

ARTISTIC IDENTITIES IN DIFFERENT CULTURAL CONTEXTS

CASE STUDIES FROM HUNGARY AND NORWAY

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Abstract

The following master's thesis considers as its main objective to prove that corresponding socio-cultural processes manifest themselves differently in Hungarian and Norwegian artistic spheres respectively. This is a cross-cultural case study analysis, focusing specifically on a selection of sociological factors that might affect the identities of artists differently depending on social background and cultural heritage. Seeing as this is a qualitative investigation, an exploration of the working conditions and individual development of six Hungarian and six Norwegian artists assist the study.

The thesis examines the cultural environments into which the assembled artists of the research are socialized, in order to map their varying artistic practices, careers and even personal lives. The comparative approach of the case studies is situated within the framework of art sociological and cultural political theories.

Findings and implications of the study are likely to yield results that show not only generational differences and contrasting progression within the two cultural contexts separately, but will also expose similarities and dissimilarities in the cultural dynamics governing the two art worlds in question.

Keywords: artistic identity, art worlds, artistic practices, cultural influence, Hungary, Norway, socialization, capital accumulation, cultural fields of production, heritage, social processes

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Disposition

Chapter 1. *Introduction* contains an overview which outlines the main dilemmas discussed and investigated throughout the thesis. First, the fundamental conceptual departure points and directions are described in order to map where the inspiration for the research topic stems from. Then the aims and objectives are explained, along with the overall theoretical framework of the analysis. This is followed by a description of the qualitative research design and proposed analytical approach of the study. Additionally, the process of data collection, adaptation and limitation are here explained and the mode of reasoning through which primary and secondary sources will be interpreted is demonstrated. Furthermore, the sampling method, design and framework determining the choice of interview participants are clarified. Then, the main sociological aspects and key concepts guiding the structure of the analysis are defined and highlighted as helpful tools in the interpretation process. Finally, the specific previous research materials the study feeds from are recounted for.

Chapter 2. *The Foundations* introduces the practical application of the qualitative interview methodology and describes the thematic structure of the interview material according to which the analysis itself is organized. The overarching reflexive and chronological intention of the interview questions are explained. On a similar note, my personal utilization of the theoretical framework is described in a thorough interpretation of the appointed cultural theories formulated by Pierre Bourdieu. The purpose of the chapter is to illuminate how the chosen methodology and a selection of Bourdieu's ideas will serve the thesis.

Chapter 3. *Cultural Policy* first provides two separate introductions to the cultural policy making of Hungary and Norway respectively, and later conducts a discussion and summation of the cultural dynamics governing both countries.

Chapter 4. *Analysis, Discussion and Results* divides the findings of the interviews into four subsections, and situates the analysis of artistic growth within the context of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital accumulation. The findings are here also discussed in relation to other prevailing socio- and cultural political theories.

Chapter 5. *Conclusion and Summary* compiles and finalizes the results of the study in accordance with the designated research design and theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis.

Lastly, the **Bibliography** presents a list over the applied empirical references and is followed by *Appendix 1*, containing the official interview questionnaire used during the interviews and *Appendix 2*, providing additional information assembled from the interviews in the form of endnotes. In the text, these references are marked with Roman numerals.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Overview with problematization

Budapest based contemporary artist Béla Máriás, alias drMáriás, is a child of the late 60's. He was born in Novi Sad, which used to be the capital of the autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the former Yugoslavia.¹ The Yugoslavian war affected Máriás directly, causing him to flee his disintegrating homeland and seek safety a border away on Hungarian soil. The artist's parallel activities in music and visual art often bear traits of his multicultural background. His paintings and performances ponder current issues by portraying institutional systems and power structures of the past. The artist captures ideological trends and beliefs by recycling creative techniques, styles and genres in combination with re-contextualized public figures and historical and contemporary events. Furthermore, his band, "Tudósok" (or "The Scientists") remains one of the most active and leading alternative rock/jazz/punk formations of Budapest.

Norwegian textile artist, Inger Johanne Rasmussen was brought into the world eight years prior to Béla Máriás, on the southern coast of Norway in Kristiansand. Her artistic life would be dominated by a different kind of defiance. Rasmussen's childhood and early teenage years revolved around the importance of faith and crafts and she soon saw it as her true calling to alter the way textile art was considered in Norwegian artistic spheres. The tapestries leaving her atelier present a broad selection of different styles and topics, while also taking advantage of the usually belittled material by displaying it as richly decorative and approachable. Vivid and dramatic scenes unfold from afar, but her precise mode of expression intrigues even up close. Rasmussen extends the textile tradition into contemporaneity and aims to recount for the history of women's handiwork through monumental compositions and mythological landscapes. She comes equipped merely with a needle and thread, and aspires to leave all post-modern influences and political discourses behind.

After this short introduction, which contains the particular ideas that provided the contextual grounding for the thesis, I would like to hereby introduce my attributed hypothesis. The essential

¹ Novi Sad was originally referred to as Újvidék and was part of Hungary until its separation following the 1920s. Béla Máriás was part of the Hungarian diaspora residing in Novi Sad at the time of its reintegration. Thus, the artist could consider both countries' realities as an insider, while also remaining an outsider on account of his twofold national identity, which made him a minority in both cultures.

objective of this study is to investigate if and in what ways that the same socio-cultural processes manifest themselves differently in Hungary and Norway. In light of this, I claim that Eastern and Western artistic spheres are separated by dissimilar social and cultural conditions. I further argue that different micro and macro environments, into which artists are socialized, are crucial in understanding their artistic practices, careers and even personal lives.

My point of departure will be an art sociological one, focusing specifically on the influencing aspects that I suggest determine the identities of artists.² Such aspects are upbringing, education, affiliations, reception and evaluation. A comparative analysis of twelve artists, six of Hungarian descent and six of Norwegian origin, will assist my study. I aim to focus on the above mentioned sociological aspects and feature the artists as examples through which I can prove my hypothesis regarding a difference in the development of artistic identity.

Considering that varying generations have distinct and historically determined processes of socialization to show for, which also implies that changing cultural policies have governed their artistic growth, the sampled artists seek to represent a broader evolution of artistic identity within the two art worlds. I believe that compiling members of dissimilar artistic generations will not only highlight the career paths of the individual artists but will also uncover the dynamics of the two cultural contexts more in depth.³

My thesis is of importance, seeing as it aims to dive deeper into specific social and cultural phenomena problematized within the field of art sociology. Rather than questioning the adequacy, validity and progression of the discipline, I seek to investigate individual cases and particular artistic identities within specific cultures.

In order to contextualize my aims further, I would like to recount here for the inception of the primary intentions of the study. I first began to acquaint myself with the world of art as a young

² The discipline of art sociology in our context entitles the study of cultural and social phenomena and the specific relationship between societies, artworks and their creators. To explore within the discipline of the sociology of art means to me to investigate how realities, identities and values can be transmitted through artistic approaches and attitudes. I further believe that by investigating the social importance of art and artistic identities, other intricate conditions determining artistic practices, behaviour, knowledge and cultural experiences can be revealed.

³ Hereby, the specific artists involved in this study will be presented, according to date of birth. Wenche Gulbrandsen (1947, graphic artist, painter, sculptor, NO), Márton Kalmár (1947, sculptor, educator, HU), Solveig Aalberg (1955, textile artist, NO), Bálint Szombathy (1951, painter, performance artist, writer, HU), Inger Johanne Rasmussen (1958, textile artist, NO), Béla Máriás (1966, painter, performance artist, writer, musician, HU), Marius Amdam (1970, painter, performance artist, NO), Kati Bobály (1969, textile artist, educator, HU), Roald Andersen (1971, sculptor, NO), Katalin Kalmár (1971, sculptor, HU), Jannik Abel (1973, photographer, graphic artist, painter, sculptor, NO) and Dorka Kalmár (1983, painter, educator, HU).

adult, academically and professionally, but most importantly globally. Having researched and worked with contemporary art for nearly half a decade has brought with it a discovery of varying socio-cultural conventions and attitudes. I have come to realize that there are various conditions, mentalities and rules governing artistic identities, growth and activity. Thus, the purpose of my investigation became to map and measure the different socio-cultural forces shaping artists of assorted heritage.

Following this explanation of my intellectual framework, I wish to introduce the preliminary hypothesis in which a qualitative analysis of a handful of artists will be of interest. Based on the guidance of my supervisor, Hedvig Brander Jonsson associate professor and lecturer at Uppsala University, I decided to centre the particular analysis of my study on the art worlds of Hungary and Norway. At the time of this decision, my position as an individual inevitably came into the picture. In view of the fact that I was born in Hungary but raised in the Northern hemisphere, I am present in this study as both a citizen and as an academically and professionally trained newcomer. So forth, I am of utter importance when it comes to the aims, the specific focus, the methodology and of course the findings and conclusions of the study. Standing on the border dividing East and West, my experiences can be both yielding and restraining when it comes to my chosen research topic.

Additionally, I speak the two languages fluently and have extensive knowledge of both nations' cultural traits. I am further affiliated with Hungarian as well as Norwegian artistic and cultural spheres and have a fairly potent network of acquaintances and professionals in both countries. As a consequence, my inclusiveness promises more intimate insights and original modes of exploration in regards to my thesis and provides an excellent basis for a versatile and multifaceted study. Henceforth, I will explore the proposed hypothetical social differences characterizing Hungarian and Norwegian artistic identities respectively.

Purpose and research questions

The goal of the study is to conduct a comparative sociological research featuring twelve artists in total, half a dozen originating from Hungary and the other half from Norway. The aim is to investigate the appointed artists' cultural heritage and the various social processes, obstacles and

opportunities governing their individual and professional growths. Thus, I will be departing from specific sociological factors such as upbringing, education, affiliations, reception and evaluation. I intend to map how the same aspects have affected and continue affecting the Hungarian artists in comparison to the Norwegian counterparts present in this study.

I aim to question and analyse the development of their artistic identities and pose the following questions. In what ways are their self-conceptions influenced by their cultural backgrounds? What socio-cultural factors were at work that formed their identities? What kind of qualities did their heritage, upbringing and education foster and encourage? What is considered artistically valuable in their societies? Were they expected to produce art that would benefit the community according to certain ideologies, institutions and consumerist needs? In what ways can art as a sociological tool be employed in Eastern European and Scandinavian artistic spheres respectively? ⁴

Theoretical Framework

The overall theoretical framework of this study is comprised of sociology. Within this particular research field my interests are geared towards the specific area of the sociology of art. Therefore, I will primarily depart from Pierre Bourdieu's cultural theories. His main ideas concerning capital, habitus, field and praxis will guide my exploration of the social interdependence of artists and cultures.

It so follows, that my exploration of the authoritative socio-cultural forces governing the development of artistic identity will be situated within the context of Bourdieu's theories. Additionally, the theoretical framework will affirm the overall structure of my analysis and assists my investigation of how various conditions determining artistic practices, behaviour and knowledge exist intricately and correspondingly alongside other cultural experiences.

⁴ For the official questions posed during the interview process, see Appendix 1.

Research Methodology

Research design and empirical basis

The study will require a qualitative research design, on account of it being an investigation of specific social and cultural aspects and processes. I believe that the question of the development of artistic identity within the appointed contexts is crucial to study in order to really understand the causes of certain artistic and social phenomena and how these are different depending on the cultural circumstances.

I aim to illuminate the importance of norms, habits and values the particular artists chosen for the study were socialized into. This, I will achieve, through observing how social processes have influenced the artists of Hungarian decent as opposed to those of Norwegian origin. By doing so, I assert that a thorough sociological examination of the development of artistic identity can be achieved.

Inquiries regarding the social and cultural selection of artists can be answered with the help of various kinds of empirical data. Research dealing with the particular social aspects listed above will serve as the main directive for my study.

Proposed analytical approach

I will be using case study methodology as my approach. The study will further apply interviews as its primary resource.⁵ An in-depth text analysis of mainly Pierre Bourdieu's cultural theories constitutes my secondary resource and employs a comparative view. I will analyse the content of both the interviews and the literature to test my hypothesis.

I will conduct multiple case studies, which I aim to process through various viewpoints provided by the appointed social aspects in question. I will use purposive sampling. Therefore, the informants of my interviews will be artists of Hungarian and Norwegian origin exclusively, and I aim to keep the scope of the theoretical and historical material equally multicultural. The results

⁵ For original interview questionnaire, see Appendix 1.

and conclusions of this study are likely to show eventual shortcomings seeing as this is a qualitative study that aims not to be representative. It so follows that this approach will also prevent generalization.

Data collection, adaption and limitation

I will compile a collection of oral histories. These will be semi-structured interviews with predetermined questions that will revolve around a set of thematic issues. However, the informants will be encouraged to develop their answers further, and contribute with additional data. I will also examine the selected textual resources. These I will locate through databases and the library. Both primary and secondary sources of data will be of equal importance to me as I conduct an in-depth socio-cultural analysis.

The voice recordings of the interviews will be transcribed and then interpreted and analysed.⁶ The theoretical texts, I will reduce into a synthesis which I will analyse and summarize. It will be an analysis with synthetic elements, meaning that I will use both smaller elements to build a whole, but depending on the various case studies I will also break down the whole into smaller entities. I will examine the components independently, while also taking into account how they interact. This I will achieve in accordance with the case studies, in which certain interviews might provide more insight than others, while the abstracted theoretical conclusions will serve as both overviews and condensed arguments.

The adaptation of both primary and secondary sources will thus be a diffuse and multifaceted investigation process. I further believe that during the analysis process the theoretical conclusions will form in accordance with my reading and interpretation.

Therefore, I will make use of a hypothetical-deductive reasoning. Accordingly, the hypothesis of the study will serve as the starting point, from which I will deduce verifiable propositions and attempt an empirical investigation. The hypothetical-deductive reasoning will help me see whether the hypothesis can logically be examined and proven, or not.

⁶ For additional interview material transcribed and analysed but not featured in the study, see Appendix 2.

Sampling Method

The study aims to be an in-depth analysis and detailed understanding of two specific subgroups of artists. I believe their artistic attitudes derive and evolve from their national and cultural origins as well as their current settings. Accordingly, the interdependence of artists and societies will be explored along with the particular frameworks in which the artists' identities function. For this reason, my study can be defined as cross-cultural research.

In order to reach my goal, I must work with a well-balanced group of interviewees, and form a proportional sample. Therefore, a purposive sampling design has been applied along with a chain referral (snowball) sampling method. Accordingly, I identified cases of interest through previous participants within the small pool of the deliberately chosen initial respondents of my investigation. These informants recommended additional extended associations they deemed qualified for participation.

Additionally, the sampling of respondents was specifically based on gender, age, stylistic characteristics and contemporary artistic activity. I initially recruited only a few participants and they then referred me onto other similar or dissimilar artists who fit my criteria. In order to ensure a multifaceted study, I required artists of both genders to participate in my interviews. The potential participants had to be actively engaged in their art worlds, be within the age group ranging from 30 to 60 and it was preferred that they represent various artistic genres. Age as a factor was particularly considered, seeing as too big of a generational difference would have resulted in a disproportionate and disarranged sample, which would have also hindered a consistent analysis.

Difficulties with participation trust could be bridged given my bicultural background. I gained access using my own personal contacts, which also helped me reassure the extended research participants of my credibility and trustworthiness. Being able to speak both Norwegian and Hungarian was crucial, seeing as I was able to react to specific social cues and expressions, making it easier to identify with and penetrate both social groups.

The snowballing method was beneficial for my cross-cultural research, since it allowed me to deepen my initial associations through a cooperation, while also widening my web of additional connections. The similarity of the case studies proved to be an asset, seeing as through the chain referral I could access natural interactional units and bind the various cases together as a whole,

recreating and analysing the networks in addition to the individuals located within. The success of this technique depended greatly on my initial connections and their potential bias, however the eligibility of the chain was never of question or doubt. I also strived for heterogeneity when deciding on the exclusion and inclusion criteria instructing different domains of my sampling process.

On account that I worked with non-probability sampling, my decisions were influenced by a range of subjective assumptions. My sample did not allow me to conduct general findings of a whole population, rather my aim was to use the samples as a basis to develop my hypothesis and theoretical exploration further. My sample size was determined by the moment when I would achieve empirical saturation or data satisfaction. In turn, the saturation would assure my study had appropriate amount of diverse and relevant material to feed from.

The sampling frame from which potential respondents were drawn was the various artistic spheres of Hungary and Norway. Thus, my sampling units were geographically and socio-culturally conditioned and framed. Finally, my parameters of interest were contingent on the sociological aspects listed below.

Sociological Aspects

Divided into four major sections, the following sociological aspects served to direct my interviews and also governed the course of my analysis.

The first section, “early socialization” encompasses periods of upbringing, education and fundamental influences which have helped shape the respondents’ initial artistic identities. A parallel was here drawn between these sociological aspects and the process of cultural growth, primarily concerning areas of childhood and institutionalization.

The second section, “artistic existence”, questions whether the respondents’ artistic purpose was dominated by self-expression or market value, or both. In relation to this, other economic and institutional forces and influences regulating artistic identities and careers were discussed. A connection was made between economic grounding and the aforementioned sociological aspects in order to map the financial foundations of artistic existence today.

The third section, “artistic interdependence” processes the importance of professional and personal relationships. Therefore, the analysis of the social dynamics employed by each artist took place in accordance with sociological aspects concerning peer-relationships and other affiliations.

Lastly, the fourth section, “artistic fulfilment” deals with aspects like critical evaluation and appraisal. The importance of the audience as such was inserted here, along with factors like recognition and renown, and especially the impact of marginalization as opposed to self-inflicted creative isolation. Further external and internal factors dictating personal and artistic growth were included here, like technology and religious/social worldviews. All aspects served as a structure around which a discussion of symbolic power could be arranged.

Key Concepts

In our context, the concept of *artistic identity* is connected to a person’s individuality, defining qualities and private beliefs. Furthermore, the use of the term is here also an indicator of a path taken by each human, describing the essence of who they are and what they do. In an administrative sense, it can refer to your occupation and career choices. In this thesis, I aim to introduce various identities taken on by the artists of my case studies and explore their artistic growth from their earliest years up until our present days. Thus, the concept of identity marks both an individual path and that of a collective spirit, and portrays the very core of the structure I seek to explore.

The concept of *artistic worlds* or spheres to me stand for a system, a core around which various entities are arranged. I claim that art worlds are constituted of the interlinked relationships, hierarchies and rules that determine the realization of art. There are as many art worlds as societies and countries, in my opinion. I further believe that there is a fundamental direction, according to which each society organizes its art scene, but there occur a few digressive routes within each, marking cultural characteristics and differences. The concept is used in the study as a way to strengthen or demark my two other main concepts. In a sense, my use of this term serves to illuminate a bigger context in which an identity functions and evolves.

Cultural influence as such is a key element of the investigation, seeing as I compare what influence two different, on a micro level, societies and, on a macro level, countries have had on the studied artists when it comes to individual and professional growth. East and West are considered to be

additional underlying concepts and indicators of a slight but noticeable divide distinguishing the two artistic worlds of the study. My use of the concept of cultural influence seeks to mark mental boundaries, but can also help distinguish actual physical limitations. Furthermore, the term situates the other concepts of identity and art worlds in an even wider framework. Thus, the three key concepts utilized in my analysis aim to portray gradually increasing and spiralling layers of socio-cultural phenomena.

Previous Research

As far as the analysis of social expression is concerned, Arnold Hauser bases his research on a comprehensive historical, psychological and cultural evaluation of art.⁷ He explores art from its earliest forms up until modern mass culture, including every symptom of crisis along the way. Hauser means that human creativity can reflect reality and provide a source of knowledge similar to science.

He further investigates how societies produce art and vice versa, and considers the influence that education, art trade, consumption and mediation have on the artists. From the point of view of my thesis, Hauser's theories can assist my exploration of art as dialogue between success and failure, psychological motivations, class consciousness and ideologies.

On a slightly different note, the cultural codes that conceal the real meaning and historical production of every artwork are the focus of Pierre Bourdieu's studies. Bourdieu's aim is to decipher these codes and he therefore considers the conditions surrounding art's production and reception. He further explores the ways in which cultural fields relate to other fields of symbolic and material power. Bourdieu also addresses issues of systematic domination, aesthetic value and the relationship between social and cultural practices.

Considered from the perspective of my analysis, Bourdieu's explanation of our daily practices, tastes and choices as conveyed through the concept of "praxis" can be of interest.⁸

⁷ Arnold Hauser, *The Sociology of Art*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, transl. R. Nice, 1st ed., Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Further crucial theories are those concerning status and positions, also labelled as “capital”,⁹ and our internalised cultural and social attitudes termed “habitus”.¹⁰

Finally, Bourdieu’s research may assist my investigation of how people, or so called “agents”, with a certain habitus and amount of capital can exist and operate in various social and cultural contexts, also called “fields”.¹¹

Additionally, creative types and social mechanisms determining the place and function of artists are examined by Howard Becker,¹² who also claims that art is defined by collective activities.¹³ It so follows that Becker’s explorations can guide my inquiries into the different components constructing art worlds and direct my in-depth analysis of artistic identities.

Relevant recent material on artistic identity

Social contexts determining the construction of artistic subjectivity are explored in Sofia Lindström’s thesis, which focuses on the education, work and family life of artists.¹⁴ The study examines conflicting understandings and discourses surrounding labour and subject-formation, and locates various normative representations of artistic identity. Similar to my aims, Lindström’s research contributes an in-depth analysis of artistic identity as seen through the specific social contexts explored.

