

DOI: 10.25990/socinstras.pss-27.m1xh-8n24

EDN: HOCTDF

УДК 316.7



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ГЕНДЕРНЫЕ ПРЕДУБЕЖДЕНИЯ В ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОЙ КРИТИКЕ В РОССИИ В XXI ВЕКЕ

Аннотация. Анализ научной литературы показывает, что культурный капитал определяет социальное положение человека в поле культурного производства, включая сферу искусства. В контексте художественного производства и критики культурный капитал влияет на то, как люди оценивают и интерпретируют произведения художников. В некоторых работах доказано наличие гендерных предубеждений в художественной сфере, которые проявляются в репрезентации, оценивании, карьерных возможностях в области искусства, а также в различиях в социальных ожиданиях в отношении художников в зависимости от их гендера. В фокусе исследования — изучение того, существует ли разница в том, как люди пишут критику о работах художниц и художников, особенно учитывая тот факт, что в России на эту тему проведено не так много исследований. Данные для анализа включают рецензии из публикаций в художественных журналах и публикации на платформе Telegram. Для исследования различий в рецензиях был использован текстовый анализ и статистические тесты. Оценивались используемые критиками слова, количество написанных рецензий, передаваемая в них тональность, тематическое моделирование, а также то, как эти факторы зависят от гендера художника и типа медиаплатформы, на которой были опубликованы рецензии. Результаты показали существование гендерного неравенства в художественной критике в России — о художницах-женщинах написано меньше ревью, и длина отзывов меньше по сравнению с ревью, написанными о художниках-мужчинах. Также важный результат был выявлен о разнице между журналами и Телеграм-каналами (традиционное печатное медиа в сравнении с онлайн-платформами с более неформальным обсуждением и менее структурной критикой). Анализ показал, что о женщинах пишут больше в Телеграм-каналах, чем в журналах.

Ключевые слова: гендерное неравенство, исследование культуры, поле искусства, критика искусства, текстовый анализ

Ссылка для цитирования: Бухарова А. С. Гендерные предубеждения в художественной критике в России в XXI веке // Петербургская социология сегодня. — 2025. — № 27. — С. 14–40. — DOI: 10.25990/socinstras.pss-27.m1xh-8n24; EDN: HOCTDF

Introduction

Art criticism plays an essential role in shaping the perception of artworks and artists since it not only affects the reputation and career of artists but also affects the way art is discussed and evaluated. It shows the amount of representation artists have in museums and exhibitions, therefore it is important to examine gender within this field to see power dynamics and patterns of representation and visibility of female artists compared to male artists. Art reviews can provide a lot of dimensions of material for studying gender inequality which is manifested not only in mentioned different amounts of visibility but also the way critics define artistic geniuses and excellence, how art history is told and how authors write about works of female and male artists.

Despite growing number of studies about gender inequality in the cultural field and art world specifically, there remains a significant gap in understanding how these biases manifest in art criticism and especially in the context of Russia. In the context of Russia, the topic of gender inequality in art remains understudied: there are studies about women's place in art history, the emergence of art-feminism in Russia and its specific characteristics (Чао 2020) but there exists a gap in studying how gender bias influences the evaluation of artistic works which this study will cover. Therefore, my research questions are the following: is there a gender bias in art criticism in Russia and what are its manifestations?

This study aims to address the existing research gap by applying text analysis techniques to examine whether reviews of male and female artists differ in significant ways within Russian contemporary art criticism. Part of the methodology is a combination of techniques used for studying media coverage of artists but mostly not in visual arts but music and literature fields: the words used by critics, amount of reviews written, the sentiment conveyed in their reviews, topic modeling and whether these factors vary depending on the artist's gender and media where the reviews were published. The data for this study includes reviews from both digital magazines that post material that is published in their print magazines and social media platform Telegram. Such comparison of different sources of art criticism adds a broader dimension of analysis of art discussion.

Literature review

Many researchers studied gender in the art field through the prism of Bourdieu's theory of capitals and the difference in levels of capital possession between women and men. According to Bourdieu (1993), symbolic capital is the degree of accumulated prestige, status and other forms of social honor that a person has received within a social space and cultural capital can be defined as education, knowledge, appreciation of arts and specific leisure activities. Susan Dumais (2002) noted that children accumulate cultural capital in different ways depending on their gender: girls participate in more cultural activities (for example, music and drawing lessons) than boys. However, in professional fields, men tend to possess more cultural and symbolic capital and benefit more from it. Symbolic capital as all forms of capital can be exchanged for other resources such as employment opportunities and social support.

D. Miller (2014) studied the way people accumulate and use symbolic capital in cultural fields differently depending on their gender. Comparing two cultural fields (the heavy metal scene and the contemporary folk scene) she found out that, first of all, symbolic capital is gendered and also these fields have specific characteristics that affect the way the reputation (symbolic capital) of an artist is perceived depending on their gender. One of such aspects is the institutionalization of symbolic capital. Artists in the folk field can be perceived as successful based on formal "markers" of reputation such as awards and therefore there is a lower chance for gender bias since it is based on explicit criteria. However, in the metal field such markers of success are informal such as "word-of-mouth" and have no clear and established criteria therefore it creates an opportunity for emergence of gender bias in evaluating other artists. This way, gendered reputation disadvantages female musicians within the metal field, femininity is perceived as a "marker of low status" while it produces much less inequality in the folk scene.

The gender inequality in the art field and the obstacles that female artists face can be explained through the historical perspective since the visual art field has been historically male dominated. Throughout history women's opportunities were limited: women were mostly forbidden to engage in professional artistic work and getting into art schools and getting education was either with a lot of restrictions or impossible till the second half of 19th century. It is mostly a reason why fine art is mostly associated with masculine creative figures (White, White 1965) and why men are mostly perceived as highly accomplished artists and women mostly described as muses or amateur painters (Nochlin 1971).

