study of the leading school and its students, the school archive has been the primary sources. For the investigation of the artists, we have used gallery catalogues, press materials, the year book of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, archives of the museum of modern art, etc. The social, geographical and economical background for the students as well as the leading artists has been excerpted from church archives and taxation registers.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The social and geographical background is quite accurately measured: place of birth and the parents' work titles. The economical background, on the other hand, is more scarcely represented. This data is extremely time-consuming to extract and process, hence we have chosen to do this for a sample of the population. When it comes to traditional analytical categories in sociology of education, inherited and acquired educational capital, we have only limited data. As for inherited, some work titles that reveal their established levels of education are in the material (e.g. civil engineers, lawyers, medical doctors, veterinarians, higher civil servants et cetera). We have, however, no ambitions to complement the material with this data, a task too much time consuming. For acquired educational capital, we have fairly good data for the students, collected from the application forms, but no systematic data for the artist.

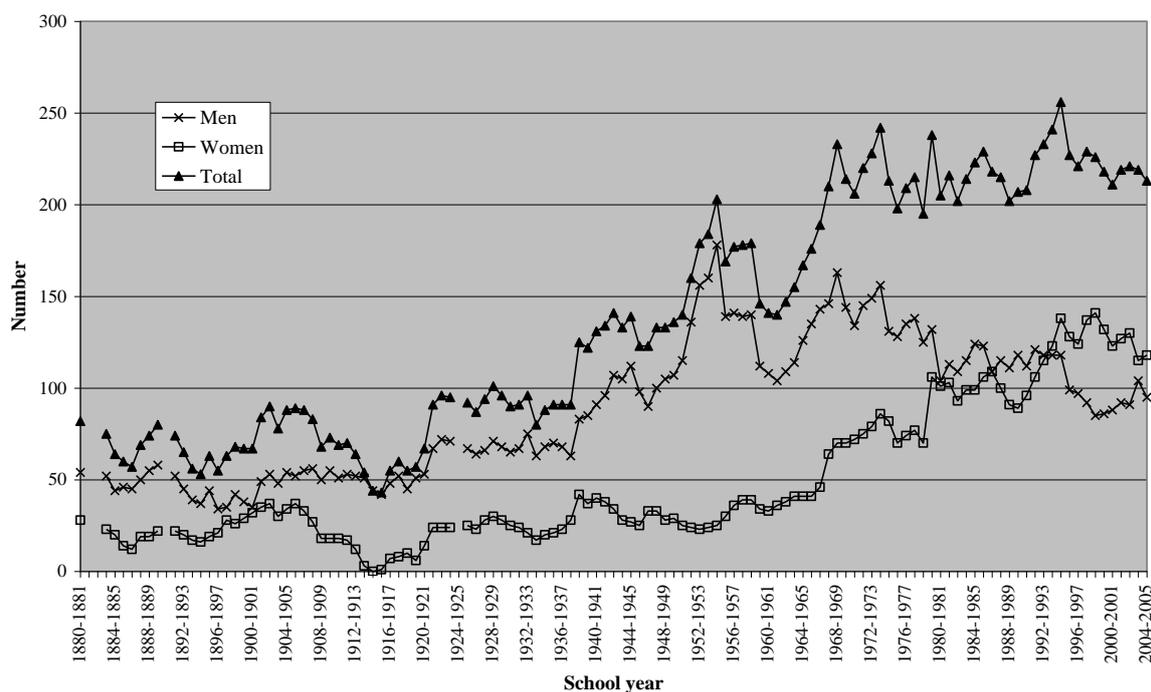
## 2. Social Characteristics of Art Students and Artists

The general sociological view of the Swedish class structure during the twentieth century is that the position of the working class has been remarkably stable. Working class groups have throughout the century constituted around 50 per cent of the population. On the other hand, the middle classes have expanded, while farmers and self-employed have decreased. Under this heading, we will present the social characteristics of the art students and artists, and the changes over time. How are different social groups represented at art schools and in the art field?

### *A General Longitudinal Picture of Gender and Class*

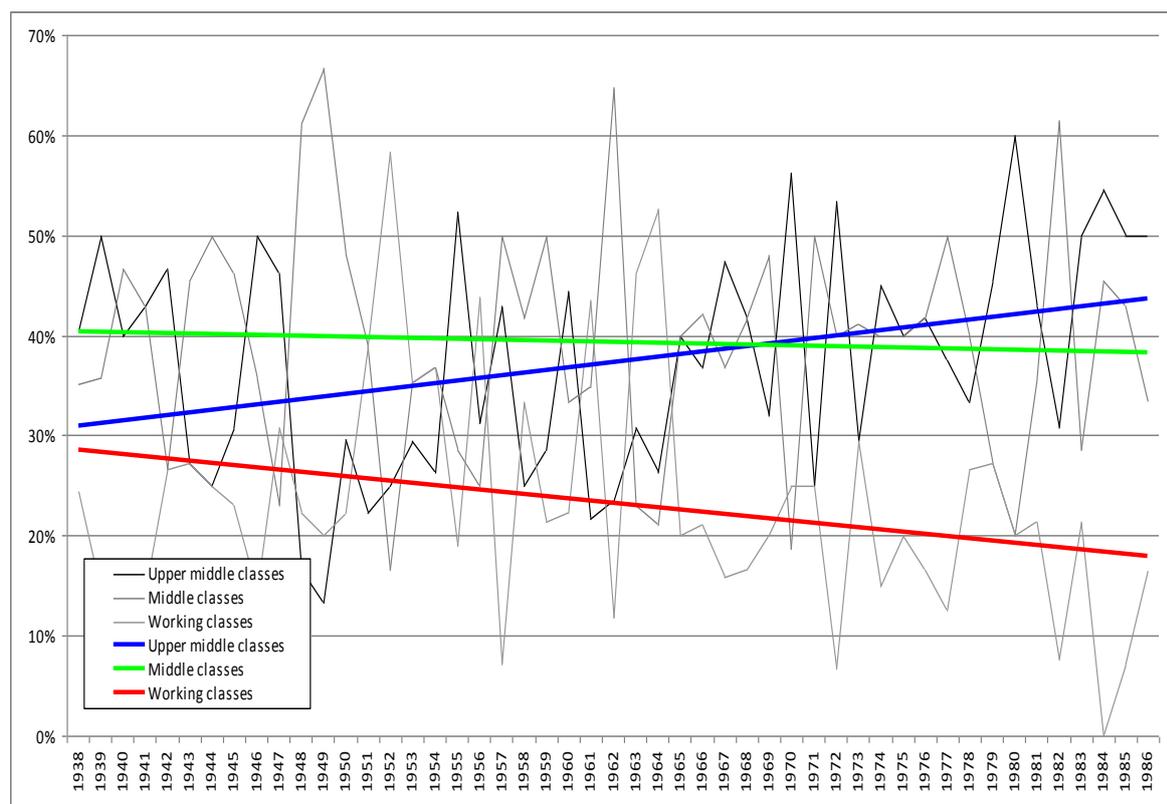
Figure 2 shows the relation between male students (line with crosses) and female students (line with boxes) at the *Royal University College of Fine Arts*—the leading art school, established 1735 in Stockholm—during the period 1881–2005. From 1945 and ahead the female students slowly starts to increase, and during the last 10–15 years they have been in majority of the students. In that sense this is a picture of a feminisation of the production of the cultural producers.

**Figure 2. Male and Female Students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts, 1881—2005.**



Between 1938 and 1986, students from the working classes decreased from 28 per cent to 17 per cent (see the sloping red line in Figure 3)—a perhaps surprising fact to find in a country with social democratic government since 1932, general study loans since 1965, and a proclaimed social reformist politics of culture since 1974. Bluntly put, with this bird's-eye view of the development, education in fine arts seems to have been a matter for the more affluent classes.

**Figure 3. Students with Different Social Backgrounds at the Royal University College of Fine Arts, 1938—1986.**



Explanations of the success of the middle classes and the decline of the working classes will not be provided in this paper, but is a question we are currently discussing. In the following, we will discuss changes over time present in our data.

### *A Periodized Picture of Class*

We are still gathering information about the social origin of the art students and the artists. Here we show some preliminary results, first at a more general level (class and class fractions), and then in more detail (class fractions of different classes distributed on different periods).

#### *Class and Class Fractions*

During the entire investigated period, the middle classes were the most frequent background among the students (27 per cent), followed by the upper middle classes (25 per cent) and the working classes (17 per cent). At the moment, we lack information about 31 per cent of the students, a percentage that will substantially decrease as our archive studies progress.

The same picture comes into view when we look at class background of the successful artists (see Table 1). The middle classes were the most frequent background (30 per cent), followed by the upper middle classes (18 per cent) and the working classes (16 per cent). The lack of information is bigger when it comes to artists (today 36 per cent). Artists from the upper middle classes will probably be better represented when the lack of information is reduced.

**Table 1. Social Origin of Students at Royal University College of Fine Arts 1938—1986 and of Artists in the Field of Art 1945—2007. Classes.**

Class	Students, N	Students, Per cent	Artists, N	Artists, Per cent
Upper middle classes	285	25	152	18
Middle classes	303	27	250	30
Working class	189	17	135	16
No info 091111	357	31	305	36
<b>Sum</b>	<b>1 134</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>842</b>	<b>100</b>

We get a somewhat more detailed picture when the middle classes are divided into fractions. From Table 2 it is clear that the cultural fractions of the middle classes (24 per cent of the students and 19 per cent of the artists) are dominating over the economic fractions (13 per cent of the students and 15 per cent of the artists) among the students as well as among the artists. The professionals, a group that can be positioned in-between these fractions in a social space, made up 16 per cent of the students and 13 per cent of the artists.

