



# The History Book

On Moderna Museet 1958–2008

MODERNA MUSEET Steidl



## Money, Politics and the Public Moderna Museet and the Government

Private companies were conspicuous by their absence when Moderna Museet was inaugurated on 9 May 1958. The eleven-page list of people and institutions that were invited to the opening included only three banks and two major corporations.<sup>1</sup> Things looked very different when the new museum was inaugurated forty years later on 12 February 1998. Then the names of five companies that had sponsored Moderna Museet radiated from the actual invitation cards to the inaugural banquet.<sup>2</sup> The CEOs of the sponsor companies were also centrally seated at the banquet, side by side with the political, administrative and cultural elite at Table of Honour A, flanking King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia.<sup>3</sup> Working out the seating hierarchy in 1998 cannot have been a straightforward affair. Even if the big companies had definitely started to go to art museums by the end of the 1900s, the political establishment had not yet officially invited them. It was only in Moderna Museet's appropriation directives (Regleringsbrev) of 2002 that the government cautiously began to give the green light to company sponsorship. Though the preamble to the appropriation directives still states that Moderna Museet should "combat commercialism's negative influences", the end of the letter now confirms that the museum can also accept funds from companies "in exchange for certain *quid pro quo* (i.e. sponsorship)."<sup>4</sup> The requirement that cultural policy should combat commercialism's negative influences was not removed from the appropriation directives until 2006.

Between Moderna Museet's two inaugural celebrations, in 1958 and 1998, corporate sponsorship of museums increased dramatically. According to the German artist Hans Haacke, modern-day corporate sponsorship involves an *exchange* of capital, unlike traditional patronage where the flow of capital was more of a one-way arrangement going from benefactor to beneficiary: the sponsor's financial capital is today exchanged for the symbolic capital of the museum being sponsored.<sup>5</sup> The image of the art museum as a place devoted to timeless beauty and high aesthetic values is strong.<sup>6</sup> These are positively charged qualities that many want to be identified with. Being associated with art museums amounts to a particularly potent form of symbolic capital in the hands of groups who are themselves stationed far outside the field of art, e.g. politicians, senior civil servants, and company directors. The American art historian Carol Duncan writes that art museums constitute a place in society where the representative of earthly power "most avidly seeks to realize its desire to appear as beautiful, natural, and legitimate."<sup>7</sup> Toward the end of the 1900s, however, the powers that be in many countries tended to reject not the desire to be associated

with the symbolic authority that radiates from art museums, but certainly the responsibility of paying for them. The public authorities were also increasingly tempted, as the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu feared at the beginning of the 1990s, to use the growing presence of private benefactors as a pretext to abdicate their responsibilities and withdraw public funding for the museums.<sup>8</sup> How does the Swedish example fit into this international context? More specifically, my main questions deal with how the political and economic framework within which Moderna Museet operates has changed between 1958 and 2008. Alongside the political and economic history, issues are raised regarding the social history of the museum's visitors. Is the flow of visitors related to the flow of money? Do those social groups that the state wants to attend the art museum, actually attend?<sup>9</sup>

I will take a roundabout route and first present my attempts to overcome an intractable issue regarding the source material before I turn my attention to the main questions. The purpose of museums is to preserve our cultural heritage. But the museums have done a rather worse job of preserving their own history.<sup>10</sup> Following Moderna Museet's economic trail in the years 1958–75 (when the museum was part of Nationalmuseum) and 1976–98 (when the museum was incorporated into the umbrella authority the National Art Museums (Statens konstmuseer, SKM)) is a time-consuming enterprise. First of all, the archives that house the material relating to the post-war operations of the museum are scattered around Stockholm in five different locations; secondly, the records are not grouped together into folders according to subject, but rather spread throughout Nationalmuseum's extensive archives covering the entire period 1958–85; and thirdly, there are large gaps in those accounting records that are easy to locate.<sup>11</sup>

In order to get around the problem of the museum's convoluted archives for the period 1958–85, I have tried to make use of the more subject-based archives of the Ministry of Education and Research. Many of the records I have been searching for in the aforementioned difficult-to-navigate archives, can, namely, also be found in the last-mentioned more easily navigated one. "Annual financial statements", for example, are found under *outgoing* documents somewhere in the Nationalmuseum building on Södra Blasieholmen, or somewhere in the material that has temporarily been relegated to the National Library in Humlegården, but they are filed under *incoming* documents in the well-organised archives of the Ministry of Education and Research, which are kept at Riksarkivet (the National Archives) in Marieberg (for the years 1958–74) and at the National Archives' depository in Arninge (for the years 1975–85).

The ease with which documents can be found in the archives of the Ministry of Education and Research, however, has not provided a solution to all the problems. It seems, for example, that the Swedish National Art Museums simply

← From the exhibition *The Model*, 1968

Olof Palme in *The Model*, 1968

neglected to send any annual financial statements or annual reports to the Ministry from 1975 to 1984. At least the Ministry has no record of having received any financial records from the authority, nor has the Swedish Arts Council.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, the charts below, which are based on annual reports, have big gaping holes in them in the second half of the 1970s and first half of the 1980s.

Unlike the file series containing the museums' annual financial statements, i.e. the *actual* amounts that have been in circulation over the course of the year, the series containing the amounts *allocated* to the museums have no gaps. This is due to the fact that I have been able to make use of the published register of appropriations (Statsliggaren), which contains a full breakdown of all the appropriation directives for public authorities and institutions.<sup>13</sup> These appropriation directives lay down the operational objectives of the various public authorities and institutions, the size of their appropriations, and what they may be used for. It saves a ton of time not to have to track down the appropriation directives (an incoming document) in Nationalmuseum's cumbersome archives; on the other hand, processing the contents of the appropriation directives is hugely time-consuming. Since the state constantly changes what it records under the various appropriation headings, and sometimes modifies the headings of the actual appropriation items, and on occasion even changes its accounting principles, it can take forever to piece together

an unbroken time sequence, even though we are only dealing with appropriations spanning a period of fifty years. How I have gone about collecting and piecing together the sequences is explained in the appendices, while the charts in the main body of the text present the results of that effort.<sup>14</sup>

Given what has just been said about the varying quality of the elusive source material, all figures presented in this text should be interpreted with considerable caution. My ambition has been to provide a clear overview of how the museum's economic framework has changed over time. The primary consideration here has not been, for example, to provide exact figures for how high the premises costs have been in specific years. The focus is rather on how the relationship between the general administrative costs and the costs of expanding the collection has changed between 1958 and 2008. Nailing down that kind of quantitative ratio provides, to borrow a key phrase from the state's appropriation directives to the central museums, a "perspective on society's development."<sup>15</sup> Only with the historical charts in front of you is it possible, for example, to determine whether today's state cultural funding is generous or stingy.

### Money

The government steers its authorities and institutions by controlling their economic scope. The most important instrument for financial control is the allocation of funds, and

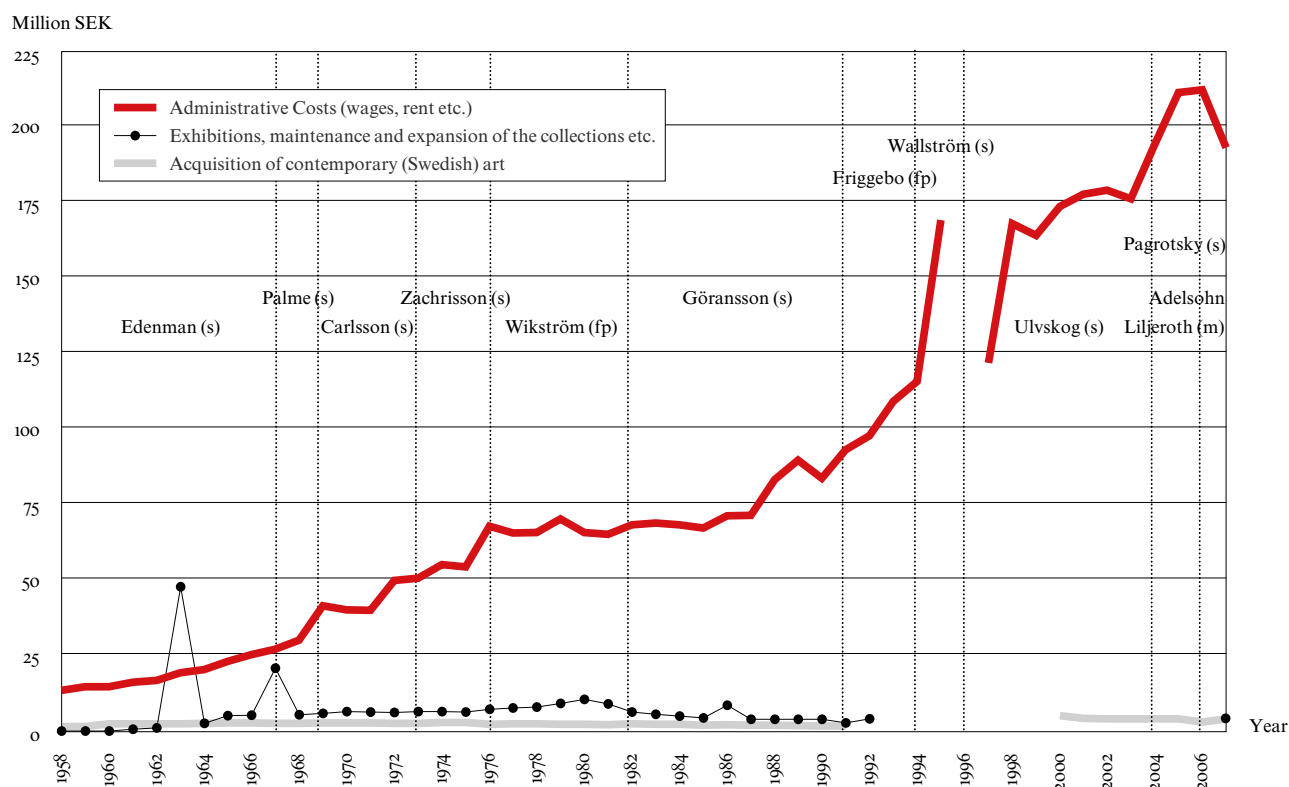


Chart 1: Appropriations to Nationalmuseum, Moderna Museet and Östasiatiska museet 1958–2007, million SEK in 2006 prices. The names represent the cabinet minister responsible

Source: Register of appropriations for the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs (1958–67), Ministry of Education and Research (1968–91), Ministry of Culture (1992–2005), Ministry of Education and Research and Ministry of Culture (2006–07) with appropriations to Nationalmuseum (1958/59–75/76), the National Art Museums (1976/77–99) and Nationalmuseum (less Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde) plus Moderna Museet (2000–07) plus Östasiatiska museet (1999–2007). Supporting data provided in Appendix 1.

the rules and conditions governing the use of those funds.<sup>16</sup> In the museum world, the appropriations in the state budget are roughly divided into three categories: administration (administration, personnel and premises), acquisitions, and exhibitions. Wealthy private benefactors, and large companies, also affect state authorities and institutions such as museums by donating money and art to their collections.

Moderna Museet did not become an independent state institution until 1 July 1999. From 1958 to 1975, Moderna Museet, like the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska museet, ÖM), was under the administrative control of Nationalmuseum. During the years 1976–98, Moderna Museet, like Nationalmuseum and Östasiatiska museet, was an institution within the National Art Museums. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined from the register of appropriations how much money Moderna Museet on its own had to work during the first forty years (1958–98).<sup>17</sup> Chart 1 is based upon figures taken from the register of appropriations and therefore shows the funding for all three museums combined. In order to facilitate the comparison over time, I have therefore also displayed the combined total for the annual state funding for Nationalmuseum, Moderna Museet and Östasiatiska museet for the entire period, i.e. including the last nine years (1999–2007) when the museums no longer belonged to the same administrative unit. Funds allocated to Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde (PEW, run by the state since 1995) are not included in the chart.

Moderna Museet's remit is peculiar. The museum is supposed to serve both as a place for history, and as an arena for the contemporary at the same time. Its assignment consists of collecting, preserving, maintaining and exhibiting *modern* art, on the one hand, i.e. art from the period after 1900, and *contemporary* art, on the other hand, i.e. art from the ever-changing present.<sup>18</sup> The twofold objectives assigned to Moderna Museet by the central government make it particularly interesting to study how the appropriations in the state budget have been divided up among the various appropriation categories in the years 1958–2007. Do they prioritise the management of the historical “classics”, the expansion of the historical collection, or are the resources ploughed into the continuous acquisition of “contemporary” art in order to prevent the museum falling behind? Though Nationalmuseum and Östasiatiska museet do not receive funding for the procurement of contemporary art, it is nonetheless part of their mandate to enrich their own collections; in the case of Nationalmuseum, collections of older art from the period before 1900, “through new acquisitions.”<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the issue of how the state has prioritised the various appropriation categories, heavily polarised between the administration and renewal of the collections, is also relevant in their case.<sup>20</sup> After examining the relationship between the three state appropriation categories – administration, acquisitions and exhibitions – in the period from 1958 to 2007, I will go on to analyse the relationship between state and private contributions over a fifty-year period.

At first glance, the curve in chart 1 would seem to show that the Swedish state has done an exemplary job of funding

its three central museums: from its starting point in the late fifties, the funding curve rises year after year climbing ever higher. Upon closer inspection, however, it turns out that the red, sharply rising curve only illustrates one of the three appropriation categories mentioned above, namely administrative costs in 2006 prices.<sup>21</sup> It is these costs (for administration, personnel and premises) that have increased from the modest sum of approximately 10 million at the start of the period, to the imposing figure of some 200 million at the end of the period. The funding for exhibitions, maintenance and expansion of the historic and contemporary parts of the collection (see the curves with black circles and the grey line) has, on the other hand, remained consistently low and, if anything, has decreased over time.

Apart from the big state investment in art acquisitions during fiscal years 1963/64 and 1967/68, when Ragnar Edenman (Social Democrat) was the Minister for Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, one cannot distinguish any clear political trends in chart 1. Social Democrat and centre-right governments seem to have set the same kind of budget priorities, i.e. investing in the administrative machinery rather than prioritising allocations in register of appropriations earmarked for exhibitions, maintenance and expansion of the collections, and the acquisition of contemporary art. The increase in administrative costs, which to some extent conceals the funds spent on exhibitions and maintenance of the collections (more on this below), stopped during Liberal Jan-Erik Wikström's tenure as Minister for Education and Research 1976–82, but increased even more rapidly during Liberal Birgit Friggebo's tenure as Minister for Culture 1991–94. The sharp drop in the red curve between the two Social Democrat Ministers for Culture, Margot Wallström (1994–96) and Marita Ulvskog (1996–2004), is due solely to the fact that the state's fiscal year was changed to coincide with the calendar year in 1997. The sudden rise in the red curve in 1998 is due to the fact that Moderna Museet's rent increased sharply in conjunction with the opening of the new museum building.<sup>22</sup> In 2004 and 2005, the government made additional funds available to compensate the museums for loss of revenues (from ticket sales et al.) and cost increases (for security et al.) associated with the introduction of free admission. That explains the red curve's leap upwards at the end of the period being studied.<sup>23</sup> Admission fees were reintroduced in 2007.

The fact that the funding for exhibitions, maintenance and expansion of the collections (see the curve with the black circles) began to decline at the start of the 1980s, after displaying a slight tendency to rise during the 1960s and 70s, is due to the fact that allocations for “exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art abroad” – which comprised around a third of the funds allocated under this heading during the period 1965–81 – no longer went to the National Art Museums.<sup>24</sup> The fact that the curve with the black circles makes a temporary jump in the middle of the 1980s is due to the fact that the National Art Museums “suddenly received a one-time appropriation of 2 million kronor for acquisitions” in fiscal year 1986/87. The major part of that sum was directed toward Moderna Museet, recalls Nationalmuseum director

1980–89 Per Bjurström.<sup>25</sup> As of fiscal year 1993/94, when the centre-right government introduced the system of so-called block appropriations, it is no longer possible to determine how the total appropriation was divided up between the various headings in the register of appropriations. I will get back to the appropriations for “exhibitions and maintenance of the collections” (two of the main categories) that provide the basis for the curve with the black circles, and instead start by pointing out that there is nothing to indicate that more funds were allocated to the category “expansion of the collection” during the 1990s. In the middle of the 1990s, the economic situation was very dire throughout the cultural field. “There simply isn’t any money,” was how the Social Democrat Minister for Culture summed up the situation in 1995.<sup>26</sup> Three years later the board of the National Art Museums noted that, “The allocations for acquisitions are also ridiculously low for a national or an international museum.”<sup>27</sup>

The allocations for acquiring contemporary art – for acquiring “contemporary *Swedish* art” during the period 1958–91, and the acquisition of “contemporary art” during the 2000s – have never shown any tendency to increase (see the curve with the grey line). On the contrary, the allocations tend to decrease over time. The grey curve illustrating the allocations for contemporary art acquisitions may run horizontally along the x-axis in chart 1, but given that art prices have risen by a lot more than consumer prices, which I have

used in to adjust for inflation, the curve for funds allocated to contemporary art, and to an even greater extent the curve for the funds allocated to older (Swedish and international) art, ought, however, to tilt downwards to the right. A recommended minimum allocation for art acquisitions of a couple of million Swedish kronor was worth a lot less in the art market at the start of the 2000s, than it was at the end of the 1950s.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, already at the beginning of the period under study, in 1960, the funding for acquisitions was considered to be “woefully insufficient” given that the rise in art prices continued unabated.<sup>29</sup> That gives a clear indication of just how meagre the increase in acquisition funding actually was fifty years later. Many cultural institutions, according to the Swedish Parliament’s Cultural Affairs Committee, were in “undeniably distressed circumstances” at the start of the 2000s. The need to “strengthen the institutions’ economic foundation” was great, to say the least.<sup>30</sup> If state allocations were not being put toward expanding the art collections, whether the historical or the contemporary parts, perhaps extensive investments were instead being made in professional staff in order to effectively exhibit and maintain the already acquired artworks?