On a related note, the competing logics and interests which might determine the definition of artists are investigated by Andreas Melldahl.¹⁵ He claims that the process can be governed by the market, the cultural field, the state, artistic organisations or the artists themselves. Corresponding with my

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, “The forms of capital” in J. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York, Greenwood, 1986, pp. 241-258.

¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, transl. R. Nice, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1984.

¹¹ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed” in R. Johnson (ed.) *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, pp. 29-73.

¹² Howard Becker, “Art Worlds and Social Types” in *American Behavioural Scientist*, vol. 19:6, Sage Journals, 1976, pp. 703-718.

¹³ Howard Becker, “Art as collective action” in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 39:6, Sage Journals, 1974, pp. 767-776.

¹⁴ Sofia Lindström, “(Un)bearable freedom. Exploring the becoming of the artist in education, work and family life” in *Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 692*, Norrköping, Faculty of Arts and Science, Department of Culture Studies, 2016.

¹⁵ Andreas Melldahl, “Att definiera konstnärer: Subjektiva och objektiva gränsdragningar” (To define artists: Subject and objective demarcations, author’s translation) in M. Gustavsson, M. Börjesson & M. Edling (eds.) *Konstens omvända ekonomi- Tillgångar inom utbildningar och fält: 1938–2008*, Göteborg, Daidalos, 2012.

purpose to uncover artistic identity development, Melldahl's study discusses the specific motives that drive artists' self-conceptions, such as the need to fulfil economic and social duties for instance.

Contrastively, a specifically art-based research study dealing with the construction of identity, art production and self-reflection is conducted by Susan J. Dowling.¹⁶ Dowling combines various perspectives; that of the artist, the teacher and the researcher. The author believes that an exploration of identity through art provides a tangible source of expression, since identity is linked to many different social phenomena. Analogous to my hypothesis, Dowling also claims that early socialization and societal expectations shape identity. Interestingly, the author believes that the expression of individualism is often discouraged and misinterpreted and art can therefore function as a means to explore and promote self-expression and individual diversity.

Finally, socio-political expectations and interpretations of artistic identity are highlighted by Annika Van Belkom. Belkom considers what changes in cultural policies and cultural fields might entitle for artists.¹⁷ From the point of view of my study, it can be useful to see how Belkom conducts an analysis of the particular structures operating within educational spheres and artistic markets, which are also governed by fluctuating cultural policies.

On Cultural Policies, Hungary

A comparative study of the cultural policy making of various member states within the EU is conducted by Ákos Tóth.¹⁸ Tóth's aim is to explore why some governments cannot seem to achieve the same progress by applying identical strategies as other more successful administrations. A great part of his research is focused around Hungary's cultural policy making and he claims that certain deficiencies are caused by the wrongful implementation of cultural procedures.

¹⁶ Susan J. Dowling, "Constructing Identity Identity Construction", Master Thesis, Georgia State University, 2011, https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/art_design_theses/88, (accessed 15.02.2018).

¹⁷ Annika Van Belkom, "Konstnärnsrollen som föremål för föreställningar, förändringar och kulturpolitik" (The artist's role as a subject of conceptions, changes and cultural policy, author's translation), Lund, LUP Student Papers, 2010, <http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/1619704>, (accessed 15.02.2018).

¹⁸ Ákos Tóth, *Kultúrafinanszírozás - Az Európai Unió tagállamaiban és Magyarországon* (Cultural financing within Member States of the European Union and in Hungary, author's translation) Budapest, Academy Publishing House, 2013, pp.5-6.

On another note, the notion of individual cultural realities as a source of cultural growth is stressed by Iván Vitányi.¹⁹ Instead of collectivism his focus is on individualism, which he claims enables a mechanism that cannot be influenced as easily and directly by governments. This is a characteristic trait present in Hungarian culture, and thus helps explain why and how authorities guide by means of indirect force.

In addition, a critical analysis of the current cultural policy situation of Hungary by Magdolna Marsovszky highlights both the positive and negative doings of the present government.²⁰ Marsovszky argues that besides having a decisive financial role to play in the country's cultural growth, the Hungarian state also realizes the social dimensions of cultural policy making. She clarifies that, in all actuality, the current government seeks to merge the country's national identity both inside and outside its borders.

Correspondingly, the asymmetrical, subordinated and hierarchical cultural life of Hungary is explored by János Kornai, who claims that the current ineffective socio-political system hinders the appropriate flow of information and growth.²¹

Similarly, the inherently cautious cultural attitude found in Hungary is investigated in Csaba Nemesi's research paper, who reasons that it is caused by a social-psychological imprint left behind from preceding periods of dictatorship.²²

Last but not least, the absolute dissolution of the central organs of cultural management in Hungary is criticized in József Mélyi's article, which focuses on current policies and the aftermath of the regime change.²³

¹⁹ Iván Vitányi, *A magyar társadalom kulturális állapota: Az 1996-os országos vizsgálat zárójelentése* (The Cultural Condition of Hungarian Society: The Final Report from the national review conducted in 1996, author's translation), Budapest, Maecenas, 1997, pp.5-6.

²⁰ Magdolna Marsovszky, "A Kultúrpolitika Védelmében" (In the defense of cultural policies, author's translation) in *Beszélő folyóirat Online* 8: 12, [online article], 2003, <http://beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/a-kulturpolitika-vedelmeben> (accessed 15.02.2018).

²¹ János Kornai, *Highways and Byways: Studies on Socialist Reform and Postsocialist Transition*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1994, pp.122-126.

²² Csaba Nemesi, *The social and political role of Hungarian art after the regime change*, DLA thesis, Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Fine Arts Doctoral School, 2010, p. 9.

²³ József Mélyi, "Vazallusok kora: Kultúrpolitikai helyzetfelmérő esszé" (The Age of Vazals: A survey of the cultural policy situation, author's translation), *Artportal*, [online article], 2014, <https://artportal.hu/magazin/vazallusok-kora-kulturpolitikai-helyzetfelmero-essze/Artportal> (accessed 15.02.2018).

On Cultural Policies, Norway

Norway's linearly prevailing cultural policies are discussed in Hans Fredrik Dahl and Tore Helseth's book.²⁴ The country's cultural policies are undoubtedly continuous but are therefore also criticized for lack of ambition and growth. The author's claim that despite an abundance of money and talent, the country's cultural initiative is regarded as insufficient.

On a similar note, Norway's cultural history is mapped by Ingri Fiksdal and Helle Siljeholm, who discuss in their article the period when the Norwegian Cultural Council was established.²⁵ A full financial commitment was issued to keep Norwegian cultural identity intact and boost the country's competence against foreign commercial entertainment which was starting to erode traditional Norwegian artistic expression. The authors explain how the Council was originally supposed to operate as an addition to the state, and encourage initiatives detached from the rest of the government.

Correspondingly, the seemingly balanced and supportive socio-political structure of Norwegian culture is analysed by Olemic Thommessen.²⁶ Thommessen claims that the government's involvement provides major benefits for both private and public sectors, but also narrows the market in which artistic professionals may create and thrive.

Similarly, Norway's cultural policy making as a flexible mechanism is studied by Anita Kangas and Geir Vestheim.²⁷ The authors argue that the Nordic model is far more resilient towards changes than it is claimed, and that Norway consciously avoids distancing itself from public funding in order to prevent the market from penetrating the terrain of cultural policy making.

Additionally, cultural policies which mean to shield the cultural field from political intervention and governance are explored by Per Mangset.²⁸ Mangset discusses which liberating principles govern freedom of expression within the Norwegian cultural sector and how state authorities are

²⁴ Hans Fredrik Dahl and Tore Helseth, *To knurrende løver: Kulturpolitikken historie 1814-2014*, (Two growling lions: The history of cultural policies 1814-2014, author's translation) Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 2006, p.265.

²⁵ Ingri Fiksdal and Helle Siljeholm, "Hvilke verdier baserer norsk kulturpolitikk seg på?" (What values are Norwegian cultural policies based on?, author's translation) in *Norsk Shakespeare- og teatertidsskrift 2.*, 2017.

²⁶ Olemic Thommessen, "Kulturen i Maktens Hender" in *Samtiden- Idunn: Nordiske tidsskrifter nr. 74*, (Culture in the hands of power, author's translation), 2013, p. 77.

²⁷ Anita Kangas and Geir Vestheim, "Institutionalism, cultural institutions and cultural policy in the Nordic countries" in *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift Volum 13*, 2010.

²⁸ Per Mangset, "Om den korporative tradisjonen i nordisk kulturpolitikk" (About the corporative traditions in Nordic cultural policy, author's translation) in *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift Volum 18*, 2015, pp.46-56.

dictated to delegate sub-authority to art councils. It is further debated in his article why corporatism as such is a widely implemented general social and political model in Norwegian politics.

Finally, the various signs of increased conflict in Norway's cultural policy landscape are addressed by Sigrid Røyseng, who reflects on past and present claims deeming cultural policy an area of absolute consensus.²⁹

²⁹ Sigrid Røyseng, "Konsensus og konflikt i kulturpolitikken" (Consensus and conflict in cultural policy, author's translation) in *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift Volum 18*, 2015, pp.4-6.

Chapter 2. The foundations

Practical application of the qualitative interview methodology

The structure of both the interview material and the analysis follows a thematic determined by the sociological aspects and key concepts set at the beginning of this research project.³⁰ The overarching intention of the interviews was to keep the questions reflexive and chronological. Furthermore, the questionnaire aimed to make interviewees refer back to choices made in the past and contemplate these in the light of their current artistic situations and positions.

To begin with, a demographic inquiry was conducted at the start of each interview. This part sought to compile information regarding the interviewees' age, gender, birthplace, current location, nationality and civil status.

To ease the interviewees into the approach of the questionnaire, every respondent was asked to give an overview of their educational backgrounds and ponder how they themselves define their occupations. By posing fundamental and personal questions, the informants' own conception of identity, subjectivity and cultural belonging could be revealed. Additional implicit social and local criterias could also be exposed in the duration of this section. Seeing as the interviews were semi-structured, the informants were encouraged to stray from the appointed topics and explore their answers freely.

Following the aforementioned outline of the sociological aspects and key concepts, the first set of questions probed at the respondents' early socialization. The principal inquiry here was comprised of an exploration into the interviewees' earliest competences and dispositions. Thus, topics concerning upbringing, cultural heritage, parental attitudes and first art related engagements and motivations were presented.

The interview questions were to manifest a timeline of some sort, illustrating a gradual artistic, professional and personal growth in the respondents' lives. Therefore, the consequent interview

³⁰ Unless otherwise specified, my review here of the interview process is grounded in the original interview questionnaire, which can be found in its entirety in Appendix 1.

questions, still belonging to the same thematic segment, inquired about the particular elements of artistic development.

In succession, the respondent's earliest artistic trainings were assessed, so as to map elementary factors that shaped the respondents' initial artistic developments. Additional influencing factors were here also accounted for by the interview participants, such as internal and direct family insights as opposed to indirect and external scholastic influences.³¹

First off, the interviewees' primary, secondary and higher educational backgrounds were to be explored. Thus, the effects of the public-school systems into which respondents were fostered were investigated. Linked to this, questions regarding fundamental turning points, milestones and role models were posed. The purpose was to steer the discourse towards significant educators and tutors, who might have provided respondents with important professional guidance.

In effect, questions dealing with how and when the informants' artistic talents were first discovered and nurtured guided the course of this section. Moreover, earliest rewards and collaborations were examined, along with the respondents' art related educations or lack thereof.³² Connected to this idea, deviating non-traditional vocational choices were assessed in an attempt to understand the importance that conventions played in the interviewees' lives. Gradually, discussions would ensue and various educational and career paths were described and discussed by the informants.

Moving progressively onto questions concerning the full-blown implications of artistic existence, the respondents' artistic purposes were reviewed. In relation to this, other economic, institutional, historical and global forces regulating their artistic identities and careers were mentioned. Following on from this idea, the determining factors regulating the informants' choice of artistic expression were to be discussed further.

In order to explore the respondents' artistic mind-sets, a conversation was initiated on the topic of art as labor versus art as a way of life. Furthermore, the interviewees' involvement in peer movements and governmental and non/governmental schemes were debated.

³¹ For additional interview material transcribed and analysed but not featured in the study on this particular subject matter, see endnotes i-viii in Appendix 2.

³² For additional interview material transcribed and analysed but not featured in the study on this particular subject matter, see endnotes ix-xiii in Appendix 2.

Additionally, it was considered how every-day, political and sociological reflections have and continue influencing the interviewees.³³ To establish the overall financial situation of participants, the notion of funding, scholarships, double occupational influences and intrinsic and monetary rewards were examined.

Linked to this were also questions concerning collective and individual strategies, activities and investments to secure livelihood. The participants were further asked to describe the circumstances surrounding their very first exhibitions and their thoughts regarding market considerations, regulations, institutional constraints, patronage and other subsidies.

Along these lines, other factors like increasing competition within the field of cultural production, democratization and changing societal discourses were brought up in relation to artistic growth. Moreover, special attention was paid to specific artistic values and the informants' initial perceptions regarding what artistic existence would entitle.

As mentioned earlier, the term artistic world serves to illuminate a bigger context in this thesis. Accordingly, the respondents' interlinked relationships and affiliations also became of focus during the interviews, as we proceeded by discussing recognition and social hierarchies.

The participants were first questioned on the interactions dominating their art worlds, and more precisely their intricate web of professional and personal relationships. In an attempt to map the participants' conception of social ranking and legitimating rituals, the respondents were questioned on their consistent presence in the art world and on the upkeep of their affiliations.

Then, the inquiries revolved around notions of reception, consumption, feedback and artistic languages. Following this, the interviewees' attitude towards audiences and critics were investigated in detail.³⁴ Additionally, it was also examined whether networks do in fact curb or endorse individual artistic growth. It was further of interest to question the marginalizing forces of art worlds, and how being part of an art scene might dictate one's place and function in society in general.

³³ For additional interview material transcribed and analysed but not featured in the study on this particular subject matter, see endnotes xiv-xv in Appendix 2.

³⁴ For additional interview material transcribed and analysed but not featured in the study on this particular subject matter, see endnotes xvii-xviii in Appendix 2.

Departing from the topic of evaluation based on societal and cultural values, the final aim of the interview questionnaire was to explore the very peak of the interviewees' artistic development. Thus, closely tied to this topic were inquiries dealing with the importance of success and failure as experienced by the participants of the study. Moreover, the respondents were asked to define concepts such as artistic identity, artistic independence and creative isolation.³⁵

To conclude the interview, questions probing at notions of artistic fulfilment, prestige, media presence and outreach and the symbolic power of cultural actors were presented. Finally, the participants were asked to comment on the idea of branding and the fluctuation of reputation.

Interpretation and utilisation of the theoretical framework

“What is called “creation” is the encounter between a socially constituted habitus and a particular position that is already instituted or possible in the division of cultural labour. The labour through which the artist makes his work and himself as artist can be described as the dialectical relationship between his “post”- which often exists prior to him and outlives him- and his habitus, which predisposes him to occupy that post.”³⁶

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu formulated theories regarding our actions, abilities, positions, resources and seemingly irrationally coded patterns which serve as directives in our social lives. He called the various phenomena “praxis”,³⁷ “capital”,³⁸ “habitus”³⁹ and “field”.⁴⁰

Essentially, I believe that Bourdieu uncovers our daily practices, tastes and choices through the concept of ‘praxis’. We exercise a behaviour which is determined by praxis, and we do this in compliance with a consistent and internalised cultural and social attitude Bourdieu terms

³⁵ For additional interview material transcribed and analysed but not featured in the study on this particular subject matter, see endnote xix in Appendix 2.

³⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, “But who created the creators?” in *Sociology in Question*, London, Sage Publications, 1994, pp. 139-148.

³⁷ Bourdieu, 1977, pp.16-21.

³⁸ Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 241-258.

³⁹ Bourdieu, 1984 pp.169-200.

⁴⁰ Bourdieu, 1993, pp. 29-73.

‘habitus’.⁴¹ I further claim that Bourdieu’s habitus and praxis are concepts that mark differences between classes because it pressures individuals to take on special lifestyles in order to distinguish themselves in the social hierarchy.⁴² It so follows that habitus even determines our creative, active and inventive capacities and defines the characteristic dedications and individual drives of various social classes, as well as reflecting the positions they occupy in the overall social structure.⁴³

I argue that a person's habitus also dictates how they will operate in the field and can explain, among other things, how certain thoughts and actions appear as possible and others as unacceptable. For that reason, I suggest that habitus can be regarded as a system acquired through direct and indirect learning, which functions as a generator of strategies.

At the same time, habitus is never static but is constantly changing in interaction with environments. Therefore, I think that attitudes and behaviours considered possible and acceptable also change over time. According to Bourdieu, there are no two identical habitus, although there may be different classes of habitus, also known as ‘class habitat’.⁴⁴

With the help of habitus, we can also uncover why people handle their capital differently, seeing as it affects our way of accumulating, investing and converting capital.⁴⁵ Linked to this idea, Bourdieu constructed the notion of “capital accumulation”,⁴⁶ a theory that outlines the kind of survival methods every “agent”⁴⁷ develops according to their habitus.

I believe that the process of capital accumulation reveals how agents essentially assemble physical and intellectual properties that help them proceed and get ahead. These accumulated properties strengthen their status in various socio-cultural arenas, which Bourdieu refers to as ‘fields’.

Capital may occur in three basic forms; economic, cultural and social.⁴⁸ I claim that Bourdieu’s capital involves material as well as symbolic resources, abilities and goods. Furthermore, I also

⁴¹ Bourdieu, 1977, p. 16.

⁴² Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170.

⁴³ Bourdieu, 1984, p.171.

⁴⁴ Bourdieu, 1984, pp.173-174.

⁴⁵ Bourdieu, 1984, p.172.

⁴⁶ Bourdieu, 1986, p.246.

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, 1977, p.2.

⁴⁸ Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 241-258.

maintain that the other types of capital are fragile in comparison to economic capital, and where the economic capital is minimal the production of other kinds of capital will be less effective too.

‘Economic capital’ can be directly converted into cash and is prone to institutionalization in the form of ownership and wealth. ‘Cultural capital’ on the other hand imbues its possessor with status and titles and can in turn be converted into economic capital, as agents exploit the internalized skills granted by their cultural capital. Lastly, ‘social capital’ derives from social obligations and relationships and may also lead to economic gain as a result of investments and collaborations.

The kind of values capital provides may become one’s inherent and singular property over time if one invests enough work, education and practice. However, I believe that different forms of capital are often unequally distributed among agents and fields, according to subconscious and objective distribution structures, and one way to distinguish one’s self is to acquire a symbolic status.

Therefore, ‘symbolic capital’ can be regarded as the fourth capital form and I would even argue that it functions as the crowning moment of capital accumulation seeing as it is only achievable through acknowledgement and recognition. It so follows that after having accumulated capital over a long period of time, it becomes a tool with which one survives and prospers.

As discussed above, to aid a frame of preference determined by habitus we accumulate capital, which grants us power and status. We make strategic use of our capital when entering various fields that function as communities and come with specific rules and expectations. Those who engage must do so knowingly, seeing as every agent is evaluated on account of their capital and habitus in relation to the specific context and agenda of the field.

According to Bourdieu, the positions occupied in these spaces carry information about the internal qualities of each agent, who work together to maintain networks, and in doing so constitute the world of “cultural production”.⁴⁹ Social relations in the field are further characterized by a struggle for dominance in Bourdieu’s definition and function according to underlying and divisive principles that govern experiences and practices (gender being one such principle).⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Bourdieu, 1993, pp. 29-73.

⁵⁰ Bourdieu, 1993, pp. 29-73.

Additionally, Bourdieu debates how each field has a particular form of capital, or a combination of capital forms, which dictate the course of its game and the logic behind its hierarchy.⁵¹ Considering that these structures may also be interconnected, I claim that the fields make for a multidimensional coordinate system of exchange.

Last but not least, Bourdieu suggests that the field of cultural production can be divided into two general segments.⁵² The autonomous pole marks the field that produces pure art, rich with cultural capital but poor with economic capital. The other, heteronomous pole represents an art that is penetrated by commerciality and therefore also penetrated by the state. This interpretation is a little bit too categorical in regard to my study and fails to account for the autonomous creative endeavours my interview participants produce *with* assistance from the state. Thus, my research is concerned with the divide *midway* through the two segments mentioned by Bourdieu, in which I argue that the participants present in this thesis create and exist.

Consistent with Bourdieu's other theories I have appointed in this chapter, I would like to point out that both art worlds investigated in this thesis are made up of fields crowded with institutions and agents who fight for their values while their ties and positions are constantly changing.

It is this notion of change and the underlying power struggles present in both fields of cultural production that influence and shape agents that are of interest to me and will be examined in my analysis with the help of Pierre Bourdieu. Subsequently, I will also consider my findings in the context of the prevailing socio- and cultural political theories and ideas discussed in the following chapter.

⁵¹ Unless otherwise specified, the source referenced here is Bourdieu, 1993, pp. 29-73.

⁵² Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1996, p.121.

Chapter 3. Cultural Policy

Introduction to Hungary's Cultural Policy Making

The sampling of the following material on cultural policy making in Hungary was achieved by considering comprehensive historical sources of literature and texts problematizing current and past socio-political issues. The aim was to locate material that has a comparative point of departure and in which cultural policy making is defined according to default; as a source that governs the protection, dissemination, support and promotion of artistic activities.