**Table 2. Social Origin of Students at Royal University College of Fine Arts 1938—1986 and of Artists in the Field of Art 1945—2007. Class Fractions.**

Class	Students, N	Students, Per cent	Artists, N	Artists, Per cent
Economic	145	13	128	15
Professions	176	16	113	13
Cultural	267	24	161	19
Working classes	189	17	135	16
No info 091111	357	31	305	36
Total	<b>1 134</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>842</b>	<b>100</b>

To get a more detailed picture we have on the one hand divided the different classes into fractions and on the other hand divided the Swedish post-war era into different periods.

#### *Some Words about the Principles behind the Categorization of Social Groups*

Here we work with a rough categorization of the upper middle classes into three fractions. Between the economic fraction (with businessmen, managing directors etc.) and the cultural fraction (where among others university lecturers and artists are brought together) we define a fraction of professions (e.g. engineers, physicians, lawyers).

We have been guided by the same principle in the categorization of the middle class occupations. Between an economic fraction of the middle classes (small dealers, shopkeepers etc.) and a cultural fraction (elementary school teachers etc.), a fraction that gather professions (nurses, technicians etc.) are to be found.

#### *Some Words about the Periodization*

Since we are dealing with a long time span, stretching over six decades, we have distinguished four periods (see Table 3).

**Table 3. Division of Periods for the Field of Art during the Post War Era, 1947—2007. External and Internal Characteristics.**

Nr	Years	Period	Characteristics	
			External	Internal
1	1945—1961	Post-war Modernism	Peace and open borders	The men of 1947
2	1962—1976	Political Radicalism	Left wing politics etc.	Political art
3	1977—1991	Modernistic Consolidation	Market liberalism etc.	Non political art
4	1992—2007	Postmodernism/Internationalism	Financial crises	Conceptual arts

The first period, 1945—1961, is marked by the end of the World War, with open borders and rapidly increased flows of people and ideas between countries. The post-war modernism is defining the art scene, which in the Swedish case is highly connected to the entrance of the artist generation ‘The men of the year 1947’ and their post-cubistic art.

The second period, 1962—1976, that starts with “the big art debate” in Sweden 1962 (on what art actually is), is characterized by a general politicization of society, with especial domination of left wing ideas and ideals etcetera. Political ideas are influencing the content as well as the form of art.

A general reaction against the left wing wave shape the third period, 1977—1991. The art scene is also dominated by a general break with the openly declared political art; by an attempt to consolidate a modernistic view of art (the large paintings are back) and also by a commercialization of art.

The fourth period, 1992—2007, which coincide with the financial crisis of the early 1990’s, is marked by a re-opening of the Swedish art world to the international art scene. Even though the big debate on postmodernism in art took place in 1987 in Sweden, the actual breakthrough for this movement on the art market is in this more internationally marked 1990s that also show an increase in more experimental multimedia techniques.

#### *Class Fractions of Different Classes Distributed on Different Periods*

Table 4 shows that the students with backgrounds in the cultural fractions are increasing over time. This is true for the cultural fractions of the upper middle classes (rising from 15 per cent in the first period to 22 per cent in the last period under investigation) as well as the cultural fractions of the middle classes (increasing from 13 per cent to 20 per cent).

Inversely the students with backgrounds in the economic fractions are decreasing over time. We see this trend in the economic fractions of the upper middle classes (that diminish from 5 per cent to 3 per cent) as well as in the economic fractions of the middle classes (that decline from 17 per cent in the beginning of the research period to 12 per cent in the end).

That the students from the working classes are decreasing between 1938 and 1986 (from 28 per cent to 17 per cent according to table 4), have already been mentioned.

It is interesting to notice that the students from the cultural fractions of the middle classes made their big entrance at the Royal University College of Fine Arts during the period of

“political radicalism” (during this period they made up 19 per cent of the students).<sup>2</sup> During these years, dominated by left wing ideas and ideals (and middle class revolutions), students from the working class were decreasing.

**Table 4. Social origin of Students at Royal University College of Fine Arts 1938—1986. Divided into Three Periods. Class fraction.**

Classes and class fractions	Post-war Modernism		Political Radicalism		Modernistic Consolidation		Total	
	1938—1956		1957—1971		1972—1986			
<b>Upper middle classes</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Economic	17	5	6	2	5	3	28	4
Professions	46	14	37	15	37	19	120	15
Cultural	50	15	43	17	44	22	137	18
<b>Middle classes</b>								
Economic	55	17	39	16	23	12	117	15
Professions	29	9	13	5	14	7	56	7
Cultural	44	13	46	19	40	20	130	17
<b>Working classes</b>								
Working class	92	28	64	26	33	17	189	24
<b>Sum</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>777</b>	<b>100</b>

Almost the same picture emerges when we look at the artists. Artists with backgrounds in the cultural fractions are, like the students with similar origins, increasing over time. According to Table 5 this is true for the cultural fractions of the upper middle classes (that rise from 11 per cent in the first period 1945—1961 to 17 per cent in the third period 1977—1991) as well as the cultural fractions of the middle classes (that rise from 12 per cent to 18 per cent during the mentioned years). The representation of artists with a background in the cultural fractions of the middle classes is getting even stronger in the field when we examine the last “post modern and international” period (the study of the artists range over a longer period than the study of students): as much as 24 per cent of the leading artists 1992—2007 had their social roots in these fractions.

The artists with backgrounds in the economic fractions are, like their counterparts among the students, on a different route. The retrogression of the economic fractions of the middle classes (self-employed artisans, small dealers, shopkeepers etc.) is even more striking when it comes to artists. They diminished from 24 per cent during the period of “Post-war Modernism” to 12 per cent during the period marked by “Postmodernism and Internationalism”. The trend is also seen in the economic fractions of the upper middle classes (this fraction declined from 6 per cent to 3 per cent during the mentioned years).

The study of the declining proportion of students from the working classes—as noted above, their representation fell from 28 per cent to 17 per cent between 1938 and 1986—did stop in the mid 1980’s. In the study of the artists, that also cover the last twenty years, we see that this trend holds on and is reinforced: during the last sixty years artists from the working

<sup>2</sup> The students at school 1957—1971 graduated, after five years education, and entered the field during the period with “Political Radicalism” 1962—1976. The students at school 1972—1986 entered the field five years later during the period with “Modernistic Consolidation” 1977—1991 etc.

classes have declined from 29 per cent (Post-war Modernism 1945—1961) to 20 per cent (Postmodernism/Internationalism 1992—2007).

The cultural fractions of the middle class strengthened their positions during the period of “political radicalism” 1962—1976, in school (Table 4 above) as well as in the field (Table 5 below). This radical period seems to have been hay-days for individuals from the cultural middle classes (during this period they made up 21 per cent of the artists) and a period of retrogression for individuals from the working class, according to our preliminary data. The same holds true for the Postmodernism/Internationalism 1992—2007, when individuals from the cultural fractions of the middle class make up 24 per cent of the artist.

**Table 5. Social origin of Artist in the Field of Art 1945—2007. Divided into Four Periods. Class fraction.**

Classes and class fractions	Post-war Modernism 1945—1961		Political Radicalism 1962—1976		Modernistic Consolidation 1977—1991		Postmodernism/ Internationalism 1992—2007		Total	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
<b>Upper middle classes</b>										
Economic	10	6	8	5	6	6	3	3	27	5
Cultural	19	11	13	8	16	17	16	16	64	12
Professions	15	8	18	11	13	14	15	15	61	11
<b>Middle classes</b>										
Economic	43	24	32	20	14	15	12	12	101	19
Cultural	22	12	34	21	17	18	24	24	97	18
Professions	18	10	14	9	9	9	11	11	52	10
<b>Working classes</b>	53	29	41	26	21	22	20	20	135	25
<b>Sum</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>100</b>

After this presentation of the overall trends in the recruitment to the leading school and the social background among the most consecrated artist, we will now focus the relation between a large number of properties for the students and the artists.

### **3. Students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts 1938—1956**

The Royal University College of Fine Arts in Stockholm has since its establishment in the early eighteenth century up till recently been the unchallenged leading art school in Sweden (arguably until the early 1990's). For our first period, 1938 to 1956, it was the only institution with university status. Our results also indicate that the school was most crucial for success within the field of art. We will in the following further explore this fundamental relation between the leading school and the field. Our approach will be to examine the structure of the students' properties, especially inherited social resources and acquired general and field specific educational capital, and to relate this structure to the students' eventually further careers within the field of art. In order to do this, we have employed specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis.

#### ***The Population and the Properties***

For the analysis we have used eight variables as active. Three are closely related to the students' origin, the social class (or class fraction) of parents, the place of birth, and the highest level of education. Four refers to field specific properties, the preparatory schools, the number of times the student has applied before being admitted, the total sum of the prizes given to the student during the time at school, travels and studies abroad. Finally, we have included age at admission in the analysis. This property can be argued to be related to the social origin, whether you have the means and the ambition to apply at a young age and also are perceived as possible to admit corresponds to the upbringing. On the other hand, age at admission is a function of other factors such as the number of years of former schooling, and can thus be seen as an indicator of investments in field specific resources. As we will see, age is related to different sets of variables along different dimensions in the analysis, and do not have a clear-cut status in the analysis.

The population of students is derived in two steps. First, we have restricted us to the 407 students admitted to the school between 1938 and 1956. As discussed above, the division of periods is made in order to capture important shifts in society at large as well as in the field of art. The basic idea with first period is to roughly capture the first generation aspiring artist leaving the school after the Second World War, and who took part in forming a new aesthetic era. The period ends with those students entering the school in the middle of the 1950's, and being the last ones to enter the field of art before it in the early 1960's again is restructured according to a new conception of art, with the introduction of pop art and thereafter a more political influenced art. The second, and last, delimitation persists in omitting the 75 students who we are lacking information on admission for, leaving us with a population of 332 students being active in the analysis.