This question can in part be answered in the affirmative. First, however, it must be pointed out that the runaway administrative costs (red curve in chart 1) cannot be explained by a sudden surge in wages. On the contrary, the portion of

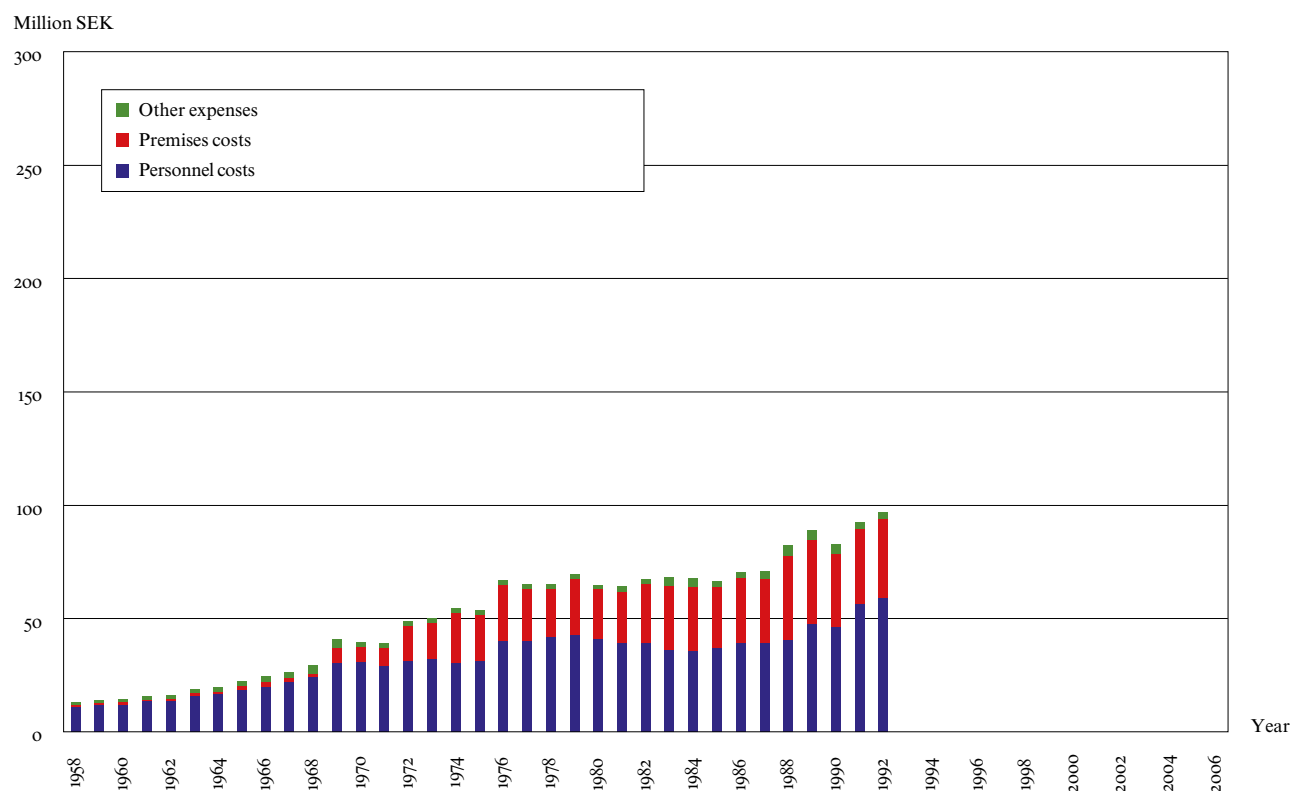


Chart 2. Appropriated Administrative Costs 1958–1992 (NM, MM, ÖM). 2006 prices

Source: Register of appropriations for the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Ministry of Education and Research, and Ministry of Culture with appropriations for Nationalmuseum (1958/59–75/76) and the National Art Museums (1976/77–91/92). Supporting data in Appendix 2.

the administrative costs taken up by wage costs decreases over time. Charts 2 and 3 below offer a more detailed breakdown of the administrative costs 1958–2006. The trends of the full fifty-year period, compactly summarised, can be broken down as follows: the portion of the total administrative costs ascribable to personnel costs sank from just over 80 per cent during the 1960s, to approximately 60 per cent in the 1970s and 1980s. During the 1990s and 2000s, personnel costs account for only about 40 per cent of the total administrative costs for the three museums put together. The most costly categories in this respect are, therefore, not personnel costs but premises costs and other operating costs.

Having said that about various *shares* of the administrative costs, it should be noted that personnel costs in *real terms* actually increased at a slow and steady pace over the course of the entire period 1958–90 (except for the first half of the 1980s) and at a fast pace from the start of the 1990s (see charts 2 and 3). The consolidated allocation category in the register of appropriations 1958–92 with the heading “exhibitions, and maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.” (see the curve with black circles in chart 1) thus does not tell the whole story. The state’s allocations for the “expansion” of the collections may have been, as indicated, exceedingly small, but the actual funds provided for “exhibitions and maintenance” were, on the other hand, greater than the curve with the black circles in chart 1 would suggest, since part of that funding is

hidden in the categories that make up the red curve showing administrative costs (in wages for curators and conservators et al.). In Moderna Museet’s case, it is particularly striking. In 1958, it consisted of a little department within Nationalmuseum with a fulltime staff of 3: “one and a half officials, half an office clerk, and a museum guard.”<sup>31</sup> Today, Moderna Museet is one of the larger art museums in Europe with over a hundred employees comprising 40 administrators, approximately 30 curators and other art educators, just under 10 conservators, about 10 museum technicians, and just over 10 museum hosts.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, personnel costs account for only a relatively small portion (approximately 25 per cent) of Moderna Museet’s total costs, compared to the premises costs and other operating costs (approximately 75 per cent of the museum’s total costs).<sup>33</sup>

Toward the end of the period being studied, in 1998, Moderna Museet received, as indicated, a magnificent new museum building from the state. But since the premises costs started to rise long before that, the explanation for the increased premises costs and other operating costs must be sought elsewhere than in bigger and better exhibition spaces.

Between 1958 and 1968, the premises costs of the three museums consisted only of expenses for “fuel, lighting and water.” Not until 1969 were funds allocated under the broader heading of “premises costs”. The premises costs (see red areas in bar chart 2) increased when the State Building

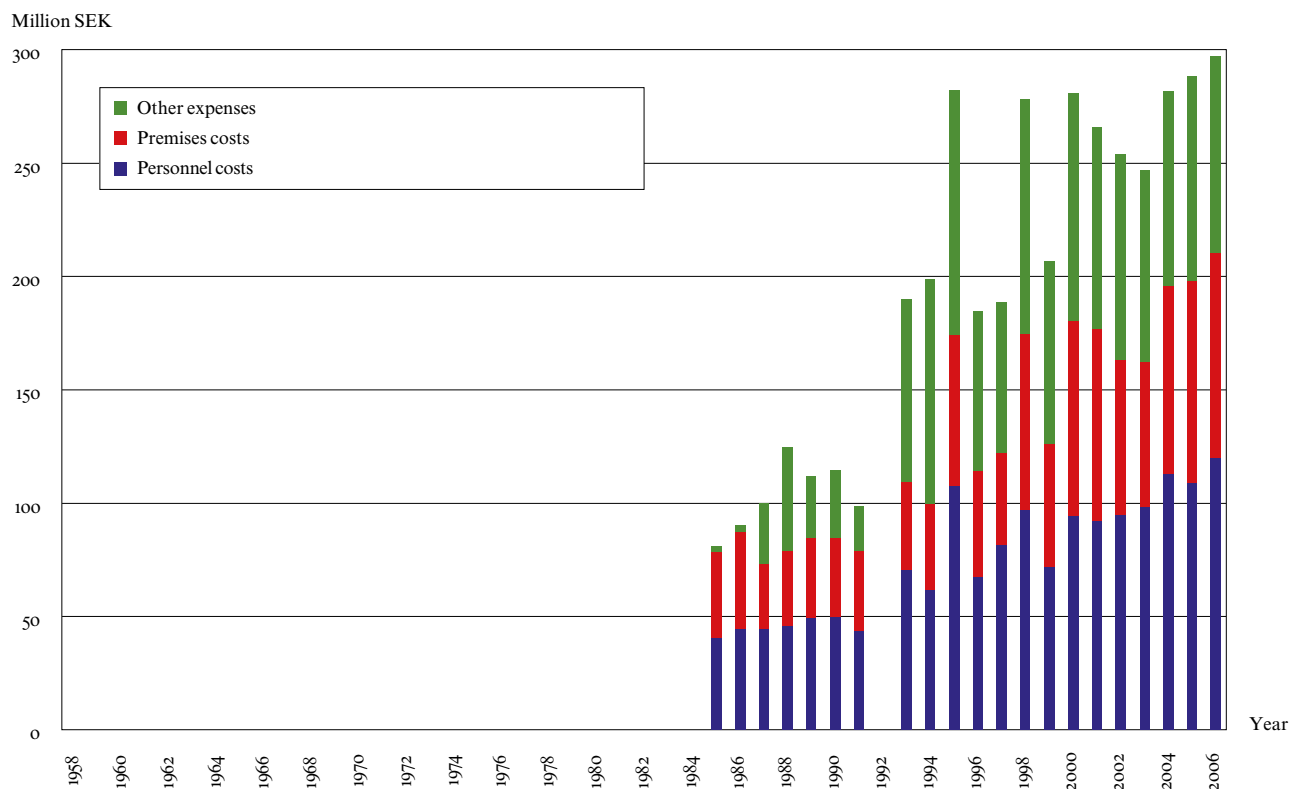


Chart 3. Actual Administrative Costs 1985–2006 (NM, MM, ÖM). 2006 prices.

Source: *Annual Financial Statements* 1985/86–91/92 and *Annual Reports* 1993/94–2006. Förvaltningsenheten (FE), NM archives (now in storage at NL), sorted according to filing plan: Annual Financial Statements for SKM 1985/86 (F2:1 1986), 1986/87 (F2:11 1987), 1987/88 (F2:22 1988), 1988/89 (F2:33 1989), 1989/90 (F2:43 1990), 1990/91 (F2:52 1991) and 1991/92 (F2:60 1992). Annual Financial Statements 1992/93 missing from box F2:68 (1993). As were Annual Reports for SKM 1993/94 (F2:80 1994) and 1994/95 (F2:87 1995) in NM archives/NL. Annual Reports for SKM 1995/96, 1997 and 1998 found at NM (Riddargatan 13). Annual Reports 1999–2006 at each respective institution: NM, MM and ÖM (data directly from MWC). Costs for PEW 1995–2006 are not included in the chart. Supporting data in Appendix 3.

Administration (Byggnadsstyrelsen), which managed state properties between 1918 and 1993, started to apply market-rate rents in the mid-1970s.<sup>34</sup> The premises costs for Nationalmuseum, Moderna Museet, and Östasiatiska museet subsequently started to rise gradually. Between 1974 and 1992, the premises costs accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the total administrative costs. The remainder of the allocation (approximately 60 per cent) went to wages (see blue areas in bar chart 2). Funds for other administrative expenses were very low during this period (just a few per cent; see green areas in bar chart 2).

At the beginning of the 1990s, the principles governing the state's property administration were reformed (1991), and "framework budgeting" was introduced (1993/94). A centrally controlled and regulated system was turned into one in which the individual authorities and institutions were given greater freedom to make their own decision regarding choice and use of premises and premises costs – within a set cost framework (block appropriations).<sup>35</sup> There was a fiscally edifying purpose behind this reform: which was aimed at creating cost-conscious directors of public authorities and institutions. Freer use of appropriated funds would, if the rationalist economic thinking worked as well in practice as it did in theory, make the civil servant directors more aware of how much premises cost, and that they did cost.<sup>36</sup> It was now up to the heads of those institutions to balance premises costs, personnel costs and other administrative costs. Previously, see chart 2, the appropriations had been divided up among the various categories of costs. As of fiscal year 1993/94, therefore, the register of appropriations also became less useful as a source of information. It still reveals the size of the administrative costs, the general scope, but not how the total appropriation is divided up among the various categories. That is why the bars in chart 2 cease after 1992.

In order to still get an understanding of how the administrative costs were structured during the period of deregulation 1993–2006, I have made use of the museums' annual financial statements and annual reports. Here the various cost elements become clear once again. The same caution, however, applies here as elsewhere in the text: figures should be taken with a grain of salt. Chart 2 lists the funds allocated, while chart 3 displays the actual amounts. The fact that the sequences in charts 2 and 3 nonetheless match up with each other quite well is clear from the annual financial statements from 1985–91, which I have included in chart 3, since they overlap in the final years of chart 2: according to both charts approximately 50 million kronor was spent on personnel costs, and about as much again on premises costs and other operating costs in the years 1985–91. The most striking difference is that "other expenses" (green area) are higher in the annual reports than in the register of appropriations.<sup>37</sup> At the very end of the 1980s and during the 1990s, the sudden ballooning of "other costs" can probably be explained to a certain extent by the fact that security costs were then included under this heading.<sup>38</sup> The category other operating costs, however, consolidated a number of different costs – everything from repairs and maintenance work, to the procurement of goods,

services and transportation – and the quality of the source material is too low to provide a clear and steady picture of which of these cost categories has increased the most. The categories that are included under administrative costs are, for the most part, vague and changeable, and also flow in and out of each other over time.<sup>39</sup> I must therefore content myself with simply pointing out that it is the premises costs and other operating costs that have increased most noticeably since 1993, not the costs for personnel, even though the wage costs have clearly also increased significantly over the course of the 1990s.<sup>40</sup>

The museum directors had long had problems with the market-rate rents. "They were introduced as far back as the 1970s," recalls Olle Granath, director of Moderna Museet in the 1980s and head of the National Art Museums in the 1990s.<sup>41</sup> His version of events corresponds well with the picture that develops when the administrative costs for the previous period are summed up: premises costs (red bars), as indicated, began to rise slowly but surely, starting in the 1970s (see chart 2). But the thumbscrews were tightened another notch in conjunction with the system change at the start of the 1990s. Then a new, more market-based assessment of all state properties was conducted.<sup>42</sup> The National Property Board (Statens fastighetsverk), which came into being with the demise of the State Building Administration in 1993, also adopted, in the eyes of the cultural institutions, an unduly severe, market-adjusted stance.<sup>43</sup> "I cannot tell you now in percentage or precise monetary terms," Olle Granath continued, "but it felt as if the grip tightened under the National Property Board."<sup>44</sup> That does not differ from the picture that emerges when the administrative costs for the later period are summed up (see chart 3): the museums' premises costs (red bars) and other operating costs (green bars) rose sharply starting in 1993. Granath also intimated that the allocated funds were not adequate: "A few years ago we were 5 million kronor in the red once wages, rents and security were paid for; at the end of 1999 we are down to zero after wages and rents; is it reasonable for us to be expected to earn the money to pay for the protection of the country's cultural heritage?"<sup>45</sup> That was not how the system was intended to work. The point was for public authorities and institutions to be fully compensated for their rent costs: the higher the rent, the larger the appropriations.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the institutions' other operations were not meant to be affected by any future rent increases. How things are on that score has been the subject of intense debate ever since the system was first introduced in 1993.<sup>47</sup>

Though the deregulated system may appear extremely bureaucratic and unwieldy – the state gives the authorities and institutions money to cover their premises costs, which they then pay back to the state in the form of rents for those premises – a majority of the tenants operating out of state-owned offices (so-called general purpose premises) seem to be satisfied with the system.<sup>48</sup> It gave them, according to advocates of the system, a greater flexibility in the use of premises and an increased awareness about premises costs. It increased

[Images removed due to copyright restrictions]

the options available to public authorities and institutions when it came to reducing their space requirements, allowing them to free up money for other things.<sup>49</sup> Tenants in the state's cultural buildings, on the other, have not adjusted well to that system. The market-rate rents are not as effective instruments of fiscal discipline when they are applied to tenants who are tied to premises (so-called special purpose premises) that lack any kind of ready market: firstly, central museums have trouble moving out to the suburbs or the countryside when rents in the city centre are driven up; secondly, other potential tenants have trouble moving in to and making use of specially built premises without substantial refurbishment.<sup>50</sup>

Thus, the answer to the question of how the conditions for running an art museum have changed over time, has to be sought in part far beyond the world of culture: in the world of property management. The market-based system for state property management is difficult to gauge, as are its consequences. In addition to the formal obstacles, for example, writer, journalist and former chief editor of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* Arne Ruth suggests that there has also been a political cost: because of the inflated cultural budget, the capital's cultural institutions appear to be more expensive to run than they actually are. "The state's prestige venues come across as benefiting preferentially from tax revenues."<sup>51</sup> That can cause provocation during hard economic times, exacerbating the disparity between Stockholm and the rest of the country, and also between narrow, elite culture, and other culture. It can even result in misunderstandings between countries. The cost of renting three of the main art museums in New York – the Metropolitan, the MoMA, and the Whitney Museum – was zero Swedish kronor in 2001. That same year, Moderna Museet had to pay 42 million kronor in rent, corresponding to nearly half (45 per cent) of the state funds it was allocated of approximately SEK 93 million.<sup>52</sup> Of the 51 million that remained, 48 million went toward other operating costs and wages. State funds earmarked for acquiring contemporary art amounted to 3 million kronor in 2001.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, in countries that only have access to general information about the cultural budget, but not the specific information about the slight peculiarities of the Swedish system of state property management, one could get the wrong impression that culture is an area that receives very generous support in Sweden.

Against the background of rising administrative costs and falling acquisitions allocations described above, it is understandable that the museum world recalls the state's one-time appropriation for art acquisitions – 5 million kronor in 1964, and 2 million kronor in 1967 (notice how the curve with the black circles in chart 1 makes two sharp spikes during the 1960s) – with astonished delight. On the occasion of Nationalmuseum's 200-year anniversary, Per Bjurström spoke of the "unbelievable 5 million," of "the 'fat' years" when Ragnar Edenman was the Social Democratic Minister of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs (1957–67), and of Edenman's parting gift in 1967 when he left the government to become governor of Uppsala: a "completely unexpected" one-time grant of SEK 2 million for the acquisition of older art.<sup>54</sup> On

Moderna Museet's website, the first one-time allocation in fiscal year 1963/64, which was given exclusively to this museum, is paid special tribute in words expressing an almost religious fervour:

*The exhibition "Önskemuseet" (The Museum of our Wishes) in the winter of 1963–64 was initiated by the Friends of Moderna Museet, based on a concept by Ulf Linde. A large number of works that he believed ought to be part of the museum collection were borrowed, and a miracle took place: Moderna Museet was granted a one-time allocation from the government of five million kronor. Suddenly, the collection could expand into one of the best of its kind in the West.*<sup>55</sup>

In the Sweden of the early 1960s, however, 5 million kronor for art acquisitions did not seem a particularly large sum of money. In conjunction with the opening of the exhibition *The Museum of our Wishes*, Pontus Hultén suggested that Moderna Museet in actual fact needed SEK 18–20 million for art acquisitions in order to become a museum worthy of the name. An essentially united press corps agreed with Hultén. Given the price levels in the art market, 18–20 million kronor for art acquisitions was seen as not just a reasonable request (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*), but a good and sound investment into the bargain (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Expressen*). It was, in short, a good way for the state to give itself a splendid gift (*Svenska Dagbladet*). "Strange," commented *Dagens Nyheter's* editorial when it became clear in February 1964 that the government was only providing an additional 5 million. The museum needed 20 million. Still, they couldn't complain. Going from quarter to half measures was certainly better than nothing.<sup>56</sup>

As it happens, 5 million kronor in fiscal year 1963/64 corresponds to roughly SEK 50 million in today's money, Lars Nittve pointed out in a letter to the government and in an editorial in the spring of 2006. The text ended with a call for a "Second Museum of our Wishes" in conjunction with Moderna Museet's 50-year anniversary in 2008: one million for every year of its existence for the acquisition of works by women pioneers and trailblazers.<sup>57</sup> In the fall of 2007, Minister for Culture Lena Adelsohn Liljeroth announced that the centre-right government could at least make a further 5 million kronor available for the acquisition of works by great female artists (grey line partially hidden by the black circle in chart 1). That is a lot of money, too, of course, Nittve said gratefully. The original request for 50 million should be seen, he added, as a "a long shot with a rather hard spin to it on my part."<sup>58</sup> It may well have been a long shot, but it was not a high one. Given the prices in today's art market, a one-time grant of 50 million is a rather modest birthday present in 2008. To shoot as high as Pontus Hultén did in 1963 would require an allocation of closer to SEK 200 million (Hultén's 20 million in today's money). In order to compete with the young, generous welfare state, which made available an allocation for art acquisitions that amounted to twice the administrative costs in 1963/64 (compare administrative costs of approximately 25 million kronor in chart 1), the new more mercantile state

would have been forced to really dig down deep and come up with as much as SEK 400 million for the acquisition of works by women artists for the 2008 jubilee (compare today's administrative costs of approximately 200 million kronor in chart 1).

