IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca

Lucca, Italy

An Organizational Model for Contemporary Art
Art Democratization and Sustainability in the Post Global Age

PhD Program in Management and Development of Cultural Heritage

XXVII Cycle

By

Diletta Storace

2015

Reviewers Page

The dissertation of Diletta Storace is approved.

Program Coordinator: Prof. Emanuele Pellegrini, IMT Lucca

Supervisors: Prof. Maria Luisa Catoni, IMT Lucca
Prof. Wendy Griswold, Northwestern University

Tutor: Prof. Maria Luisa Catoni, IMT Lucca

The dissertation of Diletta Storace has been reviewed by:

Professor Nathalie Heinich, CNRS and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

Professor Riccardo Venturi, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris

IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca

2015

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I wish to thank and acknowledge my advisors, Professor Maria Luisa Catoni and Professor Wendy Griswold, for their fundamental guidance, knowledge, understanding and advice.
I warmly thank Wendy for her continuous support, for the beautiful moments spent together in New York and in Italy and for the precious encouragements she has always given to me. I am deeply indebted to Wendy for her sponsorship at Northwestern University to be hosted as a visiting scholar and I would as well love to thank Murielle Harris and all the staff at the International Office in Evanston for their incredible kindness.

My deep gratitude goes to Andrea Zocchi for his support at an early stage and advice for the development of my study. I would also love to acknowledge the whole faculty and visiting professors at IMT Lucca and, in particular, Professor Stefano Baia Curioni for his inspiring classes.
I want to acknowledge the external evaluators, Professor Nathalie Heinich and Professor Riccardo Venturi, for their thorough comments on my work which I was then able to revise and re-examine in depth.

I am especially grateful to Anne Barlow and to the entire Board of Directors of Art in General; it has been an honor and such a pleasant experience to work together. I also want to thank all the artists (too many to be listed) that I have met during the past three years whose work has inspired me and with whom I could share and discuss my ideas.
I would love to thank Alain Seban, President of the Centre Georges Pompidou, for his prompt helpfulness in sharing reports and data on the Centre Pompidou and its projects, as well as Piero Cantini and the staff at the Centro Pecci in Prato for the time dedicated to me.
I thank Richard Brodsky, former New York State Assemblyman, for sharing his knowledge of the New York art market and for the very inspiring chats, as well as Professor Boris Groys, from New York University, for the time he dedicated to my interviews.

I immensely thank my family for all their support and, most of all, my husband Nicola whose unconditional love is source of great inspiration and faith. Thank you!

Vita and Publications

VITA

January 13, 1985	Born, Florence, Italy
2004	Diploma, Liceo Classico Michelangiolo, Florence
2008-2009	Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture PARIS-BELLEVILLE, Paris
2011	Master's Degree in Architecture Final Marks: 110/110 cum Laude Università degli Studi di Firenze, Florence, Italy
2012	PhD Scholarship award, Università degli Studi di Firenze, Facoltà di Architettura, Florence, Italy
Jan 2014 - July 2015	Visiting Scholar, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, U.S.A.
March 2014- June 2015	Development Fellow, Art in General, New York, NY

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Storace D. (2014) "Centre Pompidou Mobile. Caso studio per una nuova museologia", *PREDELLA Journal of Visual Art*, issn 1827-8657

Storace D. (2013) “Florens2012. Facciamo il punto sui beni culturali in Italia”, *PREDELLA Journal of Visual Art*, issn 1827-8655

Storace D., “Democratization of Art Production and Consumption”, Conference “HERITAGE. IMAGES. IDEOLOGY”, LYNX, IMT Advanced Studies Lucca, Lucca, Italy, January 2015

Storace D., “An Organizational Model for Contemporary Art Promotion”, Culture and Society Workshop, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, November 2014

Abstract

Despite the involvement of a mass public and new gatekeepers, contemporary art production has not become more accessible to the general public nor to artists, and the art system appears to be not evenly diffused across geographies and social classes.

This dissertation focuses on the question of how to resolve the geographical imbalance of the contemporary art world by creating a new possible ecological system for artists and minorities at the local level. It investigates the effects of the processes of globalization and democratization on the consumption and production of contemporary art by questioning whether or not these processes are encouraging a global and equal participation into the art debate.

The research is supported by the analysis of three case-studies, "Artisti a Km0" project by the Pecci Center in Prato, Italy; the Pompidou Mobile, France; Art in General, nonprofit organization in New York. The analysis of the relationship between the three institutions and their local communities intends to shed light on the issues that a cultural institution must face in its balance between the global art world and its local instances, and to define guidelines for the development of local art production and distribution.

The three case studies, although all equally dealing with a social and democratizing aim, differ according to the relationship they have with their local communities. The analysis demonstrates that there is a correlation across different geographical levels and a common necessity of safeguard of cultural differences at the local level, which represents the fundamental premises for the development of sustainable ecologies of local art production and distribution.

Finally the research outlines a methodological proposal able to work as a practical solution on the field; a new organizational model, Hub, is proposed as a self-sustainable and durable model for the spread of local contemporary art.

Introduction

During the last two decades the art world has been experiencing a period of impressive changes, in both its structure and social role. On the one hand, the radical evolutions of post-modern society have had a profound impact on the art system worldwide, from outside to inside the system. Factors like mass tourism, the internationalization and financialization of markets, the dematerialization of goods and the democratization and circulation of knowledge have drastically changed our everyday relationship with art as well as that of the role of cultural institutions within society.

On the other hand, recent economic attention to contemporary art, the transposition of the art object into a commodity and the parallel empowerment of the infrastructure of the arts have led to a concurrent transformation of the inner structure of the art world. The combination of these intertwined forces, both extrinsic and intrinsic to the art world, have brought about rapid and profound social and structural changes in almost all sectors of the art system.

Major structural changes have also enveloped the art market which, as of the 1970s, has gradually moved towards the adoption of a financial model similar to those of typical asset categories. From that moment on, the fine arts have increasingly been considered an investment for bank loans and pension funds and an opportunity for portfolio diversification as an insurance policy against risks.[1] At the same time, the development of a globalized marketplace over the last two decades has allowed new super wealthy buyers, mainly from the so-called BRIC countries, to access the art market and to pour a great deal of new money into a system that was until then almost exclusively in the hands of Western society.

---

[1] In 1974 the British Rail Pension Fund launched its first program of art investment that was followed, five years later, by Citibank's Art Advisory Service. Horowitz N., 2011: 9

In post-modern society, which is characterized by the massive dematerialization of goods and the progressively fluid network of exchanges among countries, the smaller, elitist art world has become a globalized and more aggressive system primarily pivoting around the role of the art market and contemporary art.

As a potentially infinite source for the market, contemporary art has become the symbol and main pole of interest of this newly configured art world, with a market sector whose worth jumped from $48 million in the late 1990s to $1.3 billion in 2008, representing 16 percent of the global art trade.[2]

As a consequence of the rapid upsurge of the market, commercialization has become a driving force in the art system and has given rise to the international boom of commercial art events. In the past decade there has been an impressive growth of the mass market, specifically with regard to the number of art fairs, biennials and private contemporary spaces around the globe, and also a parallel empowerment of auction houses and multinational galleries.

The strengthening of market forces within the system has also led to a corrosion of the hierarchies that regulated the value of art. Up until recently, the figure of the art expert – critic or curator – was entrusted with the task of selecting artists and determining the importance of an art object, a value that could then be converted into financial terms. The artistic evaluation of experts determined the economic potential of the artists; said potential was subsequently cultivated by the art dealer, whose job was to then connect the art work with a collector. In other words, art experts (intellectuals and academics) selected worthy artists and validated their presence in the art world, while dealers and collectors provided the framework for the economical sustainability of culture.

[2] Horowitz N., 2011: 8

Today, the value-making system based on experts' judgement has been replaced by a system dominated by art dealers and collectors. Figures like Larry Gagosian, the owner of the eponymous gallery with venues in several countries, have the power to promote their artists independently from the evaluations of experts, whose role is thus undermined and replaced by a regime based on the market and on the relationship between dealer and collector.[3]

These changes in the structure of the art system have been accompanied by a social and political transformation of culture and are epitomized by the growing importance of

Fig. 1 Duane Hanson, *Supermarket Shopper*, 1970
Polyester resin and fiberglass, polychromed in oil,
mixed media with accessories

[3] Graw I., 2010: 123

museums and their changing role within society. Conceived as the cathedrals of the new Millennium, the number of museums and cultural institutions has risen dramatically: more than 200 museums were opened around Europe between 1995 and 2008[4], with an average of more than 15 new museums per year.

Museums have progressed from being static repositories of knowledge to active centers of social relations and education addressing the public on a mass scale. Today they are being called on to become tools for social and economic improvements – as a means of boosting the local economy and of merging cultural differences as well as being places for entertainment, education, and the creation of social identity. Moreover, culture and cultural institutions have become a way to achieve multi-dimensional values, from intellectual and social to market and political values. This vocation impels museums to grow and enlarge their scope, becoming centers of multiple activities offering a variety of attractions, from shops, bars and restaurants to exhibits, performances and lectures.

Art has also become very popular in recent years; record-breaking sales at auctions attract the media and art insiders are given a visibility usually reserved for pop stars. Contemporary art has acquired the fillip of a sort of voyeuristic fixation and is regarded as the domain of the super-rich who are willing to organize galas and openings while competing with one another at auctions.

Contrasting this elite group in the art world is the growing involvement on a mass scale of the public in the consumption of art. For every millionaire collector, there are countless others who may be limited to visiting museums but who do so as if they were cathedrals and thus cooperate in the creation of the auratic value of art.

[4] Baia Curioni, Forti, Martinazzoli, 2011

As real industries of culture, museums and cultural institutions, whether publicly or privately owned, must compete for their very existence in an international arena where they are all linked together in an extremely complex system of interdependencies. In the present research art is in fact considered a collective activity that is, as Becker put it (Becker: 1982), a combination and coordination of a series of activities that different people engage in for the purpose of obtaining a particular work of art. All of these people and activities are part

Fig. 2 Andy Warhol, *Dollar Sign*, 1981
Synthetic polymer paint and silkscreen ink on canvas,
228.6 x 177.8 cm, Private Collection

of a broad and intricate system – the art world – with its own set of conventional meanings.

Some claim that it is impossible to defy the art world system, for it does not function in a sequential, practical way but rather as an interrelated, and often conflicting, set of subcultures. The art world is in fact divided among different clusters of interests, like the narrative or philosophy of art, artistic production, the market, the public and political agendas – all of which pursue and fight for different aspects of the phenomenon.

Curators and critics are interested in the intellectual sphere of art; they promote artists in museums and strive for their historicization. Dealers and auctioneers have a stake in the economical aspects of art; they devise strategies to foster artists' careers and connect their artwork to collectors. Politicians see art as a means of achieving a collective identity and social consensus, while the public looks for a dramatic variety of responses and intellectual stimuli. Moreover, a large number of satellite activities rotate around the cultural object and they all belong to the art world as well. Marketing, design, art production, distribution, development and promotion are all essential elements for a successful performance, be it of a painting, a concert or a book.

These complicated clusters of interests and activities operate on different levels of the system but they all belong to the same shared set of meanings that define art.

The terms "art world" and "art system" will be used here interchangeably to identify the complicated reality of contemporary art where different entities – like cultural institutions, commercial galleries and auction houses – and different figures – like artists, critics, dealers and curators – all collaborate and compete under the belief of art.

Despite the high degree of complexity in the contemporary art world, the analysis of three particular phenomena – globalization, the art market, and art democratization – can

provide an understanding of the ways in which the system has been evolving over the last two decades and the reasons for certain levels of criticality.

Scope of the research

This study intends to analyze the dynamics which govern the art system, conceived as an ecology of market, public, collectors and creative actors. It will focus on the relationship between the global and local systems of contemporary art and on the dynamics behind the latest processes of art democratization. Its final aim is to propose a new organizational structure, rooted in the physical territory and capable of offering regional identities a means of expression.

The dissertation will try to find solutions for the geographical imbalance of the contemporary art system and for a new ecological system for artists and minorities over the territory.

The sociology of culture has been used in order to analyze the various spheres of action affected by a cultural project within the framework of the contemporary art world and to examine the dynamics that define a cultural institution and how the institution functions in relationship to the entities it must interact with – its public, its territory, its multidimensional features, its stakeholders, its decision-making process, and other aspects as well.

The study will analyze three important fields of action of the art system, which will be divided into three main chapters: the relationship between global and local, the art democratization process and the art market.

Through a sociological investigation of these categories, my study means to shed light on the issues that a cultural institution must face in the balance between the global art world and its local instances, in order to define guidelines for the development of local art production and distribution.

The analysis will first investigate whether maintaining a profound bond with one's territory and local community is a valid policy for the protection of historical roots and cultural identity. The chapter on the democratization of art will analyze different strategies for the spread of cultural opportunities and discuss their strengths and weaknesses. It will also ask whether a focus on public participation and accessibility will necessarily lead to a decrease in artistic quality and, vice versa, whether the preservation of high artistic standards means excluding a mass participation of cultural receivers. Finally, the study will seek to describe the current system of sustainability of contemporary art and its players, with the aim of understanding the extent of the inequalities of the art market and the reasons for its inequitable geographical and social concentration.

Contemporary art world comes here to assume an ecological connotation referring not only to the production side of art but also to the broader system of conception, distribution, valorization and consumption. At the same time, the term contemporary art does not merely refer to a chronological category but rather to today's specific and diffuse artistic practice; this definition is consistent with Nathalie Heinich's concept of "paradigm", term that she uses to define contemporary art as a new "genre" and which involves the analysis of the methods of and relations between artworks' production, circulation and reception. A "paradigm" is the general structural understanding of a certain field of human activity at a given time; it is a collectively shared "cognitive base"[5] that implies its decline from the further developments and revolutions - i.e. new paradigms - that will overcome it. The study embraces Heinich's definition partly because of its ability to introduce new perspectives for the study of art which include

[5] In Heinich's words "*le socle cognitive*". Heinich, 2014: 43

analysis of social history, art economy and sociology.[6] The term "paradigm" does not only refer to the chronological or historiographic dimensions, but is instead inclusive of the different spheres pivoting around art from the economy of art to its legislation, from the art discourse to its reception and circulation. Partly because of the very nature of a "paradigm" and its study, the theoretical base on which the research lies will tend to make use of macro analysis of the art system by generally setting aside the analytic tools of art history. Although certain historical digressions will be proposed for the sake of clarity and contextualization, the research rather will focus on general trends of our contemporaneity by trying to embrace the complexity of the art ecology as much as possible.

The first chapter will explore globalization as a major force in the development of the current situation at many levels of the contemporary art world. In particular, it proffers an analysis of the relationship between "local" and "global" which calls attention to crucial instabilities in the system with respect to local identity, cultural biodiversity, cultural hegemonies and geographical disadvantages. An examination of the question of whether or not globalization is actually impacting the art world and, if so, how, will reveal the importance of the relationship between art and the local community as well as the fundamental role of culture in the local identity process.

The cultural globalization process entails a fast and continuous movement of cultural objects, identities, heritages, museums, curators and other cultural agents. It has invested almost all aspects of society, from politics to economics, to culture and habits, and it has initiated a debate about museums and cultural identity. Museums operate in a globalized network where they are caught between their locality and the global community they must deal with. Geographies and localisms are re-contextualized

[6] Heinich, N., 2014: 52

according to cultural movement and the relationship between local and global becomes an essential parameter of analysis. The art world is experiencing a period of great internationalization of culture where resources and knowledge move constantly throughout the art community. Exhibitions are replicated in different museums around the world and artworks travel almost perpetually in order to reach a global public; artists and curators are on the move as well and they are able to perform independently of the geography. The constant flow of cultural information from place to place has weakened the concept of local identity and geographical boundaries have become less well-defined. The relationship between culture and physical territory is shifting toward a more simplified and homogeneous idea of global community identity.

There is, however, a growing resistance on the part of local identities and minorities to the pressure exerted on the art world by globalization and cultural simplification. The opposition between global forces and local identities can cause tensions that are eventually resolved by the victory of the stronger over the weaker. In fact, the image of globalization as a factor producing both cultural contamination and identity hybridization does not always apply. That globalization has often occurred as the domination of stronger cultures over minorities is now self-evident; the point is not only the fading of minor identities due to a new supranational cultural trend, but also the imposition of stronger and homogenizing narratives over minor ones.

The research will endeavor to verify whether the art world is organized around geographical centers that dominate the system and its periphery. Alain Quemin's studies of the Kunstkompass reveal the existence of this small network of power and puts the concept of globalization itself under scrutiny.[7]

[7] Quemin A., 2012

The principal artists, curators and galleries tend to gather in the major centers of contemporary art in the world, namely, New York, Berlin, Beijing and London, where "art" is created and consumed. These geographical poles are not simply cultural districts, but rather centers of power in the hands of a narrow elite. This creates a geographical disadvantage for all those who live outside these centers and therefore have to choose between emigration or the damnation of periphery. Artists from peripheral areas are essentially obliged to move towards the centrality of the system to look for better opportunities.

The phenomenon of migration is in part problematic. While networking has always characterized the history of art and represented a way for artists to keep in touch with other peers and abreast of other artistic movements, artists who leave their own territory to move somewhere else risk cutting themselves off from their cultural roots, their inherited artistic language and a relationship with regional schools. This is, moreover, highly disadvantageous for their place of birth, which is inevitably deprived of potentially talented artists and resources; a country with an elevated "brain drain" is clearly not investing in its future. Furthermore, emigrating artists have to cope with the difficulty of competing in a foreign context with a usually limited number of the network connections that are crucial for anyone approaching this kind of career.

This study will call attention to the fact that the existence of a wave of globalization, in its most commonly understood sense, in the world of art faces a considerable challenge as there seems to be no real exchange or cultural mix in the system; it is rather a situation in which the hegemony of a few rules over a broad periphery.

As this research will confirm, the art world is characterized by the fissures between opposing categories, like the relationship between local and global, the existence of an elitist power governing art versus its mass consumption and democratization

and also the spiritual worth of art objects versus their commercial value.