**Table 6. Active Variables and Modalities in the Analysis of the Students.**

Variable/Modalities	Frequency	Percent	Variable/Modalities	Frequency	Percent
<b>Class fractions</b>			<b>Number of former applications</b>		
<i>No info on social origin</i>	84	25,3	No former application	155	46,7
Working class	67	20,2	Applied once before	110	33,1
Economic fractions	55	16,6	Applied more than 1 time before	67	20,2
Professions/cultural middle class	56	16,9	Total	332	100,0
Professions, upper middle class	30	9,0	<b>Preparatory schools</b>		
Cultural upper middle class	40	12,0	No prep. school	202	60,8
Total	332	100,0	Other prep. schools	32	9,6
<b>Place of birth</b>			Technical school	23	6,9
Abroad	31	9,3	Letter from artists	24	7,2
Southern Sweden	29	8,7	Otte Skölds målarskola	25	7,5
Western Sweden	28	8,4	Konstfack	26	7,8
Southeast Sweden	24	7,2	Total	332	100,0
Central Sweden	47	14,2	<b>Sum of prizes during school</b>		
Stockholm	113	34,0	No prizes	78	23,5
Northern Sweden	60	18,1	<i>Prizes without sum</i>	7	2,1
Total	332	100,0	Up to 6.000 kr	62	18,7
<b>Highest level of education</b>			6.001—25.000 kr	118	35,5
No specified level of education	80	24,1	More than 25.000 kr	67	20,2
Compulsory school	81	24,4	Total	332	100,0
High school/Professional school	86	25,9	<b>Travels/studies abroad</b>		
Upper secondary school	85	25,6	No travels/studies abroad	293	88,3
Total	332	100,0	Travels/studies abroad	39	11,7
<b>Age at admission</b>			Total	332	100,0
Under 21 years	70	21,1			
21-23 years	97	29,2			
24-27 years	111	33,4			
28 years or older	54	16,3			
Total	332	100,0			

### *Some Basic Characteristics of the Students*

For the period 1938 to 1956 men were in majority, making up 70 per cent of the students, while women consequently held a share of 30 per cent. The students were admitted in their mid-twenties, 64 percent of the students were between 21 and 27 years old when they started their studies. Still one out of five students began at the school at an age of below 21 years and the proportion of young students were larger than the share of older students (students over 27 years represented 16 per cent).

Regarding the social origin of the students, the middle class were the most frequent background (29 per cent), followed by the upper middle classes (25 per cent) and the working class (20 per cent).<sup>3</sup> Divided according to fractions, the cultural fractions (22 per cent) dominated over the economic fractions (17 per cent). The professionals, a group that can be positioned in-between the fractions in a social space, made up 16 per cent. When the classes are divided according to fractions, a more complex pattern emerges. The cultural fractions

<sup>3</sup> The figures here differ a bit from the ones presented above in section 2 Social Characteristics of Art Students and Artist due to different definitions of the populations. Here we have omitted 75 students that we lack data on admission for, while these are accounted for above. Furthermore, in the calculations above the missing cases are not included.

dominated over the economic fractions among the upper middle classes (12 versus 4 per cent), while the opposite is true for the middle classes (12 against 10 per cent).<sup>4</sup> One can conclude that the middle classes and the upper middle classes, with the exception of the economic fraction of the upper middle class<sup>5</sup>, had a strong presence at the school.

The Stockholm region was well represented, one out of three students was born in the capital region. Another conclusion is that the school, being the only alternative for those seeking to study art at higher levels in the educational system, was recruiting its students from all of Sweden. None of the major regions of the country were represented by less than 7 per cent of the students. Furthermore, a significant proportion of the students (9 per cent) originated from foreign countries.<sup>6</sup>

In comparison with other students at university level, the art students differ significantly in their former educational investments. Only one out of four has passed the upper secondary school exam. A similar share of the students had no further education than compulsory school. On the other hand, approximately 40 per cent of the students had some prior training in arts before they were accepted to the school. The most significant schools at the time were Konstfack [today the University College of Arts, Crafts, and Design] and Otte Sköld's school, 8 per cent of the students had attended each of schools. Also 7 per cent of the students had sent in letters from artists as credentials.

Being the leading school, the applicants exceeded the number of available places. Among the happy few that were accepted, as many as almost half of them actually were admitted at their first attempt to enter the school. Another third had applied once before and a fifth had tried more than once before. However, none of the student had tried more than five times before.

We have not many indicators of the activities during the school time that are meaningful to analyse statistically. One of indicators used in the correspondence analysis is if the students spent time abroad during their studies, which almost 12 per cent of the students did. The other indicator included in the analysis refers to if the student received any prizes during their time at the school and the total sum of the prizes. Almost three out of four students were given a prize, and one out of five actually received a substantial amount of money.

To sum up: The students at the Royal University College of Fine Arts were predominantly male, from the middle classes or upper middle classes, especially the cultural fraction, and they came from the whole of Sweden, although with an overrepresentation of Stockholm. They were in their mid-twenties when they got admitted, usually after no former attempts or only one. Most of them lacked educational investments necessary for entering university studies in general, but a significant part had on the other hand invested in preparatory art education in different forms. They were successful in achieving prizes during the school time and some were rewarded with substantially sums. A minority spent time abroad during their studies.

---

<sup>4</sup> However, this changes for later periods, where the cultural fractions improve their position on behalf of the economic fraction also within the middle classes.

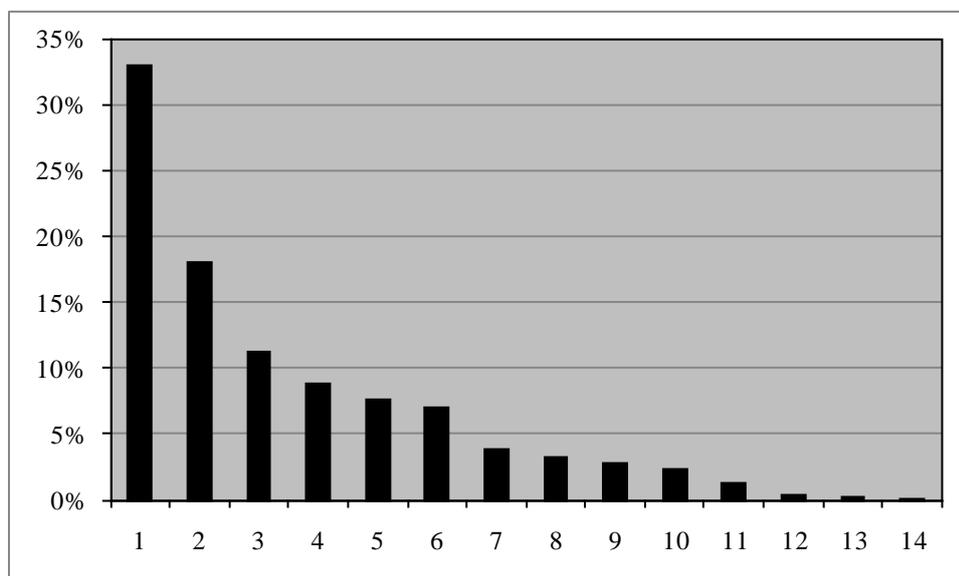
<sup>5</sup> This has led us to not distinguish between economic fractions of the middle classes and the upper middle class in the specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis.

<sup>6</sup> 11 from Nordic countries, 5 from France, 5 from Germany/Austria, 1 from Great Britain, 4 from East European countries, 1 from Southern European countries, and 5 from the rest of the world.

### *Interpretation of Axes*

The specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis produces a multidimensional solution with 29 non-trivial axes of which we will interpret the first three.<sup>7</sup> These first three axes account for in total 62 per cent of the adjusted inertia rates, where the first axis is due for 33 per cent, the second 18 per cent, and the third 11 per cent.

**Figure 4. Axes 1–14.**



#### *A Class Axis*

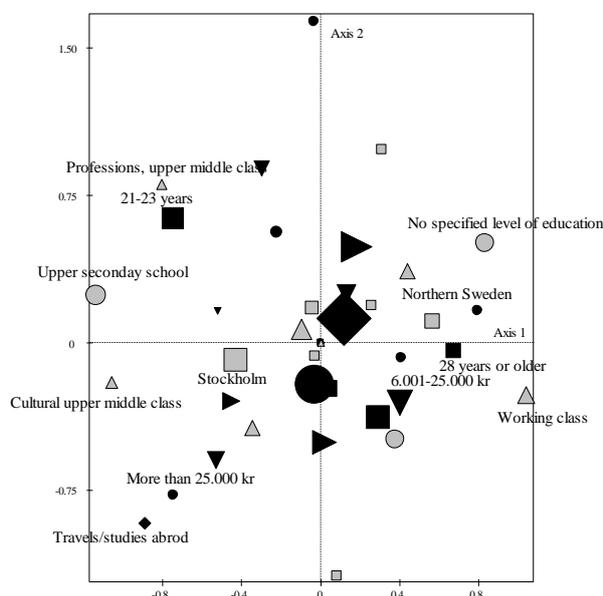
Three variables are contributing more than average to the first axis: the students' level of education, the social origin, and the age at admission. The fourth most important variable is the place of birth. For the first axis, it is thus plausible to count age at admission as an indicator of the social origin, and this gives us that the four most important variables are related to the students' social origin. In detail, the axis separates modalities indicating an upbringing in families with large amounts of resources, that is parents having occupations classified as either belonging to the cultural fractions of the upper middle class or to professional groups within the same class, living in Stockholm and sending their offspring to upper secondary school and being young when admitted, to students from less privileged homes, mainly working class families, being from the northern part of Sweden, and students generally older with no information on educational background.