“One should remember that Moderna Museet is completely financed by the Swedish state,” wrote the artist Öyvind Fahlström in 1970.<sup>59</sup> It is true that the state has borne the administrative costs throughout the museum's 50-year existence (compare chart 1). But who is it that actually sees to it that the institutions' art collections continue to grow? At the time of this writing, the answer lies close at hand that it is people of means who are taking over responsibility for expanding the state's art collections, since the daily papers are filled with reports of “spectacular private donations” to Moderna Museet. While the central government managed to scrape together 5 million kronor for the acquisition of artworks by women artists, a handful of private individuals collected more than four times as much: SEK 22 million.<sup>60</sup> Economically speaking, culture has a weak position within Swedish politics.<sup>61</sup> Yet not possessing the resources oneself to affect one's situation need not be seen as a weakness. By turning need into a virtue, and deliberately adopting the role of the dependent that one was assigned at the negotiating table, weakness can be turned into strength. “The government deems that the level of private funding within [Swedish]

cultural life should increase,” was how it was expressed in a government press release in the autumn of 2007, “so that private and public funding may work side by side, and with this grant [of five million kronor] wishes to support and encourage contributions from private benefactors.”<sup>62</sup> As it happens, of course, the state is not standing side by side with the private donors, but far behind, yet the problem of the weak muscle and meagre means of cultural policy was thus provided with a solution. One does not have to look too far back in time, however, to suspect that there had once been more of a bitter clash between (big) cultural political will and (small) financial means. Who was it that actually saw to it that the institutions' art collections grew under the Social Democrats?

Chart 4, which like the other charts should be looked at with great caution, shows how the sources of funding for Nationalmuseum, Moderna Museet and Östasiatiska museet was structured during the period 1958–2006. Even if it “has been very erratic” over the years, as Olle Granath recalls, the following general pattern emerges in the chart: money from sources other than the state treasury has made up a significant portion of the museum's funding throughout the *entire* fifty-year period.<sup>63</sup> Revenues from fees (green sections of the bars that, among other things, represent admissions and sales proceeds) have stood for roughly 20–30 per cent of the museum's total revenues for the period. Revenues from contributions and grants (red sections of the bars that, among other

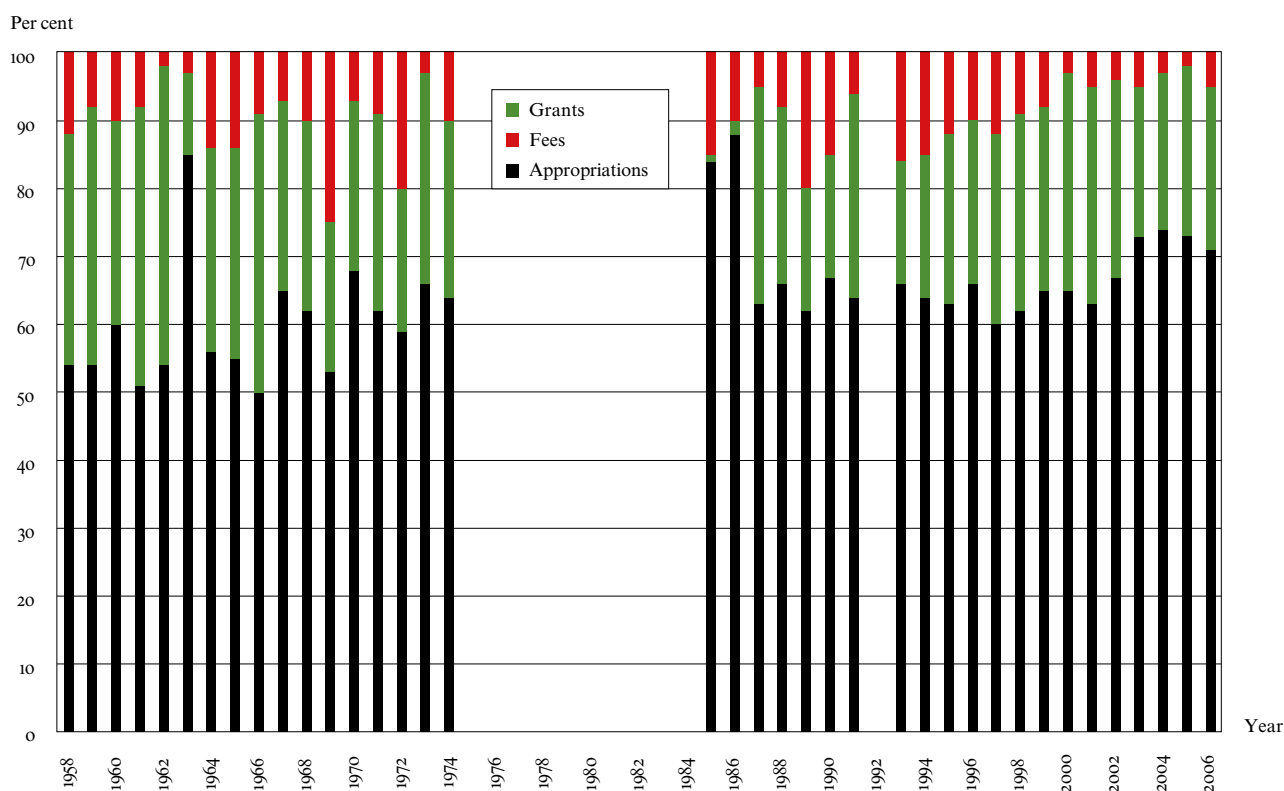


Chart 4: Sources of Funding 1958–2006 (NM, MM and ÖM). In per cent.

Source: The period 1958–74 is based on data from the register of appropriations (appropriations to NM 1958/59–74/75) and Meddelande (memoranda) from Nationalmuseum no. 83–100 (revenues from fees and contributions and grants to NM 1958/59–74/75). Annual financial statements from SKM 1975/76–84/85 are missing from the Ministry of Education and Research archives (RA depository in Arninge – compare note 12). The period 1985–2006 is based on data from annual financial statements/ annual reports (compare chart 3): revenues from appropriations, fees and contributions and grants to SKM 1985/86–94/95 (NM archives/NL where annual financial statement 1992/93 missing), to SKM 1995/96–98 (NM Riddargatan 13), to NM 1999–2006 plus MM 1999–2006 plus ÖM 1999–2006 (at each respective institution). Costs for PEW 1995–2006 are not included in this chart. Support data in Appendix 4.

things, highlight revenues from private donations and contributions) have hovered around 10 per cent in the years 1958–98 (and around 5 per cent during the 2000s). The museum's reliance on its own revenues and the support of private benefactors becomes even more evident if one considers the fact that virtually all of the state appropriations (black bars reaching up to between 50 and 70 per cent) have gone toward paying for rent, security and wages (compare chart 1 above). The state appropriations essentially did not suffice for new art acquisitions. When the museums were going to buy art for their collections, they had to instead, at the beginning and at the end of the period under study, rely on friends' associations, wealthy private individuals and endowments left behind by deceased bourgeois benefactors, such as the merchant wholesaler Emil Österlind (1922) and Miss Emma Spitzer (1927).<sup>64</sup> Private contributions, including friends' associations, "have, I dare say, played a bigger role than the allocations from the state," said Olle Granath, "if one disregards that happy year when the museum received five million from the state."<sup>65</sup> There is an interesting contradiction in the material here that should be researched further: the young Social Democratic welfare state as steward for the donations and gifts of the old bourgeoisie.<sup>66</sup>

Chart 4 also underestimates the role that private contributions play in the museums' existence. It only records cash contributions (cash withdrawals from donations etcetera). The value of gifts (physical objects) from private individuals and institutions, however, is not shown.<sup>67</sup> The art collections are expanded in two ways: in part through acquisitions, with the help of private and public means, but primarily through gifts.<sup>68</sup> During the period 1993 to 2006, where the data is easily accessible, Moderna Museet alone expanded its collections by 7,068 artworks. Table 1 reveals that gifts far surpassed purchases: approximately 80 per cent of the new acquisitions of modern art (5,572 out of 7,068 works) consisted of gifts during this fourteen-year period. From this standpoint, Moderna Museet comes across as a collection point for objects that have previously adorned the living rooms of the well-to-do. How can such a "private" place, Carol Duncan asks, have "public" credibility? Here the museums have to perform a delicate balancing act, since they are dependent on both exclusive support from the elite, "money and art from the rich," and broad support, at least from "the middle class and their press."<sup>69</sup>

Giving and receiving gifts is a difficult art. By way of example, Per Bjurström writes how it was "with subtle fervour," that Philip Sandblom, surgeon at Karolinska Institutet and vice-chancellor of Lund University, and his wife Grace, "had often already at the moment of purchase considered which artworks would best complement Nationalmuseum's collection, and thereby also best honour their own contributions as collectors and donors."<sup>70</sup> As for the publisher Gerard Bonnier, to mention another example, "no matter how interested he was for his own sake, he could never resist taking a peek at the museum's collection whenever he bought something for himself. Which is really quite incredible. He knew that he would make a big donation one fine day, and he

considered both his own collection and that of the museum's when he was out buying."<sup>71</sup> There is no reason to doubt the big donors' interest in art. The difficulty in the art of giving and receiving gifts, and the potential problem, of course, lies in the fact that self-interest, the special interests of the donor, has to sink quickly and heavily down into the dark waters of obscurity and not risk resurfacing when the first storm comes along, if the recipient of the gift, the museums, is to be able to claim with some degree of credibility and composure that they are actually serving, to use Carol Duncan's words, "the interests of the public and not those of private individuals."<sup>72</sup> The more private donors and sponsors are represented among the collections, the fewer public funds are allocated to art acquisitions, and the greater the risk that self-interest, masquerading as public interest, will float up to the surface and cause problems for the institution's "credibility as a public art museum."<sup>73</sup>

Table 1. *Gifts and purchased artworks for Moderna Museet 1993–2006. Number of items*

Year	Gifts	Purchased Artworks	Total
1993	791	68	859
1994	638	102	740
1995	430	80	510
1996	330	58	388
1997	118	99	217
1998	804	63	867
1999	644	366	1,010
2000	31	141	172
2001	248	68	316
2002	1,138	182	1,320
2003	68	80	148
2004	51	69	120
2005	36	63	99
2006	245	57	302
Total	5,572	1,496	7,068

Source: SKM annual report 1993/94 (p. 18), 1994/95 (p. 27), 1995/96 (p. 14), 1997 (p. 15), 1998 (p. 18). MM annual report 2000 (p. 7), 2001 (p. 6), 2002 (p. 6), 2003 (p. 4), 2004 (p. 10), 2005 (p. 9), 2006 (p. 11).

Note: Pontus Hultén's big donation in 2005 (approx. 630 pieces) will be recorded in the 2007 annual report.

Moderna Museet seems to have succeeded in the abovementioned balancing act. Though many felt that the museum lost its footing one weekend at the end of January 2001, when the global electronics giant Sony was allowed to display its logo, present its latest CD technology, and hand out an award among the artworks at the museum, in return for the corporation treating the museum visitors, and its potential electronics customers, to the cost of admission. The product placement in the museum environment had profound repercussions. One of Moderna Museet's board members resigned.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, a big and heated debate about cultural sponsorship flared up in the media, and then continued for the rest of the year.<sup>75</sup> "We cannot survive without sponsorship," explained the museum's director David Elliott to a reporter from the *Aftonbladet* tabloid.<sup>76</sup> Many newspaper readers probably

got the impression that Moderna Museet was in the process of being transformed into a shopping centre on the island of Skeppsholmen, a large exhibition space for electronics. The image of the impoverished museum largely dependent on big companies, is however skewed. It is remarkable what a small portion of Moderna Museet's revenues have come from corporate sponsorship over the years. In the charged year of 2001, for example, just one per cent of Moderna Museet's total revenues came from sponsorship. In 2006, when sponsorship revenues were at their highest, they started to approach three per cent of total revenues.<sup>77</sup> Sponsorship proceeds have also made up an exceedingly modest share of Nationalmuseum's revenues.<sup>78</sup> Sponsorship proceeds for the three museums collectively are hidden in chart 4 under the heading "fees" (a small part of the green portion of the bars).

The fact that their material contribution is small compared to the total revenues does not have to mean that the importance of the big corporations' presence in the museums is not substantial. The issue is highly charged symbolically. Hans Haacke, for example, is concerned that Europe has taken the first steps toward adopting the American museum model. According to him, it is unfortunate that institutions that once were freed from the domination of the princes and the church, now actively solicit the big corporations.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps a new qualitative leap has been taken. Even though the museums have always been "dependent on guarantors and support from the business community," as Per Bjurström writes, and that the coining in the 1980s of the term sponsorship, "filled with mystery and shameful associations," marked a change in language rather than the introduction of a new practice, it is, as we have seen, the donors rather than the sponsors that have so far paid for most of it.<sup>80</sup> While donors often do not expect more than a "thank you" for their gift, or occasionally that some kind of commemorative marker be erected to them, the sponsors require that the museums *sell* something that is of commercial value to the company in question.<sup>81</sup> And although the donors' contributions have played a surprisingly important role considering that we are talking about state museums, it is the contributions from common citizens that have played the most important role after all: they are the ones who, through the massive investment of tax revenues in 1963, have funded the lion's share of Moderna Museet's collection, artworks that today attract big companies from far and near.

### Politics

As a complement to the economic history of how the museums' operations have been funded, below is an account of the political history behind the objectives the central government hoped to achieve through those operations. I have studied how the operational objectives expressed in the appropriation directives for Nationalmuseum and Moderna Museet have changed between 1958 and 2007. The findings of this research are surprising. If one bases the account exclusively on the wording in the appropriation directives, a picture of the history of cultural policy emerges (see table 2) that is at odds, to some extent, with the general impression of Swedish cultural

policy in the post-war period: from a traditionally approved and socio-politically driven cultural policy (established 1974) that, among other things, was supposed to "be shaped in consideration of the needs and experiences of disadvantaged groups," to an ideologically neutral and freer cultural policy (established 1996).<sup>82</sup>

*Table 2. Operational objectives for NM and MM according to appropriation directives 1958–2007*

Period	Government	Operational Objectives
1958–92	Social Democrat (except 1976–82)	No specific operational objectives for the museums. No stipulations for socio-political measures aimed at specific groups.
1993–94	Centre-Right Coalition	Specific operational objectives are introduced. Including stipulations for targeted measures aimed at "diverse target groups".
1995–2006	Social Democrat	Greater number of more detailed objectives introduced. Including stipulations for targeted measures aimed at specific target groups ("gender, class, cultural background, and age"). Detailed reporting requirement.

Source: Appropriation directives (compiled in the register of appropriations) to Nationalmuseum 1958–75, the National Art Museums 1976–99, Nationalmuseum including Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde 1999–2007 and Moderna Museet 1999–2007.

During the period 1958–92, judging from the contents of the appropriation directives and the overview in table 2, the government adopted a hands-off approach: it did not impose any specific operational objectives and did not require any socio-political measures aimed at specific groups. During Carl Bildt's centre-right government of 1991–94, on the other hand, more specific operational objectives started to find their way into the appropriation directives, as did stipulations requiring measures aimed at specific target groups.<sup>83</sup> During the period 1995–2006, under Social Democrat governments, the trend continued with increasingly specific operational objectives and more detailed reporting requirements. The importance of targeted measures aimed at underprivileged groups was emphasised.<sup>84</sup>

Below, I shed light on and discuss two of the issues raised by this cursory outline of the history of cultural policy at the institutional level. Firstly, the relationship between cultural policy carried out at various levels of the state; secondly, the relationship between the political rhetoric on the one hand – relating to among other things culture and class during the 2000s – and the economic policy being pursued on the other hand. During the period 1958–92, the relationship between cultural policy at the national level and at the institutional

level is unclear; during the period 1993–2006 the overall objectives of cultural policy at the national level and the specific operational objectives at the institutional level point in two different directions.

The overall, and ideologically charged, objective of the state's cultural policy of 1974 – to promote the creation of an egalitarian society – is not included in the appropriation directives of 1958–92. The appropriation directives also make no mention of any of the eight more concrete secondary objectives that were included in the state's general recommendations, e.g. the targeted measures aimed at helping “disadvantaged groups” (which included children, youth, families with small children, pensioners, the low-educated, people in institutional care, immigrants, handicapped, and people living in sparsely populated rural areas).<sup>85</sup> It does not seem that any attempt was made to break down the national objectives into operational objectives.<sup>86</sup> The absence of detailed instructions in the appropriation directives from the period 1958–92 can be seen as an indication that the museums were at least somewhat autonomous up until the 1980s.<sup>87</sup> Even if the central government kept a tighter hold on the reins of cultural policy after 1974 – from now on cultural institutions would toe the same socio-political line as the other public authorities – they seem to have remained relatively unfettered at an institutional level. Their economic wiggle room was limited, but their artistic and political leeway seems to have been quite extensive.<sup>88</sup>

The fact that Moderna Museet was autonomous vis-à-vis the central government at the beginning of the 1970s is confirmed by the commotion surrounding the parliamentary auditors' scrutiny of the National Art Museums in 1971. Moderna Museet was under the spotlight following a number of exhibitions that, according to the audit office, had “had a very strong agitational and political character.” In particular, this concerned the associated activities that were held in conjunction with the exhibitions. Immigrant evenings had been held, for example, in connection with the exhibition *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!* (*Poesi måste göras av alla! Förändra världen!*) in 1969, as well as, the auditors noted in astonishment, “an introduction of the Black Panther Party with a speech by the movement's so-called minister of information, Elbert ‘Big Man’ Howard.”<sup>89</sup> The guidelines for Moderna Museet's operations were all too general in their formulation, the auditors concluded. They needed to be tightened up:

*In short, it can be stated that there appears to be a need for the instructions etc. that govern the aforementioned institutions' operations to be revised, and that in future they should be formulated in such a way as to clearly delineate the bounds within which their operations should be conducted, and whose interests should thereby be provided for. The guidelines for the operations that currently apply have been too general in their formulation, which has been taken advantage of in an inappropriate manner.*<sup>90</sup>

In the margin of Moderna Museet's copy of the auditors'

memorandum, someone has written, in pencil, “*fascism*”. These were sensitive issues. The notion that the field of art should be kept free of outside interference was a sacred principle. Neither the state nor the corporations had any business there. Pontus Hultén, who possessed a great deal of social capital in the form of personal contacts, counterattacked. On 11 June 1971, he wrote to the editor in chief of *Dagens Nyheter*, Olof Lagercrantz, and requested his help in the effort to shape public opinion:

*Dear Olof, you have previously helped us on various occasions [...] As you may already have seen, Moderna Museet has been subjected to a violent assault from the parliamentary audit office. I have enclosed a copy. It consists in part of sheer fascist thinking. Now, there may be a parsimonious wind blowing through our country right now, but surely no one has ever dared proceed so brazenly before. [...] Tendencies of this kind should definitely be nipped in the bud. [...] I hope that you, once again, are prepared to come to our aid, in this difficult time.*<sup>91</sup>

Hultén's request did not fall on deaf ears. On 14 June, he sent a letter to Lagercrantz thanking him:

*Dear Olof, Thank you for your uplifting editorial yesterday. [...] What surprises me is how the parliamentary auditors are allowed to engage in this kind of art and cultural criticism so unchallenged. Shouldn't they restrict themselves to economic issues? Thank you once again. Come and see the utopia exhibition [Utopias and Visions 1871–1981] when you have a chance [...].*<sup>92</sup>

The auditors' attempt to shift the balance of power in the field of art failed. Not only was their memorandum met with a resounding “No” from the various bodies to which it had been submitted (including, in addition to Moderna Museet, Föreningen Konst i Skolan (Art in Schools Association), the Swedish Arts Council, the state's advisors on museums and exhibitions, Nationalmuseum, and NUNSKU (the committee for contemporary Swedish art abroad)), but it also received a cold reception from the government.<sup>93</sup> “The government does not plan to take any action with respect to the parliamentary audit office's memorandum,” Minister for Education and Research Ingvar Carlsson announced in *Svenska Dagbladet* 26 April 1972.<sup>94</sup> The same day, Prime Minister Olof Palme spoke out in defence of the autonomy of the field of art in *Dagens Nyheter*:

*Meanwhile, Prime Minister Olof Palme explained in a letter to editor in chief Olof Lagercrantz – in reference to the leading article from 19 April – that he stands by the views on artistic freedom that he expressed in Dagens Nyheter on 5 August 1969. “He who disapproves of concrete aspects of the cultural production should naturally criticise the artistic expression, expose factual errors, fight against ideas and values that have provoked his displeasure. That is the way of democracy,” Palme wrote in an article on that occasion. But he should not demand that society intervene with its superior strength or, if he occupies such a*

Here the prime minister confirms that art's integrity vis-à-vis the state must be guaranteed in a democracy.