The second chapter will focus on this latter category of opposition with an examination of the art market. Since its modern development in the 19th century with Impressionism, the art market has been seen as a way to liberate art from external forces – historically, the church and the aristocracy – and give it an autonomous status. The figure of the art dealer and, immediately afterwards, the emergence of the art gallery, virtually separated the artist from his patron, a figure that was gradually substituted by that of the art collector or buyer. During this process, the moment of production of art became, in a sense, detached from the economical sphere as it took place in a different venue and at a different time.

Formerly, works like a Madonna by Caravaggio or Bernini's "Saint Teresa" were the result of specific commissions; artists and patrons had a direct and strong relationship regulated by a simple rule of demand and supply. Even though the art trade had flourished in Europe and, in particular, in the Netherlands since the sixteenth century, normally patrons decided on the subject of a painting and its size and paid more or less for its color (a gold background cost more than a dark one, a painting with large areas of intense blue color needed a greater amount of very expensive lapis lazuli, and so on) thus creating a direct connection between money and the art produced.

Despite this very specific relationship between art and money, artists could not count on an independent market and were forced to work under the constraints of their patrons' demands.

With the rise of the modern art market, art acquired autonomy from both academia and patronage and there was a shift in the sequence of action: while formerly a contract between artist and patron was necessary to establish the terms and details defining the artwork, subsequently the artwork came first and was sold

afterwards. A new hierarchical configuration emerged wherein the art dealer was the one to take control.

With the rapid development of the art market in the twentieth century, the role played by money became even more crucial to the positioning and evaluation of art. Of course, the relationship between money and art is not new; money has always influenced art and, today as before, art and its market are mutually dependent. All of society is in fact influenced and driven by market conditions and it is impossible to consider art and the economy two separate categories.

The alleged incompatibility between art and money is actually even less true these days than ever before, as contemporary artists themselves are often inspired by money and by the relationship between art and the market. Pop culture and the mechanisms of mass production have, in fact, been at the center of various artists' research, particularly in America with the advent of consumerism. In the work of artists like Duane Hanson, Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol, and, more recently, Jeff Koons and Sylvie Fleury, just to name a few, it is clear that art has become an investigation into reality and both mirrors society and borrows its language. Art is in direct contact with everyday life – meaning money and the market.

Since the 1980s, and in particular during the past decade, we have witnessed an impressive quantitative increase in the art system with regard to the volume of sales and level of prices, the number of activities (like fairs and biennials) and the geographical expansion of the art network. Now part of a globalized market and expanding industry of culture, art has increasingly undergone a process of commercialization and monetary success. High prices have become a fundamental parameter for contemporary art and the symbol of an artist's acceptance within the system.

Prices can assess the quality of artworks and often even supersede the experts' opinion. The art market has rapidly expanded and is, to a certain extent, even regulating the entire cultural process, from production to reception, while simultaneously corroding the hierarchy of museums and academia.

A lot of money is being poured into the art world today thanks to new wealthy buyers, who do not necessarily have an extensive knowledge of the art field but who nonetheless dominate market trends. This new market-oriented system drives the artwork into being a mere commodity, another category of investment against inflation and risk. From the early stages when it was principally a closed circle belonging to art lovers, the art market has turned into a globally expanding industry that promises gains both in terms of social distinction and monetary profit.[8]

The 2014 report by Deloitte and ArtTactic highlights how art buyers and collectors are increasingly acquiring art as an investment. Art is now considered a valuable tool for a balanced portfolio and an asset diversification strategy.[9]

This process of financialization is, however, still competing for affirmation due to a certain resistance within the art world, particularly on the part of those artists and dealers who feel they are protecting the intangible value of art.

Moreover, financial players are also being cautious about wholeheartedly defining art objects as an asset class, for the art market does not conform to legal expectations as other asset categories do.

The unregulated market structure, with its lack of transparency and insufficient information availability, is the main obstacle to a wider spread of financial tools in regard to art. However, there is an increasing awareness of art as an asset class, a growing

[8] Dossi P., 2012

[9] Art & Finance Report 2014, Deloitte and ArtTactic

number of buyers acquiring art with an investment goal and an ever greater number of UHNWIs[10] buying and investing in art. According to Barclays 2012 report, investments and art holdings represent nine percent of the net assets of wealthy individuals, and that percentage is expected to rise over the next few years.[11]
Despite the impressive numbers and record-breaking prices, the study will reveal that the contemporary art world on the whole is very different. If one considers that Sotheby's and Christie's alone account for 80 percent of all auction transactions, it is easy to comprehend that those two corporations represent more exceptions than rules. Most art players live well outside the world of the super rich and high prices and usually have to struggle for their very existence. Once again, the art world seems to be split into two different realms traveling along parallel but separate paths.
On the one hand, the main level of contemporary art production is articulated in the network between major museums and established art galleries and auction houses all over the world; on the other, a capillary system of local art production coexists parallel to the primary level, without offering any concrete possibility of rising to the top. This system is not beneficial for wider artistic research or for an equal distribution of the art market. Small and medium-size art galleries are often not self-sustainable and struggle to remain open, while multinational branded competitors manage the whole system.

---

[10] Ultra High Net Worth Individuals.
"Persons with investable assets of at least US$30 million, excluding personal assets and property such as one's primary residence, collectibles and consumer durables. UHNWIs comprise the richest people in the world and control a disproportionate amount of global wealth. The exact amount differs by financial institution and region."
Investopedia.com definition

[11] "Profit or Pleasure? Exploring the Motivations behind Treasure Trends", *Barclays Wealth Insights*, Vol. 15, 2012

When a small gallery opens in the center of a system, in a place like New York or Berlin for example, its best chance for success is if its finest emerging artists are "stolen" by a major gallery, as this would be prestigious for the gallery's reputation and would confirm its role of "artist hunter". Should this happen too soon, though, the gallery risks gaining almost nothing from the entire operation for it has usually spent a serious amount of its resources on the initial promotion of the artist – first exhibitions, catalogues, advertising campaigns, and so forth – and this may well end up costing more than the overall benefits. When, however, a small gallery opens in a peripheral area of the system, whether in small cities like Florence or even larger ones like Frankfurt or Cairo, it is detached from the main circuit and can often rely on a sub-network of local players. These galleries and the artists they represent are very unlikely to ascend to stardom and are almost always at risk of bankruptcy.

The same kind of hierarchy exists among museums and cultural institutions. Today more and more cities want to have their own museum as this is considered a tool for boosting the economy and social participation and also for making the city more appealing. Most of these new museums, especially in those countries where culture historically relies on public funds, turn out to be barely sustainable from a financial point of view and are in a constant struggle to survive. Public governments must already cope with the management of often extensive cultural heritages, whose sustainability is always at risk. For the public sector, culture has come to represent a formidable economic burden, particularly in these times of economic crisis and cuts in public expenditures.

Today's diffuse economic crisis is challenging museums and art institutions with a strict demand for financial profitability, often

very hard to pursue when dealing with culture and with particular and unique goods.[12]
When museums are forced to scramble for funds, they usually turn to the private sector, which may contribute by sponsoring museum exhibitions and programs. This can at times represent a threat for the quality of the cultural offer because museums might need to agree to compromise solutions with private partners that cause them to lose some of their intellectual independence.

Although culture is constantly competing for resources, it is also at the center of a broad trend of democratization. As never before, museums and cultural institutions are addressing a mass public by providing a number of educational programs and activities. In the wake of the American model, now museums everywhere have their own department of education, whose purpose is to bring art and culture to everyone. The third chapter will examine the trend of art democratization by focusing on the evolution that museums have undergone since the concept was first formulated and on the role of education as a tool to cultivate and attract the public on a mass scale.
The study will demonstrate that the process of globalization is influencing accessibility both to the market, where "affordable fairs" and internet art sales designed for new art collectors have started flourishing, and, to a larger extent, to knowledge, thanks to the increment in the diffusion and circulation of information and to the promotion of museums as places for mass encounters with art. The involvement of the public on these levels is crucial to the achievement of democratization and also affects the shaping of the system, as demonstrated in the extensive use of art exhibits and ephemeral artistic events.
The current democratization of culture will be described as entailing two parallel levels of action, one referring to a

[12] Throsby D., 2001, 2010; Velthuis O., 2007

"geographical inclusion", the other to a transversal "class-based involvement" of the public. The former, pursuing one of the noble principles underlying globalization, is the process that aims for a geographical distribution of culture spread equitably throughout the physical territory. In fact, art and culture tend to concentrate in major cities and around clustered poles; in general, they are still not equally extended over territory. People living outside these centers are likely to have fewer opportunities for cultural encounters and in order to participate in the cultural process they are obliged to move.

Cultural democratization based on social inclusion usually refers to the extension of equal opportunities to everyone. This implies an attempt to involve lower social classes in cultural practices, and, more in general, to provide all those considered to be disadvantaged in terms of "cultural capital" with greater opportunities. Bourdieu's concept is still very relevant today, when people from upper social classes, with a higher cultural capital, are inevitably more easily and more "naturally" involved in places of culture, as well as in the production of works of art.

Although the process includes the transformation of museums into educational centers for the consumption of culture and the shaping of cultural identity, it also constitutes a multilevel spread of opportunities for the production of culture, namely by providing aspiring artists with the educational background and the material framework necessary to advance their careers. Internet and the fluid circulation of knowledge have set the stage for the development of the democratization process in a contemporary perspective, and today all forms of new media technologies are being used to spread culture to a mass public. Online courses, e-conferences and free access to cultural resources like music, images and books have changed the way we experience culture.

The process took a dramatic turn in the art field with the arrival on the scene of the American Pop Art artists, who sought a

merging of high and popular culture. In this case, the cultural object was affected by the shift in attention from aesthetics to moral content. As Jacob (1995) pointed out, since then changes have occurred in a three-dimensional way that includes the making of art (the cultural object), its institutions (museums) and its audience (the public).[13] Art is seen as a tool for achieving democracy but, in order to do so, it must be democratized too. In other words, as culture is a way to educate people and lead society towards a higher level of democracy, it must address the public through an easy and understandable format, a format that affects the art object itself, which is thus democratized.

As the trend of democratization pervades the art world, more and more institutions and cultural events are embracing this new vision. Museums launch cultural projects almost exclusively at the service of specific programs of social relevance, and, in accordance with a logic of utility rather than beauty, art is measured by standards of social impact and egalitarian pressure. Sometimes the social goal becomes so important that it almost overwhelms the artistic dimension of cultural objects. The art democratization process can thus directly influence the cultural object (Griswold, 1986), shape its content and modify its tools. This is particularly true when considering the massive use of blockbuster temporary exhibitions that are deemed necessary to keep museums vital and to attract public participation, and also when viewing all those cases where culture is provided and experienced through a long series of events. The recent aestheticization of communication and the simultaneous intensification of image circulation has propelled the spread of this new form of culture consumption; exhibitions may be considered "event culture", as they are transitory and often combined with a strong advertising campaign and collateral activities.

[13] Jacob M. J., 1995

This new cultural approach derives in part from the museum's need to perform multi-dimensionally, which basically entails the transformation of museology into a long and continuous series of cultural events. Culture might then turn into what Rectanus defines as "event culture", which at times puts the quality of the object itself at risk.[14]

The art market sector, however, seems very reluctant to follow this trend or make room for a democratic regime. Art collecting is still considered the domain of the very rich. As mentioned above, prices for artworks have in fact become a fundamental parameter in the evaluation process and have largely replaced the role of experts in assessing an artist's value. This implies that art is valuable only if it costs a lot and that art which is not expensive is worth nothing. As a general consequence, this common belief keeps new collectors with a low or standard income from buying art, as they could only buy less expensive art. Moreover, the idea that art should be an investment, which is unwaveringly proposed by the media, shifts attention to the economic aspects of an artwork while dismissing its intangible values. What, after all, is the point of buying something valueless?

Only very smart dealers and insiders, who can often foresee future market trends, manage to buy emerging art from the primary market and make a profit. Outsiders generally do not even think of buying art and are automatically excluded from the market.

Up until recently, the masses have basically been viewed in function of a museum's performance and as a means of incrementing the desire for and auratic value of art; very little has been done to create a new sector of the art market with ordinary people in mind. However, the same formula that persuades people to buy a good leather bag or a well-made

[14] Rectanus M. W., 2002

watch could be applied to art, and purchases of artworks would then be driven by the pursuit for a status symbol. Even more importantly, unlike fashion, art is a good that can last forever and is not influenced by seasonal styles. Thus, even with regard to the market, the public can be educated to buy art and consider doing so something perfectly ordinary.

In light of the above-mentioned analysis, the study will in conclusion submit a proposal for a new institutional model, a "hub", for the promotion of contemporary art as a way of responding to the challenges caused by the current art system. The hub is a new institutional concept which exists in between a museum, because of its educational and democratizing role, and a commercial gallery, because of its ability to be self-sustained. The hub will be proposed as an alternative to the homogenizing tendency of contemporary art in defense of minorities and local identities, as it will aim for a better geographical and social distribution of the market and, in consequence, for a more balanced distribution of wealth.

To some extent, the hub will be based upon the same principles of the "Slow Food" movement whereby, thanks to an increased attention to minorities and to the safeguarding of cultural biodiversity, it is possible to achieve a more equal distribution of resources and a more sustainable art market.[15] The concept of the hub will be treated in the last chapter and used as the last case in this dissertation to verify the questions discussed in the previous chapters.

---

[15] *Slow Food* is an international movement founded by Carlo Petrini in 1986. Promoted as an alternative to fast food, it strives to preserve traditional and regional cuisine and encourages farming of plants, seeds and livestock characteristic of the local ecosystem. It was the first established part of the broader *Slow Movement*. The movement has since expanded globally to over 100,000 members in 150 countries. Its goals of sustainable foods and promotion of local small businesses are paralleled by a political agenda directed against globalization of agricultural products.
www.slowfood.com

Case studies

The study will be supported by three case studies that will be broken down and analyzed transversely in all the chapters. The case studies involve three cultural institutions from three different levels of the art system: a periphery, a semi-periphery, and a centrality. The cases were chosen first of all on the basis of the different positions they occupy in the art world in order to analyze how their relationship with the local community changes according to the different geographical hierarchy. Secondly, they all deal with specific cultural projects with social and democratizing goals which, while similar in guidelines and missions, have been adapted according to the context they relate to, underlining the fundamental role of the local community in the development of cultural institutions.

The first case study is "Artisti a Km0", a project operated by the Centro Pecci per l'Arte Contemporanea in Prato; this will be analyzed to better understand the dynamics of art democratization and accessibility as well as the relationship between the regional and the global context, between the public and the artist and the public and the institution. These categories will be compared to the second case study, the Pompidou Mobile project. The PM is a French project created in 2011 specifically for the purpose of art democratization and is a valuable case study for the analysis of the relationship between local identity and mainstream culture, as well as of the role of museums as tools for social inclusion and the dissemination of art. The analysis of both cases relies on direct experience and on interviews with the organizers of the two projects as well as with their audience.

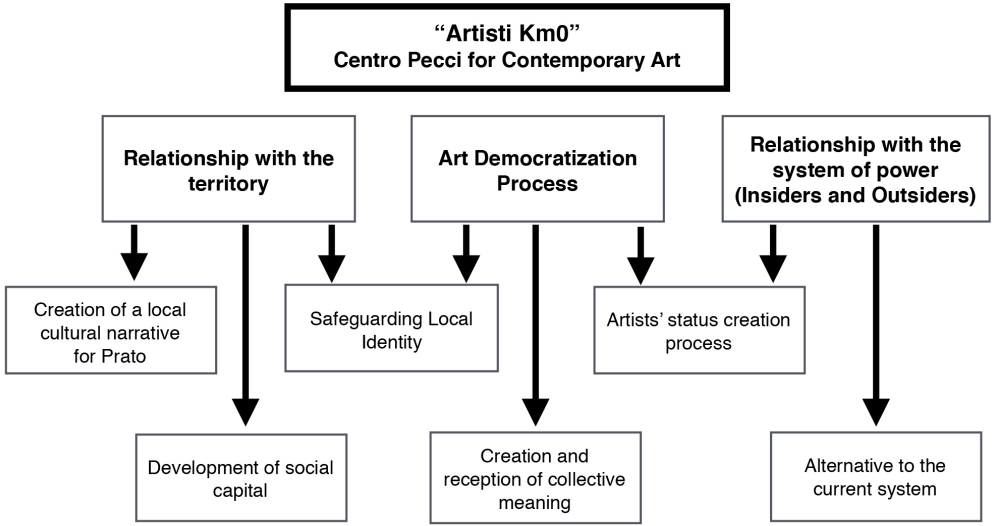
As a counterpart of the two European projects, Art in General, a non-profit space in New York, will be the third case study. Art in General, a long-standing institution based in one of the art system's centers, will be compared to the other two cases in order to demonstrate the criticality of the art world at every level of its network. The analysis of AiG's relationship with its local

community will underscore its role as a "glocal" institution for the links it builds with both the artists it represents and the patrons financing its programs. Nonprofit organizations will also be investigated as alternative locations to museums and commercial galleries allowing for the development of artworks free from market pressures.[16] The analysis of this last case study is based on a substantial work experience in the institution, during which data was collected and interviews repeatedly conducted with with the executive director, managers, board members, artists, and public.

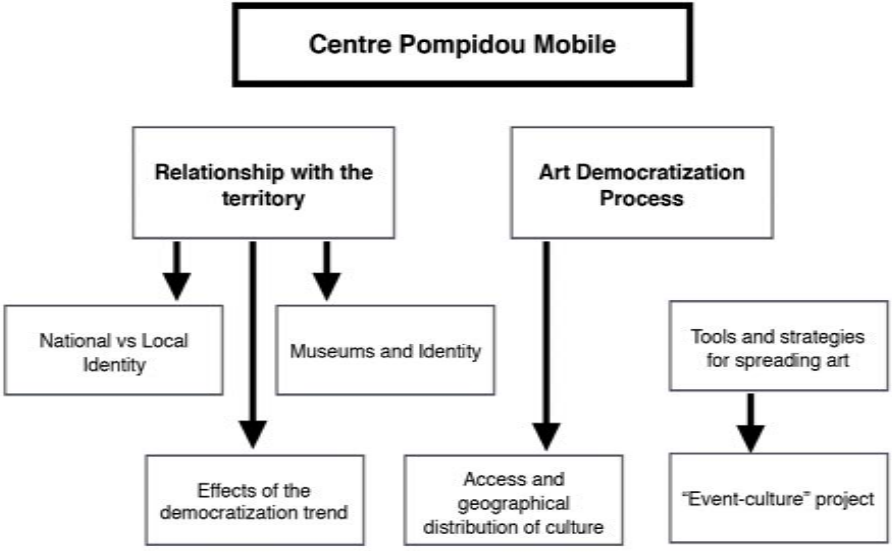
With Howard Becker's analytical framework as a starting-point, all cases will be further examined using Hirsch and Griswold's methods and with the use of Schudson's five analytical dimensions (retrievability, rhetorical force, resonance, institutional retention and resolution).

