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**THE ARTS**

**WOMEN AND POLITICS**

**Arts Research Seminar No. 2**

**February 1, 1985**

Research & Evaluation  
Canada Council  
March 12, 1985

**T H E A R T S  
W O M E N & P O L I T I C S**

**Arts Research Seminar No. 2  
February 1, 1985**

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## Introduction

As part of its ongoing research program, the Research & Evaluation Section of the Canada Council has initiated a series of arts research seminars to investigate, in a public forum, issues of concern to the arts in Canada. The second seminar was held on February 1, 1985 in the Board Room of the Canada Council. Its topic was The Arts: Women and Politics. The seminar featured Dr. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski, Director of the Graduate Public Policy Program, Government Department, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

The transcript of the second arts research seminar which follows was prepared by Claire McCaughey, Research Officer, Canada Council. It reports the research papers presented and the questions and observations raised during the seminar. The transcript has been edited from both taped and shorthand notes of the seminar. A list of the more than 45 participants follows this introduction. Errors and omissions are the responsibility of Research & Evaluation.

The third arts research seminar is scheduled for June 7, 1985. Its topic will be The Arts: Touring and Television. The featured speaker will be Joan Jeffri, Director, Centre for Arts and Culture Research, Columbia University, New York City. A fourth seminar is tentatively planned for September 1985. Its topic will be The Arts: Corporations and Foundations. I invite interested arts researchers to submit papers for future seminars, as well as to suggest topics for investigation. Transcripts of future arts research seminars will also be produced and made available to participants and others concerned with the arts in Canada.

I take this opportunity to thank the featured speaker, Dr. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski, as well as participants of the second Canada Council Arts Research Seminar, and invite them to attend subsequent seminars. I also wish to thank Gloria Zuana, Administrative Officer, Research & Evaluation for her excellent work as recording secretary for the seminar series. And Diane Sadaka, DA-PRO 4, for preparing the draft manuscript, and acting as sound technician during the seminar. It is hoped the series of arts research seminars will ensure that the importance and impact of the arts on the Canadian society and economy will be more fully appreciated by public and private sector decision makers.

Harry Hillman-Chartrand  
Research Director  
Canada Council  
Ottawa, Canada  
March 1985

## LIST OF SPEAKERS

Dr. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski	Director Graduate Public Policy Program Department of Government Georgetown University Washington, D.C.
Claire McCaughey	Research Officer Canada Council
Harry Hillman-Chartrand	Research Director Canada Council
Dr. James de Gaspé Bonar	Writing Awards Officer Canada Council

## LIST OF ATTENDERS

Elizabeth Adamitz	Canada Council
David Anido	Dept. of Regional Industrial Expansion
David Bartlett	Canada Council
Bernadette Beaupré	Celebration Arts Ottawa
Fabienne Bilodeau	Canada Council
Marion Bordier	CAR/FAC
Brian Boyd	Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture
Nancy Burgoyne	Celebration Arts Ottawa
Lise Cohen	Canada Council
Jane Condon	CAR/FAC
Simone Cox	Canada Council
Michel de Lotbinière	-
Erika Dugas	Statistics Canada

LIST OF ATTENDERS  
(cont'd)

Pat Durr	CAR/FAC CCA Women's Committee
Helen Eriks	Canada Council
Jacques Flamand	Canada Council
Francine Gauthier	Canada Council
Kathleen Gillis	CAR/FAC
Victor Godbout	Conseil de Promotion et Diffusion de la Culture (Nouveau Brunswick)
Claude Guay	Canada Council
Ann Hewat	Saskatchewan Arts Board
Judith Humenick	Saskatchewan Arts Board
Bill Kearns	Canada Council
Kathleen Keple	Saskatchewan Arts Board
Paul Landry	Conseil de Promotion et Diffusion de la Culture (Nouveau Brunswick)
Dave LeBlanc	La Fédération des Festivals Acadiens de la Nouvelle Ecosse
Edna Lemyre	CAR/FAC
Henriette LeBlanc	Canada Council
Rejeanne LeBlanc	Fédération Culturelle Canadienne Française
Mukhtar Malik	Dept. of Communications
Mary Martin	Canada Council
Sasha McInnes-Hayman	Consultant
Ellen Mills	Ontario Women's Directorate
Rollande Montsion	Office of the Auditor General

LIST OF ATTENDERS  
(cont'd)

Donald Mowat	Canada Council
Helen Murphy	Canada Council
Lanie Patrick	Women and the Arts/Les Femmes et les Arts (Man.) Inc.
Andrea Philp	Manitoba Artists for Women's Art
Leona Quiring	Canada Council
Diane Sadaka	Canada Council
Kristina Sandler-Hanson	Canada Council
Monique Scott	Canada Council
Mary Sullivan	Canada Council
Susan Taylor	Artists & Patrons Inc.
Terry Thomas	Library of Parliament
Megan Williams	Canada Council
Gloria Zuana	Canada Council

**THE ARTS  
WOMEN AND POLITICS**

An Arts Research Seminar featuring  
Dr. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski  
Director of Graduate Public Policy Program  
Department of Government, Georgetown University  
Washington, D.C.

**AGENDA**

255 Albert St., Rm 1616, Ottawa, Canada  
February 1, 1985

**MORNING SESSION  
10:00 A.M. to 12:00 P.M.**

**Welcoming Comments**  
Harry Hillman-Chartrand, Research Director,  
Canada Council

Presentation #1: Dr. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski  
**WOMEN, THE ARTS AND POLICY: IMPACT AND LEADERSHIP**  
10:10 to 10:30 A.M.

Presentation #2: Claire McCaughey,  
Research Officer, Canada Council  
**FEMININE DOMINANCE OF THE ARTS:  
WOMAN AS PRODUCER AND CONSUMER**  
10:35 to 10:55 A.M.

**Questions & Observations**  
11:00 A.M. to 12:00 P.M.

**LUNCH**  
12:00 to 2:00 P.M.  
(not arranged)

**AFTERNOON SESSION  
2:00 to 4:00 P.M.**

**Welcoming Comments**  
Harry Hillman-Chartrand, Research Director,  
Canada Council

Presentation #3: Harry Hillman-Chartrand  
**A POLI-ECONOMIC ASSESSMENT OF THE FINE ARTS**  
2:05 to 2:25 P.M.

Presentation #4: Dr. James de Gaspé Bonar  
Writing Awards Officer, Canada Council  
**ARTS AND POLITICS: THE THEOLOGY OF CULTURE  
IN CONTEMPORARY QUEBEC**  
2:30 to 2:50 P.M.

**Questions & Observations**  
3:00 to 4:00 P.M.

**Sponsored by  
Research & Evaluation  
Canada Council**

## Welcoming Comments

Harry Hillman-Chartrand  
Research Director  
Canada Council

On behalf of the staff of Research & Evaluation of the Canada Council, I would like to welcome you to the second Arts Research Seminar. There are two distinct subjects being discussed today. The first is the arts and women. The second is the arts and politics. The linkage between these two topics, we hope, will be made by you -- the observers.

I would like to introduce our featured speaker today, Dr. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski, who is Director of the Graduate Public Policy Program, Government Department, Georgetown University. Dr. Wyszomirski has a relatively long history of writing in the area of the arts and policy. She has been instrumental in organizing a series of conferences in the United States on social theory, politics, and the arts. She has written a number of articles on the Reagan Administration and the arts. And a new book will be coming out later this year entitled Art, Ideology and Politics. Without further words from me, Dr. Wyszomirski -



**WOMEN, THE ARTS, AND POLICY:  
IMPACT, INFLUENCE AND LEADERSHIP**

by

**Dr. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski**

Dr. Wyszomirski received her Ph.D. in Government from Cornell University. She is currently Director of the Graduate Public Policy Program, Government Department, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. She has published extensively in the area of public policy and the arts, and has edited and contributed to a forthcoming book entitled Art, Ideology and Politics. She also serves as a consultant to state and local arts agencies.

"Women, the Arts, and Policy" — a title that encompasses not one, but three, global subjects and I have only twenty minutes to address them. It is indeed a formidable task, the ambitiousness of which reminded me of a 10-page undergraduate paper I once wrote on "The Unique Place of England in World History". That topic was not only formidable, it was impossible. As might be expected my attempt to deal with that task was pretentious and sophomoric, but I was a sophomore and, at least, had the good judgment to realize that the paper was pretentious.

In contrast, I believe today's topic is far more tenable. I have interpreted my task as one of identifying the major issues and roles involving women and the arts and women and policy, specifically arts policy. I do not intend to be exhaustive, conclusive, or explicitly prescriptive. Rather I hope I will be able to suggest a framework for segmenting as well as interrelating components of these very broad topics into more manageable sub-topics and, in the process, provide a setting for some of the other presentations to be given at this seminar.

On one level of analysis, the colloquial meaning of women's issues, in its broadest usage, is a bit confounding. It remains so, even when one seeks to apply this perspective to the more narrowly-focussed subject of politics and art. By this I mean to suggest that one would probably find the logically alternative topic of "Men, the Arts, and Policy" to be implicitly redundant. This reaction would, I think, stem from a sense of surprise at the suggestion that "men" needed to be specified as part of the topic of discussion, as if to suggest that omitting the word "men" from the title would result in the neglect of the artistic ideas, interests, or actions of men. Historically, however, it has been a fact that the ideas, interests, and actions of women have not enjoyed such reflexive and reflective treatment.

In attempting, in part, to redress that deficiency, we must recognize that we have posited a distinction that is both valid and yet misleading. All artists are a product of both their times and general societies as well as of their individual backgrounds and personal talents. Thus, each artist is both unique and yet comparable, whether male or female. Having said this, I must also note that since women have always experienced a different social environment than men, there is some validity to considering female artists and their aesthetic sensibilities as being distinct and different from those of male artists. Furthermore, women artists work in art worlds that are not identical to those of male artists. That is, the interactions of women artists with artistic institutions, audiences, and both public and private patrons can be perceived as differing, however subtly or blatantly, from those of male artists of any given period, genre, or ability.

To recognize that different general experiences and environments affect members of each sex differently is not, however, to treat all female artists, patrons, or consumers as members of one homogeneous group. Rather it is to select gender as an intuneing variable to a discussion of art and arts policy.

Other, at least equally important, selective distinctions must also be established concerning the definition and delimitation of the topics of art and of politics. Art will be treated expansively, with reference made to visual, performing and literary forms; as produced by individuals as well as organizations; for either commercial or non-profit motives. Given the considerable variation that

occurs between and among these segments of the arts, generalizations may not be equally applicable or precise regarding each art form or mode of production. While I will suggest examples to illustrate particular points, I will leave it up to the audience to raise and consider other cases as well as to apply, adjust, and judge the extent of the validity of such generalizations.

The subject of women and art can be subdivided into four sub-topics, each of which can be characterized by a role describing the nature of the interrelationship. These four roles I have labelled

- women as subject of art
- women as creative artists and leaders
- women as patrons of the arts
- women as consumers of the arts

A discussion of all of these roles would be beyond the scope and time of this presentation; therefore, I have chosen to focus my comments on the first two roles: women as a subject of art, and women as creative artists and leaders.

Politics and policy represent another set of concepts, institutions, interests, processes, and their interactions. Although my own expertise lies in the political systems and arts policies of the United States, I believe that the Canadian political system and its arts policies share important similarities with that of the United States. Both are limited, federalist, constitutional, and representative democracies. As such, both value freedom of expression (which encompasses artistic expression) as a paramount and protected right of its citizenry. Each nation is an expansive country settled by an immigrant population composed of diverse cultural heritages. Given such heterogeneity, the democracies of both Canada and the United States have embraced principles of political and cultural pluralism. Having been founded as frontier societies, both nations share similar developmental experiences and evidence similar (though certainly not identical) conceptions about the social function and value of the arts.

Government policy has, in both nations, been essentially a post-war concern. In both the arts have been regarded, at least in part, as an important element in establishing a national image (McCormack, 1983) and in securing international stature as well as a means of asserting cultural independence from the intellectual and aesthetic dominance of other countries. Each government has sought both to use the arts for political ends as well as to insulate them from political interference by establishing arms-length or independent endowments to administer public policy affecting the arts. Both have experienced a growing interest in the arts and in arts policy during the last 20 years, and most particularly during the last decade. Both countries have also recently experienced an arts "boom".

When art is treated as an object of public policy, another set of principles, standards, and considerations must be understood and applied. Policy goals should be established through accepted and appropriate procedures, and should represent politically feasible, economically supportable, and substantively informed objectives. In democratic political systems, such conditions need to be met if both specific policies as well as governmental institutions and processes are to maintain legitimacy and to function effectively.

Thus, from a public policy perspective, one can see that individuals and their interests (here variously identified to be women, artists, or women interested in the arts) relate to government in a variety of different ways. I have selected four of these and characterized them as follows:

- as citizen
- as policy beneficiary or casualty
- as interest group (or collective beneficiary/casualty)
- as policy maker

Again a full discussion of each and all of these interactions cannot be undertaken here. Instead I will merely sketch some of the major elements and issues involved in the last three relationships, since these seem to me to be of more particular interest to the participants in this forum.

Finally, it seems obvious that public policy towards the arts in both the United States and Canada can be characterized as being incremental, instrumental, and purportedly a-political. It is incremental because government does not "decide" to espouse any explicit aesthetic ideology or to support and legitimize only those creative activities and products that embody this philosophy and this philosophy alone. Rather, policy attitudes towards aesthetic ideologies are generally pluralistic, often unarticulated, and dynamic. Government agencies charged with administering arts policy and public patronage eschew promulgating (either de jure or de facto) an "official" arts policy. Instead, they try to be many things to many people, to articulate only vague and general goals, and to perpetually notice and respond to changes in their environment -- both political and artistic.

Arts policy is instrumental because it seeks to work through independent arts institutions, as well as combine with private and individual efforts to implement arts policy. Government does not assume full responsibility for, nor exercise determining control over artistic production, product, or content. This is in keeping with the protection accorded expression within these political systems, and it acknowledges that considerable freedom is both necessary and conducive to artistic creativity and innovation.

Arts policy is purported to be a-political, although in practice, it, like any other public policy, must involve politics. Apparently, therefore, what "a-political" means in this context is freedom from excessive political control or interference motivated by expectations of partisan or personal gain and preference. This insulation is reflected in the arms-length structure of both the Canada Council and the National Endowment for the Arts, both of which seek to "safeguard...cultural values and purposes...(and to make) their operations immune from political direction." (Wearing, 1985). Thus it is preferable that such agencies avoid the appearance of bowing to political pressure -- whether from elective officials, political parties, or interest groups. Instead they seek to inform their decisions with the advice and expertise of the artistic community and to respond to conditions and changes in that community or in aesthetic ideology.

## Women as Subject of Art

Analysis of the representation of women in artistic products is a subject more appropriate for study by art historians. During the past fifteen years, such studies have been appearing with increasing frequency, often focussing on the work of particular artists, art forms, or time periods. The accretion of such studies seems most advanced concerning art forms that assume tangible and permanent form, that is, in the visual arts of painting and sculpture, in literature, and, to a lesser extent, in theatre. In each case, I would argue that access to the data (or at least a sample of it) is convenient for potential analysis -- either in museum collections as prints or in books or other published form (including play scripts).

Furthermore, in the visual arts, well established scholarly practice and precedent legitimizes the analysis of subject matter and its treatment by individual artists, or comparatively among artists, schools, styles, or periods. Similarly, literary analysis and criticism has a long tradition of concern with character, characterization, and context -- a concern also found in theatre history and commentary. By contrast, studies of the treatment of women in most of the performing arts (particularly opera and dance) have been fewer, have begun to appear only recently, and (as in the case of dance history) have often been part of a larger field of study that is just developing.

Cutting across art forms, two major themes seem common. One is the dichotomous idealization of "women" -- what might be called "the madonna and the whore" syndrome that has pervaded much of Western art. Sometimes interpreted as a manifestation of Christian theological principles that divided the world into things of the "spirit" and those of the "flesh", this dichotomy seemed to condition artistic representations of female subjects into either the image of the Virgin Mary or in the image of Eve. Religious ideas were reinforced by the rising power of the patriarchal and celibate institutional church. Within this environment, women occupied distinctly secondary roles both as a matter of faith and of organization.

Since the church was one of the major patrons of the arts, these images pervaded artistic treatments of women. Such imagery, in turn, both reflected and served to promote an increasingly restricted social position for women. The conceived separateness of spirit and flesh (perhaps like grace and sin) was expanded to a separation of intellect from nature and of creativity from procreativity. At most levels of society, woman's procreative function was valued -- as part of an aristocratic social system based on primogeniture, by a peasantry for providing more numerous productive family members, or by a developing bourgeoisie as generating potential entrepreneurial assets. Yet this very function inevitably linked womankind with nature, the flesh, and sin and, therefore, seemed to exclude her from intellect, spirit, and creativity. To avoid this set of linkages was a prospect open to few women. Indeed, to modern eyes, the dichotomy between creativity and procreativity and everything that went along with that conceptualization seemed either to counsel women to strive for a "purity" that was largely unreal, unattainable, and unfulfilling while castigating them for performing their natural, but earthly, role.

Eventually, of course, the age of faith and its images gave way to romanticism with its recast notions about the real and unreal, the earthly and the ethereal. During this era, women were frequently portrayed as virtuous or immoral/amoral. If virtuous, one was often victimized (e.g., Giselle) or was transformed into something ethereal (Odette in "Swan Lake"). Thus while virtue

was seldom its own reward, immorality carried a price and was socially stigmatized (e.g., Carmen or Camille in "La Traviata"). Amorality was apparently only possible for non-humans (e.g., the Sylph in "La Sylphide"). Furthermore, if a choice was to be made between the now romantically recast alternative images of women, that choice was generally exercised by a male (e.g., James in "La Sylphide" between Effie and the Sylph) or involved an involuntary transformation of the woman (as in "Giselle" from peasant girl to wili). Such an event frequently effected an improvement in the condition or character of a male character in the "real" world or, perhaps, of the couple in the "unreal" world (e.g., the apotheosis of "Swan Lake").

As secularization increased and the rise of the middle class occurred, women continued to be portrayed in one of two primary settings, but these had now evolved into two versions of the earthly: a virtuous domestic setting or a contrived provocative one in which women often appeared nude while the men around them were fully clothed (e.g., picnicking à la Renoir).

The second of these settings brings us to the threshold of an issue of intense current concern: the portrayal of women in pornography. Leaving aside the questions of whether pornography can be art or where and what the distinction is between erotica and pornography, it seems clear that such treatment is not only an extension but a perversion of the earthly theme. While pornography is opposed by both moralists and feminists, their views about what is objectionable are fundamentally different. (Dershowitz, 1984, pp. 33-34). The moralist objects to the explicit and sometimes deviant sexuality displayed in pornography as presenting a clear and present danger of imposing moral harm upon not only its creators and consumers, but also upon society at large. The feminist does not object to explicit sexuality but to the sexist, degrading, and often violent manner in which women are treated (McCormack, 1984). Such portrayals are regarded as offensively contributing to the perpetuation of demeaning stereotypes of women (what might be called gender slander) as well as encouraging (if not stimulating) aggression and violence against them.

Throughout this discussion of women as subject in art, a common issue emerges: regardless of the particular image, many women today have come to regard the ways in which they have been portrayed in art as being unrepresentative of the "truth" and as helping to impose and perpetuate constraints on their societal activities. Thus it might be argued that artistic treatments of women harm them by being untrue and by maintaining social constraints upon their opportunities for accomplishment and creativity.

This being the issue, is there a policy or political "solution" to it? On this question, I can only offer a caveat and suggest a possible tactic. The caveat is to remind reformers of whatever persuasion that however worthy the intent, to attempt to control artistic content through public policy is to advocate censorship and to restrict artistic freedom. Such proposals seem to rationalize a degree of governmental "interference" in artistic affairs that is at odds with the civil liberties traditions of Canada and the United States, and if enacted, might establish a precedent supportive of the political "dictation" of artistic production that is presently quite unintended.

In other words, do feminists really want to enlist the authority and power of the state to dictate that artists represent women in ways that are more "acceptable" to them and that they can regard as being less patriarchal, constraining, and stereotyped? To me, such a "solution" may be just as objectionable as the "problem" it is intended to remedy. An alternative strategy might be more indirect and less governmental. That is, artists should be encouraged to offer new and different images of women. Perhaps women artists, in particular, can lead this movement since they might be expected to be acutely aware of the legacy of the past. On another hand, as both male and female artists are affected by a changing social environment and the expanding activities of women in that environment, then artists generally may come to incorporate such new truths into their work.

Tactically, and particularly with regard to the pornography issue, I would suggest that reformers consider reconceptualizing the issue. That is, instead of being a feminist issue, pornography might be cast as a law and order matter -- something that seems to be occurring in Canada. Such a recasting may facilitate the formation of a broader and probably more effective political coalition. Furthermore, it might help to defuse the issue of its feminist ideological overtones, thus making political resolution more feasible.

#### Women as Creative Artists and as Cultural Leaders

Another constellation of issues, traditions, institutions, and norms appears when the focus is shifted from women as subject of art to women as creator of art or as leaders of cultural institutions and activities. Discussion of this topic requires a multi-faceted perspective that takes account not only of the individual artist (with her unique talents, skills, vision, and drive) but also of the social and institutional context in which the artist functions as well as the differences and distinctions that characterize different art forms and their attendant art worlds (Becker, 1982).

In becoming and working as artists, women have confronted both conceptual and practical obstacles that are different from, and largely additional to, those commonly faced by male artists. Although, the term "artist" is gender-neutral the social connotation attached to it implies masculinity. If women are to be encompassed in a discussion of art and artists, one feels a need to specify women artists or feminine art or feminist art or artists. Indeed, the idea of women as artists is still sufficiently unorthodox as to entail confusion in both conceptualization and terminology. For example, not all art created by men is "masculine": certain male artists, such as Fragonard or Monet could be regarded as having worked in feminine styles or as having concentrated on feminine subjects. Entire periods or styles of artistic production might even be characterized as exhibiting feminine sensibilities -- that is, they are decorative, delicate, detailed, and/or personal.

