

# Social Definitions of Art and the Nordic Model of Artists' Support

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## **Abstract**

The paper discusses the role of public arts policy in the process of producing social definitions for "the artist" in the light of some of the main findings of a comparative study on the Nordic model for supporting artists. The discussion focuses on the structures of decision-making in the Nordic system of state support for artists, where arts policy, arts administration and artistic fields are closely intertwined. The paper points out that there are notable differences between the Nordic countries concerning the administrative classifications of art adopted and enacted in the structures of decision-making as well as in the actual allocation of state support for artists. The paper suggests that the national differences in the artistic categories adopted, and especially their liability to change, are partly due to differences in the nature of interaction between artistic fields and arts administration in the formulation and implementation of the policy of supporting artists.

## **Keywords**

Arts policy, artists, artistic fields, artistic definitions, state support.

## **Introduction**

The notion of art as a socio-historical concept has become widely accepted among researchers of the cultural field, and has brought with it an increasing interest in the societal process of producing definitions and categories for cultural products. In this paper I discuss the role of public arts policy in the process of producing social definitions for "art" and "artist".

My discussion is confined to the sphere of public policy toward artists in the Nordic countries. More specifically, its scope is limited to the policy of granting direct state support to professional artists. The focus of the discussion is on the structure and operation of the decision-making in the Nordic system of supporting artists. There are several reasons for focusing on this area. First, the Nordic countries provide an example of countries where state support has a significant role in creating prerequisites for artistic activity. Second, the Nordic policy of granting state support directly to individual artists creates a situation where public policy has a direct impact on the situation of artists. Third, the decision-making on artists' support has several features, too, which make it especially relevant for the discussion. In the Nordic model of supporting artists, the decision-making is based on close interaction between the formulation and implementation of arts policy, arts administration and artistic fields. In addition, the main part of the support is allocated according to the criteria of artistic quality, and the decisions are based on the peer-group evaluation of professional artists.

The empirical part of my discussion is based on a comparative study on the policy of promoting artistic creativity in the Nordic countries. The study covered state support for artists in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (Heikkinen 2003).<sup>1</sup> The paper is also based on an earlier article (Heikkinen 2000) and a paper presented at the 2nd ICCPR (Heikkinen 2002).

## **Artistic Fields and Artistic Classifications**

One of the most influential explorers of the question of producing social definitions for art and culture is Pierre Bourdieu, who has among his central concerns the role of culture in the reproduction of social structures (Johnson 1993). Bourdieu's work on the question has dealt with the consumption and taste of cultural products as well as with artistic fields and the production of art. (See, e.g., Bourdieu 1986; 1993a; 1993b.)

In his theory of artistic fields, Bourdieu (1993a; 1993b) analyses the process of defining what is "art", and who are "artists". The focus is on the process of definition taking place within the artistic fields, and on definitions produced by the actors of these fields. According to him, the specific symbolic capital that is at stake in the struggles of these fields is exactly the power to make these definitions. The constantly on-going process of definition produces classifications according to such categories as, for example, "avant-garde", "institutionalized", "popular".

The state obviously has an effect on the preconditions of artistic production through the regular operation of such state functions as, e.g., legislation or taxation. In addition, the state carries out actions which are specially designed to have an effect on arts and culture in the form of measures and regulations related to cultural policy. But is it possible to consider the state as one of the actors of artistic fields as these are defined by Bourdieu (1993a; 1993b), in the sense of an actor in possession of the field's specific symbolic capital? Bourdieu's theory of artistic fields does not pay much attention to the role of public policy in this respect. On the whole, the role of public policy in the process of defining and categorizing art and artists has not received as much attention from researchers as the role of consumption and taste-formation, or the process of definition taking place through the operation of the major actors of artistic fields.

In the Nordic countries, state support for culture has several features which increase the role of public policy in the sphere of culture. The Norwegian researchers Per Mangset and Dag Solhjell have both presented an approach to artistic fields which includes public arts policy within its scope. The main division of artistic fields in Bourdieu's (1993a; 1993b) theory is the division between the field of restricted production and the field of large scale production, and his focus is on the struggles fought in the field of restricted production, between the orthodoxy of the previous established avant-garde, and the heresy of the new emerging avant-garde. Mangset and Solhjell both use Bourdieu's theory as a starting point.