The texts I have chosen by Hungarian researchers address all kinds of issues regarding cultural heritage, research, organizations and financing. All sources process basic questions regarding the accomplishment of change and growth by investigating certain instruments that are of assistance in cultural policy making. Besides mapping tools that could potentially facilitate the improvement of the country's cultural sector, the texts all portray the current social and cultural state of Hungary.

Ákos Tóth's book, "Kultúrafinanszírozás az Európai Unió tagállamaiban és Magyarországon" compares the cultural policies of various member states within the EU.⁵³ Tóth aims to explore why some governments cannot seem to achieve the same progress by applying the same exact strategies as other more successful administrations.⁵⁴ The author assumes that the shortcomings are not due to the varying degree of direct state aid. Rather, he claims that the deficiencies are caused by the wrongful implementation of cultural procedures.

I argue that the process of cultural growth often emphasizes collective effect rather than individual development. In "A magyar társadalom kulturális állapota", Iván Vitányi stresses the notion of individual cultural realities.⁵⁵ He claims that people formulate their own preferences according to which they shape their habits and values, only later joining a group that suits their exact needs.⁵⁶ Instead of collectivism the focus is on individualism, which enables a mechanism that cannot be

⁵³ Tóth, 2013, p.5.

⁵⁴ Tóth, 2013, pp.5-6.

⁵⁵ Vitányi, 1997, p.5.

⁵⁶ Vitányi, 1997, p.6.

influenced as easily and directly by governments. I think this doesn't necessarily entitle a complete lack of dominance, in fact authorities can guide by means of indirect force if need be.

On a similar note, Magdolna Marsovszky states in "A Kultúrpolitika Védelmében", that cultural policies and forceful paternalist dominance of cultural values are today often equated in Hungary.⁵⁷ She argues that besides having a decisive and direct financial role to play, the government also realizes the social dimensions of cultural policy making. Seeking to unify external and internal communications, the government aims to merge the country's national identity, inside and outside its borders. However, writes Marsovszky, despite all efforts the Hungarian society remains more divided than ever. The author also states that both political sides have conscious control over their media output which further strengthens the segmentation of national identity instead of uniting it.⁵⁸

Correspondingly, János Kornai suggests in "Highway and Byways: Studies on Socialist Reform and Postsocialist Transition" that areas of cultural life in Hungary are to this day dominated by asymmetry, subordination, superiority, multi-levelled hierarchy, and an ineffective, hindered flow of information.⁵⁹ The fact that a bureaucratic coordination prevails in Hungary can in my opinion be caused by the country having been influenced by various occupying powers for centuries. First, the Turkish invaded the country for 150 years. Then, a political oppression followed from the Austrian side as the two countries formed a monarchy. Finally, Hungary was under Soviet tyranny for 50 years.

Accordingly, Csaba Nemesi claims in "The social and political role of Hungarian art after the regime change" that an inherently cautious and at times even paranoid attitude is a serious obstacle to artists of Hungarian decent.⁶⁰ Nemesi maintains that it is possible that it is a social-psychological imprint left behind from preceding periods of dictatorship.⁶¹

On a different note, Tóth states that the most promising long-term cultural policy strategy of the post-communist era was developed by the former Minister of Culture, András Bozóki.⁶² It was entitled "Culture of Freedom: Hungarian Cultural Strategy, 2006-2020". The strategy introduced

⁵⁷ Marsovszky, 2003.

⁵⁸ Marsovszky, 2003.

⁵⁹ Kornai, 1994, pp.122-126.

⁶⁰ Nemesi, 2010, p. 9.

⁶¹ Nemesi, 2010, p.10.

⁶² Tóth, 2013, p.108.

structural reforms concerning a more open form of community, heritage and contemporary culture. Bozóki promoted a democratized cultural policy that could break away from all traceable legacies of dictatorship.⁶³ The strategic draft was announced in 2006, but was never implemented due to regime change. During these structural transformations, writes Tóth, Hungarian cultural policies attempted to take on an Anglo-Saxon practice. As a result, the non-profit sector exploded and The National Cultural Fund was established.

A few years after the regime change, “political centralization gradually increased while resource allocation decentralized”.⁶⁴ These two totally opposite processes in turn culminated opacity and cancelled each other out. Tóth assumes that Hungarian cultural policies are too eclectic to be able to function effectively and argues that in fact the biggest issue is that Hungary employs a hybrid form of co-ordinated and liberal cultural policy.⁶⁵ Information located on the Hungarian governments’ official website confirms this argument, seeing as the field of culture is undoubtedly subordinate to other areas of priority within the Department of Human Resources.⁶⁶

Additionally, József Mélyi criticizes “The Fidesz Culture Program” (also known as “Quality in Culture”) in “Vazallusok kora: Kultúrpolitikai helyzetfelmérő esszé”. The Fidesz Culture Program was completed in 2009.

Mélyi claims that there has been an absolute dissolution of the central organs of cultural management since the regime change, separating and isolating key institutions.⁶⁷ He goes on to explain how instead of reinforcing the increasingly horizontal structure of cultural policy making like Western Europe, parallel vertical structures were created in Hungarian cultural policy.⁶⁸

Mélyi also maintains that three directives were appointed in the Hungarian cultural policy program at the time of the regime change, namely preserving heritage, developing the market and making art more accessible.⁶⁹ However, issues concerning heritage conservation were soon subordinated and replaced by questions regarding property allocation and other interest based relations. This

⁶³ Tóth, 2013, p.109.

⁶⁴ Tóth, 2013, p.110.

⁶⁵ Unless otherwise specified, the source referenced here is Tóth, 2013, pp.110-117.

⁶⁶ Hungarian Government 2010-2014, *Organisation*, The Ministry of Human Resources, viewed 03.15.2018, <http://2010-2014.kormany.hu/en/ministry-of-human-resources/organisation>

⁶⁷ Mélyi, 2014.

⁶⁸ Mélyi, 2014.

⁶⁹ Unless otherwise specified, the source referenced here is Mélyi, 2014.

advantage given to strategic partnerships resembles the kind of system widely implemented in the country in the 1960s and 1970s, which was dictated by state purchases seeing as the notion of ‘market’ was non-existent. The reduction of autonomous institutions in combination with the growing influence of personal affiliations resulted in a provincial government, writes Mélyi, binding everyone in a compromise.⁷⁰

On a similar note, Nemesi clarifies that artists must strive to break away from compromises in order to create a well-defined and professional presence in the art world, one that is unavoidable yet untouchable by politics.⁷¹

As a summary of Hungarian cultural policy, I conclude that the political centralization (few people being put in charge of more decision making) coupled with decentralized resource allocation (local and regional administrations being given a platform along with assets) reduces the homogeneity and transparency of the system. This, in accordance with Tóth’s claims, also reduces the economic efficiency of the cultural sector.⁷² The lack of a long-term cultural strategy strengthens the chaotic situation further. In such a system, I observed that all cultural actors appear to be fending for themselves and the market is bursting with private initiative.

Introduction to Norway’s Cultural Policy Making

The sampling of the Norwegian material on cultural policy making was conducted according to the same principles as in the case of the above mentioned Hungarian material, in order to make sure that the references were as equivalent as possible. First, my aim was to find an extensive source, which summarized the overall state of cultural policies in Norway. Then, I strived to locate more in-depth and concentrated sources dealing with the past and present socio-political structures of the country which govern change and growth.

The selected texts problematize the long-standing patronage system of Norway’s art scene and explore how government funding both facilitates the improvement of the cultural sector, while

⁷⁰ Mélyi, 2014.

⁷¹ Nemesi, 2010, p.5.

⁷² Tóth, 2013, p. 117.

also blocking it from progress. Issues concerning protection, dissemination, support and promotion of artistic activities are discussed in these sources. Furthermore, the selected literature effectively investigates topics such as cultural heritage, research and the organization of art from various perspectives.

Norway has had an almost linearly prevailing cultural policy ever since 1814, when the country separated from Denmark, writes Hans Fredrik Dahl and Tore Helseth in “To knurrende løver”.⁷³ I argue that the cultural policy structure is undoubtedly continuous but is therefore also criticized for its lack of ambition. The author’s claim that despite an abundance of money and talent, the country’s cultural initiative is regarded as insufficient. The reason being, Dahl and Helseth claim, is that discussions about culture are often equated with discussions regarding the financing of hospitals and the development of infrastructure.⁷⁴

During the 1960s, states Ingri Fiksdal and Helle Siljeholm in “Norsk Kulturpolitikk Verdier”, at the time the Norwegian Cultural Council was established, a shared moral panic united the politicians.⁷⁵ Foreign influences had flowed across the borders and into the country, eroding traditional Norwegian artistic expression. A full financial commitment was issued to keep Norwegian cultural identity intact and boost the country’s competence against foreign commercial entertainment.⁷⁶ In 1965, the Norwegian Cultural Fund and Culture Council were established. The Council was supposed to be operated outside of and as an addition to the state, and encourage initiatives independent of the rest of the government. Structurally all sectors were the same, but the state was not supposed to interfere with the artistic content of the cultural sector. This isolating strategy is referred to as the “arm’s length principle”, by the authors.⁷⁷

Government support in the 1970s entitled a source of desirable safety rather than being thought of as a restrictive threat, claims Olemic Thommessen in “Kulturen i Maktens Hender”.⁷⁸ Thus, as Thommessen claims, cultural actors’ need for political influence also gave rise to a stronger

⁷³ Dahl and Helseth, 2006, p.265.

⁷⁴ Dahl and Helseth, 2006, p.265.

⁷⁵ Fiksdal and Siljeholm, 2017, p.159-160.

⁷⁶ Fiksdal and Siljeholm, 2017, p.161.

⁷⁷ Unless otherwise specified, the source referenced here is Fiksdal and Siljeholm, 2017, pp.161-162.

⁷⁸ Thommessen, 2013, p.77.

organization of cultural life.⁷⁹ This organization also provided major benefits for both private and public sectors, making a seemingly balanced structure for mutual power emerge.

Following the appraisal of the ‘Cultural Promise’ in 2014, I believe that a more liberal approach towards cultural policies emerged in Norway. This evaluation meant that a mandate reviewed the achievements of the Ministry of Culture and the cultural policies at work within the government. Thommessen agrees that the Cultural Promise showed Norway the way into a more international and globalized society by lifting the country out of the epoch of nation building and cultural confinement.⁸⁰

Departing from information located on the Norwegian governments’ official website, it is clear that the Ministry of Culture seeks today to broadly integrate all sectors of the government. They further consider the cultural policy implications of technological development, globalization, demographic change, socioeconomic realities and new management structures amongst other factors.⁸¹ However, Thommessen argues that the Cultural Promise presented a clear centralizing argument too, which means that the Norwegian government is becoming increasingly characterized by less people being put in in charge of making more decisions.⁸²

On a similar note, Anita Kangas and Geir Vestheim study the flexibility of Nordic cultural policy in relation to globalization and neoliberalism in “Institutionalism, cultural institutions and cultural policy in the Nordic countries”.⁸³ The authors imply that the Nordic model is far more resilient towards changes than it is claimed, and that Norway consciously avoids distancing itself from public funding in order to make room for more market based ideas in cultural policy.⁸⁴

Additionally, Per Mangset writes in “Om den korporative tradisjonen i nordisk kulturpolitikk” that the arm's length principle is meant to shield the cultural field from political intervention and governance.⁸⁵ It also functions as a liberating principle, governing freedom of expression and it dictates state authorities to delegate sub-authority to art councils. In this context, interest

⁷⁹ Thommessen, 2013, p.77.

⁸⁰ Thommessen, 2013, p.78.

⁸¹ Norwegian Government 2018, *Organisation*, Ministry of Culture, viewed 03.15.2018, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/kud/organisation/id569/>

⁸² Thommessen, 2013, p.79.

⁸³ Kangas and Vestheim, 2010, p.278.

⁸⁴ Kangas and Vestheim, 2010, p. 279.

⁸⁵ Mangset, 2015, p.46.

organizations - such as artist organizations – are perceived by Mangset as "political actors" with professional policy interests.⁸⁶ Thus, their aims and purposes go against the arm's length principle.

Corporatism as such is a widely implemented general social and political model in Norwegian politics. Mangset explains that in the case of interest organizations corporatism refers to a cooperation and a mutual exchange between state and interest organizations. I think this means that the interest groups influence the state while at the same time the state achieves some control and support from the interest groups in return. However, problems may arise if the reciprocal balance of the exchange ratio is shifted, writes Mangset.⁸⁷

Correspondingly, Thommessen explains that a more advanced cultural funding could be enabled by drawing in the private sector.⁸⁸ I believe that what Thommessen claims here is that it is naïve to consider the state to be the only financing option, even if it provides a calm and carefree framework for serving the community's cultural needs on democratic premises. Large government grants provide greater volume but lack diversity when made to function as the outmost dominant resource. The author therefore stresses a better climate for private contribution in order for culture to evolve and be socially inclusive. He further claims that independence and diversity provide a more resilient cultural life that is less sensitive to the fluctuation of state governance.⁸⁹

On another and slightly different note, Sigrid Røyseng discusses in "Konsensus og konflikt i kulturpolitikken" why cultural policy has initially emerged as an area of consensus.⁹⁰ Consistent with the author's arguments here, I argue that it has for a long time been in the interest of the Norwegian government to ensure that cultural actors have reasonably good working conditions and that they are relatively independent of external forces. Røyseng, however, claims that there are signs of increased conflict in today's cultural policy landscape.⁹¹

First off, there seems to be a growing disagreement within the government about the shielded position of art and culture in relation to market forces. Røyseng explains that recent policy

⁸⁶ Mangset, 2015, p.47.

⁸⁷ Mangset, 2015, pp. 47-56.

⁸⁸ Thommessen, 2013, p.83.

⁸⁹ Thommessen, 2013, pp.84-86.

⁹⁰ Røyseng, 2015, p.4.

⁹¹ Røyseng, 2015, pp.4-6.

initiatives have highlighted that market orientation is increasingly valuable when it comes to progressive politics.⁹²

In accordance with what the author is here claiming, I assert that cultural policies are about prioritizing certain areas, artworks and artists rather than others, which is an attitude that cannot hold in today's pluralistic societies. Thus, conflicts arise as new stakeholders make claim of what art, culture and cultural understanding should be. It so follows that the constitutional arm's length principle is challenged on a daily basis, both outside and inside the parliament's walls. I think that the reason for this is the speedy social realities we live in, which cause a continuous re-evaluation of meaning and content. The arm's length principle used to signal democracy, legitimacy and quality- all of which are values that are frequently questioned today.

Thus, it can be summarized that Norway's cultural policy is set in its trails despite efforts made to move away from a traditional and nationalistic attitude and towards more global thinking. However, I discovered that there is a strongly liberal cultural policy at work in Norway, which is also strengthened by long-term strategies. Therefore, despite its apparently resilient dynamics, I claim that the country's cultural policies stand on solid, though rigid, ground. I also conclude that cultural actors in Norway have multiple choices to secure survival, the two main alternatives being independent collective efforts or individualistic state governed existence.

Discussion and summation of the cultural dynamics governing both countries

In summation of the cultural dynamics of Hungary, the literature indicates that Hungarian artists employ self-sustaining creative practices within a highly privatized and competitive market. Further data suggests that specific socializing processes motivate Hungarian artists to make use of consciously ambiguous and anarchistic modes of expression in their artworks, through which they seek to establish autonomous identities.

⁹² Røyseng, 2015, p.6.

In brief and as opposed to the Hungarian evidence, the Norwegian literature indicates that the country's cultural actors have for decades been inclined to relate to international externalities. Therefore, Norway's cultural expression and artistic practice (or *praxis*) is strongly tainted by an ambivalent mixture of tradition and progression. Previous findings also show that artists apply a liberated form of expression, while also staying true to conventional materials and genres in order to strengthen the country's sense of national identity.

On a related note, the literature reveals that despite an outspoken rejection of politics and economy, the two factors play an enormous role in the professional and everyday lives (or *habitus*) of both Hungarian and Norwegian artists. The dynamics governing Hungary's art world reflect the operation of the country in general, since both spheres are lacking a real and progressive dialogue. It so follows that artists retreat and process far more concentrated and therefore also more micro-level issues at hand.

Contrastingly, evidence presented on Norwegian artists shows that political and civilian dialogues are to this day practised as a way to promote better artistic conditions. Thus, the macro environments within which cultural actors are active are constantly widened as they reach out to external sources for inspiration.

Based on prior research, it can be argued that Hungarian artists have a tendency to want to resolve issues, which reduces the stimulus that surrounds them. Meanwhile, Norwegian artists tend to seek stimulus and therefore also additional problems which they may ponder. Linked to this, studies have also reported that while the network shape (or *field of cultural production*) of Hungary's art world is speckled and branching in all possible directions, Norway's network structure covers the art scene like a blanket, connecting all dots at one time and place or another.

It has conclusively been revealed that Hungarian artists stick with one another in hope of mutual economic and influential gain, but agents among themselves are more likely to be oppressing rather than aiding each other. Moreover, previous findings demonstrate that Hungarian social and cultural areas are monitored by appointed organizations and individuals. As a result, artists build their relationships on self-serving and conscious grounds. The Norwegian literature, on the contrary, suggests that on-going and balanced mutual exchanges between actors and institutions in Norway are crucial for the upkeep of all fields of cultural production involved.

On a slightly similar note, the studies illuminate how the size of the market and the limited funds may cause issues for new and old talents in Hungary today. Analogously, data processing the market in Norway uncovers comparable tendencies. It is thus clear from previous research that the scale and capacity of the national art market prevents cultural actors of both art worlds from entering the international art scene as well.

Consequently, the literature highlights how reactions to insufficiencies found within the established systems are on the rise in both artistic spheres. However, it is also evident from previous research that individual and collective initiatives of this calibre are mostly short-lived in Hungary. Below the surface the dispositions are blurred and sovereign and the associations between agents are highly scheming. Norwegian enterprises are all the more successful according to prior data, based on the aforementioned mutually conditioned communicational strategies employed in the cultural field of production.

All things considered, the art scene in Norway appears to be relatively more organized compared to Hungary. Previous findings affirm that various state driven art organizations have principal management responsibility of art. These organizations form a support web which aids the lives and livelihoods of individual artists and collectives. Hungary's art scene appears to be quite the opposite since it is dominated by chaotic and controversial elements, much like its political conditions. As a result, the country's cultural policies tend to exclusively praise a few prominent artists whose praxis and habitus suit the state's agenda, seeing as these agents are required to work in favour of the current political regime.

The next chapter will, by means of comparative case study analyses, dive deeper into the aforementioned socio-political dynamics and examine the results in the light of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural theories mentioned in the preceding subchapter.

Chapter 4. Analysis, Discussion and Results

4.1 Economic Capital Accumulation

Economic logic and creative entrepreneurial subjectivity

In Bourdieu's interpretation, the field of art makes use of two opposing systems of production, which also mark two distinct definitions of labour. First, there is large-scale production that reaches general (mass) audiences, and utilizes a standard and established definition of labour. This is the "heteronomous" pole.⁹³ Second, there is the system of restricted production, wherein economic gain is displaced by the acknowledgement and recognition expressed by those who employ the same mode of creative output. This is the "autonomous" pole.⁹⁴

Additionally, Bourdieu's "reversal of economic logic" is a concept that highlights the specific behaviour of artists when it comes to finances and how their economic attitudes shape their identities.⁹⁵ The term can be connected to the idea of the individual genius creating art for art's sake, as opposed to a creator obsessed with financial benefits. In other words, there are those artistic labourers in favour of catering to the autonomous pole versus those who prefer to produce governed by the heteronomous pole.

All in all, Bourdieu's reversal of economic logic maintains that artists tend to lose recognition if they display interest in economy and careers. I would argue, departing from the findings of the interviews, that Hungarian informants are in fact rewarded for careerist behaviour. The Norwegian respondents don't appear to regard an interest in finances as a flaw either, although they maintain that economic gain at the expense of everything else should never be of primary interest.

Nevertheless, I claim that respondents from both countries appear to be employing a careerist demeanour that is directed towards and within resources situated in the field of art. Thus, I also

⁹³ Bourdieu, 1996, p.121.

⁹⁴ Bourdieu, 1996, p. 147.

⁹⁵ Bourdieu, 1996, p.142.

think that a creative entrepreneurial subjectivity, which encourages careerism within the realms of each art world, is highly esteemed in both Hungarian and Norwegian art worlds today.

Consequently, I believe that the artists of this study are just as income-oriented and averse of risks as agents of other occupational branches. In fact, representatives of the art industry present in this study tend to distribute their resources more rationally than other labourers for the purpose of achieving their goals. However, I have come to realize that an analysis of the informants' economic capital accumulation will be complicated due to the fact that they usually have multiple simultaneous occupations and assignments and thus also various economic motivations.

To illustrate this point, let us ponder the respondent's opinions regarding double vocations. For the artists of my investigation, complementary occupations make for as much inner motivation as purely artistic professional prestige.⁹⁶ Departing from answers provided in the interviews, I wish to consider the traditional types of cultural agents who are active on the two art markets explored in this study.

First, there are those artists who measure their earnings in low scale production, such as beginners and established artists. I observed that they usually regard themselves as individualistic small entrepreneurs.⁹⁷ Meanwhile, the other type marks those engaged in large-scale intellectual production. These artists tend to be either temporarily or permanently employed by institutions, and are therefore also more actively present in organizations and associations.⁹⁸

The situation, however, as results indicate, can only be mapped this categorically in theory. In practice, I claim that agents and categories tend to be combined and adjusted according to specific requirements and dispositions.