Conversely, art created by women can exhibit supposedly "masculine" qualities such as vigor, thrust, power or energy. Nor can all art created by females or possessing feminine qualities be regarded as feminist. Feminism is a complex of socio-political ideological precepts and goals, not an aesthetic ideology. While

feminist ideals and ideas may be incorporated into art, if these values overwhelm aesthetic concerns and artistic abilities, then the "product" is likely to be perceived as propaganda rather than as art. Art may be political, inspiring, outrageous, persuasive or suggestive but it is propaganda that aims to be evangelical or proselytizing.

In short, our language betrays both confusion and change. It indicates ongoing efforts not only to recognize and articulate a new awareness of images and associations but also to challenge and expand the idea of "artist" to encompass women. For nations such as Canada and the United States, which are heterogeneous cultural mosaics seeking to enhance their national identities, social, psychological and political issues raised by the women's movement have only added to the complexity and anxiety involved in the search for community and identity. (See Mallet, 1984 pp. 3 and 6.)

Three aspects of the conception of artist that seem to have particularly hindered the acceptance of women as creative artists are

- the asserted incompatibility between creativity and procreativity
- the role of the artist as "great man" and independent individualist
- the assertion of a hierarchy of creative forms and genres and a distinction between art and craft

The first of these preconceptions harkens back to the earlier mentioned presumed dichotomy between nature and culture or mind and body. Since women were obviously engaged in procreation, ipso facto they had little prospect of being creative -- an assumption applied not just to the arts but to virtually any endeavor regarded as socially significant, politically authoritative, or economically productive. This attitude exemplified by comments such as

"...she'll never be a serious (great) artist (or scholar, manager, inventor, politician, etc.); she'll only get married and have babies..."

has had a pervasive influence upon the environment in which women live, develop, and work.

While the suggestion is that women are creative only out of a sense of frustrated, displaced, or renounced maternity, such a notion is no more logical a conclusion that the obverse case: i.e., that men can either choose to satisfy their paternal urges or else be creative in other areas of activity. Rather than being inevitable, the asserted alternative between procreative and creative ability is conditioned by the social and institutional context that provides opportunities and training for being creative. Creativity requires not only individual talent (that can be found in either men or women) but also skill that must be acquired through technical education and practice. Yet social practices, expectations, and institutions have often restricted, if not obstructed the attempts of women to acquire the level or scope of artistic training available to men. For example, the exclusion of women from classes in nude life-drawing had the effect of confining women painters to working in more "minor" fields of portraiture, landscape and still-life (Nochlin, p. 25). Similarly, the immersion of women in



domestic life was a persistent hindrance to their ability to practice or concentrate on their art work. Indeed, women have customarily practiced their art despite, and often in the midst of, domestic interruptions and social demands, without even a "room of one's own" to retreat to for introspection, concentration, or privacy (Woolf, 1928, p. 27).

Just as there were difficulties in securing opportunities for training and production, there were also problems in achieving public exposure and acceptance. Even today when this is perhaps less the case than historically, certain social attitudes created barriers to the realization of a woman's full artistic potential. For example, prejudicial attitudes about middle-aged and older women can detract from the acceptance of women as being creative, productive, or exciting once they pass 40 — or at just the time when years of study, development, and reputation-building place them at, what is for men, the threshold of enduring success, acclaim, and stature. (See Harnetz 1980).

In another sense, women were so intimately associated with "private life", their development of "public" persona, particularly as performers, encounters resistance. Furthermore, as social expectations about the role and behavior of women and that of artists began to diverge and conflict, women faced pronounced difficulties in reconciling or combining these two roles. Specifically an artist's behavior came to be characterized as being

"...anti-domestic, outsidersness, anti-social...isolation from other men, disorder, and the sublime forces of untamed nature..."

In contrast, women were thought of as the defenders of civilization, as well as the guardians of the home and the social order (Parker and Pollack, 1981, pp. 96 and 99). Thus social norms about femininity dictated that women live in accordance with "socially ordained domestic and reproductive roles" rather than as individualistic bohemian artists. Women artists therefore faced a contradiction between the social role of woman and that of artist.

Even today, public expectations of and reactions to women and men artists differ. For example, female concert soloists seem to encounter audiences that relate to them more visually than to men, and which may even subtly resent the intrusion of an instrument between a female performer and her audience. Likewise, reviews of a female concert soloist are likely to give extraordinary attention to her appearance and apparel and therefore less to her performance and technique. Eugenia Zuckerman speculates that arts audiences which are composed primarily of women may be exhibiting an unconscious and somewhat romantic preference for performers of the opposite sex. (Zuckerman, 1981, pp. 1 and 19). Similarly, on the basis of audience and patron surveys of ballet, it might be argued that its audience (which is predominantly well-educated, professional, yuppie-generation women) may be attracted to the idealized romanticism of ballet because it presents men as gallant, graceful, elegant, and virile. Such romantic fantasies could be particularly appealing to such an audience, the members of which are typically engaged in the social, and psychological demands of establishing new economic and professional roles in their every-day life. (Balfe and Wyszomirski, 1985.) This interpretation seems to gain further plausibility when one recalls the early furor over ballet superstars like Rudolf Nureyev who was so frequently praised for his "animal magnetism".

in a more collective setting, symphony orchestras were traditionally all but closed to women instrumentalists, except for the harpist. Opposition to the engagement of female orchestra members rested upon merit arguments as well as social customs. Women musicians were often regarded both as amateurs and as detracting from the "proper" image of a professional orchestra. (Indeed, as various artistic endeavors have become "professionalized" this has often, at least initially, worked against the inclusion of women, who often found it difficult to acquire the training or the credentials that became required.)

While advances have been made toward "integrating" symphony orchestras (Lehmann, 1983, pp. 1 and 19), some conductors still espouse sexist or paternalistic attitudes. One conductor commented that "all those women on stage makes it look like a kitchen", while another felt that women might be offended by the harsh language often used among musicians as well as by the conductors towards orchestra members.

A related problem concerns the acceptance of women in positions of artistic authority, such as orchestra conductor or theatrical director. Producer and director Joseph Papp attributes this scarcity, at least in part, to notions of authority and to an expectation that "the person in charge ...(be)... the father figure". He also observed that some producers will not work "with a woman as director, because of the whole attitude of men toward women in jobs of authority - -which is that women are not as strong or that men are more reasonable or that women can't control a situation as well as an experienced man." (Bennetts, 1984, p. C11.)

In the last 20 years, more women have begun to rise to such leadership positions. Certainly these gains are both reflective and indicative of other social and artistic changes. First, the arts boom of the 1960s and 1970s gave rise to a host of grassroots arts organizations, thereby opening up more directoral opportunities at the very time that the women's movement was heightening a general awareness of the status of women in all areas of life. Furthermore, since much of the boom occurred at the grassroots level, many leadership opportunities were created in new and developing institutions. As these organizations lacked entrenched operational norms, they were more open to women, who were in turn afforded a chance to acquire experience, compile a record, and begin to climb a career ladder.

Secondly, during this same period, women had the incentive and the potential to gather the resources needed to create their own artistic opportunities. Thus, women often became cultural entrepreneurs, developing outlets for their own ambitions and talents. For example, Julianne Boyd became the Broadway director of "Eubie" by originally conceiving and developing the idea of a review based on the music and life of Eubie Blake. (Bennetts, 1984 p. C11.) Elinor Renfield directed "Open Admissions" on Broadway, after having first directed it as a prize-winning one-act play at the Ensemble Studio Theater. In 1950, Celia Franca brought with her a dream of seeing a professional touring ballet company in Canada. Soon thereafter she founded, and for the next quarter of a century nurtured, the company to become the acclaimed National Ballet of Canada. Similarly, Lucia Chase, searching for performance opportunities in dramatic ballet, helped to establish American Ballet Theater and then fostered it into an

international company of the first rank. In the process, she played a variety of roles, including that of performer, primary financial patron, and artistic director (Payne, 1978). Examples can also be found in other artistic fields such as non-profit theater, museums, chamber music, arts service organizations, and of course, modern dance.

Finally, although such advances are obvious, they also indicate some unresolved issues and potential problems. In the case of theater, many of women's advances have been made in the field of non-profit theater, which has itself benefited from substantial governmental and philanthropic support. Such sources of support have traditionally been highly responsive to social and political changes. Therefore, artistic organizations reliant on such patronage were likely to offer new opportunities to representatives of newly influential groups or interests, such as women. But that very reliance may become the root of future difficulties, as federal support for the arts levels off (or even decreases) as governments seek to reduce general budget deficits and constrain government activism. Thus, non-profit theaters, as well as other non-profit organizations, may face an impending period of triage, during which some of the growth of the recent "boom" period will be winnowed out.

Furthermore, while non-profit theater is creatively vital, it is also financially less lucrative than commercial theater, where women still encounter considerable difficulty in moving into directoral positions. Thus, access to opportunities on the non-profit circuit may, at least in part, open up to women as male directors gravitate toward the better paid fields of Broadway, film, and television. In another example, statistics on orchestras in the United States and Canada collected by the American Symphony Orchestra League indicate that while roughly half of the musicians in regional and metropolitan orchestras are females, women constitute only 26% of the members of the more prestigious major orchestras and an even smaller percentage in the dozen largest and best organizations (Henahan, 1983, pp. 1 and 19). Female conductors are still rare and none hold a permanent position with a major orchestra.

These particular examples illustrate a more general phenomenon. In virtually every art field, women have made gains at the lower and middle levels but have been less evident at the most prestigious and lucrative levels. For example, Judith L. Hanna has observed that

"Dance shares with other arts a gender-related prestige hierarchy. Like theatre and symphony, dance is occupationally differentiated and sex-segregated to some degree between performer, choreographer/composer, and director, the latter positions more powerful and male dominated, women having less mobility across career segments than men..." (1984, pp. 2-3).

Likewise, although women have often played critical roles in promoting "new"-old arts fields, (e.g., folk arts) to "high" art status; in nurturing new institutions in "old" art fields (e.g., the National Ballet of Canada, Arena State); or in developing non-profit and/or grassroots art institutions and networks, they have often lost such leadership opportunities as the institutions or activities they fostered have achieved notable success, size, and/or prestige. This is not to suggest that women arts entrepreneurs are necessarily forced out of such

directorial positions (although this can occur, particularly under the guise of a hastened retirement). Rather, the typical pattern is for female entrepreneurs to be succeeded by male directors.

The upshot of these factors is that women still find it very difficult to become leaders of the major arts institutions or of arts activities involving significant financial stakes. Similarly, it seems difficult for women to retain directoral control of organizations that have become large and prestigious.

Access to leadership positions at lower and middle level art organizations put women in positions to make policy for these organizations as well as to influence general policy in their fields. It also makes them "gatekeepers" of opportunities for other arts, particularly those in the early stages of their careers. Yet relative scarcity and tenuousness of women in directoral positions in the largest and most prestigious arts organizations has made it difficult for women to lead their various art fields.

Thus one can discern an extension to the long history of the masculinization of the role and image of the "artist". In the Renaissance, the artist emerged as an heroic figure aspiring to divinity, inspired by "divine madness", working on a monumental scale, and resonant with association to God the Father as the architect of the universe and the sculptor of mankind. Since the seventeenth century official academies in Europe presided over the fine arts as educators, gatekeepers, and status associations that gave shape to and exercised influence over the artistic professions. Since women were excluded from such academies, they could seldom achieve reputation and stature equivalent to that of similarly talented male artists.

While Canada and the United States lacked such formal and official academies, a similarly male-dominated informal system was at work. Furthermore, as heterogeneous immigrant nations, the expansion of artistic opportunity was primarily focussed on the struggle between elitism and populism. Only within the last decade has this tension abated with the formulation of an implicit consensus supporting both governmental and art world policies of elitist pluralism. While in principle such a pluralist philosophy may be receptive to accommodating gender-based systems of aesthetic values, this is still largely a potentiality. Aesthetic pluralism has, heretofore, concentrated on expanding an elitist, fine arts standard of the arts to accommodate other artistic forms and values that derive from minority cultural heritages of an ethnic, linguistic, and/or racial character.

This brings us to the question of defining art in ways that have excluded or discounted particular forms of genres in which women or feminine attributes predominate. There is a considerable body of commentary on the distinction imposed between art and craft. One effect of distinction was to discount many art forms produced by women working largely in the private domestic sphere. (See Clark 1972; Lears 1981; Kimmel 1985; and Parker and Pollock 1981: pp. 50-81). Classified as crafts, needlepoint, embroidery, weaving, quilting, etc., they did not enjoy the stature of art and, as such, could not confer artistic reputation, acclaim, or greatness upon its creators. Produced at home by "amateurs" for a familial audience and often having a practical or decorative function, crafts were not considered art since art was perceived to be a public, professional activity creating products that had an aesthetic (rather than a utilitarian) purpose.

Thus, the entrenchment of an overall aesthetic ideology that professed that greater artistic merit was displayed in "art for art's sake" devalued those arts that had a functional utility. It should, however, be noted that this problem is one that crafts does not face alone, but is also encountered by one of the oldest art forms, architecture, and its extensions in design. The last two decades have seen a renewed craft movement and the gradual (though cautious) recognition of crafts as an art form. Galleries and museums have mounted shows and exhibits of quilts and other needlework. Both the Canada Council and the NEA have awarded grants to crafts artists as a sub-field of the visual arts. In 1978, the NEA established a separate Folk Arts Program that, while small (accounting for only about 2.5% to 3% of total agency program funds), nonetheless accords crafts a measure of official recognition and artistic legitimacy that it was heretofore denied. In addition, the Women's Committee of the Smithsonian Institution has sponsored an annual craft fair in Washington, D.C. for the past three years -- a project that illustrates women's own efforts to increase public awareness and national exposure opportunities for crafts artists. Furthermore the sponsorship of these fall by one of the premier museums of the United States. It has helped to confer both artistic and official recognition upon crafts, and therefore may have helped to improve the status and opportunities of women artists in a general sense.

#### Women, Politics and Arts Policy

Clearly, the involvement, impact and importance of women in politics is a rapidly changing phenomenon. It was only during the 20th century that women were electorally enfranchised. The women's social movement was a product of the 1960s, their political organization a child of the 1970s, and the recognition of distinct women's issues and political attitudes (e.g., the "gender gap") was a discovery of the 1980s. Similarly, arts policy has only been a continuing governmental concern for the past quarter of a century. The intersection of women, art and politics is therefore a relatively recent and unfolding phenomenon. Furthermore, it is not a single kind of interaction, but rather a complex set of intertwined relationships. Three of the major kinds of interactions will be touched upon: that of policy beneficiary (or casualty), that of political interest group, and that of official policy maker.

As in any discussion of the arts constituency, one must encompass a bifurcated group that consists of both arts producers and consumers. Either or both may seek to affect and to be affected by arts policy in a positive manner. Since Ms. McCaughey's paper (which is to follow) will discuss the arts audience, I will leave that topic in her capable hands. I would, however, observe that since women predominate among arts audiences for virtually all the high arts, it could be argued that policies of public support for the arts benefit women more than men.

Three general policy mechanisms can be employed to make creative and performing artists the direct beneficiaries of public arts policies. These include grants, commissions, and recognition awards. National awards recognizing the contributions and achievements of artists are both relatively new and relatively rare. In part, this condition reflects the increasing importance accorded the arts in contemporary society. It may also be a general policy tactic prompted by the need of governments to deal with severe financial constraints while retaining an ability to acknowledge and promote new and worthwhile activities and programs. Thus official recognition and public awards may be a form of symbolic policy action.

For example, in the United States, the annual Kennedy Center Honors were only started in 1978. Since then, five artists have been honored by the President each year in a public performance and ceremony at the Kennedy Center in the nation's capital. Furthermore, the event is videotaped for later broadcast on commercial television. Thus these awards not only extend presidential and political recognition to the arts but also become the occasion for presenting this message to a mass audience. The annual quintet of awardees has always included at least one female artist. Over the years these have included Helen Hayes, Lena Horne and Lillian Gish.

More specifically, in 1979 the Women's Caucus for Arts presented its first set of awards for "Outstanding Achievement in the Visual Arts". President Carter presided over the White House award ceremony in which Isabel Bishop, Selma Burke, Alice Neel, Louise Nevelson, and Georgia O'Keeffe were honored. Nevelson remarked that the event was "a very important day for women not only in America, but all over the world" (WCA Newsletter, 1979). Indeed the very fact that the ceremony took place in the White House was, in large part, attributable to the work of other women -- those within the Carter Administration such as the Vice President's wife, Joan Mondale, and presidential assistant, Midge Costanza. Thus one might speculate that such recognition might become less rare as women advance not only within the arts but also into position of political influence and power.

The incidence and impact of public grant to artists is a difficult subject on which to get a complete perspective. Government agencies tend to concentrate their funding on arts institutions and projects rather than on individuals. Furthermore, public grants to individual artists tend to involve relatively small amounts of money. Thus, for example, while the Canada Council awarded 50% of all its grants to individuals in 1972-73, those grants accounted for 12% of the agency's award dollars. In 1982-83, 31% of the grants went to individuals, accounting for (again) 12% of the agency's funds. (Canada Council, February 1983). Thus, when discussing grants to individuals we are really only focussing on a small percentage of total public support for the arts. And while it is possible to examine the record of support for individual female artists, this certainly will present only a very incomplete picture since it omits any attempt to ascertain what "trickle down" effect grants to institutions and projects may also have on women artists.

Within the admittedly limited scope of government grants to individual artists, women (in contrast to men) artists have had an approximately equal and sometimes better success rate in winning awards. For example, in 1972-73, 37% of women applicants but only 28% of men applicants were awarded Canada Council grants. In 1982-83, the success rate for women was 27% compared to 28% for men. While the award rates are quite similar, the number of both applicant and awardees differs considerably according to sex. That is, far more men apply and are awarded public support. For example, in 1982-83, 3,937 men applied to the Canada Council but only 1,525 women did so. This application gap has, however, been narrowing. In 1972-73, 605 females and 2,104 males (or 22% versus 78% of individuals) applied to the Canada Council. (Canada Council, April 1984). A decade later (1982-83), the number of female applicants had increased by 150% while those of men had grown by only 87%. Consequently, the application gender gap had narrowed to 39% (women) versus 60% (men). In other words, not only have women artists competed for individual grants with approximately equal success to that of male artists, but the number of women artists in the competitive pool is increasing nearly twice as fast as that of men.

Women can have an effect upon arts policy through interest group activities. A preliminary question must, however, be confronted: what is the relevant interest group -- women, artists, or women artists? All three have only recently become mobilized and organized. Women undertook political activism and began to become organized in the 1960's. The women's movement has now gained momentum and begun to flex some political "muscle", but it faces both opportunities and problems in the near future.

Traditionally, interest group influence has been, in large part, a function of membership size, cohesion, access, money and leadership. The element of numbers seems to display great potential since better than half of the population is female. Trying to take full political advantage of these numbers is, however, problematic. Not all women identify with or support women's interest groups. Furthermore, even those who are politically mobilized are not attracted to only one group -- rather their numbers are dispersed among a number of groups, many of which are increasingly in ideological conflict with (rather than complementary to) one another (e.g., the liberal National Organization of Women versus Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum). In addition, such organizations -- of whatever ideological color -- have exhibited little interest in arts policy issues.

In terms of access to policy makers, women enjoy (and have used with effectiveness) the traditional and informal access they possess by virtue of being the wives or relatives of office holders. Joan Mondale exercised considerable influence upon arts policies during the Carter Administration -- an influence that stemmed from being the Vice President's wife which, in turn, was instrumental in her assumption of the honorary chairmanship of the Federal Council for the Arts and Humanities. Her commitment to the arts also profited from long standing social relations with members of Congress (and their wives) and was extended by her successful sponsorship of another woman (Mary Ann Tighe) for the position of Deputy Chairman for Programs of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Similarly, Rhoda Glickman, who is executive director of the Congressional Arts Caucus, is married to a member of the House of Representatives -- a fact that gives her a kind of informal access to other members of Congress that few other caucus directors enjoy. And, of course, the boards of trustees or directors of various Washington cultural institutions generally count political wives among their members. For example, the Kennedy Center has six First Ladies as its honorary chairmen as well as the wives of a former Senate Majority Leader, of a former Vice-President, and of a former cabinet secretary. The directors of the Washington Performing Arts Society include the wives of a senator, a congressman, and a former very prominent cabinet secretary.

If one shifts the focus of analysis from women's interest groups to artistic ones, different opportunities and problems emerge. Although some art forms had formed trade associations and/or unions during the first half of the 20th century, wholesale organization of the artistic community is a more recent occurrence. In both the United States and Canada, national arts agencies have been influential in prompting and supporting these organizational efforts -- both as a means of facilitating communication in and services to various arts fields as well as of establishing a grassroots support system for government arts policies, funding, and administration agencies.

Such arts organizations proliferated during the late 1960s and 1970s but the arts community generally failed to realize its potential political influence since it was organized in specialized and separate groups representing different art forms (e.g. museums, dance companies, actors, visual artists, opera companies, orchestras, etc.). This fragmentation has only begun to be overcome as diverse groups seek to collaborate and to join forces under multi-disciplinary associations (such as the American Arts Alliance) as the arts have been threatened by proposed changes in arts policy or philosophy (e.g., the reputed populism of the Carter Administration) or by possible cutbacks in government funding support.

Whether women artists within these organizations have and can persuade these groups to champion the particular interests of women artists is a question that can only be raised, but not answered, here. What can be said is that arts interest groups have become effective political interest groups and are therefore a resource that may be useful to women seeking to influence public policy.

Furthermore, gender-mixed organizational efforts have been supplemented by those women artists. For example, a women's Caucus for Art, composed mostly of female visual artists and art historians, was established during the 1970's largely as a self-help and information group. A coalition of Women's Arts Organizations has also been formed. So far, these organizations seem to be following the dual strategy of seeking to raise general public and professional awareness of women artists and their work while joining with other arts groups to achieve more overall recognition and funding for the arts.

Finally, women may influence public policy directly from position as public office holders. Here again one must remember that politics has long been a "masculine" preserve and is an area in which women still confront particular entry and advancement problems -- whether the political positions are acquired through election or appointment. With regard to arts policy, governmental positions are generally appointive and may be of either an advisory or an administrative character.