[16] Groys B., 2008

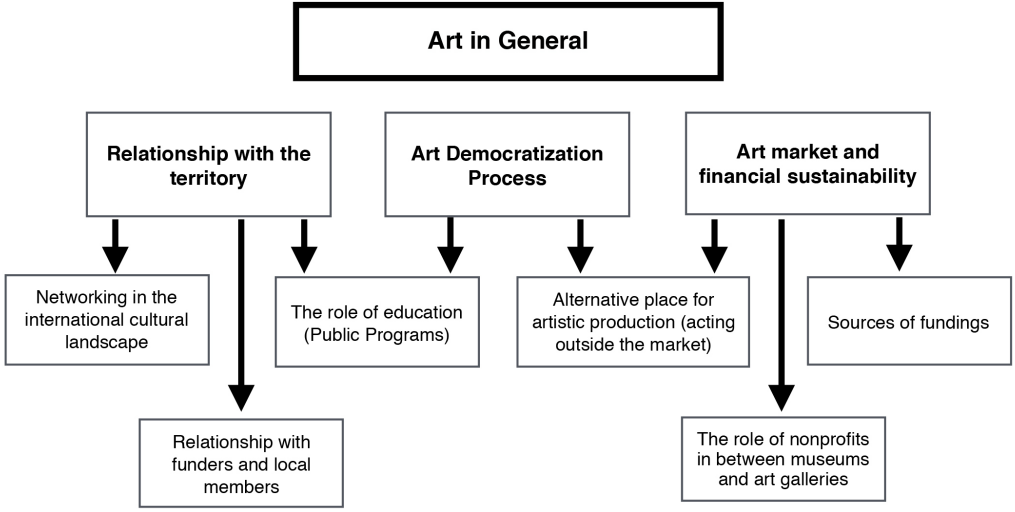
Case study 1
"Artisti a Km0", Centro Pecci per l'Arte Contemporanea, Prato, Italy



Case study 2
The Pompidou Mobile, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris



Case study 3
Art in General, nonprofit organization, New York



Chapter 2
Three Case Studies

Case Study 1
"Artisti a Km0", Centro per l'arte contemporanea Luigi Pecci, Prato, Italy

"Artisti a Km0" is a project created two years ago by the Centro per l'Arte Contemporanea Luigi Pecci in collaboration with the Associazione Pecci Arte (ApArte) in Prato. Its aim is to create a relationship between local artists and citizens and to develop a critical conscience for cultural and dialectic exchanges. Local artists are invited to present their work in the auditorium at the Centro Pecci during an evening event open to the public and completely free. "Artisti a Km0" can be considered both a starting point for evolving and enhancing collective awareness of the art world and a tool for supporting the work of emerging young local artists. The only requirements are that the artist must be born in Prato or live or work there and must respect the

Fig. 1 View of the Centro Pecci in Prato. The museum is located at the intersection between a highway and the city of Prato.

Centro's principal objectives: to represent the city's artistic dimension; to keep the Centro vital through the introduction of new artists and an ever-increasing participation on the part of the public; and to offer a valid educational and professional experience to all.

The Centro per l'Arte Contemporanea Luigi Pecci was founded in Prato (an old Italian city near Florence) in 1988 by Enrico Pecci, a local entrepreneur, with contributions from the municipal government, local companies and private citizens. The museum was conceived as a city institution with the purpose of establishing a dynamic dialogue with its citizens but it has also cultivated a strong international network through its activities.

During the 19th century, Prato (part of the Province of Florence up until 1992) gradually became known for its industrial expertise, particularly in the textile sector. With this frame of

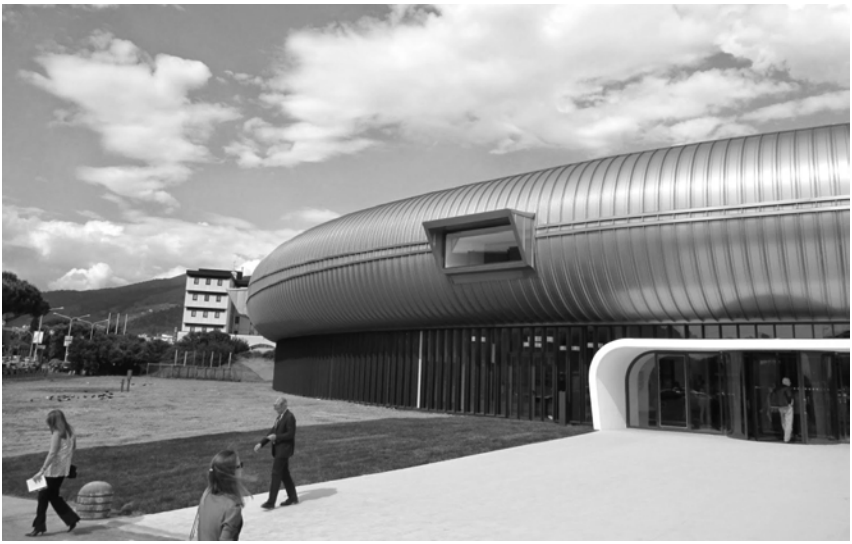


Fig. 2 View of the project for the new Pecci Center by the Dutch architect Maurice Nio. The museum reopened in the spring of 2015.

reference in mind, the Centro Pecci's declared goal was to forge a new identity for Prato as a city qualified to offer opportunities for culture and contemporary art and to operate as an urban social connector. Today, the Centro Pecci has a vast program of temporary exhibitions and a permanent collection of works by major artists; it is also involved in educational activities of various nature.

The "Artisti a Km0" project was conceived by the museum's Department of Culture and Territory[1] in early 2011 and soon earned national attention. The existence of a department specifically dedicated to the local sphere testified to the museum's desire for concrete interaction with the city and for the city's involvement with the process of urban identity creation. The Centro Pecci is rooted firmly in its territory; its ability to influence and represent Prato is one of the premises of its existence. Even though the Centro has always tried to work with local artists, it decided to designate its auditorium as a space for their art as part of a specific non-profit project. From the beginning, artists have been encouraged to participate by simply applying directly to the Department, where their applications are organized and kept updated. The Centro welcomes all applications and has banned any form of discrimination.

Besides offering artists a specific time (one evening) and a place in which to show their work and introduce themselves and their vision to a larger audience, the Centro Pecci provides assistance with practical issues (like artistic direction) without imposing any outside interference where it is not requested. Since there is no selection process involved nor any hidden agenda with the aim of discovering a new artistic genius, the mission of the project is simply to establish a strong bond between the artists

[1] The Department of Culture and Territory was suppressed in the spring of 2014 following a staff and managerial turnover in the Pecci center. The Pecci center has recently opened a newly renovated museum - spring 2015 - with Fabio Cavallucci as the new Director.

and the citizens of Prato and to attract more visitors from the pool of those who are not in the habit of visiting museums. The museum's main goal for this project is to create a series of regular events in order to build a durable and sustainable relationship with the city.
The project's guidelines are regulated by a simple set of rules. These are the most relevant ones for this research[2]:

- *The event must be used to present the artist and his work.*
- *The artists will exhibit their work without any mediator.*
- *All expressive media are allowed and the artists can present their exhibitions as they wish.*
- *Each artist can display only one single art work.*
- *Each event will be free of charge, both for the artists and for the public.*
- *The artists can invite whomever they wish and include as many people as they like.*
- *After the event, all participating artists must provide the museum with their mailing list.*

The Centro publishes a brochure for every artist who exhibits in the auditorium and publicizes the artist and his work of art on its website as well. Furthermore, the museum will soon be publishing an anthology of all the "Artisti a Km0" events. The Centro Pecci also provides assistance after the event. Participating artists are invited to join the museum community, to make use of the museum's services – like its library and its educational and multimedia center – and to take part in its artistic activities.
The role of context is essential in an analysis of "Artisti a Km0". The project can be described as the activity of an established institution operating in a specific geographical area, according to

[2] The description of the regulatory guidelines comes from an interview with Piero Cantini, then director of the Department of Culture and Territory of the Centro Pecci, held on June 3, 2013, at the museum in Prato.

the particular relationship that it has with its public, with other administrations, with corporate or individual stakeholders and also with the national scenario. As a cultural institution in both a national and international context, the Centro Pecci must be able to balance the particular needs of its territory with the general rules of the art system. In other words, the Pecci museum is part of the contemporary art world and it cannot ignore the effects that its actions might have on other inside players.

Data source

Data on the project have been collected through direct interviews, official reports from the Centro Pecci and online resources.
In particular, an in-depth understanding of the project and its goals was facilitated thanks to a two-hour interview with Piero Cantini, former director of the Department of Culture and Territory of Pecci, held on June 3, 2013, in his office at the museum in Prato.
The analysis also relies on the research on the "Artisti a Km0" project begun in 2012 by Walter Santagata e Giovanna Segre and still being pursued by Professor Segre.
The main online resources utilized include the project's official website, artistiakm0.tumblr.com, and the Centro Pecci website, centropecci.it.

Case Study 2
Pompidou Mobile, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France

The Centre Pompidou Mobile (CPM) was conceived by Alain Seban, the director of the Pompidou Center in Paris, and was launched as one of the Pompidou's strategic projects for the five-year period between 2007 and 2012 with the purpose of establishing a new cultural interface between society and art under a policy of art democratization envisioning the museum as a means for social improvement.[3]

The project consisted of a moveable museum, hosted in a special structure designed to be easily assembled and then dismantled. Its purpose, consonant with the last three decades of French

Fig. 3 The Pompidou Mobile in Aubagne. External View

[3] http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Espace-Presse/Dossiers-de-presse/Le-Centre-Pompidou-mobile. 1/05/2014

cultural policy aimed at a democratic spread of culture, was to allow people in small peripheral villages to experience famous masterpieces from the Centre Pompidou's collection.
Over the last twenty years, museum participation has been on the rise and museums have started to invest energy and funds in the programming of temporary exhibitions all over the globe. Also on the rise is the belief that these exhibitions are necessary to keep museums vital and to attract a geographically and demographically broader public participation.

Since new developments of all kinds flow constantly into people's information networks, creating a short-term consumable culture suitable for the majority of short-term culture consumers, cultural institutions are reacting by mirroring

Fig. 4 The Pompidou Mobile, Aubagne. View of the interior gallery space

this trend and by supplying a similar cultural "genre", in order to establish a relationship with those consumers and to keep the dialogue with them open.

Between 2000 and 2011, the number of visitors to the Centre Pompidou grew from 1,915,000 to 3,613,000. In 2011, there were over 600,000 visitors to the temporary exhibitions alone. According to an analysis of Pompidou data, the number of visitors to temporary exhibitions has increased by about 40 percent since 2000.[4] The public has frequently proved to be more attracted to temporary shows than to permanent collections and museums have consequently stepped up their attention to the former.

As Alain Seban noted,[5] only one out of two French citizens has ever visited a museum and this is mainly because so few citizens have ready access to a museum, especially those who live outside a large city. Statistics on the cultural habits of French citizens in 2008 revealed that just 30 percent of the population had visited a museum during the previous twelve months and only 15 percent an art gallery, while 87 percent watched television daily.[6]

As both the French Ministry of Culture and the Centre Pompidou have pointed out, though a component of the problem is class-based inequality, the primary reason for those statistics is

---

[4] Direction de la communication et des partenariats du Centre Pompidou, Bilan d'Activité 2013, June 2012; published online on the Centre Pompidou website http://mediation.centrepompidou.fr/documentation/bilandactivite2013/ 1/05/2014

[5] Direction de la communication et des partenariats du Centre Pompidou, Bilan d'Activité 2011, June 2012; http://mediation.centrepompidou.fr/documentation/bilandactivite2011/

[6] Secrétariat général Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Département des études, de la prospective et des statistiques, "Chiffres-Clés 2013. Statistiques de la Culture", Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, March 2013; p.13. http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Politiques-ministerielles/Etudes-et-statistiques/Publications/Collections-d-ouvrages/Chiffres-cles-statistiques-de-la-culture/Chiffres-cles-2013 6/08/2015

geographical. Culture in France today is not equally distributed throughout the country. Out of a total of 1218 museums in France, 11.5 percent are located in Île de France alone. For a more equal distribution, the average per region should be around four percent. The data on museum attendance reveals that more than half of the 60 million visits to French museums between January 2012 and January 2013 took place in Île-de-France (35 million visitors). Furthermore, over 55 percent of all visitors explored a museum located in or near their place of residence, a fact which validates the fundamental importance of a distribution of culture and cultural opportunities on the territory in order to really achieve the democratic goal.[7] Within this framework, the CPM project aspired to distribute culture both geographically and socially, thus involving the entire country in a national cultural program.

Patrick Bouchain was commissioned to build the CPM after his design was chosen in an international competition organized by the French Ministry of Culture; the jury for the competition, presided over by Alain Seban, chose Patrick Bouchain's proposal over those of the other forty-six candidates because it was the one that most closely mirrored Seban's initial intention of creating a familiar and entertaining structure.
This nomadic museum was made possible thanks to the collaboration of the Centre Pompidou Paris with the French Ministry of Culture and French private sponsors - GDF Suez, Group Galeries Lafayette, La Parisienne Assurances and Fondation d'entreprise Total[8]; its purpose was nonetheless to give provincial territories an economic and social boost as it

[7] See note 6

[8] 'Centre Pompidou Mobile', *Attachée de Presse*, January 2013.
www.groupegalerieslafayette.fr/wpcontent/uploads
dp_Centre_Pompidou_mobile_LE_HAVRE.pdf

traveled through the country, moving from one village to another every three months.

From the beginning, the architectural aspect of the project played a significant role as the itinerant museum was conceived specifically in order to allow a vast public unaccustomed to cultural initiatives to feel comfortable and secure once inside. Bouchain's colorful, circus-like tents were voted the most suitable of all the entries in an architectural competition held in 2009. In May of that year the tender was launched; it was endorsed by President Nicolas Sarkozy and the Minister of Culture Frédéric Mitterrand and sponsored by the *Conseil de la Création Artistique*[9], which also allocated €500,000 to finance the competition.[10] In addition to the €500,000 allocated for the tender, the overall cost of the Pompidou Mobile project was €1,500,000, plus a cost of about €450,000 at each stop of its tour.

Bouchain's project and choice of materials evoked the idea of a temporary pavilion, like those used for local fairs or circuses. It consisted of a metallic scaffolding covered by colorful tarpaulins and composed of three different modules, interconnected by airlocks, permitting the structure to be adapted to different spaces.

Seen from outside, the transitory nature of the structure was recognizable from its long metallic enclosure, just like the ones used for one-day events or for construction sites, as well as from the colors – blue, orange and red – of the canvas, which explicitly recalled circus tents. In other words, the museum resembled an undefined yet familiar place for fun and entertainment, which highlighted the project's main goal: to attract a new public who

[9] The *Conseil* was a commission instituted by Nicolas Sarkozy between 2009 and 2011; See *Décret n° 2009/113 du 30 janvier 2009* at the website http://legifrance.gouv.fr/. 1/05/2014

[10] Bilan d'Activité 2009, available online http://www.centrepompidou.fr/fr/Le-centre-pompidou#

was assumed to be somewhat suspicious of or unfamiliar with museums.
Once inside – admission was free – visitors were able to rely on audio-guides for a better understanding of the artists and their works, supposedly being contemplated for the very first time.
After its inauguration in 2011, the Pompidou Mobile presented two series of exhibitions: "La Couleur", which was inaugurated in Chaumont in October 2011, and "Cercles et Carrés", which was launched in Libourne in January 2013. Both shows exhibited fifteen twentieth century artworks, all of which were masterpieces from the Pompidou collection.

Methods and Findings

The analysis of this case relies on direct interviews and visits to the museum, on a brief interview with Alain Seban in New York, and on official reports and data that the 'Direction générale, mission pour l'action territoriale' of the Centre Pompidou in Paris generously provided.
My research began with a sample of 40 interviews that I collected on September 21, 2013, in Aubagne (Marseille), the Centre Pompidou Mobile's last stop of its second season; the itinerant museum program was definitively closed down one week later.
All those interviewed had visited the CPM show "Cercles et Carrés" and were given the questionnaire as they left the exhibit. There were eight questions.
Excluding school groups, 57 percent of the visitors were aged between 50-70 years old and 65 percent were women. Moreover, 68 per cent of the public claimed to know little or nothing about either the artists or the artworks on show before coming, which indicates that the project was a success in terms of its educational goals and cultural spread.
Interestingly enough, only 32 per cent of the visitors lived in Aubagne proper; the remaining 68 percent came from areas

outside the village for the specific purpose of visiting the exhibition. These data suggest the recreation of a sub-system of the center/periphery relationship following the pattern of Paris/France-outside-Paris, with Aubagne as the new center of the system. If Aubagne and its region, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, were to be considered as a unit and center of reference, then the interpretation of the data would change completely because all visitors would be considered residents of the same center, i.e. the region of Aubagne.

The majority of those interviewed judged the CPM positively and thought that Aubagne had gained cultural and economical advantages from the museum's presence.

Probably due to the historically strong centralism of France, Alain Seban's main mission for the Pompidou was to spread culture throughout the country, while at the same time making it possible for citizens to familiarize themselves with contemporary creations and also allowing works of art to be a daily presence in their lives.

This new trend uses event culture to attract people and to offer a new, more appealing vision of museums. Accordingly, on the occasion of the exhibition at Aubagne, the majority of those interviewed declared that they had been drawn to the museum as a possibility for entertainment. For most visitors, who mainly came from the surrounding area, the Pompidou Mobile offered an opportunity to spend a Saturday afternoon in a new way. This idea of culture is perfectly in line with the general assumption of event culture that approves the merging of amusement and culture.