<sup>7</sup> Given that the analysis is preliminary, we see no reason to dig too deep into the analysis, since there is a high probability that it will change.

**Table 7. Variables and Modalities Contributing to Axis 1.**

Variable	Ctr	Modalities on positive side	Ctr	Modalities on negative side	Ctr
Level of education	29,6	No specified level of education	9,3	Upper secondary school	18,4
Social origin	25,8	Working class	12,1	Cultural upper middle class	7,5
				Professions, upper middle class	3,2
Age at admission	14,8	28 years or older	4,1	21-23 years	9,0
Place of birth	7,5	Northern Sweden	3,2	Stockholm	3,5
Sum of prizes	7,5	6.001-25.000 kr	3,2	More than 25.000 kr	3,1
Preparatory schools	5,9				
Travels abroad	5,9			Travels/studies abroad	5,2
Number of applications	3,2				
Total	100,0		32,0		49,9

**Figure 5. Modalities Contributing to Axis 1. Space of Modalities, the Plane of Axes 1 and 2.**



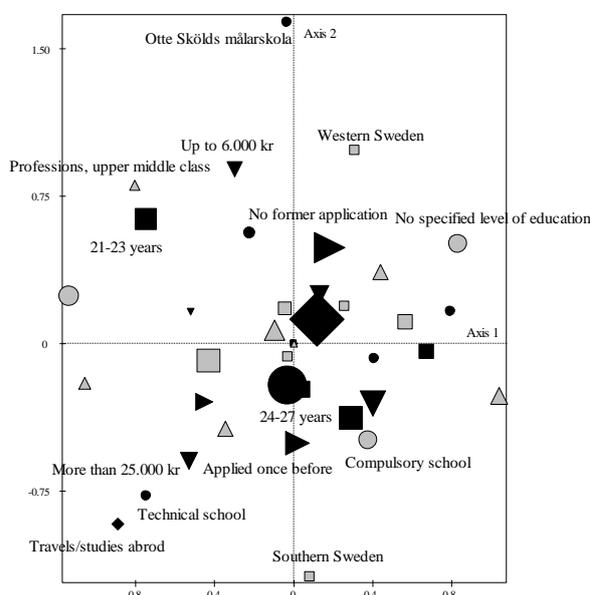
*Different Modes of Preparation for and Entrance to the School*

The second axis is more difficult to interpret. The most important variable is preparatory school, followed by sum of prizes, place of birth, and number of applications. Thus, the variables are mainly related to the field specific investments and properties. At the positive pole, the following properties are gathered: having attended the Otte Sköld art school and having obtained small prizes in combination with originating from western Sweden, being young and admitted at once first attempt. These properties stand in contrast coming from the southern part of Sweden, being somewhat older, having applied once, earning large sums of prizes, and having passed through a technical school. A preliminary interpretation of the axis can be summarized as discriminating between different modes of preparation and entrance to the school.

**Table 8. Variables and Modalities Contributing to Axis 2.**

Variable	Ctr	Modalities on positive side	Ctr	Modalities on negative side	Ctr
Preparatory schools	19,3	Otte Skölds målarskola	12,8	Technical school	2,7
Sum of prizes	16,9	Up to 6.000 kr	9,4	More than 25.000 kr	4,6
Place of birth	13,8	Western Sweden	5,2	Southern Sweden	7,9
Number of applications	13,6	No former application	7,1	Applied once before	5,4
Age at admission	11,3	21-23 years	7,4	24-27 years	3,1
Level of education	9,5	No specified level of education	3,9	Compulsory school	3,7
Social origin	8,4	Professions, upper middle class	3,7		
Travels abroad	7,1			Travels/studies abroad	6,3
Total	100,0		49,4		33,7

**Figure 6. Modalities Contributing to Axis 2. Space of Modalities, the Plane of Axes 1 and 2.**



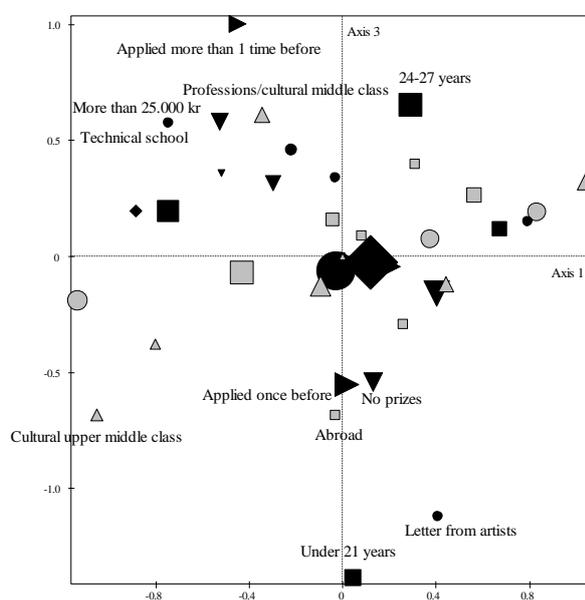
### *Age, Admission, and Origin*

The third axis circulates around similar themes as the second axis, although the stress here lays upon age at the admission and number of applications. The axis separates a pole with very young students having applied once from a pole with older students who have applied more than one time before. In addition, the axis articulates a difference within the cultural fractions. The cultural fraction of the upper middle class is positioned at the pole of young students, while the corresponding fraction of the middle classes stands in opposition at the pole with older students.

**Table 9. Variables and Modalities Contributing to Axis 3.**

Variable	Ctr	Modalities on positive side	Ctr	Modalities on negative side	Ctr
Age at admission	39,0	24-27 years	9,8	Under 21 years	28,2
Number of applications	21,2	Applied more than 1 application before	14,1	Applied once before	7,0
Sum of prizes	11,4	More than 25.000 kr	4,7	No prizes	4,8
Social origin	10,8	Professions/cultural middle class	4,3	Cultural upper middle class	3,9
Preparatory schools	10,2	<i>Technical school</i>	1,6	Letter from artists	6,3
Place of birth	5,7			Abroad	3,0
Level of education	1,4				
Travels abroad	0,4				
Total	100,0		34,6		53,3

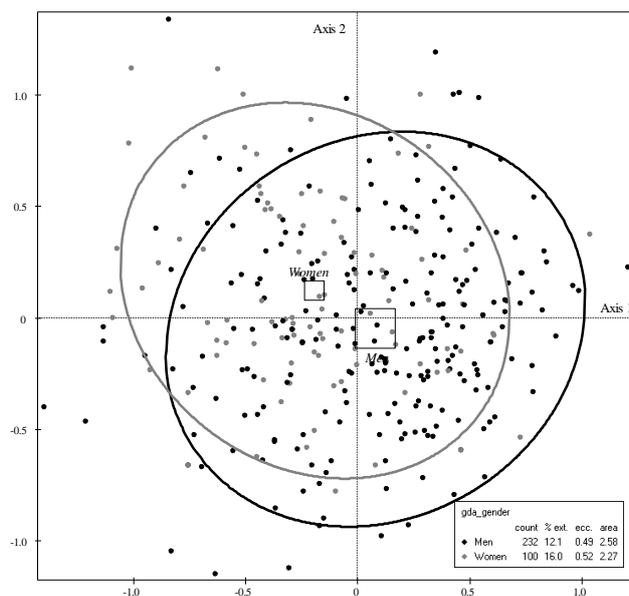
**Figure 7. Modalities Contributing to Axis 3. Space of Modalities, the Plane of Axes 1 and 3.**



### *A Gendered Space*

When introducing gender as a structuring factor it becomes clear that men and women are distributed differently in the space of students. Women, who are in a clear minority among the students, are drawn towards the upper left corner in the plane of axes 1 and 2, where properties such as belonging to the cultural fractions of the upper middle class, having been admitted at age of 21 to 23 years, and being born in the capital are overrepresented. This also implies that women are less frequent in the regions of the space where students of more modest social origin are located, such as in left bottom corner of the same plane. The positions of women thus follow a general pattern; dominated groups tend to compensate their inferior initial position by other resources, in this case related to the social origin.

**Figure 8. Gender as Structuring Factor. Space of Individuals, the Plane of Axes 1 and 2.**



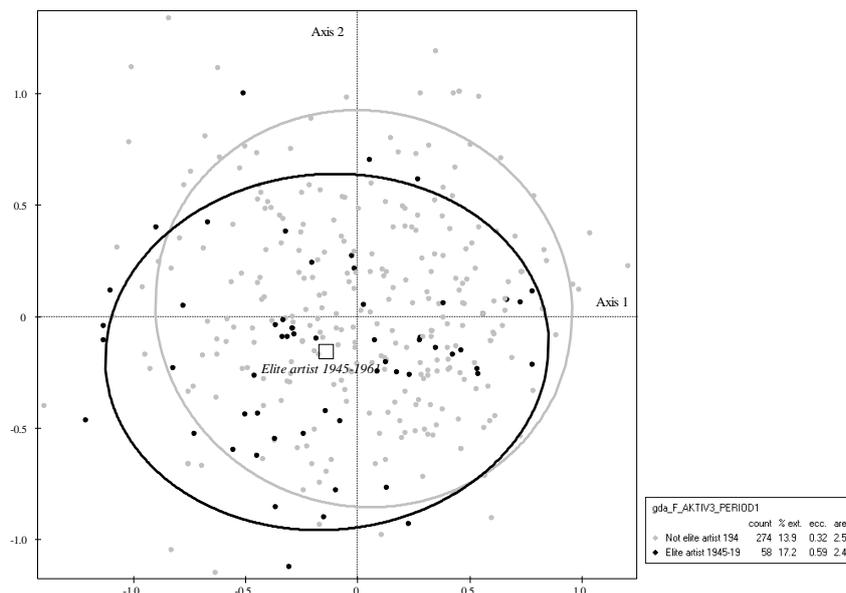
### *The Happy Few*

For the whole period studied, students being admitted to KKH between 1938 and 1986, as many as 90 per cent did enter the field of art according to at least one of the criteria that we have investigated. Furthermore 25 per cent of the students did end up in our group of “leading” artists. Among the students who were admitted to the school between 1938 and 1956, the population used in the present analysis, almost 30 per cent of the students made it to the top. From an initially hard-selected group of people, the selection is taken a step further by the assortment done by the field.