Mangset (1998), excluding the commercial sub-field of large-scale production from his analyses, divides the Norwegian artistic fields into four sub-fields: the institutional elitist, the vanguard, the cultural-democratic and the semi-professional sub-field. The two first mentioned relate to Bourdieu's concepts of established orthodoxy and avant-garde in the field of restricted production. Mangset entitles as the cultural-democratic sub-field the area of joint action of public authorities and artists' organizations to promote political values such as democratic or welfare goals. Solhjell (1995; 2000) has distinguished three sub-fields in his analyses of the Norwegian field of visual arts: exclusive, inclusive, and commercial. His exclusive sub-field deals with the symbolic capital accumulated

through artistic recognition and corresponds more or less to Bourdieu's field of restricted production, while inclusive sub-field deals with the political capital manifesting itself in government support.

Both Mangset (1998) and Solhjell (1995; 2000) regard the sub-field where public policy is involved as separate from the artistic field "proper", and they share the notion that this sub-field deals with a different type of symbolic capital. According to their analyses, the "political capital" assigned by this sub-field does not involve power to grant artistic recognition. On the contrary, it can even decrease artistic recognition in the same way as the economic capital gained from the commercial market of large-scale production of cultural products.

In the Nordic model of granting state support for artists, artistic fields and arts administration are closely intertwined in the implementation of arts policy through the system of decision-making. This being the case, there is reason to ask whether it is appropriate to consider the area where public arts policy is involved as a separate field with its own kind of symbolic capital. I have suggested elsewhere (Heikkinen 2000) that at least the Finnish system of public support for artists comes closer to a situation where the implementation of public policy towards artists also involves power to grant artistic recognition, which is considered as the specific symbolic capital of artistic fields by Bourdieu. My assumption is that the difference emerges from the exclusive nature of the criterion of artistic quality in the Finnish system of artists' support, compared to the Norwegian schemes of artists' support.<sup>2</sup>

The framework presented by Paul DiMaggio (1987) for analyzing artistic classifications introduces the concept of administrative classifications, making it possible to deal with the classifying roles of public arts administration and artistic fields within the same framework.<sup>3</sup> DiMaggio's framework centers around the concept of "artistic classification systems" (ACSs). He sees them as socially constructed systems of ritual classifications, which are used to differentiate between different genres of artworks. His framework is intended to combine the analyses on the levels of both the consumption and the production of art. He defines artistic classification systems as "the way that the work of artists is divided up both in the heads and habits of consumers *and* by the institutions that bound the production and distribution of separate genres." (DiMaggio 1987, 441) Thus ACSs reflect both the taste structure of the population and the structure of production and distribution of cultural goods in a given society. If an ACS is to persist, it must be continually enacted by art worlds.<sup>4</sup>

According to DiMaggio, the impact of ritual classifications is mediated by the characteristics of production systems. He introduces three mediating and subordinate principles of classification, which operate at the level of cultural production (ibid. p. 449-452.) While ritual classifications operate on the societal level, these mediating principles of classification vary in importance across art worlds. They can either reinforce or erode ritual classifications, and most genres bear the mark of two or more principles of classifications.

*Commercial classification* emerges in market systems where producers strive to sell art for profit, and tends to yield broader and more weakly framed genres than ritual classification. *Professional classification* results from artists' attempts to develop reputations and produces narrower and less universal distinctions. The third mediating principle is *administrative classification* which stems from governmental activities. DiMaggio defines administrative classifications as distinctions among genres created by the state. Concerning the consequences of these administrative classifications and their relation to ritual classifications, he contents himself to characterizing them as "variable".

The term administrative classifications is somewhat misleading. DiMaggio uses it to refer only to classifications created by the actions of state administration. The term could, however, be understood to refer to classifications of art produced by administrative activities in a broader sense. In this broader sense it would include, for example, classifications of art created by administrative practices of art institutions, private companies, non-profit organizations etc. I use the term here, however, in the narrower meaning applied by DiMaggio to refer to classifications stemming from state administration.