From the still vigorous perspective of the Enlightenment, the cultural institution is proposed here as a powerful element capable of redeeming the entire social system and, as such, its existence revolves around this sense of purpose; in a very contemporary perspective, the large, central national museum cloned itself through the CPM, an appendix that traveled around

the country, in a thaumaturgic process using culture as a magic wand.

Despite the initial enthusiasm, the story did not have a happy ending. In June 2013, the Centre Pompidou announced the closure of the Centre Pompidou Mobile, partly because of the loss of the private sponsorships (none of whose sponsors ever really explained why they had withdrawn their contributions or apologized to the public for doing so). Moreover, as Alain Saban has declared[11], the museum no longer benefited from the initial 1.5 million euro contribution from the Ministry of Culture. In September 2013, at the end of its stay in Aubagne, instead of leaving for Nantes, the CPM was shut down.

Although at first the destiny of the structure was uncertain, President Seban announced that the original CPM structure would be taken to Saudi Arabia, where the Pompidou has already begun negotiations for future projects. Following the agreement that the Centre Pompidou signed with the King Abdulaziz Center for World Culture, "La Couleur" exhibition that was a part of the CPM's first edition was replicated in Dhahran in the fall of 2013, as an initial step in the collaboration between the French museum and its Arab partner. The exhibition was hosted under an air-conditioned tent, similar to Bouchain's concept for the Pompidou Mobile, and it registered 44,113 visitors during the 41 days it was open.

Paradoxically, a museum conceived for the spread of culture within national borders in a very nationalistic perspective was transported to a foreign country with a completely different cultural heritage and very little, if any, concern for the democratization of culture. The original encounter between center and periphery in France – inside Paris vs outside Paris – turned out to be a delicate and very difficult balancing act; in Saudi Arabia the situation was even more difficult because of the

[11] Official speech at the AFP - Agence France Press - on May 17, 2013

totally different context. Once a cultural object is removed from its original context – in this case, rural France – then there is a distinct possibility that the relationship between the social world and cultural object will change.

The new settlement inevitably influenced the project itself and part of its original goal, conceived for France and based upon specific local instances, no longer made sense.

The physical structure of the CPM was ultimately given to the CIAM, *Centre International des Art en Mouvement*, a cultural center in Aix-en-Provence that focuses on circus art. In November 2013 a contract was signed and the structure was handed over in order to be used to develop pedagogical projects once again in the name of art democratization.

Questionnaire[12]

1) *Where do you come from?*
2) *Did you come to Aubagne specifically to visit the CPM or for other reasons?*
3) *Do you consider the CPM a positive experience?*
4) *What are the reasons you came to visit it?*
    a. *Pastime*
    b. *Amusement*
    c. *Education*
5) *Did you know of the artists or the artworks on show before coming?*
6) *Have you ever visited another museum/exhibition in Aubagne or in a range of 20 km before?*
7) *What is your perception of the museum: does it belong to Aubagne, to Paris or to France in general?*
8) *Do you think Aubagne has received any advantages from the presence of the CPM? Economic and/or cultural advantages?*

Outcomes

1) *Outside Aubagne and Region: 68 percent / From Aubagne: 32 percent Outside the Region: Nobody / From Aubagne region: 100 percent*
2) *95 percent of those who came did so for the precise goal of visiting the CPM*
3) *73 percent of the interviewees considered the CPM a positive or very positive experience while the remaining 27 percent considered it a "fair" experience, mainly because they felt it was too small.*
4) *74 percent of the interviewees admitted that they had come for "amusement"; the remaining 13 percent were divided between "pastime" and "education".*

[12] Interviews collected by the author in Aubagne, Marseille, on Saturday 20/09/2013, from 11 am until 3 pm. All those interviewed had visited the CPM show "Cercles et Carrés" and were given the questionnaire as they left the exhibit.

5) 68 percent admitted that they did not know most or even any of the artists/artworks on show, while the remaining 32 percent were familiar with all or almost all of the artists/artworks on show.

6) 75 percent had never visited another museum in Aubagne, while the remaining 25 percent had visited the other civic museum in the village, most of them on the specific occasion of a Picasso exhibition held there.

7) 76 percent of the interviewees felt the CPM belonged to Paris; 16 percent felt it belongs to France; 8 percent felt it belonged to Aubagne.

8) 68 percent of the interviewees thought that Aubagne had gained both cultural and economic advantages from the CPM; 23 percent felt Aubagne had gained only cultural advantages while 9 percent did not think that Aubagne had gained any advantages.

Case Study 3
Art in General, a nonprofit organization for contemporary art, New York

Art in General (AiG) is a non-profit organization based in New York City that assists artists with the production and presentation of new site-specific works.
It was founded in 1981 by two artists, Martin Weinstein and Teresa Liska, who are still members of the organization's board of directors. Originally Art in General was conceived as a space for artists to meet and exhibit their work and, since then, it has evolved into a powerful institution which supports artists through direct funding.
It is located in a six-floor building that is located at the intersection of three neighborhoods in New York City - Tribeca, SoHo, and Chinatown - where it has multiple spaces dedicated to rotating exhibitions of contemporary art. The main gallery space, approximately 2,000 square feet, is an open white space and is located on the building's sixth floor; since 2009, this gallery has also housed the *Musée Minuscule*, a small exhibition site that AiG has opened after the original *Musée* space in San Francisco was shut down. AiG's *Musée Minuscule* is a tiny space of about 27 square feet, separated from the open sixth floor gallery by two white walls. It hosts varying programs of temporary exhibitions in parallel with those on show in the main gallery space.

Art in General's second gallery is a storefront space located at street-level known as "Project Space". It was donated by Gerry Weinstein, CEO of General Tools Inc., in the fall of 2003. This gallery is approximately 600 square feet and has three windows facing the street.
Offices are located on the fourth floor in a typical New York loft style, where a large meeting room sometimes hosts small conferences and lectures open to the public. The rest of the

building is occupied by the General Tools hardware company, from which Art in General symbolically takes its name.

Despite the high level profile of its cultural program, compared to similar organizations, AiG is organized around a relatively small managerial structure: it is composed of a twelve-member board of directors, and a director, who personally manages the everyday activities and programs of the institution and staff. Board members are required to provide an annual contribution to the institution and they usually participate in

Fig. 5 Art in General's Storefront space and street level entrance.
Installation view by Zachary Fabri, *lorem ipsum*, 2014.
Photo: Charles Benton.

fundraising events and make donations during the year. They very often donate money for specific projects and sometimes they even pay for the gallery's utilities.

As will be seen in the course of the analysis, the nonprofit regime affords the organization some fiscal advantages. For one thing, all donations are entirely tax deductible and money spent on tickets for events and galas are almost entirely deductible. This fiscal system is often the essential element for the success of private organizations in the U.S. as patrons have the opportunity to direct their taxes toward the charity they prefer while gaining at the same time a certain level of social visibility in return.

As a privilege for their commitment, Art in General Board Members meet at various times during the year to set the guidelines for programs, discuss and express their opinion on important issues, and propose new ideas. Agreement is obtained by a majority vote from the members who have the right and duty to attend all the meetings.

Fig. 6 Art in General's main gallery space. Installation view of Anetta Mona Chişa & Lucia Tkáčová, *Either Way, We Lose*, Meriç Algün Ringborg, *The Library of Unborrowed Books*, and Shezad Dawood, *Trailer;* 2013.
Image courtesy the artists and Art in General.

Art in General also normally benefits from city, federal, and national grants, as well as grants from private and publicly owned organizations. Even though getting these kinds of grants is harder and harder and even though the competition increases year after year because of the growing number of new cultural organizations, these funds are typically part of AiG's annual budget and are of substantial assistance in allowing the organization to support part of its program.

Fig. 7 Art in General's Musée Minuscule. Marija & Petras Olšauskai, *Miss Bird*, 2014, installation view. Image courtesy Art in General

AiG is basically structured around two different curatorial agendas - *The New Commissions Program* and *Eastern European Residency Exchange* - and, since more recently, a quite important public program called *What Now?*.

The New Commissions Program is the core activity of the institution and also the one that benefits from the largest portion of allocated resources. It was established in 2005 in order to give artists a solid opportunity to develop their research in depth and with total freedom of expression.

For this program, artists are invited to produce a new work for an exhibit that is usually hosted in the sixth floor gallery and sometimes in the Project Space on the ground floor; these exhibitions usually last about two months. Art in General provides artists with all the financial resources necessary for the production of their work and assists them during production while overseeing the entire process of curatorship, promotion and management of the exhibition. Artists are also provided with remuneration for their participation together with reimbursements for travel costs, lodging and other expenses.

Every new exhibition starts with a big, free opening that attracts a large number of participants; moreover, thanks to the long standing role of the institution and to the artists' network, the shows normally receive a significant number of critiques and a certain level of visibility from advertisements and magazines.

The selection of artists for each exhibition is driven by curatorial choices and ultimately approved by the Director of AiG, but artists can apply through an online form all year long. The application procedure starts with the presentation of a project proposal and the artist's resume; after a preliminary selection, artists are called in for an interview during which they are asked to elaborate on their ideas in greater detail.

Art in General counts some blue chip artists in its archive, such as Marina Abramović, Gabriel Orozco, and Glenn Ligon, and it

usually deals with artists who become well-established names and whose works are included in major museums worldwide.

The Eastern European Residency Exchange was initiated in 2001 by Art in General's former Director, Holly Block, with the aim of starting an artistic exchange between the East and the West. Intended to provide regions that had undergone significant change and/or political conflict with a support system and a degree of infrastructure, the program was designed to rotate through different countries and institutions, developing a network of communication, not just between Eastern European sites and Art in General, but also among the European sites themselves. Most recently, Art in General partnered with Croatia and Romania at the HDLU in Zagreb and with PAVILION in Bucharest. This program was also formerly hosted by arts organizations in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic.

The residency program allows artists from partnering institutions in Eastern Europe to spend time in New York, facilitating and aiding them in the production of new work in a new context. At the same time these institutions host New York-based artists for a similar residency, creating an ongoing dialogue that results in concrete public projects such as exhibitions, publications, workshops, and performances. The project's primary goals are to build a greater understanding of different cultures, help emerging artists advance their careers, foster a dialogue among scholars and professionals and encourage a critical discourse in the art world.

The exchange may involve both artists and curators and it is usually - but not exclusively - hosted in the Musée Minuscule, thus reflecting the project's highly experimental vocation. Being an exchange program, AiG is also involved in initiatives in Europe; in 2013, for example, it was called upon to co-curate the Latvian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale.

The program gives AiG an international slant and establishes a network of links with countries whose contemporary art potential is still evolving.

The What Now? program was conceived to invest part of AiG programming in its commitment to education. It deals with concerns from Art in General's New Commissions program as well as with questions involving the art world and society at large. It consists of a series of public discussions and debates, open to the public, involving national and international participants from the arts community; it also generates educational content, including live streaming of conferences, interviews with key contributors, and a publication featuring articles pertinent to the core topics addressed. Conferences are usually held in partnership with other major institutions and address the public on a vast scale. In 2014, What Now? culminated in a two-day symposium organized by Art in General in collaboration with the Vera List Center for Art and Politics. The symposium involved personalities from the art community who conducted panels and gave the keynote speeches.

The case of Art in General will be investigated in terms of globalization, the art market, and cultural democratization, while also drawing attention to its similarities with and differences from the Italian and French case studies.

Chapter 3
The Relationship between Global and Local

III

Junkspace is like being condemned to a perpetual Jacuzzi with millions of your best friends. . . A fuzzy empire of blur, it fuses high and low, public and private, straight and bent, bloated and starved to offer a seamless patchwork of the permanently disjointed.
Rem Koolhaas, 2001

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with globalization, without however attempting to provide a definitive understanding of the term. Here, globalization is to be used as a lens through which to view some of the main factors characterizing today's contemporary art production and consumption from the distance necessary for a certain level of detachment. An analysis of globalization is an indispensable premise for any study of the art world, and this chapter will raise questions to be answered in the following chapters. In particular, a look into globalization will inevitably require an analysis of the relationship between local and global and between cultural production and local instances.

While the world is witnessing the increasing emergence of transnational collectives and groupings, possibly marking the birth of a truly "global art", there is nonetheless a geographically diffuse resistance on the part of local communities to globalizing forces, a resistance which advocates and promotes the importance of particular local identities. This duality delineates the geography of the art system in which a few centers of power dominate a vast periphery, which leads, as it does in other fields like labor, education, and trade, to a mass phenomenon of emigration of artistic resources toward these central nodes.

Globalization is the driving force in the developments of today's art world and, as such, appears to be an indispensable concept for any investigation into contemporary art.

Despite the numerous studies that have been multiplying around the phenomenon, a clear, universally accepted and acceptable

definition of the term is still hard to find. Globalization is actually a very ancient phenomenon, a recurring situation whose scope and meaning have mutated over time. People and civilizations have moved from one place to another for centuries as a result of military conquests, for purposes of trade or in order to seek a better environment. Culture has always had both an active and a passive role in people's mobility around the globe. After the Middle Ages, in the beginning of the so called "Modern Era", a wave of globalization swept over the world as new continents were colonized politically and economically and European culture was massively exported.

The pace at which globalization developed during the 20th century was, however, quite unprecedented. The process was then and is now driven by the intense economic internationalization of trade and investments, and it obviously affects all kinds of human interactions and the whole organization of society. It is supported by the development and extensive employment of information technology, which has fueled and modified the phenomenon in the last few decades. As Judith Rodenbeck has observed, the process has experienced different phases in each of which different terms were adopted to describe it The terms "global" and "global village" have replaced the previously used word "international", thus indicating the shift from a nationalistic and state-based perspective to one increasingly indifferent to geographical boundaries.[1] Moreover, the use of the term "globalization", which up until the mid-1990s was essentially limited to the expansion of multinational companies and capital, has since then acquired a much wider application, enveloping all aspects of society and their increasing dynamism.[2]

---

[1] Rodenbeck J., 2011

[2] See Suman Gupta's presentation at *Contemporary Art and Globalisation Study Day*, Tate Modern, London, 12/03/2005

By borrowing Harris' description of the term, it is perhaps easier to understand globalization as an *analytic construct* concerning "the progressive ordering of the world and its hitherto separable societies, their people, activities and producers, into a single system"[3]. This definition encompasses the concepts of homogenization and colonization that many still recognize as being part of the process, and which is exemplified by other, allegedly synonymous, terms like *Americanization*, *Westernization* and *Colonization*. These acceptations of the term stress the influence that the United States and other Western countries have had on the rest of the world, upon which they still act within a colonizing perspective of cultural and economical exportation. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the American capitalist system has started spreading unopposed throughout the globe and simultaneously exporting its social, political, and cultural models.

The diffusion of new media and means of mass communication has widened the range of action of globalization which has deeply affected the very nature of the art world, transforming it from being the domain of elites into a complex economic and social system on a mass scale.

The cultural globalization process implies a fast cross-national movement of cultural objects, identities, heritages, museums, curators and other cultural agents. All cultural agencies are involved in the process and culture is at the center of a massive trend of internationalization and mixing. Artists, products, dealers, and institutions, are all part of a single and interconnected global system, characterized by the increasing compression of space and time. As a direct consequence, this interwoven system has spurred the formation of new levels of artistic sociability and production - through collectives and groupings - as well as the empowerment of a global art market

[3] Harris J., 2011: 1

and trade, the development of a broad discourse on art, and the rise of the mass public as a crucial new stakeholder and resource for the system. As never before, museums and art events address the public on a mass scale and are spreading all around the globe at a more or less similar, and rapid, pace.
The process follows the idea of culture as an agency of social welfare and as a means to incorporate people and governments under the same globalized social and economic infrastructure. Cultural policy is the tool to achieve these kinds of social regimes and is used to shape a transnational cultural identity.

3.2 Global Art and Global Practices

People and cultural objects move relentlessly around the globe and art producers and receivers feel they are part of a broad global community. In fact, the world is now organized around networks of activities, both the causes and the consequences of globalization, that include the global production and consumption of goods and their electronic trading, the global transportation of people, and the mass spread of global communication systems. These interconnected clusters make the formation of new, both virtual and physical, networks of people bound together by cultural, economical, and political relations possible.
In the art world, the process is embodied by the emergence of global collectives of artists, curators, and collectors who are linked with one another in many different kinds of relationships, a recent development which poses the question of whether or not a unified global art movement is indeed taking place. While schools and communities represent a form of physical aggregation per se, other kinds of virtual and supranational collaborations have started emerging, supported by information technology.

Whereas group activities, like guilds and salons, have historically been part of the artistic scene, today's situation of artistic collectives is all new. They are, in fact, characterized by a very informal nature and flexible structure which is not necessarily geared to the creation of exhibitions or practical projects, but rather to an intellectual cohesion around the construction of new social meanings. Members of these groups remain split between their local communities, where they belong, and the international horizon with which they have to interact.

The advance of globalization has also raised questions that bring this newly connected community together. The issues of deterritorialization, the exploitation of mass communication, the trans national cultural policy, the fair use of copyright, human rights and artistic freedom are only a few examples of the topics that keep these clusters together.

Among the patterns that these formations share, there is an emphasis on collaboration, a flexibility on the part of the members and organizations supporting them, a shared lexicon and a commitment to social and political issues.[4] Platforms, mobile curatorial strategies and international cultural programs, are all examples of the globalization trend in art.

This new artistic practice illustrates the emergence of a global public sphere in which actors find a way to develop a democratic dialogue and to promote new levels of artistic interaction. Instead of focusing on creation, members of the community choose to collaborate in flexible ways within a horizontal field of work that encompasses different agencies and actors.[5]

Artists themselves have been affected by this tendency and their role within the art community has assumed a new dynamism. They no longer identify themselves with the Romantic idea of the artist as a solitary creator, but rather as part of the broad

[4] Rodenbeck J., 2011: 162

[5] Papastergiadis N., 2011

engine of production whereby they are able to shape their ideas.[6] In accordance with Howard Becker's idea of the art world as a sphere of interconnected activities, production, distribution and creation proceed along intersecting tracks.[7]

Art history, traditionally engaged with classifications of works of art based on geography and time, has been challenged by the fluidity and blurring of regional boundaries and by the process of cultural identity mixing. The geography of art has been reshaped and art historians must deal with these "non-places" of cultural production. Furthermore, the delineation of the constituencies that form the art system is no longer easily achievable and even the philosophical definition of space has been placed under scrutiny.[8] In this context space becomes an immaterial concept, matched by a vaster and more general spatial dimension of thought, which, clearly enough, may today extend well over national barriers.