Both the NEA and the Canada Council make extensive use of advisory panels in their grant and policy-making processes. Such peer panels not only inform the funding decisions of these agencies with expert advice but also help to insulate both specific awards and general agency policy from excessive politicization. Since panels exercise a considerable influence over eventual award decisions, it is obvious that women would seek to participate on such advisory panels as well as to have feminist and feminine artistic perspectives represented in panel membership. At the NEA, particular attention was given to diversifying panel membership as part of the Carter Administration's pluralistic political and aesthetic philosophies. During those years (1977-1981), the proportion of women on Endowment panels rose from 25% to close to 50% (WCA Newsletter, 1979, p. 2). It would be interesting to know what the number and proportions were for Canada Council panels and how those figures may (or may not) have changed over the years.

Another and higher level "panel" -- the national council -- can be regarded as both and either advisory or policy making. At this level, somewhat different patterns seem to be evident in Canada and the United States. Presently, half of the Canada Council members (11 of 21) are women, including the chairman. In contrast, women comprise only a quarter (6 of 26) of the National Council



members. Furthermore, in the United States, this is both an historic pattern as well as one that seems to be characteristic of the Reagan Administration. For example, for the first 19 years of its existence, only 20 of the NCA's 111 members -- or 24% -- have been women. Of these, women often seem to have served only partial terms and hence account for only 18% of total Council tenure. Since 1981, President Reagan has appointed 18 individuals to the NCA, but only 3 (or 17%) have been women. Thus, even though more and more women are becoming active and accomplished in both the artistic and political arenas, they are quite rare at the national council level in the United States, but are more numerous in Canada at a similarly prestigious level.

If the focus is shifted to the positions of the agency and program/section heads, one finds a relative scarcity of women -- a phenomenon that in some senses might be rather unexpected since the arts have so often been regarded as a "feminine" activity. A superficial examination of such positions suggests a pattern similar to that found among women in artistic directoral positions. That is, one finds unusual instances of women as agency or council chairmen. Nancy Hanks, who served as chairman of the NEA from 1969 to 1977, was the only woman to head the agency while Mary Ann Tighe, who was Deputy Chairman for Programs from 1977 through 1980, was the only woman to have been second-in-command. Presently a woman acts as chairman of the Canada Council.

Similarly, the NEA has had relatively few program directors, although some of these did serve for considerable periods of time. Throughout, the pattern suggests that women in policy-making positions -- whether at the agency or the program level -- have been exceptions from generally male leadership and have tended to serve during the developmental years of an agency, a program, or an arts field. Thus, Nancy Hanks led the Endowment through its maturing from a small, tenuous agency of about 30 people and a budget of less than \$10 million to an established bureaucracy that employed approximately 200 and had a 10-fold increased budget of \$100 million. The two subsequent chairmen have been male. Likewise, while women headed programs/sections for dance, theatre, and media arts during the early 1970s, all these fields were in developmental stages -- dance was prospering but still growing, non-profit theatre was blooming into a nationwide phenomenon, and media arts was only just transforming itself from a commercial activity into a form of art. Since those days, men have generally assumed most program directorships, although women have reappeared intermittently to head the dance program (a very "feminine" art form) as well as the folk arts program.

### Summary

I have tried to impose some order and coherence on the very broad topic of the arts, women and policy by subdividing the general subject into various types of interactions and/or roles. I would like to conclude by raising some current and pending policy issues and some of the possibilities and pitfalls that might be considered in approaching them.

For example, the discussion of women as art subjects raised the possible aim of controlling/censoring the content and imagery of art in order to reduce or eliminate the portrayal of women in sexist, demeaning, or violent manners. However praiseworthy this objective may be, one must consider whether the goal

can only, or even best, be achieved while establishing a precedent of governmental constraint upon freedom of artistic expression. On one hand, such measures can be justified constitutionally if indeed harm is clear and present; but the harm caused by artistic and/or pornographic imagery must be demonstrated, not merely asserted.

Both the discussions of women as artists and as directors of art activities (both public and private) suggest that a potential policy concern might involve some kind of affirmative action for women. Any such effort will, however, have to resolve classic dilemmas. What is to be the standard for imposing such action -- proportionality, fairness, or compensation? What, indeed, is the "solution" to discrimination or disadvantage; or in other words, to what end will one employ affirmative action tactics -- desegregation, integration, or separate but equal? And finally, what is to be the subject of affirmative action -- women as art subjects, women artists and arts administrators, or feminist art? This, in turn, raises other questions -- particularly about unintended consequences. Thus, as has happened in other areas of endeavor, women pioneers (whether in art or arts administration) may actually prove to be less supportive of other women and their efforts than expected simply because they feel impelled to be "tough" in order to protect their own precarious credibility and new-found legitimacy. Similarly, might efforts to increase the value and stature of the arts in society either change what have been called the "feminine" qualities of the arts (e.g., expressive, emotive), or will making the arts "important" place them beyond the purview of what persistent stereotypes will concede to be "women's work"?

Thus I leave you with what I hope you have found to be some useful analytical ideas and some provocative questions. As someone here today commented, the broad topic is rather like a Rubik's cube of multiple, interacting elements in considerable flux. Women in art, society and politics are changing and only beginning to enter into full participation. Art is, of course, ever-changing. And even the study of art and arts policy as well as the sociology and economics of the arts are evolving and in ways that themselves demonstrate other changes that are occurring in society, scholarship and the professions. In the midst of such complexity and fluidity, the subject of the arts, women and policy is not only a Rubik's cube, but a puzzle for which we have no model to work towards.

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**FEMININE DOMINANCE OF THE ARTS:  
WOMAN AS PRODUCER AND CONSUMER**

by

**Claire McCaughey**

Claire McCaughey was born in Belfast, Northern Ireland in 1956. She received her Bachelor of Social Sciences from the University of Ottawa in 1978, and her Master of Arts, Economics from Queen's University in Kingston in 1979. She served for five years as a research economist with the Economic Council of Canada, and since January 1984 has been Research Officer at the Canada Council.

In this presentation, two questions are raised about women's participation in the arts in Canada. First, in what ways and to what degree are women involved in various arts activities? And second, what is the economic status of women in the arts? Most previous studies of women in the arts have focused on individual artists or individual disciplines within the arts. This paper, drawing on census data as well as reports relating to women artists, arts funding and audiences, provides an overview of women's involvement in the arts.

### (1) Introduction

The arts are popularly conceived of as a feminine activity. On the one hand, imaginative and artistic interests or traits are very often characterized as feminine from the point of view of psychology. And of course the Muses, the figures of inspiration, are feminine. On the other hand, by being involved in a significant way with many activities related to the arts, women also give a strong feminine identification to the arts. They make up well over half of the arts audience. They form the majority of fine and applied arts students at colleges and universities. And they are extensively involved with arts organizations through volunteer work. As one researcher has put it, "Women have virtually cornered the market of art activity, if we discount the status of that activity and measure only the time spent on it" (Collins, 1979).

Yet women have tended to be present in much smaller numbers in other spheres of arts activity. Relative to men, there are fewer women creative artists such as writers, visual artists, playwrights and composers, fewer women faculty members in the fine and applied arts departments of universities, and a smaller number of women artistic directors, producers and professionals at higher level management in arts organizations. Because of the historical imbalance in their involvement, women are perceived as having a secondary status in the arts. It is perhaps something of a paradox that males should dominate numerically creative and higher status occupations in the arts when there is a strong feminine identification of the arts. But in this respect, what has occurred in the arts is perhaps not unlike what has occurred elsewhere in the labour market, where women have also tended to be poorly represented in higher status occupations and jobs. Social and cultural conditioning have undoubtedly played a part in this. As a result women have most often ended up in less prestigious and lower paying jobs.

At the same time, there are two positive ways in which women can be seen to dominate the arts outside of consumption, learning and voluntary activity. The first way is in terms of growth in their numbers in the arts labour force. Women in the last decade have entered the arts labour force at 2 to 3 times the rate of men, going particularly into non-traditional arts occupations. The second is in a relative sense. Women interpretive and creative artists as well as founders of arts institutions have often gained much wider recognition than women have in other fields of endeavour. In other words, women have risen to prominence in the arts to a greater extent than women have in other fields.

The report begins in Part 2 with an overview of the changing economic status of women. Part 3 looks at employment of women in arts occupations and in the arts industry. Part 4 is an overview of women in arts education. Part 5 examines the income status of women artists, and Part 6, public support to women artists. Part 7 discusses women as arts consumers. Finally in Part 8 are the conclusions.

## **(2) The Changing Economic Status of Women**

During the 1970s there were very noticeable changes in the economic status of women. Women entered the labour market in very large numbers, going not only into traditionally female occupations but also increasingly into non-traditional occupations. Table 1 presents some comparative data on women and men in various occupations, and it can be seen that the proportion of women employed in many occupations, including arts occupations, significantly increased between 1971 and 1981.

Of course, one of the problems that women in the labour market continue to experience to a much greater degree than men is that of balancing family responsibilities with career. To some extent, this situation has implications for the earnings of women, as family responsibilities may reduce the hours women are able to work, and reduce the time spent in the labour force and therefore the income level to which they are able to rise. The ratio of female to male average earnings did overall improve between 1971 and 1981, but the improvement was greater for women in male-dominated occupations than those in female-dominated occupations. Nonetheless, in most occupations the average income of women remains inferior to that of men. For example, in 1981 the ratio of female to male average earnings in managerial and professional occupations was typically in the range of 50% to 60%.

## **(3) Women in the Arts Labour Force**

The arts labour force makes up about 2% of the total labour force. It comprises individuals engaged in arts and arts-related occupations, and who use arts-related skills in their day-to-day work. These occupations include, among others, architects, librarians and archivists, fine arts teachers, visual artists, musicians, dancers and choreographers, actors, writers, and technical occupations related to motion picture production. Within the arts labour force, there is also a core group of "artists", making up about one-half of the arts labour force. (This sub-group of the arts labour force is known as Major Occupation Group 33 in the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations.)

What are the labour force characteristics of women in arts occupations? First of all, they are highly educated: well over one-third (38%) have a university degree or some university education compared to one-fifth (20%) of women in the labour force as a whole. Among artists (Major Occupation Group 33), the proportion reaches as high as 45%. The percentages for men in arts occupations are similar. But while the educational characteristics of women and men are similar there are differences in other respects. For instance, a smaller proportion of women work full-time (49 to 52 weeks in the year) -- close to one-half of women (45%) compared with two-thirds (64%) of men.

Also, a smaller proportion of women are self-employed. Among artists the distinction between self-employment and wage and salary employment becomes more important for certain occupations. Overall among artists, 12% of women are self-employed but 17% of men. There are variations according to occupation. For example, amongst women painters and sculptors two-thirds are self-employed, while amongst men over three-quarters are.

**Table I**  
**NUMBER AND AVERAGE EARNINGS MEN AND WOMEN**  
**IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS**  
**1970-71 to 1980-81**

	Number				Women as % of Total		Average Earnings				Female/Male Ratio	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	1971	1981	Women	Men	Women	Men	1971	1981
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
Occupations in Fine and Commercial Art and Related Fields	540	2,560	3,250	6,075	14.2	29.6	7,880	16,562	11,230	22,168	70.2	74.7
Occupations in Writing	5,500	15,175	11,095	17,925	33.1	45.8	5,127	12,959	8,808	19,446	58.2	66.6
Occupations in Fine Art	7,155	21,750	21,640	28,695	24.8	43.1	3,846	8,978	7,103	15,155	54.1	59.2
Other Occupations in Performing and Audio-visual Arts	3,475	7,390	10,400	18,845	27.0	28.2	3,093	8,446	6,091	12,387	50.8	68.2
General Managers	1,480	2,535	39,445	36,320	3.6	6.5	14,745	28,952	26,823	59,131	55.0	49.0
Physicians and Surgeons	2,810	6,505	25,345	30,255	10.0	17.7	11,774	30,708	27,469	57,273	42.9	53.6
Lawyers and Notaries	770	4,890	15,340	26,530	4.8	15.6	8,874	18,416	20,218	38,380	43.9	48.0
Sales and Advertising Management Occupations	700	13,475	15,000	68,925	4.5	16.4	6,288	14,199	16,085	28,227	39.2	50.3
Architects	105	490	3,835	5,730	2.7	7.9	5,785	15,949	14,787	26,415	39.1	60.4
University Teachers	3,850	8,030	19,355	24,780	16.6	32.4	8,902	19,707	14,390	33,274	61.9	59.2
Personnel Management Occupations	420	6,905	3,585	17,920	10.5	27.8	6,219	18,021	13,877	29,249	44.8	61.6
Managerial Occupations	11,630	59,930	37,155	189,860	23.8	31.6	5,449	16,074	15,237	28,633	35.8	56.1
Accountants and Financial Officers	15,160	41,270	86,815	100,715	14.7	29.1	5,666	16,013	10,121	25,998	56.0	61.6
Occupations in Social Sciences	3,140	9,885	8,060	15,910	28.0	38.3	5,982	15,193	10,056	25,486	59.5	59.6
Systems Analysts, Computer Programmers	3,160	16,735	10,030	41,480	24.0	28.7	6,363	15,436	9,013	21,153	70.6	73.0
Supervisors, Library and Archival Sciences	530	1,255	630	815	45.7	60.6	6,732	15,561	9,296	21,288	72.4	73.1
Supervisors, Nursing Occupations	13,290	18,835	1,030	1,795	92.8	91.3	7,120	18,791	7,923	21,960	89.9	85.6
Elementary and Secondary School Teachers	177,140	213,935	90,455	116,535	66.2	64.7	6,015	16,216	8,545	24,377	70.4	66.5
Librarians and Archivists	5,295	11,910	1,650	2,915	76.2	80.3	6,039	13,836	7,466	20,248	80.9	68.3
Other Occupations in Library and Archival Science	1,345	4,175	560	1,750	70.6	70.4	3,552	9,282	4,733	11,845	75.0	78.4

Source: Boulet and Lavallée, 1984, derived from Table A-7.



About 25% of women in the arts labour force are under age 25 compared to about 20% for men, indicating the higher growth in young women entrants. In the years to come, the age and experience profiles of men and women will undoubtedly become more similar, and this can be expected to have positive repercussions for earnings.

### Women in Arts Occupations

Between 1971 and 1981 the size of the arts labour force grew almost twice as fast as the total labour force (74% vs. 39%). The number of women in the arts labour force grew by 134%, at almost three times the rate for men. This growth is also revealed in the change in the proportion of women. In 1971 women represented 31% of the arts labour force, as compared with 41% in 1981, i.e., a 10% increase (compared to 6% for women in the labour force as a whole). If the growth in the number of women in the arts labour force continues at almost three times the rate for men, then within ten to fifteen years there could be statistical equality of women and men in the arts labour force.

How are women distributed amongst the various arts occupations? In which occupations do we find few women relative to men, and in which are there many women? Despite the fact that women make up less than half of the arts labour force, they outnumber men in some arts-related occupations -- (1) library, museum and archival sciences, (2) fine arts teaching (at all levels), (3) product and interior design, (4) dance and choreography, (5) translation, (6) photographic processing, and (7) bookbinding and related occupations. Women employed in these occupations make up over 50% of the female arts labour force. These also happen to be occupations in which the growth rate in the number of women has been relatively low.

In other occupations, the number of women is small compared to men. For instance, in 1981 there were approximately 10 times more men architects than women, 4 times as many conductors, composers and arrangers, 4 times as many radio and television announcers, 3 times as many photographers and cameramen, and 3 times as many producers and directors. And in technical occupations such as printing, electronic and related equipment operation, there are over twice as many men as women. It is encouraging, however, that in many of these occupations the number of women did grow at a remarkable rate between 1971 and 1981 (see Table 2). Growth in numbers was most significant for women painters and sculptors (514%), as well as women producers and directors (402%).

In addition, the proportion of women in many of these occupations has shown substantial growth (Table 3). For instance, in 1971 only 26% of all painters and sculptors were women as compared with 46% in 1981. Similarly, the proportion of women producers and directors grew from 14% in 1971 to 29% in 1981. The only occupation where the proportion of women actually declined was musicians, falling from 27% to 25%. This appears to be one area where women have yet to make great inroads. And amongst actors and actresses the proportion of women grew very little -- most likely reflecting the fact that fewer roles tend to be created for women.

Table 2

**GROWTH IN EXPERIENCED ARTS LABOUR FORCE  
BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS  
MEN AND WOMEN  
1971-1981**

OCCUPATION	Numbers		% change 1971-1981
	1971	1981	
<b>WOMEN</b>			
Architects	115	520	352
Painters, Sculptors & Related Artists	590	3,620	514
Advertising & Illustrating Artists	1,610	6,990	334
Photographers & Cameramen	560	1,685	201
Producers & Directors	555	2,785	402
Radio & TV Announcers	255	1,080	324
Printing & Related	10,590	22,520	113
Electronic & Related Communications Eqpt.	315	1,330	322
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	2,090	4,670	123
<b>MEN</b>			
Architects	3,925	6,585	68
Painters, Sculptors & Related Artists	1,785	4,335	151
Advertising & Illustrating Artists	6,690	11,980	79
Photographers & Cameramen	4,910	7,325	49
Producers & Directors	3,295	6,965	111
Radio & TV Announcers	2,260	4,790	112
Printing & Related	39,115	48,820	25
Electronic & Related Communications Eqpt.	6,345	8,375	32
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	3,590	5,140	43

Source: A Canadian Dictionary and Selected Statistical Profile of Arts Employment, 1981, 1984. (Based on 1971 and 1981 Censuses.)

**Table 3**  
**PROPORTION OF WOMEN**  
**IN SELECTED ARTS OCCUPATIONS**  
**1971 and 1981**

OCCUPATION	Numbers					
	Women		Total Men and Women		Women as % of Total	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
ARTISTIC, LITERARY, PERFORMING ARTS & RELATED (Major Occupation Group 33)	17,730	51,925	65,445	131,930	27.1	39.4
Painters, Sculptors & Related Artists	590	3,620	2,310	7,950	25.5	45.5
Product & Interior Designers Advertising & Illustrating Artists	4,795	12,190	13,430	21,145	35.7	57.6
Photographers & Cameramen	1,610	6,990	8,300	18,965	19.4	36.9
Producers & Directors	560	1,685	5,470	9,010	10.2	18.7
Musicians	555	2,785	3,850	9,750	14.4	28.6
Dancers & Choreographers	2,485	3,650	9,075	14,650	26.7	24.9
Actors & Actresses	300	830	370	1,020	81.1	81.4
Radio & TV Announcers	440	1,260	1,030	2,815	42.7	44.8
Writers & Editors	255	1,080	2,515	5,865	10.1	42.1
Translators & Interpreters	5,765	16,265	17,045	35,710	33.8	45.5
	1,055	3,720	1,995	6,240	52.9	59.6

Source: A Canadian Dictionary and Selected Statistical Profile of Arts Employment, 1981, 1984. (Based on 1971 and 1981 Censuses.)

#### Women in the Arts Industry

In contrast to the arts labour force, there is also an arts industry perspective. Arts industry employment includes individuals employed in advertising, publishing, broadcasting, schools of fine and performing arts, libraries, museums and other repositories, motion pictures, theatrical and other staged entertainment, and offices of architects. Only about 40% of these individuals are in arts occupations, while the remaining 60% are in other occupations unrelated to the arts, such as administration, maintenance, etc.

Although women make up almost one-half (48%) of arts industry employment they are much more extensively involved in non-arts occupations than men. About two-thirds of women work in administrative, sales, technical and support capacities, as compared with one-half of men. Furthermore, a higher proportion of women are in non-administrative roles. Amongst women in the arts industry, only 6% are arts administrators compared with 10% of men. Overall in the arts industry, only 40% of women are in either arts occupations or arts administration compared to 60% of men.

However, between 1971 and 1981 the number of women employed in the arts industry grew two and a half times as fast as the number of men (91% compared to 37%). Women have been traditionally attracted to employment in the arts industry. In 1971, they made up 40% of arts industry employment (compared to 34% for employment in all industries). In 1981, they made up 48% of arts industry employment (40% for employment in all industries).

To summarize the trends in arts employment (Table 4), not only are the arts overall a high employment growth area, but they are particularly so for women. Between 1971 and 1981 the number of women artists grew at the rate of 193%.

**Table 4**  
**SUMMARY OF GROWTH IN ARTS EMPLOYMENT**

ITEM	1971-1981 Growth rates		
	Women	Men	Total
Artists	193%	68%	102%
Arts Labour Force	134%	48%	74%
Arts Industry Labour Force	91%	37%	58%
Total Labour Force, All Industries	64%	26%	39%

Source: A Canadian Dictionary and Selected Statistical Profile of Arts Employment, 1981, 1984. (Based on 1971 and 1981 Censuses.)

### Women as Founders of Arts Institutions

Moving away from the strictly occupational and industrial perspective, women have an excellent record in Canada as founders of major arts institutions (Gwyn, 1971). However, nowhere has their role been so central as in ballet. Canada's three major ballet companies -- the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, the National Ballet and les Grands Ballets Canadiens -- were all founded by women. One would probably be hard put to think of three women founders of such major institutions in other sectors of the economy.

Women have had some success in other areas too. Le Theatre du Rideau Vert, which has the distinction of being the oldest established professional theatre in Canada, was founded by a woman. Children's theatre in Canada has been almost entirely of women's making. And in Quebec, summer theatres are almost entirely the preserve of women.

### Women as Volunteers in the Arts

Although there are no statistics on the number of women involved in unpaid labour in the arts (and in fact very few statistics of any kind on voluntary labour), women have always been recognized as making a significant contribution to the arts through their voluntary work. It would not be too unrealistic to hypothesize that if women's voluntary labour were taken together with women's paid employment in the arts, women might well make up close to one-half of all individuals engaged in productive labour in the arts. However, over time it may well happen that as more and more women move into paid employment, out of economic necessity among other reasons, fewer women will offer their services as volunteers.

### **(4) Women in Arts Education**

Historically, more women than men have chosen the fine and applied arts as a field of study in colleges and universities. In part, this is because it has been, and still is to some degree, a socially acceptable field of learning for women.

In 1980-81, women represented 63% of community college graduates in the fine and applied arts, and 62% of university graduates in this field. And the relative proportions of men and women in this field have changed very little since 1970-71. But while women dominate this field of learning, there are in an absolute sense fewer women than men in the arts labour force with post-secondary education in the fine and applied arts. This suggests that fewer women than men with a fine arts education work in arts-related occupations.