Additionally, it can be mentioned that Hungarian artists of the study pride themselves on being accomplished in many areas of creative expertise. For that reason, as I have discovered, their own self-conception cannot be summed up under merely one vocation. They're sculptors, painters, musicians, performers, educators, illustrators, carpenters and bon vivants in one. By contrast,

⁹⁶ For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg and Béla Máriás affirm this statement.

⁹⁷ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen, Dorka Kalmár, Kati Bobály, Bálint Szombathy and Béla Máriás confirm this result.

⁹⁸ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen, Jannik Abel, Solveig Aalberg, Katalin Kalmár and Márton Kalmár verify this finding.

Norwegian informants, despite their achievements and particular interests, simply refer to their profession as “visual artist”.

I argue that further characteristics of the art market are that of lower incomes, an unbalanced distribution of general earnings and the constant fluctuation of agents. As confirmed by respondents, recognised artists earn higher salaries than those who have not achieved fame yet and the comings and goings of newcomers is more dynamic than in any other industry.⁹⁹

Therefore, I stress that an analysis of the economic capital accumulation of the artists of this study must involve both intrinsic and monetary rewards, seeing as they are likely to generate strategies in accordance with both of these resources.

Thus, departing from this perspective I would like to draw attention to the fact that certain countries produce more complex earning strategies than others with higher living standards, advanced cultural markets and less institutional constraints. In succession, these overall societal economic strategies also affect artistic identities. I claim that the results of the interviews make us aware of the structure of the two social systems, which in turn also impact individual economic complexities surrounding those actively engaged in the production of the arts.

Socio-political influences on economic systems

Besides financial influences, the effects of globalisation and democratization were appointed by respondents as the primary cause of hybridity in all areas of existence. The reason for this, as interviewees suggest, is the increased competition and changing societal discourses which induce necessary shifts in personal and professional choices.¹⁰⁰

In our contemporary societies, socializing patterns demand of artistic agents that they act as ‘human chameleons’ in order to satisfy both national and international criteria. Artists today are supposed to elevate a country’s global recognition while also strengthening its national identity.

⁹⁹ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás, Roald Andersen and Bálint Szombathy affirm this result.

¹⁰⁰ For example, interviewees Wenche Guldbrandsen, Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Dorka Kalmár confirm this statement.

As highlighted by respondents from both countries, the arts are differentiated into interrelated groups, comparable to the system of economic exchange.¹⁰¹ It so follows that artworks are viewed as goods that are made and exchanged in different ways depending on the economic system in which they exist.

Connected to this idea, I would like to point out that respondents of both art worlds understand and acknowledge the aesthetic values and norms specific for their art scenes. It is interesting to note that state funding and other governmental intervention is regarded as a positive contemporary kind of patronage that fits and serves the societal and economic structure of Norway. In fact, the study found that structures and institutions enable activity on the Norwegian interviewees' part. This also indicates a balance which I have argued for in the previous chapter, wherein both the government and the artists are considered as shareholders of economy and influence.

In opposition, artistic production in Hungary is made to fluctuate between being a marginalized activity and a tool for manufacturing commodities by the government. Cultural agents are only free in their ability to make situated choices and perform situated practices. Therefore, I insist that the Hungarian artists of this study are constrained rather than elevated by political and financial pressure, just as much as the practitioners of any other profession.

As discussed earlier, socio-cultural and socio-political relations characterizing Hungary are further provincial and thus power relations are concentrated and divided between a few privileged members in charge.¹⁰² This illustrates two things in my opinion. First, it goes to show that there is a historical continuity in Hungarian cultural policies. Second, the division highlights the need for imperative strategies according to which agents must act as a means to secure a relatively stable economic capital accumulation process.

Similarly, the Nordic cultural policy model also appears to be historically determined and far more resilient towards changes than it is usually assumed.¹⁰³ A conscious direction can be detected in Norwegian cultural policies, ensuring that the cultural scene remains true to public funding and distances itself from market based ideas. This notion was affirmed by the Norwegian respondents

¹⁰¹ For example, interviewees Bálint Szombathy and Marius Amdam support this finding.

¹⁰² Mélyi, 2014.

¹⁰³ Kangas and Vestheim, 2010, p. 278.

who defend the current cultural policies, seeing as the state support they receive entitles a consistent flow of economic capital with minimal refunds.¹⁰⁴

As previously outlined and in contrast to Norway's political situation, the homogeneity and transparency of Hungary's socio-political and socio-cultural system is reduced. It is the consequence of political centralization coupled with decentralized resource allocation, which also decreases the economic efficiency of the cultural sector.¹⁰⁵ Thus, I claim that the financial situation of Hungarian informants is attuned to the impetuous climate caused by political parties being in a constant war against one another.

It so follows that respondents of Hungarian decent question the whole idea and efficiency of economic and creative democracy in such an environment.¹⁰⁶ Yet, the lack of money and prospects have prominent roles to play in the artistic development of the respondents. The Hungarian interviewees also indicate that endurance and self-invention are prominent artistic characteristics and they consider self-management to be the ultimate artistic approach.¹⁰⁷

As further suggested by Hungarian respondents, without struggle it simply becomes unnecessary for the artist to reach bigger audiences, to process more profound issues and create better works.¹⁰⁸ Instead the artist tends to remain on a road to self-discovery, never actually doing or conveying anything. Interview participants claim that one will lose one's sense of integrity and importance entirely without having to continuously fight for one's place.¹⁰⁹

Cultural funding schemes and mechanisms

On a different note, I discovered that both countries employ systems of cultural funding, which are in fact analogous in their basic structure. With that said, it is however clear that the same exact strategies are implemented dissimilarly depending on the regulations practiced in each art world.

¹⁰⁴ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen, Jannik Abel and Wenche Guldbrandsen verify this result.

¹⁰⁵ Tóth, 2013, p.117.

¹⁰⁶ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Kati Bobály advocate for this.

¹⁰⁷ For example, interviewees Katalin Kalmár and Márton Kalmár confirm this finding.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Dorka Kalmár and Béla Máriás insinuate this.

¹⁰⁹ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Bálint Szombathy express similar sentiments.

According to Hungarian respondents, the Cultural Fund hands out financial aid to visual art academies and music academies respectively.¹¹⁰ Every agent must apply to the institution corresponding to their exact vocation. These institutions grant funding and scholarships based on supposedly professional principles, thus financial aid is provided to those who can show for what they have achieved so far and what they require funding for in regards to future projects. In that sense, the criteria for application is as provincial and innate as the appointed individuals put in charge of distributing the funds.

Norway's current cultural policy on the other hand dictates that all areas of culture must remain devoid of external political influences. Therefore, culture itself is retained from the rest of the government that only sets the most elementary guidelines as to its operation, while professional groups in charge decide the exact moves. The network is all-encompassing and well-sealed, protected by the "arm's-length principle".¹¹¹

It so follows that the Norwegian Cultural Fund's main intent is to keep artists and artistic collectives afloat, regardless of the exact aims of each creator. Funding is achieved through an intricate web of supportive initiatives and the state only requires that the grants provide a yearly report of their activities in return. It is unclear to what degree the professionals in charge of distribution are affected by provincial tendencies, but I would argue that potential bias is averted through collective decision making.

Yet another difference can be detected when we compare the duration of financial aid provided for artists of the two art worlds. Whereas Hungarian informants are required to apply for funding annually, there is a continuous wage concept in Norway which is embodied by a cultural legislation referred to as "warranted income".

If one is in fact granted a scholarship in Hungary, one may receive a fixed amount of 1-2000 euros from the government on an annual basis. Contrastively, Norwegian respondents are guaranteed a monthly pay of roughly the same amount, independent of any specific expectations or demands. It must of course be mentioned that only around 300 artists in the whole of Norway are honoured with warranted income.¹¹² These findings verify my idea that the distribution of external and internal funding sources is one of the major differences between Hungary and Norway.

¹¹⁰ For example, interviewees Dorca Kalmár and Márton Kalmár verify this statement.

¹¹¹ Fiksdal and Siljeholm, 2017, p.162.

¹¹² For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg and Inger Johanne Rasmussen endorse these findings.

Let us first consider the highly transparent mechanism behind Norway's internal funding sources. As suggested by the Norwegian respondents, various state driven art organizations have principal management responsibility of art collections and art in public spaces.¹¹³ These governmental organizations consult and cooperate with various institutions outside and inside the country, and also manage and mediate art projects and heritage sites. The organizations are further major employers of artists, curators, producers and art consultants, and provide training, lectures and professional networks. Evidently, there is an efficient system at work here, and I argue that it in turn generates a consistent economic situation governed mainly by the Norwegian state itself.

In contrast, the economic situation of art in Hungary is boosted mostly from the outside in the form of foreign foundations, but also in some cases from the inside by non-governmental, private organizations. Besides foreign institutional foundations, international private patronage was highlighted as an external source of economic support by Hungarian respondents.¹¹⁴ The study confirms that some artists can in fact be honoured with a governmental prize for being truly exceptional at their profession, but these instances are, more often than not, the result of nepotism. Special awards are usually passed around within the inner circle, explain Hungarian interviewees, causing a lot of conflicts and hostility in the art world.¹¹⁵

Respondents also mention bank and insurance corporations and electric companies who offer private funding, but they are primarily interested in promoting newcomers.¹¹⁶ Additionally, there are further rewards granted those from older trenches of established and proven artists who have a profound life-work to show for.

Associations and markets

In Hungary, there also operates a National Association for Hungarian Artists. As indicated by respondents, the association is a membership system, which requires documentation of past achievements and proof of education in the form of a portfolio, besides the payment of a

¹¹³ For example, Inger Johanne Rasmussen, Jannik Abel and Solveig Aalberg affirm this result.

¹¹⁴ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Kati Bobály advocate for this.

¹¹⁵ For example, interviewees Dorca Kalmár and Katalin Kalmár express similar sentiments.

¹¹⁶ For example, interviewees Dorca Kalmár and Kati Bobály mention this information.

membership fee.¹¹⁷ According to these findings, it is safe to state that art education is in fact the highest form of qualification and a promise of professionalism in both Hungarian and Norwegian artistic spheres.

Similarly, there are various National Associations supporting artists in Norway, but representatives of different genres are separately cared for. There is a mother organization for the Visual Arts and one for Arts and Crafts. There are also sub-organizations assisting Norwegian graphics, sculptors, painters and textile artists respectively. The application process and admission requirements vary, but as suggested by the respondents, scholastic achievements and prior professional engagements (such as exhibitions) are considered factors.¹¹⁸

I observed that the importance of networking is another aspect, seeing as the endorsement one receives from others can elevate one's status in the artistic hierarchy. I also think that being a board member on a committee is of importance if one wishes to increase one's economic capital, seeing as those with higher influential ranking are usually offered more assignments.

There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by Hungarian artists in this study and those described by the Norwegian counterparts regarding the topic of the art market. The lack of international outreach and therefore also sufficient economic capital accumulation appears to be problematic for respondents from both countries.

As introduced in the previous chapter, researchers stress a better climate for private contribution in Norwegian art in order for culture to evolve and be socially inclusive.¹¹⁹ It is stated that independence and diversity provide a more resilient cultural life, which is less sensitive to the fluctuation of state governance. In connection to this plea, it was confirmed by the Norwegian respondents that the art market is indeed narrow and overcrowded, in need of adjustment and expansion.¹²⁰ Some went as far as claiming that the scale and capacity of the national art market prevents artists from entering the international art scene.¹²¹

Yet, for Norwegian informants, I claim that there is a twofold financial choice. Either one faces the market through an individual or collective enterprise or reverts to a more predictable source of

¹¹⁷ For example, interviewee Márton Kalmár accounts for this detail.

¹¹⁸ For example, Jannik Abel, Solveig Aalberg and Marius Amdam confirm this.

¹¹⁹ Thommessen, 2013, p.84.

¹²⁰ For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg, Marius Amdam and Wenche Guldbrandsen advocate for this.

¹²¹ For example, interviewee Wenche Guldbrandsen provides evidence for this.

income provided by the state. In contrast, I argue that the Hungarian artists of my analysis can only go in one direction, which is private self-funding.

Nevertheless, it is important to mention that Norwegian respondents feel that the state prescribes a generalizing and homogenous treatment to all artists.¹²² It so follows that, as opposed to the combative creative climate of Hungary, the Norwegian artists of this study fight *the* system rather than other individuals *within* that system. However, I think that there is a corresponding reaction demonstrated by all respondents, seeing as they are all revolting against the insufficiencies found within their established systems.

Clearly, informants of both art worlds appear to be slowly deteriorating toward collectives and other independent arenas that suit their work better and can assist their economic capital accumulation more effectively.

I discovered that shifts within the market indicate a change in social, economic and aesthetic values and investments for both Hungarian and Norwegian agents. Moreover, I believe that respondents from both artistic spheres feel an inclination to track the movements of the market, although Norwegian participants appear to be more prone to rejecting its operation than catering to it.

Thus, I determined that despite similar dilemmas, the boundaries between self-expression and market value are more notably drawn amongst Norwegian interviewees. For instance, none of the Norwegian respondents of this study accept any commissions that do not match their image or artistic purpose in order to yield their economic capital accumulation.¹²³

Hungarian informants, on the other hand must perform according to a specific cultural attitude, resulting from the aforementioned hybrid political system, in which a futile relationship between self-expression and market value dominates. Therefore, according to the majority of the Hungarian respondents, particular art markets can only be penetrated with assistance from a specialist.¹²⁴

The findings observed in this investigation mirror a particular kind of business model implemented by the Hungarian artists of this study, which is governed by the self-interest of each party more than anything else. I realized that the accumulation of economic capital within the Hungarian art world rests on successful and strictly momentary financial collaborations.

¹²² For example, interviewee Jannik Abel defends this finding.

¹²³ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Roald Andersen support this statement.

¹²⁴ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Márton Kalmár endorse this.

Meanwhile, on the Norwegian side, I claim that only a minority of respondents seek assistance from art specialists and a greater number reject this idea. The latter prefer to revolt by establishing own artistic collectives, galleries and consciously target the market as a movement or as individual creators. The results indicate that gallery affiliations entitle deprivation for Norwegian respondents and long-term financial commitments that interviewees fear may rob them of not only future potentials but also their artistic motivations and dispositions.¹²⁵

Thus, the accumulation of economic capital within the Norwegian art world relies on the same kind of self-management as on the Hungarian side, but most artists of the study dismiss professional supervision and promote personal collaborations instead.¹²⁶

I think that another important discovery was the various types of investors present in both artistic spheres.¹²⁷ First, there are those who are not too immersed in the intellectual workings of the art world but possess the kind of resources with which they can buy freely through galleries and fairs for their own pleasure. Then there are those who have utter knowledge of art and invest only in truly remarkable pieces. The third group tends to purchase from one another in inner circles of prestige and flattery.

To illustrate my point further, we can distinguish between those of the respondents who are sought after by publicly mainstream investors and those whose art only reaches particular institutions or private buyers.

I maintain that certain respondents create art that has an immense market value. Despite many of these respondents having chosen to consciously go against the whole notion of market value, they could gradually sell and make profit on account of changing trends and values.¹²⁸ The works are regarded as embodiments of national excellence while also making use of modern global technologies.

Thus, it seems to me that these artists measure their prestige in large-scale production, and rely on their institutional and personal connections in order to secure economic capital growth. Furthermore, they tend to do business with publicly mainstream investors of all kinds, and receive

¹²⁵ This notion was proven by visual artist Roald Andersen for instance, who said he once set fire to all of his artworks in order to rebel against the moral decadence of a gallery representing him. (Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17).

¹²⁶ For example, interviewees Jannik Abel and Roald Andersen verify this finding.

¹²⁷ For example, interviewees Wenche Guldbrandsen and Márton Kalmár endorse this claim.

¹²⁸ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Katalin Kalmár affirm this result.

numerous commissions. To this group belong textile artists Inger Johanne Rasmussen, Solveig Aalberg, Kati Bobály, sculptors Kata Kalmár and Márton Kalmár and performance artist and painter Béla Máriás.

Conversely, I realized that my other respondents who are engaged in low-scale intellectual production have a propensity to create artworks that often times cannot be sold at all. By contrast, they remain economically and creatively independent with the help of businesses and investments.¹²⁹ As a general principle, I would argue that these informants prioritize specific art markets over others and that their main investors and buyers are particularly inclined regional art centres and contemporary art establishments. In this group, we can find visual artists Roald Andersen, Jannik Abel, Wenche Gulbrandsen, Marius Amdam, painter Dorka Kalmár and conceptual artist Bálint Szombathy,

Overview of analysis of economic capital accumulation

In summation, my analysis of the economic capital accumulation of the interviewed artist has aimed to involve both their intrinsic and monetary motivations.

The data clearly demonstrates that the arts are institutionalized and differentiated into interrelated and interdependent groups, similar to the system of economic exchange. The findings also indicate that the most valued subjectivity in both art worlds today is a creative entrepreneurial subjectivity, which encourages careerism within the realm of each art scene.

A correlation was found between the two countries' cultural funding systems; however, it also became evident that the practical implementation of the same strategies varies considerably depending on each art world.

The results consistently show that momentarily gains and external funding are more dominant in Hungary, while Norway makes use of long term and internalized financial strategies. As further findings indicate, the lack of international outreach and therefore also sufficient economic capital accumulation appears to be problematic for the respondents of both countries in question.

¹²⁹ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Roald Andersen support this discovery.

Interestingly, it was also observed that despite similar dilemmas, the boundaries between self-expression and market value are more notably drawn amongst Norwegian informants, whereas the hybrid political system results in futile market relations on the Hungarian side.

In consideration of earlier arguments, it was established that there are various types of investors in both artistic spheres. I revealed that those with immense market value and large-scale productions sell to publicly mainstream investors of all kinds, and receive a great number of commissions. Meanwhile, informants who experience reduced sales and work with low-scale production prioritize specific art markets and sell primarily to particular contemporary art establishments.

As suggested by the evidence, Hungarian respondents usually aim to bridge the gap between individual and market with all means possible, finding a loop hole and area that hasn't been utilized and mined yet. In that sense, the Hungarian artists present in this study can be said to be creative but rather lonely crusaders roaming the market in frenzy.

In short, Norwegian interviewees self-manage too, but appear to be in no hurry whatsoever to conquer any markets or art scenes and for them there is a twofold financial choice. Either one faces the market in the form of an individual or collective enterprise or reverts to a more predictable source of income provided by the state.

4.2 Cultural Capital Accumulation

Incorporated and internalized cultural knowledge

Cultural capital exists in three main forms.¹³⁰ In its incorporated state it can be regarded as an inherent potential which can, over time and with the help of practice, be transformed into an attribute. In its objectified state, it is embodied by culturally valuable goods. Finally, in its institutionalized state it guarantees titles and status.

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital cannot simply be transferred from one family member to another.¹³¹ In its objectified state the capital may be materially transferred, however Bourdieu claims that the incorporated potential that enables an understanding of the objectified capital must be mastered.¹³² Therefore, one's objectified cultural capital is determined by its relation to one's incorporated cultural capital.

The accumulation of incorporated cultural capital is preceded by an acquisition process, which requires training and time. I believe that one's upbringing serves as a crucial point of departure when determining one's incorporated cultural capital, seeing as one is endowed with it and fostered into it, thus it is most often unconscious to begin with. Successively, incorporated cultural capital may become conscious through education.

Additionally, and as introduced above, institutionalized cultural capital creates titles, while titles in turn distinguish one in the socio-cultural hierarchy. Titles achieved through educational qualification for instance can be understood as a proof of cultural supremacy. Cultural capital guarantees and confirms your knowledge, but it must be acknowledged to rise higher and acquire symbolic power.

Cultural capital holds its symbolic power in both physical (degrees and titles) and abstract entities (reception and treatment administered by others). In the labour market, Bourdieu argues, a title

¹³⁰ Bourdieu, 1986, p.247.

¹³¹ Bourdieu, 1986, p.248.

¹³² Bourdieu, 1986, p.250.

granted by cultural capital is linked to and increases the value of one's work, resulting in higher material and symbolic profit.¹³³

However, I believe that cultural capital can also induce polarity in society, resulting in the differentiation and elevation of certain groups over others. While upbringing and early socialization influence one's cultural capital accumulation, reception and treatment also influence how one's cultural capital may increase in size, therefore it can be assumed that social and cultural capital supplement one another.

During the course of my analysis, I have come to discover that artistic work is often evaluated accordingly to implicit local and social criteria. With this in mind, I insist that an additional internalization occurs in the process of early socialization and cultural capital accumulation. That is to say, that in contrast to economic capital accumulation, the amount of cultural capital possessed by each respondent has been acquired according to particular and highly personal determinants.

As Bourdieu claims, "the capacity to perform a role presupposes training in the technical aspects of that role as well as socialization into a motivational commitment to the role."¹³⁴ Thus, in this section I will be discussing the various motivations my respondents experienced during their childhood and early adulthood and how these have affected their cultural capital accumulation.

Along the lines of my interpretation of cultural capital in Chapter 2, I claim that this form of capital concerns forms of cultural knowledge, competence and dispositions. Therefore, cultural capital can be regarded as a form of action; it is mustered and used in order to defend positions and habitus.

I further suggest that existing capital dictates and governs creative growth within microcosms constituted by families and school systems. Educational systems reinforce differences and legitimize practices, strengthening both the individualism and conformity of students.

From the point of view of cultural capital, the interviewees of the study had various data to provide on account of obvious generational and gender based dissimilarities. To yield the analysis, I arranged the interview material according to the specific questions asked in the interviews. Thus, this subchapter deals specifically with early socializing factors enabling cultural capital

¹³³Bourdieu, 1986, pp.249-253.