Toward the end of the period under study, the cultural policy objectives at the national and institutional levels pointed in different directions. Cultural policy in 1974 had a socio-political core. In the state cultural policy of 1996, that ideologically charged core was gone.<sup>96</sup> However, more ideological operational objectives appear in the museums' appropriation directives between 1995–2006, e.g. requirements that the museums' collections better reflect class perspectives. Under the concrete secondary objectives of national cultural policy, the broader references to measures on behalf of "disadvantaged groups" were weeded out and replaced by more neutral formulations about how "everyone" should be able to take part in the cultural life of the country.<sup>97</sup> The appropriation directives, however, moved in the opposite direction and instead offered a more detailed picture of the target groups that the special measures should be directed toward ("gender, class, cultural background, and age" are the central variables). The presence of detailed objectives in the appropriation directives for the period 1993–2006, e.g. the central government's far-reaching demands regarding which "diverse perspectives" should be the focus of new art acquisitions for the collections, can be seen as an indication that the museums have become less autonomous as of the 1990s. Though the reins of cultural policy may have loosened at the central level as of 1996 – culture's intrinsic value and independence were emphasised – they seem to have been pulled more tightly at an institutional level.<sup>98</sup> Both the economic and the political leeway seem to have shrunk. We can therefore conclude, counter-intuitively perhaps, that while the ballooning social state of the 1970s and 80s seems to have kept its hands off the art museums, the streamlined more liberal market-oriented state interferes deeply in the museums' operations in the field of art during the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>99</sup>

Before I move on to the issue of the radicalisation of language in the appropriation directives starting in the 1990s, a few words need to be said about the relationship between deregulation, decentralisation, and commodification of state operations on the one hand, and bureaucratisation on the other. While cultural policy at the different levels was moving in opposite directions, deregulation and bureaucratisation seemed to be moving hand-in-hand along the same course. This is hardly surprising. The goal- and results-based management that increasingly came to replace the micro-level management in many areas of the state's administration during the 1990s also requires its bureaucratic machinery after all: it is impossible to satisfy frequent and detailed reporting requirements without a considerable amount of time and administrative resources being ploughed into follow-up and assessment.<sup>100</sup> A reliable measure of just how the paperwork was increasing in the deregulated, but goal- and results-based management of cultural institutions, is the girth of their annual reports: in 2006, for example, Moderna Museet's annual

report had four times as many pages as the National Art Museums' annual financial statements – covering all three central museums – had in 1991.<sup>101</sup>

Cultural policy is often linked to lofty rhetoric, where terms like equal rights, gender equality and democracy – and in later years also economic growth, employment and development – are used.<sup>102</sup> At the same time, economically speaking, culture occupies a weak position in Swedish politics. It is therefore hardly surprising that the disconnect between political rhetoric and economic practice easily becomes particularly pronounced in the field of culture. The disconnect also becomes clearly visible in the appropriation directives for the central museums between 1958 and 2007. While the share of state funding that was earmarked for the acquisition of artworks for the museums' collections was shrinking (compare chart 1), the state was beginning to place ever-greater demands on the collections.<sup>103</sup> "The objective is for the composition of the collection," states the appropriation directives between 1997 and 2005, "to better reflect different perspectives, e.g. gender, class, cultural background, and age."<sup>104</sup> The fact that the state demands more and gives less over time is perhaps not as surprising as the radicalisation of the language being used. How should this be understood?

Between "the cultural policy of 1974" and "the cultural policy of 1996" a number of events took place that fundamentally changed Swedish society. A few of them can be mentioned here as a refresher. Noteworthy events on the economic and political front include: the deregulation of the credit market in November 1985, which, from one moment to the next, made the Swedish central bank much more powerful and the Swedish parliament much weaker; the assassination of Olof Palme in February 1986; the deregulation of the central government administration (the system with the previously mentioned state block appropriations) in the fiscal year 1993/94; and the referendum in November of 1994, when 52.3 per cent voted for Swedish membership in the European Union (EU).<sup>105</sup> The door was open for a system change. In the new, more liberal market society that took form, power had shifted from parliament and the politicians, to the markets. Noteworthy events on the cultural front include: the exhibition *Implosion* in the fall of 1987, which, accompanied by a big debate in *Dagens Nyheter*, paved the way for the breakthrough of postmodernism in Sweden. And finally, the late 1980s discussion about "triple oppression" can be brought up as an example of an event in the field of social movements that had consequences.<sup>106</sup> In a polemic against traditional leftist movements, who argued that the conflict between labour and capital was fundamental to capitalist societies, the new movements argued that there were three fundamental forms of oppression – a capitalist one, a sexist one, and a racist one – that could not be arranged hierarchically. Other forms of oppression have since been added to the discussion (class, gender, and race/ethnicity, but also age, handicap, sexual orientation etcetera were emphasised). The door had been opened to identity politics in Sweden.<sup>107</sup>

[Images removed due to copyright restrictions]

[Images removed due to copyright restrictions]

An explosion is easy to visualise, but how to visualise an implosion? At first glance, the appropriation directives for Moderna Museet 1997–2005 are just as arcane and intellectually titillating as Lars Nittve's postmodern exhibition *Implosion* was at Moderna Museet in 1987. A neo-liberal state that lowers wealth tax and raises the unemployment insurance fees is easy to imagine, but a state steeped in liberal market values that in a long deregulated capitalist system activates, as it were, the autonomist Berlin anarchists' slogans from the 1980s about triple oppression (class, gender, race) in its appropriation directives to government institutions in the 2000s, is more difficult to conceive of.

The appropriation directives, however, become less mysterious if one, first of all, relates back to the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's notion of a clash between right and left hands of the state. According to this viewpoint, a number of conflicts are played out within the state itself, e.g. between the finance department (right hand), and the various money-consuming ministries (left hand) in charge of social and cultural issues. Even though the people occupying positions within the "right zone" of the state, "the state's high aristocracy," have had the last word over the past 20 years – the state has, after all, renounced a range of costly social and cultural undertakings in a number of different countries and, furthermore, sold off parts of itself – it is possible that people in positions within the "left zone" of the state, "the state's low aristocracy," have remained somewhat radical.<sup>108</sup> So, it is quite conceivable that radical formulations – such as the one stating that the composition of the collections at Moderna Museet, for example, should better reflect the class perspective – continue to exist in a more neo-liberal context, both within and without the state.

Then one should also, second of all, tie in to the geographer David Harvey's thoughts about how it is not necessary at all for political statements in a postmodern world to be firmly rooted in material economic conditions. Thus, it would be completely feasible for the state to demand each year that the collection at Moderna Museet be expanded with works that better reflect the perspectives of women and the working class, without actually making any funds available for the acquisition of such works, and without losing credibility. In order for such a strategy to deliver any political capital, however, there has to be little danger that anyone will give the game away by doing a comparative reading of the political and economic documents, or above all, by setting the present against the past in systematic historical studies. "It is never easy, of course, to construct a critical assessment of a condition that is overwhelmingly present."<sup>109</sup> A less readily salable, but more effective strategy would undoubtedly be, incisively put, to ask individuals within the cultural and economic elite, i.e. the group that in due course will come to bequeath their art collections to Moderna Museet, to adopt an intersectional perspective and pay greater heed to class, gender and ethnicity when making their art purchases.<sup>110</sup>

Thirdly, the notions about overcoming the injustices associated with "class, gender and ethnicity" imply a radicalism

that could be misleading in terms of the appropriation directives from 1997–2005. For there is a word that has been slipped into the appropriation directives, that to some extent leads thoughts in the opposite direction, toward system reproduction rather than system change: the composition of the collections should better "reflect" different groups' perspectives. Perhaps that should be taken literally to mean that the collections (and museum-going public) should mirror the world outside the museum. In that case, this constitutes a new mental construct in cultural-political contexts. There is a difference between taking part in the collective effort to fundamentally *change* an unequal society (compare the cultural policy from 1974), and letting groups from different sections of an increasingly unequal society be *represented* in the collections (and in the museum-going public). If this is the correct way to read the appropriation directives, one of the conclusions above has to be modified: cultural policy at *both* the national *as well as* the institutional level is less ideologically charged (politically leftist) in 1996 than in 1974.

In a society with growing social disparity, naturally the "class" category becomes especially problematic. Should groups that are numerically large in size be more widely represented in the collection (and among the visiting public) than small ones? How should the museum's art buyers, for example, deal with the resource- and vote-rich new middle classes that are proliferating in the centre of Swedish cities? Should their perspective be as well represented as the perspectives of the peripheral municipalities' just as rapidly growing underclasses?<sup>111</sup> In 2006, the Social Democrat government also removed "class" from the list of perspectives that should be paid particular consideration by the museum.<sup>112</sup> In the new overall operational objectives of 2006, there is no mention whatsoever of any egalitarian perspective.<sup>113</sup> Here it simply states that a "gender equality and diversity perspective should be integrated throughout Moderna Museet's operations."<sup>114</sup> As of 2006, therefore, the appropriation directives are easier to interpret and less jarring in a liberal-market context: they simply urge the institution to do all it can to combat sexism and racism. If not before, the struggle against oppression linked to capitalism has now definitively been thrown overboard.<sup>115</sup> Target groups other than "class", however, have been added to the appropriation directives, in the spirit of identity politics without any internal hierarchy: "the disabled" (2002) and "children" (2007).<sup>116</sup>

### *The Public*

Studies of the museum-attending public hold few surprises. Unlike the volatility of political and economic arenas, social structures are more immutable: the low-educated are, for example, just as rare visitors to the museum today as they were in 1958. Furthermore, the source material dealing with the museums' visitors is a lot better than that relating to the museums' finances. Uninterrupted sequential files on visitor numbers over a fifty-year period are even easily accessible directly from the museums' homepages. Over time, the faith in visitor counts as a tool for determining the value and need of culture has increased.

During the 200-year anniversary of Nationalmuseum in 1992, the museum's former director Per Bjurström pointed out the following:

*In the eyes of both the media and the government, Moderna Museet is seen as the crucial crowd-pulling part of the National Art Museums. In reality, however, it has been Nationalmuseum that has enjoyed broader popular appeal and on only five occasions (1965, 1976, 1977, 1982 and 1988) has Moderna Museet achieved higher visitor numbers than its "parent" museum.<sup>117</sup>*

During the sixteen years that have gone by since Bjurström examined the issue in his anniversary book, Moderna Museet has clocked up more visitors than Nationalmuseum on a further seven occasions (1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006). If one looks at the entire fifty-year period, however, the older museum wins hands down against its younger sister in the contest for the most visitors: in 38 out of the past 50 years, Nationalmuseum has had more visitors than Moderna Museet (see chart 5). The visitor numbers, however, are not easy to interpret. In 35 out of the first 40 years (1958–97) Nationalmuseum's "older art" (from the period before 1900) brought in more visitors than Moderna Museet's "younger art" (from the time after 1900). At the same time, modern art has since attracted more visitors than the older art in 7 out of the last 10 years (1998–2007), i.e. ever since Rafael Moneo's

new, bigger museum edifice open its doors in 1998. Perhaps it is even the building itself, its size and attraction value, that should be considered the crucial visitor magnet of the art museum, rather than the artworks housed within it.

The fact that there is no correlation between the value of culture and the size of the audience goes without saying.<sup>118</sup> The question is whether there is even a simple correlation between many visitors and a large audience. It is misleading, representatives of the Swedish Art's Council commented in 1972, "to assess the value of the museum's operations based on the number of visitors. The contents of many exhibitions are disseminated above all through the press to a much greater number of people than visit the museum."<sup>119</sup> Moderna Museet's really big crowd pleasers are actually found at the bottom left-hand side of chart 5, where visitor frequency is low. Comparatively few people went to see the exhibition *4 Americans* (4 amerikanare) in 1962: just 28,000 people made their way to Moderna Museet to see works by the four artists who were, at that time, "almost completely unknown in Sweden."<sup>120</sup> Yet many hundreds of thousands more people have since become acquainted with Robert Rauschenberg's much-written-about *Monogram* (1955–59), for example, or "The Goat" as the work popularly became known as. So what we have here is low visitor numbers (in 1962) but a large audience (from 1962–2008).

As indicated, Moderna Museet is not supposed to just exhibit, reflect, collect and preserve modern art. Contemporary

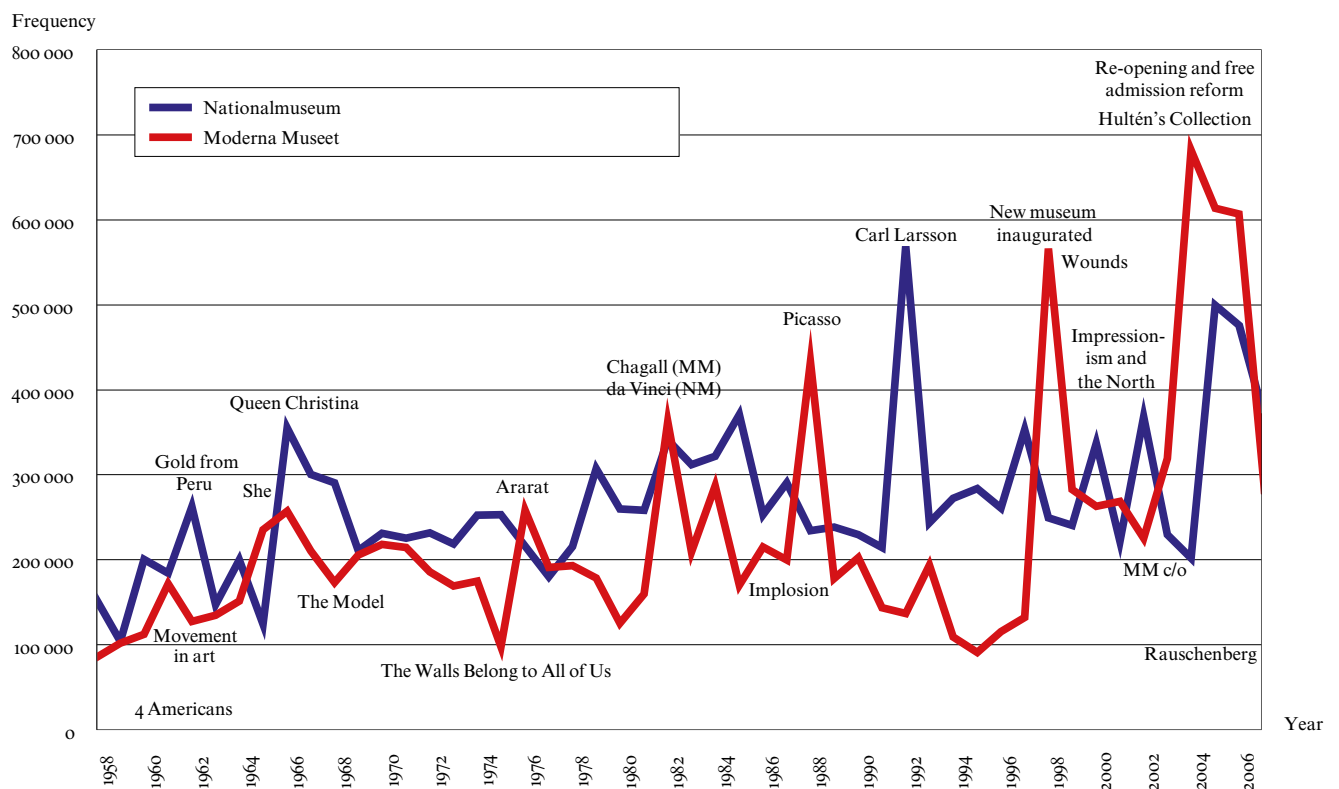


Chart 5. Visitor Frequency at Nationalmuseum and Moderna Museet 1958–2007

Source: Data for Nationalmuseum 1958–91 in Per Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum 1792–1992*, 1992, p. 382; 1992–93 in *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* 1993 no. 1, p. 93 and 1994 no. 1, p. 57; 1994–2005 in *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm* 1994/1995 p. 115, 1996 p. 92, 1997 p. 91, 1998 p. 69, 1999 p. 94, 2000 p. 106, 2001 p. 103, 2002 p. 107, 2003 p. 92, 2004 p. 105 and 2005 p. 116. For 2006 in the *Annual Report for the Nationalmuseum 2006*, p. 23 and 2007 directly from the museum. Data for Moderna Museet 1958–2006 from <http://www.modernamuseet.se> (20 July 2007) and for 2007 directly from the museum.