There are also many more women fine arts teachers at all levels than men. In 1981, women represented almost three-quarters (72%) of all fine arts teachers. On the other hand, women represented only about one-fifth (21%) of university faculty in the fine and applied arts. Women fine arts teachers are thus concentrated in elementary and secondary schools and community colleges.

### **(5) The Income Status of Women Artists**

In terms of average income, self-employed artists, both men and women, have always fared worse than any other occupational group other than pensioners. In 1981, the average self-employment income of artists was about \$8,000. As in other sectors of the economy women artists' earnings (self-employment as well as wage and salary income) are inferior to those of men. In 1981, the average income of men artists was about \$15,000, while for women it was approximately \$9,500 -- representing 63% of that of men. However, relatively, women artists are doing slightly better than women elsewhere in the economy. In highly paid managerial occupations and professional occupations such as law and medicine, the ratio of female to male earnings is in the range of 50% to 60%.

The average income level of women in arts occupations (\$9,494) was almost equal to the average for women in the labour force as a whole (\$9,644). On the other hand, the average income level for men in arts occupations (\$15,165) was substantially lower than for the labour force as a whole (\$18,286).

Women in arts occupations also exhibit a greater disparity of income than in the labour force as a whole (Table 5). Among women artists, 8% have total annual incomes over \$25,000 compared with 4% for the labour force as a whole. And at the other end of the income spectrum, 43% of women in arts occupations have annual incomes of less than \$5,000 as compared with 32% for the labour force as a whole. Compared with the total labour force, a higher proportion of men in arts occupations also have an annual income under \$5,000, but in contrast to women, a smaller proportion have incomes over \$25,000.

In arts occupations the average income of women varies a great deal. The highest income is found amongst producers and directors, librarians and archivists, and architects, the lowest among fine arts teachers and painters and sculptors. The occupations where women's income is highest relative to men are concentrated in the performing and audio-visual arts, writing and library, museum and archival sciences. In many cases women in these areas earn 65% to 75% of men. Women producers and directors, for instance, earn 75% of what men earn. But a high absolute level of income does not necessarily mean a high relative income compared to men. Women architects, among the most highly paid of women in the arts labour force, earn only 58% of their male counterparts.

### **(6) Public Support to Women Artists**

It is commonly held that women artists are particularly at a disadvantage compared to men with respect to public funding. In fact, women as a group received about 38% of all Canada Council awards to individual artists. This is very close to the proportion of women artists in the arts labour force. Moreover, the proportion of Council grants to women grew just as the proportion of women in art occupations. In 1972-73, women received 28% of Council grants, in 1977-78, 33%, and in 1982-83, 38%. The point is that it is deceiving to compare the proportion of grants going to women with the proportion of women in the population as a whole. Rather the comparison should be with the proportion of women artists, which according to the best estimate is about 39%.

**Table 5**  
**MEN AND WOMEN ARTISTS BY INCOME CATEGORY**  
**1981**

INCOME CATEGORIES	Numbers		Per cent	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>ARTISTS</b> (Major Occupation Group 33)				
all income groups	49,545	78,150	100.0	100.0
less than \$5,000	21,400	22,405	43.2	26.7
\$5,000 - \$9,999	9,390	12,695	19.0	16.2
\$10,000 - \$14,999	6,955	10,740	14.0	13.7
\$15,000 - \$19,999	4,845	8,855	9.8	11.3
\$20,000 - \$24,999	3,225	7,960	6.5	10.2
\$25,000 - \$29,999	1,955	6,040	3.9	7.7
\$30,000 - \$34,999	830	4,050	1.7	5.2
\$35,000 - \$39,999	380	2,060	0.8	2.6
more than \$40,000	565	3,340	1.1	4.3
<b>TOTAL LABOUR FORCE</b>				
all income groups	5,177,720	7,359,115	100.0	100.0
less than \$5,000	1,640,865	1,109,820	31.7	15.1
\$5,000 - \$9,999	1,319,785	947,635	25.5	12.8
\$10,000 - \$14,999	1,163,270	1,177,675	22.5	16.0
\$15,000 - \$19,999	572,340	1,305,015	11.1	17.7
\$20,000 - \$24,999	272,340	1,136,280	5.3	15.5
\$25,000 - \$29,999	112,935	687,475	2.2	9.3
\$30,000 - \$34,999	48,820	401,550	0.9	5.5
\$35,000 - \$39,999	19,370	207,635	0.4	2.8
more than \$40,000	27,990	387,025	0.5	5.3

Source: A Canadian Dictionary and Selected Statistical Profile of Arts Employment, 1981, 1984. (Based on 1981 Census.)

Furthermore, the average annual growth rate in support to individual artists was four times higher for women than for men (5.9% vs. 1.2%). The rate of growth of grant requests was also four times higher (8.6% vs. 2.0%). And for women, the overall success rate (the ratio of grants awarded to requests) is virtually the same as for men. In the years when the success rate for women was lower than that for men, it was never more than 2% to 3% lower. On the other hand, in certain years the success rate for women was actually higher than for men.

### **(7) Women in the Arts Audience**

Turning to consumption of the arts, the situation is the reverse of what is found in the arts labour force. Women make up 40% of the arts labour force, but 60% of the arts audience. Here too we find women unevenly distributed. Women make up a larger proportion of dance audiences (sometimes as high as 85%) than theatre and music audiences (McCaughy, 1984) -- dance being among the most feminine of art forms. And overall they also tend to represent a higher percentage of performing and literary arts audiences than visual arts audiences.

The fact that women have dominated the arts audience (as well as voluntary labour in the arts) may be in part because these activities were the traditional outlet for women with artistic interests, who, for social and other reasons were discouraged or barred from professional artistic employment. The traditional education pattern for women, who have dominated the fine and applied arts field of study, has also played a role in creating a large, more educated and more knowledgeable audience of women.

### **(8) Conclusions**

To conclude, women dominate the arts in several ways. They outnumber men in the audience and in arts education, and are significantly involved as arts volunteers. Women have also been prominent in the arts as founders of arts institutions, and creative and performing artists. In fact, in no other economic sector are there as many well known women as in the arts. Over the last decade women have also increasingly entered non-traditional areas in the arts. The growth in women in the arts labour force greatly outstripped the growth in the number of men. In fact, the proportion of women in the arts labour force has grown more than 10% in the last decade. If it continues, women could make up one-half of the arts labour force by the 1990s.

In society at large, women have historically been associated with the arts in many roles, though not with the creative ones. Within the art world, however, the creative role has historically been associated with men. But with more and more women artists entering the arts labour force and rising to prominence, women are making their presence felt too. In this way they are increasingly giving the creative side of the arts a feminine identification.



A question which has sometimes been asked is: Has the feminine identification of the arts in society affected the status of the arts (Collins, 1979)? Whatever the answer is, as the economic importance of the arts is increasingly recognized, the status of the arts in society should improve. The arts have a significant economic impact (Chartrand, 1984). As a labour intensive sector, they also create jobs with relatively low levels of investment. With growth in awareness of the economic importance of the arts, the status of women in the arts, and perhaps in the economy as a whole, could be considerably enhanced.

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QUESTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

Morning Session

Terry Thomas:

I want to say that, along with most people, I found each paper very stimulating. But I found (and this is, I think, a function of the topic) that there are many untested hypotheses. When we compare the average incomes of men and women in the arts, it is possible that we are picking up a bimodal distribution in which there are few people. To take one example - architecture. Arthur Erikson makes a tremendous income, and there are few people in his income category. If you took a look at the distributions of men and women in architecture you might find that, if you could somehow discount the top men, the averages would in fact be closer, or on the other hand that there actually is a statistical difference.

There also seemed to be something of a conflict between the two papers. The impression from the first paper was that women are way behind. And the impression from the second paper was that there is a positive trend towards statistical equality in the arts labour force. A testable hypothesis would be to look at the income levels and the age distributions of men and women to see whether over time there is a move towards equality. If there is not, then it becomes very important to understand the reasons why.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

What you are pointing out about the superstars in architecture distorting the income distributions applies to any art form. Realize that many of the women are in younger age groups or at developmental levels. I agree that you will have to look at the kind of data you were talking about to see whether or not women are catching up. And I think the data should be subdivided by age cohort, by activity level, by organizational level in order to find out whether there has been an age catch-up phenomenon, or some other kind of organizational phenomenon. But to begin with, you have to identify that there may be differences in these trends before you formulate the hypotheses. And I think we are only at that first stage now.

Claire McCaughey:

One thing that we are thinking of doing if we can get the information from the 1981 Census (which, by the way, a lot of my presentation was based on) is to find out about income for men and women in different age categories; that is, the type of data you were talking about. We could certainly do such an analysis if we could obtain that kind of data.

Pat Durr:

I still think it is quite chilling that there is some kind of parallel between the number of women involved in an area, and the notion that as this area increases in its influence, power, social status, and financial status, the women become less and less significant. If this is a trend identified at this point, we should be concerned that 25 years down the road we could have the same situation.

Also, as a worker for the visual artists in this country both at the municipal and federal levels, I see that it is extremely difficult, no matter how many statistics we present them with, to convince people of the importance of the arts. I wonder if it goes back to this perception that the arts are feminine-oriented and therefore not really significant in the social and economic profile of society.

Brian Boyd:

I would like to make an observation as to a couple of areas that might bear research or comment. The first concerns my view of the relationship between education and the economic status of women to this whole issue. Perhaps the 19th century idea of women as being ornamental, and the kinds of learning that they were offered -- artistic training, dance, and music -- have been very influential in the educational trends we see now with a large proportion of women in fine arts. The economic status of women in the arts has to be related to the historical education patterns. I question whether, in the longer term perspective, you can expect this kind of educational situation to be a major factor in increasing the number of women in influential positions in artistic organizations.

It also seems to me important to look at the volunteer sector and the traditional role of women on boards. If you look at the cultural institutions in Ontario for which my Ministry is responsible, women are involved traditionally in social activities. I think it would be interesting to explore the whole role of women on boards generally, and why they are placed there, and perhaps also the relationship between the status of the husbands of those women and their placement on boards.

The other comment I would like to make relates to the selection of women politicians for jobs which are soft, social service ministries. I do not know that any great trend could be shown here, but certainly at the provincial level in many instances women politicians have been given cultural portfolios because they are considered to be low status or minor portfolios. A woman is seen as somehow more appropriate to deal with the arts than a man. It seems to me that there are a lot of dimensions that could be explored at the level of the political system both in terms of government departments and managerial structures of our institutions and organizations.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

You are absolutely right about women showing up in government positions that tend to be in soft social areas. In the American context, the first secretary of the Health, Education and Welfare Department was a woman. The next woman who occupied the chair had to do double duty as a minority and a woman. By then, however, the character of the department had also shifted.

The whole role of boards of directors in cultural policy making has been drastically understudied. Part of the issue has to do with access. If you looked at the board of trustees of the Kennedy Center, our national cultural centre, you

would find Mrs. Kennedy Oanassis, Mrs. Howard Baker, Mrs. Betty Ford, and so on. There are definite political linkages between the status of the husband and the woman's place on boards -- certainly at that kind of level.

Also in terms of education and economic status part of the problem of getting a grasp on this is that there are so many things happening at the same time. It is very hard to factor them all in because they interact with one another. On the one hand, women are probably becoming less evident as volunteers. As they enter the professional paid work force they simply do not have the time and the opportunity to devote themselves to that kind of volunteer effort. At the same time, because they are in the lower levels of the paid work force they do not have the alternative of replacing volunteer labour with financial donations. So that there may be a time lag as they move through the economic professions to get the financial wherewithal to then act as financial patrons as opposed to unpaid volunteers.

Similarly, if you look at education levels, as women move into the professions generally, that may change the status of women in leadership positions, and therefore make it easier to carry over into artistic leadership positions.

I would say that women have more opportunities and are more evident at the middle and lower levels of cultural administration. Therefore, as a policy maker, if I say my goal is to open up more opportunities for women as cultural leaders, I would target my money at the middle and lower levels. I do not have to do that simply on feminist grounds; I can do it on all kinds of other pluralistic, regionalistic distribution bases as well. If I do this, what might happen?

If I do not have increasing resources it means taking money away from the major institutions to subsidize the low and middle levels. If I do that the majors will probably not disappear, but they will become more commercial. If women already have problems getting into the commercial sector, they will not be able to ease into the major institutions that are forced to become more commercial in order to subsidize the lower and middle institutions. Is that in fact what I want to do, and do I have to be forced into that choice? You need a very complex multi-faceted perspective to figure out what the anticipated and unanticipated results of a given policy goal are going to be.

David Anido:

I agree with you that the whole matrix is complicated. I am going to state my question first, and then a couple of background remarks. My question is: are women more life-affirmative at this point in our development than men?

I gathered from both talks that there has been a gradual improvement since the Second World War in the status of women in the economy, in politics, and elsewhere: that is very encouraging.

I found both papers a little more nebulous on the business of policy. That does not surprise me at all because I find most conversations on policy extraordinarily nebulous! I also wonder if the situation in Canada, where women

must be given opportunities to reach high ranks such as Jean Kirkpatrick and Margaret Thatcher have in other countries, is indeed a policy or whether it is simply stated.

I am going to pick on two books that have been recently published by Capra and Brownmiller. Capra comes out quite admirably stating that women are more holistically oriented, and more environmentally sensitive, and that the feminization of society, of business, of war, of peace and so on, is a major step forward in the post-industrial revolution period we are coming into. Brownmiller talks from a position of great strength in the sense that there is no argument with her statements that women, if one can identify them as a force, are indeed going in a very specific direction. There is nothing anti-male in her comment: I am by accident a male, and I have read it very carefully!

Now, I come back to my question, and to the question of the role of women throughout all endeavour, the arts included. Power now stems from the brave new world of systems management, which uses Pentagon technology like impact, crypto system, etc. This is where power lies. And more and more women are getting their MBA and PhD degrees in public administration and so on, and coming into senior management. Is there indeed a revolution taking place whereby the women who see this clearly have the intellect to achieve power in leading countries and major democracies (though not in the communist countries yet)? Are women in fact going to be changing the whole perspective of politics and economics because they are life-affirmative, if indeed they are?

Margaret Wyszomirski:

Well, like any good policy analyst or academic I will redefine the question! I am not exactly sure what you mean, and what I would want to mean by the phrase 'life-affirmative'. I do think what we are seeing is a reconsideration and probably some sort of redefinition of what femininity is, what masculinity is, and whether they also happen to always go with the same gender that they suggest. I think you can very easily make the argument that women, as they move into the economic labour force and the professions, are becoming masculinized to a certain extent. And that men, as they are becoming liberated and allowed to get into fields that they had not been involved in before, are becoming feminized.

As for policy, it strikes me that the situation we are talking about is not unique. Arts policy issues are not unique; women's issues are not unique. You can compare them I think to a number of other domestic policy issues. These issues start out being cast in a certain way, which therefore predisposes the way they are treated, and the way they are approached. What comes to mind, for instance, is the racial question.

Women have been segregated, and of course, segregation is bad. If that is the case, what do we do to make it better? Just like in racial policy there is always the question what is the alternative to segregation? Is it de-segregation? Is it separate but equal? Or is it integration? These are three very different alternatives, all of which can be the opposite of what segregation is. They entail



different things, different goals, different implementation. I do not think that we have decided yet what the alternative to segregation is -- so, of course, our policy discussions get very nebulous. We do not want to specify what it is we are really aiming at; and sometimes we get around that by saying we want what is fair or equitable -- which I do not think is a policy problem.

We then have to ask: what would be fair? The proportion of adult women in the Canadian population is 50.5%. Does that mean that 50.5% of the public arts money should go to women? Is that fair? Is that equal? If 50% of the money goes to women, how are you going to distribute it to that 50% of the Canadian population? On an equal basis every woman would get something like 50¢ a head! Is that really the goal you are trying to achieve? Or do you want to distribute the money on the basis of some kind of merit? How do you distinguish merit?

We are not, either, sure what women artists are supposed to do: whether they are supposed to promulgate a feminist ideology of the arts, or to further the position or the representation or the image of the status of women in society at large, or whether they are supposed to make more money and therefore improve the economic status of women. Again, what is the basis for merit? I do not think this is a policy analyst's problem. We should point out to policy makers that these are the questions that are sliding by, but we cannot answer them for them. It is something that has to be dealt with in the political system, to come up with a consensus on what the goal is and what the answer is. We can only point out that there are alternatives, make people aware of them, and point out the likely ramifications of a given choice.

Sasha McInnes-Hayman:

It seems to me that we are focusing here only on integration. From my point of view there is a parallel between the status of women and the status of developing countries. When we are dealing with developing countries we are not only dealing with integration, we are dealing with special programmes.

Are you aware of Studio D at the National Film Board? Studio D is the women's division of the National Film Board, which has put out Not a Love Story, If You Love This Planet, and a number of other films that you may have heard of. This is an example of a special programme for women that has been very successful. I would like to hear your thoughts about special programmes for women in the arts.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

I think your parallel with developing nations can also be adapted to other minorities in the developed nations. I suppose we might call them affirmative action programmes, which try to provide more opportunity to compensate for past deficiencies and disadvantages. There is a place for affirmative action programmes. I do not need to make the policy decisions nor defend them publicly to an elected official -- that is not my function. But I think part of my function is to point out that while they have a place, they are also in a sense segregating in a different way, but nonetheless segregating.

If you want two alternative art aesthetics -- a male one and a female one -- then you must set a conscious goal to have these alternatives because the institutions that are already there are largely male, and the institutions that are not there would serve females. So you have to build up the other side of that equation. If you say that you want to develop both aesthetics and then integrate them, it reminds me of the Black Power Movement. You have to cultivate an awareness and an ability before you can integrate on a parity level. Otherwise you will simply be dominated again. At some point, however, you have really got to say that these special programmes were wonderful, that they did great things, that they provided opportunity and support, but they have really outlived their utility and are simply segregating rather than allowing full development and integration to occur.

I do not know whether that situation has occurred yet in areas such as the film industry here, but it is something you should be aware of because, like all institutions, there is a tendency to protect the status quo and the turf, and to become fossilized or over-institutionalized at some point. That is absolutely counter-productive to artistic innovation, which requires fluidity.

Sasha McInnes-Hayman:

Would you say that in the United States, where there are a large number of women's galleries and women's theatres, women's arts organizations have been helpful in that process? Would you say that it is time to close them down?

Margaret Wyszomirski:

It is very hard to generalize on that. If a gallery started by a woman was also started with the goal of promoting female artists, then it runs into an ideological problem. But there is another problem. Has that gallery been making a living, has it been profitable, has it acquired a reputation in the larger art world? All of this can go back to feed into the process of cultivating women artists. If it has not then neither the gallery owner nor the artist being displayed there are going to benefit in the long run. You always have to keep two perspectives going at the same time and balance them in order to make advances in a generic sense as well as in a more specialized constituency sense.

I do not think that all those galleries or activities have outlived their usefulness. But they may have to undergo a certain transformation that opens up their cause orientation, and makes it perhaps a little less feminist and a little more humanist.

Sasha McInnes-Hayman:

What concerns me about the discussions on integration is that I come from a community of people who do not get a piece of the pie. What we want is a whole series of pies. I don't think the discussion is useful when you are only focusing on integration.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

If that is your goal, and you can rally the support necessary for it, then go ahead. But you work in a political environment in which power is the fundamental resource. If you want to redivide up the pie, or get your own pie, you can only do it by getting yourself into positions of power in the pie as it is now, and then work from the inside. It may not be the most preferable alternative, but it is a realistic one.

Helen Murphy:

As the communications intake person from the Canada Council, one of the comments I have heard from feminist artists is that since there is a feminist art, then there should only be feminist artists on the Canada Council juries looking at women's art, or women artists' applications to the Canada Council. Do I understand from what you have just said that these women's arguments are invalid because the women are participating in a kind of segregationist separatist attitude while in the real political world these arguments are outside the power structure, and therefore cannot change anything?

Margaret Wyszomirski:

No, that is not what I meant. I think that it is more productive to say that feminism is really an ideology, just like perhaps modernism and post-modernism are ideologies. If they both have constituencies and followings in the art world and in the political world they should be represented; that is what the panels are there for -- to give you that kind of representation. I think it is invalid to say that only women and particularly feminists can review women's applications.

David Anido:

I think that we are coming to a point here because the title of the seminar is women and politics, and politics means power. One thing that bothers me when we talk about culture and the arts is that we use words like software, feminism, and so on: that is not power. It seems to me that we have got our values and our ethics in society all wrong. The arts and culture should have power because it is from this massive human endeavour that we should be drawing the inspiration for our economy, for our political system, for our judiciary, for our executive, and so on. Is it not advisable that more and more women seek power within the arts organizations, within the government departments that tend to have policies towards the arts -- in our country the Department of Communications, and the Department of External Affairs? These are central departments. Is it not necessary for what I hope might be a kind of feminine-promoted revolution in our society to try and build the arts and culture into a much more influential ecosystem within our democracy?

Margaret Wyszomirski:

Yes, I think you are right. Women need to seek more political power, more positions of authority and influence. But like any newly emerging interest group, they face problems that are classic to any group moving into the mainstream. It reminds me of the consumer movement. Everybody is a consumer. There are large numbers out there. The problem is mobilization. Just like we saw in our presidential elections, if you start out with the wrong expectations you will have major problems. In our elections the expectation was that because women's organizations went out and endorsed Walter Mondale they would be able to deliver the women's vote. Nobody in their right mind would have said that they should go out and deliver the male vote! There is no such thing as the male vote. There is no such thing as the female vote either; it is segmented. They are like consumers; they are segmented. You have got to mobilize part of them, whatever you can pull together in combined interests because you are working in a political system, aware of compromise and alliance.

For instance, if you conceive of pornography as only a feminist issue, you cannot pull all women behind you, and you are almost cutting yourself off from most other constituencies. One solution is to open up your definition of pornography. Allow yourself at least to go into alliance with the moralists --which may sound like an unholy alliance for other purposes! It is nevertheless an alliance, and there is nothing that says once you are allied with someone you cannot break the alliance and re-form again. You are not married to them, if you like!