The students that are defined as “leading” artist have different length of their careers and they also meet our criteria for being “leading” artist in different periods. Most of the students enter our group of consecrated artist in the first period (58 individuals), followed by the second period (28 individuals). In the later periods, only 6 and 3 artists join the exclusive group. Among the artists included in the first period, a majority, 34 artists, also form part of the selected group in later periods.

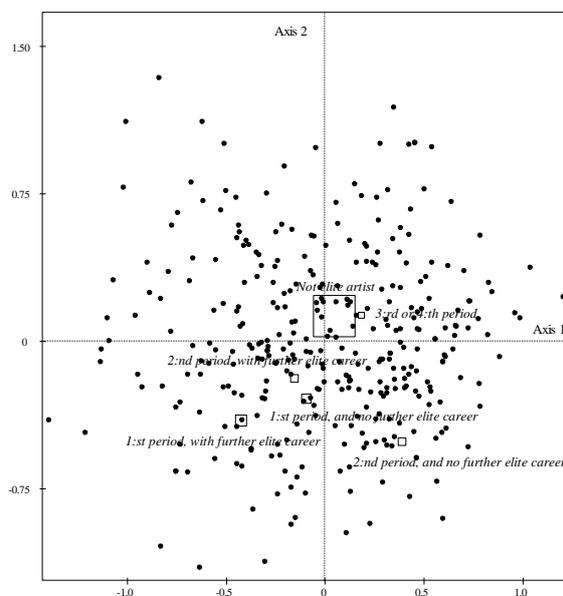
The students that manage to become a “leading” artist are not randomly distributed in the space of students. In figure 9 it is clear that the most successful students are drawn towards the bottom left quadrant, indicating that they come from established families, especially the cultural fractions of the upper middle class, have studied abroad, have received important sums in prizes, have been admitted after one former attempt, and have prepared themselves at a technical school. Geographically, Stockholm and Southern Sweden are overrepresented in this part of the figure.

**Figure 9. Elite Artist Period 1 as Supplementary Variable. Space of Individuals, the Plane of Axes 1 and 2.**



Furthermore, if we divide the students in those who qualifies in the most selective group of artist also in later periods and those who don't, the former are, are positioned in more resourceful regions of the space (see figure 10).

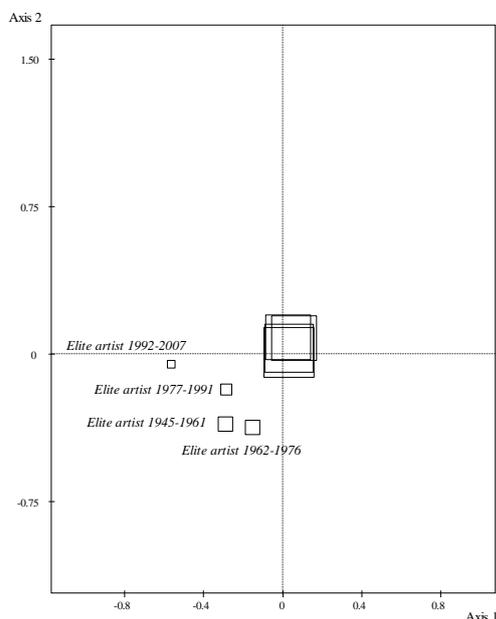
**Figure 10. Elite Artist and Careers as Supplementary Variable. Space of Individuals, the Plane of Axes 1 and 2.**



The different periods tend to favour different students. In figure 11 we can see that the modality mean-point for being included among the elite artists changes some-what over time. To be defined as a leading artist in the second period indicates a little less resourceful

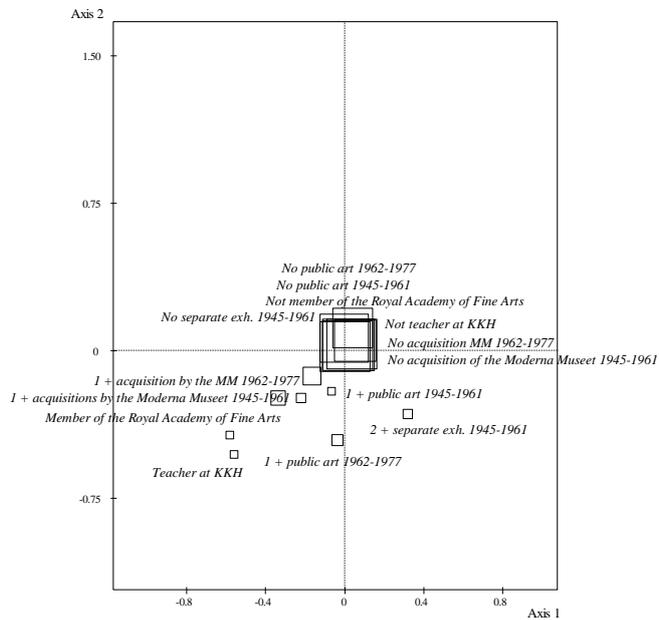
background in comparison to the artists included in the other periods, and especially those in the last period.

**Figure 11. Elite Artist over Four Periods as Supplementary Variables. Space of Modalities, the Plane of Axes 1 and 2.**



Finally, we have in the analysis introduced a number of different criteria for being a successful artist. The most exclusive criteria, that of have been working as a teacher at the Royal University College of Fine Arts and that of being member of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, are positioned most extremely down in the lower left corner. This stands in contrast to having been exhibited at more than one separate show at a gallery during the first period, a property drawing closest to the less resourceful pole to the right.

**Figure 12. A Range of Different Criteria for Success in the Fine Arts as Supplementary Variables. Space of Modalities, the Plane of Axes 1 and 2.**



#### 4. The Field of Leading Artists 1962—1976

One of the research projects main objectives is to examine the field of leading artist during the post Second World War period, 1945—2007, and its changes. The social recruitment to important positions in this field from a structural perspective is a previously much neglected area of research. To capture the individuals whose position-takings and resources help to structure this field, we have wanted to include *different* kinds and levels of possible careers, and not automatically reproduce the success-stories produces by general art history. The selection of the population and the construction of the field has therefore been an empirical question—those who, fulfilling different quantitative and qualitative requisites, are produced by the empirical data, are our research objects. Since this field is not as comfortably situated in one and the same building, as was the fact with most of the data of our above describes population of art students, the archive material constituting this study has been gathered from a wide array of sources and the definite selection quite technical and tricky. In this paper, we will instead of once again describing these processes do a first attempt to set the data in motion.

Below, one of our four periods for the study of the post-war field of leading artists in Sweden is in focus, 1962—1976, and analyzed through specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis. The population is constituted by on the one hand artists making their way into the field of art during this period and on the other by those who established themselves in the field during the previous period, 1945—1961. The young and aspiring artists in other words not only compete with each other over positions, but also with more senior colleagues.

##### *Variables in the Analysis*

In the analysis we have used a total of 16 active variables (see table 10). Two are related to the background of the artists, the class fractions of their parents and the geographical origins. There are two variables on artistic education, one for the highest level of such education and one on how many schools the artists have studied at. Then we have included four variables of exhibition activity, one for shows at young avant-garde galleries, one for exhibitions at museums, one for participation at the less prestigious annual Salons and finally one for shows abroad (in table 10 sorted together with the other measurement of transnational resources, travel aid stipends). One variable is available on the frequency of mentioning of the artists by the leading art critics of the period. Two deal with purchased art, either to the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in Stockholm (*Moderna Museet*) or public art, commissioned by the state. We have one variable on administrative activity, for instance as board member in The National Public Art Council. Two variables are on stipends, one for awards (stipends for which you can't apply) and one for travel aid (for which you apply). Finally, we have included data on whether the artists are elected into the Royal Academy of Fine Arts or not, during the period.