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art is also included in its remit. The central government even goes so far as to state that their goal is for Moderna Museet to be a “leading institution within contemporary art.”<sup>121</sup> Since innovative art by definition lacks any substantial and widely established demand in the present, and is consequently completely focused on the future, it is perhaps more appropriate to evaluate the museum’s performance on the contemporary art front in even fifty-year periods.<sup>122</sup> Perhaps even this is too short a span of time to do justice to the museum. For those artists who have attracted the greatest crowds of visitors to the museums, a much longer period of time than that has passed by between their artistic breakthrough and the crowds of visitors that have come to see them. As indicated in chart 5, the museums’ visitor statistics during the period are topped by the vanguard of the late 1800s and the early 1900s: Carl Larsson (Nationalmuseum 1992) and Pablo Picasso (Moderna Museet 1988). In that case, the monthly reporting regime specifying visitor numbers required by the current system – implemented in conjunction with the free admission reform of 2004 – seems breathtakingly short.<sup>123</sup> The quarterly reporting system in the business community, with mandatory financial reporting every three months, seems infrequent by comparison.<sup>124</sup> From the museums’ point of view, these frequent detail checks are baffling. What are these figures meant to be used for?<sup>125</sup> What is there, after all, to be surprised about every month? The cultural audience seldom does anything unexpected. If the admission is free (2004–06 in chart 5) more visitors come than if the admission costs money (compare 2007); if the museums make safe investments over the short term, and adjust the art selection in advance to suit an already quantifiable demand, more visitors will show up temporarily (compare Carl Larsson in 1992) than if they have the courage to make more risky long-term investments and exhibit artists who currently are not in demand (compare 4 *Americans* in 1962), whose future, in some cases, must surely lie ahead of them (71,000 people saw *Robert Rauschenberg: Combines* at Moderna Museet in 2007).<sup>126</sup>

There is no clear correlation between the amount of funds allocated and the number of visitors. During the 1960s, both funding for “exhibitions, maintenance, and the expansion of the collections etc.” (see the curve with the black circles in chart 1) and visitor numbers (see red and blue curve in chart 5) increased. While funding for exhibitions etcetera continued to go up during the 1970s, the number of visitors, particularly at Moderna Museet, tended to go down. During the first half of the 1980s, the opposite is true: funding for exhibitions etcetera declined while the visitor numbers to both museums rose.<sup>127</sup> The register of appropriations does not record funds allocated for exhibitions during the 1990s and 2000s.

The fact that there is no clear correlation between the amount of funds allocated and the number of visitors also becomes apparent when the two museums are compared. Because of the market-oriented system for state property administration, it becomes less meaningful to compare the museums’ state funding toward the end of the period being

studied: Moderna Museet’s funding is much higher than that of Nationalmuseum, but then so is its rent.<sup>128</sup> For a few years at the end of the 1970s, however, the register of appropriations kept separate accounts of the funding to the various museums that came under the jurisdiction of the National Art Museums. During the years 1976 to 1980, Moderna Museet, i.e. one of seven former departments within Nationalmuseum, was given more funding for “exhibitions, maintenance and expansion of the collection” than the other six departments combined.<sup>129</sup> There might, therefore, be some truth to Bjurström’s statement quoted above that Moderna Museet, in “the eyes of the government,” was considered to be the crowd-pulling part of the National Art Museums. While the state invested more in younger art, private individuals invested more in older art, not just in the form of more frequent visits to the museum building, but also through greater contributions to Nationalmuseum.<sup>130</sup>

“It is the government’s assessment that Moderna Museet should continue to be responsible for the introduction of innovative art,” Marita Ulvskog among others declared in the Culture Bill 1996/97:3, “to both a narrow and a wider public, and be the leading museum in the country within this area.”<sup>131</sup> The wider public in museum terms has the peculiar distinction of constituting a narrow group in the rest of society. To speak of a “wider public” visiting Moderna Museet, as happened in 2006, for example, when over 600,000 individuals made their way to the museum (chart 5), essentially only means that the museum receives *more* visitors from the social groups that come in small numbers in the years when the museum has a narrow public (as at the beginning of the 1960s when only 100,000 individuals visited the museum annually). The proportion of individuals with post-secondary education was consequently considerably higher among Moderna Museet’s “wider” public in 2006 (73 per cent) than in the overall Swedish population (29 per cent). The “narrow” portion of the abundant museum visitors in 2006 consisted of the group that had only had elementary or secondary school education (6 per cent), a group that at the same time was relatively large in the world outside the museum that year (24 per cent).<sup>132</sup> Even if the *proportion* of people with only elementary or secondary education was extremely low among the museum-attending public in the years with free admission 2004–06, a greater *number* of people with low education did, after all, attend the museum during these years (for natural reasons, because the overall number of visitors increased sharply). What is most striking, however, is the disproportionately large number of people with higher education.<sup>133</sup> The attempts since the 1960s to broaden the social composition of the museum-attending public has not met with success. Cultural habits change slowly.<sup>134</sup>

In their classic study of the art-museum-attending public in Europe, Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel demonstrated that the proportion of working-class museum visitors in 1964–65 was low in all the countries they studied: Greece (2 per cent), Holland (2 per cent), France (4 per cent) and Poland (10 per cent).<sup>135</sup> The same findings were obtained in the study conducted in Stockholm under preceptor Harald Swedner’s

supervision 1964–65: the proportion of working-class visitors to Moderna Museet was just as low as in the other countries (5 per cent).<sup>136</sup> Unfortunately, it is impossible to make any comparisons with the visitors' social composition over time. Despite all the talk about "class" in the appropriation directives at the end of the 1990s and the start of the 2000s, there is no data to conduct a class analysis (necessary information about the museum visitors' occupations, income, and capital assets). The questionnaires handed out to visitors to Moderna Museet today do not even include any questions about the respondent's occupation.<sup>137</sup> On the other hand, there is information about museum visitors' educational assets, and these seem to be more significant in this context than their economic assets. Regardless of where, or when, the visitors are studied, it becomes clear that the most compelling explanatory correlation seems to be between education and visitor frequency. That was the case in the European countries studied by Bourdieu and Darbel in 1964–65, that was the case in Swedner's study of Stockholm's museum-going public in the same year, and that was also one of the main conclusions of the state study *Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994* (Twenty years of cultural policy 1974–1994) that examined the situation in Sweden 1990–91.<sup>138</sup> Art museums are and will remain a venue for the highly educated. It even becomes clear if one looks at the youngest visitors' inherited educational assets: "Children of well-educated parents are heavily overrepresented," the National Art Museums determined when it surveyed visitors to Moderna Museet's Workshop in the middle of the 1990s.<sup>139</sup>

Not all social history relating to the museums, however, is static. The gender composition of the museum visitors does seem to have changed over time. In 1965, more men than women visited Moderna Museet (55 per cent), in 2005 the majority of visitors were women (58 per cent).<sup>140</sup>

#### *Movements in Art*

Moderna Museet's donor recognition board in the foyer today comprises fifty-seven names. It is a list of private individuals, all of whom, since the museum opened its doors in 1958, have made donations valued in excess of three million kronor, i.e. a list of private individuals each of whom has exceeded the annual state allocation for art acquisitions. The sponsor recognition board in the foyer, however, contains just ten names. Unlike many other countries, corporate sponsorship of museums is still a rare phenomenon in Sweden. Perhaps it is on the sponsor board that we will see the big movements over the coming fifty years. It all depends on what the state does.

While funding for the central museums' administrative machinery increased exponentially between 1958 and 2007, the allocations for art acquisitions remained consistently low and if anything decreased over time. The state's funding for exhibitions, and for maintaining the collections, however, has not been quite so meagre. Though the funds earmarked for exhibitions and maintaining the collections have been consistently low throughout the period, part of the funding for these areas lies hidden in allocations for the museums'

administration. The ballooning administrative costs were due in part to rising wage costs – apart from more administrators, there are more art educators and conservators – but above all, to the rising premises and other operating costs, which skyrocketed in conjunction with the deregulation and the marketisation of government services in 1993. Moderna Museet was not just forced to operate within tighter economic constraints. In conjunction with the deregulation, the central government also set more detailed objectives and guidelines for what the museum was supposed to take account of when acquiring new artworks for the collections (a class perspective, for example, was on their wish list from 1997–2005). The political constraints within which the museum had to operate, thus, became even more confining during the 1990s and 2000s.

There were no clear correlations between the level of funding for exhibitions and the number of museum visitors. In some years there was an increase in both funding for exhibitions and visitor numbers, in other years the funding for exhibitions increased while the number of visitors decreased, and yet other years, funding dropped while visitor numbers rose. The attempts since the 1960s to broaden the social composition of the museum-attending public has not met with success. Art museums are still the preserve of the well-educated.

In the section that examined the relationship between the museums' various sources of funding in the years 1958–2006, it emerged that the state appropriations have primarily gone toward paying for rent, security and wages, which raises the question of how the museums' art collections have been able to expand. The museums have been dependent on their own sources of income (e.g. from admissions and sales) and the support of private benefactors throughout the *entire* fifty-year period. The contributions from corporate sponsorship may have been small, but the contributions from donors have been all the greater. Apart from one huge, glaring exception, the state has taken very little responsibility for art acquisitions over the last fifty years. The fear that the state will abdicate the responsibility of paying for the museums' operations if Sweden heads down the international private-funding path, an issue that was discussed in the introduction, is therefore, to a degree, unwarranted. When it comes to art acquisitions, there simply is no throne for the state to abdicate. The state has primarily looked after art donated by private individuals, not bought its own.

What is justified, on the other hand, is the fear that the state will withdraw even more of its funding for the museums. As funding from the state declines and funding from private sources increases, so, too, do the problems of claiming that museums are actually public spaces, repositories for society's "collective memory", that they serve the public good and not the special interests of generous private donors and sponsors.<sup>141</sup> Moderna Museet's ability to credibly claim to also be a Citizen's Museum is largely derived from the great exception in all this, namely that the core of the museum's unique collection was financed by the state's one-time appropriation to *The Museum of our Wishes* in 1963, i.e. with the citizens' anonymous money.

*Appendix 1. Consolidated Items in the Register of Appropriations 1958–2007*

Appropriations to Nationalmuseum during the period 1958–75 also included Moderna Museet and Östasiatiska museet. Appropriations to the umbrella authority the Swedish National Art Museums from 1976–99 included Nationalmuseum, Moderna Museet and Östasiatiska museet. In 1999, Östasiatiska museet was incorporated into the National Museums of World Culture (Statens museer för världskultur) along with the Museum of Ethnography, the Mediterranean Museum, and the Museum of World Culture. The appropriation directives for the National Museums of World Culture 2000–07 do not provide separate accounts of the four museums contained within it, but I have gained access to revenue figures for Östasiatiska museet directly from the chief accountant Dick Wesström at the National Museums of World Culture. It has, therefore, been possible to include Östasiatiska museet's appropriations revenues for 1999–2007 in chart 1. In 1995, Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde came under state management. I have subtracted the portion of the funding for the Swedish National Art Museums 1995–99, and for Nationalmuseum 2000–07 that was earmarked for Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde. I.e. that is not included in chart 1.

The curve for *Administrative Costs (wages, rent etc.)* is pieced together from the following items in the register of appropriations: the sum of the items “wages” plus “expenses” for fiscal years 1958/59–61/62; the sum of “wages” plus “expenses” minus sub-allocations for “educational activities etc.” (see below) fiscal years 1962/63–63/64; and the sum of “wages” plus “expenses” for fiscal years 1964/65–68/69. For fiscal years 1969/70–75/76, the curve is based on the item simply called SKM's “administrative costs” in the register of appropriations, but minus sub-allocations for “exhibitions, film and concert operations” (see below). For the whole period 1976/77–92/93, the curve is made up entirely of the item “administrative costs” with the exception that I have, for one thing, added the temporary item “grants for special cultural purposes” (subtotal to offset deficit) 1981/82 and 1982/83, and also added the one-time allocation “development within the museum field” for fiscal year 1987/88. For fiscal year 1993/94–99 (the fiscal years starts to run parallel to the calendar year in 1997) the sum of the items “block appropriations” plus “appropriation credits” for SKM; during fiscal year 2000, the sum of “block appropriations” plus “appropriation credits” for NM and MM minus the minimum amount for MM's “acquisition of contemporary art” (compare below); and during fiscal year 2001–05 “block appropriations” for NM and MM minus the minimum amount for MM's “acquisition of contemporary art.” In fiscal year 2006 and 2007, the curve is based on the item “block appropriations” minus Moderna Museet's internally budgeted amount for art acquisitions (see below). Starting in 1998, the register of appropriations also records “estimated admission revenues and other revenues.” These revenues are not accounted for in the chart.

The curve for *Acquisition of contemporary (Swedish) art* consists of the following items in the register of appropriations: the sum of the appropriation items “requisition of

works by Swedish artists” and the “art acquisitions for long-term loans” during the fiscal year 1958/59–59/60. During fiscal year 1960/61, the following items have been consolidated: “requisition of works by Swedish artists for a) Moderna Museet, b) department of prints and drawings, and c) department of applied art” plus “art acquisitions for long-term loans” plus “procurement of modern Swedish art for the art-promoting organisations' travelling exhibitions”. During fiscal year 1961/62–70/71, the curve is based on the items “requisition of works by Swedish artists for Moderna Museet and for the procurement of modern Swedish art for the art-promoting organisations' travelling exhibitions” plus “requisition of works by Swedish artists for the departments of prints and drawings, as well as applied arts” plus “art acquisitions for long-term loans.” During the five-year period 1971/72–75/76, one further item was added, so the curve showing allocations for acquisitions is based on the allocation items “acquisitions of works by Swedish artists for Moderna Museet and of modern Swedish art for travelling exhibitions” plus “acquisitions of works by Swedish artists for the departments of prints and drawings, and applied art” plus “art acquisitions for long-term loans” plus “acquisitions of photographs, photographic literature et al.” For an extended period, during fiscal years 1976/77–91/92, allocations for art acquisitions were recorded under a single heading: “acquisitions of artworks by living Swedish artists.” For most of this period, fiscal years 1982/83–91/92, what this refers to is a recommended minimum allocation (“under this allocation item funds have been calculated in the amount of not less than [amount in SEK] for the acquisition of art by living Swedish artists”). The calculated funds for the acquisition of art are not specified at all in the register of appropriations during fiscal years 1992/93–99. During fiscal years 2000–05, the curve is based upon the item “acquisitions of contemporary art” – i.e. no longer specifically *Swedish* contemporary art – in the register of appropriations (this, too, is a recommended minimum allocation: “of this appropriation item a minimum amount of [amount in SEK] is to be used for the acquisition of contemporary art”). The funds allocated for art acquisitions in fiscal year 2006–07 are not recorded in the register of appropriations, but the figures have been provided by the museum. (Head of Accounting, Madeleine Albinzon, MM).

Finally, the curve for *Exhibitions, maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.* is based on the following items in the register of appropriations: during fiscal years 1958/59–61/62, on the sum of the items that are listed under the heading “maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.” minus the abovementioned amounts for “acquisitions of (Swedish) art”; and during fiscal years 1962/63–68/69 on the sum of the items “educational activities etc.” (which in the years 1962/63–63/64 formed a sub-category under Administrative Costs – compare above – and in the years 1964/65–68/69 had a heading all its own in the register of appropriations) plus “maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.” minus “acquisitions of (Swedish) art.” In fiscal years 1969/70–75/76, the curve consists of the following appropriation items: “exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art abroad” (which from

1965 to 1968 was included under the above-mentioned heading “educational activities etc.”) plus sub-appropriations for “exhibitions, film and concert operations” (compare above) plus “maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.” minus the amounts for “acquisitions of (Swedish) art”. In fiscal years 1976/77–80/81, the curve is based on “exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art abroad,” the new consolidated item “exhibitions and maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.” minus the amounts for “acquisitions of (Swedish) art,” while during fiscal year 1981/82 it also included “grants for special cultural purposes” (subtotal for “maintenance and expansion of the collections in the photography department”) in addition to allocations for “exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art abroad” and “exhibitions and maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.” minus the amounts for “acquisitions of (Swedish) art.” For fiscal year 1982/83, I have consolidated the new and temporary item “grants to Swedish institutes abroad” (allocations for “exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art abroad” are still recorded in the register of appropriations, but not under funds to the National Art Museums) with the item “grants for special cultural purposes” (subtotal for “maintenance and expansion of the collections in the photography department”) and the item “certain costs for exhibitions and collections etc.” and then subtracted the totals for “acquisitions of (Swedish) art.” For the two fiscal years 1983/84 and 1984/85, I have added “grants for special cultural purposes” (the allocation for “conservation of photographs in the photography department”) and “certain costs for exhibitions and collections etc.” and then subtracted the totals for “acquisitions of (Swedish) art.” During the last seven fiscal years (1985/86–91/92), when it is possible to distinguish the allocations for exhibitions etc. in the register of appropriations, the curve in the chart is based on the item “certain costs for exhibitions and collections etc.” minus the totals for “acquisitions of (Swedish) art” which is displayed separately in the chart.

The state’s one-time appropriations – 5 million kronor in the fiscal year of 1963/64 (in conjunction with the exhibition *The Museum of our Wishes*), 2 million in 1967/68 (compare Bjurström 1992, p. 307, 310, 315f, 335 and *Meddelande från Nationalmuseum* no. 89 1964, p. 73, and no. 93 1968, p. 75), and 5 million kronor for the acquisition of art by woman artists in fiscal year 2007, in conjunction with “The Second Museum of our Wishes,” (Press release 2007-09-06, Ministry of Culture, <http://www.regeringen.se>) – are not listed in the register of appropriations, but are nevertheless calculated into the data on which the curve *Exhibitions, maintenance and expansion of the collections etc.* is based in chart 1.

#### *Appendix 2. Administrative Costs 1958–92 in the Register of Appropriations*

Chart 2 also presents the three museums NM, MM and ÖM as a single unit. The bars indicating *Personnel Costs* in chart 2 comprise the following items in the register of appropriations: proposed allocations for “wages” 1958–70 and “wage costs” 1971–92. The bars for *Premises Costs* are composed of the items “fuel, lighting and water” 1958–61, “expenses,

fuel, lighting, and water” 1962–68 and just “premises costs” 1969–92. And finally, the bars indicating *Other Expenses* are calculated in the following manner: in part I have deducted costs for “fuel, lighting and water” from the broad heading “expenses” 1958–68 (from which I have additionally subtracted expenditure for “educational activities etc.” for 1962 and 1963), and also subtracted wage and premises costs from the aggregate category “administrative costs” for the years 1969–92 (from which I have also subtracted expenditure for “exhibitions, film and concert operations” for the years 1969–75). The allocation item “premises costs” is an untidy and changeable category. From 1981 to 1983, estimated funds “for rents, wages for custodial technicians, other premises maintenance costs, security costs, and expenses for heating and other premises-related costs.” For fiscal year 1984/85, wages for custodial technicians are no longer recorded under “premises costs” (wages for custodial technicians are instead included under the allocation heading “wages” 1984–92). During fiscal year 1989/90, funds for “security” have been removed from the allocation pot for “premises” (funds for security have instead been included under the allocation heading for “wages” 1989–92).