If what feminists really object to is not sexuality but violence, open up the issue, make it a law and order issue. I have never seen pornography portrayed as a law and order issue. If you can redefine it that way, you open yourself up to access to far more political resources and a far more diverse support base. You may get action simply by re-casting the issue. That is the kind of thing that is new to interest groups. They are learning political skills in that way too. If they can learn how to operate in the political world they may become more effective.

There are, however, two problems. One is that you can get co-opted. You can forget your original cause and get side-tracked. The other is a political maxim: being from an interest group does not necessarily make you its most effective advocate. Very often, when a woman runs for a position of power, everyone says she is going to be soft and emotional and disorganized. So she goes out and becomes twice as hard, twice as organized and unemotional to make sure she can disprove that kind of contention. Again, that may not make for the most effective advocate for that cause, but that happens in anything political. There is a different set of rules that you now have to accept if you are going to gain power.

Harry Chartrand:

I will take the liberty of suggesting that the alliance of pornography and law and order is more present in this country than you are suggesting in the United States.

Susan Taylor:

In the statistics, there is a huge number of women in the educational or learning side of the arts. But there is a big gap in the sense that there is only a small number of women professionals in arts institutions and women artists. I was wondering what happened to the women in the middle.

The other thing I wanted to comment on is the notion of women in power. A lot of women find the notion of power very frightening -- like talking into a microphone! There are situations where you find that you are going to have to be that awful powerful person, which you do not want to be. You would rather be at home making babies, or in the security of the kitchen where, you are told, you are supposed to be.

Claire McCaughey:

I think what probably happened in the past is that a lot of women in the fine arts field of study were not necessarily using that background in employment. They were using that background as consumers, and as volunteers; they were not using it in a professional sense to become an artist or become employed in the arts field. But things are changing and there are positive trends. Women are starting to use this kind of education in paid employment. This is as a result of a change in focus, a change in conditioning as to what they should do with their educational background, or what they should do with what their interests are. The important thing is that the situation is changing for the better.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

I can offer you an alternative perspective on what happened to these women. I am sure that the conditions under which women worked in the past, which we are trying to cope with now, were a major hindrance. In the arts, one needs time to concentrate and experiment. If you are in the midst of household responsibilities, and staying up late, it is going to be very hard to find what Virginia Woolf called 'A Room of One's Own'. So that was a natural hindrance to productivity, to making that leap from having learned to the practising and perfecting of their talent.

If that is part of the explanation for this drop-out, this gap, then it seems to me that we raise other policy questions that apparently have no direct linkage to arts policy. It raises questions about child care and day care centres and flex time. So that you bring up labour, welfare and education issues that have a bearing on this question, which are not directly arts issues, but which simply create an environment that is more conducive to artistic flourishing. The problem with that political standpoint is that the political costs of failure are usually very delicately or very gingerly undertaken by policy makers or political powers.

The other issue is long-term impact. We do not know if it works for so long, and we had better anticipate what we want to measure now as we design the programme, or even contemplate it, so that we can demonstrate what is happening. Very often policy makers' concentration simply does not last that long. If you want

to know the impact of a day care centre programme on women's productivity or creativity, you are talking about something which will take generations. There are problems in maintaining the commitment, the on-going oversight for the evaluation of it. It is difficult politically.

Terry Thomas:

There is another partial explanation of the gap. People make career decisions at different points in their lives, and they make those decisions with incomplete information. Amongst a group of people analogous to those in arts employment -- those who studied history and English in graduate school in the mid-seventies -- many of them went there thinking they were going to be academics. When they were finishing university they looked at the positions and the expected incomes, and then went into graduate school. They got a very rude awakening when they left graduate school. Some of them tried to be gypsy academics with term appointments, or filled in for people on sabbatical. But eventually they made another career decision.

Now, you can make a strict hypothesis in economic terms that basically all your career decisions on expected future income with complete information change the evaluation of your expected income later on in life. In the case of women in art, they eventually discovered that it is not as high an income or as secure an income as they had thought, and they dropped out. This is only partially an explanation. The child care question, and the integration of part-time workers is perhaps a more important explanation.

Lanie Patrick:

I would like to respond to that, as well as to the comment of Ms. McCaughey. One explanation of the gap between graduates and actual people in the work force was to refer somehow to conditioning. On the other hand, reference was also made to what might be called opportunity -- that is opportunity to make a living in one's choice of field endeavour. I think something you are forgetting is where you get your statistics from, and that is from Statistics Canada. I think I may be one of those artists who is on Statistics Canada's lists as a waitress or something! I am an artist, but Statistics Canada does not see me that way, and I suspect that is the case with many other women artists. The fact of the matter is that you cannot make a living at your art. Visual artists make an average income of \$2,015. Women especially tend not to describe themselves as artists, even though that may be what they are doing.

Terry Thomas:

That is a separate issue. I agree that in the data there is a problem with art, as anybody who has worked with the data knows. The point I made is that people do make career decisions, and eventually you may decide that you would like to be an artist, but that you simply cannot make what you would consider to be enough money to continue. So you make a different career decision, or you become part-

time. At that point you are still doing artistic work, but you are out of the data. Those are really two separate problems.

Lanie Patrick:

Some people may not make it into the data, but that does not change who they are, what they are, and what they are doing.

Andrea Philp:

This is back to the issue of where those graduates have gone. I think this is going to sound a little bit like the woman from the regions! I come from Winnipeg, and I look at what has happened in Manitoba, particularly in relation to the education issue. What is happening is that women are going through the art education system, but are not being presented with the right kinds of role models. That means that the 65% of student enrolment that women represent are going through a professional faculty and getting an accredited degree, but they only have access to one or two (in good situations) full-time female instructors. When they come out of art school, their access to professional activity in the arts is probably (as was mentioned before) at the grassroots level.

What really concerns me is what is going on at the grassroots level, particularly in the parallel gallery system where there is a much more equitable balance between males and females in administrative and high level positions. This is where the programming and policy development is going on to make some of the changes, whether or not you want to call it affirmative action policy. There has been a lot of activity in parallel galleries across Canada towards this kind of evening-up of the situation.

While you talked about the grassroots level having its own ladder of success that women can climb as professionals, the gap still exists in that they cannot get into anything beyond that at higher levels in higher institutions. I think that can be a real problem. We are developing something at the grassroots level, and there is no way to take a step beyond that. Even though many of the institutions on a smaller scale are trying to create role models that did not exist earlier on, there is still that huge gap where role models do not exist on a broad enough scale.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

That may simply be in large part a function of the fact that women now are developing and moving through the system. I once heard someone say that there is something like a 1% success rate in the arts. That is a 99% failure rate. You have got to have large numbers being failures in order to get enough successes to provide the role models, and the break through that will then start accumulating and carry through to the rest of the system. I do not think we have moved enough women artists or women in professions through the system yet to be able to do that. In most areas of the arts there simply are not enough role models to be exposed to educationally. Right now we are in a break through period.

Claire McCaughey:

Another potential problem may be that even if there are one or two women on the fine arts faculty in a university, they do not necessarily think of themselves as being representative of a group of women, and try to help other women into the system. Women tend not to think of themselves as a group, or that they should help other members of their group and pull them into the system as well. They tend to say: I am successful, and I am my own individual, but why should I go and help other women as well!

Margaret Wyszomirski:

On the other hand, if they say that they do have a responsibility to do this then they are overloaded in terms of advising or guidance, which means that they lose time from the professional activity that gives them credentials for further advancement. It is a double bind. And it is more scarcity than anything else: there simply are not enough women to go around.

Andrea Philp:

I think that there is a huge potential for exploitation. The numbers of women who are volunteers and who are working on a part-time basis is really far too heavily weighted, and that presents the opportunity for exploitation. We are treading a very fine line, and the danger is to fall into the "ghettoization" that we talked about earlier. It is very hard to be a professional woman artist and take those responsibilities one may feel for developing and changing the policy point of view without falling into the easier solution which is to ghettoize the concern. That is a particular danger at the level of grassroots organizations because they do function separately already. As soon as you start developing policies that are affirmative to women within that sector, already you are looking at something which is leading very much towards ghettoization.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

Let me just re-cast the way some things are being thought of. When we talk about volunteer effort and social function, we talk about women volunteers in the arts, but on the whole any artist has always been the biggest individual patron of the arts, whether we compare him or her to the government, the Church, or the state. The artist is always subsidizing. In a way, that is what the income figures say. The artist subsidizes himself or foregoes other sources of income in order to practice his or her art. That is what volunteerism is. Unpaid labour is mission-oriented, or a driven, motivated, inspired activity. Anything that is voluntary and artistic is hope for almost all of the intellectual pursuits. You hear this amongst educators. You are supposed to be inspired while you are moulding the next generation. Your job satisfaction makes up for being underpaid.

You can take a whole host of things and stop subdividing them into, say, science, and volunteerism, and the arts. They have all been subsidizing something



that society values. You can form a different kind of alliance that does not just say the arts are a frill or that they are not essential to the quality of life. We can start to recognize this all but invisible sector, just as we have started recognizing the service sector. But everything that is in the non-profit sector -- for the most part we have no sense of where it fits.

If you really want to tell me that the National Arts Centre or the Metropolitan Opera are private institutions, I really have to wonder about what you mean by private. It does not sound like private to me in any sense that I think of as private. Yet all non-profit activity has been self-subsidizing, considered private, though performing public functions that are valued, which we simply have not paid for. Let us re-cast it at that level. Then maybe we will be able to approach solutions from a different perspective.

The other thing that occurs to me is to change the analytical perspective to what might be the non-problem, or the non-issue, or the non-audience. About two decades ago political analysts started rediscovering the notion of the non-decision. We all studied decision-making for ages, then somebody said: wait a minute, it is a decision when there is not a decision! We cannot follow the paper trail on this very easily, but what does not get on the agenda and what does not get decided is really significant.

In the arts I see a similar phenomenon -- the non-audience. We can demographically describe what the audience is; what we know less about is why it is there, and we know even less about why the rest are not there. What puts somebody into the audience? Demographically audience members may look similar, but if you ask them why they are there you might get some very different answers. Let me give you one concrete example.

I was looking at a survey of a major American ballet company. It asked the respondents what other artistic and cultural activities they engaged in, and it gave them the option of specific companies or institutions they might attend. Now let me ask you first, what do you think would be the most logical similar activity that someone going to a major ballet organization would attend? What other kinds of cultural events? ...Theatre? ...Opera? ...Music? ...Squash?

The assumption in the United States is that if you go to ballet you should go to modern dance. When we look at the survey, that is absolutely not the case. That leads me to think that there is not a dance audience. There are segments of audience that go to movement activity. There is a modern dance audience, and then there is a ballet audience. There is some cross-over, but they are not the same audience. Most of the ballet audience said that they go to museums, especially to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but not the Museum of Modern Art. Why is that?

My perspective was that I go to the ballet for the music and theatre. Why is it then that so many of these people are associating ballet with the visual arts? In the visual arts, I have heard about perspective and symmetry and composition. People are relating to ballet as a visual experience, not as a theatrical experience, not as a music-oriented experience, maybe not even as a movement-oriented experience. If I started from this point I could do a whole lot of things about my

non-audience. Where else can I find people who are visually-oriented? That is how I build an audience. I do not build it by going to the modern dance audience and trying to bring them in. But because we do not study the non-audience we cannot ever get to those kinds of issues.

Ellen Mills:

I come from the Ontario Women's Directorate, and I think that title tells you that I am on the side of agreeing that there is a need for specialized programmes in order to improve the lot of women. I think what I have heard today is very similar to what I hear whether I go to a group that is dealing with the medical profession, or the education profession, specifically in the university world. The issues and the problems are the same, perhaps with the exception of the status of the arts within our overall society. It strikes me that the fundamental issue, and where the solutions are going to come from, is women assuming power -- and I mean that in the political realm, in the senior governmental bureaucratic realm, and in the senior economic positions in our society.

In my mind we can look at other areas like the medical profession, which women have always gone into in an employment related way, and we have the same difficulties as in the arts. Women have not moved beyond certain levels, even when we look at the recent trends going into the medical profession. I am not so sure that without conscious public policy to change some things, that these trends, whether they are in the arts or in the education field, are really going to make a difference. Even in the Women's Directorate we are not sure if legislated employment, 'equity' as Judge Abella has called it, is the answer, or whether stiffer laws on equal pay for work of equal value is the answer. But would like to leave you with the comment that without conscious public policy to interact at that level that you are not going to see much change, whether you are talking about the arts or the medical profession.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

If conscious policy making is necessary the only way to motivate policy makers is to exercise political power, and this can be done in two ways. The first one is voting, to mobilize at that level, to exercise the power of vote to put in elected officials that are committed to those kinds of things. The other one is to put elected officials in who are also women. In order to get those women in, it is not only the power of numbers, but also economic power again. So we are in a constant spiral. I think conditions are improving, but they are changing on so many levels at the same time that you cannot just take one direction and say: that is my target. You cannot be tunnel-visioned about getting there. You have to keep pulling all the other elements into it and working your way up slowly.

Claire McCaughey:

A trend that has occurred over the last decade is that women have gone into the labour force in large numbers. Women have started to go into the more highly paid professional occupations, but at the same time women are still going in large numbers into lower paid traditional occupations. So you have these two trends

going on at the same time. I think some of what is required is a consciousness on the part of those women moving in a positive direction to help other women, and to group together to get more political power. This is not so much from the point of view of policy, but rather is in terms of a conscious effort to think of themselves a group, and to act in different ways to change the overall situation.

**A POLI-ECONOMIC ASSESSMENT OF  
THE FINE ARTS**

by

**Harry Hillman-Chartrand**

Harry Chartrand was born in Ottawa, Canada in 1948. He received his Bachelor of Arts, Economics in 1971, and his Master of Arts, Economics in 1974 from Carleton University in Ottawa. For ten years he operated his own consulting firm Futures, Socio-Economic Planning Consultants working in the fields of intergovernmental finance and cultural economics. Since December 1981 he has served as Director of Research for the Canada Council.

**Abstract:** The monograph presents a descriptive model for the political economic assessment of the fine arts. Three distinct types of contemporary art are defined: the fine arts, the commercial arts and the amateur arts. The political and economic importance of the fine arts is demonstrated. Two paradigms are presented: first, a political paradigm of public support which identifies four roles for the State: the facilitator, the patron, the architect and the engineer; and second, an economic paradigm of support which identifies three types of artistic goods: the artist, the art work and the audience, linked by three artistic processes: creation, communication and commercialization. The model is then used to describe public support to the fine arts in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, the U.S.S.R. and Canada.

### Introduction

This monograph is intended to provide a preliminary descriptive model for the political economic assessment of the fine arts. The model has been induced from the experience of various countries around the world. The model consists of definitions and two paradigms. The first concerns the alternative roles and objectives of the State in supporting the fine arts. The second paradigm concerns the nature of artistic goods and services. In light of the phenomenon under investigation the model is organic, i.e., definitions refer to tendencies rather than absolute or mutually exclusive categories.

The organic nature of the arts contributes to ongoing confusion in the definition and design of public policies, e.g., what is the relationship of multiculturalism and the arts? What is the relationship of the fine and the commercial arts? The model is intended to clarify such theoretical and policy questions. Opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policies or opinions of the Canada Council.

### Contemporary Arts

Before presenting the model it is appropriate to define the fine arts vis-a-vis the arts in general, and to outline their political and economic importance. In contemporary western society the arts include the literary, media, performing and visual arts. Together they form a distinct and recognizable sphere of human behaviour. In turn the arts are part of a larger cultural sector which includes architecture, the crafts, fashion, heritage, multiculturalism and official languages. As part of this larger sector, the arts pervade and permeate the lives of every citizen at work, at home, at shopping and at leisure (Chartrand, 1984a).

There are three distinct types of contemporary art, namely the fine arts, the commercial arts and the amateur arts. Collectively they can be called the "arts industry". The fine arts are a professional activity which serves "art for art's sake" just as "knowledge for knowledge's sake" is the rationale for "pure research" in the sciences (Chartrand, 1980). In each fine arts discipline there are generally recognized standards of professional excellence. The dominant organizational form of production is the professional artist, and the non-profit corporation.

The commercial arts are a profit-making activity which places profit before excellence. The two motives need not, however, be mutually exclusive. In fact the fine arts often use commercial arts channels to distribute fine arts products

including recorded music, books, films, etc. When the fine arts are distributed through commercial channels they do not cease to be "fine art". The dominant organizational form of production, however, is the for-profit corporation.

The amateur arts are a "recreational" activity which serves to re-create the ability of a worker to do his or her job, and/or a "leisure" activity which serves to "self-actualize" a citizen's creative potential and thereby permits one to more fully appreciate life. The dominant organizational form of production is the unpaid individual, and the voluntary association.

The three art activities are intimately interrelated. The amateur arts, in actualizing the talents and abilities of the individual citizen, provide an educated audience and initial training for the fine and the commercial arts. The fine arts, in the pursuit of artistic excellence as an end in and of itself, provide research and development for the commercial arts. The commercial arts, in the pursuit of profit, provide the means to market and distribute the best of the amateur and the fine arts to an audience large enough and in a form suited to earn a profit, e.g., recordings. That the fine arts provide research and development for the commercial arts industry is supported by the fact that of 16 major industries, only the entertainment industry has no reported R&D expenditure as per cent of income (Business Week, March 21, 1984, 236-286).

#### Political Importance

As confirmed by all research studies (McCaughy, 1984) the audience for the fine arts has high levels of education and is the most socially and politically active and articulate segment of the Canadian population. At present 38% of the Canadian labour force has some post-secondary education and by the year 2000 some 45% of the labour force. Participation in arts related activities is also increasing twice as fast as attendance at sports events (Picôt, 1980).

Next to education, sex and age are the most important characteristics of the arts audience. On average women make up 60% of the arts audience (Research & Statistics, 1978). In Western Canada, e.g., Edmonton, the audience is even more predominantly female (Chartrand, 1984b). This contrasts sharply with the European experience (McCaughy, 1984) where the audience is roughly equally divided between men and women. Furthermore, of all women in the Canadian labour force with M.A.s, 11% are in the arts labour force (Research & Evaluation, 1984).

The ageing represent another important arts constituency. Problems associated with retirement including the relatively low life expectancy of men have been related to the low level of North American consumption skills. What is needed is a significant increase in consumption skills to provide access to society's accumulated stock of stimulation, and so enable one to supplement, at will and almost without limit, the currently available flow of novelty. Music, painting, literature, and history, i.e., the arts, are obvious examples (Scitovsky, 1976, 235).

#### Economic Importance

The arts industry includes advertising, broadcasting, motion pictures, the performing and visual arts, publishing and sound and video recording. A 1981 Census of Manufactures comparison of the 20 largest Canadian manufacturing industries and the arts industry reveals that the arts industry is the largest with employment of 237,000; the 6th largest with salaries and wages of \$2.5 billion; and the 11th largest with revenue of \$8 billion, equal to the Canadian

telecommunications industry. Arts industry revenues amounted to 2.4% of Gross National Expenditure (GNE) in 1981. The income multiplier effect of the arts industry was at least \$16 billion or 5% of GNE.

The fine arts, in which the primary motivation is art for art's sake, also have a significant direct economic impact. It is estimated that the Canadian fine arts generated at least \$450 million in direct economic activity in 1981. The income multiplier effect of the fine arts was at least \$1.2 billion. In addition to the dollars-and-cents impact, the arts have a wide range of other economic impacts including impact on design and marketing of consumer goods and services, on industrial location, on urban revitalization, on foreign trade and on industrial structure (Chartrand, 1984a).

### **A POLITICAL PARADIGM OF THE FINE ARTS**

By providing grants and tax deductions for private donations, the public sector acts as a "merit audience" and reduces ticket prices to fine arts events (Chartrand, 1984a). As illustrated in Figure 1, the political paradigm of the fine arts identifies four alternative roles for the state which can have two alternative objectives. Roles and objectives need not be mutually exclusive, i.e., a single government may play more than one role and seek to achieve more than one objective. There tends, however, to be a relationship between the role and the objectives adopted by a state. The four roles of the state are:

THE FACILITATOR which promotes or helps the fine arts through tax expenditures on behalf of individual and corporate donors;

THE PATRON which protects, or gives support to the fine arts through grants made according to perceived standards of professional excellence;

THE ARCHITECT which plans and superintends the fine arts through budget line items made to autonomous arts organizations according to community standards of excellence; and

THE ENGINEER which designs "useful" works in the fine arts through budget line items made to controlled arts organizations according to political standards of excellence.

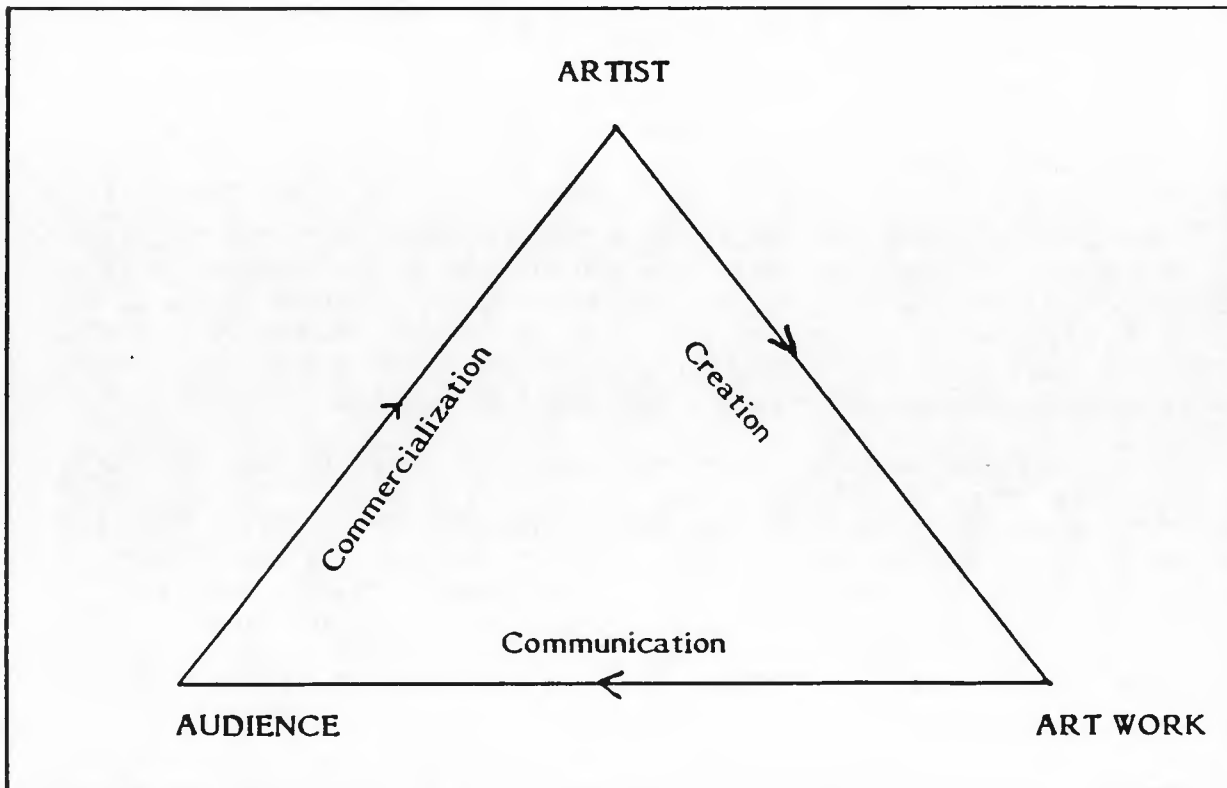
A state may support the process of artistic creation, which reduces to the support of the individual artist as the embodiment of the creative process (Cheatwood, 1983) or it may support the production of particular types of art products, e.g. works in a particular style such as socialist realism (Kay, 1983). While it will not be possible in this monograph to exhaust the descriptive power of the paradigm, some examples will serve to highlight its potential.