DiMaggio separates between three forms of administrative classifications. (Ibid. p. 451-452.) *Ancillary* administrative classifications emerge when routine functions of administration require government officials to make distinctions between art and non-art. *Regulatory* classifications occur when regulatory government policies affect ACSs indirectly and often in unanticipated ways. Government agencies that grant public support to artists and art institutions set out *explicit* classifications. The following discussion is confined to the sphere of explicit administrative classifications of art and artists. The concept is especially applicable to the Nordic countries, where the state has a strong role in providing resources for the production and distribution of art. As DiMaggio (1987:452) has noted, administrative classification does not exert notable effects on artistic classification systems where state control of culture is weak. In these cases most classification stemming from government activities is ancillary or regulatory, and thus inconsistent in its effects.

## **Interaction of Artistic Fields and Arts Administration in Decision-Making**

The basic features of Nordic public policy towards professional artists can be summarized as follows: support for the artistic process through financial support for individual artists; artistic quality as the main criterion for allocating the support; administration by expert bodies operating at arm's length from the relevant ministries; and the central role assigned to organizations of professional artists in the nomination and membership of these bodies.

In all of the four countries discussed here, direct state support for artists is allocated by expert bodies nominated for periods of three to four years and acting at arm's length from the ministries responsible for cultural affairs. Most of the members of these bodies are professional artists representing the artistic fields covered by the support schemes. These expert bodies are responsible for the peer evaluation needed in allocating the support according to the main criterion of artistic quality. The expertise of these bodies rests to a large extent on the role assigned to the organizations of professional artists. However, there is some variation in the degree of influence these organizations have.

The Norwegian and Swedish decision-making bodies are based more exclusively on the representation of artists' organizations, whereas the Danish and Finnish bodies are based on a more mixed representation of different interests and organizations of artistic fields.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, in all these countries the organizations of professional artists play a major role in the nomination of members to the bodies allocating direct support for artists. The artists' organizations also act as negotiation partners and expert advisers to the state in matters concerning legislative and other reforms of state support to artists. Consequently, it is difficult to change the artistic categories used in the allocation of state support for artists without the consent of these organizations. In Norway, the right of artists' organizations to participate in decision-making on these matters has been confirmed by Parliament's resolution in 1978.

The structure and functioning of these expert bodies creates a situation where the artistic classifications applied in the allocation of the support closely reflect the corresponding definitions of each represented artistic field. Professional classifications created through the operation of artistic fields are mediated through the representation of professional artists in these decision-making bodies. The mediation takes place both at the level of organizations participating in the nomination of the members of the decision-making bodies, and at the level of individual artists who, as members of these bodies, evaluate individual applications for support.

On the other hand, the decisions made by the arts administration have a strong impact on the classifications applied within the artistic fields. In several artistic fields public support has a decisive role in providing the prerequisites for acting as a professional artist. The central role of public support for the economic situation of artists has been conformed by several studies on Nordic artists (see, e.g., Elstad & Røsvik Pedersen 1996; Heikkinen & Karhunen 1996; Rensujeff 2003). These studies have, however, also shown that the financial role of the support varies strongly according to various fields of art. There are fields which could not exist without state support to artists, and other fields where the role of artists' support is insignificant.

The structural changes since the establishment of the current decision-making bodies for artists' support have resulted in a gradual expansion of the scope of state support for artists. Since the 1960s, several new fields of art have been included, and existing ones have been re-defined. These reforms have been implemented through the attachment of new expert bodies to the administrative structures. Likewise, each new inclusion has also required the establishment of organizations to act as negotiating partners toward the state on behalf of the respective artistic fields. Professional and administrative classifications for "the artists" are thus produced in a constant and close interaction with each other.

The following discussion is based on the assumption that the structural categories of arts administration reflect existing administrative definitions for art in each country. The professional definitions of artistic fields are supposed to be reflected in the organizational categories of professional artists. Another level of observation is offered by the actual allocation of resources according to the prevailing administrative categories.