This collaborative vision of the art world has also changed artists' institutional engagement and the role of museums and galleries. Seen from above, within the perspective of a global and virtual system, museums have lost part of their local and territorial features to become assimilated to hubs coordinating the different activities of the art practice. As the figure of the artist has shifted from that of a creator to a more multidisciplinary role of collaborator, so have museums and galleries changed from static repositories of settled knowledge to platforms for multiple activities. Once again, there is a focus on the dynamism and event-oriented goals of cultural institutions, which have come to represent a place of encounter and discussion for artists and their public.

---

[6] Orta L., 2009

[7] Becker H., 1982

[8] Kaufmann T. D., 2004

The event status that has been affecting culture and art has been accompanied by a parallel shift from the art object to the art project, marking the emphasis on the whole process as creation, which is in turn the result of mobile strategies of collaboration. Critics, curators and artists cluster around project-based practices which are very often politically and socially engaged. The diffusion of Internet and communication technologies has expedited collaboration in contemporary art as artists pursue new kinds of interdisciplinary practices, based on new forms of knowledge circulation, self-organized collective activities, affinities with popular culture and emerging issues, and a mediation between local and global communities.

Charles Esche describes the approach of today's artists as "modest proposals", which do not consider the institutional arena an enemy to be challenged but rather an opportunity and resource. The artists' battle is, in other words, engaged from within the system and with a very pragmatic approach. According to Esche, as of 1989 art has been ever more frequently solicited for didactical and social commitments primarily as a way to justify the economic development of the art system.[9] Today, artists have found a mediated way to approach the art practice, one in which they still strive for alternative scenarios but they do so by starting from concrete necessities and existing objects from inside the system. Concrete necessity is the feature that defines the use of the term "modesty" without however renouncing a broader scale of ambitions. Players in the art world undertake collective projects to develop strategies and analyze existing conditions in many areas of society. They collaborate as individuals in search of a collective creativity and objective results.

The Still House Group is an emerging artist-run organization based in Brooklyn supporting a group of young artists. The aim

[9] Esche C., 2005: 2

of the group is to help promote and assist one another on a collaborative basis and to encourage the production and exhibition of new work. Since its inception in 2007, the collective has participated in several group or solo shows thus balancing the contributions of individuals and group. The Still House is a good example of one of today's modes of collaboration. While the fact of belonging to the same geographic community - New York, where most of them met during school - represents the group's physical ties, the modalities in which they interact suggest an affinity with today's global art practice which is characterized by the emphasis on collaboration around specific projects. In point of fact, they do not recognize their local community as being a goal or even a characterizing feature of their organization; it is just the circumstance that has brought them together so they can help one another. Their ultimate goal is not to promote themselves under a label as a Brooklyn-based collective or as a group of American young artists, but rather to assist one another in very practical ways. For example, they share the rental costs and other expenses for their studios, they work together to organize exhibitions and presentations of their works and they share and reinforce their networks. They understand the difficulties of living in a highly competitive context and, instead of challenging or opposing the system, they respond by networking and joining their forces.

Within this globally connected community, artists are collaborating for the creation of new social values and for pedagogical dialogues. In 1998, Nicolas Bourriaud described the emergence of a "relational aesthetic", a phrase that he coined in order to define and cluster the works and methodology of a broad community of contemporary artists. For Bourriaud, today's art is still carrying on the fight to find ways to improve the human condition that began during the Enlightenment and developed during the course of Modernity and with the Avant-garde; unlike before, however, the present fight has surrendered

the utopian and idealistic elements it once professed. Today artists are not trying to change the world according to preconceived evolutionary ideas, they just want to "inhabit the world in a better way".[10] Artists' perspective has changed because society has changed and they now interact with the existing reality, from production to market and social exchanges. Relational aesthetics is thus an "art taking as its theoretical horizon the realm of human interactions and its social context, rather than the assertion of an independent and private symbolic space", and its creators refer to a common global urban landscape with a shared lexicon. Bourriaud described today's society as one of dense encounters and mobility, one in which artists produce works to be "lived through" as opposed to being subjected to the territorial and physical acquisitions of artworks of the previous aristocratic patron-based system.[11] Art is able to produce areas of social exchange and dialogue spanning the opportunities of specific inter-human relations. Art brings people together in order to create a "collective elaboration of meanings".[12] In this state of encounter characterizing art, Bourriaud finds the expression of an emerging common trajectory of contemporary art practice.

Relational aesthetics and its social effects are, however, the subject of great dispute. As Papastergiadis notes, it is probably the combination of humanist ideals of sharing with the market logic of outsourcing that has provoked the greatest opposition as the mercantile spirit seems to be prevailing over artistic sensibility.[13] Stewart Martin defined relational aesthetics as the "aestheticization of novel forms of capitalist exploitation", while

---

[10] Bourriaud N., 2002: 13

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Idem*: 15

[13] Papastergiadis N., 2011: 277

Bharucha described it as "a pseudo-democratic neoliberal appropriation of the creative industry rhetoric of vitality and autonomous performance".[14]

3.3 The Rise of *Local* after *Global*

On the one hand, the emergence of collective practice and its defining characteristics - social engagement, informality of membership, a focus on collaboration, and a high level of interconnectedness - are driving the idea of the existence of a global community. On the other hand, there is, however, a growing resistance on the part of local identities and minorities to the pressure exerted on the art world by globalization and by the equally rapid spread of cultural simplification.
There is, in fact, an ever greater tension between local identities and global forces due to the emergence of this new grouping practice and to the consequent clash between the global and local public spheres. Localism and globalism seem like decidedly contradictory terms and like, to borrow Mitchell's words, two conditions that "grow out of one another - as if the very idea of the local had been generated by the global"[15]. In fact, as globalization is not yet equally and symmetrically affecting the art world, particular local identities seem here and there to resist the standardizing advancement of the phenomenon and to favor their own communities' issues instead of - or before - joining the general global plan of action.
This might also be a consequence of the inequalities that globalization has often perpetuated, in particular in non-Western countries or the so called "Third World", where the phenomenon has typically occurred as an imperialistic supremacy of the stronger over the weaker. It is well known how the United States

[14] Bharucha R., 2007: 371, 398

[15] Mitchell W. J. T., 2011: 253

and some western European countries are still dominating cultural production and narratives all over the globe, and how a narrow network of a few poles and institutions calls the tune for everyone else.

The art world is organized around geographical centers that control the system and its periphery, where the principal artists, curators and galleries tend to gather. These centers, namely, New York, Berlin, Beijing and London, are not simply cultural districts, but rather centers of power in the hands of a circumscribed elite. As Alain Quemin's studies of the Kunstkompass show[16], it appears clear there is a ranking of the countries that dominate the art system and, within these countries, a sub-ranking of cities where the main activities tend to occur. Growing up in one country instead of another, attending certain art schools, and exhibiting in particular galleries, is still a guarantee of success or at least of better opportunities which globalization has not yet equally distributed geographically.

Seen from this perspective, the actuality of globalization, in its most commonly understood sense, in the world of art faces a considerable challenge; the existence of the hegemony of a few over a broad periphery seems to deny any possibility of a real and mutual cultural exchange.

3.4 The clash of identities

The problem of local social identity which has been raised by the globalized art world and the call for artists to become active interpreters of new social meanings have led to manifestations of commitment to local values and community-based projects. With the collaborative turn in contemporary art, artistic practice feels an increasing need to address local civic questions alongside

[16] Quemin A., 2012

cross-cultural and global issues. Miwon Kwon claims there has been a return of a revised *site-specificity* in art practice that considers the *site* as the set of social conditions binding the artwork to the place in which it is conceived. For Kwon, artists require a "relational sensibility" that enables them to develop strong and recurring local encounters and to produce new trajectories of social values[17]. Proceeding from an analysis of site-specific art from the '60s and '70s, Kwon maintains that the space has nevertheless shifted from an actual physical location - a gallery room, a landscape or a street - to a more general social context. Recent site-oriented art by artists like Andrea Fraser, Renée Green and Fred Wilson demonstrates how the referential site of art has extended over art contexts across broader cultural, political and social fields, enveloping both physical and immaterial spaces. Most importantly, Kwon's assertion of the existence of this new social community-oriented form of public art contradicts prior examples of "plop-art", in which artists totally alien to the needs of a specific community, were called on to produce an art object "parachuted in" for that specific context. The integration of new strategies of social involvement, which distance themselves from often unremarkable top-down approaches, is then necessary in order to achieve a meaningful and effective outcome.

The Long March Project, an ongoing art project that links Chinese and international artists and that was founded by artist and curator Lu Jie, seeks the integration of local identities with mainstream culture. By retracing Mao's steps of the Revolutionary Long March in 1934-36, the project aimed to connect local historical events with new artistic activities. Each stop of the march produced a different artistic outcome according to the particular social, economic and cultural conditions of that site. Lu Jie's intention was not to bring artists

[17] Kwon M., 2002

from the center to the peripheral areas, but to produce a real interaction between local and global instances, and between art insiders and outsiders. Through this inter-local perspective, the project sought a lateral and transversal approach to the relationship between local and global.

Manifesta 6 in Cyprus is a well-known example of the clash between local and global identity. Manifesta is an Amsterdam-based European Biennial of contemporary art that changes its location every two years in the attempt to involve peripheral and developing regions in the international discourse on art. Despite Manifesta's goal of working as an interface between prevailing international artistic and intellectual debates and the specific needs of a given location, the 2006 event in Nicosia turned out to be a complete failure due to disputes between the local coordinators of the project and the curators of Manifesta about an art school in Nicosia. For the three-month period concluding the Biennial the international group of curators wanted to set up an art school along the Green Line that divides Greek and Turkish Cyprus, in order to illustrate the need for the contemporary art world to address sociopolitical issues, particularly in such a controversial area.

Probably one of the key issues that led to the cancellation of the event was the fact that the Manifesta Foundation worked only with Greek-Cypriot authorities without involving the Turkish part of the city, thus overlooking a fundamental and intrinsic aspect of the life of the local community in which it was supposed to operate. Shortly before the opening date of the event, the NFA (Nicosia for Art) the local body appointed for the coordination and management of the project, announced that the school along the Green Line was unfeasible and illegal. The curators were basically fired and the event cancelled.

The words of Manifesta 6 curator Florian Waldvogel help to give an idea of one important cause for the failure of the project: "… *the impression we were given in the first 15 months of our collaboration*

with them was that they are engaged and open to a dialogue with the other side and that the politics of the "Cyprus Problem" would remain outside our school".[18] The 'Cyprus Problem' was therefore from the beginning put aside as an insurmountable issue too difficult to resolve and the curators' hope was simply to avoid the delicate question. This story reveals the difficulties and inevitable superficiality that a hasty switch from global to local may involve, together with the fundamental need for a multi-stakeholder approach, one that is sensitive to all the different necessities and requirements in play each time. It also raises questions about the role of contemporary art in disputed regions as well as about the kind of relationship that the international art system should have with local communities. Is contemporary art capable of promoting social trends of democratization and inclusion? And to what extent should this be performed by international agencies? The risk, once again, is that what has been exported worldwide is only a Western approach to art, nullifying any possibility for equal cultural exchanges. As Crooke has pointed out, the "involvement of community is about the creation of new circuits of power and sustainable community networks that promote access and inclusion […] to diverse communities".[19]

Geographies and localisms are re-contextualized according to cultural movement and the relationship between local and global becomes an essential parameter of analysis. The dialectics between center and periphery represent the structural matrix of our contemporaneity. According to Rectanus, the relationship between local and global gives rise to conflicting forces that are easily discerned in the context of the museum.[20] Museums mediate reality and, in doing so, they come to represent a piece

---

[18] Herbert M., 2006

19 Crooke E., 2006: 173

20 Rectanus M., "Globalization: Incorporating the Museum", 2011, p. 383

of their locality; curators do not simply translate culture through their own perspective, but they contextualize it according to their idea of locality, complicating the notion of local and global.
We are therefore witnessing a suspension between the drive toward globalization and cultural simplification in the art system and the resistance on the part of local identities and minorities all over the globe which slows down the process of cultural mixing.
According to Hou Hanru, globalization is the attempt to reduce the gap between the centers and peripheries of the world.[21] Hanru describes it as a reaction to the period of exportation of Western culture toward peripheral systems of the world; today, the constant mobilization of resources and humans among geographies has led to a profound contamination of cultures and a hybridization of identities. The steady flow of cultural information from place to place challenges the concept of identity and remaps the relationships between culture and territory; historical identities become more fluid and boundaries start blurring.

3.5 Centers of Power and Geographical Imbalance

The existence of a hierarchy of a small number of countries which culturally and economically dominate the art world forces us to reconsider the idea of a globalized and uniformed art system. While the current general discourse on art claims there is a hybridization of cultures and an equal legitimacy of all countries and ethnicities, the real image of the art world suggests otherwise. For one thing, the number of publications in English and the locations of most biennials, major universities and cultural events all indicate a marked predominance of Anglo-American historiography; as Harris notes, the power to decide

[21] Hanru H., 2002

what is economically and intellectually valuable still resides very largely in the hands of agents in the Western art world.[22]

If Alain Quemin were asked how international the art world today is, his answer would be "it isn't really". His research on the Kunstkompass has revealed that mainstream propaganda on cultural globalization is for the most part abstract and illusory. There is, in fact, a classification of countries, familiar to all and including rankings for institutions and for markets in the art system, that contradicts the discourse on globalization.[23] The Kunstkompass is a German chart of the top 100 contemporary artists which has been published every year since 1970, first by the German business magazine *Capital* and, more recently, by *Manager Magazin*. The chart does not consider artists' prices in the market but is instead a ranking according to the opinions of experts. Artists' names are listed in descending order of importance and accompanied by other useful data like the artist's nationality, year of birth, main discipline, and a number of points in the ranking. The Kunstkompass classifies artists in terms of institutional recognition and provides a summary of their international visibility.

These data have been used by Quemin to analyze the evolution and trend of these charts from a geographical perspective. In 2005, ninety of the one hundred artists came from Western Europe or North America; in 2010, there were only twenty countries represented in the list which included 29 artists from the United States and 29 from Germany, 13 from the United Kingdom, four from France and four from Switzerland, three from Austria, two each from Italy, Belgium, Denmark and Canada. Western countries, and particularly the United States and Germany, clearly dominate the art scene; moreover, as Quemin notes, if only the country of residence were considered,

[22] Harris J., 2011

[23] Quemin A., 2012

the artists who have emigrated to the United States or Western Europe would not even be counted as belonging to their country of origin, but instead to their hosting geographies. Data show that many artists on the Kunstkompass chart come from just a few countries, meaning that nationality is still a crucial factor in the art world, which thus appears to be split among a center, a periphery and a semi-periphery. When extending his research to an analysis of the art market through *Artprice* data, Quemin's geographical description of the art world finds one important change in the role of China. The rise of China in the contemporary art market sector has been spectacular: in less than a decade, it reached first place in the overall fine arts auction market. Whiteout even taking the incredible Chinese financial boom into consideration, market data alone reveal an impressive concentration in terms of geography; in 2010, only three countries accounted for over 80 percent of all fine art auctions: 33 percent in China, 30 percent in the United States, and 19 percent in the United Kingdom.[24] However, the impressive rise in the number of Chinese artists in auction sales does not correspond to an increased presence of Chinese galleries at international fairs.

In fact, a similar geographical monopoly of the system has been observed in studies of the national profiles of galleries participating in the most important art fairs worldwide: "*Even though international contemporary art fairs have spread to other parts of the globe* [i.e., not in the US or Western Europe], *entire regions and even whole continents such as Africa, are completely unrepresented, and most regions are represented only marginally*"[25]. On the one hand, art events and fairs take place in a limited, and mainly Western, area of the art world, and, on the other, galleries taking part in these events come from just 64 Western countries - just one-third of the world.

---

[24] Quemin A., 2012: 62

[25] *Idem:* 66

Malcolm Bull's research into the economy of attention regarding the major contemporary artists based on an analysis of both the distribution of art prizes and Artfacts ranking points once again to the hypothesis of a tremendous geographical inequality within the art world. Results show in fact that the hegemony of the old centers remains unchallenged, with an art world dominated by the United States and Western Europe countries.[26]

Bull then compares these data with the rankings of Artprice, which is instead an indicator of artists' value on the market. While in 2008 Artfacts' top 100 list included only two Asian artists (one Korean and one Japanese) on Artprice the rank included sixteen Asian and five Russian artists. Bull's research seems to correspond with Alain Quemin's and to reaffirm how Western countries still dominate the attention economy of contemporary artists, while new Asian centers of powerful finance capital have entered the market scene.

When Bull puts the two sets of data into a single diagram that he calls "The Art Pyramid", the rankings based on the economy of attention and on market success do not match; in fact, only 38 artists out of 234 appear in both rankings, meaning that there is little correlation between success in the attention economy and in the art market. This leads Bull to conclude that the art world is not one and equal, but rather "double and unequal"[27] as it is dominated by the co-presence of two opposing economies - the economic and the cultural.

This reveals two main levels of criticality in the globalizing trend. On the one hand, there is a problem of cultural and social identity that occurs in both the issue of cultural flattening and supremacy over minorities and in that of the clash between global and local interests due principally to the incommunicability of the two scales. On the other hand, the

[26] Bull M., 2011

[27] *Idem*: 188

current situation denotes a profound geographical imbalance in the art system leading in consequence to widespread inequality. While the former instance usually entails an exportation of cultural production on the part of the dominant countries toward the rest of the world, geographical inequalities typically lead to a mass migration of people and resources toward the main poles and a consequent elevated "brain drain".