#### *Appendix 3. Administrative Costs 1985–2006 in Annual Financial Statements and Annual Reports*

Chart 3 also presents the three museums NM, MM and ÖM as a single unit. (Information regarding the administrative costs for Östasiatiska museet for the years 1999–2006 has come from chief accountant Dick Wesström at the National Museums of World Culture.) “As of 1 January 1995, Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde (PEW) is part of SKM,” notes the *National Art Museums’ Annual Report* 1994/95, p. 42. PEW’s administrative costs for the years 1996–2006 are indicated in the annual reports. I have subtracted that amount from the costs that are presented in chart 3. Since SKM’s annual reports do not list the administrative costs for each of the museums separately in the early years of 1994/95 and 1995/96, I have used PEW’s average administrative costs for the two following years (1996 and 1997) as a standard deduction for half of fiscal year 1994/95, and all of fiscal year 1995/96. The bars showing *Personnel Costs* in chart 3 include “wage costs” in the annual financial statements 1985–91 and “costs for personnel” in the annual reports 1993–2006. The bars showing *Premises Costs* are based, not surprisingly, on the items “premises costs” in the annual financial statements 1985–91 and “costs for premises” in the annual reports 1993–2006. And finally, the bars showing *Other Expenses* comprise the items “other administrative costs” in the annual financial statements 1985–91, and on the following headings in the annual reports: “other operational costs” plus “depreciations” 1993–96, “other operating costs” plus “depreciations and write-offs” 1997–98, “other operating costs” plus “financial costs” plus “depreciations and write-offs” 1999–2006. In the years 1985 and 1986, the security costs do not appear in SKM’s annual reports. On the other hand, “security costs” are recorded separately in SKM’s annual reports 1987–91. Unlike the register of appropriations, which includes funds allocated for “security” under “wage costs” for the years 1989–92 (compare appendix 2), I include

the actual costs for “security” 1987–91 under “other costs” in chart 3. That makes the annual financial statements 1987–91 more comparable to the annual reports 1994–99. From 1994 to 1999, SKM seems to record the actual security costs under “other operating costs.” From 2000–06, however, security and alarm costs – just like the period 1958–88 in the register of appropriations – are classified under “premises costs” (see *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2000, p. 34 note 4).

#### Appendix 4. Sources of Funding 1958–74 and 1985–2006

Memoranda (meddelande) from Nationalmuseum regarding the management and expansion of the state art collections for the years 1958–74 are easily accessible on the shelves of Nationalmuseum’s library on Blasieholmen. These “memoranda” from Nationalmuseum differ substantially from the “annual financial statements” that the new authority, the National Art Museums (1976–99) later used to record their operations. Among other things, the accounting figures are so scanty in NM’s memoranda that one wonders if they were seriously intended to be the authority’s proper annual financial statements and not some kind of lay person’s outline for a wider audience. A random sampling from the end of the period, however, indicates that they do match up. The register of incoming documents to the Ministry of Education and Research for 1975 and 1976 reveals that Nationalmuseum submitted annual reviews for 1973 and 1974 (compare note 12). The fact that these “annual reviews” for 1973 and 1974 are identical to the printed “memoranda” from 1973 (no. 98) and 1974 (no. 99) is from the following volumes (RA depository in Arninge): *Utbildningsdepartementet, Kulturenheten: departementsakter ad acta, Inkomna handlingar E2H volym 1, jan-juli 1975, dnr 1209 och E2H volym 3, jan-maj 1976, dnr 496*. A random sampling of documents received by the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs at the start of period being studied also confirms that they tally up (RA Marieberg): *Register till ingående diariet år 1958* explains that Nationalmuseum’s annual review 1957 (submitted 4 juni 1958, dnr 3611) can be traced – via *Diarium över inkomna mål 1958, vol 1, 4 juni, dnr 3611* – to the *Ecklesiastikdepartementet, Akademibyrån, Dep-ärenden 1958, kartong juni-augusti*. It is clear from the latter volume that Nationalmuseum simply sent in the printed memorandum 1957 (no. 82) as the authority’s annual review 1957. The bars showing *Appropriations* 1958–74 in chart 4 are based solely on figures taken from the register of appropriations. It may not be very clear what kinds of revenues are hidden within the category “miscellaneous funds” in the memoranda from Nationalmuseum, but the total allocation that is recorded in the register of appropriations 1958–74 is significantly higher than the total that is listed in NM’s memoranda 1958–74. It therefore seems less likely that the printed memorandum contains any information at all about budget allocations (for wages, premises etcetera). Apart from a few exceptions, (revenues from “tax revenues” 1958–66 and “funds for employment policy programmes” 1967–74, which I have consistently deducted from the overview, the memoranda from Nationalmuseum seem only to record revenues from the museum’s operations (see bar *Fees* 1958–74 in chart 4) and

contributions from donors and funds (see bar for *Contributions and Grants* 1958–74). The bars showing revenues from *Fees* 1958–74 are based, inter alia, on the following revenue items in NM’s memoranda: “exhibition funds”, “sales funds”, “guide funds”; i.e. admissions and sales revenues. A few items may be more fuzzy (e.g. revenues from “archive funds” and “museum lecturer funds”), but I have nevertheless consolidated them under the heading revenues from *Fees* in chart 4. It is possible, therefore, that the item revenues from operations (from “fees”) may be a little high if the allocated funds have been erroneously recorded as fee revenues. The results, however, cannot have been too skewed as we are talking about relatively small amounts under the circumstances. As regards the bar that indicating revenues from *Contributions and Grants* 1958–74, the situation is less unclear. Apart from two exceptions – the state’s one-time appropriation of 5 million in 1963, and 2 million in 1967 – the memoranda from Nationalmuseum records revenues from private donors and gifts. Many donations, e.g. Julia Sofia Giesecke’s donation, were made as far back as the end of the 1800s (Bjurström 1992, p. 139, 307). Minor “revenues” from these – from interest and suchlike – are then recorded year by year. I have been interested in the donation proceeds that were *used* during fiscal years 1958–74, and have therefore made use of that heading in NM’s memoranda that totals the “expenses” from the funds, i.e. the sums that have been taken from the donations during the course of the fiscal year. I have subtracted the state’s two one-time appropriations as they are already included in the material on *Appropriations* 1958–74 (which I took from the register of appropriations). The bars showing *Appropriations* 1985–2006 in chart 4 are specifically based on the item “appropriations” in the annual financial statements (1985–91) and the annual reports (1993–2006). The bars showing *Fees* 1985–2006 are calculated based on the items “revenues” (in connection with the exhibitions) in the annual financial statements 1985–91, and on the items “revenues from fees” plus “revenues from exhibitions etc.” in the annual reports 1993–2006. As of 1999, “sponsorship revenues” are included under revenues from “fees”. The first year that sponsorship revenues appear in this context, in 1998, they are classified under revenues from “contributions and grants”. See *Annual Report 1999 for the Nationalmuseum including Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde*, p. 30. And finally, the bars showing *Contributions and Grants* 1985–2006 in chart 4 are comprised of the following items: the sum of the items “contributions and grants” (primarily from funds) in the years 1985 and 1986, plus “Stockholm Municipality,” the item “other funding” in 1987, the items “funds” plus “external funds” in the years 1988–91, and the items “contributions and grants from private companies” plus “withdrawals from donation funds” plus “other contributions and grants” in the years 1993–96. Since 1997, the funds have been treated as foundations and, therefore, are not recorded in the annual reports at all (see *Annual Report 1997 for the National Art Museums*, p. 41). For the years 1997–2006, the bars showing contributions and grants in chart 4 are based on an item that has the same name in the annual reports: “revenues from contributions and grants.”

- 1 List of people invited to the opening of Moderna Museet in 1958, p. 10, Folder F1CB. F4:1, Moderna Museets myndighetsarkiv (MMA). Compare people thanked in "Otte Sköld's speech at the opening of Moderna Museet d. 9/5 1958 at 11.30 a.m.", *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983, eds. Olle Granath and Monica Niekels, Stockholm 1983, p. 11ff.
- 2 "Attire: dark suit," the invitation cards informed, also noting that "Moderna Museet works in partnership with NCC, Pharmacia & Upjohn, Posten Sverige AB, SAS Scandinavian Airlines and Svenska Dagbladet". F5:31, MMA.
- 3 The opening of Moderna Museet and the Museum of Architecture 12 February 1998. Seating arrangements. F5:30, MMA.
- 4 *Regleringsbrev för 2002 (Appropriation Directives)*, Central museums: Institutions, Moderna Museet, Stockholm 2001, p. 155, 160. "Over the course of the year, important sponsorship agreements have been reached with Pharmacia and SAS," the National Art Museums states already in its *Årsredovisning (Annual Report)* 1994/95, p. 14. In reference to SKM's annual report three years later in 1997, however, the National Audit Office (Riksrevisionsverket) reacted: "In SKM's appropriation directives, the government has not indicated whether SKM is allowed to finance its operations through additional funding sources such as sponsorship. SKM should therefore request clarification from the government whether sponsorship may be employed, and in that case to what degree." *Revisionsrapport* 1998-03-31. *Statens konstmuseers (SKM) Årsredovisning* 1997 (reg. no. 11-134/98). In response to the aforementioned auditors' report, SKM referred to the fact that the Committee of Cultural Affairs (Kulturutskottet) in its official report *Betänkande* 1996/97: *KrU1 Kulturpolitik, m.m. (prop. 1996/97:3 och prop. 1996/97:1 utgiftsområde 17)*, had stated that "sponsorship is an additional form of funding for, inter alia, cultural institutions." That prompted the National Audit Office to point out once again that "there is nothing in either SKM's appropriation directives nor any other government decision to suggest that funding from sponsorship applies specifically to SKM." *Klargörande* 1998-08-03 av RRV's *Revisionsrapport* 1998-03-31 (*Reg. no. 30-1998-0675*) över SKM's *Årsredovisning* 1997 (reg. no. 11-134/98). Statens Konstmuseer med föregångare, Förvaltningsenheten (FE), Handlingar enligt dossierplan 1998. F2:110, Nationalmusei arkiv (NM archives). Not until the appropriation directives of 2002, as indicated, was it expressly set down that the art museums were permitted to use sponsorship as an additional source of funding.
- 5 Pierre Bourdieu and Hans Haacke, *Free Exchange*, Cambridge 1995/2005, p. 17. A general definition of symbolic capital reads: "symbolic capital is that which is recognised by social groups as valuable and hence is given value." See Donald Broady, *Sociologi och epistemologi. Om Pierre Bourdieus författarskap och den historiska epistemologin*, Stockholm 1991, p. 169.
- 6 See e.g. Travis English, "Hans Haacke, or the Museum as Degenerate Utopia", *Kritikos. Journal of postmodern cultural sound, text and image*, vol. 4, March 2007, p. 2.
- 7 Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals. Inside Public Art Museums*, London/New York 1995/2007, p. 6.
- 8 Bourdieu and Haacke 1995/2005, p. 14ff, 68–76.
- 9 I have received constructive comments on the text from Mikael Börjesson, Per Eriksson, Raoul Galli, Lena Gemzöe, Peter Geschwind, Ronny Pettersson, Patrik Svensson and Johan Söderberg, as well as the higher seminar at the Department of Economic History, Stockholm University, 24 Jan. 2008, for which I am very grateful.
- 10 "Records inventories and internal guidelines for archive accumulation, archive maintenance, sorting etc. are still missing," the Audit Office at the Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency (AO) wrote sternly in a report 16 June 1986, *Revisionsrapport över löpande granskning av Statens Konstmuseers (SKM) budgetåret* 1985/86 (reg. no. 11-198/86), "despite the fact that AO has been pointing out these shortcomings for several years, and must be rectified forthwith" (p. 9). The archive accumulation had been taking place intermittently, without any overall plan. "This has led to inconsistencies and varying routines. It is thus difficult to get an overview of the contents of the archive" (p. 10). During fiscal year 1986/87, Riksarkivet (RA, the National Archives) had intended to help SKM to improve the routines for archive accumulation and registration (p. 11f). Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1986. F2:1. SKM, however, had difficulty implementing RA's recommendations. SKM was still behind in the maintenance of its archives in the 1990s. "Due to lack of funds, SKM is unable to implement the stipulations of the new archive law," they wrote in *Fördjupad anslagsframställning budgetåren* 1993/94–1995/96 (reg. no. 11-287/92), "and calls for an additional 150,000 kronor, for a part-time archivist, to be added to the administrative costs," p. 17. Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1992. F2:60, NM archives.
- 11 I have made use of archive material that is housed at Nationalmuseum, the National Library, Moderna Museet, Riksarkivet in Marieberg, and Riksarkivet in Arninge. Most of the archive work could be carried out within the scope of the parallel project financed by the Swedish Research Council, *Konsten att lyckas som konstnär. Socialt ursprung, kön, utbildning och karriär* 1945–2007, with its overlapping research interests. Documents are not organised in dossiers according to subject, but rather are scattered throughout Nationalmuseum's archives for the whole period 1958–85. Not until 1986 (compare note 10) did SKM implement a filing plan that, for example, collates economic documents under one heading, in dossier no. 11, NM archives. That greatly facilitates the work. The gaps in the source material are large. For example, the following accounting records in Moderna Museet's archives: huvudböcker för bokföring 1971–78 (G1 vol. 1–2) kassaböcker huvudserie (G2a), kassaböcker för utställningsmedel 1966–69 (G2b vol. 1–2). Furthermore, certifications are disposed of (G3) ten years after the close of the accounting year (MMA). Many thanks to the archivists Eva Ioannidis (Moderna Museet) and Gertrud Nord (Nationalmuseum).
- 12 Nationalmuseum submitted a sort of annual review "Årsberättelse för år 1973" to the Ministry of Education and Research (*Huvudarkiv, Register till huvuddiariet, Inkomna mål* 1975, C1B vol. 1), the Ministry also received Nationalmuseum's annual review for 1974 (*Huvudarkiv, Register till huvuddiariet, Inkomna mål* 1976, C1B vol. 4. RA Arninge). Compare appendix 4. After that, the Ministry of Education and Research has no record of any further annual reviews, whether from Nationalmuseum or the National Art Museums, for a ten-year period. (No annual reviews or annual reports are mentioned in the main archives of the Ministry of Education and Research, main archive; main register, incoming documents under the letter K, Konstmuseer Statens: 1977 C1B vol. 6; 1978 C1B vol. 9; 1979 C1B vol. 11; 1980 C1B vol. 14; 1981 C1B vol. 16; 1982 C1B vol. 19; 1983 C1B vol. 21; 1984 *ingivareregister I-R* C1B vol. 24; 1985 *ingivareregister J-R* C1B vol. 30. RA Arninge.) On 29 November 2007, the Ministry of Education and Research, via the Government Office for Administrative Affairs, informs in an e-mail that they cannot recall any exemptions being granted to the National Art Museums releasing it from the requirement to submit annual reviews during the years 1975–85. The Swedish Arts Council was established in 1974. It took up the middle ground between the Ministry of Education and Research and the museums. During the period 1974–87, there was a committee within the Council – (the committee for art, museums, exhibitions – which handled certain matters. The period corresponds to the period during which SKM did not submit any annual reviews to the Ministry of Education and Research. Did SKM submit any annual reviews to the Swedish Arts Council 1975–84? No, no annual reviews from SKM have been recorded in the Arts Council's alphabetised register of received 1975–83 during the following randomly sampled years: 1977 (*Statens kulturråd, Alfabetiskt register till diariet*, C1B vol. 3), 1980 (*Statens kulturråd, Alfabetiskt register till diariet*, C1B vol. 6) and 1983 (*Statens kulturråd, Alfabetiskt register till diariet*, C1B vol. 9), RA Arninge.
- 13 The registers of appropriations are easily accessible at RA in Marieberg for the period 1958–95, and at the National Library for the period 1997–2002. As of 2003, the register of appropriations is only published in electronic form at the National Financial Management Authority (Ekonomistyrningsverket): <http://www.esv.se>.
- 14 Compare the discussion about the problems that make comparison more difficult over time in *SOU* 1995:85 *Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994*, p. 547ff.
- 15 Among the overall objectives of the central museums is to "develop and disseminate knowledge and experiences about culture and environment, and thereby offer perspectives on society's development." See, for example, the register of appropriations, *Statsliggaren för budgetåret* 1995/96, Ministry of Culture XI, Centrala museer: myndigheter, p. 14. This formulation appears in a slightly modified form in all appropriation directives between 1995 and 2007.
- 16 Compare the National Financial Management Authority's presentation of the funding of state authorities <http://www.esv.se/amnesomraden/finansiering.4.1f4cdd2feddf9a348000603.html>, 11 Sept. 2007.
- 17 How state appropriations were actually divided up among the various museums cannot be determined either in many of their own annual financial statements and annual reports. "The National Art Museums still has no internal budget adjusted to its operations with regular reporting requirements. Allocated funds and planned revenues should be distributed to the institution and to its individual units," wrote the Audit Office at the Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency in the previously quoted (note 10) critical report 16 June 1986, *Revisionsrapport över löpande*