Gender inequality in the art field has a lot of manifestations that were studied by many researchers. For example, one of the main observed trends in the research field on this issue is underrepresentation of women in employment in the cultural industries including visual arts. In one of the paper studying patterns of inequality and exclusion of women in workforce in creative fields authors mention some of the factors affecting women's position within the professional structure and access to opportunities and state how women tend to not fill high positions in creative industries: only 5 percent of editors of national newspapers were women, men were outnumbering women in decision-making roles in media companies, overall fewer women in executive positions in creative industries (Conor, Gill, Taylor 2015). Another important aspect of gender inequality that they mention is horizontal and vertical segregation in creative professions: there are a lot of women as hairdressers and make-up artists, however there are heavily underrepresented in jobs like screenwriter, cinematographer, sound department. The authors also focused on specific characteristics of jobs in the creative field which is the presence of informal organization. It means absence of clear hierarchies and structure and almost most importantly informal hiring practices which happens outside of formal channels and happening through social networks (Conor, Gill, Taylor 2015). It can be disadvantageous to women because they can have lower chances to be selected for a position due to gender bias and such informal networking benefits men more since men and women have different opportunities to acquire social capital.

Many researches focused on studying what factors affect the position of the artist within the creative field. For example, in one of the paper author focused on the process of consecration by examining which artists that were a part of the Armory Show are present in current art history textbooks as it was previously proved in other study, academic textbooks are an ideal way to evaluate cultural consecration (Braden 2009). The term of consecration was described by Bourdieu (1984) and it means the phenomena of distinguishing artists as worthy of recognition above others, high esteem and praise. The author of the paper examined how characteristics of an artist (including gender) affect the process of consecration. The results show that the number and type of exhibitions that Armory artists garnered at the Museum of Modern Art was the most significant factor of being included in the art history textbooks. As for gender, it was not a significant predictor of inclusion in textbooks but it was significant for exhibiting at MoMA. This finding is important since it was shown previously that MoMA exhibition greatly increases the probability of an artist's inclusion in an art history textbook. The author of the paper showed the way gender can be studied in the context of

the art field and it paid special attention to role of institutionalization which was also mentioned in previously described study by D. Miller (2014): the author described the impact of institutions on consecration by the exposure to certain types of artists while excluding others.

Another important aspect of gender bias in the art field that was covered by previous studies is gender role expectations. Unequal domestic responsibilities, balancing parenting obligations and work have been found out to limit participation in creative practices and career maintenance for female artists (Flisbäck, Lindström 2014). Some of the female artists mentioned how they felt guilty for pursuing their career goal when they felt that they could be spending more attention on their families (Ginis, Stewart, Kronborg 2023).

In one of the papers the author addresses how female artists are systematically disadvantaged across cultural fields and how the artist archetype is symbolically masculinized due to social expectations around artists and their work (Miller 2016). Diana Miller stated the main ways in which it can be manifested. People tend to associate “creative genius” with the behavior that they expect from men and not women and men are consistently favored over women in aesthetic evaluations. More than that, the author mentions how the nature of artistic careers demands that artists participate in behaviors that are more socially acceptable for men than for women, such as self-promotion and entrepreneurial labor.

In addition to previous findings, it was pointed out in another paper what types of different roles expectations there are to women and men and how the definition of genius is masculinised (Davees 1999). The author states how when female artists ignore the needs of others in order to focus on their work, they are perceived as “self-centered and unstable”, however, when men exhibit the same behavior patterns they are called as geniuses and someone “devoted to their calling”.

Another study focused on exploring the relationship between gender and artistic creativity and how female visual artists perceive the role of gender in relation to their art activity (Ginis, Stewart, Kronborg 2023). The findings showed that participants were affected by inequality in the art field based on their gender. They felt that their art works and artistic ability were underestimated compared to male artists which had a great effect on their self-esteem. It was found out that some of the artists started to doubt their artistic abilities and perceived professional exclusion as their personal creative inability rather than gender discrimination. More than that, some of the obstacles participants faced were not unique only for their artistic careers and were common to gender inequalities in other professional fields

such as lower payment, limited access to professional opportunities and underrepresentation. One of the interesting additions to the research field that this paper added was the finding that some of the female artists made emphasis on the fact that their creative ability and identity as an artist transcended gender. They opposed the label of ‘female artist’ because they felt that it diminished their identity as the artist first and created constraints to their works. This way, they felt that their art works were perceived as works created solely about women experience while male artists could have expressed any theme.

A lot of researchers studied artist’s media coverage and art criticism specifically. The authors studied topics that were discussed in art criticism over the past 25 years with the usage of topic modeling on the examples of text from *Frieze* which is a leading art magazine about contemporary art (Roose, Roose, Daenekindt 2018). The essence of the topic modeling algorithm is that it looks for co-occurrences of words in the corpus and generates ‘topics’ which are lists of words with a high probability of co-occurring in the articles. The authors based on the analysis got 15 topics and after the comparison of their use and analysis authors were able to identify key themes in contemporary art discourse and track the evolution of these topics over time. I thought it would also be interesting to implement such methodology in my analysis to see what are the topics and their proportion in art criticism in Russian contemporary art.

The analysis revealed a diversity of topics in art criticism on contemporary art with a wide range of themes related to media and genres discussed in contemporary art discourse such as various genres in contemporary art (architecture, film / cinema, literature, painting / drawing, and etc.), historical perspective towards contemporary art, philosophy, society, technology, and gender / body. The authors state that such thematic diversity reflects the multifaceted nature of contemporary art discourse. They found out that while some topics showed stability, others exhibited fluctuations, indicating shifts in the focus of professional discourse on contemporary art. The analysis showed that all art genres received relatively equal attention with a similar probability of occurrence but visual arts such as painting / drawing and sculpture / installation were more prominent in the discourse.

The authors also pointed out characteristics of contemporary art which I think are important to know before analyzing art criticism of this period. They identified an increased emphasis on societal themes, political engagement, and critical reflection on social issues in contemporary art. Art criticism increasingly addresses politics and the role of art in society, emphasizing themes related to social issues. Artists are challenging the

familiar and taken-for-granted qualities of reality which also extends to societal issues that may have been overlooked. This way, there is a growing awareness within contemporary art of its social position and contemporary art serves as a platform for exploring and challenging complex social issues. Also, the authors mention the interdisciplinary nature of contemporary art discourse: art criticism engaging with philosophical, sociological, historical, and political ideas.

The authors also stated the importance of art criticism and its role from several aspects. It shapes the contemporary art discourse, provides critical insights, interpretations and evaluations that contribute to the understanding and appreciation of artworks within the art world and among audiences. Art critics also play an important role in contributing to the ongoing discourse surrounding contemporary art and providing perspectives that help to understand art not only from aesthetic value but also socio-political dimensions of contemporary art.