The geographical inequality of the art world involves different levels of criticality. Within peripheral and semi-peripheral areas there is an issue of unexploited resources which concerns both the market and the social sphere. The underdevelopment of the art market in the vast majority of the world causes a loss of opportunities for artists, for potential collectors and for the public. The market share is in fact not only concentrated in just a few geographical centers, but also wielded by a small elite. Consequently, the art market does not follow the free trade pattern but is instead constantly manipulated and controlled by a small number of actors.

Although it is legitimate to assume that creativity is innate in human kind and that therefore new artists are emerging everywhere in the world at all times, it is nonetheless inevitable that those places outside the network of power of contemporary art will not be able to take advantage of their artists as a resource and will lose their potential. This situation regards not only artists, who are usually forced to emigrate toward the main centers, but also all those citizens who could be potential collectors of works by local and international artists or who might be willing to have an active role in the cultural scene. In short, there is a high level of unexploited human, financial and cultural capital.

Peripheral areas are also disadvantaged in terms of social capital. They have in fact fewer opportunities for the production and development of future culture and an elevated "brain drain".

On the one hand, it is almost impossible to provide a univocal assessment and evaluation on the general consequences of migration as many studies on the subject have stated. In fact, recent contributions to the field have demonstrated that, for example, there is a correlation between global migration and trade and provided evidence of the positive effects that human migration has in facilitating cross-border transactions and goods and information exchanges.[28] On a sample of 146 world countries between the years 1970 and 2000, Sgrignoli, Metulini, Schiavo and Riccaboni have recently analyzed the relations between the trade of differentiated goods and migration networks and confirmed the positive effects of migration on commercial exchanges: as migration increases between two countries, so does trade.[29] On the other hand, even though these studies have demonstrated a straightforward and positive relationship between trade of differentiated and homogeneous goods and migration flows, they do not seem, however, to be particularly informative in the case of art, which does not necessarily involve a mutual trade exchange. Artists, whose production is by definition based on the single individual unlike industrial production that focuses on the production of commercial goods, leave their home countries in search of opportunities for personal fame.

Emigration - whenever it comes as an obligation rather than a personal choice - forces artists to cut their cultural roots and to invest their creativity in an alien context, in which they typically have an initial limited network that puts them at further risk of being isolated. This is not advantageous for their countries of origin either, where the public is deprived of the cultural offer as

---

[28] Rauch, J. E. and Trindade, V., 2002; Simini, F., González, M. C., Maritan, A., and Barabási, A. L., 2012;
Fagiolo, G. and Mastrorillo, M., 2013; Sgrignoli, P., Metulini, R., Schiavo, S., Riccaboni, M., 2013

[29] Sgrignoli, P., Metulini, R., Schiavo, S., Riccaboni, M., 2013: 13

well as of the possibility of enjoying artists from their territory. Moreover, the dominance of and homogenization by a single cultural trend also puts local histories and heritages, minorities, and cultural biodiversity at risk.

The way in which cultural institutions respond to the physical place in which they operate gives rise to different outcomes and different cultural objects. Globalization flows and culture circulation are rising the problem of cultural heritage and forcing the art community to rethink the concept of identity. Museums must be able to balance their connection to the global system of art with their local constituency. They are part of everyday activities and instances of local communities but, because globalization has reduced time and distances, are also influenced by what is happening everywhere else in the world. Therefore, while theoretically any cultural object can potentially circulate and be echoed all over the world, it belongs nonetheless to a specific place and to specific instances that characterize its local position. Cultural institutions operate in a globalized network where they are suspended between their locality and the global community they must deal with.

As we will see, a return to the local scale thus appears to be a potential factor in a fairer, more sustainable idea of the institution, one which can be more cost-efficient but which can also contribute to the pursuit of the democratic goal of art diffusion in the local territory.

3. 6 The Dialectics of Center/Periphery within National borders
The Case of the Pompidou Mobile

The Center Pompidou Mobile (CPM) raises the question of cultural identity with respect to context and underlines the importance of the relationship between museums and society.
This relationship exchange can be easily represented graphically with Griswold's diamond[30]. In the diamond, four points are linked to one another and form a rhombus – the diamond – that connects the four actors (or categories) of any cultural process: the social world, the cultural object, the creator and the receiver. The vertical line inside the diamond relates the social world to the cultural object: the direction of the arrow describes the line of influence between the two elements.
By considering the Pompidou Mobile the cultural object and rural France the social world, it is possible to create a diamond applicable to this special case. The arrow here tends to point upward, that is to say that the cultural object, the Pompidou Mobile, influences the social world, France. The CPM is in fact essentially an appendix detached from its main body, the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, which is in total control and can also replicate itself in a completely different context. A cultural object from the central body is thus placed in a new environment in order to provide citizens with a piece of their heritage. Citizens are exposed to the cultural object which acts as a bearer of values and a symbol of national identity and which represents a selection of memories offered to the public for safe-keeping. The cultural object becomes thus a "symbol" and as such, in accordance with Geertz's theories, a bearer of meaning and an object that outside the organism is able to initiate social and psychological processes and influence public behavior.[31] The

[30] Griswold W., 2008

[31] Geertz C., 1965

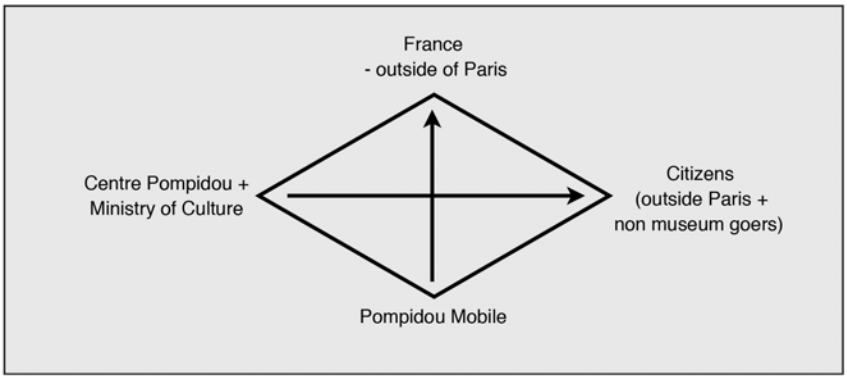


Fig. 1 Application of Griswold's Cultural Diamond to the Pompidou Mobile case

Pompidou Mobile submits narratives for the creation of a national community and provides "selected" cultural capital through the institution. In fact, according to Bourdieu, the public museum, through the selection and preservation of specific cultural objects, is empowered to decide what shall be shown in front of people and what should not and therefore to institutionalize certain objects and knowledge.[32]
"*Cultural capital is not just accumulated by individuals, it is institutionalized by the state and its accumulation presupposes the guarantees of cultural monopolies such as academies, schools, universities and museums*.".[33]

From the interviews collected at Pompidou Mobile in Aubagne it is clear that many visitors perceived the nomadic museum not as part of their own heritage and culture, but rather as a piece of Paris temporarily present in their hometown. Some of them declared that they only began to appreciate the museum after a while, since at first it felt like an alien presence. Among the visitors to the CPM who were interviewed - all of whom

[32] Bourdieu P., 1997: 50

[33] Fyfe G., 2004: 49

were from the region of Aubagne, in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur - a remarkable 76 percent felt that despite the Pompidou's good intentions, the CPM only really belonged to the city of Paris; a mere 16 percent thought it belonged to all of France. This raises an important question on identity in relation to culture and vice versa and, more importantly, it reveals the failure of the project in at least part of its original goal; the development of a national cultural community cannot materialize in a context where the cultural object is considered alien to the hosting cultural environment.

The majority of visitors experienced the nomadic museum as a happening, a temporary guest in their hometown away from the country's cultural center. Once the CPM left, the city and the region would return to normality; consequently, the CPM was nothing more than an exception, an ephemeral event, a pleasant and amusing cultural break.

These important findings reinforce the validity of Brustein's concept of cultural education which proposes permanent activities like school education as a more useful means for social welfare, than the use of ephemeral cultural events.[34] As Bourdieu first maintained, it is only through the spread of formal education that a real and lasting aesthetic awareness can be created; in other words, he opposed using a "rational pedagogy" to "direct cultural actions", which are however far more catchy and have a greater immediate impact.[35] The CPM was an attempt to create durable and diffusible cultural capital, even though such an idea is in direct contrast with the ephemeral nature of the project and does not follow Bourdieu's precept of *pedagogy.*

The project also addresses the issue of cultural identity and its concerns. The notion of identity is clearly a complex process of

---

[34] Brustein R., 1999

[35] Bourdieu P., *The Inheritors: French Students and Their Relation to Culture*, 1979

different perceptions, sensibilities and geographies. People's reactions are testimony to the existence of local minor identities as opposed to the central unified vision of the country. Despite – or perhaps because of – the centralism that has historically characterized France, every region has developed its own sense of belonging and its own articulation of identity, one which could easily repudiate the idea of unity proposed by the project. In fact, the Pompidou Mobile is not the only project aiming to contrast the centralism of Paris; prior to the Pompidou Mobile project, in May 2010 the museum opened a second venue in France, the Pompidou-Metz, in the Lorraine region, with the aim of spreading art and culture in new areas of France other than Paris. Originally conceived in 2000 by Jean-Jacques Aillagon, the then president of the Centre Pompidou, the Pompidou-Metz was meant to be the decentralization of a major art institution outside Paris.

As Alain Seban declared, "*the Pompidou-Metz is project that was conceived to contrast the centralization of French cultural institutions; our aim is to confer more power to local governments*".[36] The capacity of the "peer-museum" to attract local public has been confirmed by the preliminary data reporting that 87 percent of total visitors come from France and, of these, 52 percent come from the Lorraine region.[37]

Also the Louvre responded to the same demand for cultural spread and in 2012 opened a new museum branch in Lens, the Louvre-Lens. Like for the Pompidou Mobile, the site for the new museum was chosen according to socio-economic parameters; in Lens, a former mining town in Northern France and one of

[36] Words by Alain Seban, Director of the Centre G. Pompidou, speaking at "Satellite Museums", Conference, presented as part of *ART²: An International Platform on Contemporary Art*, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, Thursday, April 24, 2014

[37] Le Centre Pompidou, Bilan d'Activité en 2010, Paris: Direction de la communication et des partenariats, 2011

France's poorest areas, the new museum was believed capable of regenerating the urban areas and boost local economy.[38] In Lens, as well as in the upcoming Louvre in Abu Dhabi (the opening has been set in December 2015), the goal of the Louvre is to create a "universal" museum, where "universality" stands for "universally accessible". As stated by Hervé Barbaret, both in Lens and in Abu Dhabi the museum aims to be a place accessible to everybody, in which art and culture are suspended between the museums' local roots and their global connections: "*In Abu Dhabi the Louvre is helping the Arab Emirates to build their own universal museum. There will be an interplay between local and global and contemporary art will come from everywhere in the world*."[39]

The cultural policies of local governments often rely on a concept of identity that reflects their own community, far removed from the official narratives chronicled in the national museums. For this reason, the Pompidou Mobile was conceived with the aim of bringing the central to the peripheral. Visitors' reactions to the presence of the CPM in Aubagne indicate that globalization, or, more in general, a simplifying perspective, whether at a national or an international level, does not always work everywhere. People in Aubagne clearly viewed their local identity as something different from their national identity; furthermore, they perceived the CPM as part of Parisian heritage and not their own. A minor local identity entered into contact with a major national narrative, but remained separate and autonomous.

The CPM's producers failed to take the potential resistance to a new cultural object in a new context into consideration: a sudden change of environment does not necessarily translate into an

[38] Words by Hervé Barbaret, Managing Director of the Louvre Museum in Paris, speaking at "Satellite Museums" conference, presented as part of *ART²: An International Platform on Contemporary Art*, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, Thursday, April 24, 2014

[39] *Idem*

immediate adaptation to language and understanding. According to Geertz's definition, culture is produced by public systems of meanings that are the collective property of a particular people and, in this case, of a particular territory. When people are exposed to different or foreign cultures or sets of actions and beliefs, they are likely to be unfamiliar with them and unable to understand their system of meanings.[40]

How the meanings accompanying the objects proposed are perceived by the beholders is an equally important question. In fact, different groups may have different reactions to or understandings of the same thing.

According to the theories of perception and, in the sociological field, to the analysis of cultural reception, any object can inspire multiple interpretations. For cultural and historical reasons, people react differently to a cultural stimulus. As expressed by Swidler, culture may work as a tool-kit that people use as a repertoire of meanings and cultural capital.[41] Unlike Marxian perspective in which culture is a superimposed set of meanings, here it is a means for infinite personal interpretations. Memory, an essential element in the consumer's interpretative reaction, is the instrument that can provide people with meanings, the bricks of the identity-making process. Individuals, however, tend to respond to mnemonic stimuli in unpredictable ways, causing an alteration of memory according to the receiver's reaction. As Susan Crane has shown, contact with the contents of a museum renews our relationship with the past and memory.[42]

The experience changes according to the emotional, temporal and geographical circumstances of the receiver, all of which modify the response. This leads to a continuous circle of influences – a representation of the unstable and changing nature

[40] Geertz C., 1973

[41] Swidler A., 1986

[42] Crane S., 2011: 103

of culture, and consequently of museums – which corresponds to the perpetual process of creation. Griswold's diamond can be applied to this pattern through the insertion of a double arrow which, once it reaches society from the museum, is reflected back in the opposite sense.

The post-modern perspective has increasingly included the public in the process of identity and meaning creation. Barthes's "Death of the Author" describes how the cultural consumer is part of the process of interpreting and supporting the narrative. People can interpret and draw their own meanings from the cultural object, as well as resist the message attached to it.

But in the case of the Pompidou Mobile, interviews have shown that visitors did not come with a specific "horizon of expectations"[43]; rather, the majority admitted to knowing very little, if anything, about either the artists or the artworks being exhibited.

When viewed in the context of the small town of Aubagne, the case of the CPM becomes far more complicated. Aubagne is situated just 18 km from Marseille, a port city that has historically been characterized by immigration, particularly from France's ex-colonies in Northern Africa but also from many other countries – multiple ethnicities that are now well rooted in the local community.

Because of cultural and traditional differences, the meanings elicited by these "new" French citizens from the art in the CPM are probably very different from the interpretations of other communities. In fact, according to Griswold, the same cultural object can lead to different interpretations when the receiver, the time or the context changes.[44] Gender, class and race can also influence the reception of a cultural object. Different

[43] Alexander V. D., 2003: 192

[44] Griswold W., 1987

social groups may have different horizons of expectations that will inevitably produce a variety of different meanings.
This explains one of the great difficulties facing museums concerning education: the challenge of how to become a symbolic boundary embracing a broader social group formed by those citizens who recognize themselves in the institution. Boundaries can, in fact, be a way to establish a sense of membership and to gather different people under a banner of shared values, symbols, or customs.

The case of the Pompidou Mobile can be defined as an attempt at cultural exportation from the stronger and more legitimized center to the periphery, which was never involved in the decision-making process, causing the ultimate failure of the project. In fact, local cultural institutions should be seen as tools for public policy rather than suppliers of national narratives. They might offer , for example, public services like educational activities and the creation of centers for social inclusion. Because towns are smaller than cities and thus operate on a more human scale, they better reflect and represent the local community and can be the link between the central power and the territory.
The key element for the survival of a certain identity is the recognition of shared cultural codes, meanings and symbols by the members and non-members of its correspondent community. Museums provide the opportunity to define and establish an idea of community, which is based upon a shared history, shared values and a sense of belonging. From this perspective, museums are now frequently brought under the scrutiny of sociology, as they are involved in sociological issues, like policies of social inclusion and the community-making process.

The case studies proposed by Crooke are an example of how museums can be a fundamental step in the formation of

identity as well as in the empowerment of the community.[45] Cultural initiatives based on the involvement of related local communities have succeeded in mobilizing social capital, in creating a relationship of trust between the government and its citizens and in endorsing the preservation of local cultural heritage. The key element for the success of all these projects is the use of a well-defined bottom-up process. This approach is considered essential for durable success as well as for the achievement of positive feedback from the collectivity.

In response, museums have now started redefining themselves in order to respect their social goals; this is a tendency which is in many ways directly opposite to the concept of branding because it addresses a smaller, more territorial scale of values, one which is more suitable for communication with the pluralistic facets of contemporary social reality. This shift towards fragmentation reflects the so-called post-modern condition, wherein the museum loses its integrity through the splintering of beliefs, needs and identities – which seems to be a direct consequence of the forces of globalization.

The Pompidou Mobile, however, adopted the reverse strategy: from the early stages of its conception up to its physical installation, it was part of a dramatic top-down approach. The agents of the local communities were only involved in practical, daily management issues. This decision did in a way deny the project the possibility of building durable social capital and of embodying a civic role for the smaller regional communities. In fact, interviews revealed that the majority of visitors came from the surrounding areas, thus representing a regional user base. The Centre Pompidou could, perhaps, have used a multi-layered approach capable of developing more opportunities for local

[45] Crooke proposed three case studies: the Community Museum in Oaxaca, Mexico, the Community Exhibitions in Northern Ireland and the District Six Museum in Cape Town. Crook E., 2006

communities, while launching the creation of a sustainable horizontal network of diffused resources.

Moreover, the current fate of the Pompidou Mobile – its move to Saudi Arabia first and subsequently to Malaga under a different name – is rooted in the globalized system of culture. It represents the tendency of globalizing forces to replicate themselves in a series of cloned experiences. Culture travels relentlessly from place to place, creating the premises for museums to perform their roles outside their territorial borders. Once it becomes a cultural brand, the museum starts to undergo a process of deterritorialization, not unlike what happens with temporary exhibitions. The secret of the relationship between Saudi Arabia and France relies on the capacity of the Pompidou to be a cultural brand; the Pompidou Mobile has basically assumed the role of being an ambassador of the company's brand.

Besides its innovative definition of museum space – which was clearly successful in attracting a new public and adding a contemporary touch to the democratization of museological space, as we will see – the project should have also, however, re-examined the concept of social engagement and the question of identity. In the museum space, identity and community come face to face and there is a need to balance these contrasting forces. The proposal of one cultural heritage might exclude minorities with different histories or identities, thus failing in its purpose to represent the whole society.