¹³⁴ Bourdieu, 1994, p.80.

accumulation, such as upbringing and education. I stress that these factors either make or break artistic competence.

Direct insights and motivations

Mason Griff claims that parents in various strata introduce their child to art but rarely any encourage them to keep pursuing the field further.¹³⁵ In Griff's opinion, contradictory reactions demonstrated by parents confuse the child and may easily plant the first idea of self-alienation.¹³⁶ This in turn introduces the notion of non-conformity and has great significance for the progress of the artist's career. In accordance with Griff's argument, one must consider the ambivalent parental attitudes that might occur during the child's first period of socialization. I believe it is correct to assume that parental attitudes strengthen the child's sense of being socially meaningful and constructive. However, as the interviews indicate, there are multiple roads to take in order to reach an art career.

I propose that art in its first shape and form revealed itself while the respondents observed their family members cherish, create and discuss artworks during their upbringing. Family insights are highlighted as a foremost source of inspiration by the respondents of both countries in question.¹³⁷

To clarify, the occupations of most parents are not closely tied to the arts at all. Yet, three artists in particular have grown into an extensive amount of incorporated cultural capital. In their case, family has had a direct and definite role to play in the outcome of their socialization and cultural capital accumulation.

For example, quite a few members of Dorka Kalmár and Katalin Kalmár's family are active in the field of art. Based on their interviews, I would argue that their childhood has been a both encouraging and sobering period of their lives.¹³⁸ⁱ

¹³⁵ Mason Griff, "The Recruitment and Socialization of Artists" in Milton C. Albrecht, James H. Barnett and Mason Griff (eds.) 2nd ed., *The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1970, pp.149-150.

¹³⁶ Griff, 1970, p. 151.

¹³⁷ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás, Jannik Abel and Dorka Kalmár advocate for this.

¹³⁸ The Roman numerals found in the following paragraphs reference the additional interview material relating to the topic of direct influencing factors, which is provided in Appendix 2.

It is clear that Dorka and Katalin Kalmár were raised in an atelier like surrounding crowded by artworks and their potential talents were trained and exploited all throughout their youth.ⁱⁱ They grew up attending exhibitions, museums and cultural events from an early age and perceived art making as an ordinary task their parents performed day in and day out.¹³⁹

I realized that the Kalmár children's upbringing has been strongly affected by the ups and downs of artistic existence, forming them into conscious creators who knew early on the implications of the profession. Therefore, I claim that their accounts show how cultural capital in its internalized and objectified form can be passed onto children.

Similarly, Norwegian visual artist Jannik Abel grew up in an upper-class milieu, with a great amount of status and cultural capital seeing as she was born into the family that established Norway's first gallery.ⁱⁱⁱ

As indicated in her interview, Abel spent more time at the gallery than at the family's mansion, which was also filled with paintings, sculptures, books and antiques.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, Abel's account indicates that copious members of her family had been engaging in the art world for generations as either gallerists or photographers. Therefore, I believe that she clearly had advanced tools available at hand already as a child, through which she could communicate her ideas and experiment with her talents and inclinations, so forth also culminating her cultural capital from an early age.

Additionally, performance artist and painter Béla Máriás can be mentioned here, seeing as his first inspiration was his mother, a jazz pianist and composer. During the period of his early socialization, Máriás was increasingly affected by experimental music.¹⁴¹ Stimulated by the experiences provided by his mother, he evolved his skills as a musician before turning to the medium of painting.^{iv} As a result, I would say that traces of rhythm and melody can be detected in his work to this day.

In the case of these four artists, it can be assumed that external inspirations were at their peak during their upbringing and that their potential internal struggles ensued afterwards. Thus, their later socialization and accumulation of cultural capital depended merely on their own persistence, rather than any external involvement of parents or relatives. The Kalmár sisters, Abel and Máriás

¹³⁹ Interview with Dorka Kalmár, painter and educator, Szeged, 2017-03-16.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Béla Máriás, painter, musician and writer, Budapest, 2017-02-15.

all had a solid amount of cultural capital to stand and build on, which has immensely impacted their educational and professional paths. I therefore insist that their families have had a direct and profound influence on their lives.

Indirect insights and motivations

With that said, family milieu and upbringing can also have an indirect influence on the potential outcome of an artistic path. As mentioned earlier, most respondents do not have an explicitly artistic family background, but I argue that they were in some way or other still inspired and encouraged to pursue an art career during their upbringing.

For instance, Norwegian visual artist Inger Johanne Rasmussen has a traditional, theist, working class background. Already during her childhood years, she participated in everyday activities centred on textile and handicrafts.^{142v} Thus, I believe her first impressions and explorations of art appeared to her entirely ordinary and mundane. Rasmussen has had a long fascination with the concept of beauty and she began reflecting over the purpose and idea of objects quite young.¹⁴³ She discussed her opinions with others and attended exhibitions where she could see more beautiful objects. Learning to draw must have further raised her awareness of the arts and crafts, which made her habitual and routinely performed activities more than just an integral part of her everyday life.

Visual artist Solveig Aalberg's upbringing has comparative tendencies to that of Rasmussen's. As I have discovered, Aalberg learnt early on to express herself through various mediums, seeing as she was fostered into an independent and entrepreneurial attitude. Analogous to Rasmussen's self-discovery, Aalberg spent a great amount of time exploring the world of art on her own, reading up on and writing about different artists, materials and modes of expression.

Furthermore, I detected that identical to the early socializing experiences of Rasmussen, Aalberg was praised and valued for her handiwork, so much so, that she was supplied with a weaving machine so she could practice more often.^{vi} It is also clear from her account that she felt supported

¹⁴² The Roman numerals found in the following paragraphs reference the additional interview material on the topic of indirect influencing factors, which is provided in Appendix 2.

¹⁴³ Interview with Inger Johanne Rasmussen, visual artist, Oslo, Hovedøya, 2017-02-14.

in her inclination to actively engage in artistic and theoretical education despite her family opting for vocational training.¹⁴⁴ Thus, perhaps the significance of having art present within the household becomes of focus here rather than the influence of those surrounding one while growing up.

In connection to this argument, several other experiences can be highlighted, which were determined by art being visible and accessible in the home.^{vii} Sculptor Márton Kalmár's primal memories are that of his mother sketching palm trees and him flipping through art anthologies and discussing the contents.¹⁴⁵ Browsing the family's collection of books was also what intrigued visual artist Wenche Gulbrandsen while growing up, besides getting to watch and assist her mother and uncle while preparing drawings for work.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Marius Amdam's account of the artisans and collectors in his family details his first introduction to certain artistic qualities and standards.¹⁴⁷

In addition, I argue that visual artist Roald Andersen's early socialization equals the above-mentioned accounts to a certain degree, yet differs in that he first turned to art in order to establish a safe space into which he could escape.^{viii} Neither his parents nor siblings were involved in art, thus he began engaging in order to carve a space for himself in spite of their disinterestedness.¹⁴⁸

Educational milestones

Primary education can be analysed as the next inspirational milestone in the process of accumulating cultural capital. As formerly introduced, Griff regards the public-school system as the chief mechanism of socialization.¹⁴⁹ I agree with his reasoning and consider primary education as a stimulating environment in which our first attributes of uniqueness, independence and security may emerge. Through schooling, talents are singled out and recognized and complementary training is assigned in order to secure professional guidance for the child.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Solveig Aalberg, visual artist, Asker, 2017-02-13.

¹⁴⁵ Written exchange with Márton Kalmár, sculptor and educator, 2017-03-27.

¹⁴⁶ Written exchange with Wenche Gulbrandsen, visual artist, 2017-04-05.

¹⁴⁷ Written exchange with Marius Amdam, visual artist, 2017-04-12.

¹⁴⁸ Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17.

¹⁴⁹ Griff, 1970, p. 149.

Moreover, I claim that even in the case of children who were perhaps not given enough attention at home by parents with different interests and professions, the school teachers could take on the role of supporters. Scholarly growth also entitles a personal growth in my opinion, which in turn affirms the child's artistic skills more distinctively. It so follows that being discovered by a pedagogue symbolises a validation and acknowledgement of the child's true potentials.

Several interviewees claim that shortly after the discovery of their creative abilities, they were granted special supervision as early as during their primary school years.¹⁵⁰ Their work was inspected attentively by the teachers, who prepared them for a devoted and organized future in the arts. As indicated in the interviews, some respondents were in fact first encouraged to pursue higher degrees in art by none other than their primary school educators.¹⁵¹

Evidently, I observed that the respondents think fondly of the years they spent under the wings of supportive and protective educators.

Connected to these experiences, respondents also mentioned material encouragements like being featured in youth exhibitions and winning competitions, as a source of motivation to pursue their artistic hobbies further.¹⁵² Furthermore, quite a few respondents explained that they were approached by their teachers after graduating, some even concurrently with school, and offered assistant positions, spaces in workshops and places in trainee programs.¹⁵³ I maintain that being invited to participate in various projects significantly boosted the children's self-worth and future ambitions.

Following on from this idea, I observed that during the respondents' primary and secondary school years the emphasis was on evoking increasingly personal ways of expression, with which they could later proceed onto higher educational spheres.¹⁵⁴ However, as we shall see later in the analysis, modes of education vary, and not all children were trained properly and adequately.

Arnold Hauser claims that "every interaction, every sensory experience is part of the artistic education."¹⁵⁵ The specific art educational experiences, or lack thereof, are the next milestones in the respondent's early socialization. Almost exactly half of the interviewees have attended an art

¹⁵⁰ For example, interviewees Bálint Szombathy and Katalin Kalmár express similar sentiments.

¹⁵¹ For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg and Dorka Kalmár support this finding.

¹⁵² For example, interviewee Kati Bobály details this in her account.

¹⁵³ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen and Bálint Szombathy affirm this result.

¹⁵⁴ For example, Solveig Aalberg and Dorka Kalmár endorse this finding.

¹⁵⁵ Hauser, 1982, p.138.

academy, while the other half has evolved as autodidacts or through various other educational options. As I suggested earlier, the accumulation of cultural and social capital is closely tied and has undoubtedly guided the respondents' choice of education too.

It was further indicated by respondents that art schools directly influence one's social and symbolic capital accumulation as well as the cultural.¹⁵⁶ Thus, I uncovered that art schools not only instill standards and values, developing the dedication and technical facilities of students, but also enable affiliations and prestige which in turn grant a stronger accumulation of cultural capital. I therefore assert that art schools lend legitimacy to one's artistic practices.

As previously described, the Kalmár family has had an intensely art centered socialization process. All three family members interviewed for this study were admitted to art academies. However, due to their earlier art related educations, Dorka and Katalin Kalmár's creative approaches were strongly determined by a tradition that complicated things for them as they reached a higher artistic level.^{157ix} They felt almost helpless when faced with more abstract tasks that did not require visual speculation and observation. Lacking an established individual style and perception at the time, the sisters felt untrained and unprepared during their time at the academy.¹⁵⁸

Dorka Kalmár finished her education under a period of 10 years as a result of several postponements, besides becoming the mother of two little boys. Her experience stands in stark opposition to the male interviewees of this study, who experienced the complexities of fatherhood only later in their careers. Dorka Kalmár's artistic breakthrough in the end commenced at the same time her first child was born.

On a related note, I believe that it is also important to mention here the potentially different treatment female art students might receive in contrast to their fellow males.¹⁵⁹ Without dwelling on the exact symptoms of gender based discrimination, I claim that it is clear from the female respondents' accounts that their educational experiences were strongly influenced by inequality.

¹⁵⁶ For example, interviewee Inger Johanne Rasmussen supports this statement.

¹⁵⁷ The Roman numeral found at the end of this paragraph references the additional interview material relating to the topic of higher education, which is provided in Appendix 2.

¹⁵⁸ Written exchange with Katalin Kalmár, sculptor, 2017-03-29.

¹⁵⁹ To illustrate my point here, Dorka Kalmár's account can be mentioned. She was dismissed by one master who bluntly declared that he wished not to waste time on teaching women, seeing as their purpose was to become mothers rather than becoming artists. (Interview with Dorka Kalmár, painter and educator, Szeged, 2017-03-16).

Vocational choices

Continuing on from the discussion of external influencing factors, the respondents' vocational choices can be considered.

For instance, I discovered that the Kalmár sisters were clearly influenced by the strain of early occupational identity development, direct parental influence and a deep and early love for art. Therefore, the same vocational tendencies can be seen in the careers of the Kalmár family members today. Dorka Kalmár is an educator on the side, just like her father Márton Kalmár, while Katalin Kalmár has so far had a dominantly and purely artistic career on account of continuous commissions.

Ultimately, there are also Norwegian respondents who I believe are strongly career oriented.^{160x}

By way of illustration, Inger Johanne Rasmussen achieved only a brief general education before turning her focusing onto the arts and especially textile at the age of 15.¹⁶¹

Analogously, Solveig Aalberg made a choice as early as her first year of high school to attend the arts and crafts programme, learning weaving and other traditional handicrafts. She claims that all she does and knows today is based on those high school years.¹⁶² Additionally, Aalberg has further intellectual foundations in various topics, such as philosophy and other theoretical subjects, which she studied in order to deepen her understanding of artistic creation. Thus, when she arrived at the Art College, she was very sure of what she wanted to achieve through her education and also during her career.

According to Howard Becker's reasoning, Katalin Kalmár, Márton Kalmár, Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Solveig Aalberg belong to the social type of "integrated professionals", who usually create canonical artworks.¹⁶³ They're trained and well-prepared, make use of accepted and proper materials, and take the artistic activity in established and acknowledged directions.

I claim that integrated professionals avoid tension, and do not violate expectations by habitually exerting the rituals of the art world. The artworks these professionals produce are made efficiently

¹⁶⁰ The Roman numerals found in the following paragraphs reference the additional interview material relating to the topic of various educational choices, which is provided in Appendix 2.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Inger Johanne Rasmussen, visual artist, Oslo, Hovedøya, 2017-02-14.

¹⁶² Interview with Solveig Aalberg, visual artist, Asker, 2017-02-13.

¹⁶³ Becker, 1976, pp. 703-718.

and are therefore preferred by the market. It must be added that some integrated professionals aim to create marginal variations and innovations within the acknowledged conventions but their aim remains never to disrupt or go against coordination.

Another social type, as noted by Becker, are the “mavericks”.¹⁶⁴ This kind of artists no longer conform, retain loose connections and some of their works never get done only planned. Mavericks tend to create own networks and do not care to adapt to audiences in order to obtain recognition and acceptance. These artists tend to look for revolutionizing ways of producing art and demand that their audiences follow suit rather than the other way around. In Bourdieu’s terminology, the maverick type of artist applies a “charismatic ideology” and acts as an individual producer in the artistic field of production.¹⁶⁵

In relation to this explanation, those participants of my study who prepared for entirely different livelihoods can be mentioned. These artists aimed for rather conventional and stable professions, such as law and medicine. For instance, visual artist Marius Amdam claims that by the time he gathered enough experience and skills to get into the Bergen Academy of Arts, he also developed a distaste for the artistic elite.¹⁶⁶

Similarly, Bálint Szombathy’s art specific education materialized in the form of an art collective, within which the members could exchange information and knowledge, assisting each other’s work. Szombathy never aimed for any art academies, seeing as he considered it to be dominated by the conservative genre of painting, and he did not wish to engage in conventional artistic expressions. I believe these two artists undoubtedly embody a maverick type of approach.^{xi}

Additionally, Becker claims that it is hard to draw the line between innovating integrated professionals and mavericks.¹⁶⁷ Thus, I argue that perhaps Jannik Abel, Béla Máriás and Wenche Gulbrandsen can be defined as innovating professionals.^{xii}

The reason being is that their education has strongly international undertones and have hitherto taken atypical, not so traditional directions, yet their current artistic approaches follow acknowledged tendencies. For instance, Máriás studied natural sciences and geography in high

¹⁶⁴ Becker, 1976, pp.708-713.

¹⁶⁵ Bourdieu, 1996, p.167.

¹⁶⁶ Written exchange with Marius Amdam, visual artist, 2017-04-12.

¹⁶⁷ Becker, 1976, pp.708-713.

school, and continued onto the Music Academy of Belgrade.¹⁶⁸ The artist's parallel activities in music and visual art bear traits of not only his multicultural background, but also the specific experimental stylistic crossovers he adapts to various social contexts.

Analogously, I think that Gulbrandsen's artistic motivations are branching in many directions too, referencing musical, literary and visual art forms and architecture from around the globe. Nevertheless, her educational starting point and finishing point were both rooted in the Norwegian school system in the end.¹⁶⁹

Abel's education, in contrast, took place at highly recognized and prestigious art institutions in the United States, but she later battled with modes of expression seeing as the ones she was socialized into in the US weren't acknowledged in Norway upon her return.¹⁷⁰

I think visual artist Roald Andersen and textile artist Kati Bobály should be remarked upon too, seeing as their educational and professional paths are also out of the ordinary.

Let us consider Andersen's case first. His ambitions of medicine were soon exchanged for colour theory in high school and attendances to workshops, which prompted him to establish his own communal workshop collective. In Andersen's opinion, it is a great advantage to not have a traditional art education, despite it being hard to not be able to define yourself as a classical artist.¹⁷¹

At the same time, not being a classical artist also entitles a liberation from conventions, which is a characteristic of Becker's third social type, that of the "naïve artist".¹⁷²

Bobály also belongs to this category seeing as she is likely to have had no connection to the art world prior to settling in Norway where she currently resides. After completing degrees in various fields, Bobály travelled for many years while creating unique tapestries even though she did not possess any institutional conventions offered by training.¹⁷³ According to Becker's definition, this makes her the perfect example of a naïve artist.^{xiii}

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Béla Máriás, painter, musician and writer, Budapest, 2017-02-15.

¹⁶⁹ Written exchange with Wenche Gulbrandsen, visual artist, 2017-04-05.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12.

¹⁷¹ Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17.

¹⁷² Becker, 1976, pp.708-713.

¹⁷³ Written exchange with Kati Bobály, textile artist, 2017-05-24.

I argue that to be defined as an artist entitles quite a lot of gain and liberation from certain conventional and divisive forces. However, as Hauser claims, the acceptance of conventions make artists capable of communicating in the first place and originality makes them worthy of involvement at all.¹⁷⁴ I therefore wish to emphasize that art must meet many needs in order to be endorsed and must therefore be multi-faceted, along with its creator.

This notion was formerly mentioned in correlation to the economic capital accumulation of Hungarian respondents in the previous subchapter. Having said that, in relation to cultural capital accumulation I believe that art has a practical cognitive purpose which is universal for all art scenes. An artwork is a sort of map to the society in which the artists and their public live.

In another sense, however, art is driven by taste, which in turn relies on the subjective evaluation of particular institutions and individuals in charge. It so follows that artists are required to implement a conscious strategic application of styles and techniques. For that reason, I argue that the accumulation of cultural capital is as fluctuating as the accumulation process governing economic capital. Cultural capital sets the tone for how artists handle certain curve balls thrown at them, seeing as they must constantly renew themselves consistent with changing cultural conventions and expectations.

I additionally claim that artists have a constructed nature which lives on with the help of a sort of civilising process. As discussed in the previous subchapter, I maintain that artists are workers who battle with their own internal dialogues in accordance with external demands. Accordingly, in the studied cultural contexts the creator as autonomous only appears as a utopian relic.

An interesting result indicated in the interviews is that despite said restricting conventions and expectations all respondents mobilized early on.¹⁷⁵ Their early socialization processes were characterized by autonomous endeavours, only later morphing into conventionalities. Thus, Hauser's arguments mentioned above are proven right, seeing as originality in fact granted respondents admittance to art worlds, but to stay on the premises they had to eventually conform.

¹⁷⁴ Hauser, 1982, p.39.

¹⁷⁵ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Bálint Szombathy support this statement.

Autonomous endeavours and cultural-historical perspectives

I claim that although the cultural capital accumulation processes of the respondents have taken various individual directions, a common theme throughout their youth was that of autonomy.

To demonstrate this point, several examples can be of assistance. One respondent, for instance, never managed to graduate from high school before getting hired by the editor of an avant-garde art magazine to be the graphic editor of the publication.¹⁷⁶ Another artist began making money already during his first years in high school writing for various newspapers and collaborating on a youth radio show.¹⁷⁷

Additionally, during summer many of the respondents would sign up for seasonal work to cover the costs of their training and education.¹⁷⁸ Many were commissioned to produce public works already in the course of their teenage years, while others were featured in local and regional exhibitions as children and were even nominated for prizes.¹⁷⁹ Among the autonomous activities listed by respondents are also publishing associations, study groups and theatre societies.

Other identical directions taken by respondents from both countries were internships and volunteering. Through these engagements the informants aimed to elevate both their social and cultural capital further.¹⁸⁰ I assert that it is evident from the accounts that the respondents chose to surround themselves early on with people who had the same interests as them. Perhaps these activities, and therefore also the accumulation of social capital has more to say about their overall progressions in the field of cultural production than their strategies regarding cultural capital accumulation.

While considering their similarities, I also discovered a prominent difference between the early socialization periods of the interview participants.

As indicated by several Hungarian interviewees, Western cultural-artistic products could be easily accessed during the years while they were growing up, which in turn had a decisive role to play in the emergence and development of their interests.¹⁸¹ The era in which they were raised was filled

¹⁷⁶ Written exchange with Bálint Szombathy, writer and conceptual artist, 2017-04-08.

¹⁷⁷ Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-16.

¹⁷⁸ For example, interviewees Kati Bobály, Roald Andersen and Bálint Szombathy confirm this finding.

¹⁷⁹ Written exchange with Kati Bobály, textile artist, 2017-05-24.