Gender bias in media coverage of artists have been studied a lot. C. Nemser (1973) gives several patterns of the way art critics wrote about female artists in the 19th and 20th centuries. The first one is that women were called uncreative with “passive” nature and their ability to create was referred to as “unconscious” or even imitation of work of male artists rather than the product of their work. Therefore, since women’s creativity was referred to this way there was a specific vocabulary for describing female artists’ works such as emotional, sensitive, spontaneous. Also, critics tended to call female artists’ creative ability as something intuitive and therefore not mention their accomplishments. Another characteristic was the focus on the choice of subject of artists’ work: critics praised when women based their art on femininity and pictured something along playing children or “young women preparing to look their best”. Critics also referred to chosen techniques and style as something influenced by artists’ “female nature”. Women’s art was regarded a lot in comparison to the male artists and were told to be worse than them or to be assessed in their own realm because of the “feminine character” of their art. Critics also praised female artists when their art works resembled more of characteristics of male artists. I thought that it would be interesting to see if some of these patterns can be found in art criticism of contemporary artists such as for example the usage of specific words or comparison to male artists.

In another paper Deepwell K. (2020) mentions how journalists write less about female artists in journals and newspapers even though they are presented more in the art exhibitions. She points out that throughout the years there have been more works made by female artists presented in museums

and galleries: there was a shift from 10 to 30–50% of presented artists in major art exhibitions such as Documenta.

In one of the papers authors studied newspaper coverage of female artists and how it changed over the years on the example of newspapers publishing from 1955 to 2005 in different countries (Berkers, Verboord, Weij 2016). The findings demonstrate that coverage of female artists in elite newspapers stayed stable over the last 50 years, still being around 20–25%, even though there was an increase in the level of women's employment in the art field. The paper shows that one of the manifestations of gender bias in art is that people write less about female artists than about male.

Mangani A. (2021) examined potential gender bias in reviews of albums published in music magazines. I chose to read this article to see how the methodology was structured to implement some elements into my paper. Even though the studying case was not visual art, it still focuses on female artists in culture industries, so I decided to read papers about this topic too since it is closely connected to how female visual artists are presented in the media. The author looked at the following characteristics in the analysis: musical genre, the gender composition of the bands, the personal characteristics of the artists (experience, nationality), the type of magazine that published the reviews, and the sex of the journalists who wrote the reviews.

The analysis of the number of words in review showed that the reviews of female albums consist of fewer words than the male albums. To assess the variable “attitude” of reviewers towards the albums, people were asked to evaluate reviews as negative, neutral or positive (–1,0 or +1 respectively). I would also take into account such variable in my analysis but I thought it would be better to assess the attitude variable through the sentiment analysis of the review.

The results showed that female journalists tend to disfavor female albums more than male journalists but the difference was not statistically significant, so I think it is important to read more papers that studied such association. For example, in contrast to that finding Armstrong (2004) shows that the sex of the reporter has a significant influence on the source selection in American newspaper stories in a way that “female writers were more likely to write about women and showcase women in news coverage, whereas male writers were more likely to include males in their stories”. Also, there was a finding that even though women are underrepresented in the coverage of all artistic genres, there is some evidence of sex segregation particularly in architecture (stereotypical masculine) and modern dance and fashion (stereotypical feminine) which supports the finding mentioned in paper by Conor, Gill, Taylor (2015) about sex segregation in creative professions.

Feigenbaum (2005) also studied the way people write about women in the music industry: to be specific, the author focused on how in criticism of the rock genre people can devalue and discredit female artists. The author analyzed 100 articles about a female singer published within 1993 and 2003 in print and online magazines and newspapers.

The analysis concentrated on three main aspects of the language used in rock criticism: the presence and way of comparison of female artists to each other and to men; gendered patterns in language used in description of female artists; the use of metaphorical gender terminology in descriptions of fans, lyrical and musical analyses, and artist background information.

This study demonstrates the usage of gendered wording and differences in media coverage of male and female artists which reflect gender bias in creative fields and, as the author states, “positions women as exceptions rather than integral members of the music community” (Feigenbaum 2005). Part of the specific traits of reviews about female artists that were formulated in the paper are the following:

1. Critics tend to compare women artists to each other and to male artists which can devalue the work of the artist herself and affect a lot how the work is perceived. The author mentioned an interesting finding that comparisons with male artists were mostly positive-positive while comparisons to women were also positive-negative and negative-negative. This difference in comparison types may reflect biases and stereotypes in rock criticism. Also, while comparing women with other female artists critics sometimes emphasize the “feminine” nature of their music, this way referring to them as a separate category of music and limiting their artistry.

2. Critics use gendered wording — adjectives with gender connotations — to describe female artists which reinforce stereotypes and limit their artistry. For example, referring to female artists as ‘sensitive’ or ‘emotional’ may reinforce traditional gender roles and expectations. The author also mentioned how such usage of gendered language can contribute to the marginalization of women in the music industry: this can reinforce the idea that women’s music is a separate category.

3. Articles on female artists tend to focus more on their image and personality rather than their artistic work and music which contribute to objectifying portrayal of women in rock criticism.

4. The existence of double standards in media coverage: for example, female artists tend to be judged more because of their image or lifestyle while male artists do not perceive such harsh criticism because of the same things and are primarily evaluated based on their musical talent.

Database description

Data that was collected for the analysis is art exhibitions reviews and texts about upcoming and currently going exhibitions that the reviewer did not visit. I considered the later part of the texts about art exhibitions still important for the analysis even though it is not reviews directly because they still show the amount of times people write about works of female and male artists and can consist of words which show how artists and their works are viewed by reviewers. For example, it can be a recommendation to visit the exhibition, praise of the artist because of their previous works or their biography. I collected reviews about solo exhibitions of artists but also collected texts about mixed exhibitions if artists of only one gender were mentioned.

The exhibitions have taken place in Russia in the last five years and displayed the works of contemporary artists. I choose contemporary art for my analysis because of its characteristics as the most modern form of art that is interlinked a lot with society and has a high level of social and political engagement: artists tend to cover social and political issues through their works, critique what is happening in the world. Therefore, it was interesting to see how gender distribution and attitude towards artworks made by artists of different gender looks like in this field.