3. 7 The Promotion of Local Community Artists
The Case of "Artisti a Km0", Centro Pecci for Contemporary Art

The way in which an institution works, together with the inescapable questions about its legitimacy and its relationship with the individuals involved, has already been subject of sociological studies by the masters of modern sociology, in particular by Simmel, Durkheim, Weber, and Marx. All these founding studies were focused on the ways in which institutions influence the individual and affect society.
Modern sociology has indeed stood up against what is seen as an imposition of desires and needs by a dominant *superstructure* shaping society's order. As regards the problem of institutionalization and an institution's control over individuals, we will see how the "Artisti a Km0" project works very differently, by leaving the individual alone with his or her public and without attaching any sort of ideological discourse (the no-action approach is of course a well defined museological and also political choice).
According to the theory of institutional design, there are some basic questions to be considered before proceeding any further. The Centro Pecci museum and, subsequently, the "Artisti a Km0" project were set up in Prato thanks to a synergic encounter of will and stakes. As has already been stated, Prato has traditionally been perceived, and in part still is today, as an industrial district, with a special focus on textile manufacturing and trade. Even though this was particularly true during the 19th century and the expansion of the mid-twentieth century economic boom, Prato has been a city of traders since the late Middle Ages. A figure like the merchant Francesco di Marco Datini did not arrive in Prato by chance, but was rather the result of a rising economical structure that saw the emergence of the social class of merchants and private patrons, who began the

practice of sponsoring artists and buying their works of art.[46] During the 1970s and the 1980s, Prato experienced a period of economic prosperity and, just like Francesco Datini in the 14th century, Luigi Pecci was able to find the fundamental premises for the establishment of the new museum. According to Robert Goodin, it is important to remember the various contextual settings of any social action. The sociology of institutions would consider these settings as an ensemble of "*individual agents and groups pursuing their respective projects in a context that is collectively constrained*", where those constraints take the form of institutions.[47] Institutions - and in this case, the project run by

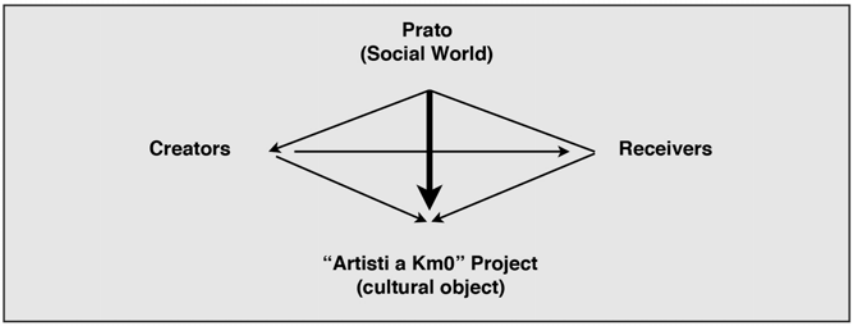


Fig. 2 The Cultural Diamond.
The context in which the project has been established influences the nature of the project itself. For this reason, the arrow points downwards, by representing the Weberian model of theory of reflection.
At the same time, the graph shows another important link of connection: the relationship between creators and the social world. Creators - the artists - are selected within the territory of Prato, thus establishing a second arrow that from the context picks up the artists that will flow into the project. As for every cultural object, the public is an essential element for the its own existence. Since part of the public at every event is increased by the artists' personal network, the two categories are closely linked and part of the general system.

[46] Francesco di Marco Datini (Prato, 1335 -1410) was an Italian merchant who started his career as supplier of luxury goods and art for the wealthy cardinals in Avignon. His figure is still today considered the symbol of the entrepreneurial spirit of Prato.

[47] Goodin R. E., 1996: 19

the Pecci Center itself - are here defined as *"organized patterns of socially constructed norms and roles, and socially prescribed behaviors expected of occupants of those roles, which are created and recreated over time*".[48] "Artisti a Km0" can be treated in this sense as an institution, acting in the territory and playing a role in people's lives. Certain characteristics of the project motivate the attribution of this institutional role. The project arose from specific needs of the city and practices of its inhabitants. It has been explicitly devised with the city of Prato in mind and it could only be exported after adaptation. Citizens recognize themselves in the project, which recognizes their particular behaviors and habits. Moreover, the project aims to establish some stable and recurring patterns of behavior towards cultural production and consumption. By considering Eisenstadt's classification of the social activities conducted by an institution, we can attribute at least four of them to this specific case.[49] The Tuscan project encompasses the sphere of *education*, which focuses on the processes of socialization and transmission of cultural heritage; the sphere of *economics*, which regulates the production, distribution and consumption of culture; the sphere of *politics*, since it addresses a certain amount of resources toward a specific goal for the collectivity; and, finally, the Pecci Center includes and it is included within the sphere of *cultural institutions*, which facilitate the creation and conservation of cultural artifacts.

Besides the project's characteristics,it is also interesting to analyze the agents involved in order to focus on one of the rising trends in the contemporary art world: art democratization. Indeed, "Artisti a Km0" would not be viable without the simultaneous participation of different agents, including, of course, the essential presence of the general public. The co-

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Eisenstadt S., 1968: 410

presence of private and public agents, who together form the organizational structure of the museum and are likely to move from different stakes, creates a public institutional agency, which serves the needs of the collectivity and is subject to political discourse. This public aspect is balanced by the fundamental participation of *ordinary agents*[50], local artists, who concurrently represent the beneficiaries and the benefactors of the project, as well as the public who participates in the events.

These different stakeholders form an entity, essential for the efficiency of the project. The benefits and the simultaneous responsibilities of the project fall largely on the collectivity, conceived as the cooperation between institutions and ordinary agents. Citizens are invited to take part in the proceedings and introduce a piece of their cultural environment thanks to a process of democratization. The institution builds the framework and sets the guidelines for something that will in any case belong to the entire city. The moral problems and the connections with the hegemonies of power that always accompany a public institution, are in this case greatly simplified. Concerns about the morality of the legal system and the rules imposed on collectivity by politicians and élites, tend in this case to sink into the oblivion. The transparency of the process is guaranteed by the lack of substantial rules and what seems to decline is the relationship with the dominant ideology, which contributes to the formation of artistic canons and connects the artwork to the general system.[51]

---

[50] The term is taken from the distinction made by Philip Pettit (1992), "Institutional Design and Rational Choice" in Goodin R. E., *The theory of Institutional Design*, Cambridge University Press, 1996

[51] According to Anna Lisa Tota's considerations about art and hegemony, the Pecci Center perspective draws attention back to the author, now free from any superimposed aesthetic codes of the art world. Tota A. L., *Sociologie dell'arte*, Roma: Carrocci Editore, 1999

The concept of territory and regional identity is tricky to define. First of all, there are geographical boundaries recognized by the administrative divisions of Italy and politically institutionalized. Nevertheless, those borders are not always a mirror of local identity and there can sometimes be a discrepancy between the two levels. Political boundaries may change in rapid succession over time, while social identity usually takes a while to adapt to the new condition, and sometimes it never does. In Italy there are many examples of this kind, due to the numerous political situations that have changed the country's conformation. The Südtirol, in Northern Italy, was annexed at the end of WWI when the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved. Despite sometimes violent protests by the population, the Italian government drew new borders for the region, imposed Italian as the only official language and fostered an immigration process for Italian citizens. Even many years later, the region still identified with Austria and in 1972 the Italian government officially bestowed a Statute of Autonomy on the Südtirol.

Tuscany is also emblematic because of the historical fragmentation of its cities. At the time of the Communes during the Middle Ages, Tuscany was divided into small city-states, which were in perpetual conflict with one another and which shaped the modern conformation of the region. One important consequence of this fragmentation was the birth of regionalisms and traditions peculiar to every city, as well as distinct accents and dialects of the Italian language. In consideration of this particular social situation, the organizers of the "Artist a Km0" project had to provide a very specific definition of "local artist", i.e. an artist who was born in or is living or working in the province of Prato. Although the Tuscan situation cannot be compared with the drama and level of conflict in the South Tyrol, even in Prato the imposition of an administrative definition on a complicated reality could nonetheless have led to protests and conflicts among different ethnic or social groups.

Furthermore, Prato is a city with one of the largest Chinese communities in Italy, whose members, as citizens, have become part of the museum's public.[52] Therefore the museum, perhaps more than any other institution in the urban landscape, has to deal with an ever greater ethnic diversity in the community and to figure out ways to represent the more recent, and sometimes different, cultural identities and minorities.

At the same time, the very fact of more cultures being part of the Prato community is a potential factor for greater success. One original idea is to create an identity-making process around the Pecci museum and to give opportunities for expression to people from the community; citizens with a strong sense of local identity will feel encouraged to take part in the cultural process in which they will be able to find recognition. This scenario can be transposed on the model described by Peter Berger[53]. His analysis considers culture a tripartite process composed of *externalization*, *objectification* and *internalization*. By applying Berger's model to the situation in Prato, it is clear that the first phase - *externalization*, a projection of citizens' own experiences consisting in the creation of a project customized for their specific context and scale and according to their identity and language - has already taken place. The second phase of detachment - *objectification* - has led to the independence of the process as an established autonomous project. Finally, through *internalization*

---

[52] Proportionally Prato hosts the largest Chinese community in Italy and one of the largest in Europe. The migratory flux started to grow during the '90s, and it reached its peak between 2004 and 2013, when the Chinese population grew from 7000 individuals in 2004 to about 17,000 in 2013, representing almost ten percent of the overall population. Moreover, recent demographic statistics have shown that the Chinese migratory process is characterized by the moving of entire families instead of single individuals, leading to the rapid formation of strong communities in the hosting environment (in 2013 86 percent of the Chinese in Prato lived in a family).
Source: Ufficio Statistica Comune di Prato, "Elaborazioni annuali sulla Popolazione cinese residente a Prato"

[53] Berger P., 1969

the project has built up a collective awareness of the values involved, thus incorporating them into the social system of meaning.

For a more profound investigation into the relationship between culture and society, it is worth analyzing the Pecci case through the lens of Griswold's *cultural diamond*.[54]

In general, any cultural object - by definition, an object with shared significance[55] - needs a public to legitimize itself and enter the sphere of culture. Moreover, an object cannot be considered cultural unless it becomes public and reaches someone able to receive it.[56] In this specific case, the cultural object (i.e. the project and its outcomes) would not exist at all without the simultaneous participation of the public and of local artists. Thus, it is essential to question the relationship between this particular cultural object and its social world. One response springs naturally from the theory of the reflection of culture, introduced by Marx and by structural functionalists, and allows for a possible interpretation of the direction of the arrow between the social world and a cultural object within the Cultural Diamond applied to this case. According to a pure Marxian vision, the social world - in this case, Prato, its history and its inhabitants - reflects culture: that is to say, all the cultural products of the project and the project itself are a consequence of material reality. One of the most important effects of this kind of vision is the boost of novelty it provides. Indeed, due to the the lack of a system of selection and of the consequent empowerment given to a cultural subset within a globalized system of cultural hegemonies, the project can bring about

---

[54] Griswold W., 2008

[55] From Griswold's definition of cultural object, "*a shared significance embodied in form*", Griswold W., 1986

[56] Griswold, 2008: 14

certain changes in the material base (society) that reflect the "superstructure".

Further analysis of the project might well support the idea of an art world that is moving ever faster toward an increased level of democratization and consequently clashing with Marx's idea of class interests ruling society and society ruling culture in turn. A change of this nature could be justified only in consideration of the possibility that society can change and evolve. Without abandoning the reflection theory of culture, perhaps Weber's concept of *switchman* will allow for a better investigation of the Pecci case. As in Weber's famous example of the Protestant ethic, the arrow of the diamond may still be pointing downward, but at least it leaves a possibility for change open, even if only in accordance with a specific and historically determined causal chain.

To a certain extent, the idea of social change refers to an ideal of the development of artistic consciousness and social cohesion. In this sense the project, conceived in response to contingent social needs, is moving forward and is even a reflection of the city's new cultural condition. A new class of public has been and will continue to be trained by the project, creating the basis for a new social world. At this point, the arrow will go back toward the context.

The receivers in this case enjoy a particularly high degree of freedom. According to Griswold, different people construct different meanings from the same cultural object. This appears particularly relevant considering the museum's adoption of a policy of non interference by any cultural agent, not even by the Pecci Center itself. The choice has of course had a huge impact on the displacement of the project, which is in part the result of a subjective interpretation. The project leaves its viewers free to interpret the cultural object according to their individual circumstances, thus transforming meanings as a function of the receiver's mind. This demonstrates how the Pecci project is more

focused on the process than on the outcome, making this a process that may eventually help in the transmission of new values. In this case the arrow will point toward the project, as the cultural object becomes the result of the projection of the receiver's eye.[57]

An important example of the relationship between an institution and the local community is represented by the Baltic Mill Center for Contemporary Art in Gateshead, England. It does not have a permanent collection since its mission is to have an ever-changing calendar of exhibitions and events that range from popular and blockbuster shows to those held by young and emergent artists working within the local community. The idea of alternating blue chip artists with experimental young art was one of the novelties the Baltic Mill Center introduced into the art system. Baltic was founded with public funding from the National Lottery through Arts Council England, the Gateshead Council and the European Regional Development Fund. Its mission was to boost regional development and to involve citizens in the museological machine. It mainly invests in educational programs, free services for the city and innovative experiences.

Located in one of the country's most deprived areas, Baltic has also played a major part in the regeneration of Newcastle and Gateshead, fostering tourism and positively shaping local identity. In 2012 it celebrated its tenth birthday and the amazing total of more than 4.5 million visitors in its decade of existence, 24,000 of whom were children.

The possibility of mobilizing a broader variety of public is undoubtedly profitable both for the institution and for the individual's personal capital. Through the enlargement of its public, the institution fulfills the mission of being a service for public education and enrichment and simultaneously politically

[57] Cfr. Zerubavel E., *Social Mindscapes*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1997

legitimizes its role in the community. This is particularly relevant with regard to the "Artisti a Km0" project which generate a lasting production of social capital.[58] Social cohesion and social capital, due to the augmented level of sociability, will yield an increase of trust among citizens and a better quality of life. Moreover, trust will make social organizations and institutionalized groups run more efficiently, producing a general economic enhancement. As Lindsay has explained, successful businesses are the engines of growth, for it is at the level of the individual business that wealth creation occurs, while culture is a significant determinant of a society's ability to prosper because culture prepares the individuals for risks and for opportunities.[59] And as Di Maggio has pointed out, being part of a cultural community like that of a museum can represent a great potential for the individual.[60] Cultural consumption has not only proved to be the most powerful generator of sociability, but it also serves to sustain the duration and quality of existing social networks. In this sense, cultural omnivores have the greatest advantage insofar as the creation of social relations is concerned; generally speaking, cultural knowledge - cf. "Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" - can, in fact, be converted into network relations.[61]

When a museum community corresponds to its urban community, social capital grows exponentially and becomes highly beneficial not only for the single individuals visiting the

---

[58] According to Fukuyama, social capital can be defined as a "*set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permits them to cooperate with one another*". Fukuyama F., "*Social Capital*", in Harrison L. E., Huntington S. P. (eds.), *Culture Matters. How Values Shape Human Progress*, NY, Basic Group, 2000, p. 98

[59] Lindsay S., "Culture, Mental Models and National Prosperity", in Harrison L. E., Huntington S. P. (eds.), 2000

[60] Di Maggio P., *Classification in Art*, American Sociological Review, 52, 1987

[61] Lizardo O., 2006

museum, but for the entire city. To a certain extent, this is the deeper meaning of the "Km0 culture" (i.e. a kind of culture that is locally bound, conceived, sustained) and of the wider philosophy behind the Pecci project.

The aim of the Pecci Center is not only to merely increase the museum's public in terms of number, but to specifically address the community - and thus establish geographical boundaries and regulations - in order to improve sociability and cultural production. Having a "Km0-constituency" (i.e. a local and locally tied community) affect local production and boost socio-economic growth, while strengthening the role of the museum in the community and their mutual relationship.

In a world where a limited and globalized network of artists, collectors and curators annihilates local production and creativity by labeling it naive, the theme of "Km0 culture" is slowly spreading due to word of mouth.

While the Pecci project is probably one of the very first experiments of the local culture philosophy, there are other projects in Italy that also follow this trend.

Another recent example of "Km0 culture" was the Crepaccio Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennial in 2013. The aim of the project, curated by Caroline Corbetta with the support of the blue-chip artist Maurizio Cattelan, was to give artists from Venice - therefore from a semi-periphery of the art system - the possibility of showing their work during the Biennial. Organized in collaboration with the online store yoox.com, the exhibition featured ten artists from Venice by also promoting them online via the yoox website.

While Venice every two year turns into an international showcase and hosts thousands of artists from all over the world, local artists - and, therefore, the local public - do not benefit form any particular advantages in terms of visibility. This is of course the symptom of a globalized world of art, based on fame and high prices. The project does not, however, want to crush the

system but rather to use the opportunities that the system itself creates to raise questions and devise something new.
The concept of "Km0 culture" looks at an inclusive system of art able to create a long-standing and sustainable relationship with the territory. The goal is to increase dialogue among artists and between artists and their public and to encourage collaboration on the creation of a system of local production.
While discussed here in terms of contemporary art, a "Km0 philosophy" could spread to all social fields and become part of the political agenda. Through the synergy of industry, culture, media, fashion and tourism, the concept could be strengthened and become a major political force.

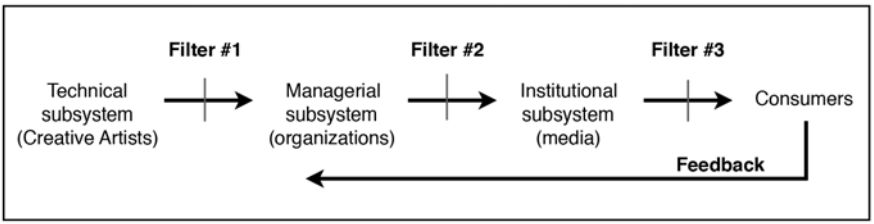


Fig. 3 The Culture Industry System by Paul Hirsch

3.8 Local Relationships in a Global Context The Case of Art in General

Although Art in General operates in a very different context - i.e. in a centrality of the system as opposed to a periphery or a semi-periphery, surprisingly enough it shares some important patterns of behavior with the other two case studies. Similar mechanisms in relationships with the local community, as well as in interactions with the institutional machine, occur in all three cases despite their different geographical and contextual situations. As we will see, AiG's prerequisite for a strong connection with the local context is essential for its own existence; a network of relationships and mutual benefits are at the base of its managerial system and financial feasibility. Local agents who have a stake in the institution not only provide the necessary funds for the sustainability of the institution but also decide on its programming and cultural offer, thus directly influencing the cultural object that AiG exports to public attention.