## **Administrative Categories – Four Variations in Coverage and Classification**

The basic structural features of the Nordic expert bodies allocating state support for artists have remained intact for the last forty years. The enacted changes have concerned mainly minor adjustments in the criteria for allocating the support, priorities among different types of support, and re-definitions of the target area of the support. Regarding the definition of the target area, i.e. what is to be included as "the artists", the last forty years have witnessed a slow process of expansion. The process has resulted in the inclusion of new areas within the sphere of the policy measures, both through creating new categories of art and through making the applied categories more detailed.

The administrative classifications of art in each of the four countries discussed are reflected in the demarcation of decision-making bodies according to various categories of art and artists. The categories, taken together, also mark the area covered by the support allocated by these bodies. The structure and scope of coverage of the bodies responsible for the allocation of state support for artists is presented in the Appendix.<sup>6</sup>

The figure in the Appendix shows the coverage and administrative demarcation in terms of the administrative categories represented by the subcommittees for various fields of art and groups of artist.

DiMaggio (1987, 444-445) discusses the emergence of ritual classifications of art in a society first and foremost in terms of the differentiation according to genres. As an example, he refers to the classification by genre prestige to high versus popular culture. It seems that he considers classification according to the artistic medium to such categories as visual arts, drama, literature etc., rather unproblematic or uninterested from his point of view - at least he does not discuss it. I think, however, that the categorization according to artistic medium should be included in the analyses of artistic classifications. As the Appendix shows, these categories are far from self-evident even when comparing countries which are culturally as close to each other as the Nordic countries.

In most cases, subdivisions described in the Appendix are formed according to various forms of art defined through the artistic medium, such as "literature", "music", or "theater". Some of the subcommittees represent divisions according to genres, such as "popular music" and "classical music", or divisions made according to the audience, such as "children's culture". One division is made according to the "type of artistic work", i.e. "creative" and "performing" artists. In this case, there are different committees for "composers" and "musicians", for example. The Norwegian system, being the most detailed in its categories, in some cases makes use of several levels and types of categories simultaneously. An example of this is the subcommittee for "popular composers", which is separated according to three different types of division: artistic medium (music), type of artistic work (performing/creative) and genre (popular).

In terms of the breadth of coverage across various groups of artists, the Danish system is more restrictive than the others. In Denmark, direct support for individual artists is limited to artistic occupations which have been defined as "creative" (*skabende*) in contrast to "performing". In the other countries discussed, no group of artists is excluded from support schemes on the basis of this distinction.

In Norway, the structure is the most detailed with over twenty expert committees, each responsible for a specific group of artists.<sup>7</sup> Most of the Norwegian committees represent a specific organization of professional artists as well. Accordingly, the subcommittees are named after groups of artists (e.g. popular composers) instead of specific fields of art (e.g. music).

As mentioned, the major structural changes of these decision-making bodies since their establishment have been related to the gradual expansion of their scope of coverage. The expansion has reflected the constantly changing definitions of what is meant by 'the arts'. Since the 1960s, several new fields of art have been included, and existing ones have been redefined.

In Denmark, the concept of 'creative artist' has been extended several times. At the outset, it included writers, visual artists and composers, each group represented by its respective expert committee. In 1969, crafts and design were included as a new area with an expert committee of its own, and ten years later, in 1978, architecture was similarly included with its own expert committee. In 1993, the scope of support broadened with the establishment of a new expert committee to represent creative artists in the fields of theater, cinema and dance, such as directors, set-designers and choreographers. The most recent change has been the division of the expert committee for music into separate committees for composers of classical music and popular music<sup>8</sup>.



In Finland, the original administrative structure established in 1968 included expert councils for literature, visual arts, music, theater, crafts and design, architecture and what was called "camera arts". In 1977, camera arts was divided into cinema and photography, each with an expert council of its own. Dance was separated from theater into its own expert committee in 1983. In the 1990s, expansion has continued by including new fields of art in the existing areas, and by establishing new ad hoc subdivisions, such as those representing circus or media art.