The time frame for Russian contemporary art is usually defined as the four latest decades and it is also a time when the institutions of contemporary art started to appear such as museums and galleries (Максунова 2018). For example, galleries of contemporary art started to appear in Moscow at the end of 20th century where visitors were able to look at and buy paintings of artists and one of such examples are The MARS Center for Contemporary Art that was opened in 1988 and Moscow Museum of Modern Art that was opened in 1999.

Based on this time frame, I collected reviews of exhibitions of artists with their works made from the 1980s to the present days but it mostly contains the art works created from the 2000s. The data was collected from The Art Newspaper Russia ($n=64$) which is a magazine dedicated to world art news that has daily online updates mostly with articles that will further be a part of the printed edition of the magazine and magazine articles about art exhibitions which were available in public.ru through HSE library ($n=2$). The other source of data was Telegram channels of Russian journalists ($n=61$). I decided to include such data source because nowadays a lot of media outlets and journalists publish their texts on this social media and more than that, I thought it would be interesting to

compare if people write different types of reviews for magazines and for their Telegram channels. I chose channels whose authors are journalists and had or currently are publishing in magazines in Russia that are related to the art field and those who published books about art. The list of authors is the following: Ksenia Korobeynikova (channel “ку-ку”) art critic and journalist who also worked with one of the biggest museum of contemporary art in Russia “Garage”; Sofia Bagdasarova (channel “ШАККО: ОБ ИСКУС-СТВЕ”) art critic, writer, journalist who also writes for The Art Newspaper; Natasha Kryuchkova (channel “я поведу тебя в музей”) art critic and journalist who also writes for The Art Newspaper; Alexander Radaev (channel “парнасский пересмешник”) journalist, writer, specialist in the field of cultural history.

Methodology

I applied text analysis techniques for analysis of reviews. Firstly, as it was also used as a part of methodology in studies of art criticism, I counted the proportion of reviews written about female and male artists. I also looked at such distribution between reviewers of different genders to see if media coverage of female and male artists would differ depending on who writes reviews about them. Another finding that was discovered in the literature was the difference in length of reviews written about artists of different genders, so I also counted and compared such metrics.

Another part of the analysis was the most used unique words used for different categories of reviews. I calculated this with the usage of Term Frequency-Inverse Document Frequency metrics: it is a multiplication of frequency of a word appearance in a document and inverse document frequency which looks at the importance of the word in the whole corpus. This metric helps to evaluate how important the word in a document is compared to collection of documents.

I applied sentiment analysis to see if sentiment of used words would differ between reviews of different categories. I used the Russian Sentiment Lexicon RuSentiLex dataset where each word was categorized as positive, negative, neutral or positive / negative in cases when it depends on a context.

While reading studies on the topic of gender bias in media coverage of artists, authors of one of the papers used topic modeling which I also decided to apply to see if collected data can be divided into subtopics. I used Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) which is the algorithm that helps to find the hidden thematic structure in collections of text. It represents each document as a mixture of topics, where each topic is characterized by a distribution

of words. The model estimates the probability of words appearing in topics and assigns words to topics based on these probabilities.

As it was mentioned, while collecting data from the magazines I decided to also collect reviews written in social platform Telegram in channels of Russian journalists, so another part of the analysis was the comparison of mentioned metrics and characteristics of texts written in different sources. I thought it would be an interesting case to consider since the magazine is a more formal source of art criticism, even though the authors that I chose for my analysis are not general public but journalists some of whom worked or are still working for one of the magazines which was also a source of collected data. Aside from quantitative metrics, there is also a part of qualitative analysis with observations that were noticed during reading of the texts.

Results

1. The first part of the analysis was the comparison of the amount of reviews written about male and female artists. The analysis showed that 29,9% of reviews were written about female artists and 70,1% of reviews were written about male artists. So, the proportion of media coverage of female artists is much smaller compared to male artists and this finding corresponds to literature review and described cases from different countries.

Then I compared this distribution in different sources and found out that there are still more reviews written about male artists in both types of media (77,3% in magazines and 62,3% in Telegram), however the proportion of texts written about women is bigger in Telegram (fig. 1). From the total number of reviews written about female artists 39,5% of texts were from magazines and 60,5% were from Telegram

Another dimension of comparison of texts written about different artists is the difference between reviewers of different gender. It can be observed that within reviews written by women they tend to write more about female artists than men do and vice versa for male reviewers: women wrote 71% of total texts about female artists and 61% of total texts about male artists, while men wrote 7,9% of total texts about female artists and 21,3% of total texts about male artists (fig. 2). However, the difference seems small, so I performed a chi-squared test to check if there is statistically significant difference between reviewers of different gender. All assumptions for test were met but the test showed that there is actually no statistically significant difference between who reviewers choose to write texts about — female or male artists.

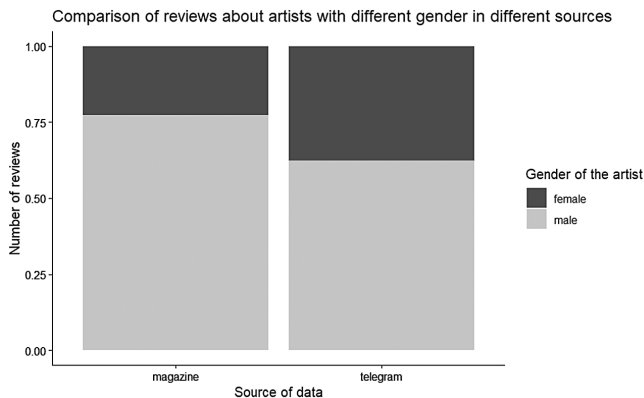


Fig. 1. Graph with distribution of reviews about artists with different gender in different sources (magazines and Telegram)

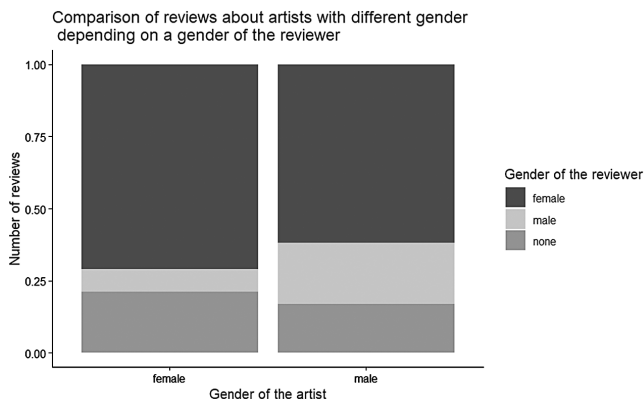


Fig. 2. Graph with distribution of reviews about artists of different gender between reviewers of different genders

2. Next part of the analysis was the comparison of lengths of the reviews, since it was found out in a previous study on this topic that reviews about female artists tend to consist of fewer words than texts about men. I created a variable with the length of reviews by using a function that counts the number of used letters in the text and calculates the mean number of length for texts about female and male artists. As it was assumed, texts about men consist of more words: the mean length of reviews about men is 2191 letters and 1538 letters for texts about women.