The Facilitator tends to support the process of creativity, not the works produced, e.g., the United States. The Patron tends to support the process of creativity according to perceived standards of professional excellence, e.g., the United Kingdom. The Architect tends to support production of works which meet community standards of excellence, e.g., the Netherlands. The Engineer tends to support production of works which meet political standards of excellence, e.g., the U.S.S.R. Furthermore there are dynamics associated with each role which may lead from one role to another in the on-going evolution of a national arts policy.

Figure 1  
 A POLITICAL PARADIGM  
 OF THE FINE ARTS

ROLE	OBJECTIVE	
	Process	Product
Facilitator	1st	4th
Patron	2nd	3rd
Architect	3rd	2nd
Engineer	4th	1st

Figure 2  
 AN ECONOMIC PARADIGM  
 OF THE FINE ARTS





## **AN ECONOMIC PARADIGM OF THE FINE ARTS**

As illustrated in Figure 2, the economic paradigm of the fine arts identifies three types of artistic goods linked by three types of artistic processes. An artist, as the source of all artistic products, is linked to an art work through creation. An art work is linked to an audience through communication. An audience is linked to an artist through commercialization. While it is not possible in this short paper to exhaust the descriptive power of the paradigm, some examples will serve to highlight its potential.

Consider the link between an artist and an art work, but exclude the audience, then one actualizes one's creative potential as a form of psychic therapy, or, in other words, what can be called amateur art. Consider the link between an art work and an audience, but exclude the artist, then when the work archetypically "speaks" to the audience one has what can be called fine art. Consider the link between an audience and an artist, but exclude the art work, then when an audience "buys" the name of the artist, even if the work does not "speak", one has what has been called "the aesthetics of snobbery" (Koestler, 1965) or commercial art.

### **A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT**

The model will now be used to describe public support to the fine arts in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, the U.S.S.R. and Canada. The assessment will include a review of the role and objectives adopted, types of artistic goods supported and the origins, strengths and weaknesses of alternative roles. The first four examples represent relatively "pure" cases. The fifth represents a "mixed" case.

#### **The United States**

Until 1965 in the United States, government played the role of a facilitator promoting the fine arts through tax expenditures on behalf of individual and corporate donors. Creation was supported without concern for, or control over, the type of artistic product. In 1965 the National Endowment for the Arts was established and shortly thereafter similar state arts councils. The establishment of the NEA represented a shift towards the role of patron. Through NEA the creative process is supported according to peer evaluation of professional excellence. However, tax expenditures for charitable giving still provide nearly two-thirds of public support to the fine arts (Feld, O'Hare, Schuster, 1983). Furthermore, the first Reagan Administration attempted to disband the NEA and return the United States government to a strict facilitator role. The effort failed (Wyszomirski, 1983).

The facilitator role has its origins in two American traditions, separation of church and state, and dominance of free enterprise in the American economy. The facilitator role has the strength of diversifying the sources of public support to the fine arts. Individuals, corporations and foundations can choose what art, artists and arts organizations to support, but the state facilitates support by making donations tax deductible.

The facilitator role has the weakness that standards of perceived professional excellence may not be applied. Difficulties also occur with the valuation of donations in kind, e.g., paintings. Furthermore public support of some

fine arts activities may be of questionable benefit to the particular State and its people, e.g., it has been suggested that reconstruction of the Versailles palace was funded through tax exempt contributions of American taxpayers (Schuster, 1984).

### The United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, government adopted the role of patron to the fine arts during the Second World War by creating the Committee for Education, Music and Art intended to raise morale during the Blitz (Glasgow, 1975). After the war the government created the Arts Council of Great Britain and its sister agencies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The creative process is supported through peer evaluation of perceived professional excellence and grants are awarded to individual artists and arts organizations. The role of patron evolved from traditional arts patronage by the English aristocracy. At present the British government provides very limited support through tax expenditures for donations even though various task forces and committees of parliament have recommended changes in tax law to encourage such giving (Education, Science and Arts Committee, 1982).

The patron role has the strength that "excellence" is supported through the use of peer evaluation. Arts organizations rely on multiple funding sources including box office to remain financially viable. Experimentation in unpopular forms is possible. The patron supports, but does not guarantee, the survival of arts organizations. The patron role has the weakness that esoteric art may be supported which may be violently opposed by the general public. Such was the case in 1983 when an irate citizen set on fire the "South Bank submarine" created by sculptor David Mach from used tires. The Arts Council funded the work to the tune of £50,000 (Times, August 8, 1983). Furthermore when the patron is an agency at "arms-length" from the government, politicians cannot claim credit for arts support, but still must deal with taxpayer criticism for support of what the general public may view as an outrageous waste of taxes.

In 1983 it was proposed that the British government assume responsibility for direct funding of major arts organizations (Priestley, 1983). After much opposition from the arts community, the government channelled additional funds through the Arts Council and thereby minimized any shift towards an architect role.

### The Netherlands

Since before the Second World War the government of the Netherlands has played the role of architect for the arts. The government supports a range of literary, media, performing and visual arts institutions as regular budget items. Furthermore the state provides a guaranteed annual income to visual artists (Keller, 1980). In effect when artists in the Netherlands, and most other Western European nations, join official arts unions they become civil servants of a sort. Minimum salary and working conditions are established by the State. The role of architect originated with the assumption, in the 20th century, by social democratic and other European political parties of the architect role played by the "absolute" monarchs of continental Europe of the 17th to late 19th centuries, e.g., Louis XIV.

Essentially the architect role is based upon community standards because direct responsibility for funding is assumed by the State and its elected representatives. The architect role has the strength that artists and arts organizations are relieved from dependency on popular success at the box office and experience what has been called an "affluence" gap (Bladen, 1971). As well the status of the artist is explicitly recognized in social assistance policies (Chartrand, 1984a).

The architect role has the weakness that the arts tend to be totally dependent on the State which may find that the arts take an ever increasing share of limited revenues. This can lead to abuse by both the State and by the artist such as those described in the CBS program "60 Minutes" story, The Dutch Treat. Artists and arts organizations can become seriously out of touch with community standards. Thus in the Netherlands the "Tomato Revolution" broke out in 1969 when the established theatre came under attack by cultural revolutionaries. To keep the Dutch theatre alive the architect state required

"dissatisfaction expressed in poor attendance, position papers, meetings and ultimately tomatoes, smoke bombs and invectives (to) give the government a clear indication that there was a serious gulf between the public's perception of need and what tax money was purchasing (Keller, 1980, 86).

#### The U.S.S.R.

Between the Communist Revolution in 1918 and 1932 the Soviet government played the role of architect. The arts were viewed by the first "People's Commissar of Enlightenment" as an integral part of human development but artistic change was seen as evolutionary, not revolutionary. While the workers were considered the owners of the "artistic means of production" they were not considered ready to operate them. First they would have to be educated through access to the capitalist art of the past after which true proletarian art could emerge. Censorship and control over content was relatively rare (Kay, 1983).

In 1932, with the second Five-Year Plan implemented by Stalin, the costs of industrialization and the need to develop a new socialist society combined to change the role of the State from architect to engineer.

This second page in socialist cultural policy saw the rise of the doctrine known as Socialist Realism ... (that) downplays the notion that the "means of production" in the arts belongs to the masses, substituting the idea that it is the final product, the artwork itself, that is the property of the proletariat. Under this scheme, the social responsibility of the artist lies in "satisfying" the "owners", that is producing works that can be immediately accepted by the masses (Kay, 1983, 9).

All art had to be realist in form and socialist in content. Artistic activity was organized into "creative unions" to monitor new works and insure conformity with the aesthetic principles of the Communist Party. Artists who produced work which did not conform were expelled, and no longer recognized as artists.

To one who accepts Western pluralistic values, it is difficult to find any strength in the engineer role. But from the perspective of a "totalist" regime it is a means of focusing the creative energies of artists towards political goals. Furthermore, many Western governments try to "engineer" a commercially viable arts industry in which the profit motive plays a role analogous to "socialist realism". The weaknesses of the engineer role are much clearer. First, all art is subservient to political objectives. Second, the creative energy of the artist cannot be completely channelled. Repressed artistic ambition results in an "underground" arts movement as subversive of Communist aesthetic as the Western

"counter culture" is critical of capitalist values (Martin, 1981). Finally, a paradox of Soviet art is that it is works of the Czarist period which receive critical acclaim in the rest of the world, not works in socialist realism.

Canada

Public support to the arts in Canada exhibits the differing traditions of the two founding peoples, English and French, who are the basis for the official bilingual status of Canada. Until 1957 public support to the arts was done through the facilitator role with the State promoting the fine arts through tax expenditures on behalf of individual and corporate donors. Unlike the United States, however, the level of charitable giving was small, and the number of large private foundations few. Even today corporate donations to the arts, which represent 14% of all corporate giving, have not increased in real terms for ten years. Nonetheless, private sector donations are the most significant single source of merit audience support to music and opera (Chartrand, 1984a).

In response to recommendations of a Royal Commission (Royal Commission, 1951) the federal government in 1957 converted \$100,000,000 in death duties from the estates of two Canadian industrialists into an endowment for the Canada Council for the encouragement of the arts. The Council is, by law, "not an agent of Her Majesty" and is an "arms-length" statutory foundation modelled after American private philanthropic foundations like the Ford and Guggenheim Foundations.

By the mid-60s, however, the perceived need for, and priority of the arts exceeded the yield from the endowment. The federal government began to make an annual grant to the Canada Council as the "chosen instrument" of federal cultural policy. This began the patron role of the federal government modelled after the Arts Council of Great Britain. Until the mid-1970s the annual appropriation increased in real terms each year. The Council evolved an extensive system of peer evaluation to assess perceived standards of professional excellence and award grants to arts organizations and individual artists.

The federal government in the 70s was dominated, however, by representatives from French-speaking Quebec. In 1976, a "separatist" provincial government was elected in Quebec, partially in response to support from the Quebec artistic community. Concern about separatists in federal cultural agencies including the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and National Film Board led to the dismissal of employees with separatist leanings. The Canada Council was one of the few agencies receiving federal support to resist pressure to apply political standards to arts funding. The Council was not immune, however, to a general decline in political and financial support to the arts at the federal level. By 1977-78, the real value of the parliamentary grant to the Canada Council peaked and then declined.

At the same time, government-operated lotteries emerged as a major new source of public finance (Chartrand, Ruston, 1981). In 1979 lottery revenues were used to create a range of grant-giving programs within the federal Department of Communications. Programs were guided by community as well as political standards such as the desire not to support separatist art or artists. Thus began a shift towards the architect role. The Department began to press for control of the Canada Council. In 1984 a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons which would have made the Council subject to direction and control by the Minister (Canada Council, 1984). In effect the Bill would have completed the shift towards the architect role.

The Bill was amended, at the last moment, to exclude the Canada Council in response to strenuous objections from the arts community. At present, the Canada Council remains the largest source of public support to the arts in Canada. In effect, however, the pattern of public support has become a mixture of facilitator, patron and architect reflecting a tax system similar to the United States as well as English and French language traditions.

### **Conclusions**

The monograph has presented a descriptive model for the political economic assessment of the fine arts. Three distinct types of contemporary art were defined: the fine arts, the commercial arts and the amateur arts. The political and economic importance of the fine arts was demonstrated. Two paradigms were then presented: first, a political paradigm of public support which identified four roles for the State: the facilitator, the patron, the architect and the engineer, and second, an economic paradigm of support which identified three types of artistic goods: the artist, the art work and the audience, linked by three artistic processes: creation, communication and commercialization. The model was then used to describe public support to the fine arts in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, the U.S.S.R. and Canada.

The model provides a simple way to describe the pattern of public support to the fine arts in various countries at the national level. The model can, the author believes, be extended to describe the pattern of support to the amateur and the commercial arts as well as the pattern of support at the local and regional levels.

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**ART AND POLITICS:  
THE THEOLOGY OF CULTURE  
IN CONTEMPORARY QUEBEC**

by

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The title of my talk is Art & Politics: The Theology of Culture in Contemporary Québec. A question which comes to mind immediately is what exactly is meant by the expression "theology of culture"? And what is its relationship to art and politics in the context of contemporary Québec?

I realize that the topic of my talk is vast, and my title somewhat provocative. I hope, nonetheless, that it will serve to help increase awareness about and reflection on the interconnection between the religious and aesthetic experiences, and how, in Quebec, this took a political form.

Generally, by theology, we mean the study which treats God, His nature and attributes, as well as His relations with man and the universe. In short, we can define theology loosely as the science of the divine. By culture, I mean all of the social phenomena (religious, aesthetic, scientific or technical) specific to a given people -- in a word civilization.

For the purpose of this paper, however, I have borrowed the concept and the expression "theology of culture" from a book of the same name by the eminent theologian Paul Tillich(1). By "theology of culture", Tillich does not mean some sort of ecclesiastic control of the cultural domain; he means, rather, that the religious dimension is never absent from cultural activity -- even though there may be no apparent connection between this activity and religion; especially, I might add, the very institutionalized forms of religion prevalent in Québec prior to the Quiet Revolution.

In the post-Nietzschean world, religion has been progressively, though certainly not totally, secularized. At the end of the Second World War, for example, there was the spreading of a modern, existential, humanism which states that people are to be free and universal. The "human universe" is contingent upon the involvement of all in achieving not only individual, but collective freedom. World peace and decolonialization are the catchwords of this era. In 1947, Gandhi was able to get the British to accept the independence of India; this was accompanied by the secession of part of the country which then became the Islamic State of Pakistan. In 1948, the Jews created, with the approval of the United Nations, the Modern State of Israel. The 1950's and the early sixties were characterized by wars of liberation: Indochina (1945 - 1954), Tunisia (1951 - 1956), Morocco (1952 - 1956), and Algeria (1954 - 1962), if only to cite the best known examples in the French-speaking world. The post Second World War period is an era, therefore, of political and ideological change. All this did not go unnoticed in Québec.

Prior to 1939, though the Province of Québec was already quite urbanized (in fact, the most urbanized province in Canada(2)), the French-Canadian mentality remained essentially rural. Québec was then, as before, controlled by a clerico-bourgeois elite. The major preoccupations of this traditionalist society included the "return to the land", the grandeur of the Roman Catholic Church, the importance of the peasant family, and the "providential mission" of the French Canadians which was to lead North America eventually out of its spiritual and cultural "wasteland". These, then, were the bases of Québec's social, political, and cultural thought.

The advocates of this way of life were generally hostile to any divergence from the status quo. However, the dominance of this ideology started to disintegrate during the Great Depression when the French Canadians were forced to realize their collective poverty. Industrialization and urbanization severely shook the values of traditional Québec society; the average French Canadian was no longer a farmer or a merchant, but a factory worker in the big city. Québec developed a relatively large working class whose social demands -- exemplified by union activism, as in the Asbestos strike of 1949 -- were to become important elements of social change. Moreover, the arrival in North America of European intellectuals and artists -- such as André Breton and Max Ernst (fleeing the German invasion) -- revealed to the French Canadians a new perception of the world in general, and of Québec in particular.

Since 1945 approximately, there has occurred a gradual social, economic, political, indeed cultural change, characterized by the transformation of the French Canadians' perception of themselves as a people. In short, the recent history of Québec can be summed up by what a Université de Montréal sociologist calls the "ideology of change"<sup>(3)</sup>: the rejection of the old French-Canadian super ego and the desire to create the new Québécois ego free from the censure of the past.

An important segment of post-war Québec art is devoted to the purpose of provoking this transformation. Awakened to surrealism, psychoanalysis, and Marxism, among other things, a number of artists and intellectuals could no longer accept the great ideological conservatism of the elite. They were idealists who now denounced the traditional society and demanded the creation of a new one centred on purely human concerns. These artists can be considered as the inventors of the new Québécois mindscape: the foundation upon which contemporary Québec culture may be said to have been built.

## VISUAL ARTS

Paul-Emile Borduas was a painter and an art teacher who favoured a "teaching of love", which is to say a dialogue between teacher and student as well as the student's pursuit of personal research and discovery. Borduas and some of his young students came to be known, in 1946, as the automatiste group. The automatistes regarded Québec as a "castrating society" which reduced the French Canadians to impotence. They felt deeply frustrated at being "exiles at home". The preoccupation of the group was the liberation of the imagination, instinct, and creative impulses from the tyranny of an outdated ideology. These artists rejected all forms of alienation: whether pedagogic, aesthetic, ethical, or social. To sum up: they demanded a cultural revolution.

The Borduasian protest led to the publication of a manifesto entitled Refus global (Total Rejection). This was comprised of three texts by Borduas, three short plays by Claude Gauvreau, a lecture by Françoise Sullivan, and a poem by Fernand Leduc. Theory of artistic creation (automatisme), theatre of the absurd, apologies on modern painting and "instinctive" dance, "revolutionary" poetry, Refus global was to be the synthesis of the new art in Québec.

Even by its name Refus global advocates the rejection, the negation of the pre-eminence given in the world, but particularly in Québec, to values divorced from people. For Borduas and his supporters, Québec had to break radically with all forms of alienation which were crushing the French-Canadian spirit. Yet, despite its negative title, the signers of Refus global wanted it to be a positive call to action to create new social values.

Borduas' protest was certainly utopian and limited in that it was restricted essentially to the artistic world and, today, to the intelligentsia. It had, nevertheless, a profound impact on Québec society. Borduas had forced certain young people, mostly artists, to question that which they had previously accepted without question.

According to Borduas, what was at stake was the freeing of the French Canadians from rigid mental structures. This view gained currency in the post-war Québec artistic community. Since many Québécois artists equated the dreamt-for civilization with an independent Québec, they strived, in their art, to politicize, to radicalize the French Canadians: in a word, to bring about the birth of the Québécois people.

In the turbulence of the contemporary era and urged on by avant-garde artists and intellectuals, an important segment of the French-Canadian population gradually started to forsake the religious certainty of yesterday and to take up a new faith. The object of this new faith, wrote an influential Quebecois thinker in 1972, was the Québécois people:

There was faith among us. Our religion was Quebec. We awaited its resurrection, its epiphany. We even believed that we could play an active role in its birth, our birth, that of our people...We never lived for one moment outside of this collective myth.(4)

Faith, Québec, birth, and people. These, then, are the principles of the new French-Canadian dominant ideology, of the new myth, of the new theology.

## LITERATURE

In 1945, two very important books for the emerging Québécois imagination were published: Bonheur d'occasion (The Tin Flute) by Gabrielle Roy in Montréal, and Two Solitudes by Hugh MacLennan in New York.

MacLennan states in his book: "...but down in the angle at Montréal, on the island about which the two rivers join, there is little of this sense of this new and endless space."(5) In these few lines, MacLennan defines the basis of Montréal's "two solitudes": that is to say the English and the French-speaking Montrealers differing perception of space. If the Anglophone Montrealers' spacial perception embraces the vast expanse which is Canada, this is certainly not true of the Francophones. For them, the borders of their native space, of their country so to speak, are no longer those mentioned in geography and history books; they have become smaller, they have shrunk. In MacLennan's novel, Montréal represents the extremity of the native space of the French Canadians -- a space which, in the final analysis, is no longer theirs. Uprooted in Montréal, yesterday's habitant is also denatured there.

The theme of the denaturing city is central to Bonheur d'occasion. Roy describes the relentless, irreversible journey from the country to the city. Here, Montréal, with its English and Protestant influences, is seen to generate the conflicts which assail the French Canadians. Though still close to its peasant roots, the traditional French-Canadian family is now urban and shaken; it has started to flounder under the weight of internal discord. In Roy's novel, therefore, Montreal is depicted as being hostile to the French Canadians. In order to be able to succeed there, the Francophones have to work their way into the English-speaking milieu. This is precisely what the protagonist attempts to do at the end of Bonheur d'occasion.

Roy takes up again, a few years later, the theme of the irreversible loss of the arcadian paradise and the inability of the French Canadians to live in Montréal in the novel Alexandre Chenevert. Now deeply rooted in the urban space, the French-Canadian family shrinks to the couple, and finally, to a solitary man who is unable to reach out to his fellows. Separated from his rural origins, Chenevert represents the French-Canadian city-dweller of the 1950's who cannot resist the aggression of the city. According to a critic, "the path which leads from the rural space to the urban one passes necessarily through the inner space."<sup>(6)</sup> Thus, the hostility, the aggression, of the city is internalized by Chenevert who is doomed to die there.