**Table 10. Active Variables and Modalities in the Analysis of the Artists.**

Variable/Modalities	Frequency	Percent	Variable/Modalities	Frequency	Percent
<b>Class fractions</b>			<b>Exhibitions at Salons [<i>Vårsalong</i>]</b>		
U: Cultural fraction	32	7,5	No Salons	199	46,6
U: Professionals	33	7,7	1-3 Salons	134	31,4
U: Economical fractions	18	4,2	4-10 Salons	94	22,0
M: Cultural fractions	55	12,9	Total	427	100,0
M: Professionals	31	7,3	<b>Art Reviews (Newspapers)</b>		
M: Economical fractions	77	18,0	No Review	57	13,3
W: Working classes	95	22,2	1-2 Reviews	115	26,9
<i>No info on social origin</i>	86	20,1	3-6 Reviews	142	33,3
Total	427	100,0	7-10 Reviews	72	16,9
<b>Place of birth</b>			11-23 Reviews	41	9,6
Stockholm	128	30,0	Total	427	100,0
Göteborg/Malmö	47	11,0	<b>Museum Acquisitions</b>		
Middle sized city	51	11,9	No MM-Acq.	170	39,8
Small city	75	17,6	1 MM-Acq.	135	31,6
Countryside	85	19,9	2-3 MM-Acq.	84	19,7
<i>Abroad</i>	39	9,1	>3 MM-Acq.	38	8,9
<i>No info on place of birth</i>	2	0,5	Total	427	100,0
Total	427	100,0	<b>Public Art</b>		
<b>Highest Level of Artistic Education</b>			No Public Art	327	76,6
Studies at KKH	233	54,6	1 Public Art	56	13,1
Sthlm Art School	60	14,1	2-5 Public Art	44	10,3
Swed. Art School	49	11,5	Total	427	100,0
Art Stud. Abroad	53	12,4	<b>Administration (Board member)</b>		
<i>No info on Artistic Education</i>	32	7,5	No admin.	389	91,1
Total	427	100,0	Administration	38	8,9
<b>Number of Artistic Educations</b>			Total	427	100,0
Autodidact	19	4,4	<b>Exhibitions Abroad</b>		
1 School	170	39,8	No Abroad	249	58,3
2 Schools	160	37,5	1-3 Abroad	113	26,5
>2 Schools	72	16,9	4-24 Abroad	65	15,2
<i>No info on Nr of Artistic Educations</i>	6	1,4	Total	427	100,0
Total	427	100,0	<b>Travel Aid</b>		
<b>Exhibitions at Avant-garde gall.</b>			No travel aid	368	86,2
No g-young.	99	23,2	Travel aid	59	13,8
1-2 g-young.	120	28,1	Total	427	100,0
3-4 g-young.	99	23,2	<b>Award</b>		
5-6 g-young.	55	12,9	No Award	362	84,8
7-12 g-young.	54	12,6	Award	65	15,2
Total	427	100,0	Total	427	100,0
<b>Exhibitions at Museums</b>			<b>Royal Academy of Fine Arts</b>		
No M-exh.	149	34,9	Not R-acad.	394	92,3
1 M-exh.	159	37,2	R-Acad.1962-1976	33	7,7
2 M-exh.	61	14,3	Total	427	100,0
>2 M-exh.	58	13,6			
Total	427	100,0			

### ***Social Characteristics of the Artists***

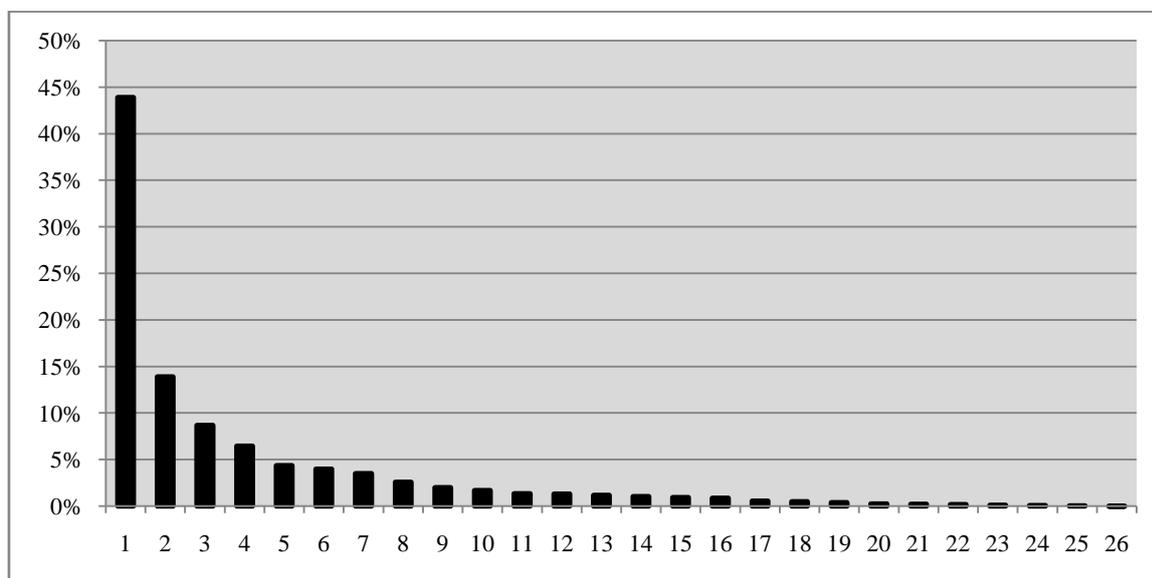
The fundamental social characteristics of the entire population of leading artist have been described above, and the changes over time of the social recruitment have been high-lighted. Important to stress, however, is the fact that the social recruitment to the field during this period is clearly structured according to gender. Of the active individuals in this population 84 per cent are men and 16 per cent women. 30 per cent of the men stem from the working classes, while this proportion for the female artists is only 18 per cent. In the upper middle classes, on the other hand, the image is reversed: here we find only 21 per cent of the men and 40 per cent of the women. Moreover, female artists from the upper middle classes during these periods dominantly originate from the economical fractions.

As seen in table 10, more than four out of ten of the artists were born in high density urban regions, 30 per cent in Stockholm and another 11 per cent in either Göteborg or Malmö; almost as many saw daylight in the countryside or in a small city. In education in arts, studies at the Royal University of Fine Arts (*KKH*) clearly dominate the group. As a distant second, we find studies at some other Stockholm art school (predominantly either *Konstfack* or *Otte Skölds målarskola*). A few artists were autodidacts, but most had at least studied at two art schools, before successfully entering the field of art.

### ***Interpretation of the Axes***

Through the specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis we have discerned 55 non-trivial axes. Of these we will interpret four. These four first axes account for 73 per cent of the adjusted inertia rates: the first accounts for 44 per cent and the second 14 per cent, the third 9 per cent and the fourth add 6 per cent (see figure 13 below).

**Figure 13. Axes 1-26.**



#### ***Axis 1: Volume of Artistic Activity***

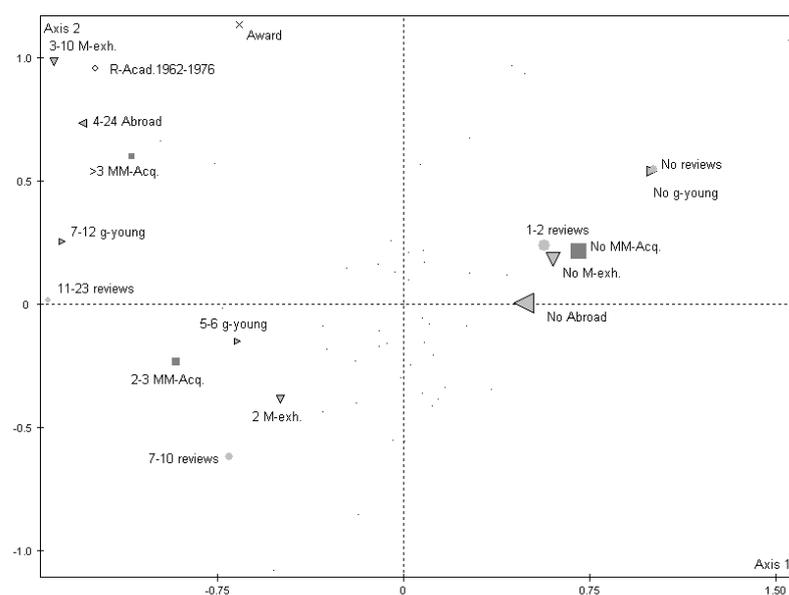
The first axis separates large amounts of field specific capital from small amounts, or rather altogether a lacking of such. The variables contributing more than average express different kinds of “classic” art market activity, such as gallery shows, art reviews, acquisitions to and

exhibitions at museums and shows in other countries. Also contributing, but to a lesser degree, are indicators of substantial field recognition: elected to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and being given an Award. That is, the axis puts diligent artists against field absent ones (see table 11 and figure 14).<sup>8</sup>

**Table 11. Variables and Modalities Contributing to Axis 1.**

Variable	Ctr	Modalities on positive side	Ctr	Modalities on negative side	Ctr
Exh. at Avant-garde gall.	18,8	No g-young	7,4	7-12 g- young	7,7
				5-6 g-young	1,9
Art Reviews	16,2	No reviews	4,3	11-23 reviews	6,3
		1-2 reviews	2,8	7-10 reviews	2,6
MM-Acquisitions	15,1	No MM-Acq.	6,4	2-3 MM-Acq.	5,3
				>3 MM-Acq.	3,4
Exh. at Museum	14,1	No M-exh.	4,1	3-10 M-exh.	8,6
Exh. Abroad	15,1	No Abroad	4,4	3-24 Abroad	8,2
Royal Academy of Fine Arts	4,1			R-Acad.-1962-1976	3,8
Award	2,5			Award	2,1
Total	85,9		29,4		49,9

**Figure 14. Modalities Contributing to Axis 1, Space of Modalities, Plane 1 and 2**



*Axis 2: New vs. Old Agents*

The variables contributing most to the second axis distinguish different kinds of artistic activities. On the one side we find modalities associated with consecration, such as several museum exhibitions and receiving awards and on the other substantial investments in exhibitions of lower prestige, the Salons, and receiving applied travel aids. Not surprising, it is in the corner of the most consecrated we find those elected into the Royal Academy of Fine Arts during the period. One interpretation of this axis, and the categories associated with it, is