The difference between two groups seemed drastic, so I assumed that it could be because data also included reviews about exhibitions where multiple artists are presented which tend to be longer than usual and that usually mention male artists. So, I deleted these cases ($n=4$) to compare the length of reviews. The results did not change by great extent — the mean length of reviews about men became 2106 letters and 1494 letters for texts about women (fig. 3). So, there is still a pattern in art criticism that reviews about female artists are shorter.

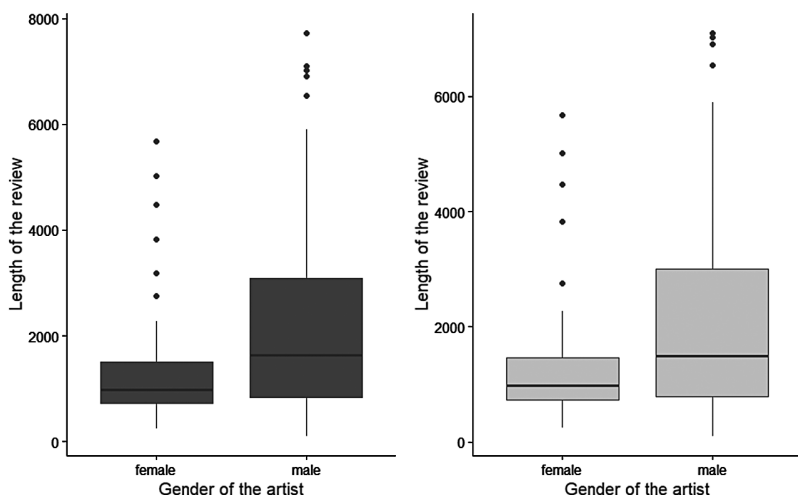


Fig. 3. First graph: the mean length of reviews within different gender of the artist. Second graph: the mean length of reviews within different gender of the artist in the filtered dataset

One of the potential reasons for reviews of female artists to be smaller in size could be the fact that the bigger part of texts about women were from Telegram channels, so to see if it affected the general results I also compared the lengths of reviews between different sources. It showed that as expected the mean length of texts collected in Telegram is smaller, however within reviews from the magazines texts about male artists still have far more words than about women which proves that it is not the effect of a Telegram and this pattern is consistent in both media sources. Also, there is an interesting finding that the length of reviews about female artists is higher in Telegram but the difference between mean lengths of texts of different artists' gender in Telegram is not as extreme as in magazines (fig. 4).

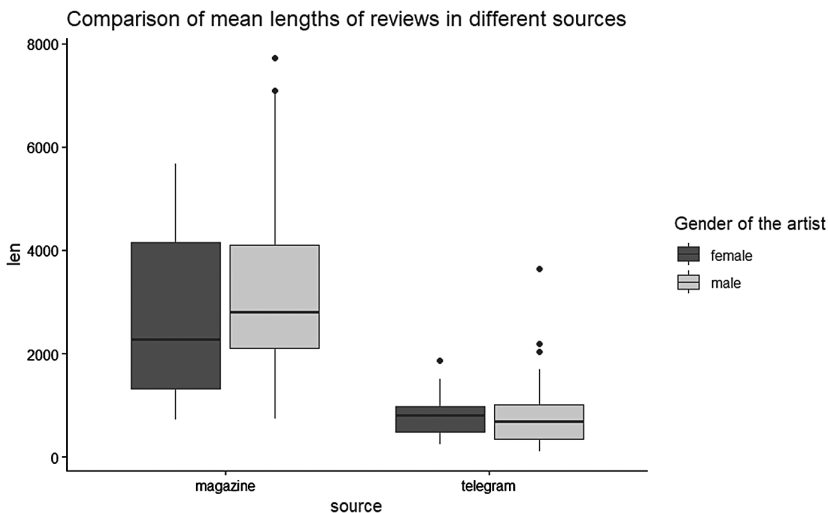


Fig. 4. Graph with comparison of mean lengths of texts from different sources

3. Next part of the analysis was a comparison of the frequency of unique words used in different categories of reviews. First step was the text preparation. I performed lemmatization which is the process of changing words to their root form. The other parts of text pre-processing were tokenization (breaking text in words), deleting stop words (set dictionary of most used words that are not important for text analysis), setting all words to lowercase and deleting digits. The dataset after preprocessing has 9535 observations.

As it was mentioned in the part with the methodology, I used Term Frequency-Inverse Document Frequency metrics to identify most used unique words and by looking at the lists of words there are no clear observed distinctions in wording of reviews depending on a gender of the artists (fig. 5). Most of the most used words are the same for two categories and those that differ do not bring any conclusions about differences between the texts. It can be seen from the graph that the reviews of female artists include the distinct words “home” and “world” which could be indication of subtopics that are mentioned while reviewing female artists but reading through the context where these words are used showed that it does not indicate the difference between texts about female and male artists. For example, the word “home” was mentioned a lot in one of the reviews because it was used in metaphor of comparison of museum and home by the artist herself.

The comparison of most used words in different sources and between different gender separately in magazines and Telegram also did not reveal any specific usage of unique words in context of reviewing male and female artists (fig. 6, 7).