As alienating as the urban space may have been for the French Canadians, it represented nonetheless the extremity of their space. In the early sixties, some young radicals felt an inarticulate humiliation in being French-Canadian. They considered that Albert Mimmi's Portrait du colonisé (The Portrait of the Colonialized), which was published in 1957, and Frantz Fanon's les Damnés de la terre (The Wretched of the Earth), printed in 1961, revealed to them their political, social, and cultural colonial status. They suffered from feeling like "exiles" at home, in Québec. These people felt the need to transform their "denatured" space; they wanted to "repossess" French Canada.

Some of these radicals founded an essentially political, but also cultural magazine entitled Parti pris (which can roughly be translated as: deliberate or set, purpose or goal). Parti pris was one of the most eloquent "spokesmen" for the new nationalist ideology. It believed that only socialism, if not Marxism, secularization, and the independence of Québec could dissipate their existential malaise.

Parallel to the founding of the magazine, the partipristes started a publishing house. In publishing novels such as la Ville inhumaine (The Inhuman City), le Casse (Broke, no money), and Pleure pas Germaine (Don't Cry Germaine), Parti pris wanted to expose to French-Canadian urban society all of its warts. These books speak of prostitution, homosexuality, unemployment, and dire misery. What is more, the authors wrote in joual. The term joual is a deformation of the word cheval, meaning horse. It is a pejorative term used commonly to describe the unpolished dialects of the working-class Francophones of Québec. In the eyes of these writers, joual was a non-language and the most obvious example of the cultural depreciation of French-Canadian society. In holding up a devil's mirror to their society, the partipristes wanted to shock the French Canadians into transforming themselves from pariah into a free people.

It is in this way, then, that we can consider the passage from the rural space to the urban one as being the passage from the French-Canadian space to the Québécois one.

### POETRY AND SONG

Poets also called for "national space". In 1963, Gaston Miron, "poète national" or for lack of a better term "poet laureate" of contemporary Québec, wrote an important poem entitled "l'Octobre", and a few lines are quoted:

The man of the hour has the face of a scourged Christ  
and you, land of Québec, Mother Courage,  
in your long march you are swollen  
with our painfully infectious dreams  
of the uncounted wasting of bodies and souls  
...  
We will make you, land of Québec.(7)

In 1964, Paul Chamberland published a book of poetry entitled Terre Québec. The idea of the building of a country became one of the most dynamic and fertile themes of modern French-Canadian poetry.

Nowhere was this more evident than in what is called the chanson poétique, the "poetic song". For over twenty years, Quebecois nationalist songs had as much of a hold on Québec as anti-war protest songs had on the United States at the time of the Vietnam War. No one sang with more passion than Gilles Vigneault. And I quote here from one of his well known songs:

I have yet to tell you of a country  
I have yet to name a country  
...  
You have yet to know a country  
You have yet to be given a country  
...

Vigneault concludes by saying

We have yet to understand a country  
We have yet to change a country.(8)

According to Jean Lapointe a Québec chansonnier (folk singer), it was by singing this poetry of the land that the Québécois "rediscovered" themselves, and each other.(9)

### THEATRE

Certain Québec playwrights created the myth of the birth of the Québécois people. The creation of the people, in contemporary Québec theatre, is the story of a quest. Four playwrights are particularly significant in this regard: Jacques Ferron, Jean-Claude Germain, Michel Tremblay and Yves Sauvageau.

Ferron identifies, in his play les Grands Soleils (The Sun Flowers), a young couple as the feminine and masculine principles of the Québécois who are emerging as a people at the time of the Battle of Saint Eustache. The separation and the eventual reuniting of the couple after a long absence can be seen as the genesis of the Québécois people.

Germain, in Un pays dont la devise est je m'oublie (A Country Whose Motto Is I Forget Myself), portrays the fall of the Québécois from their bucolic paradise. Ironically, it is the discovery of Québec by the French explorer Jacques Cartier which brings about, in the play, the separation of the people's masculine and feminine principles. Québec was then colonized successively by the French, the English, and the Americans. History represents for the fallen Québécois a genuine exile from which dreams are the only escape. But with time, the dreams become nightmares.

In A toi, pour toujours, ta Marie Lou (Forever yours, Marie-Lou), Michel Tremblay depicts the exile of the Québécois in the asphalt, concrete, and plastic metropolis of contemporary North American civilization. In this play, the feminine and masculine principles are embodied in a middle-aged proletarian couple, characterized by reciprocal violence and loneliness. While drinking his beer, the husband comes to understand the nature of his alienation: he is dehumanized by mechanization. It is the measure of his alienation that he seeks comfort in drink, all the while knowing that it is causing him to slowly go mad. The Québécois' alienation is internalized here. And madness is seen as the opposite of dreaming.

In Wouf wouf (Bow Wow) by Sauvageau, the scene is the Québécois' descent into hell. After a nightmare journey, the divided people is purified in lustral waters, and is reborn whole, androgynous. The reuniting of the feminine and masculine principles may be seen to represent not only the rediscovery of the blissful state prior to the fall, but the deification of the people: the object of Québec's new messianic faith.

It is in this manner that contemporary Québec theatre presents the myth of the creation of the people. Purification, rebirth, deification and messianism are among the major elements of the new Québec religion which some artists and intellectuals consider to be a new theology, albeit a cultural one.

## CONCLUSION

According to a Québec philosopher,

the spiritual yearning which gave life to religion has not disappeared, but has only changed avenue: the individual no longer dreams of establishing himself in God, but in a new social order. This dream is embodied in a utopian vision of the world. And it is in art -- in a new art in search of itself -- where it is likely to materialize.(10)

In much of post-war Québec art, this utopian vision of the world led to the shattering of the traditional French-Canadian mindscape, and the creation of the new Québécois one. In laying the necessary conceptual framework, Québec artists created an urgency which led to action. They prefigured the political reality, and the myth of the people became the dominant ideology, the new cultural theology.

It is in this way, then, that the rise of political consciousness in the arts can be said to have contributed to the election of the Parti québécois government in 1976. (Indeed, Gerald Godin, a poet and founding member of the magazine Parti pris, is a minister in the Lévesque cabinet). In recent years, however, the fine cultural balance between art and political consciousness has swayed in favour of the latter. Today, the theology of culture of the 1960's and '70's has been replaced by what the Association of Québec Theatre Directors called, in 1982, the "theology of the social sciences".(11) In the context of this "theology", art is seen to have been reduced to the role of cultural abstraction serving political discourse.

This situation is unacceptable to many Québec artists who, like their predecessors, demand the complete liberation of the imagination, instinct, and creative impulses -- in a word, the freedom to create.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Paul Tillich, Theology of Culture, Oxford University Press (New York, 1959).
2. In 1911, 48% of the population lived in cities, and, in 1941, this percentage was 63. Cf. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "la Province de Québec", in la Grève de l'Amiante, les Editions du Jour (Montréal, 1970), pp. 4-5.
3. Cf. Guy Rocher, le Québec en mutation, HMH (Montréal, 1973), pp. 213-214.
4. ("Il y avait, chez nous, de la foi. Notre religion, c'était le Québec. Nous attendions sa résurrection, son épiphanie. Nous croyions même pouvoir jouer un rôle actif dans cette mise au monde — la nôtre, celle de notre peuple (...) nous ne vivions pas un instant en dehors du mythe collectif.") André Brochu, "Écrire sur Parti pris", in la Barre du Jour, Winter, 1972, p. 32.
5. Hugh MacLennan, Two Solitudes, Macmillan of Canada (New York, 1945), p. 2.
6. ("Le chemin qui mène de l'espace rural à l'espace urbain passe obligatoirement par l'espace intérieur.") Georges-André Vachon, "l'Espace politique et social dans le roman québécois", in Recherches sociographiques, les Presses de l'Université Laval, 7:3 (Québec, 1966), p. 267.
7. ("L'homme de ce temps porte le visage de la flagellation  
et toi, terre de Québec, Mère Courage  
dans ta longue marche, tu es grosse  
de nos rêves charbonneux douloureux  
de l'innombrable épuisement des corps et des âmes  
...  
nous te ferons, terre de Québec")  
Gaston Miron, Embers and Earth (Selected Poems), Bilingual Edition  
translated by D.G. Jones and Marc Plourde, Guernica Editions (Montréal,  
1984), pp. 50-51.
8. ("Il me reste un pays à te dire  
Il me reste un pays à nommer  
...  
Il te reste un pays à connaître  
Il te reste un pays à donner  
...  
Il nous reste un pays à comprendre  
Il nous reste un pays à changer  
Gilles Vigneault, "Il me reste un pays". Reproduced in Guy Millière, Québec:  
Chant des possibles, Albin Michel (Paris, 1978), pp. 180-181.
9. Cf. Bruno Roy, Et cette Amérique chante en Québécois, Leméac (Montréal,  
1978), p. 217.



FOOTNOTES  
(cont'd)

10. ("Le desir qui animait la religion n'a pas disparu, mais il a change de sens: l'individu ne rêve plus de se fonder en Dieu, mais de se fonder dans un ordre social nouveau. Ce rêve, c'est l'utopie qui l'exprime. Et c'est dans l'art -- dans un art nouveau qui se cherche -- qu'il tend à se réaliser.") Marcelle Brisson, Expérience religieuse et expérience esthétique, les Presses de l'Université de Montréal (Montréal, 1974), p. 246.
11. Mémoire sur la pratique professionnelle du théâtre au Québec présenté au Ministère des Affaires culturelles par l'Association des directeurs de théâtre, le 14 mai 1982.

QUESTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

Afternoon Session

Terry Thomas:

I enjoyed James Bonar's paper tremendously. But the impression I have got is that the French artists were so much more important in Québec politics than any English artists have been in the rest of Canada. Is the paper an overstatement? You are concentrating so much on the arts side that you tend to give them more influence than they might have.

James de Gaspé Bonar:

I suppose we can say that it is really in the eyes of the beholder. I would tend to answer "no" to your question in the measure that Québec artists did lay the conceptual foundation upon which Québec independence was to be built. They are the ones who developed terms such as "sentiment d'appartenance" -- the feeling of belonging together. They created the vocabulary, which was then institutionalized by the government -- and I am thinking here of Parti Pris especially. The Québécois folksingers were the ones who sensitized much of the population to the idea of independence. I do not think the paper is an overstatement.

This morning we were speaking about power, and about art and lobby groups. We do not always speak about artists and intellectuals in the same breath, but in this situation they were closely allied to lobby for political power. Artists, as well as intellectuals, were the ones who were sensitizing the population politically.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

Answering your question maybe involves making a cultural distinction. In French cultural tradition the role of the artist, the role of art, occupies such a different place than it does in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. In the Québec tradition or context there is a natural role for the artist, which for some of us from other cultural traditions is unusual.

Terry Thomas:

I would agree with that. I cannot imagine any English artists leading a march on Queen's Park.

I would like to switch papers. Harry and I always fight about something, so I may as well continue the fight! His use of the economic paradigm is what bothers me. I think that the way the economic paradigm is presented is misleading, especially to a non-economist. It is too nebulous: it does not lend itself to what economists think of as standard testable hypotheses. There is an alternative model (which in a way is similar to Harry's) called the production sequence by an Australian economist named Throsby. It looks at two markets. One is the market for art input, which would be the actual artists -- painters, dancers, actors etc. It also looks at the firm, which can be a gallery, a ballet or theatre company, or an organization that hires artists. The other is the market for the output that is sold to consumers. So you have two markets, one for the input and one for the output,

and you look at, as economists do, supply functions and demand functions, in which prices and incomes are two of the most important variables.

Within this framework, you can then ask policy questions. If you can formulate your policy in terms of the output, which is what we would like to do, then you can ask what is the most efficient way of bringing in government policy or government spending. Do you want to subsidize the artists or the consumers? It depends on the price and income situations. I find this to be a much better alternative model.

Harry Chartrand:

Yes, we always do disagree! First, not to mislead people, there are different types of economists; and the model that Terry Thomas has just enunciated is certainly a conventionally accepted perspective on the economics of the arts using traditional tools. The reason for the particular model I have is, rather than hypotheses testing, the question of believability and descriptive power.

The difficulty with the conventional model you have described is, where are the amateur arts in this process? What is the motivating factor? As I suggested, this question of self-actualization, of creativity, is in and of itself, internally to the individual, a legitimate motivation. That leads to behaviour which can be measured. Unfortunately, if there is sector in the arts today about which we know, in statistical terms, virtually nothing, it is the amateur arts.

Second, the phenomenon under investigation requires a tool appropriate to it. I have the impression of traditional analysis as being a more and more refined optical telescope looking at a radio star. You have a highly sophisticated instrument, which is so sophisticated that it does not see what it is looking at.

Let us look at the fine arts. Here we know that there is something called great art. It ends up having, in many cases not in the generation of the artist himself or herself, a very great market value. Why is it great art? That question was raised earlier today by Margaret. We do not know what great art is, we do not know what produces artists. As best I can understand it, the psychological basis for contemporary economics is a form of clinical behaviourism, which does not seem to tap the question of archetypal or depth psychology. The question that certain art speaks to people raises visions within the mind's eye that speak to these people. That, in psychological terms, I would describe as great art.

It happens, however, that the production of most of that great art is not in the first instance marketable. It generally becomes marketable when it reaches that third sector in which the name of the artist has become accepted, as for example through the gallery movement, or sometimes in the manipulation of the New York art establishment in terms of pushing certain names. Once that name gains identification on the market then the investors go crazy and will buy anything that person produces. For example, today in the pop art or commercial arts area, anything by Michael Jackson is good in the sense that it is going to sell. Is it good in the sense that it is great art, that it archetypally speaks to the soul of the audience, that it resonates within the psyche?

To put it another way, Terry, in dealing with the economics of the arts one of the difficulties we have is that the market is not just an external market, but it is

an internal market as well, with the symbolic values, and so on. When we move into current market research on Madison Avenue, into the realm of hedonics or fantasies, as they are also often called, many marketeers are beginning to recognize that people consume products not just for some set of narrow attributes, but rather because they are fun and aesthetically pleasing: they are internal consumption phenomena.

Put it yet another way. Orthodox economics has had to accept the existence of second-hand markets, or has tried to come to grips with this notion. I am trying to suggest that in the art world we may well be dealing with a form of economic behaviour that requires new models. All I am trying to do in descriptive terms is to offer one. But I agree with you entirely that orthodox analysis certainly would not go this way.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

Would you explain what secondary markets are?

Harry Chartrand:

Used cars, antiques, art. In other words you are not dealing with a primary producer but a stock of goods that are there, and are being bought again.

Conventional economics is based essentially upon the work of the classical economists, the utilitarian theorists if you will, in which commodities have values because they are useful. The argument between Terry and me is, to a degree, whether you can take the house of neo-classical analysis and simply add on new additions and annexes, or do you finally have to build a new house. For that you need an institutional economist.

David Anido:

I do congratulate you both on bringing up some very exciting and interesting points. Since Dr. Bonar brought up the idea of theology, I have decided to bring up the idea of ethics. It seems to me that if we are talking about the arts and culture in a way that one might like to talk about them, one is talking about an influence in our world, the Yin and the Yang, the male and the female, whatever you want to call it, that stimulates us and guides us according to certain established truths. If you are a believer in a monotheistic religion of some kind, you have no difficulty accepting certain codes of ethics as truths. A humanist would say that a religious person believes in a god, and a set of ethics, and that there is a community within which he or she shares those beliefs. A humanist is no less ethical, but does not quite believe in that deity or the community.

If we take the political paradigm, we go from facilitator to engineer, from the creative embryo to the institutionalized acceptance. The worst thing you can say about the engineer is that he is the advertizer, the person who says: "You've come a long way baby!", or says that a certain cold remedy is going to solve all your problems.

In Search of Excellence, if you look through that book, talks about the so-called values which might be tantamount to ethics. But these are value systems based on the engineer model, and they do not necessarily have any basis of truth. Coming back to my point, in Québec certain truths were, I believe, realized. (By the way, I am an Anglophone Quebecer; I now call myself a saxophone Canadian!) Certain truths were realized, not only by artists but also by journalists, by the theologians, by men, by women, by workers "qui parlaient jolal à Sherbrooke". These truths became more and more evident to more and more people until they were institutionalized. The government that everybody feared in 1976 has turned blue! Our present federal government has turned around again to cut funding to the arts -- an irony of the system.

You did not mention the book the Handicapeur, which I found quite fascinating -- the idea of a computer, the technological deity. If indeed a certain truth is being realized by Quebecers, I would hasten to add that this truth has been accepted by a much wider spectrum of Canadians, and that perhaps it is being read and learned. Québec has a universality about it. Since this truth is now being achieved, is it back to the drawing board for the artist and his or her mentors and disciples?

James de Gaspé Bonar:

I did not mention the Handicapeur, but the idea of the "theology of the social sciences" is simply that. The point about the artist that is so interesting for us is that this "theology" is now becoming institutionalized. For example, in the United States, what became of protestors or hippies? They were co-opted. A Belgian theoretician wrote an interesting article in 1972 or 1973 which I will roughly translate as "The Marketplace for Symbolic Goods". He traced how a cultural "good" will start on the margin of society, and how it will slowly work its way into the centre and become acceptable and established. This is indeed what happened in Québec. However, an artist, an intellectual, or anybody else for that matter has to keep growing: otherwise he dies. What happens when art is institutionized and becomes establishment art is that it is arrested. Now, if an artist is indeed an artist he or she will want, will have to grow, and will therefore have to react against stagnation.

The reason I was speaking of Québec and not mentioning what has happened elsewhere is that this is the area of my expertise. Maybe some of what I have mentioned could be applied elsewhere.

David Anido:

What you say is very true but it is very bad news for the artists, who are only earning \$2,000 a year, who are answering to MBA-trained mandarins in a capital city who have never been involved in the arts (I say that because I was in theatre until I failed as an actor!) and who now find themselves in a product-specific, revenue-generating, job-creating industrial society that might sell a blank page with Salvador Dali written at the bottom. But for the 99% of people who are not Salvador Dali's this is very disturbing news because -- getting back to the political

paradigm, which is an interesting one -- the patron-facilitator link is not as magnanimous as it probably should be.

James de Gaspé Bonar:

You are quite right. That brings up the whole role of cultural funding -- private funding versus direct government funding. You were kind enough to compliment us. I would like to compliment you, because you bring up many issues and points, and bring them all together.

You did mention at one point the question of the artist, and then the worker speaking joual in Sherbrooke. The point is that the artist is the voice. The artist is the one -- be he or she poet, singer, novelist, playwright, visual artist -- who is articulating, giving voice to what maybe the worker (and I hope this does not sound condescending) may not be able to articulate.

Harry Chartrand:

James and I have had some fun trying to redefine one of the sections of the report by the Professional Theatre Directors of Québec. Translated into English it said: as far as they were concerned every time the Minister and his officials heard the word culture they reached for their calculators. This is where we run into what was mentioned this morning about many things happening at once. My reading of James' paper, and I repeat this is my reading, suggests that the artists were instrumental in creating the images, the symbols, the motivation within the public for the election of the separatist government. But at the same time the government they elected was a social democratic, rationalist government, which has been summed up as a "theology of the social sciences". The government tried to implement a highly rationalist architect model in the French tradition, and this is part of the difference we are getting at as well. Within the French cultural tradition, the idea of state involvement from the time of Louis XIV from the creation of La Comédie Française all the way through, has been state intervention to a great degree. These have not been private initiatives. There has been a conscious attempt to build cultural institutions by the state.

What the Québécois did not realize -- the Québec artist didn't realize -- was that they had elected a social democratic government whose ideology was rationalist in the extreme. When they came to power, they looked at Gaspésie and said: there is x number of people, therefore there are going to be y number of theatres. And similarly in Lac St-Jean, and many other places across the province they tried to do the same thing. They tried to factor the entire thing through. When it was implemented the artistic community went crazy. They said: we are a living organic community, we are going to flow from Lac St-Jean to Montréal, from Montréal to Sherbrooke, from Sherbrooke to Pontiac, wherever the spirit may be, we are going to go there.

Now, look what has happened to the political fortunes of the Parti Québécois. I am not saying there is a causal link, but it is interesting to note that the decline in the nationalist imagery on the part of the artists has occurred approximately at the same time as the political decline in the polls.

As best I understand it, as an English-speaking Canadian, what seems to be happening on the Québec scene now is that the artists are becoming individualistic, and some of the work that is now surfacing is in the media arts, specifically performance art. They are reaching some form of cross-over that appears maybe to be a new form of rock music, rock performance art, that may or may not be commercial once the name of the artist becomes established.

This also raises the other question within the economic paradigm that I was trying to get at. When that artist becomes well known, he or she then becomes an exploitable product. That is when the communications conglomerates pick up on the names and proceed to market them for everything they are worth. If you look at Elvis Presley records, I would suspect that more have been released since the time of his death than there were during his lifetime. That man's name is a marketable product today. And all of that raises the question about the commercial arts and the engineers.

David Anido:

And ethics.

Harry Chartrand:

Yes. It also gets back to the fact that although we do not have socialist realism in this country, we do perhaps have a commercial ideology of the marketplace, and I am not just speaking of advertizing. Has not the cultural policy of the federal government in terms of cultural industries, as articulated by Minister after Minister, been that we want to engineer a commercially viable art in this country? Porky's, for example.

David Anido:

Because we are masters of communications systems like satellite and microwaves, we have the hardware in place -- to use a Freudian term: we now need the software. We have the veins and the arteries and the capillaries; all we need now is the blood, so that it is utilitarian.

James de Gaspé Bonar:

If by software you are referring to art, I think that there is one thing which Canadians do not properly understand, and I am speaking especially from the point of view of literature. We have a very viable literature here of which we can be legitimately proud. We are on the border of transcending a national literature. Both literatures -- English and French -- are now doing extraordinary things. I would say that what you are talking about is already there; but we have to know how to utilize it. Part of learning how to utilize it, is to arouse a certain feeling of freedom. We should stay away as much as possible from the engineer role, although it is a normal tendency, I would think, in any kind of bureaucratic,



institutionalized setting to head towards that. It demands a great deal of maturity on the part of the government, on the part of the society, and on the part of civilization to allow it to be a facilitator or a patron.