¹⁸⁰ For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg, Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Bálint Szombathy support this result.

¹⁸¹ For example, interviewees Márton Kalmár, Béla Máriás and Bálint Szombathy mention similar experiences.

with new and revolutionary movements and inventions, fashion trends, music, sexual revolution, space exploration and war crises. Thus, various forms of experimental art have had a great impact on the Hungarian respondents' character, generational identity and habitus.

While those growing up in Eastern European cultural spheres could indulge in all kinds of information and inspiration, the Norwegian respondents talk of inverted and strongly national sources of inspiration.¹⁸² Their earliest art related impressions were in fact those of Norwegian folklore and traditional crafts and materials.

I have also discovered that the Hungarian interviewees' cultural capital accumulation was further largely affected by cultural clashes. Seeing as countries in Europe are closer in proximity, or perhaps because of ongoing civil wars, the actual cultural heritage of most Hungarian informants isn't purely Hungarian at all, but a mixture of Slavic, Balkan and Swabian.¹⁸³ It so follows that they were socialized into various, similar but in the end quite distinctive, languages and traditions. Norwegian respondents on the other hand seem to be exclusively Norwegian in regards to their cultural heritage.

These contextual shifts were crucial for the Hungarian artists of this study, be it years spent abroad, moving around or simply studying the outer world through available literary and artistic materials. Clearly, the Hungarian interviewees strived to participate in various cultural outlets in order to stimulate their work during their younger years.

I have however detected a change in the attitude of Hungarian interviewees when comparing their earliest and current artistic activities. I argue that the informants employ isolated and defensive standpoints in both their professional and personal lives today. Moreover, I believe that interviewees make use of preventive communicational strategies and avoid indirect influences, minimizing perspectives rather than widening these.

Accordingly, their works become more complicated to decontextualize based on the consciously ambiguous and vague modes of expression these artists apply, which disables a democratic evaluation. It is possible that the interviewees practice these strategies to keep both their artistic freedom and civilian identities protected and intact in their contemporary cultural climate.

¹⁸² For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen, Roald Andersen and Jannik Abel advocate for this.

¹⁸³ For instance, Bobály's father is Slavic and her mother is from the Swabian community of Genoa. (Written exchange with Kati Bobály, textile artist, 2017-05-24).

In opposition, I claim that Norwegian respondents today urge a more straightforward and international approach, which stands in stark contrast to the results of their early socialization patterns. The works produced by the Norwegian interviewees feature elements that cannot be placed to the same degree as those produced in the East, and enable a highly democratic reception and evaluation.

At the same time, evidence provided by the Norwegian participants indicates that one cannot penetrate the art scene without having made use of strictly culture specific artistic tools, meaning that you cannot enter without having been educated and socialized into the art world.¹⁸⁴ Prestige and trust is granted only those who fulfil the criteria. Thus, I argue that the Norwegian art world has in fact become smaller while the creative perspectives employed within its realm have grown wider.

Overview of analysis of cultural capital accumulation

In summation, my analysis of the cultural capital accumulation of the interviewed artist has aimed to map the main areas of their early socialization periods. The focus of this subchapter has therefore revolved around the interview participants' upbringing and educational backgrounds.

An important finding has been that both Hungarian and Norwegian informants consider family insights and education related influences as their first steps in the cultural capital accumulation process.

As evidence indicates, most interviewees increased their cultural capital unconsciously to begin with, but were later guided and tutored by their primary and secondary educators. These accounts in turn also demonstrate how and when the respondents' cultural capital accumulation went from being unconscious to conscious.

The results further show the various higher education options implemented by interviewees and suggest that those with direct influence from art schools could more effectively increase their social and symbolic capital accumulation as well as the cultural. Continuing on from the idea of external

¹⁸⁴ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen and Jannik Abel advocate for this.

influencing conditions and considerations, an exploration into the respondents' vocational choices revealed their specific artistic types.

In consideration of earlier arguments and according to the findings of the study, I emphasized that the cultural capital accumulation processes of the respondents have taken various individual directions, but a common theme throughout their youth was that of autonomy. By contrast, it was also revealed that a change in cultural influences and attitudes today forces Hungarian respondents into introversion and pushes Norwegian informants towards extroversion.

4.3 Social Capital Accumulation

Collective investments and exchanges

Bourdieu puts special emphasis on the formation of a network, which is a process he calls “Rites of Institution”.¹⁸⁵ The driving force of the institutionalization rite is the discovery of the benefits one might gain from certain social relationships.

In Bourdieu’s definition, social capital involves the efforts of individuals to socialize for the purpose of establishing contacts and platforms.¹⁸⁶ Social capital is further a mainly private asset according to him, through which one may strengthen one’s individual social status and gain power, influence and insight.¹⁸⁷ The extent, depth, and length of social relations which ultimately determine the value of one’s social capital, are also important factors in Bourdieu’s perception.

Seeing that social relationships exist on the basis of material and symbolic exchanges, I observed that the process of social capital accumulation cannot be restricted to objective physical connections. In the symbolic reality granted by social capital, I argue that credits can be acquired through fulfilling obligations, gaining mutual acquaintances and achieving recognition. Moreover, for the reproduction of social capital, I believe that it is indispensable to have permanent interactive exchanges that reaffirm ties with other agents.

Thus, networks are products of individual and collective investment strategies that aim to create and maintain conscious social relationships. Agents elevate each other’s status by acknowledging one another as members of the same group. As a member, one is required to practice one’s cooperative skills, invest time and energy, reciprocate gestures and conform to the norms. In return, one may be rewarded with credibility and trust.

I discovered that the resources of a group become the resources of every individual member too, thus the whole network is based on exchange rates. Furthermore, it seems to me that the boundaries of each group are usually sealed for those on the outside, seeing as the intrusion of potential new members can change the structure of the network.

¹⁸⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic power*, J.B. Thompson (ed.), Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991, pp.117-126.

¹⁸⁶ Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 241-258.

¹⁸⁷ Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 241-258.

I further argue that changes in affiliations tend to not only affect the shape of the web in which they operate but also whole shape of the field. Following on from this idea, I also claim that relative relations and positions shift over time, along with assigned posts and duties which are distributed among the artists, institutions and organizations active within a field. Linked to this, it is possible that social processes like that of peer- recognition and validation produce social and cultural capital and can establish one's artistic identity in a larger context.

As mentioned in earlier subchapters, social capital can be acquired as early as during the first socialization period of one's life, but must constantly be nourished further. Each person builds their social capital in order to avoid being isolated from crucial channels of information that may assist their growth and success. I suggest that social capital increases and improves other types of capital, seeing as it qualifies and elevates. Therefore, being part of the right context and social group provides more legitimacy in the field in which one operates.

The kinds of connections artists and various institutions maintain are a crucial source for social capital accumulation and these connections are highly unstable according the respondents of this study. To illustrate this point, the interviewees' experiences with local success and minor gallery representations can be probed on further.

I claim that it is clear from the interviews that the most prominent artists are those who maintain strategic positions through a consistent presence in social groups.

The social evolution of the two art worlds in question

The respondents see minor representation as the first step, which may gradually result in the artist being represented by larger and more prestigious galleries and institutions over time.¹⁸⁸ In addition, representation is often accompanied by critical acknowledgement, an increase in purchases and additional commissions.

As indicated by Norwegian respondents, private galleries do not have much power within the Norwegian art realm.¹⁸⁹ Alternatively, there are various regional and county based institutions all

¹⁸⁸ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Marius Amdam support this finding.

¹⁸⁹ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Jannik Abel confirm this result.

over the country, who conduct exhibitions and provide patronage to artists. Furthermore, as I have seen, artists who have galleries are not entitled to a higher status in the artistic hierarchy, which tends to be the case within the Hungarian art world. Nevertheless, I observed that social institutions within both countries determine how people should practice art, besides deciding what is made available to the public.

Connected to this idea, it can be highlighted that quite a few respondents' first prominent exhibitions came to be on account of their contacts and affiliations. In most cases, it seems to me that the informants had already found their suitable modes of expression by that time and succeeded in resonating with visitors.

The interview participants' earliest opportunities to exhibit have no doubt set the tone for their future careers, seeing as these instances served as the first definite affirmations of their artistic qualities. In fact, the respondents claim that exhibitions not only verify talent, but provide the kind of feedback through which one may re-evaluate one's work and artistic identity.¹⁹⁰

Linked to this sentiment, the interview participants explained that artist can remain in the artistic realm, recognized and valued by colleagues, despite not exhibiting on a regular basis.¹⁹¹ However, the rest of society will not know of the artist's existence unless they are actively creating and are being reviewed.

Following on from this idea, many interviewees feel the art worlds around them growing smaller.¹⁹² Patrons and exhibition opportunities dissolve, while the amount of talent continues to multiply and expand. Simultaneously, and as discussed in earlier subchapters, the respondents consider the effects of globalization and democratization as the cause of their current disorientating social conditions.

In the past, explain Hungarian informants, even factories had showrooms and several cultural houses were in operation.¹⁹³ Thus, exhibitions could take place in unofficially art-related spaces without being classed as non-professional. Essentially, I would argue that the hierarchical division and categorization urged by institutions is becoming an increasingly ardent issue in today's art worlds.

¹⁹⁰ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen and Dorka Kalmár advocate for this.

¹⁹¹ For example, interviewees Bálint Szombathy and Wenche Guldbrandsen describe this in their accounts.

¹⁹² For example, interviewees Wenche Guldbrandsen, Solveig Aalberg, Kati Bobály and Dorka Kalmár mention this.

¹⁹³ For example, interviewees Márton Kalmár and Kati Bobály confirm this.

To join or not to join? On the topic of artist collectives

It has been suggested by some interviewees that they started out as members of bigger collectives, from which they have successively withdrawn and prefer today to exhibit individually.¹⁹⁴ Others continue creating as a community and think fondly of past days, when they felt more liberated from rules governing entrance into the art world.¹⁹⁵

It appears to me that art scenes are different today, less influenced by geographical boundaries but all the more influenced by the ideology of money.

As mentioned in a previous subchapter, several artists of this study expressed their dislike of the market and therefore also the kinds of one-sided networks it creates. A majority of respondents proclaim self-governed networks and self-management, instead of catering to markets and seek those individuals and organizations who wish to truly transmit their ideas and values.¹⁹⁶ In accordance with earlier claims, I assert that a network of allies may help fund one's ambitions and also separate artistic and personal interests from the demands of the market.

With regard to evidence, I realized that expectations can be hard to oppose or ignore without having developed solid personal convictions. Following on from this, Howard Becker suggests that artists are accepted into art worlds on the basis of others.¹⁹⁷

However, I have observed that to some respondents, mediators and comrades in the art world have meant very little to begin with. In fact, it was a relief for these artists to not to have to deal with unwritten rules and norms that often arise in an artistic environment.¹⁹⁸ Consequently, I believe that these artists dread the influencing and marginalizing forces such networks entitle and avoid these at all costs in fear that these might curb their individual growth.

Those informants on the other hand who are in favour of collectives suggest that artistic communities in essence helped define their identities and particularize their creative activities.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Roald Andersen express similar sentiments.

¹⁹⁵ Bálint Szombathy is one of those who felt that during the years he was emerging, there were less conventions governing the realm of art. (Written exchange with Bálint Szombathy, writer and conceptual artist, 2017-04-08).

¹⁹⁶ For instance, Márton Kalmár claims that governmental proposals and commissions only occur if you have a network of trusted allies, otherwise assignments are given to those who are willing to work for less money. Nepotism has a broad reach, Kalmár maintains. (Written exchange with Márton Kalmár, sculptor and educator, 2017-03-27.)

¹⁹⁷ Becker, 1974, pp. 767-776.

¹⁹⁸ For example, interviewees Jannik Abel and Solveig Aalberg second this notion.

¹⁹⁹ For example, interviewees Bálint Szombathy and Marius Amdam advocate this.

As indicated by these participants, being a member of a group qualifies as a support system through which the interviewees can realize their potentials and limitations. Thus, it can be argued that the outcomes of these memberships depend on the inclination of each artist and that there also occurs a collective alteration as one enters into a community.

Additionally, I assert that membership in social groups provide insights and inform about contemporary trends and directions. On top of that, the artists may also have the opportunity to reach out to international associations through national and regional collectives. Moreover, artists can supply each other with patronage within a collective, entrust one another with projects and commissions and include certain or all members in collaborations. Correspondingly, having a network can further stimulate one's self-conception by affirming one's current place or prompt one to move onto a different field.

The respondents' definitions of networks vary, seeing as to some networks are characterized by exclusively art oriented people, while others simply require their family and friends to turn to if necessary.²⁰⁰ Having built networks already during their years as students, interviewees regard their relationships with past educators and art school masters as markers of their present social status.²⁰¹

To most interviewees, I think it has become a routine to exist in artistic social spheres. Eventually, they grew accustomed to the rules and could act more independently, sticking to what is good and important to each of them personally. In relation to this statement, I would like to point out that collaboration to some respondents simply entitles having discussions with fellow creators.²⁰² The reason for this is that artistic language is constantly evolving, as much as and in conjunction with one's web of connections.

Alternatively, and in agreement with the examined phenomena above, I believe that Howard Becker's claim of art being a collective effort takes on a different meaning in the context of my case studies.

Seeing as administration, planning and production take up most of the artists' time, I discovered that the respondents of this study are used to performing the work in unison with others, even if

²⁰⁰ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen and Béla Máriás confirm this statement.

²⁰¹ For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg, Dorka Kalmár and Katalin Kalmár affirm this finding.

²⁰² For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Wenche Gulbrandsen verify this notion.

they aren't active members of collectives. Through periodic collaborations the materiality and knowledge of various techniques can be explored, and these joint acts and experiences also affect how one proceeds with future projects. Connected to this claim, I found that having acquaintances in various fields has proved to be an immense resource to certain informants, who desired to explore new modes of expression.²⁰³

As a matter of fact, it was also indicated by respondents that collectives evolve and operate fairly autonomous of founders and members.²⁰⁴ Accordingly, artists who join collectives bring with them their own contacts and build the environment bigger and better, thus as soon as the seed is planted, the community can continue growing on its own. It may well be argued that relations of cooperation undoubtedly penetrate, and at times even constrain, the entire process of artistic creation.

Organize thyself! On the topic individual and collective action

Conversely, I claim that customary conventions often times dictate materials, techniques, forms and dimensions to be used to convey particular ideas and experiences. Furthermore, relations between artists are regulated too, specifying rights and obligations. I believe that these dynamics of artistic classification often lead to artists developing opposing movements, engineering demands and creating new markets to differentiate themselves.

To illustrate this point, balancing acts performed by both Norwegian and Hungarian interview participants can be explored.

According to the Norwegian informants, organizations of the non-profit, governmental and non-governmental kind in the country serve to create a balance between the priorities of internal and external groups.²⁰⁵ The aim is to reduce elitism and increase cultural outreach. On the Hungarian side the situation is quite to the contrary, seeing as internal and institutional mechanisms are employed to govern human sensing. As a consequence, less influential social classes are prevented from advocating their versions, thus fuelling elitism and provincial priorities.

²⁰³ For example, interviewees Jannik Abel and Kati Bobály verify this claim.

²⁰⁴ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen and Bálint Szombathy support this statement.

²⁰⁵ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen, Solveig Aalberg and Marius Amdam affirm this notion.

In contrast, Norway adopts a demystifying strategy and stresses the interdependence between art communities and society at large. As indicated by interviewees, the Norwegian art scene is very organized in relation to many other countries, where environments tend to form organizations instead of letting organizations form the environments.²⁰⁶

In the overall network set by organizations and associations in Norway, there exist smaller working communities and fellowships, which enable a continual exchange of knowledge and negotiations with the state. Furthermore, I realized that the organization of artists in Norway is supported by a very strong trade union.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the increasingly horizontal structure of cultural policy making in Norway is contrastive with the parallel vertical structures created in Hungarian cultural policy.²⁰⁷ This statement was confirmed by the Hungarian respondents who stated that within this chaotic construction, areas are usually monitored by selected organizations and appointed individuals.²⁰⁸ Only when political parties prefer the aesthetic sensibility of an artist, be it a liberal-minded or a conservatively inclined artist, is the preferred creator granted access to certain favours.

Previous research also maintains that the reduction of autonomous institutions in combination with the influence of personal relationships creates the sort of government that is lacking of any dialogues whatsoever.²⁰⁹ It comes as no surprise then, that the growing importance of personal relationships often result in decisions being made contrary to alleged policy choices and even those few in charge are bound by compromises.

In opposition, the literature on Norwegian cultural policies suggest that support from the government is to this day often equated with the idea of desirable safety rather than being thought of as a restrictive threat.²¹⁰

These findings in the literature were verified by the Norwegian participants, who indicated that cultural actors especially had to rely on public funds during the 1970s and 1980s.²¹¹ The reason being, was that artists had to promote competence against the foreign influences that eroded the nation's identity in the course of this period. Political movements sparked conversation not only

²⁰⁶ For example, interviewees Jannik Abel, Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Solveig Aalberg confirm this result.

²⁰⁷ Mélyi, 2014.

²⁰⁸ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Dorka Kalmár advocate for this.

²⁰⁹ Marsovszky, 2003.

²¹⁰ Thommessen, 2013, p.77.

²¹¹ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Solveig Aalberg confirm this finding.

on the artists' side, but within the government as well. These dialogues enabled a discussion regarding artistic conditions and the importance of cultural funding. As advocated in the interviews, people from all areas of culture gathered to negotiate with the state about their rights and their own legitimate space within society.²¹²

Thus, artist organized visual art associations and craft associations can be regarded as important milestones in the individual and professional growth of the Norwegian respondents in general. Following on from this idea of involvement, artists present in my study who are actively present in state governed organizations can also be mentioned.

Solveig Aalberg and Jannik Abel are board members on various fellowship committees and artistic councils. As indicated in their accounts, these councils have principal management responsibility of the Norwegian government's art collection and art in public spaces.²¹³ The organizations further consult and cooperate with many institutions, as the Norwegian government's professional body of art.

Moreover, as explained by the two artists, the organizations work with various governmental art schemes and produce, manage and mediate art projects and heritage sites.²¹⁴ Being a member of such committees I think signified to both respondents an utter responsibility for other artists' fate. What is more, I observed that these fellowships ended up shaping both their artistic oeuvres, seeing as they could connect to other highly valued members of their artistic world.²¹⁵

According to the respondents of this study, their art scenes are today more competitive than ever before and despite sufficient press, influential discussions concerning the visual arts remain exclusively confined.²¹⁶ Globalized and democratized networking make things predictable, however, special interests continue to enforce oppressive conventions and selective consciousness.

²¹² "The Artist's Action of 1975" is mentioned as a turning point in most artistic careers, in addition to the "Women's Year of 1976" by Inger Johanne Rasmussen who was 17 at the time of the first negotiations and was an active member of a socially engaged artist movement comprised of 12 women, who arranged politically motivated exhibitions. (Interview with Inger Johanne Rasmussen, visual artist, Oslo, Hovedøya, 2017-02-14).

²¹³ Interview with Solveig Aalberg, visual artist, Asker, 2017-02-13.

²¹⁴ Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12.

²¹⁵ For instance, spending so much time with other professionals made Abel particularly aware of the faults in the system still need changing. Thus, on account of the newfound insights, Abel emerged as a writer, publishing her critical observations regarding artistic boundaries and cultural conventions. (Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12).

²¹⁶ For example, interviewees Márton Kalmár and Wenche Gulbrandsen mention this.

I claim that some artists create because their identity is defined by their work, which in turn is contingent upon their ‘brand’. Consistent with this train of thought, I would argue that the artistic ideology of branding is justified by social capital and therefore also one’s membership in the web of connections. The reason being is that peer-movements are useful marketing tools and thus, joining up with an established canon can be of fundamental assistance as one attempts to climb the social ladder.

In connection to this argument, it must be repeated how the unregulated tendencies of the market make endorsement by others necessary, while reception by audiences is also of importance, but an outreach might not commence unless one is first accepted by one’s peers. However, results indicate that many artists seek to counteract the canonised and the mainstream, establishing individual webs or movements that frame their artistic identities.²¹⁷

Express thyself! On the topic of social art and art as language

In fact, as far as the Hungarian respondents are concerned, I believe that they appear to be strongly inclined to employ an anarchistic artistic approach. Additionally, I observed that the interviewees either retreat from criticizing anything at all or do in fact direct critique at both sides of an issue.

It follows that the state is not given a chance to consider the artist as an enemy or bad influence, nor can they use the artist for propaganda. That being said, I realized that the common artistic language suggested by Hungarian respondents bears traces of sociologically and psychologically determined historical influences. In turn, this convention causes the informants to give outlet for similar distorted and isolating impulses in their works.

On a similar note, it was indicated in by the Hungarian interview participants that social experiences and cultural circumstances impact the evolvement of one’s artistic language.²¹⁸ In opposition to a continuous artistic oeuvre, which is a usual characteristic of Western European artists, Hungarian artists’ existential and artistic perceptions tend to change. Based on their cultural setting, they have, in a sense, been disabled from sticking to a specific style or context and

²¹⁷ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen, Bálint Szombathy, Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Marius Amdam advocate this.

²¹⁸ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Kati Bobály confirm this finding.

improving, nurturing, and extending this style or genre till the end.²¹⁹ For instance, many of the Hungarian informants of a senior generation claim that they needed much longer to emerge and thrive in both national and international art worlds after having been socialized inside the confinement of the Iron Curtain.²²⁰

However, as I have observed, certain situations have over time prompted even these artists to change direction completely and become more social and communicative, less hermetic and isolated, philosophical and symbolic.^{xiv}

I think that the constant polarization and mutual exclusion that Eastern European artists are accustomed to have resulted in them developing the manner of grotesque artistic expression, which can be regarded as an ironic and humorous parallel speech. Whereas people of the West speak clearly and say what they think, in the East there is always an underlying content.