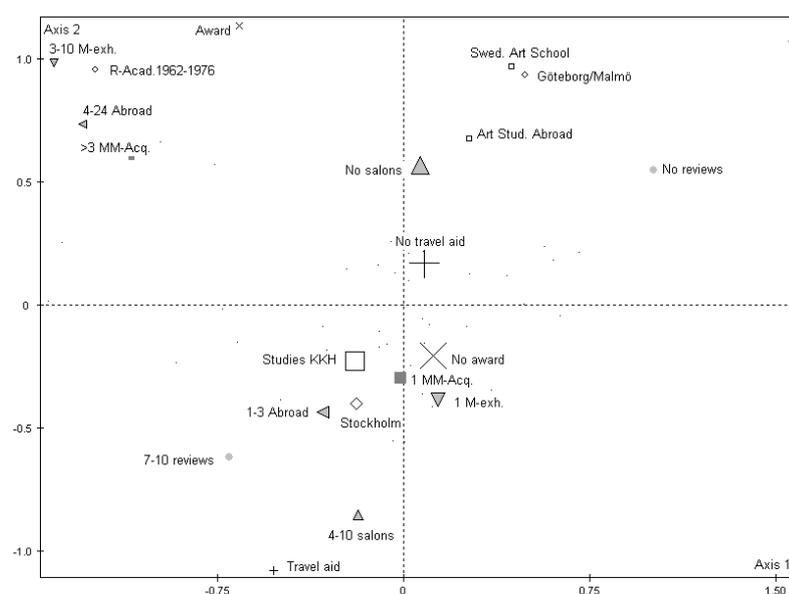
<sup>8</sup> The clouds of individuals for the first four axes are shown in figure 20—22 in the appendix

that it highlights oppositions due to (artistic) age. New aspiring artists are up against senior, distinguished artists. The more merited artists are more represented at shows abroad, but less present in the art critic sections of newspapers, and the reversed image for the younger artists, making their first entrance during the period. The axis also expresses a geographical opposition, between artists born in Stockholm with studies at the Royal University College of Fine Arts (in the newcomer's ringside) and artists born in the two other major Swedish cities with studies either at a non-Stockholman art school (often situated in either Göteborg or Malmö) or merits from art schools abroad (in the senior artists' ringside). Further analysis will shed more light on this opposition, but a preliminary conclusion could be that the closest alliance is between the newcomers and a Stockholm and KKH background (see table 12 and figure 15).

**Table 12. Variables and Modalities Contributing to Axis 2.**

Variable	Ctr	Modalities on positive side	Ctr	Modalities on negative side	Ctr
Exh. at Salons	15,9	No salons	7,2	4-10 salons	7,7
Exh. at Museum	14,1	3-10 M-exh.	6,3	1 M-exh.	2,6
Award	11,2	Award	9,5	No award	1,7
Artistic Education	10,4	Swed. Art School Art Stud. Abroad	5,2 2,7	Studies KKH	1,4
Travel Aid	9,0	No travel aid	1,2	Travel aid	7,8
Place of Birth	8,5	Göteborg/Malmö	4,6	Stockholm	2,3
Exh. Abroad	6,4	4-24 Abroad	4,0	1-3 Abroad	2,4
Art Reviews	5,9	No reviews	1,9	7-10 reviews	3,1
MM-Acquisitions	4,3	>3 MM-Acq.	1,5	1 MM-Acq.	1,3
Royal Academy of Fine Arts	3,7	R-Acad.1962-1976	3,4		
Total	89,4		47,5		33,7

**Figure 15. Modalities Contributing to Axis 2, Space of Modalities, Plane 1 and 2.**



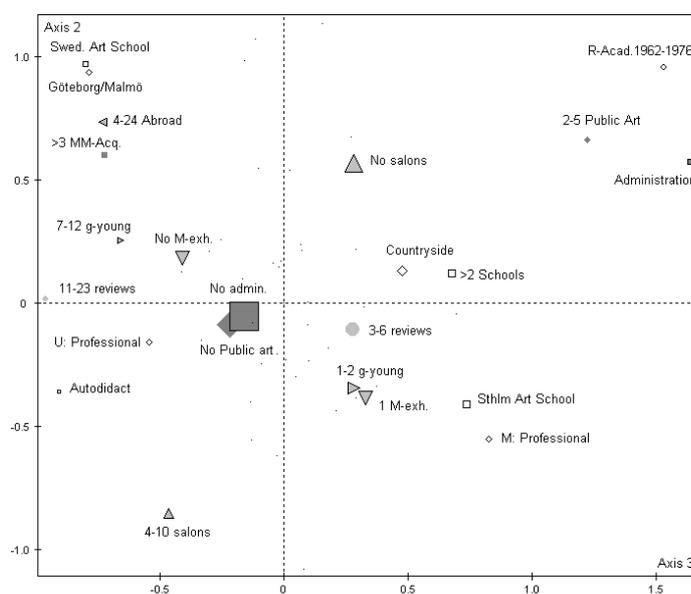
*Axis 3: Public vs. Avant-garde*

The third axis once again differentiates between different kinds of artistic activities, but in this case the oppositions rather are between altogether different sets of variables than between modalities within variables. We find, that one side is constructed of highly consecrated artists (elected into the Royal Academy) who are active in administration and public art and the other of those most often mentioned by leading art critics, most active at avant-garde galleries, shows abroad and in the salons. The latter are also those whose art the Museum of Modern Art collect in large numbers during the period. This aspect could very well be pronounced as consecrated public activity versus avant-garde activity. Also present in the axis is long versus short social distances to the field. On the one side (at the “public” end) we find those from dominated social places (here associated with the professional fractions of the middle classes) who have made substantial investments in artistic education, but whose highest level is a dominated one in Stockholm (i.e. not KKH). On the other are artists, equipped (here associated with a social origin in the professional fractions of the upper middle classes) to reach the field of art even lacking artistic education (autodidacts), from big cities (see table 13 and figure 16).

**Table 13. Variables and Modalities Contributing to Axis 3.**

Variable	Ctr	Modalities on positive side	Ctr	Modalities on negative side	Ctr
<b>Administration</b>	<b>14,6</b>	<b>Administration</b>	<b>13,3</b>	No admin.	1,3
<b>Royal Academy of Fine Arts</b>	<b>11,4</b>	<b>R-Acad.1962-1976</b>	<b>10,1</b>		
<b>Public Art</b>	<b>10,9</b>	<b>2-5 Public art</b>	<b>8,6</b>	<b>No Public Art</b>	<b>2,1</b>
<b>Artistic Education</b>	<b>8,8</b>	<b>Sthlm. Art School</b>	<b>4,3</b>	<b>Swed. Art School</b>	<b>4,1</b>
<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>8,4</b>	<b>Countryside</b>	<b>2,5</b>	<b>Göteborg/Malmö</b>	<b>3,8</b>
<b>Class fractions</b>	<b>7,3</b>	<b>M: Professional</b>	<b>2,7</b>	<b>U: Professional</b>	1,3
<b>Nr of Artistic Education</b>	<b>6,8</b>	<b>&gt;2 Schools</b>	<b>4,3</b>	<b>Autodidact</b>	<b>2,0</b>
<b>Art Reviews</b>	<b>6,5</b>	<b>3-6 reviews</b>	<b>1,4</b>	<b>11-23 reviews</b>	<b>5,0</b>
Exh. at Museum	6,4	<b>1 MM-Exh.</b>	<b>2,3</b>	<b>No M-exh.</b>	<b>3,3</b>
Exh. at Avant-garde gallery	5,5	<b>1-2 g-young</b>	<b>1,2</b>	<b>7-12 g-young</b>	<b>3,1</b>
Exh. Abroad	5,5			<b>4-24 Abroad</b>	<b>4,5</b>
Exh. at Salons	4,9	<b>No salons</b>	<b>2,1</b>	<b>4-10 Salons</b>	<b>2,6</b>
<b>MM-Acquisitions</b>	<b>2,8</b>			<b>&gt;3 MM-Acq.</b>	<b>2,6</b>
Total	99,8		52,8		35,7

**Figure 16. Modalities Contributing to Axis 3, Space of Modalities, Plane 2 and 3.**



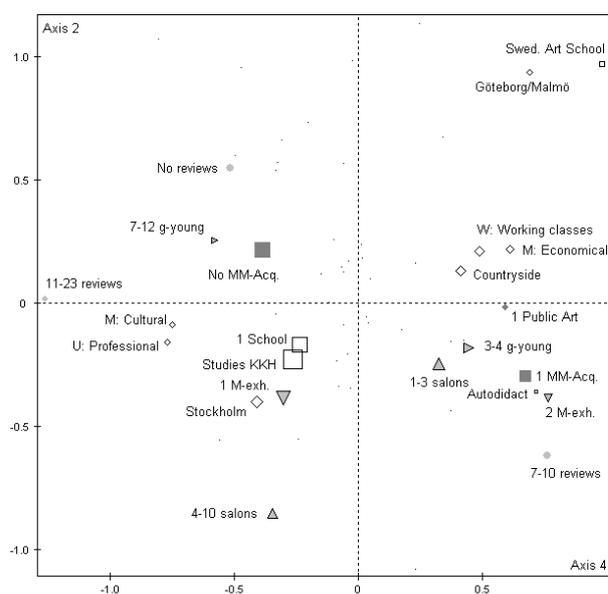
*Axis 4: Urban Cultural Social Origin vs. Rural Economical Social Origin*

Axis 4 is a more clear-cut class dimension. More culturally equipped social groups (professional fractions of the upper middle classes and cultural fractions of the middle classes), from Stockholm and studies at KKH are to be found on the one side and on the other more economically equipped (economical fractions of the middle classes) together with the working classes, from the countryside (or other big cities than Stockholm) are situated. Some differences in artistic careers during the period are also to be found. The urban culturals are more often mentioned by art critics (or completely ignored) and shown at avant-garde galleries (not only the social distances to the art field are short but also the geographical ones to the art center of Sweden), while the rural economicals are less frequently mentioned and exhibited.