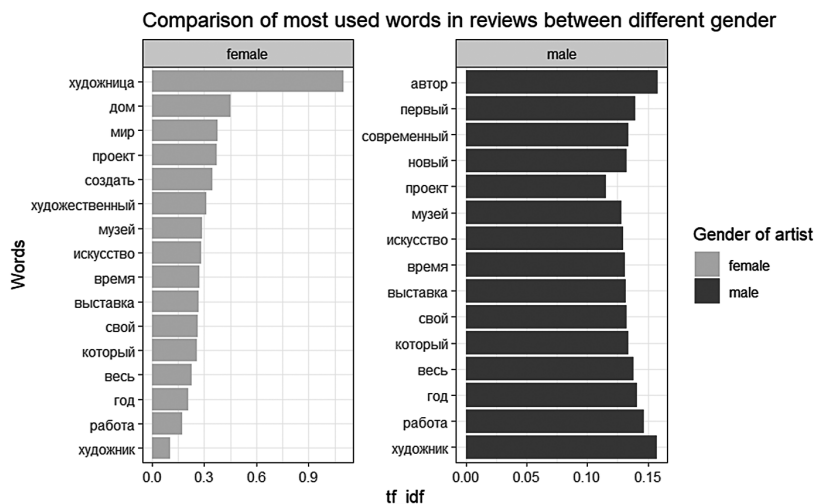


Fig. 5. Most used words in reviews of artists with different gender

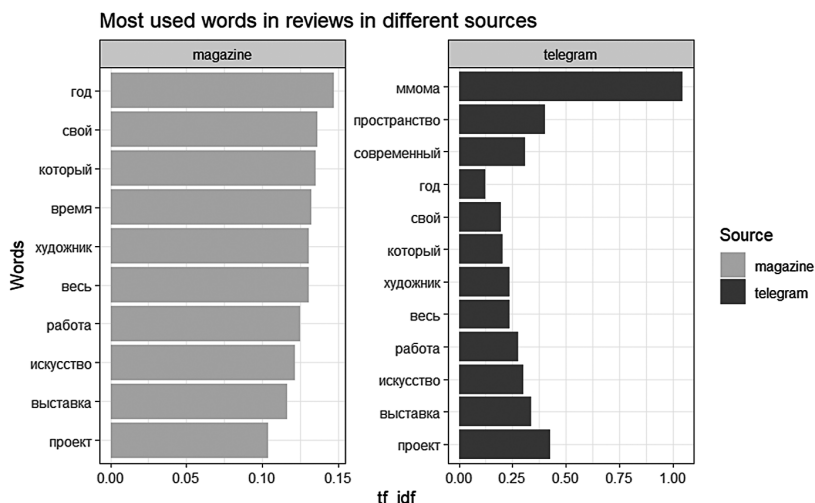


Fig. 6. Most used words in reviews in different sources

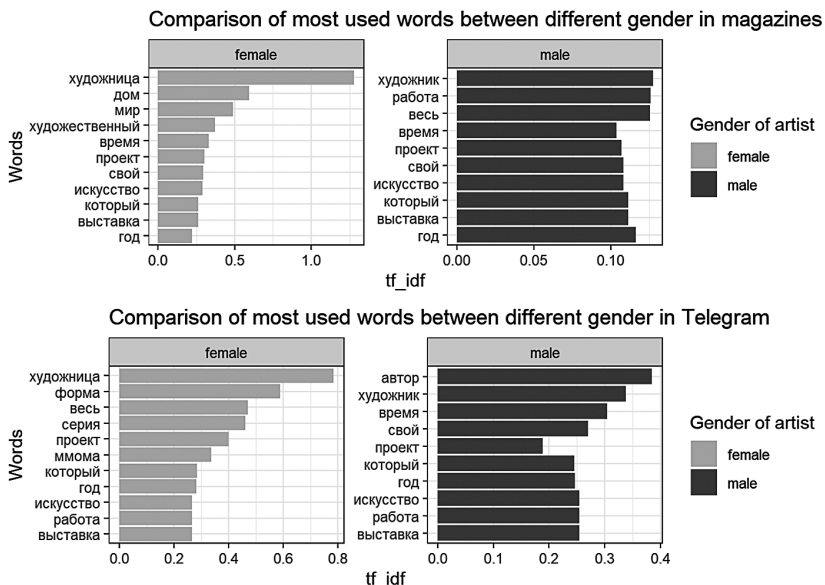


Fig. 7. Most used words in reviews of artists with different gender in magazines and Telegram separately

4. I made four sentiment analyses to compare the use of sentiment for different gender of artists in all data, use of sentiment between different sources and separately use of sentiment for different artists in magazines and Telegram separately. It was shown that there is a higher level of positive words in reviews about female artists but the difference is not too high. 55,5% of words in texts about female artists have positive sentiment while for male artists the number is 49,2% (fig. 8).

I performed a chi-squared test to check whether this difference is statistically significant. I deleted positive / negative sentiment to compare the other three sentiments, so that the assumptions for the test are met and there are enough observations. The test showed that there is statistically significant difference, however the standardized residuals showed that the conclusion can only be made about neutral and positive sentiment of words. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a slightly higher level of used positive sentiment for female artists and neutral sentiment for male artists. It is important to mention, that it does not mean that there are more positive reviews written about female artists than male but there are more used words that are marked as positive in the sentiment dictionary. For

example, there are such positive words used as “живописный”, “радость”, “эйфория”.

The comparison between different sources showed that there is more positive sentiment in reviews written in Telegram and more neutral and negative sentiment in reviews from the magazine which was then also proven by the chi-squared test (fig. 9). However, the difference is not by great extent: 56,6% of words in reviews from Telegram have positive sentiment while in magazines the number is 49,2%.

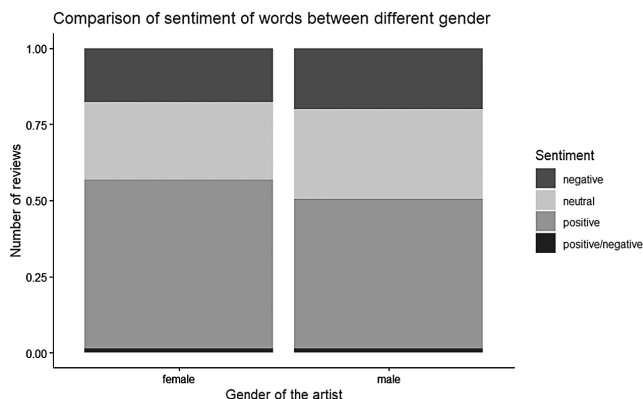


Fig. 8. Sentiment of words used in reviews of artists with comparison of different gender