This parallel was noticed even by the Norwegian artists of this study who see a clear divide in Eastern and Western artistic, and human, privileges. According to Norwegian respondents, people of the West can create art about other things than politics, seeing as welfare and peace also enable other kinds of freedom, such as the ability and the resources to formulate momentary disadvantages and difficulties directly and openly.²²¹

On a related note, I would like to point out that artistic expression and sociocultural reflections are one and the same to respondents of both countries.^{xv} I believe that the interviewees' mutual purpose is to bring what is hidden to the surface without systematization or division. The respondents feel that an increasingly aggressive take on artistic vulnerability and autonomy is displayed by contemporary social, economic and political outlets, which simplify human's way of speaking and thinking.²²² As a result, art becomes a, both direct and indirect, civic encouragement, which helps raise social awareness and motivates a more reflexive approach towards socio-political situations.

There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by Hungarian participants and those described by the Norwegian counterparts, when it comes to the topic of social art. I argue that

²¹⁹ The Roman numerals found in the following paragraphs reference the additional interview material relating to the topic of social art and art as language, which is provided in Appendix 2.

²²⁰ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás and Bálint Szombathy affirm this result.

²²¹ For example, interviewees Jannik Abel and Marius Amdam mention this.

²²² For example, interviewees Jannik Abel and Béla Máriás advocate for this.

human and artistic growth are linked according to the interviewees, and that artworks are today meant to function and exist within actual environments inhabited by people. Respondents from both countries wish to reach outside the perimeters of their art worlds, and create conversations that involve all people and all contexts, supplying the notion of collectives with yet another meaning.²²³

Last but not least, I discovered that to the contemporary artists present in this study art is tool that can provoke and break down conventions, as well as a means to transmit and revitalize traditions that can serve future generations. Conclusively, art is a joint competence, above all else, and through their work the informants hope to partake in a collective cultural and historical progress.

Overview of analysis of social capital accumulation

In summation, my analysis of the social capital accumulation of the interviewed artist has aimed to explore how network centrality plays an essential part in their accumulation of social capital. So forth, data has shown that social experiences and cultural circumstances impact the evolvement of one's artistic language.

As evidence suggests, most respondents started out as members of bigger collectives, from which they have either successively withdrawn and prefer today to exhibit individually, or they do in fact continue creating as part of a community.

The results consistently prove that artistic communities helped define the majority of the respondents' identities and particularized their creative activities. Accordingly, having a network has further stimulated their self-conceptions by affirming their place and function in the art world, and also in society at large.

Findings also demonstrate how both distancing and immersing one's self in the social world of art has been yielding for interviewees. Following on from this idea, it was also revealed that artistic realms are today growing smaller despite the influence of globalization and democratization.

²²³ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen, Kati Bobály, Béla Máriás, Wenche Guldbrandsen support this statement.

Moreover, results indicate that art worlds today are also much more competitive than before and that the market is often times unregulated, thus endorsement by peers is necessary.

It was further shown that the artists of the study exist in social spheres routinely, and engage in periodic or long-term collaborations knowingly. The main purpose of these collaborations is to explore various techniques, mediums and new modes of expression.

In consideration of earlier arguments and according to the findings of the study, it is clear that the outcome and progress of the various organizations, associations and trade unions of the two countries are influenced by dissimilar cultural policy dynamics.

In short, art as a social tool is employed by informants to provoke conventions but also as a means to revitalize traditions. Finally, it was established that respondents from both countries seek to create more universal conversations through art, in line with a cultural historical progression.

4.4 Symbolic Capital Accumulation

Classification and hierarchization

“In both production and reception an important part is played by a higher degree of self-observation, self-awareness. Expressive symbolism is an integral part of the total socio-cultural complex.”²²⁴

First and foremost, I would here like to emphasize that symbolic power serves a legitimating function. Accordingly, I argue that symbolic capital is the form different types of capital assume when they are recognized as valuable.

As discussed in earlier chapters, I claim that symbolic capital functions as a crowning moment and strengthens one's amount of social and cultural capital, while also sustaining one's exact position in the field of production.

Bourdieu states that one may accumulate symbolic capital through personal relationships such as kinship and acquaintances, as well as through participation and success within economic, market based and institutional systems.²²⁵

However, I observed that symbolic capital may also manifest itself in behaviour, and through gestures which in turn grant trust and acknowledgement. A capital becomes symbolic when its value is expressed by the agents within the same field, in the form of recognition and renown.

In compliance with Bourdieu's explanation, I believe that symbolic capital is basically cognitive capital, so not actually a capital, but a way of being, a state of mind.²²⁶

It so follows that symbolic capital can be gained through more than just commercial success. It can be increased by such measures as election to artistic societies, works being accepted into juried exhibitions and awards won. Moreover, symbolic profits can be increased by acquiring a more

²²⁴ Bourdieu, 1994, p.80.

²²⁵ Bourdieu, 1986, p.252.

²²⁶ Bourdieu, 1986, p.256.

universal sort of renown, which signifies how well a person is known outside a specific field of production.

In Bourdieu's definition, symbolic associations can also be based on origin and even ideologies, seeing as works that serve a broader cause are more likely to be granted a place in the collective conscience.²²⁷

Art itself is often defined as a particular type of symbolism, performing a symbolic function in a system of social interaction. As I have argued in previous subchapters, to be an artist means to perform a certain constructed role, and the artworks must be framed through a mode of branding to stay relevant. Thus, I believe that the chain of events leading up to symbolic capital accumulation actually create the very context, which enables the whole process of socialization the reaches its peak as the artists and their works are certified through recognition and renown.

On these grounds, I maintain that symbolic capital stands for prestige and honour, and is founded on knowledge (cultural capital) and recognition (social capital), meaning that symbolic capital is in fact the culmination of all other forms of capital.

As formerly mentioned, I claim that interviewees are socialized into considering their artistic work to be a reflection of traditional craftsmanship. Clearly, recognition entitles more assignments, and a multifaceted artistic oeuvre in turn grants more areas to be recognized and rewarded in.

Csaba Nemesi clarifies in his study that Hungarian artists are required to create a well-defined and professional presence in the art world, in order to survive and prosper.²²⁸ I stress that these findings in the literature are correct seeing as the interviewees regard art as a job from which they profit.²²⁹

Similarly, Per Mangset states in his article that within the cultural sector, the symbolic power of key actors is far higher than the direct political economy of the representatives.²³⁰ His previous findings match those observed in my case studies.

Evidently, symbolic capital is an important resource that artists may individually and collectively apply when negotiating and seeking recognition.

²²⁷ Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 256-257.

²²⁸ Nemesi, 2010, p.5.

²²⁹ For example, interviewees Márton Kalmár, Dorka Kalmár and Béla Máriás affirm this notion.

²³⁰ Mangset, 2015, p.49.

The underlying argument this far has been that Norway's art scene has a very strong and unitary cultural identity. However, Norwegian cultural agents and institutions appear to distinguish between the various genres and artistic expressions, categorizing and classifying in ways that significantly affect the symbolic capital accumulation of agents.

The Norwegian respondents remarked upon the favoured treatment of particular artistic genres over others in their accounts.²³¹ An example of this is the textile genre, which is often mistreated by reviewers who do not know how to evaluate the material. Therefore, in relation to fame, it is clear from the interviews that artists who create through artistic modes that are better recognized within the academic tradition are more appreciated.

It is also apparent from the Norwegian interviews that symbolic capital accumulation is restricted by gender policies. The overall response of female informants from Norway to questions regarding recognition, were strongly characterized by experiences of discrimination. The interviewees stated that it simply takes longer for women to be granted the same trust men automatically receive.²³²

Outreach, engagement and artistic growth

On another note, the results offer compelling similarities uniting both Hungarian and Norwegian art scenes. Interviewees from both countries maintain that the major aspect determining the amount of symbolic capital is that of reception.²³³ A clear example of an analogous capital accumulation strategy can be detected by considering the attitudes of interviewees with regards to critics and audiences.

As indicated in the interviews, respondents were generally more sensitive to criticism at the beginning of their careers.²³⁴ Due to interest groups and market influences, however, the interviewees feel that the amount of independent criticism left in the world is scarce today.²³⁵

²³¹ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Solveig Aalberg advocate for this.

²³² For example, interviewees Jannik Abel and Solveig Aalberg confirm this finding.

²³³ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen and Dorka Kalmár support this result.

²³⁴ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen, Marius Amdam, Katalin Kalmár and Béla Máriás affirm this.

²³⁵ For instance, Roald Andersen claims that negative criticism can hardly be considered yielding, seeing as it is one-sided and deconstructive. A purely good review cannot be used either, Andersen maintains, seeing as there is nothing in it to feed from. (Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17).

It is further evident from the interviews that the lack of reviews might influence one's financial situation, seeing as artists are often not recognized until a huge press release ensues.²³⁶ People within the art industry will know of one's existence, but a higher status will be granted only those who create and engage in controversial topics and cater willingly to a media frenzy.

On the whole, I believe that professional recognition motivates artists and enables a broader outreach, but encounters with audiences usually constitute a greater influence for contemporary artists. It is clear from the accounts that the respondents tend to focus more on striking up dialogues and discussions rather than being passive consumers of feedback.^{237xvi}

Audiences to the respondents entitle a way out of the one-way-street structure enforced by art criticism. An audience is further important in a sense that it confirms values and may also introduce new ones. The paradoxical categorization and hierarchical treatment of artists can thus be opposed and at times even prevented if the artists listen to feedback closely and act knowingly, using their amount of symbolic capital to their advantage.

Linked to the subject of outreach, were also discussions dealing with the various potentials of social media. I argue that we exist in a world that is increasingly dominated by individual opinions. This idea was affirmed by the informants who maintain that they are indeed experiencing a growing independence from institutional reviews, seeing as they can now easily and individually promote and circulate material and ideological values online.²³⁸

Connected to the notion of broader outreach and social media presence is also a change in artistic attitudes.^{xvii} Affected by online network growth, respondents experience an almost forceful demand on extroversion and celebrity status.²³⁹ Following on from this, informants also argue that those who become celebs today in the art world did so strategically, building an image around their persona rather than their work.²⁴⁰

In other words, artists with celebrity status generated a pre-stardom before having achieved it, putting on a performance in an attempt to prove that they are in fact worth knowing and idolizing as geniuses. I discovered that all interview participants of this study reject fame and stardom,

²³⁶ For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg and Kati Bobály verify this notion.

²³⁷ The Roman numerals found in the following paragraphs reference the additional interview material relating to the topic of criticism and feedback, which is provided in Appendix 2.

²³⁸ For example, interviewees Inger Johanne Rasmussen and Roald Andersen mention this.

²³⁹ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen, Bálint Szombathy and Dorka Kalmár advocate for this.

²⁴⁰ For example, interviewees Dorka Kalmár, Béla Máriás and Solveig Aalberg confirm this finding.

seeing as despite the rush and excitement, informants believe that those who become celebrities also risk becoming worse artists and worse people.²⁴¹

Success, failure and independence- the cornerstones of artistic fulfilment

Another similarity between Hungarian and Norwegian respondents became evident from their definition of success and failure. It is evident from the accounts that every interviewee is governed by individual preferences, and some need restrictions, conventions and deadlines to be able to work. Therefore, depending on personal inclinations, the meaning and definition of success and failure changes too.

However, both Hungarian and Norwegian respondents criticize how success is often measured by the outside based on the most unreasonable factors such as the amount of exhibitions one has been involved in.²⁴² Interviewees agree that success can be embodied in material achievements, such as prizes, but an inner continuity and integrity is valued over any external reward.²⁴³ Seeing as there is much uncertainty in the art world, interview participants further claim that even after achieving success one might be marginalized by the paradoxes dictating reputation and renown.²⁴⁴

I further observed that, according to participants, success and failure both enable a positive re-evaluation of one's work and artistic identity. In general, I argue that the respondents feel that freedom is in embracing your own mistakes and deficiencies. Additionally, it seems to me that the kind of failures the informants experience mainly commences as they realize the limits of their own capacities, and face the fact that certain components of the artistic existence are out of their control.

It is interesting to note that artistic identity and independence make for important cornerstones in the career of every interview participant.

I would like to suggest that artistic identity itself is a commodity and an evidence of symbolic capital, seeing as it means mastering a language. It might even be regarded as a symbolic

²⁴¹ For example, Roald Andersen and Bálint Szombathy express similar sentiments.

²⁴² For example, interviewees Solveig Aalberg and Dorka Kalmár endorse this

²⁴³ For example, interviewees Kati Bobály, Roald Andersen and Katalin Kalmár support this result.

²⁴⁴ For example, interviewees Roald Andersen and Márton Kalmár mention this notion.

conscience, which feeds from the end results of all the other capital accumulation processes. The most basic manifestation of artistic identity lies in how the informants react to everyday objects and situations and how they later convey these experiences. I believe that artistic identity is also an indication of one's place and function in society.^{245xviii}

On a related note, I claim that to be able to formulate something in one's own way, regardless of other people's views and opinions, entitles an artistic independence which separates one from trends, expectations and the market. Thus, artistic independence, at least in part, marks the artist's pursuit of self-reliance, self-discovery and self-knowledge. Nevertheless, respondents verify that artistic independence is primarily about having financial autonomy and stability, which also highlights the symbolic connotations various forms of funding, scholarships and patronage amount to.²⁴⁶

In a sense, symbolic capital constitutes artistic fulfilment, which signals a higher degree of achievement. It so follows, that symbolic capital implements all other forms of capital as a means to ensure that artists remain relevant and influential in the realms of their art worlds.

Overview of analysis of symbolic capital accumulation

In summation, my analysis of symbolic capital accumulation has aimed to map how it is an important resource that artists may individually and collectively apply when seeking recognition and influence.

The results offer compelling similarities uniting both art scenes, one clear example being the analogous maintenance of the informants' relations with critics and audiences. As the evidence suggests, interviewees prefer encounters and dialogues with the public, rather than relying on the often times corrupted reviews provided by critics. Professional recognition as such is of course crucial for sufficient outreach, but findings consistently show that the contemporary artists of this study employ social media to promote and circulate materials instead of relying on institutional reviews.

²⁴⁵ The Roman numeral found at the end of this paragraph references the additional interview material relating to the topic of artistic identity and artistic independence, which is provided in Appendix 2.

²⁴⁶ For example, interviewees Béla Máriás, Solveig Aalberg and Katalin Kalmár highlight this idea.

The analysis proves that the paradoxical categorization and hierarchical treatment of artists is usually opposed and prevented with the advantageous utilization of symbolic capital. Data also indicates that success and failure enable the re-evaluation and growth of artistic conscience in the cases of both Hungarian and Norwegian respondents.

As suggested by the evidence, having a consistent artistic identity means mastering a language and it signals the place of the artist in life and in society. Meanwhile and in consideration of the findings of the study, I have revealed that the notion of artistic independence entitles both self-awareness and financial stability for the informants.

In short, symbolic capital implements all other forms of capital in order to secure a relevant and influential position for artists in art worlds, besides representing the very peak of artistic fulfilment.

Chapter 5. Conclusion and Summary

Conclusion

The thesis proceeded according to the aims and objectives I introduced at the beginning of the study. By arriving at the conclusion, I would like to summarize my interpretations.

First and foremost, I have presented the cross-cultural research of my case studies from Hungary and Norway as structured around the appointed art sociological and cultural political theories, provided mainly by Pierre Bourdieu.

According to my in-depth analysis, the informants' artistic attitudes derive and evolve from their national and cultural origins as well as the informants' current social settings. Furthermore, I discovered how the specific societies in question constitute a specific framework in which these artistic identities function.

My aim was to explore the different influences that shaped the informants' self-conceptions in relation to their cultural backgrounds. Therefore, I questioned how the same conventions manifest themselves dissimilarly in the two countries.

It was shown that the qualities both Hungarian and Norwegian respondents' heritage, upbringing and education fostered are similar in their basic structure. However, I have realized that the two cultures in question employ the same socio-cultural factors that shape the identities of the assorted artists contrastingly.

I additionally explored what is considered artistically valuable in the respondents' respective societies and mapped how the art they produce has to benefit certain ideological, institutional and economic needs. Consecutively, I also investigated the informants' reaction and counteraction to such external demands by inquiring how they apply art as a civic encouragement.

As I have introduced, the effects of globalisation and democratization were revealed as the primary causes of crisis in both art worlds, besides financial influences. It was concluded that these phenomena increase competition and result in changing societal discourses, which in turn induce necessary shifts in personal and professional choices. So forth, I also shown how socio-contextual developments might affect the accumulation of different types of capital.

From the point of view of **cultural policy making** I concluded that dissimilar societal and political dynamics govern the two countries in question. In opposition to the increasingly horizontal structure of cultural policy making in Norway, I found that parallel vertical structures were created in Hungarian cultural policy. In connection to this, I have also proven that Hungary's art world is lacking a progressive dialogue, whereas in Norway the survival of the art scene depends on negotiations.

Another significant finding to emerge from the study was that cultural policies governing the Hungarian informants' activities are chaotic and under the administration of appointed individuals. As a result, informants are prompted to build their careers on self-serving grounds. Meanwhile, it was shown that the cultural political administration of the Norwegian informants is supervised by professional collectives in charge. These collectives perform their duties detached of the state and encourage mutual exchange rather than private action.

To conclude my analysis of the informants' **economic capital accumulation**, I found that both Hungarian and Norwegian respondents are just as income-oriented and averse of risks as agents of other occupational branches. Furthermore, I concluded that both employ a creative entrepreneurial subjectivity, which encourages careerism within the realms of each art world.

It has also conclusively been verified that Hungarian informants must act as managers and economists in one. As evidence suggests, all areas of the arts are utilized by cultural agents through private self-funding in order to battle the economic deficiencies and political hybridity of the country.

The investigation of Norwegian respondents on the other hand proved that there is a twofold economic support system upon which their society rests, and this in turn indicates a balance wherein both the government and the artists are considered as shareholders of economy and influence.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study, is that the scale and capacity of the national art market prevents cultural actors of both artistic spheres from entering the international art scene. Artist driven galleries for instance were established as reactions to the insufficiencies found within both Hungarian and Norwegian cultural settings.

I also found that both countries employ a similar system of cultural funding, but it is clear that the practical implementation of the same strategies vary considerably between the two cultures.

Following on from this, I concluded that the application of momentary external resources and long-term internal funding is a major difference between Hungary's and Norway's art scenes.

Additionally, the boundaries between self-expression and market value proved to be more notably drawn amongst Norwegian informants. On the Hungarian side, it was revealed that the relationship between self-expression and market value quickly turn futile as a result of the aforementioned hybrid political system.

Another important finding was that there are those respondents who are sought after by publicly mainstream investors and those whose art only reaches certain institutions or private buyers. Thus, I concluded which respondents have immense market value and employ large-scale production, while appointing those who have reduced sales and therefore utilize low-scale production.

In order, my analysis of the **cultural capital accumulation** of the interviewed artist consistently uncovered that upbringing and education has set the tone for their artistic activities and identities.

As indicated by the evidence, primary and secondary educators assisted in unconsciously raising most of the informants' initial cultural capital. Connected to this, my analysis of the interviewees' specific art educational experiences, or lack thereof, confirmed that various educational options were implemented by the informants. This, in turn resulted in the participants taking up versatile vocations as well. However, evidence also suggested that those with direct influence from art schools could more effectively increase their social, symbolic and cultural capital.

Despite focusing mainly on the individual strategies governing the cultural capital accumulation of respondents, I have also managed to conclude that a common theme throughout their youth was that of autonomy. In relation to the respondents' later accumulation of cultural capital, I revealed that the Hungarian informants' attitude has shifted from the earlier extroverted tendencies towards a more introverted approach, while Norwegian respondents experienced the complete opposite progression.

My analysis of the informants' **social capital accumulation** primarily established the importance of networking. It so followed that I uncovered why endorsement is necessary for the cultural agents of this study to thrive.

Findings also demonstrated how both distancing and immersing one's self in the social world of art can be yielding. I here revealed that many informants started out as members of bigger

collectives from which they have either successively withdrawn or are still actively creating within a community.

As confirmed by the evidence, the artists of this study exist in social spheres routinely and engage in periodic or long-term collaborations knowingly. Another significant finding to emerge was that the earliest opportunities to exhibit served as the first definite affirmations of the interview participants' artistic qualities. Furthermore, it was concluded that social experiences and cultural circumstances impacted the evolvement of their artistic languages.

The analysis found that respondents from both countries aim to reach outside the perimeters of their art worlds and create conversations that involve all people and all contexts. Therefore, I concluded that the contemporary artists of this research supply the notion of social art and collective action with a new meaning.

My analysis of **symbolic capital accumulation** mapped how it is an important resource that an artist may individually and collectively apply when seeking recognition and influence. I here stated that symbolic capital stands for the very fulfilment of artistic existence.

Evidence revealed that encounters with the public have influenced the respondents' artistic growth more than institutional criticism has. Linked to this, the results have consistently demonstrated that the potentials of social media promote and circulate material in ways that eliminate the interviewees' dependence on reviews in order to achieve a broader outreach.

The analysis of symbolic capital confirmed that the respondents value an inner continuity and integrity over any other external rewards. On a related note, it was also shown that artistic independence stands for both financial stability and artistic awareness. Data also determined that informants regard success and failure as a means to distance and re-evaluate their artistic identities.