Harry Chartrand:

I would like to jump in, and my comment ties back to Terry's comment as well, and back to Margaret's this morning. The way you formulate the question tends to colour the result that you are going to get. One of the problems, I believe, that has happened in terms of all the hardware that Canada has been extremely effective in developing, is that this has become a fixation. In funding terms what I perceive, looking at the data, is that the model of commercially viable product has failed to recognize the need to support research and development in the software, in the fine arts, in that experimental type of modality. We have had a government so concerned about getting exportable product that compared to either the Australians or the English we have failed rather abysmally. We can list on the fingers of one hand, maybe just one finger, the commercially viable product that we have generated after ten years of pumping in millions of tax expenditure dollars.

Now, as I understand the situation in the United States today, Broadway gets its plays from the non-profit regional theatres. Who are the angels on Broadway today? They are no longer those nice, tax expenditure individuals who take a loss, and take the tax write-off. The exception proves the rule. Until Atari failed, Warner Communications was heavily involved in Broadway because once they saw a work that got applause, that seemed to have that popular appeal to the audience, they would pick up the rights. They would market it through media extension in terms of motion pictures, recordings, and all of the implicit rights in that product from dolls through postcards, through tee shirts, through toys, through games, through everything else. In the United States today, we have on the commercial level a recognition that the non-profit regional theatres are where the new product, the new talent, the new technique comes from.

Look what happened at Theatre London. There was no support for the first attempt at repertory theatre with active media extension in this country. There was no recognition of the fact that it is a lot cheaper to put something on stage, and if you get applause then you put it on the motion picture screen. They keep saying script development is the problem, and yet they do not really seem to have an active R & D policy in the sector. In every other sector of the economy if you want to get money out of the government today, whether it is through the tax system, or whether it is through grant programmes, call it R & D. But in this sector we have watched the fine arts be starved. And unfortunately in Britain, and in the United States as well, this failure to recognize what I call quaternary, qualitative, abstract goods and services, ideas, is not recognized as the source of all wealth.

David Bartlett:

I would like to come back to the question about Québec because I think that there is a particularly interesting, and in many respects unique, phenomenon which

cannot really be usefully or meaningfully compared to Broadway or to Vancouver or to any other cultural situation in the country, the continent, or indeed the world. My puzzle is: what happened? I do not find that the discussion of the last ten or fifteen minutes gives me a very intellectually satisfying answer to that question. Somehow or other, about ten years ago, the clock struck twelve, the coach turned back into a pumpkin, and horses into field mice, and, to change my analogy, the sword went flying out over the lake but no hand came up to pull it down!

I do not think one can say entirely that this was a matter of government policy or of the arts being co-opted or suborned, as you prefer, by government. Artists after all were not in a worse economic condition, bad though it was, five years ago than they were twenty-five years ago. The governments both of Québec and Canada were not less sympathetic to the arts five years ago. Yet somehow or other something happened, and the power, the thrust, the imagination seems to have gone out of it. Now, it may be one of those sociological phenomena. As Walter Bagehot said of revolution, "the cake of custom gets broken", and things happen. Then the cake re-establishes itself and things stop happening.

I really hate to think that that was the situation we are now experiencing in the Francophone community, primarily in Québec. Yet, one does wonder. I do not think it was entirely a matter of being suborned by the media and by government. Where are those other tendencies and those other people at the fringe who are working their way into the centre hoping to be suborned and get rich? I think that there are some rather arcane art forms at the fringe -- arcane not in a pejorative sense but in a highly specialized, inaccessible sense. But I don't see any art forms that are really ringing in the changes in the popular psyche in Québec. The chansonniers do not sing anymore. Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde is dark, and where is it?

James de Gaspé Bonar:

Trying to light up. Right now, it is an overstatement to say that artistically Québec is in la noirceur (darkness). I think what is happening is that we had for a twenty to twenty-five year period in Québec a great effervescence. That is what was happening: there was a bubbling, there was an energy, there was a creativity going on that was palpable and exciting. That clearly is not there anymore -- that is true. But that does not mean that there is not very strong artistic and cultural activity going on. The effervescence is not there, but I think that the artistic, or at the very least literary, foundations of both English and French are very solid. There are always the financial considerations, the financial fears, but the reservoir of talent and the amount of quality work being done is very solid today.

If your question is, what happened to the effervescence? I can respond this way, in the context always of this theology of culture. For approximately a twenty, twenty-five year period, the Muse, the transcendent, the creative spark, was nationalism, was the idea of independence. That kind of spark which generated much of the artistic activity in Québec in the 1960s and 1970s then disappeared. Why cry or write or sing about an independent Quebec when you have an indépendantiste government in power -- it does not make much sense. When you have a federalist government, especially one that was as disliked as that of Bourassa in 1976, it was very easy. You had this new government, this

indépendantiste government that was elected in 1976. That took an awful lot of wind out of that sail.

Then there was the referendum. At the time of the referendum, it was Québec society which had to choose. Parenthetically, I think that the time of the referendum is going to go down as one of our great moments in history, from the point of view of both Québec and Canadian history. We were discussing the dissolution of the country. I think historically that that was a great moment for Canadian democracy, a great moment for Canadian society, for Canadian democracy allowed that argument to go on. Having said all of that, the Québec people chose not to go the indépendantiste route. So that kind of transcendent issue was no longer there: that spark or Muse died.

There was a need to find a new Muse. Feminism, as an ideology, as an art form, made an appearance, quite a strong appearance. Right now in both English and French Canada there is what can be called the feminist establishment, which is very strong artistically. But it was not strong enough to capture the imagination of the whole people. There is at present in Québec a turning from the inward to the outward. It is a time for probing. I think that is normal. I believe the effervescence is gone, but the culture is still very strong. In both English and French Canada the cultural reservoir is nearly full.

Harry Chartrand:

I would like to pick up on a term that James just introduced. One of the unique facts about the arts as a sector is this reservoir concept. Conservation is one of the fundamental economic aspects in this particular sector. The images, the talent that is being developed -- this is not a depreciating capital asset: this is an appreciating human asset.

James de Gaspé Bonar:

Just as any reservoir, we could let it go dry, which would be a tragedy, it really would. So I think that is why it is so very important for us as a society to be aware of that. Especially at this time when we are talking about sectoral free trade, how better to cope with the whole question of national identity than to foster the arts.

Brian Boyd:

I wanted to pick up on a comment you just made, James, which also relates to an earlier comment of Harry's concerning a focus on the exportable product. I want to refer particularly to the book publishing industry, partly because of what James said about the product, the talent we have in writing, which seems so strong at the moment. A particular case which has crossed my desk in the last couple of days is the reference to the Government of Ontario by the Federal Government of the proposed takeover of Prentice-Hall in the U.S. by Gulf and Western. This will cause repercussions in Canada. I would also refer to the fact that Ontario as a government has spent a certain amount of money trying to foster the Ontario-based book publishing industry. Eighty-four per cent of the English language industry is located in Ontario.

What those issues raise in my mind, in looking at Harry's political paradigm, is the degree of validity that the paradigm has when you have another issue to deal with — cultural imperialism, if I can use the term, and the necessity to export in order to create commercial viability in the cultural or other sectors.

Can we focus on the consumer to ensure that the demand is there to buy the products that are being produced domestically? Or do we have to look to export markets in order to create economic viability? If we do that, do we automatically get ourselves involved in other political issues: Québec vs. Canada, Canada vs. the United States?

I do not know that I am asking a specific question, but it seems to me that there are some complicated dimensions that have to be considered in looking at this paradigm, and in addressing the question of whether support for the commercial cultural sector is adequate, or whether we have to focus on the productive sector, the artist. Which is preferable? If we do not focus on the commercial cultural sector, or if we do not bring to bear certain rules and regulations to protect the commercial cultural sector, then we do not support the product, we do not support the artist. I have in my own mind a lot of difficulties sorting between the degree of emphasis we should give to supporting the commercial cultural sector, as opposed to the artist. The former takes a great deal of resources, and the rewards are often very difficult to determine. After twenty years of support for the book publishing industry in Ontario, we still have an industry that is dependent basically on all kinds of public giving in order to maintain its viability.

Harry Chartrand:

I think you raise a fascinating question and I would like to deal with it in the following way -- rhetorically. What is the basis of wealth in the cultural sector, in the artistic sector? Is it the manufacturing of a bound product called a book, or is it the fixation of creative ideas, and the rights, the economic rights, implicit in those ideas. The choice of what product is actually going to be produced in the first instance is left to small scale independent producers. Then the large scale communications conglomerates pick up that product and distribute it. What I am trying to suggest is that the first thing we need to do is to separate out the manufacturing processes that may be involved in the cultural sector, whether it is the printing of the books or the processing of the film, or it is the pressing of a disc, from what is in that book, what is on that film, and what is being pressed.

If we can establish a net positive balance of payments on intellectual property rights we are going to succeed as a country culturally and economically. But we have to recognize that just like in manufacturing as a whole, 80¢ a day labour, and massive print runs from centralized manufacturing plants located outside our boundary, are something we may never be able to compete with. I think part of the problem has been this confusion between the physical manufacture of the product, and what the product actually is. One of the major difficulties we experience today is, as I understand it in the book industry, the sale of remainders of Canadian books, printed in the United States, that can be sold in Canada cheaper than we can produce them.

In an era of free trade, I do not see how in the long term we are going to be able to build up barriers to the physical product. I think what we have to do is to create an environment in which the creative rights associated with that product flow back into the country, if this country creates an environment in which the creative people want to be. Now, there have been examples of this: Ireland is one -- the current experiment that is going on is that copyright income is tax exempt. We have the example in California where special rights for creative people have been granted and declared constitutional, even though they apply only to Californian citizens.

I think we are entering into the era of the post-industrial society, the informational society, the quaternary sector of the economy, and abstract goods and services. If we can tie down the cash flow associated with the exploitation of a creative product, and ensure that these flows come back to our country, whether it is patents, whether it is registered industrial design, whether it is copyright, that is how we as a country are going to be "commercially viable". I do not think it is going to be a question of how we are going to get a print run in Canada to export a heavy, physical product called books to the United States. We are, I suspect, never going to have that scale of printing and exporting. So I think we have to put the horse before the cart, and what we have tended to do in much of our cultural policy, in my opinion, is to put the cart before the horse. We have looked at the physical tangible aspect of what is actually an intellectual product.

James de Gaspé Bonar:

The reality is, that many Canadian writers be they English or French-speaking -- and God knows other artists as well -- cannot live from their writing. Our market is not big enough for most people to live by their writing. They have to have other forms of income, other forms of funding such as from the Canada Council. As a matter of fact, art, just as any other sector of the Canadian economy, has to export in order to survive and flourish. But there are two problems with this. One is that we cannot enlarge our own market by much. Canadians right now in terms of reading and book buying are among the top countries in the world. We buy more books per capita than the British, the French, or the Americans. So we cannot really grow very much at home. We also have -- just to take the case of Québec -- as many publishing houses in Québec as there are in France. The difference in population is 6 million versus approximately 60 million. Maybe the sizes of the publishing houses differ, but there are roughly the same number. So maybe we do have "too many publishing houses", and maybe we should "rationalize", which seems to go against everything I talked about -- freedom, etc.

Then we come to another point, and that is the question of marketing. That brings up the question of barriers. It is very difficult for Canadian writers, and I presume this is true of other artists, to get a crack at the United States market, not only on literary grounds but on copyright grounds, bringing books across the border and what have you. There is also another little problem, and that is our own marketing or lack of marketing. We, and I am speaking primarily about External Affairs, put a fair amount of money, not a terrific amount, into marketing. But none of it goes into properly marketing our books.

The people who are in charge of this, and I am not speaking about External Affairs, because I know they are working very hard, are afraid to make that one small leap of faith -- that is to dare to be judged on the sole criterion of excellence. But we have to start marketing ourselves using that criterion.

Somebody mentioned the question of cultural imperialism. I have fewer problems, believe it or not, with American cultural imperialism, because they will read Alice Munro, publish Margaret Atwood, and invite Mordecai Richler, and so forth. But the British, what they think of us is really galling! It is insulting. We must do more to get them to see and read our best work, and if we would market it intelligently, we might make a much bigger inroad, and maybe marginally raise the incomes of some of our artists, at least the better ones.

Brian Boyd:

The only other point I wanted to make, and you certainly picked up on the question of imperialism, was the implication that I draw from problems associated with takeovers, and foreign investment reviews -- that our experience shows that to get Canadian titles published, you have to rely upon Canadian publishers primarily. Then you do become involved in these other questions because if you do not somehow work towards ownership in that particular sector, then the product will not be produced, and the consumer may not have access to it.

Harry Chartrand:

I think we have a real problem here in terms of the nature of the goods. The United States, as I understand it, in film and television is supposedly the greatest cultural, industrial complex in the world. The best information I have is that they break even in their own marketplace, and that it is export sales that bring in the gravy. Now, whether you call it cultural imperialism or not, the fact is like every great power: they have "cachet".

We are moving into an electronic age. We are moving into an age in which the production of books in traditional ways may become an art form again. We may have a few specialist, high-priced, hard bound books. How many hard bound books sell any more at \$30, \$35 or \$40 a volume? Within a short period of time I would suggest that what is going to be important again is the actual artistic product itself. Maybe our policy should be innovative in terms of ensuring that Canadians have the electronic highways -- which apparently we do not even with all of our satellites -- to ensure that we can export the actual creative work. But then this brings me back again to the question of rights.

I am convinced that a deception has been played upon the artists of virtually every country in the world, and that is that copyright is purported to be a reward for creativity. Yet in the vast majority of cases, copyright earns artists very, very little. Copyright is the legal basis for industrial organizations for all of those publishing houses. Once they buy the rights to the work, they can organize a productive structure in terms of manufacturing. I think perhaps we have to look again at ways to get those rights as a reward for creativity back into focus,

whether it is done through formal copyright (which is covered by conventions which may limit our degrees of freedom), or whether it is through supplementary rights, and maybe a whole series of them such as public lending rights restricted only to Canadians. Maybe it could be a question of a new treatment of creative income generally. Or perhaps we have to look at a whole new range about tax, subsidy and other factors, with the full realization that really what Canada has exported through its arts industry is Canada's image abroad.

Now, If what you are concerned about is a series of printers in Toronto or Montreal in the publishing industry, then maybe the reason that we have so many problems is that we have too many presses, not too many publishing houses -- making again that interesting distinction that seems to exist in the publishing business between a publisher and a publisher-printer. Maybe what we are looking at is some rationalization of the physical manufacturing plant, and to use a term which in the past has been applied in a completely different area, a computer utility type of approach. We may need some threshold of manufacturing capability, which all sorts of publishing houses are feeding into, so that the overall output may be marketable.

But given the fact that the Americans do not appear to make a profit even in their own marketplace, I do not think we can be silly and think that we are going to. I think that we can have an incredible international impact in terms of the image of their country through our creative work. I think we can go a long way to increase the reward to creative people. If our country is the first country to come up with an organized set of rewards for creativity suitable for a post-modern, post-industrial, electronic information economy then maybe that is the breakthrough.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

I have to be at least moderately American centred. Every time I get into a discussion on the arts, whether it is with an economist or sociologist, everybody's perspective is always that the grass is greener on the other guy's side, or in the other guy's discipline. We end up finding out that we are all in the same boat, even though you perceive us as your export problem, and market that is hard to crack into. I once heard someone say that the three major cultural contributions of the United States to world civilization were hamburgers, baseball, and Coke. Not the fine arts, not anything in the fine arts.

Even on the American side we still face some of the same inferiority that I am hearing about today. Where do we import our superstars from? Look who lead many of our major cultural institutions now. They are not native Americans. Until about five, maybe ten, years ago you could not debut at the Met as an American; you had to prove yourself in Europe first, and then come back. We have some of the same kinds of difficulties of breaking through some international or national kind of inferiority complex.

In drawing together some of the comments about Québec and the arts, and feminism and the arts, and Canadianism and the arts, it seems to me that the arts are often at their best when they are being revolutionary. There is a whole group

of people who have interpreted the arts and crafts movement at various points in time as sort of a way of coping with modernization by being anti-modern, harking back to an older tradition and therefore making it easier to accommodate the transition socially.

To go back to the question about what happened to the effervescence of Québec culture. It served that transitional purpose. It firmly reaffirmed a provincial identity, cultural identity, which then allowed the province to vote against separation. They are sure enough of their own identity so that perhaps they can go on to something else. Not only in the arts but in other intellectual endeavours, everybody is into a post-something stage now: post-modernism, post-internationalism in architecture, post-behaviouralism in the social sciences. There is no doctrine, no intellectual ideology to revolt against anymore. It is always amorphous. Nothing is crystalized yet, and we are all groping to find what that focal point is. Maybe that is why the arts do not impress us as being as effervescent and creative as they might be because they do not have that ability to revolt against something yet. I do not think that anybody knows yet what the post industrial society is.

David Anido:

May I just say something to put your mind at rest as an American? As a nationalist Canadian, or should I say a patriot Canadian, I have never regarded the United States as being our enemy. I did read a definition of American culture that, however, did appeal to me. It was: if you can't eat, buy, or screw it: shoot it! The trouble with being big is that you are a bigger target. I would like to take Harry up on his Canadian image thing, and then play the role of the engineer for a second because once you start putting a flag on anything, Japanese or otherwise, you end up falling perhaps into your own trap.

An example that I saw last Sunday, for instance, was that I had a choice on television between Charlie Grant's War on CBC, and the Life and Times of Robert Kennedy. Much to my wife's horror, I switched channels when she came in and out of the room. And she knew which one I was probably watching and which one I was actually taping. After both were over, there was no question but that Charlie Grant's War was ethically, artistically and for every other reason far superior. It was whole wheat cereal to the Pablum -- with no offence meant to either Robert Kennedy or the United States. What set me thinking was that I bet you that Robert Kennedy was being watched by millions, and I wondered how many tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of people might be watching Charlie Grant's War, or Australian films like Gallipoli, or New Zealand films like Outou.

Now, in terms of image, and that is the business that we are in in different departments of government, we are clearly trying to paint Canada as a large, extremely presentable, civilized, sophisticated, democratic something. When we go abroad, on a posting, or on a business trip, or a trade mission of some kind, we stand up there with our maple leaf pins in our lapels, and we try to give Scandinavians, Italians, Arabs, Soviets, this image. We end up wishing to hell that we had a McLuhan, or a Margaret Atwood, or somebody standing beside us who was not going to give a party-line that was basically going to be nothing but Pablum.



We wanted the whole wheat cereal. Then you think: wouldn't it be marvellous to get a group of whole wheaters together, a panel you might say, and among the five, ten, fifteen, or twenty of them, you would have an image of Canada as expressed through its human creation, as expressed through its personality, and so on. Again that does not work when you are talking about cultural industries. So it is back to the drawing board again. Does this Cosi Fan Tutte with Maureen Forrester sell Canada, or what?

We are talking about a very, very large Rubik's cube of variables. That is basically what it all is. I think we cannot take a shot-gun approach on that. We have to take a multiple series of rifle approaches, which is now the name of the game we talk about in quality circles, you know -- the brave new management. But sooner or later one or more of these rifle shots is going to hit home in the way that the Australian film industry has taken off by sheer merit. We must be better entrepreneurs, I also agree, but I still think that we are somehow going to have to get our positioning through a certain amount of luck, through trend. Would Guernica be as famous today as it was after the Fascist invasion of Spain? It comes at specific times. Would the Québec "épanouissement" be as successful now as it was after the quiet revolution, the de-confessionalization of the province, and so on? Clearly not. We are dealing with cycles and to take the engineer model for a minute we must have to admit that sometimes there are films that actually are not ready to be promoted.

It really bothers me, for example, that the United States market has taken over the computer business, which to me is a secret weapon. Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas took it over in the aviation field a while ago, and promoted the English language through aviation. We now have IBM and McIntosh, and so on. There is a tremendous challenge there. Maybe we are going to have to accept 5% to 10% of market share in certain things. But it is still going to be the impact and the quality and the catching of the imagination that does that. That brings you in so many ways back to the individual artist, whom I am not sure could be collectivized into an image entity as we perhaps wish we could.

Harry Chartrand:

Now I want to hit the poor Americans, and then give them a few apologies. My understanding is that everytime Canadians go down to the United States and complain about cultural imperialism, the Americans point out very aptly we have a \$250 million surplus for one company, one book publisher in this country -- and that publisher is, of course, Harlequin Romance. Then what I would like to do is to apply that all back to this morning's discussion, and the word pornography. My favourite hang up is the fact that Americans send us Penthouse and we give them Harlequin. When they take my Penthouse off the shelves, I want those Harlequins also off the shelves! Children and women should be protected from those things! Canada, for some reason, in that one book publishing company seems to have got a market segment, and is not doing badly: one in five books sold in the United States is Harlequin. That is not a bad market share. Why is it that this is an image of women, which is apparently traditionalist, and apparently shares all of the values that the anti-pornographers are against -- submissive, passive, abused, often raped, savaged, and on and on -- what they call in the literature, I understand, the "hysterical romance".

Why is it that Canada is a world leader in hysterical romance exports? Is it Margaret Atwood again, to go back to the survivor syndrome? But I think there are some anomalies in our cultural position that we somehow very conveniently forget. We are world leaders in hysterical romances. We have taken over the American marketplace. Then there is Trivial Pursuit -- \$600 million in sales in the United States market alone. So maybe we are also confusing ourselves at the present time about how bad the situation is, and we should apologize to our American cousins for polluting their minds and leading their women to traditional roles and attitudes.

Margaret Wyszomirski:

I am not exactly an aficionado of Harlequins. But I do not think that this is hysterical stereotyping appeal. I think that what you have is the duality of what women are trying to put together. The heroine in Harlequins may revert to a nice stable traditional stereotype, but she starts out as a sort of independent career type. We are trying to reconcile these two roles. I do not think the term hysterical romance is exactly appropriate.

Harry Chartrand:

The term is a technical one from consumer reviews of the literature. It is the New York Book Reviews that call them such things.

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Unfortunately, I have to say that we have come to the end of our seminar. I wish to thank all of you for attending, for your comments, for your insights, for your patience. We hope to hold a third arts research seminar sometime in late May, or early June tentatively entitled -- The Arts: Touring & Television. Again, two separate subjects, but hopefully in the discussion with the participants there will be some cross-over between the two. You are all warmly invited. In the transcript that will be coming to you we hope to have a firm date established. We hope, assuming the recording worked, to have the transcript ready about seven weeks from now.