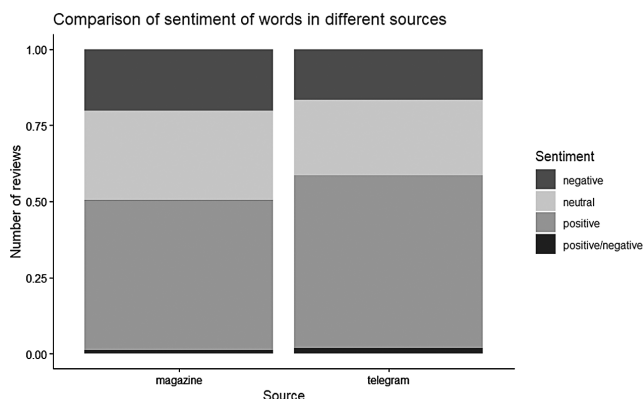


Fig. 9. Sentiment of words used in reviews of artists with comparison of different sources

I decided to compare the use of sentiment between genders separately in different sources since it was found out that the levels are different between genders and between sources and I assumed it could be interlinked. It was found out that the use of positive sentiment for female artists is higher in Telegram than in magazines by 7,1% (Figure 10). It may be interlinked with the fact that there is a higher percentage of positive words used in texts about female artists and positive words overall used for both genders in Telegram since the proportion of reviews written about women is higher in Telegram.

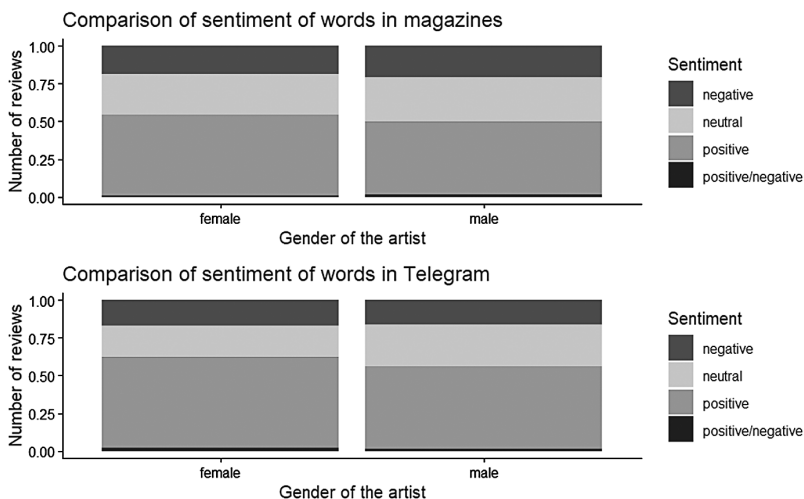


Fig. 10. Sentiment of words used in reviews of artists with comparison of different gender in magazines and Telegram separately

5. With the usage of Latent Dirichlet Allocation I decided to see if there could be specific subtopics when authors write about female and male artists. I set the number of topics to three and by comparing lists of words for subtopics, it can be observed that there is no explicit categorization for subtopics and no significant difference between distribution of words between genders (fig. 11).

6. There were also several observations noticed during qualitative analysis of reviews. As it was found out in quantitative analysis, the mean length of reviews about female artists is much shorter than about men and I noticed a pattern which could be a reason for it. When writing texts about male artists, authors tend to focus a lot on their biography and accomplishments in the art field which is mentioned less and focused on not till that extent in texts about female artists. One of the potential reasons for this pattern can be the fact

some of the reviewed male artists are a part of contemporary art but were also active in the past century when there were less women in the art field as there are now. Therefore, there is more information about their biography and they are more well known in the field. Interesting finding is that there is no such drastic difference in biography coverage between different genders of artists in reviews in Telegram and it can only be found in magazines.

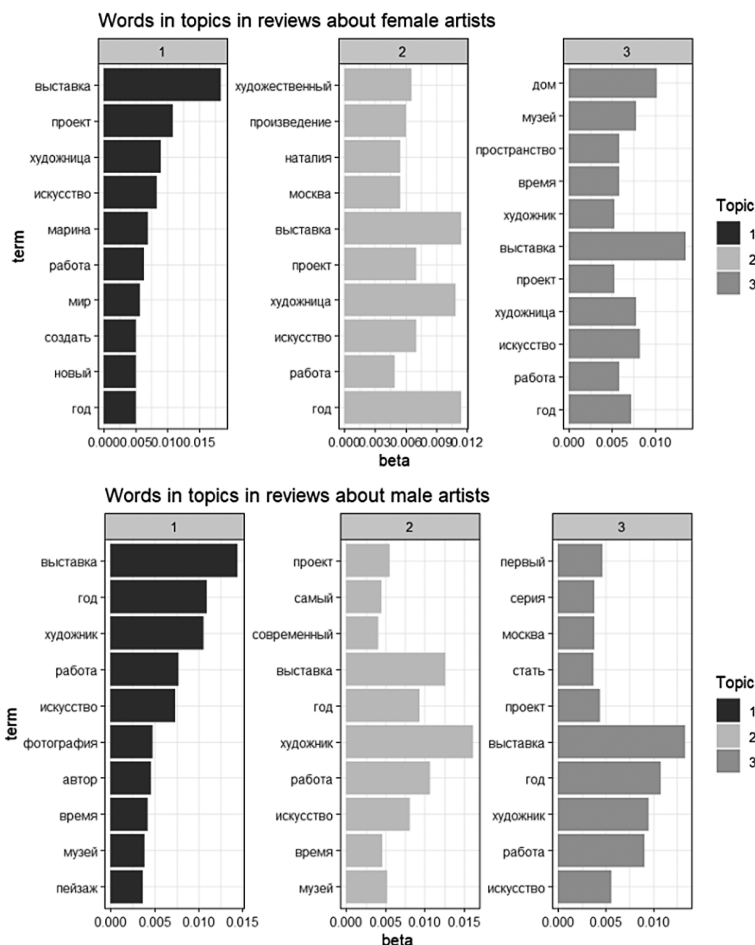


Fig. 11. The graph on the left: list of words belonging to subtopics in reviews about female artists. The graph on the right: list of words belonging to subtopics in reviews about male artists

Also, there are several reviews about exhibitions that are dedicated to anniversaries of the artists who are mostly male. Such exhibitions can be seen as an act of consecration that was explained by Bourdieu: such exhibitions and their media coverage makes the artist be perceived as someone who is worthy of recognition and whose work is worthy to be celebrated and to have an exhibition dedicated to them. And the prevalence of such exhibitions for male artists can be one of the manifestations of gender bias in the art field. Another pattern in art reviews is the presence of reviews about exhibitions that are dedicated solely to female artists with the goal of raising awareness about women in the art field and the authors of reviews talk about the exhibition purpose explicitly.