Correspondingly, it was verified that artistic identity itself is a symbolic commodity and that it functions as an indication of the artists' place and purpose in life and society. Last but not least, I concluded that symbolic capital combines and implements all other forms of capital to ensure that cultural agents remain in the cycle constituted by their art worlds.

Summary

The essential objective of this study has been to prove that the same social and cultural aspects manifest themselves differently in Hungary and Norway. In light of this, I argued that Eastern and Western artistic spheres are separated by dissimilar social and cultural conditions. I further maintained that different micro and macro environments into which artists are socialized, are crucial in understanding their artistic practices, careers and even personal lives.

My point of departure has been an art sociological one, and I have focused specifically on the influencing aspects that I assumed determine the identities of artists. Accordingly, I have deepened the scope of previous research within the field of art sociology by conducting a comparative case study analysis of twelve artists. Six of the interview participants were of Hungarian descent and the other six of Norwegian origin.

My analysis mapped and measured the different socio-cultural forces shaping the identities of these artists of assorted heritage. I focused on sociological aspects such as upbringing, education, affiliations, reception and evaluation when conducting the analyses. The thesis also located the exact qualities and conventions they were fostered into and it was articulated what is considered artistically valuable in their societies.

The overall theoretical framework of this study was rooted in Pierre Bourdieu's cultural theories. Therefore, my research of the authoritative forces governing the development of the interview participants' artistic identity was situated within the context of Bourdieu's main ideas concerning the social interdependence of artists and cultures. Namely, his theories regarding practice, habitus, capital and field of production.

The analysis had a qualitative research design and I observed the social and cultural selection of artists with the help of various kinds of empirical data. The research applied interviews as its primary resource and text analysis as its secondary resource, both employing a comparative view. I analysed the content of both the interviews and the literature to test my hypothesis.

The results and conclusions of this research are not representative and showed eventual shortcomings that prevented generalization. The oral histories I compiled were semi-structured interviews with predetermined questions that revolved around a set of thematic issues.

The voice recordings of the interviews were transcribed and then interpreted and analysed. My secondary resources compiled of theoretical texts, were reduced into a synthesis which I analysed and summarized. During the analysis process the theoretical conclusions formed in accordance with my reading and interpretation. It so followed that I made use of hypothetical-deductive reasoning. Accordingly, the hypothesis of the study served as a starting point, from which I deduced verifiable propositions and proved my hypothesis.

I worked with a well-balanced group of interviewees and formed a proportional sample. A purposive, but non-probability sampling design was applied along with a chain referral (snowball) sampling method. Accordingly, I identified cases of interest through my initial participants who were deliberately chosen for the investigation. These informants recommended additional extended associations they deemed qualified for participation. The sampling of the respondents was further and more specifically based on gender, age, stylistic characteristics and contemporary artistic activity.

The sociological aspects directing my interviews and also the course of my thesis were divided into four major sections. The first section, “early socialization” processed information concerning the informants’ upbringing, education and fundamental influences which have helped shape their initial artistic identities. The second section, “artistic existence”, questioned economic and institutional forces regulating artistic identities and careers. The third section, “artistic interdependence” explored the importance of professional and personal relationships. The fourth section, “artistic fulfilment” dealt with aspects like critical evaluation and symbolic appraisal.

The core concept of my research, “artistic identity” was utilized to map both individual and collective career paths. Similarly, the concept of “art world” explored the interlinked relationships, hierarchies and rules that determine creative growth. Lastly, the term “cultural influence” was employed in order to distinguish the mental boundaries and actual physical limitations experienced by the cultural agents present in this study.

In summary, my key concepts and appointed social aspects combined with my selection of socio-political and socio-cultural theories helped me portray the development of the artistic identity of my interview participants, from their earliest years and into the present.

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Appendix 1. Official Interview Questionnaire

1. Demographic information

- Gender,
- Birthplace/Current location,
- Nationality/Ethnicity,
- Education,
- Civil Status,
- How would you define your professional occupation?
- Other remarks.

2. Cultural background, heritage, family, upbringing.

Please describe your family background and your upbringing. Talk about your first art related impressions and motivations. Other remarks?

3. Early socialization.

Please talk about your first engagements with art, the parental attitudes you were faced with and the cultural possibilities and motivations you experienced at an early age. Other remarks?

4. Educational background.

Please describe your educational timeline, from primary school up until your higher (artistic) education. Do you consider your artistic education relevant, important and profitable? Other remarks?

5. Artistic Development.

Please talk about your process of becoming an artist. Can you identify specific turning points and motivations that have helped you become the artist that you are today? Any role models, other sources of inspiration worth mentioning? Other remarks?

6. Elements of Artistic Existence.

Please discuss the artistic existence itself. How did you figure your life as an artist would be like, and how does it feel now? How have notions like success and failure influenced your artistic existence and work? Could you detect any major personal or professional changes throughout the years? How did you regard your education at the beginning of your career and what do you think of it now? Other remarks?

7. Artistic Values.

Why did you choose the particular artistic expression(s) you make use of today? Are you searching for a singular mode of definite expression or would you rather combine and experiment? What is your goal with the creative process? What was your goal at the beginning of your career and how has it evolved? Other remarks?

8. Self-Expression versus Market Value.

What are your thoughts and opinions concerning market value? Please describe the circumstances surrounding your first exhibition. How do you feel your presence in the public realm has changed throughout the years? Do you seek publicity or have you withdrawn? What do you think determines the development and expression of artistic creativity with regards to the market and the various conditions that govern the market (institutional and governmental funding for instance)? What did the art market mean to you at the beginning of your career and what it mean now? Please tell me how you would define the following concepts: self-expression vs. every day, political, historical and contemporary reflections. What did the idea of self-expression mean to you at the beginning of your career? What does it mean to you now?

Further factors determining your artistic creative approach:

- Market considerations, conditions?
- Patronage?
- Curators?
- Impresario?
- Institutional and governmental subsidies?
- Other remarks.

9. Your place in the art world.

Please talk a little bit about your place in the art world. What did it mean to you to have fellow creators / peers in the art world? How have your relationships within the art world shaped you? The significance of these relationships in the past and now? Please explain your relationship with audiences and critics. What influence have their reviews, opinions and feedbacks had on you and your work? Has your demeanour or attitude towards these feedback changed throughout the years? Other remarks?

10. How would you define the following concepts?

- Artistic identity,
- Artistic independence,
- Creative isolation.
- Other remarks.

12. What possible impact have the following factors had on your art?

- Technology,
- Religions, worldviews,
- Politics,
- Conscious and continuous documentation of oeuvre,

- Recognition, reputation.

- Other remarks.

Appendix 2. Endnotes: Additional information collected during the interview process

ⁱ In relation to the topic of direct influences, Katalin Kalmár explained that she had insight into not only her parent's but their friends' lives too and could observe their many allures, morally corrupt deeds and their lack of responsibility. The artists' forgetful but amusing ways intrigued and scared her. Her mother was the one to keep the family together and afloat, while her father was never really around. Seeing as both her parents were artists commissioned during the era of socialism, they lacked the financial means necessary for a family of 6. There were low points when Kalmár contemplated leaving the irregular life of artists behind. She experienced the lifestyle of her father as deeply troubling, but seeing him also made her more secure in her own choices, knowing the negative and positive sides of the profession. She made sculpting her own, regardless of her father's ways, aiming to avoid the mistakes her parents made. Her inspiration was her grandfather, her mother's father, who had a special talent for painting. (Written exchange with Katalin Kalmár, sculptor, 2017-03-29)

ⁱⁱ Additionally, Dorka Kalmár detailed her first art related motivations when she described how during her childhood she would watch her mother capture various people on canvas. One by one, the models would arrive and sit for hours, while their portraits unfolded through paint. Seeing her sisters practice art was also an inspiration to her. Further inspiration came in the form of discussions with aunts and other relatives who made her understand the importance of art being shared. (Interview with Dorka Kalmár, painter and educator, Szeged, 2017-03-16)

ⁱⁱⁱ Similarly, Jannik Abel's upbringing was filled with art and theatre, but also turmoil and silence. She is the youngest in her family, and her older sister suffers of a mental illness. She took on the role of counsellor early on and saw it as her task to make people happy. Art was her companion from day one, and at age 17, she started photographing to communicate her ideas and thoughts. The city of Oslo was her studio back then, and she quickly realized that visual communication helped her convey a lot of things she couldn't express otherwise. It also gave her an opportunity to participate in everyday things better, rather than observing disengaged from a distance. (Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12).

^{iv} On that note, Béla Máriás shared that his mother, a jazz pianist and composer, brought him along to concerts and performances, introducing him to opera, jazz and avant-garde musical endeavours. Máriás soon found that through music he could explore various national and cultural identities. He engaged in experimental music, art and literature as a teen, before being called in to the army at age 18. (Interview with Béla Máriás, painter, musician and writer, Budapest, 2017-02-15).

^v On the topic of indirect influences, Inger Johanne Rasmussen revealed that her upbringing was dominated by faith and tradition. Rasmussen and her twin sister were acquainted with textile already as children and spent most of their days embroidering and sewing. As a youngster, she often wrote about objects she perceived as beautiful and intriguing, making up stories and defining to herself why she thought these items were beautiful. Rasmussen attended her first exhibition at age 13. As a teen, she was fascinated with a textile artist from Kristiansand, Else Marie Jakobsen, who was a prominent and politically engaged artist at the time. There were several other textile artists in her town, so Rasmussen understood early on that one could express artistic sentiments through the medium of textile. (Interview with Inger Johanne Rasmussen, visual artist, Oslo, Hovedøya, 2017-02-14).

^{vi} Analogously, Solveig Aalberg shared that she attended her first ever exhibitions at the age of 12, at the newly opened Henie Onstad Art Centre at Høvikodden. She got a bus out there alone and her meeting with Weidemann's blue painting and La Salle made a lasting impression. It was her grandmother who declared that Aalberg should have a weaving machine, and so they bought her the biggest one they could find and put it in the middle of the living room, to her siblings' great disappointment. (Interview with Solveig Aalberg, visual artist, Asker, 2017-02-13).

^{vii} Marius Amdam recalled the two uncles on each side of his family who have been of importance to him while growing up. One uncle expressed radical notions in response to the petty bourgeoisie life style he felt their family led and provided Amdam with literature to consume. The other uncle used to be a conservative optician who has since become an autodidact artist. He introduced Amdam to local artists and brought him along to museums and theatres. They also used to mould tin soldiers and paint together. (Written exchange with Marius Amdam, visual artist, 2017-04-12).

^{viii} Comparably, Roald Andersen enjoyed spending time at his grandparents' house, where he could read books and go fishing on the lake, while occasionally studying the paintings the grandparents owned. Andersen's upbringing was

riddled by many conflicts and a big messy divorce, which he as oldest child felt he needed to shield the other siblings from. It took up a lot of his time and space, affected his school work and influenced his concentration. (Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17).

^{ix} In regards to questions dealing with higher education, it was highlighted in all the Kalmár family members' accounts, but especially in Márton Kalmár's answers, that it is advisable to attend the Art Academy at an older age, when you know better how to handle the sudden artistic liberation. Further, it helps to be sure of your own modes of expression, seeing as the expectations placed on you to perform in an original way can be overwhelming. (Written exchange with Márton Kalmár, sculptor and educator, 2017-03-27).

^x To further demonstrate the respondents' various educational choices, several accounts can be of interest. For instance, Inger Johanne Rasmussen went straight to vocational school after graduating from high school where she learnt the basics of art. She then had an intern position at Else Marie Jakobsen's atelier, the artist that she had admired from a young age. Rasmussen attended weaving school at the age of 18, following which she ended up teaching at the same institution. During her year at the Bergen School of Fine Art, she also did two exchange semesters at Konstfack in Stockholm. (Interview with Inger Johanne Rasmussen, visual artist, Oslo, Hovedøya, 2017-02-14).

Similarly, Solveig Aalberg's first art related education was also of the classical kind, so besides staining yarn and experimenting with other textile related activities, she was mainly occupied with drawing, painting and sculpting to begin with. Aalberg also interned for a textile artist, for about 1.5 years, an experience she felt was very hands-on and educational. She observed the artist's day to day life, and discovered insights that helped her decide what she herself wished to create. (Interview with Solveig Aalberg, visual artist, Asker, 2017-02-13).

^{xi} Contrastingly, Marius Amdam initially devoted himself to law, but quit after finishing the first semester and immediately applied to the Arts and the Crafts School in Oslo, but did not manage to get in based on his lack of skills and previous training. Later on, he was admitted to the Bergen Academy of Arts, but by that point he became aware of the elitist attitude of art institutions and as a way to oppose such values he began experimenting with his artist group Gutengut instead. (Written exchange with Marius Amdam, visual artist, 2017-04-12).

Correspondingly, Bálint Szombathy's presence in the art collective Bosch + Bosch, funded in 1969, has steered his interests and career away from the traditional path carved by Art Institutions. (Written exchange with Bálint Szombathy, writer and conceptual artist, 2017-04-08).

^{xii} Additionally, Béla Máriás did a minor in Ethnomusicology, before having to escape Yugoslavia due to the war. He has since continued to study and play jazz and classical music, his main instrument being the trumpet. Máriás's current band, "Tudósok", (in English translation: The Scientists) was founded in 1986, and is regarded as one of the leading alternative rock, art rock and jazz funk punk formations of Budapest. (Interview with Béla Máriás, painter, musician and writer, Budapest, 2017-02-15).

On that note, Wenche Gulbrandsen's speckled educational path can be mentioned. She attended the Oslo Art Academy, the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, and The Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest, before heading back to Oslo to enrol in Architecture College. (Written exchange with Wenche Gulbrandsen, visual artist, 2017-04-05).

Moreover, Jannik Abel's international studies have to be added here. She studied photography at the Academy of Art College, in San Francisco to begin with and later attended the San Francisco Art Institute. She learned analogue and digital photography, silk screen printing and book printing. It was a highly recognized school with a rich social life among students and teachers. Several of her classmates are today renowned photographers and filmmakers. (Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12).

^{xiii} Roald Andersen wanted to become a veterinarian but already in high school he was more intrigued by basic colour theory, thus instead of going for a diploma in natural sciences, he opted to spend more time in the arts and crafts workshop located at his school. (Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17).

Similarly, Kati Bobály has a degree in pedagogics, math, geography and mental health. She spent 7 years in Greece and lived 10 years in Budapest where she pursued her tapestries. She moved to Oslo with her husband in 2016. (Written exchange with Kati Bobály, textile artist, 2017-05-24).

^{xiv} When considering the notion of social art and art as language, the informants provided supplementary viewpoints and experiences which I felt should be shared here. First, Béla Máriás's encounter with cultural shifts can be mentioned. He lived and studied in Belgrade for a few years, engaging and interacting in Serbian only, which made it easy for him to integrate. However, he claims that going back there today would be a much harder process after having spent so much time in Hungary. Máriás's social art recycles not only art historical techniques, styles and genres but also public figures and their histories, using the same language that aims to deprive these of their symbolic values and

complexities. Máriás believes that in our instantaneous world, which has largely been deprived of its religious content, people commit themselves to politicians and public figures who show stand for a contemporary kind of ideological charge. Therefore, by embedding historical figures in contemporary modern scenes, Máriás is reinterpreting their meaning, readdresses issues concerning their personas and censors but also ridicules the content. Each figure symbolizes an era, and institutional system, a power structure and reminds us of the social effects of art, which require us to be critics and users and producers simultaneously. (Interview with Béla Máriás, painter, musician and writer, Budapest, 2017-02-15).

On a related note, Roald Andersen made it quite clear that he believes that an artist has to be able to function in all social contexts, not just the artistic, but to do that one must be aware of one's limitations- be it linguistic ones or cultural ones. (Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17).

^{xv} For Jannik Abel, art was first and foremost a tool that could make her be seen. Today she creates in order to connect people to themselves and the world around them. In art, people may find respect and love for one another, she states. One must remember that one can portray what others might not be able to formulate, thus elementary human needs and aspirations can materialize in artworks. Interestingly, Abel considers photography her legacy, but all other mediums as a way to widen her inherent possession. She chooses the medium according to what she wants to express. Street art provided her with an opportunity to influence urban environments, she says, while painting and then handmade silkscreens enabled her to penetrate more internal layers of the same urban habitats. At the moment, Abel engages with wood and wood carving as her main medium. It is natural and does not generate trash or pollution. (Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12).

Comparably, the purpose of creation process can be self-rejuvenation but it may also be a development of environmental theology and social rehabilitation according to Kati Bobály. (Written exchange with Kati Bobály, textile artist, 2017-05-24).

Analogously, Inger Johanne Rasmussen looks at the unison of her work and the world, searching for a connection. She claims that many students enter the art world and expect to find passion rather than demands and opposition. They become split in the middle, do not fully understand what is happening and turn on art itself. In frustration, Rasmussen constructed a special mode of expression with the help of traditional patterns and three dimensional elements, which follows a historical precedence but conveys the values of the past through contemporary mediums. Textile takes a very long time to weave, therefore pondering eternal questions through this particular material is a more logical choice. Rasmussen recalled that she was once in a discussion panel where a textile artist claimed that during her education she was discouraged from working with textile on account of it not being trendy enough. The last time textile was modern was in the 1970s, explained Rasmussen, so for the past 30 years, it has been regarded as the most useless medium you could possibly employ. What people did not realize was that textile makes for good conversation and that it is thankful in all contexts, cultures and ages. Everyone has had a relationship with textile at one time or another, Rasmussen concluded. (Interview with Inger Johanne Rasmussen, visual artist, Oslo, Hovedøya, 2017-02-14)

^{xvi} In regards to the topic of criticism, outreach, engagement and artistic growth, several anecdotes can be of interest. Roald Andersen for example, shared that especially in Kristiansand, where he is living and creating, he receives a lot of bad criticism on account of personal differences between him and critics. He always feels affirmed by people and institutions who purchase his work despite bad reviews though. Things you create need to be seen, otherwise they have less value, he says, however, sometimes things remain unseen and your self-worth makes up for lack of publicity. (Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17).

Additionally, Inger Johanne Rasmussen recalled how during one opening an older lady came up to her and held her hand. She whispered, "Are you the one who made these textiles? My mother had a jewellery box while I was growing up and it looked like your tapestries!". At the same time there was a friend of Rasmussen's, listening in on a conversation that took place in a restaurant near the museum where the exhibition was held. Two young boys were talking to their mother, exclaiming "We peaked inside this show and there were some textiles hanging there, but they were hella cool!". Rasmussen has on many accounts experienced that people in fact connect her work to various memories and other forms of artistic expressions. Later the same day, she also received a text where someone wrote "When I die, I hope St Peter says: Welcome to Heaven, here you shall stay, wrapped in a tapestry woven by Inger Johanne Rasmussen!". On another occasions, Rasmussen was commissioned to create a work for a nursing home. The director called her up a few days after the project was installed and told her about a patient who dreaded moving into the home but as soon as she discovered Rasmussen's artwork hanging in the hall, she felt at ease and at home. These to her were all moments of victory. (Interview with Inger Johanne Rasmussen, visual artist, Oslo, Hovedøya, 2017-02-14).

^{xvii} On a slightly different note but still related to the discussion of feedback, Abel meant that one must proudly wear the marks each and every environment has left on one, yet one must also muster the courage to change up one's medium and explore. For instance, Abel's expressions were cutting edge in the US, but frowned upon in Norway. It was the end of her street art upon her return to her home country. Abel further advocates for a dialogue between older and younger generations of artist. All perspectives are needed for the art scene to run smoothly. (Interview with Jannik Abel, visual artist, Oslo, 2017-04-12).

Last but not least, in relation to criticism and her its effects on her artistic development, Dorka Kalmár said that one cannot keep on creating simply for one's own pleasure, one needs to share the work to keep afloat. However, one does reach a limit and must once more look inward, otherwise external influences will seal one's creativity and originality. (Interview with Dorka Kalmár, painter and educator, Szeged, 2017-03-16).

^{xviii} Finally, while discussing the importance of artistic identity and independence, the interviewees had a number of intriguing stories and opinions to share which I have included here.

Solveig Aalberg recalled the time when she and her husband were about to adopt children. She spent a lot of time in the Adoption Offices at Oslo with other soon to be mothers who never asked her about her occupation. They simply kept on talking about children, the same was she talks about art. As a lifestyle. (Interview with Solveig Aalberg, visual artist, Asker, 2017-02-13).

Wenche Gulbrandsen told me that left narrative modes of expression behind because they became too temporary, and found another truth in the geometric and the procedural. Indirectly, culturally speaking, Gulbrandsen is influenced by Western belief in the cultural and social sense, her visual vision being a collision between the images of East and West. (Written exchange with Wenche Gulbrandsen, visual artist, 2017-04-05).

Dorka Kalmár is reminded of those days when she had given birth to her first child and she was physically isolated on the outskirts of Budapest. In this tiny village outside the bustling city, she was cut off from the art world, which kept on changing without her. Her paintings were created in a shed outside their house in a small garden. This meant a second level of isolation for her. Therefore, in a sense, the success of her work depended on the initial isolation. (Interview with Dorka Kalmár, painter and educator, Szeged, 2017-03-16).

Several of Roald Andersen's work have been kick-started by an article, recognizing that what is happening in the world outside also affects your world inside. The works he creates use inclusive symbolism, which can be interpreted and appreciated by anyone anywhere. It goes beyond you, and that is what you need to understand and accept. (Skype interview with Roald Andersen, visual artist, 2017-02-17).