In Norway and Sweden, the administrative structures have not experienced as many changes as in Denmark and Finland regarding the extension of their scope by establishing new subcommittees. The role of professional artists' organizations in relation to these decision-making bodies is more direct and decisive in Norway and Sweden. It might be that changes in the definition of 'the arts' are in these countries more likely to occur within and through these organizations than at the level of administrative structures. Norway's detailed administrative classification closely reflects the organizational structure of artistic fields, as most of the administrative categories stand for a specific organization of professional artists. It seems that the close connection between the administrative categories and artists' organizations has worked towards making the administrative structures more resistant to change.

DiMaggio (1987, 447-449) names four dimensions along which Artistic Classification Systems can vary in different societies. The dimensions are the extent to which cultural goods are differentiated (i.e. the number of genres into which an ACS is divided), the extent to which genres are ranked hierarchically, the extent to which classifications are universal, and the extent to which boundaries are ritualized (i.e. the intensity with which boundaries are defended). The dimensions of variation DiMaggio attributed to artistic classification systems seem to hold true for the administrative classifications examined here, too. The figure presented in the Appendix illustrates the variation according to the extent of differentiation, which is highest in Norway. Variation in the extent to which the boundaries of administrative classifications are ritualized can be exemplified by their resistance to change over time. In this respect, the Finnish and Danish systems seem less strongly ritualized than the Swedish and Norwegian administrative classifications.

The extent to which these classifications are universal cannot be examined by an analysis limiting itself to the sphere of administrative decision-making. The hierarchy of the various categories of artists applied in the decision-making can be approached from one angle by looking at the level of resource allocation. The following chapter gives an overall picture of the actual allocation of artists' support in each country.

## **Administrative Categories in Operation – Allocation of Resources**

The role of administrative classifications, especially when they manifest themselves in the administrative structures as separate expert bodies, is often decisive regarding the right of a field to be included among the areas covered by the support measures.<sup>9</sup> When a field achieves an administrative box of its own in the system of allocating public resources to professional artists, it has achieved a legitimate right to claim these resources as one of the areas defined as art. The status is often the result of a long series of pressure-group actions and lobbying towards administrators and politicians, accompanied by struggles within and between emerging and established fields of art. Once attained, the quotas of resources for each administrative category can be very resistant to change. The quotas are regulated by legislation or administrative rules and practices and backed up by the achieved balance of power between various artistic fields, and they cannot be changed merely at the level of day-to-day decision-making. As

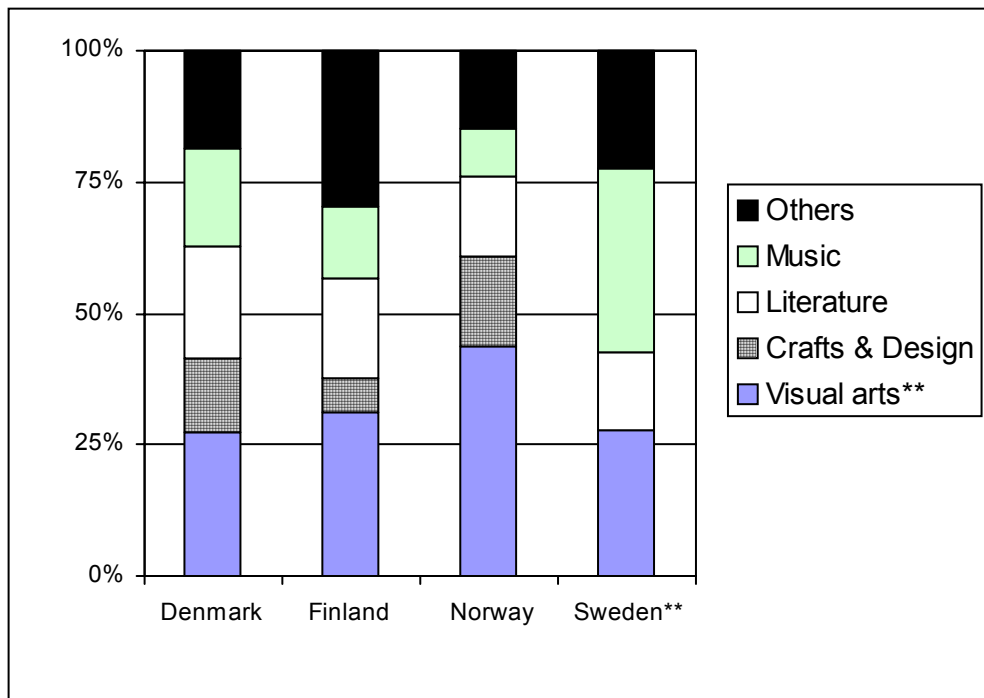
mentioned, their resistance to change is also related to the nature of relations between the organizations of artistic fields and the structures of decision-making.