**Table 14. Variables and Modalities Contributing to Axis 4.**

Variable	Ctr	Modalities on positive side	Ctr	Modalities on negative side	Ctr
Art Reviews	18,0	11-23 reviews	9,3	7-10 reviews	6,0
		No reviews	2,1		
Class fractions	16,4	M: Economical	4,1	U: Professional	2,8
		W: Working classes	3,2	M: Cultural	4,4
MM-Acquisitions	13,7	1 MM-Acq.	8,8	No MM-Acq.	3,5
Artistic Education	10,6	Swed. Art School	6,7	Studies at KKH	2,2
Place of Birth	8,4	Göteborg/Malmö	3,2	Stockholm	3,0
		Countryside	2,0		
Exh. at Avant-garde gall.	8,3	3-4 g-young	2,8	7-12 g-young	2,5
Exh. at Museums	7,2	2 M-exh.	5,1	1 M-exh.	2,0
Nr of Artistic Educations	4,2	Autodidact	1,4	1 School	1,3
Exh. at Salons	3,7	1-3 salon	2,0	4-10 salons	1,6
Public Art	3,5	1 Public art	2,8		
Total	94		53,5		29,3

**Figure 17. Modalities Contributing to Axis 4, Space of Modalities, Plane 2 and 4.**



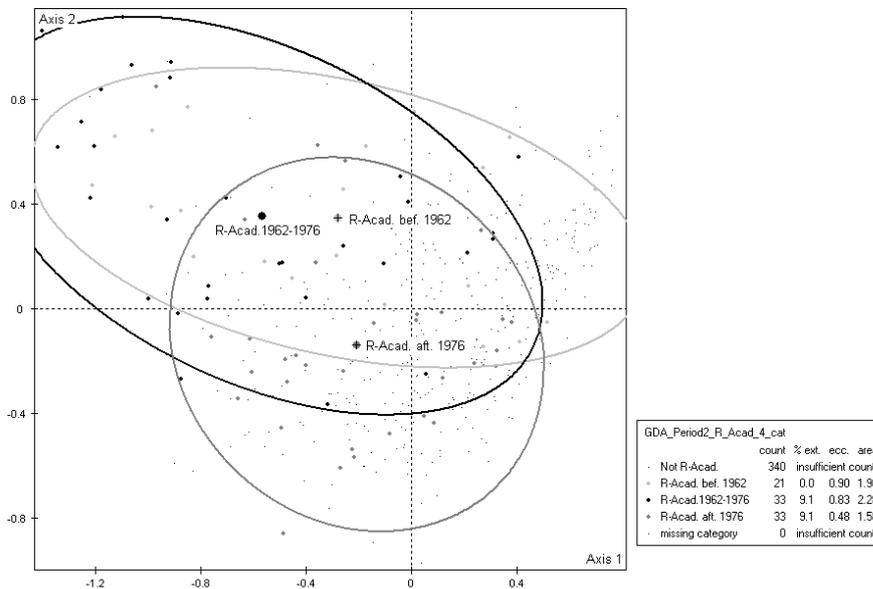
### Conclusion

The structures of the constructed space are convincingly illustrated when three different groups of Royal Academy of Fine Arts' members are projected as supplementary elements: elected before the period, during the period or after the period. The time-point in which an artist is elected evidently says a great deal about their activities during the period 1962—1976 (figure 18 and 19).

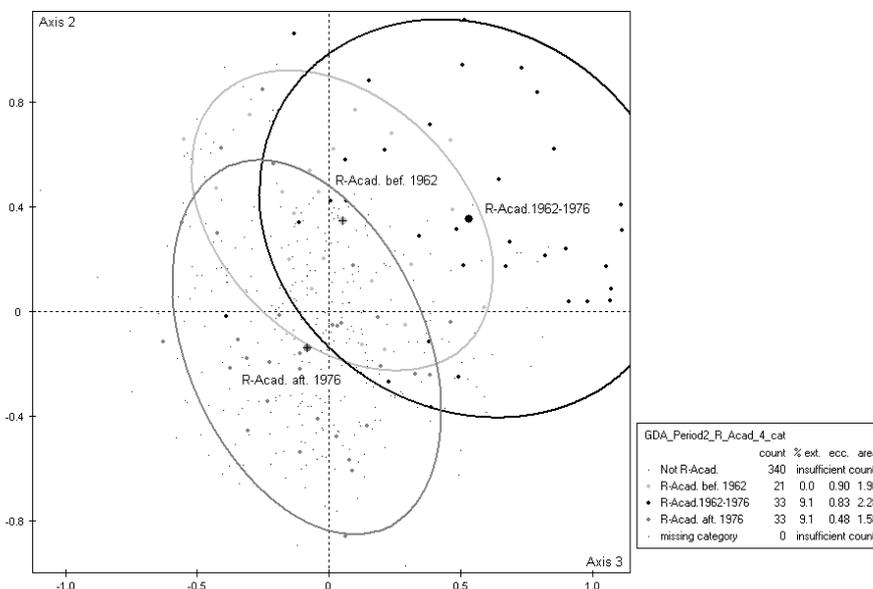
In axis one, the most active ones are those who will be elected into the academy during the period. Some of those elected as the period starts seem to have already exited the field, for natural or artistic reasons (a position to the right of the figure). This group (elected pre. 1962) is, however, in average just as active as the young artists who will become academy members after the period. The “age” difference is also much pronounced in axis two. Elected before the period starts and elected during the period are of roughly the same artistic age, but the oldest group has begun to stride off towards the inactive side (in axis 1). This means, artists who will be elected later are still laying the foundation for their artistic careers, by participating in salons, travelling abroad and so forth while older, already consecrated artists can harvest the crops of earlier investments (in the previous period or even earlier) by being frequently exhibited at museums or receiving symbolically (and often economically) important awards.

In axis three, the main opposition is between elected during the period and members-to-be. Those meriting themselves for future membership are situated closely to the avant-garde side, while the crowned princes/ses are reshaping the public sphere through several public art pieces, and—importantly—setting the parameters for their inheritors, by being highly active in administrative boards (for instance deciding who will be awarded with stipends or commissioned to make public art).

**Figure 18. Elected to Royal Academy of Fine Arts as a Structuring Factor, Plane 1 and 2.**



**Figure 19. Elected to Royal Academy of Fine Arts as a Structuring Factor, Plane 2 and 3.**



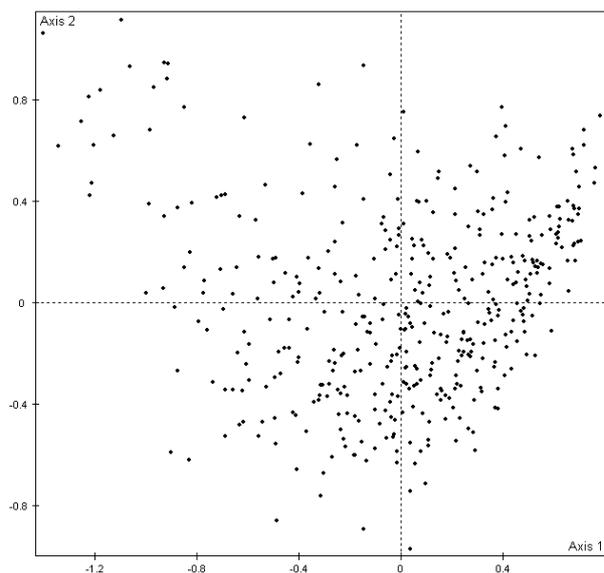
## 5. Summary and Concluding Remarks

Our investigation has shown that both the leading art school and the most consecrated areas of the art field increasingly are becoming populated by the middle classes, while the proportions of students and artists with working class origin are successively decreasing. Furthermore, cultural fractions gain in numbers over time, while economical fractions decline. The constructed space of art students at the leading school reveals a complex pattern where future success within the field of art is related to a set of factors including social origin, geographical origin and gender as well as investments in field specific capital. The field of art is socially structured by field specific merits, axis one demonstrated an opposition between active and inactive artist, axis two showed how the space is structured according to artistic age and consecration, while the third axis opposed young avant-garde artists with publicly and administratively active consecrated artist, and the fourth highlighted differences between individuals of urban cultural and rural economical heritage.

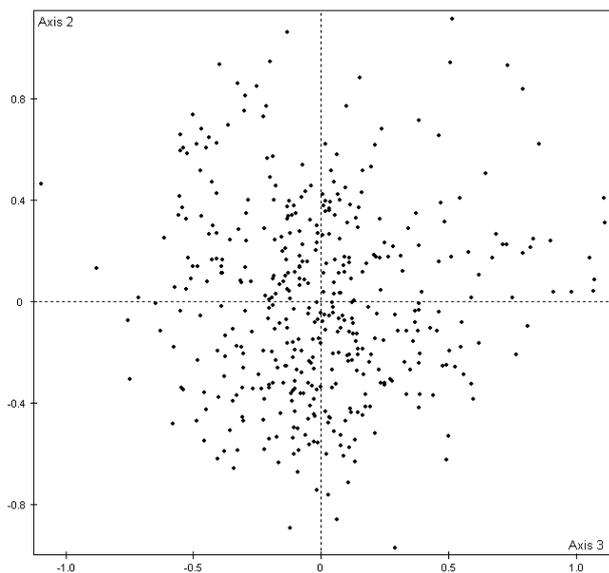
An important question to discuss, is how this “success” of the cultural middle classes is to be understood? More research is needed, not only on the Swedish case, but also for international comparisons. How important are for instance demographical, social, political and economical changes outside the art world (expanding middle classes in the society as a whole etc.)? And how much of the development could it be related to changes inside the art field (maybe the cultural middle classes are favoured of the “discursive turn”; the birth of the postmodern educated artist that do not paint but talk and write etc.)? The project will work more with these types of questions in the near future.

## Appendix

**Figure 20. Cloud of individuals, Field of leading artists 1962-1976, plane 1-2.**



**Figure 21. Cloud of individuals, Field of leading artists 1962-1976, plane 2-3.**



**Figure 22. Cloud of individuals, Field of leading artists 1962-1976, plane 2-4.**