- granskning av Statens Konstmuseers (SKM) budgetåret 1985/86 (reg. no. 11-198/86). Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1986. F2:1, NM archives.
- 18 Compare Lars Nittve's discussion about modern museums and contemporary art museums, "Det moderna museet – och Moderna Museet." *Moderna Museet. Boken*, eds. Cecilia Widenheim et al., Stockholm 2004, unpaginated. See also Johan Ericstam, "Konstmuseifältet," *Kulturens fält*, ed. Donald Broadly, Gothenburg 1998, p. 245. The Swedish Code of Statutes, *SFS* 1999:563 *Förordning med instruktion för Moderna Museet*, stated that "Moderna Museet's mission is to exhibit, reflect, collect and preserve modern and contemporary art in all its forms (1 §). In today's appropriation directives it says, "The goal for Moderna Museet is to preserve and disseminate modern and contemporary art." See for example, *Statsliggaren för år 2007. Utbildnings- och kulturdepartementet*, Centrala museer: myndigheter, Moderna Museet, p. 1. The latest directive (*SFS* 2007:1177) does not talk about "modern" and "contemporary" art, but about art from the "1900s" and the "2000s": "Moderna Museet's remit is to collect, preserve, exhibit and disseminate art from the 1900s and 2000s in all its forms" (1 §). Compare note 121.
  - 19 See, for example, directive *SFS* 1976:439, *Förordning med instruktion för statens konstmuseer*, 4 §. The division of duties between Nationalmuseum, Moderna Museet, and Östasiatiska museet is dealt with in 5 §, 6 § and 7 §. See also *SFS* 1999:562, *Förordning med instruktion för statens konstmuseer med Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde*, 2 § and 4 § as well as *SFS* 1999:563, *Förordning med instruktion för Moderna museet*, 1 § and 4 §.
  - 20 "A museum without a conscious acquisitions policy runs the risk of gradually being transformed into an art warehouse," wrote the National Art Museums, for example, in its appropriations request 18 Aug. 1986. The background to this was that "SKM's ability to make significant acquisitions" had been reduced according to the museum's management. Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1986, reg. no. 11-255/86. F2:1, NM archives.
  - 21 Compare the discussion on nominal as opposed to inflation-adjusted values in *SOU* 1995:85 *Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994*, p. 773.
  - 22 *Budgetproposition för 1998, Prop. 1997/98:1*, Expenditure Area 17, p. 84f.
  - 23 *Budgetproposition för 2004, Prop. 2003/04:1*, Expenditure Area 17, p. 83 (money to MM and ÖM); *Budgetproposition för 2005, Prop. 2004/05:1*, Expenditure Area 17, p. 88 (money to NM).
  - 24 The item "Exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art abroad" remains in the register of appropriations during the years 1982–96, but is no longer recorded under appropriations to the National Art Museums. In the register of appropriations for 1997 (vol. 4, expenditure area 17, p. 122), however, it says once again that the National Art Museums is to "promote international exhibition cooperation above all with regard to activities previously organised by NUNSKU (the committee for exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art abroad)."
  - 25 "The museums' hopes that this appropriation would be repeated the following year and thus come to benefit one of the other museums in the group unfortunately came to naught, Per Bjurström continues, *Nationalmuseum 1792–1992*, Stockholm 1992, p. 363.
  - 26 Jörgen Svensson and Staffan Mossenmark, *Vi. En dokumentation om kulturrådgiveri*, Sövedalen 1997, p. 18. The National Art Museums' block appropriations did not even cover the three main cost categories; rent, wages and security. When it came to art purchases, SKM had "since a few years back" been "completely dependent on private funds and gifts," they reveal in *Fördjupad anslagsframställning budgetåren 1997–1999* (reg. no. 11-10/96), p. 4, 15, 17. Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1996. F2:94, NM archives.
  - 27 *Statens konstmuseers årsredovisning* 1998, p. 17.
  - 28 During the 1980s (1982/83–91/92), and during the 2000s (2000–05) this meant recommended "minimum allocations". Compare appendix 1.
  - 29 *Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum*, no. 85 1960, p. 4, 15. Under the heading "Kansli och ekonomiförvaltning" the request for increased allocations for the purchase of art due to "the constant rise in prices on the art market," is repeated every year. See *Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum*, no. 88, 1963 (p. 73), no. 89, 1964 (p. 71), no. 90, 1965 (p. 64), no. 91, 1966 (p. 73), no. 92, 1967 (p. 67), no. 93, 1968 (p. 72), no. 94, 1969 (p. 67), no. 95, 1970 (p. 72), no. 96, 1971 (p. 74), no. 97, 1972 (p. 71), no. 98, 1973 (p. 70), no. 99, 1974 (p. 66) and no. 100, 1975 (p. 64). *Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum 1882–1975* (no. 1–100) are followed by *Nationalmuseums Bulletin*, but that does not contain any accounting figures.
  - 30 *Kulturutskottets betänkande* 2000/01: KrU1, "3.4. Hyreskostnader för vissa kulturinstitutioner".
  - 31 Carl Nordenfalk, "Till Konungen 31/3 1960", *Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum*, no. 84, 1959, p. 5. In the beginning of the 1970s, Moderna Museet's staff had increased to 4 museum officials and some 15 other positions. *SOU* 1973:5 *Museerna. Betänkande av 1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga*, p. 126, 241. Compare also *SOU* 1995:85 *Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994. Tabellbilaga*, which compiled the number of annual work units (AWU) at the National Art Museums on a handful of occasions between 1982 (164 AWU) and 1993 (194 AWU), p. 320.
  - 32 The group *Administrators* comprised 38 people that the website [http://www.modernamuseet.se/v4/templates/template3\\_staff.asp?id=40](http://www.modernamuseet.se/v4/templates/template3_staff.asp?id=40) (21 Jan. 2008) lists under the headings "Director's Office" (3 people), "Communication" (15 people) and "Administration" (20 people). The group of *curators and other art educators* consists of 29 people that the website presents under the heading "Art and Learning (Exhibitions and Collection, Learning and Registrar's Office.)" In addition, the website presents the following units: "Conservation" (7 people), "Technology" (12 persons) and, as part of the communications department, "Museum Hosts" (13 persons). Moderna Museet also had 23 Access Staff in the winter of 2008.
  - 33 *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2006, p. 9. In 2006, the museum had considerably more personnel, 125 of them (p. 38), than in 2007, when, as indicated, there were about 100 employees at the museum. See also *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2004, p. 8, which compares Moderna Museet's costs with those of other museums and art galleries in the country.
  - 34 Parliamentary Audit Office, *Kulturinstitutionernas hyror. Förstudie* 2000/01:12, p. 3, note 2. The extensive refurbishment and rebuilding of Moderna Museet between 20 October 1974 and 7 November 1975 seems not to have significantly affected the administrative costs (compare chart 2). Bjurström 1992, p. 335.
  - 35 Parliamentary Audit Office, *Kulturinstitutionernas hyror. Förstudie* 2000/01:12, p. 3, 15; the report *Den arbetsgivarpolitiska delegeringen inom staten*, The Agency for Government Employers (Arbetsgivarverket), 2007:3, p. 7, presents these changes as a "system change".
  - 36 See for example, Lena Svanberg, *Att leka marknad. En rapport om Kulturens hyror*, draft proposal for an ESO report, 2000, p. 6. The expert group for studies in public finances (ESO) was an independent think tank under the Ministry of Finance 1981–2003 (restarted in December 2007). Svanberg's now difficult-to-access working paper was published in September 2000, on the Swedish Arts Council's website as well as elsewhere.
  - 37 The fact that the total amount is somewhat higher in the annual financial statements and annual reports than in the register of appropriations is because they also record the costs that were funded by revenues and grants.
  - 38 The funds allocated for security costs, SKM wrote in *Anslagsframställning för budgetåret 1990/91* (reg. no. 11-400/89), have "been nothing close to in reasonable proportion to reality," p. 12. Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1989. F2:33, NM archives.
  - 39 Security costs are recorded, for example, under "premises costs" (1958–88), "personnel costs" (1989–92) as well as "other costs" (1994–99). At the end of the period (2000–06), security costs reappear under "premises costs". See appendices 2 and 3.
  - 40 The increase in administrative costs 1998 (chart 3) "is due primarily to the opening of the new Moderna Museet" (*Statens Konstmuseer årsredovisning* 1998, p. 7, 16). The increase in costs three years earlier, during fiscal year of 1995/96, is probably due to the fact that this fiscal year was 18 months instead of 12 (*Statens Konstmuseer årsredovisning* 1995/96, p. 2).
  - 41 Interview with Olle Granath, 13 June 2007.
  - 42 Parliamentary Audit Office, *Kulturinstitutionernas hyror. Förstudie* 2000/01:12, p. 3, note 2.
  - 43 The State Building Administration (Byggnadsstyrelsen) was abolished in 1993 and replaced by two joint-stock companies (Vasakronan AB, whose job it was to manage the state's commercial properties, and Akademiska Hus AB, with the task of administering university and colleges, and finally two public authorities, the National Property Board (Statens fastighetsverk), in charge of managing the state's cultural properties, and the National Premises Agency (Statens lokalförslörjningsverk), with the task, among other things, of performing a staff function for the government). *SOU* 2004:28 *Hyressättning av vissa ändamålsfastigheter*, p. 42f.
  - 44 Interview with Olle Granath, 13 June 2007.
  - 45 Quoted from Svanberg 2000, p. 30. In 1999, security costs are recorded under other costs in chart 3. The discussion between the central government and the National Art Museums regarding security at the museums and the associated costs went on for several years: it preceded the spectacular heist at Moderna Museet in 1993 (*SKM årsredovisning* 1993/94, p. 4) and apparently continued thereafter.
  - 46 The reverse is also true: the lower the rents the lower the allocations. When the rent was lowered for five cultural institutions, including

- Nationalmuseum, in the middle of the 2000s, their allocations were lowered by the same amount. *SOU* 2004:28 *Hyressättning av vissa ändamålsfastigheter*, p. 184, 188. Compare Parliamentary Audit Office, *Kulturinstitutionernas hyror. Förstudie* 2000/01:12, p. 4, 12, 17.
- 47 See for example Lena Svanberg's report on the National Property Board's market rents "Leka marknad" ("Let's Play Market") and the National Property Board's response to "Leka rapportskrivare" ("Let's Play Report Writer") in the fall of 2000, and the media debate about the rents paid by cultural institutions that followed. Compare also the discussion in the summer of 2007, about rent increases for the National Museums of World Culture.
- 48 "The state pays itself substantial administrative supplements," criticised Anders Björck, County Governor of Uppsala, in an editorial in *Dagens Nyheter*, "Statens fastighetsverk måste läggas ned", 7 Oct. 2005.
- 49 Parliamentary Audit Office, *Kulturinstitutionernas hyror. Förstudie* 2000/01:12, p. 3.
- 50 Compare *SOU* 2004:28 *Hyressättning av vissa ändamålsfastigheter*, p. 57, 184.
- 51 Arne Ruth, "Kaos är granne med kulturpolitiken", *Dagens Nyheter* 14 Sept. 2006, p. 4f. Moderna Museet's Chairman of the Board Anna-Greta Leijon also suggested that it was a very strange way of doing things in *Svenska Dagbladet*, 1 Sept. 2000, "not least because it gives the public a false impression of how much culture actually costs"; quoted in Svanberg 2000, p. 2. Compare p. 31.
- 52 The museums in New York, in particular the MoMA and Whitney, however, led a more uncertain financial existence than Moderna Museet in the sense that they were 100 per cent dependent upon the annual support of sponsors and private contributors. Internal memo 4 Oct. 2002, Agneta Modig Tham, Moderna Museet.
- 53 *Statsliggaren för år* 2001, Kulturdepartementet, Centrala museer: myndigheter, Moderna museet, p. 198f.
- 54 Bjurström 1992, p. 307, 310, 316, 335. The one-time allocation to Nationalmuseum in 1967 for the "purchase of older art" came from the state lottery funds earmarked for cultural purposes, explains *SOU* 1973:5 *Museerna. Betänkande av 1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga*, p. 88, table 4, p. 274.
- 55 "Moderna Museets historia", <http://www.modernamuseet.se/v4/templates/template3.asp?id=2131>, 20 July 2007. My italics. Compare Ulf Linde, "Memoarer", *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983 1983, p. 60, and Olle Granath's formulation ("På fyrtio ljusårs avstånd") in *M. Moderna Museets Vänners tidskrift* no. 2, 2003, p. 41: "Manna rained over the museum in the form of five million kronor from the government."
- 56 Voices in the press pointed out in Annika Hökerberg, *Moderna museets tillkomst och första verksamhet*, essay for the proseminar in political science, Stockholm University 1968, part 2, p. 2, 4, 7.
- 57 Lars Nitte, "Slentrianmässig prioritering av manliga konstnärskap," *Dagens Nyheter* 18 April 2006.
- 58 Erika Josefsson, "Fem miljoner till kvinnors konst," *Uppsala Nya Tidning* 7 Sept. 2007.
- 59 Öyvind Fahlström, "Moderna Museet. Från pompa och ståt, till informationscentrum" (1970), *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983 1983, p. 170.
- 60 Internal memo 9 Jan. 2008, Madeleine Albinzon, Responsible for Accounting, Moderna Museet. Compare for example "Ny miljögåva till Moderna museet. Privata donatorer mångdubbelt generösare än staten," *Svenska Dagbladet* 19 Nov. 2007. See also texts on "The Second Museum of our Wishes" at <http://www.modernamuseet.se/v4/templates/template4.asp?id=3409>, 17 Dec. 2007.
- 61 Total public spending on culture, i.e. from the state and the municipalities as well as county councils, increased during the 1970s and by the end of the decade reached a little over one per cent of Sweden's gross national product (GNP), once the allocations for adult educational associations has also been factored in, after which it stabilised at under one per cent of GNP. *SOU* 1995:85, p. 552.
- 62 Press release 6 Sept. 2007, "5 miljoner kronor till Moderna museet för inköp av kvinnliga konstnärers verk", Ministry of Culture, <http://www.regeringen.se>, 19 Nov. 2007.
- 63 Interview with Olle Granath, 13 June 2007.
- 64 Otte Sköld paid lengthy tribute to "the deceased dominatrix Emma Spitzer" in his inaugural address 1958, *Moderna Museet* 1958–1983 1983, p. 12. Compare p. 17, 30. See also Hökerberg 1968, part 1, p. 7f and Bjurström 1992, p. 244, 284, 290. Today Moderna Museet manages four foundations: the Gerard Bonnier, Carl Friberg, Österlindska, and the Anna-Stina Malmberg and Gunnar Höglund foundations. *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2006, p. 44. Compare note 130.
- 65 Interview with Olle Granath, 13 June 2007. Comparing today's museum management: "Donations are crucial to the museum's collection. For without them, the collection would be unable to maintain the international standard it has today." *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2006, p. 12.
- 66 Compare the questions that Sven Nilsson poses in *Kulturens vägar. Kultur och kulturpolitik i Sverige*, Malmö 1999, p. 16: "Does this reflect bourgeois cultural dominance, or a new class taking the lead in culture and society? Or did we in fact get a social democratic state and a bourgeois culture." Compare p. 263.
- 67 Some issues of *M. Moderna Museets Vänners tidskrift* (Friends of Moderna Museet periodical) list, unlike *Moderna Museets årsredovisning*, the prices of artworks that have been purchased or donated during the year. Price information for gifts, however, is not mentioned, apart from certain exceptions. For example, the "purchase price" is only listed for 3 out of 29 registered gifts in 2000, see no. 1, 2001, p. 17ff.
- 68 Compare *Statens Konstmuseer Årsredovisning* 1993/94, p. 18. Förvaltningsenheten 1994. F2:80, NM archives.
- 69 Duncan 1995/2007, p. 57.
- 70 Bjurström 1992, p. 345. Compare p. 335.
- 71 Interview with Olle Granath, 13 June 2007. Compare this very similar description of art collector and donor Gerard Bonnier: "As for himself, he purchased artworks for his own collection, undoubtedly bearing in mind that they would later end up at Moderna Museet. Twenty-three high-quality artworks were what he donated to the museum." Anna-Stina Malmberg, "En vänlig historia", *M. Moderna Museets Vänners tidskrift*, no. 2, 2003, p. 29.
- 72 Duncan 1995/2007, p. 60.
- 73 Ibid., p. 54–70. Quote p. 61.
- 74 Letter from CEO Robert Weil, Proventus, to the Minister for Culture Marita Ulvskog, Ministry of Culture, 18 Jan. 2001. The rector of the Royal University College of Fine Arts, Marie-Louise Ekman, and artist Dan Wolgers also resigned from Moderna Museet's board. Unlike Weil, however, they did not refer expressly to Sony's "product exhibition" in their letters to Marita Ulvskog 18 Jan. 2001. Copies of the letters can be found at Moderna Museet. Compare Oisín Cantwell, "Kändisarna flyr museet. På Moderna handlar det för mycket om pengar", *Aftonbladet* 21 Jan. 2001. *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2001 mentions only that "three board members resigned," not why, p. 4, 29. There is no mention of the electronics company's weekend event at the museum.
- 75 See for example, Anna Brodow, "Årskrönika/konst: Konstens heliga kor i korselden", *Svenska Dagbladet* 5 Jan. 2002.
- 76 Oisín Cantwell, "Kändisarna flyr museet. På Moderna handlar det för mycket om pengar", *Aftonbladet* 21 Jan. 2001.
- 77 Moderna Museet's revenues from appropriations (SEK 82,458,000) plus fees (SEK 30,738,000) plus grants and contributions (SEK 3,639,000) totalled SEK 116,835,000 in 2001. Sponsorship revenues of SEK 1,635,000 account for 1.4 per cent of the aforementioned total of SEK 116,835,000. *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2001, p. 5, note 1 p. 35. Sponsorship revenues of SEK 3,952,000 accounted for 2.7 per cent of total revenues of SEK 146,829,000 in 2006. *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2006, p. 8, note 1 p. 46.
- 78 Sponsorship revenues from Nationalmuseum and Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde—here the two museums are treated as a single unit—of SEK 4,241,000 amounted to 2.8 per cent of their total revenues of SEK 151,064,000 in 2002. *Nationalmuseum and Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde's Annual Report* 2002, p. 2, note 1 p. 27. Four years later the share of sponsorship revenues had dropped to 1.6 per cent of total revenues (SEK 2,481,000 out of SEK 159,365,000). *Nationalmuseum med Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde's Annual Report* 2006, p. 4, note 1 p. 56.
- 79 "The de facto privatization of cultural institutions has a terrible price. Practically speaking, the republic, the *res publica* that is, the public cause is being abandoned. Even though the sponsors cover only a small part of the cost, it is they who really determine the program." Bourdieu and Haacke 1995/2005, p. 71.
- 80 Bjurström 1992, p. 306, 357. Compare p. 301, 377. The prominent position friends' societies have assumed within the donor community has undoubtedly made it much easier to tone down the self-interest and highlight the public interest associated with the expansion of the collections, than if only private individuals could be found among the donors. "Funding from the state for the purchase of international art is virtually non-existent. As a member, therefore, you are making an important contribution toward art purchases through your annual fee," wrote, for example, Friends of Moderna Museet's chairperson in 1997. "Let us work together to recreate Moderna Museet's golden age by filling in the gaps in the collections and