The status as “one among the arts” means that the field has gained a right to claim the resources allocated to artists, but it does not, as such, tell much about the relative status of a field. The field’s share of the financial resources allocated (its regulated quota) can be considered as an indication of its relative status within the hierarchy of artistic fields in the arts administration.

Historically, the Nordic artists' support has been first and foremost targeted to creative artists such as writers, visual artists and composers. When the current systems of support were set up in the 1960s, these groups of artists continued to be the ones receiving the major part of the support. The schemes of long-term support introduced in the 1970s were also intended primarily for these groups. Since the establishment of the support systems, however, the scope of the support has been extended several times, as was described in the previous section. The present distribution of direct state support for artists is displayed according to various forms of art in Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of support in each country in terms of its financial value. The figure presents state expenditure on direct support for artists awarded as various types of grants and guaranteed incomes.<sup>10</sup> The categories for various forms of art have been combined into larger units to make them more comparable.<sup>11</sup> The shares of each area are presented as relative shares in percent.

**Figure 2. Distribution of direct state support for artists by forms of art as percent of financial value in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden\***



\* Direct support to active artists, excluding honoraria, pensions, public lending right remuneration and public display remuneration. The shares are counted from the actual expenditure on direct support for artists in 1999 at current values.

\*\* Visual arts and crafts & design combined for Sweden.

Source: Heikkinen 2003, 140.



As Figure 1 shows, the same areas of art which were the core areas at the outset of the support system have remained at the center of the support schemes, in spite of the gradual expansion of the scope of support to new categories of art. Literature, visual arts, crafts & design, and music together cover 70 % or more of the sum distributed as direct support for artists in all these countries. The share of support received by other forms of art is largest in Finland (30 %) and smallest in Norway (15 %).

The actual allocation of financial resources according to the various categories of art, illustrated in Figure 1, can be interpreted to demonstrate one aspect of the hierarchical order of various categories. The further analyses of the hierarchy would require a much more detailed study of the distribution. Even this tentative examination, however, serves to illustrate that the level of actual allocation of resources cannot be ignored when studying the relative status of various forms of art and groups of artists.

## **Conclusive Remarks**

My discussion of artistic classifications has been confined to the sphere of administrative classifications generated by state arts administration. I have dealt with the classifications applied in the Nordic systems of state support for artist. My discussion shows that even in countries which are as close to each other as the Nordic countries are, both regarding their artistic fields and their systems of state administration, these classifications show considerable variation. The variation is not limited to distinctions according to artistic genres, but extends to classifications according to artistic media. There are also differences relating to the type of classificatory principles applied.

These classifications are not created by administrative actions as such, but stem from the whole system of artistic classifications in a given society. As DiMaggio (1987, 452) has noted, artistic distinctions are not conducive to unambiguous standards favored by administrators unless they are embedded in preexisting ritual or professional classifications and in the physical or organizational segregation of producers. The remark is applicable to the situation in the Nordic countries, too. Especially professional classifications and the organizational segregation of producers seem to have a strong effect on administrative classifications in the policy area examined here. In the Nordic countries, however, this is not due to the weak role of the state, as in the context DiMaggio is referring to. It is more appropriate to assign the impact of professional classifications and organizational segregation to the high rate of organizational affiliation among Nordic artists, and to the importance of the role assigned to the associations of professional artists in the formulation and implementation of public policy towards artists.

While it is clear that professional classifications have a strong effect on administrative classification in the Nordic countries, there remains the question of the extent of independent impact of administrative classifications. The administrative classifications described clearly reflect and repeat professional classifications as well as the prevailing balance of power between various fields of art and their relation to arts administration and political decision-makers. On the other hand, these administrative classifications also define the scope and categories of public support for artists, and this support is in some cases able to sustain whole fields and genres of art, not to speak of individual artists. Besides the financial impact of the support, the prestige value connected to it through the peer evaluation of artistic quality of the applicants contributes to its impact on artistic fields. Another aspect of the prestige value of the support is the aspiration of new emerging fields of art to be included among one of the fields within the scope of the support, a status which is not reducible to the mere financial significance of the support.