As for some of the results from previous studies in gender bias in criticism, no comparison of female artists to male artists, specific focus on their personal life and disapproval of their behavior were not noticed in reviews.

As it was already mentioned, differences between reviews of male and female artists are distinct in Telegram and magazines and more than that, there are several more differences between sources of reviews. Authors use less formal language in reviews in Telegram and express more their own opinion about artists, direct recommendation of visiting the exhibition and their own interpretation of art works. In contrast, authors in magazines mostly provide interpretation of artists' work, speeches and also interpretation by exhibition curators and artists and artists biographical information. Such things can also be referred to in reviews written in Telegram but authors tend to provide their opinion too. Also, authors in Telegram sometimes express their judgment about the work structure of museum or exhibition curators and such criticism is not found in texts written in magazines.

Conclusion

The analysis of reviews of male and female artists revealed the presence of gender bias in contemporary art criticism in Russia with several manifestations. The first part of the analysis showed that women receive less attention than male artists with only 29,9% of total reviews being written about female artists. However, the proportion of reviews written about female artists is bigger in Telegram than in magazines which was the first distinction found between different sources of art criticism.

Second manifestation of gender bias that was found was the difference in lengths of the reviews — texts about female artists tend to contain less words while taking into account overall data. However, while comparing

this metric separately in different sources it was found out that the mean length is slightly higher for reviews about female artists in Telegram but drastically smaller in magazines. One of the reasons for longer length of reviews written about male artists is a greater focus on the biographies and accomplishments of male artists particularly in magazine reviews.

These findings correspond with Bourdieu's theory of cultural consecration (1984) and also demonstrate the role of institutionalization in this process which was also mentioned in the Braden's (2009) study which examined what artists' characteristics affect if they will be included in art history textbooks. It can be observed that male artists are distinguished more as worthy of recognition in the art field and such institutions as media and magazines particularly determine the level of exposure that artists have and directly impact on consecration of male artists: a greater focus on male artists and exclusion of female artists in media coverage which reinforces established gender norms and biases.

Interesting observation was revealed that the positive sentiment of words is slightly higher for female artists and reviews written in Telegram channels which can be interlinked since the proportion of reviews written about women is higher in Telegram. Overall, no specific gender wording and unique words used specifically for male and female artists were found. It was also found out that there is no relationship between gender of the reviewer and gender of the artist.

One of the main findings alongside the presence of gender bias in art criticism is also the difference between two sources of art reviews and the way gender bias is manifested in them which corresponds with Verboord's (2011) theory on the democratizing effect of online media. The author studied the distinctions in criticism of cultural products in different media and stated that online attention to artistic products offers a more democratic and diverse media coverage of artists and promotion of their work than traditional media which historically played a formal and institutionalized role in criticism of cultural products.

Magazines and Telegram channels can be contrasted as a traditional print media and online platform with more informal discussion of cultural products and less structured criticism. Such media coverage as in Telegram and other online platforms allows for a larger number of cultural products to receive attention which is beneficial for those artists who are in a more disadvantageous position and can be overlooked in traditional media. As it was seen from the results, female artists are mentioned more in Telegram than in reviews written in magazines and also it was found out in study by Verboord M. (2011) how for example female authors are almost two times more likely to get ratings

on online media platforms like Amazon and Goodreads than male authors. Mentioned above differences between media sources can be observed not only through changes in the proportion of reviews about female artists in Telegram but also through the presence of criticism of work of museum and curators and expression of personal opinion on the work of artists.

Limitations and further research

It would be interesting for the further research to analyze data from other online sources and texts written not by professional critics and journalists but by the general public. Even when taking data from Telegram, I still considered journalists and art critics who have different levels of symbolic capital and professionalism compared to the general public and still distinctions between media coverage of female and male artists in different types of media were found. Therefore, new distinctions of media coverage and art criticism could be found taking into account how online platforms provide a lot of space for a discussion for different people with no institutionalized barriers as in magazines.

One of the limitations of the research is the small dataset and few Telegram channels of male journalists because of the general lower presence of it. Even though it was found out that there is no relationship between the gender of the reviewer and the artist, such constraint may affect the representativeness of the sample since the findings might not fully show the broader patterns of gender bias in art criticism within different media sources. There would be more male authors of the reviews if the general public is taken as a data source. Also, general extension of collected data may provide new and more representative findings that show a deeper picture of gender bias in art criticism in Russia.

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Статья поступила в редакцию: 05.02.2025;
поступила после рецензирования и доработки: 10.03.2025;
принята к публикации: 11.03.2025.

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GENDER BIAS IN ART CRITICISM IN RUSSIA IN XXIst CENTURY

Abstract. Analysis of research papers shows that cultural capital defines one's social position in the field of cultural production including the field of art. In the context of art production and critique, cultural capital affects the way people evaluate and interpret the works of artists. Several studies have proven the presence of gender bias in the art field which manifests in representation, evaluation, career opportunities in the art field and different social expectations around artists depending on their gender. So, I thought that it would be interesting to study if there is a difference in the way people write critique about works of female and male artists, especially considering the fact that there are not a lot of studies that are focusing on this topic in Russia. The data for the analysis is reviews from art magazines and social media platform Telegram. I used text analysis and statistical tests to examine the difference between reviews: the words used by critics, amount of reviews written, the sentiment conveyed in their reviews, topic modeling and whether these factors vary depending on the artist's gender and media where the reviews were published. Results of the analysis showed the presence of gender bias in contemporary art criticism in Russia with several manifestations such as lower amount and lengths of reviews written about female artists. Another important finding was the difference between magazines and Telegram channels (traditional print media compared to online platforms with more informal discussion of cultural products and less structured criticism). The analysis revealed that female artists are mentioned more in Telegram than in reviews written in magazines.

Keywords: gender inequality, cultural study, art field, art criticism, text analysis

For citation: Bukharova A. S. Gender Bias in Art Criticism in Russia in 21st century. St. Petersburg Sociology Today. 2025. No. 27. P. 14–40. DOI: 10.25990/socinstras.pss-27.m1xh-8n24; EDN: HOCTDF

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Received: 05.02.2025;
revised after review: 10.03.2025;
accepted for publication: 11.03.2025.