- making sure that more gaps do not appear in the future.” Anna-Stina Malmberg, “Krönika från ordföranden”, *M. Moderna Museets Vänners tidskrift*, no. 4–1, 1997–98, p. 50.
- 81 Nilsson 1999, p. 512. In *Sponsorpolicy för Moderna Museet*, internal memo 10 June 2002, sponsorship is defined as follows: “Sponsorship refers to a commercial agreement between the museum and a commercial enterprise, entered into on the basis of mutual gain. The gain for the sponsor can take many forms and should, to the extent possible, be assessed in economic terms, even when it concerns goodwill and good citizenship,” p. 1.
  - 82 Objective 5 (of 8) in *Proposition 1974:28 Den statliga kulturpolitiken*, p. 295. The reference to “disadvantaged groups” has been removed in *Proposition 1996/97:3 Kulturpolitik*, p. 27. Compare the research review of different ways of describing the changes in cultural policy from the 1970s to the 2000s in Lena Gemzöe, Anne-Li Lindgren and Johan Fornäs’s, *Två kulturstäder. Kultur och politik på lokala arenor*, the East Sweden Municipality Research Centre, Rapport 2006:3, Linköping University 2006, p. 18ff.
  - 83 One of SKM’s operational objectives in 1993/94 reads: “targeted measures aimed at different target groups.” *Statsliggaren för budgetåret 1993/94*, Statens konstmuseer, B 31, p. 47.
  - 84 In the appropriation directives between 1997 and 2005, the reference “gender, class, cultural background and age” pops up both under the secondary objective “preservation” (the collections should better reflect these categories), and under the secondary objective “dissemination” (the audience should be motivated to debate the collections on the basis of these categories). *Statsliggaren för budgetåren 1997* (SKM: H p. 117), 1998 (SKM: H1.2 p. 146f), 1999 (SKM: H 1.2 p. 139f), 2000 (MM: H 1.10 p. 178f), 2001 (MM: 28.28.1 p. 195f), 2002 (MM: 28.29.1 p. 213), 2003 (MM: p. 2f), 2004 (MM: p. 2) and 2005 (MM: p. 2).
  - 85 *Proposition 1974:28 Den statliga kulturpolitiken*, p. 291–295, 299f; *SOU 1972:66 Ny kulturpolitik. Nuläge och förslag*, p. 177f.
  - 86 In 1995, the Committee of Inquiry on Cultural Policy (Kulturutredningen) proposed that the translation of the general objectives should be carried out in several steps: the overall *national objectives* for cultural policy should be made more concrete in the form of *sector objectives* (e.g. for the museum field). The sector objectives would in turn provide the basis for the *operational objectives* that the government sets for the state cultural institutions (e.g. Moderna Museet). *SOU 1995:84 Kulturpolitikens inriktning i korthet*, p. 16, 69.
  - 87 The ordinances containing instructions to the museum were also kept more general: a selection of the collections was to be made “available to the public” is all it says in the 1970s and 1980s (4 § 2 in *Förordning 1976:439 och med instruktion för Statens konstmuseer* and 2 § 2 in *Förordning 1988:677 med instruktion för Statens konstmuseer*). These instructions are kept even more general today: the collections should be made “accessible to as large an audience as possible” (2 § 5 i *Förordning 1999:563 med instruktion för Moderna museet*).
  - 88 “The political relationship between the state and the museum has differed markedly from the economic one. It has to be said that it has, by and large, been very good, that the state allowed the museum to handle its exhibition programmes, purchases etc. in an independent manner.” Pontus Hultén, “Förhållandet mellan Moderna Museet och stat, regering och departement”, *Moderna Museet 1958–1983* 1983, p. 53.
  - 89 Visitor surveys 1964–1973 [title crossed out and changed to “other corrections”], Parliamentary Audit Office. Granskningspromemoria no. 8/1971 (projekt no. B 16), p. 18. E5:5, MMA. In addition, the auditors commented further, the museum had rented out, and sometimes lent out premises to various radical groups, e.g. Kiruna-Svappavaara strejkkommitté (solidarity evening), PAM/komkult/vpk (fund raiser for the liberation of Greece) and Black Panther Party Solidarity Committee (cabaret for the benefit of operations supported by them).
  - 90 Parliamentary Audit Office, Granskningspromemoria no. 8 1971 (project no. B 16), p. 31. E5:5, MMA.
  - 91 Letter from Hultén to chief editor Olof Lagercrantz, *Dagens Nyheter* 11 June 1971. E5:5, MMA. Bjurström 1992, p. 307, brings up Hultén’s strong support from *Dagens Nyheter*.
  - 92 Letter from Hultén to chief editor Olof Lagercrantz, *Dagens Nyheter* 14 June 1971. E5:5, MMA.
  - 93 Parliamentary Audit Office, Granskningspromemoria no. 8 1971, bilagor. E5:5, MMA. Compare Bjurström 1992, p. 329 and *Meddelanden från Nationalmuseum*, no. 96 1971, p. 74.
  - 94 Unsigned article, “Moderna museet ingen regeringsfråga”, *Svenska Dagbladet* 26 April 1972. Press clipping. E5:5, MMA.
  - 95 Unsigned article, “Palme struntar i revisorerna”, *Dagens Nyheter* 26 April 1972. Press clipping. E5:5, MMA.
  - 96 Nilsson 1999, p. 313, 334f, 338.
  - 97 *Proposition 1996/97:3 Kulturpolitik*, p. 27; *SOU 1995:84 Kulturpolitikens inriktning i korthet*, p. 16.
  - 98 Nilsson 1999, p. 422. At the same time that the ideological charge in cultural policy is weakened at the “state level”, Nilsson continues (1999, p. 334f, 337), it is not strengthened within certain state authorities in his example but in the county councils.
  - 99 Compare Maria Lind and Niclas Östlind, “Strypgrepp på konsten? Finansiering i otakt”, *Dagens Nyheter* 22 Nov. 2007: “In recent years, even the utilitarian view of art has reached undreamed of levels of micromanagement. In the name of regional justice, social inclusion and the creation of job opportunities, agendas are being pursued that are seldom motivated by the needs of art or are to its advantage.”
  - 100 Compare Nilsson 1999, p. 406, 420, 426. For a discussion about how a new “audit society” has evolved in the wake of deregulation, see for example Michael Power, *The Audit Society. Rituals of Verification*, Oxford 1997/1999, and Kerstin Sahlin-Andersson, “Transnationell reglering och statens omvandling. Granskningssamhällets framväxt”, *Score Rapportserie 2000:14*, Stockholm 2000.
  - 101 The annual financial statements before the deregulation, or rather the re-regulation, of the state machinery in 1993 consist only of about a dozen loosely stuck together sheets of raw data. *Statens konstmuseers bokslut för budgetåret 1991/92* comprises 13 pages for example. Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1992. F2:60, NM archives. Besides their “Annual Financial Statements” of approximately 10 pages, SKM also submitted, judging by the contents table of contents, “Other financial statements” (specified statements of various accounts) and “Output lists” for 1985–91. This material is not archived; perhaps it was a question of another twenty pages or so of loose-leaf sheets of data. (Annual financial statements from SKM 1975–84 are, as indicated, completely absent – compare note 12.) After the great “deregulation” in 1993, the level of ambition rose (Annual Reports, as they are now called, increasingly become much more thoroughly prepared publications), as did the number of pages. SKM’s Annual Reports comprise approximately 45 pages from 1993–98. In 1999, SKM was split apart. After that the trend has continued and has even taken a step further. In 2006, altogether approximately 100 pages were devoted to annual reports of MM and NM: *Moderna Museets årsredovisning 2006* comprised 56 pages (i.e. a little over four times as many pages as SKM’s annual financial statements covering three museums in 1991), while the *Nationalmuseum and Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde’s Annual Report 2006* comprised 62 pages (approximately 40 pages of which dealt with NM, and approximately 20 pages with PEW).
  - 102 Compare Johan Samuelsson, *Kommunen gör historia. Museer, identitet och berättelser i Eskilstuna 1959–2000*, Uppsala 2005, p. 32 and see e.g. press release 9 Oct. 2007 from the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications: “Dialog om näringsliv och kultur i samverkan”, <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/8147/a/89893>, 9 Nov. 2007.
  - 103 In 1965, 12 times as much money was allocated to NM, MM and MAFA’s administration (proposed allocation SEK 2,613,000) than for the purchase of art (multi-annual appropriation SEK 222,000). Forty years later, in 2005, the state allocated 65 times as much money to the three museums’ administration (block appropriation SEK 207,806,000 when the allocations to PEW, and MM’s art purchases are deducted, and ÖM added) as for the purchase of art (at least SEK 3,200,000 of MM’s appropriation). *Statsliggaren för budgetåret 1965/66, Huvudtitel VIII: Ecklesiastikdepartementet (del 1:2)*, Nationalmuseum, p. 25ff; *Statsliggaren för år 2005, Kulturdepartementet*, Centrala museer: myndigheter, Nationalmuseum med Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde och Moderna museet (figures regarding the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities from chief accountant Dick Wesström at the National Museums of World Culture). Compare chart 1.
  - 104 See note 84.
  - 105 See for example, Torsten Svensson, *Novemberrevolutionen. Om rationalitet och makt i beslutet att avreglera kreditmarknaden 1985*, Report to ESO (Expert group for studies in public finances), Ds 1996:37, p. 150f. Compare Klas Fregert and Lars Jonung, *Makroekonomi. Teori, politik och institutioner*, Lund 2003, p. 495ff.
  - 106 See for example “Triple oppression – det tredubbla förtrycket. En text om klasskillnader, rasism och sexism”, *Barrikaden. För gränslöst uppror & revolution!*, no. 5, 1991, which sums up the late 1980s discussion and experiences of various social movements, with five black feminists in the US and UK at the forefront, and especially the autonomist leftist movement in Germany.
  - 107 Compare David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford 1990/2003, p. 113, 117, 351.
  - 108 Pierre Bourdieu, *Moteld. Texter mot nyliberalismens utbredning*, Eslöv 1999,

- p. 16f, 50, 64.
- 109 Harvey 1990/2003, p. 327–359; quote p. 336.
- 110 In a section of *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2003, that explains how the museum has come to grips with the subgoal of “gender balance” lies a nascent version of this strategy: “Among the gifts, *that cannot be controlled in the same way* as purchases, there are artworks from 13 male and 6 female artists” (my italics), p. 5. Compare Duncan 1995/2007, p. 62.
- 111 See e.g. *Social atlas över Stockholmsregionen*, RTK Stockholm 2000, p. 37ff and the discussion in Camilla Elmhorn, “Urbana eliter och kvinnliga migranter. Utvecklingen av Stockholms postindustriella ekonomi”, *Fronesis*, no. 24, 2007, p. 203ff.
- 112 In the *Regleringsbrev för budgetåret 2005 avseende Moderna museet* it still says that the composition of the collections “should reflect different perspectives, e.g. gender, class, cultural background, and age”, p. 2. In the *Regleringsbrev för budgetåret 2006 avseende Moderna museet*, “class”, among other things, has disappeared: “The composition of the collections should reflect different perspectives, e.g. gender and cultural background,” p. 2.
- 113 As early as 2003, Minister for Culture Marita Ulvskog (s), stated in *Svar på interpellation 2003/04:59 om kostnader för museum* (Riksdagens protokoll 11 Nov. 2003, anf. 7), that the central government sometimes assigns the museums too many objectives. “I can take some of the blame and probably weed out the appropriation directives and suchlike.”
- 114 *Regleringsbrev för budgetåret 2006 avseende Moderna museet*, overall operational objectives, p. 1.
- 115 In the *Regleringsbrevet för 2006* the objective to “combat commercialism’s negative influences” was also removed, p. 1.
- 116 As of 2002, the appropriation directives require that the museums report back on “measures taken to increase access for the physically handicapped”. *Regleringsbrevet för budgetåret 2007* require that both “gender equality and diversity perspectives” as well as a “children’s perspective” be integrated into Moderna Museet’s remit.
- 117 Bjurström 1992, p. 328. Compare p. 307.
- 118 Compare e.g. Bourdieu and Haacke 1995/2005, p. 72.
- 119 “The art scene in Sweden would, for example, undoubtedly have looked very different,” the investigators continue, “if Moderna Museet had not been there to reflect international developments in the field of art and as an idea and activity centre.” *SOU 1972:66 Ny kulturpolitik. Nuläge och förslag*, p. 199.
- 120 Throughout the entire exhibition period of 16 March – 6 May 1962 exactly 28,519 visitors came to see 4 *Americans*. Visitor statistics 1958–70. Ö2:1, MMA. Quote from Bjurström 1992, p. 306.
- 121 My italics. The objective reappears in slightly reworded versions. In the appropriation directives of 1998, after ten years of falling visitor numbers, the call was made for “Moderna Museet to *once again* become a leading institution within contemporary art” (register of appropriations for 1998, SKM, p. 148). In 1999, the formulation was amended to state that “Moderna Museet should *maintain and further develop* its position as a leading institution within contemporary art” (register of appropriations for 1999, SKM, p. 141). In the years 2000–03, the objective stated briefly that “Moderna should *further develop* its position as a leading institution within contemporary art” (register of appropriations for 2000, MM, p. 179; for 2001, MM, p. 197; for 2002, MM, p. 214; for 2003, MM; p. 4). In the appropriation directives of 2004–07, the formulation reads, “The objective is for Moderna Museet to further develop its position as a leading institution within *20th and 21st century art*” (register of appropriations for 2004, MM, objective 8 p. 4; 2005, MM, objective 6 p. 4; 2006, MM, objective 6 p. 3; 2007, MM; objective 6 p. 3). My italics.
- 122 Pontus Hultén’s declaration in 1963, that a modern museum has more to gain from standing on the side of art and the artists, than on the side of the public, seems a distant memory in a time that puts such great store in visitor statistics as a tool for deciding what kind of culture should receive funding. Hultén quoted in Linde, “Memoarer,” *Moderna Museet 1958–1983* 1983, p. 65.
- 123 “Moderna Museet shall submit no later than the 5th of every month, information regarding visitor numbers to the museum,” for example, was how it was expressed in the *Statsliggaren för år 2006, Utbildnings- och kulturdepartementet*, Centrala museer: myndigheter, Moderna museet, p. 4.
- 124 In 2007, the year admission fees were re-introduced, a quarterly reporting system was also introduced to the museum world. Instead of twelve times per year, it was enough for Moderna Museet to submit figures for the “total number of visitors per month” four times per year. See *Statsliggaren för år 2007, Utbildnings- och kulturdepartementet*, Centrala museer: myndigheter, Moderna Museet, p. 4.
- 125 “In this context a warning should be issued that the push for increased visitor numbers as the ultimate solution to the museums funding needs, will over the longer term lead to a commercialised and therefore debased institution,” SKM wrote in its *Anslagsframställning för budgetåret 1992/93* (reg. no. 11-359/91), p. 2. Förvaltningsenheten (FE), sorted according to filing plan 1991. F2:52, NM archives.
- 126 Throughout the entire exhibition period 17 February – 6 May 2007 exactly 70,841 visitors came to see *Robert Rauschenberg: Combines*. Visitor statistics 2007. Internal data file 7 Jan. 2008, Lovisa Lönnebo, Head of Communication, Moderna Museet.
- 127 Compare Bjurström 1992 and his description of the 1980s as a decade characterised by both reduced funding (p. 353) and rising visitor numbers (p. 354).
- 128 See note 46.
- 129 *Statsliggaren för budgetåren 1976/77–1980/81*, SKM. In the years 1976–80, Moderna Museet received a total of SEK 5,890,000, while Nationalmuseum received SEK 5,628,000. It was pointed out that, “The Nationalmuseum comprises seven departments,” in *SOU 1973:5 Museerna. Betänkande av 1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga*, p. 122.
- 130 Compare the Social Democratic state’s purchase of paintings during an earlier period, from 1939 to 1960, in Martin Gustavsson’s, *Makt och konstmak. Sociala och politiska mötsättningar på den svenska konstmarknaden 1920–1960. Disputationsupplaga*, Stockholm 2002, p. 337ff, 367ff. Of the donor funds available to Nationalmuseum at the start of the 1970s, 1.8 million kronor went to Moderna Museet, and SEK 5.9 million to Nationalmuseum. See *SOU 1973:5 Museerna. Betänkande av 1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga*, p. 123. In conjunction with Moderna Museet’s establishment as an independent institution in 1999, a study proposed that the 27 foundations that were then administered by the National Art Museums, with combined assets amounting to approximately 300 million kronor, be divided up in accordance with the objectives in their respective foundation statutes as follows: 10 to Nationalmuseum, 5 to Moderna Museet and 12 (with more general foundation objectives covering, for example, the acquisition of works by – dead as well as living – Swedish artists) to both museums. *Uredning för skiljande av Moderna museet från Statens konstmuseer* (Ku 1999:03), p. 34ff. Effectively, Nationalmuseum was put in charge of over 24 of the 27 foundations. At the turn of the year 2007/2008, the four foundations that Moderna Museet was responsible for (in 2001 a further foundation was added) had a combined market value of approximately 44 million kronor. Internal Memo 24 April 2008, Lars Turesson, Moderna Museet. Compare note 64. At the turn of the year 2007/2008, the market value of the just over 30 foundations managed by Nationalmuseum (including Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde) amounted to approximately SEK 205 million. Internal Memo 25 April 2008, Jenny Andersson, Nationalmuseum. The gap between the endowment assets of the two museums had, in other words, widened somewhat during the 35-year period: in 1973 Moderna Museet’s endowment assets amounted to approximately 30 per cent of those of Nationalmuseum, in 2007 that ratio had sunk to 20 per cent.
- 131 *Proposition 1996/97:3, Kulturpolitik*, p. 144.
- 132 *Moderna Museets årsredovisning* 2006, p. 19; “Utbildningsnivå för befolkningen 2006, 16 74 år”, SCB [http://www.scb.se/templates/Produkt\\_\\_\\_9565.asp](http://www.scb.se/templates/Produkt___9565.asp), 9 Jan. 2008. In the population as a whole, 13 per cent had attended post-secondary education of less than 3 years, while 16 per cent had post-secondary education of at least 3 years. There is no information regarding the length of post-secondary education that 73 per cent of Moderna Museet’s visitors had. They only received answers to the question of what “highest completed level” of education they had in 2006 (compulsive comprehensive, high-school or university/college). Survey 2006, “Your Opinion about Moderna Museet”, question 13. Internal memo, Moderna Museet.
- 133 As a social arena, Moderna Museet resembles the most difficult to reach parts of the Swedish educational system: students attending the prestige programmes to become doctors, architects, dentists, psychologists, and the art and design programs are also recruited almost exclusively from among the well-educated. In 2005/2006, over 70 per cent of the parents of these students had a post-secondary education, and less than 5 per cent a pre-secondary education. The more easily accessible parts of the system reveal a completely different distribution: only 32 per cent of the parents of students who studied social care had post-secondary education, while as many as 14 per cent had a pre-secondary education. “Universitet och högskolor. Social bakgrund bland högskole- och universitetsstudenter 2005/06 och doktorandnybörjare 2004/05”, *Sveriges officiella statistik, Statistiska meddelanden*, UF 20 SM 0602, 2006, p. 14, 52–56.
- 134 “Despite the fact that relatively concerted efforts have been made to even

- out the differences in cultural habits between various groups in the labour market, only small changes have been detected thus far," it states in the government study *SOU 1995:85 Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974-1994*, p. 598. The proportion of members from the various union collectives that attended the museum in 1990–91, for example, varied greatly: LO (30 per cent), TCO (51 per cent) and SACO (71 per cent). P. 593. The social disparity was the greatest between male LO members 25–34 years of age (who seldom attended art exhibitions) and female SACO members 45–54 years of age (who often attended art exhibitions). See *SOU 1995:85. Tabellbilaga*, p. 598. On Moderna Museet's early attempts, in the mid-1960s, "to reach other groups." See *SOU 1973:5 Museerna. Betänkande av 1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga*, p. 36.
- 135 Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art. European Art Museums and their Public*, Cambridge 1969/1997, p. 30.
- 136 "Approximately 60 % of the visitors interviewed belong to social group I. Only about 5 % come from social group III. By comparison it can be said that out of the entire Swedish population, approx. 5 % belong to social group I and approx. 50 % social group III, i.e. the ratio is the reverse." Visitor surveys 1964–73, *Publikundersökningen på Moderna Museet 1964/65*, PM. E5:5, MMA.
- 137 Since 1998, Moderna Museet conducts continual visitor surveys (*Moderna Museets årsredovisning 2000*, p. 9). Though the 2006 survey does include a question regarding "occupation", museum visitor is only asked *whether* she/he is "gainfully employed (fulltime/part-time)", not *what* she/he is gainfully employed doing. Survey 2006, "Your Opinion about Moderna Museet," question 14. Internal memo, Moderna Museet. Compare with discussion about poor reporting on visitor makeup in *SOU 1995:85 Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994*, p. 740, 747.
- 138 "Of all the factors, level of education is, in fact, the chief determinant." Bourdieu and Darbel 1969/1997, p. 19. Compare p. 30, 153. As much as 54 per cent of the men and 41 per cent of the women who visited Moderna Museet in the middle of the 1960s had some kind of college education. *Publikundersökningen på Moderna Museet 1964/65*, PM. E5:5, MMA. "A person with a post-secondary education is 5.5 times more likely to have visited a museum than a person with a pre-secondary education", according to government study *SOU 1995:85 Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994*, p. 106, which went on to say, "It is clear that the most compelling correlation seems to be between level of education and various cultural activities. The socio-economic differences or difference in choice of profession seem to play a relatively less important role," p. 108.
- 139 *Statens Konstmuseer Årsredovisning 1995/1996*, p. 16. Compare *SOU 1995:85 Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994*, p. 602: "The difference between children of parents with low versus high levels of education is comparatively great. The levelling effect on the cultural habits that we generally ascribe to pre-school and school has not had any effect when it comes to exhibitions and museums."
- 140 *Publikundersökningen på Moderna Museet 1964/65*, PM. E5:5, MMA; Bourdieu and Darbel 1969/1997, reached the same conclusion in the middle of the 1960s: "Distribution by gender is also very similar in the different countries, men being consistently better represented than women," p. 30; *Moderna Museets årsredovisning 2005*, p. 13ff.
- 141 *SOU 1995:85 Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974–1994*, p. 315.

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