It should be born in mind that the relationship between the described support systems and artistic fields varies a lot according to various artistic fields. In some fields the effect of artists' support is almost insignificant, while some artistic fields own their existence to it. There also seems to be variation in this relationship according to the type of support. The stronger the role of qualitative criteria in the distribution of the support, the tighter its connection to artistic classifications.

The structural organization of the Nordic decision-making bodies examined also seems to influence the way the administrative classifications operate. It appears that the more these bodies operate with categories combining several artistic fields, genres and organizations, the broader and more flexible e the emerging classifications are. The tighter the connection between separate artists' associations and administrative units and the stronger the role of separate artistic fields and professional classifications, the more differentiated and the more powerfully ritualized, and consequently more resistant to change, the administrative classifications become.

## Appendix

SWEDEN	DENMARK	FINLAND	NORWAY
Authors	Literature	Literature	Writers of fiction Writers for young Dramatists Translators Authors of non-fiction
Visual arts	Visual art Crafts and	Visual art Crafts and Photography	Visual artists Crafts artists Photographers Interior
Composers Musicians and singers	Classic music/ composers Popular music/ composers	Music	Musicians Composers Popular
Theater, dance and film	Film & theater/ creative artists	Theater Dance Cinema	Actors Directors Theater Dancers Stage Cinema
	Architecture	Architecture Critics, Media art, Circus, Children's culture	Critics Cinema Architects Journalists Diverse Folk artists

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The study was part of a more extensive research project on Nordic cultural policy (final report Duelund 2003).
- <sup>2</sup> The Finnish system uses artistic quality as practically the only criterion for granting support to artists, while the Norwegian schemes of support also pay attention to the financial situation of the recipients (see Heikkinen 2000; 2003).
- <sup>3</sup> DiMaggio's later work has dealt with questions concerning, e.g., the social uses of culture and the operation of non-profit art institutions, and with the relationships between social structure and patterns of artistic consumption and production (see, e.g., DiMaggio 1991; 1992; 1996), but the role of public sector in the artistic definition process has not been among his main research interests.
- <sup>4</sup> DiMaggio uses the concept of art worlds here in the meaning defined by Howard S. Becker. According to Becker (1982: 1-36, 226-233, 300-301), art worlds consist of the networks of all those people whose collective action is needed to produce a work of art. An institutionalized art world consists of people with shared conventions which make their cooperation in the production of artworks possible. The operation of art worlds produces constantly changing definitions for what is considered art and who are considered artists.
- <sup>5</sup> In Norway and Sweden, this broader expertise is represented in the Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs and the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs. These bodies do not, as a rule, grant support to individual artists, although the Norwegian Council has some support schemes which are open to individuals, too.
- <sup>6</sup> The decision-making bodies are the Danish Arts Foundation, the Arts Council of Finland, the Committee for Grants and Guaranteed Income in Norway, the Arts Grants Committee in Sweden and the Swedish Authors' Fund.
- <sup>7</sup> There are plans to make the demarcations less detailed, and some of the categories have been dropped since 2002. These reforms have, however, proved difficult to carry out.
- <sup>8</sup> *Rytmske musik*, including jazz and folk music
- <sup>9</sup> The process of achieving this right has been described regarding the Finnish field of comics in Heikkinen 1991, and Karttunen has analyzed photographic art as an emerging artistic field (Karttunen 2003).
- <sup>10</sup> Copyright-related forms of support such as public lending right remuneration and public display remuneration are excluded. There is considerable variation between the countries in the nature, scope and modes of decision-making of these measures. Excepting Sweden they also come under separate decision-making structures from the ones whose categorization is presented in the Appendix.
- <sup>11</sup> The Danish categories are the most problematic in terms of comparison since they only include groups which have been defined as "creative artists", e.g., only composers in the category of music.

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