From this point of view, Art in General would appear to be following a pure Marxian theory of cultural reflection, wherein the material conditions of the base directly condition the social and intellectual spheres of society.[62] In Griswold's *cultural diamond*, Marx's idea of mirroring relationships is represented by an arrow pointing downward, from the material base of society (the s*ocial world*) toward the cultural object.[63] AiG's diamond follows the same pattern of mirroring relationships, one in which an external social force, primarily embodied by the board members but also by the other cultural institutions supporting AiG, profoundly conditions and informs the cultural production.

And who are AiG's board members? As happens almost everywhere, members are typically individuals generously

[62] Marx K. (1859), *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

[63] Griswold W., 2008

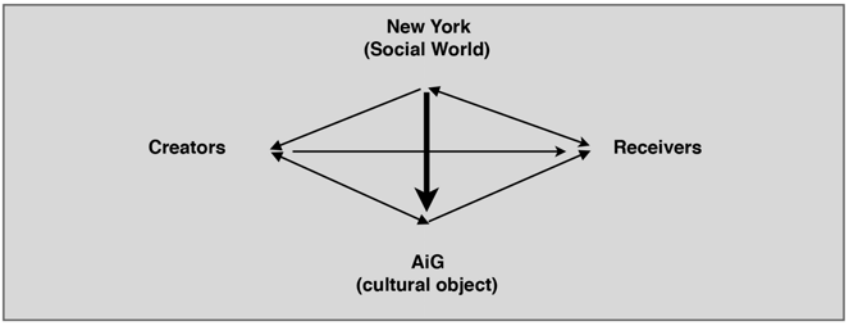


Fig. 4 Griswold's Cultural Diamond.
The context in which the project has been established influences the nature of the project itself. For this reason, the arrow points downwards, representing Marx's model of the theory of reflection.

endowed with both financial resources and social connections. Being on a board requires the payment of annual dues which, although deductible, are not in the realm of the 99 percent. These individuals normally come from other fields, typically from finance, law or real estate, where they have gained the necessary funds to sustain their activity in the art field. They are art lovers or art collectors who have set their sights on social approval and strive to be connected and engaged with the elite governing the art world.

These managerial sub-systems are usually rooted in the local community they belong to. In the case of AiG, board members have a stake in being part of New York's art community and are proud of the long-standing presence of the institution in the city. This is a powerful stimulus for AiG to confirm its local network of relationships and to connect with local agents acting in the same context. Moreover, board members bring their own networks of social connections, thus perpetuating the same social structure in the art context. Echoing Mauss' theories on gift, the commitment and donations of board members are not simply

expressions of pure generosity but rather acts of exchange of gifts and rendering of services.[64] Gifts are part of a system of reciprocity in which the giver and the recipients are tied by an obligatory returns of gift exchange and this, to Mauss, happens across societies and history. There are no free gifts, but exchanges that bond people in permanent commitments. In his 1776 book "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations", Adam Smith described human activities as only driven by self-interest aiming at personal gain: "*It is only for the sake of profit that any man employs a capital in the support of industry; and he will always, therefore, endeavor to employ it in the support of that industry of which the produce is likely to be of the greatest value, or to exchange for the greatest quantity either of money or of other goods*".[65] However, as Smith then theorized, selfishness may push individuals to act in a way to best maximize gain and profits, act that will improve economic circuits and increase domestic capital thus eventually and involuntary supporting public good.

Board members and patrons donate services, money, time in order to gain specific advantages, either social, political or economic but, because they need their institution to flourish and prosper in order to preserve and strengthen their positions, they will ultimately strive for the institution's own success.

As a nonprofit organization, however, AiG needs also the financial and institutional support of larger cultural institutions. This support usually takes the form of grants that the institutions award according to their mission's particular principles. AiG's major supporters are the Lambent Foundation, the Jerome Foundation and the New York City Department of Cultural Affairs in partnership with the New York City Council. All three institutions direct their grants to organizations based in New York and often to organizations dealing with art and artists from

[64] Mauss, M., 1925

[65] Smith, A., (1776), book IV, chapter 2

New York. In this regard it is clear once again that the context not only influences but also directly conditions the cultural object; AiG often 'adjusts' part of their programming to fit the requirements and get the grants. This is a common practice at most levels of the cultural sphere and is often considered essential to financially and strategically support an institution.

If considered through the lens of the relationship between local and global, Art in General does not seem to belong to the first nor to second category; in fact, a vocation to an international curatorial programming must cope with a network of local stakeholders with particular needs.

As in the case of the Pecci Center, the arrow in the cultural diamond points downward because the institution is influenced by the social context in which it lies. On the one hand, New York's central position in the art world requires the institution to be competitive and respond to the degree of internationalism that characterizes New York based institutions. On the other hand, the cultural subset that directly manages the institution (the board members) influences decision-making processes and tends to replicate and empower their network of local stakeholders. In this regard, AiG is subjected to the influence of context on the part of two opposite forces, one pushing the institution to be global and a-geographical, the other to be local and reflect particular and geographical instances and needs. Board members replicate Marx's idea of the ruling class influencing society as they use their position in the "superstructure" to condition and manage the cultural object.

The line of influence in the diamond's arrow is nevertheless different from the Pecci project because while in the Italian case the influence of the context follows a "Km0-philosophy" in which the collectivity is potentially enabled to propose cultural meanings, in the case of Art in General the arrow is mainly directed by an elite that, thanks to its economic and cultural capital, can make decisions and influence the cultural object in

order to accumulate new cultural capital and, therefore, new economic capital.

Art in General stands in a centrality of the art system for which it needs to have an international role and value for the global art community, but, at the same time, it is founded on local mechanisms of power that keep it rooted in the territory. These two opposing forces make AiG essentially a “glocal” institution, where the dialogue between local and global is balanced by continual and reciprocal mediations.

Conclusions
Situation and Complications

- The cultural globalization process implies a fast cross-national movement of cultural objects, identities, heritages, museums, curators and other cultural agents. All cultural agencies are involved in the process and culture is at the center of a massive trend of internationalization and mixing.
  Artists, products, dealers and institutions are all part of a single and interconnected global system that has driven the formation of new levels of artistic sociability and production, the empowerment of a global art market and the rise of a mass public for art and culture.
- In the art world, the globalizing trend has brought about the emergence of a global public sphere in which different actors from the global art community collaborate to develop a democratic dialogue and to promote new levels of artistic interaction. Members of these groups remain split between their local communities, to which they belong, and the international horizon with which they relate, in a usually very informal way.
- Together with the emergence of global collective practices, there is, however, a growing resistance on the part of local identities and minorities to the pressure exerted on the art world by globalization and cultural simplification.
  A growing tension between local identities and global forces is put into play by the clash between the global and local public sphere.
- The art world is organized around geographical centers that dominate the system, in which the principal artists, curators and galleries tend to gather. The internal division of the art world into a tripartite ranking of centrality, semi-periphery, and periphery challenges the actuality of globalization, for it

denies a real possibility of mutual and equal cultural exchange among the different levels.
The geographical inequality of the art world involves an issue of unexploited resources which concerns both the market and the social sphere, thus affecting artists, curators, dealers, the public, and citizens.

➡ In the case of the Pompidou Mobile, the analysis has revealed that the project ultimately turned out to be an attempt at cultural exportation from the stronger and more legitimized center - Paris - to the periphery. The lack of a bottom-up approach in the decision making process produced a partial clash between the central government and local identities which contributed to the failure of the project.

➡ The "Artisti a Km0" project was born within a specific geographic area and from specific geographic instances. The project aims to establish stable and recurring patterns of behavior towards cultural production and consumption through a longstanding relationship with its citizens.
As a consequence, the museum will collaborate on the creation of a lasting production of social capital. Social cohesion and social capital will yield to an increase of trust among citizens and a better quality of life, while also producing a general economic enhancement.

➡ In the case of Art in General, the vocation for international curatorial programming must cope with a network of local stakeholders, whose needs collide with the international scope of the institution. The analysis has underlined how the demand for a strong connection with the local context, which is essential for the sustainability of the institution, makes it essentially a "glocal" institution, suspended between local and global instances.

Chapter 4
The Democratization Process

IV

I Will Not Make Any More Boring Art
John Baldessari, 1971

Introduction

The second half of the 20th century was characterized by various circumstances which propelled many countries worldwide toward the development of political and social democracy. With the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the European Union, a global process of democratization began to flow through many countries worldwide.

From the onset, knowledge and culture have been at the center of the democratic revolution worldwide, both as a right of citizenship as well as a boost for democracy and social cohesion. Liberal democratic states have declared the need for a mass diffusion of culture which would serve to educate their citizens and enhance national prestige. Within this revolutionary cultural spread, the arts have also shifted from being the privilege of a limited elite and their personal taste to being a globalized phenomenon addressing the public on a mass scale.

Museums and cultural institutions have in turn been profoundly affected by the process and have become a major tool for the achievement of democracy. They are in fact considered a powerful means for education, social awareness and civic engagement for all citizens. While art and culture are perceived as an instrument for the attainment of a higher level of democracy, they are also, however, inevitably affected by being democratized in return. Through this process, the cultural object has been reshaped, leading to the diffusion of new forms of public art and of new forms of art shows.

This chapter investigates the process of cultural spread in today's art world and the role that museums have assumed in response to it. The analysis proceeds by examining the evolution

of this phenomenon in the three main case studies under discussion, along with a comparison of the similarities and differences in each context - Italy, France, and the United States of America. Despite the indisputable differences in political traditions, structures of governances, and translations of the concept of democracy in the three countries, the trend of cultural democratization has transcended geographical, historical and cultural borders, presenting shared features that are identifiable in the globalized art world as a whole.

The Italian case of "Artisti a Km0" is an example of mass diffusion of culture achieved by the rejection of "cultural authority" and the parallel demolition of any form of legitimate evaluation process. It entails an attempt of democratization of both the production and consumption of art, by simultaneously referring to aspiring artists and the public. Building on the analyses proposed by Bourdieu, by DiMaggio, and by Becker, the study demonstrates the project's attempt to create durable opportunities for both artists and the public.

The French case of the Pompidou Mobile is instead a prime example of a geographical diffusion of culture as well as of the role of museums as tools for social inclusion and for the involvement of the less privileged social classes. The ability of the Pompidou Mobile to engage with social identity and to become a generator of new social meanings is analyzed according to the theories of cultural reception and also by relying on a sample of interviews collected at its stopover in the city of Aubagne, Marseille. Moreover, the Pompidou Mobile represents an example of Rectanus's idea of "event-culture", whose diffusion has been boosted by museums' need to increase participation and by the parallel occurrence of the accelerated circulation of knowledge today due to globalization.

The American case of Art in General is an alternative example of an institution aiming to increase production opportunities for emerging artists. The case is analyzed in the historical context of

the state of art democratization in America and of the role played by the NEA[1]. AiG's New Commissions program has engendered a discussion about the freedom of art and the potentiality of nonprofit cultural institutions for the creation of alternative forms of patronage.

With the objective of identifying liabilities and potentialities in the current state of art democracy, the analysis concludes by calling attention to the unresolved conflicts between popular and high brow culture as well as between mass-audience accessibility and the preservation of aesthetic quality. This chapter also deals with the importance of the role of local communities in the construction of durable forms of cultural participation and in the strengthening of cultural identity. Bottom-up approaches have demonstrated that they can be powerful tools for the creation of sociability and cultural participation, and yet they have still not been fully exploited.

4.2 Scope and Definition

The term "art democratization" designates the cultural and political trend whose aim is to expand cultural access to previously excluded groups and to increase the mass involvement of the public in the consumption and production of art. Conventionally, the term has signified making traditionally elite culture available to a large public, by at the same time helping this public to appreciate it.[2]

The way to achieve this cultural availability is generally twofold and includes direct and indirect strategies. Direct strategies take place as an offer of concrete opportunities of cultural production and consumption and its fair and equal distribution over the territory. These include wide-ranging and easy access to a

[1] National Endowment for the Arts

[2] Zolberg V., 2007: 100

museum's programming, exhibitions, theaters, concerts and lectures - in brief, the overall cultural activity of a specific place. Indirect strategies, on the other hand, refer to the social and political framework supporting and facilitating people's appreciation and understanding of the museum's cultural activities, i.e. direct resources; this includes an investment in cultural education at schools and institutions and the strengthening of the whole set of regulations for equal cultural access. In order to achieve a state of democracy of the arts and perpetuate its occurrence in the future, it is important to keep both direct and indirect strategies equally vital and functional.

The scope of the trend of democratization is not narrowly univocal but rather encompasses different social instances, which may also change according to time and place. As will be seen, American, French and Italian requirements for a democratic state of the arts do not share the same exact traits but respond according to the particular historical situation and political tradition to which they belong. For instance, the history of art democratization in the United States is closely linked to the role played by the NEA and the empowerment of nonprofit organizations; moreover, the strong demand for racial and ethnic inclusion in America has led to a very specific kind of cultural policy. In contrast, in France and Italy the central state has always played a prominent role in the management and enhancement of cultural offer and cultural policy has usually favored an ideal of social equality rather than concerns of racial inclusion.

Despite differences in the particular historical evolution of the democratic trend from country to country, there is a global and generalized tendency of the democratization of art that occurs with similar features in most Western countries and that recently has also been expanding to Asia and to the so-called BRIC countries.

Due to these similarities, the current democratization of culture envisages two diverse but parallel levels of action, one referring to a homogenized *geographical inclusion*, the other to a transversal *class-based involvement* of the public. The former is the process that aims at a geographical diffusion of culture, which needs to be equally distributed throughout the territory. In this perspective, people living outside the main centers and cities have considerably fewer opportunities to encounter culture than those living in big cities. Culture, in accordance with the logic of the market, will tend to reaffirm the networks of powers dominating industry and the economy. Large museums and major cultural events are likely to take place in big cities and therefore the potential public, together with aspiring artists and art insiders, must relocate in order to reach those centers and take part in the cultural process. As discussed in the previous chapter, Alain Quemin's studies have in fact demonstrated that the geography of the art world is split between a few powerful centralities and a vast periphery, which appears to be still tremendously disadvantaged in terms of opportunities for both producers and receivers of art.[3]

There are only a few countries which tend to dominate the art system and, within them, an equally small number of cities have the privilege of hosting the main activities that will both collaborate in the creation of the art discourse and contribute to the value of art. Growing up or living in these centers provides one with more and better opportunities than those living in a periphery have. These geographical inequalities force artists, curators and dealers to move from their places of origin and emigrate towards the main centers, where they will most likely face the risk of inequality.

Similarly, according to the concept of "cultural capital" expressed by Bourdieu, people from upper classes will be more easily and

[3] Quemin A., 2012

"naturally" involved in places of culture, as well as in its production. Typically, high culture prides itself on exclusiveness, and it is addressed to a "user-oriented" public.[4] Traditionally better educated, this public can take advantage of its cultural capital to understand and approach new culture to a greater degree; it is this "class habitus" that the latter process is attempting to challenge. Every citizen has the right to access culture and, as in this case, museums.

The economist Mark Schuster has recently demonstrated that the cultural participation rate increases as income and education rise. From his study of cultural behavior in fifteen different countries, it emerged that only four percent of museum visitors had a grade school education, while 55 percent had reached a graduate level of education, and that in general, only 25 percent of the overall population had ever visited an art museum.[5] Moreover, as Bourdieu and Di Maggio have pointed out, an unequal distribution of cultural resources may lead to the reaffirmation of class boundaries and their immobility from generation to generation. High culture and the events surrounding its consumption also represent ritual occasions for the strengthening of solidarity among elites.[6] As stated by Andreasen, Belk and Cober, people who acquire a higher education usually have parents who are also well educated, demonstrating how the children of the well educated are more likely to be exposed to high culture and, consequently, to art.[7]

Depending on the different agencies and cultural programs involved, the democratization trend seeks geographical diffusion and/or an anti-elitist idea of culture and art, and, from a more

---

[4] Gans H. J., 1974: 77

[5] Schuster, 2002; Zolberg, 2007

[6] Bourdieu, 1973; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978

[7] Andreasen and Belk, 1978; Cober, 1977

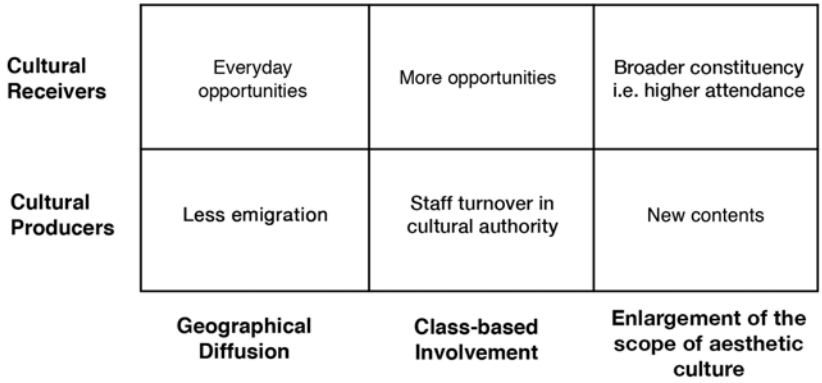


Fig. 1 Different spheres of action of the democratization process and their effects on public and on cultural producers.

general point of view, it can be defined as the attempt to promulgate cultural excellence independently of class, race, and gender.

After the end of the Second World War, most countries in Europe and in the United States adopted policies geared to boosting democracy-based systems, which gave rise to the debate on the democratization of culture that started flourishing during the '50s and '60s.

DiMaggio and Useem's 1978 survey on cultural events attendance represented a valuable attempt to analyze the post-1960 museum audience. The survey of more than 268 cases at a time when the debate over elite dominance of the arts constituency had been intensified by the surge in government - and public - support for the arts demonstrated that the social class composition of museum goers was remarkably exclusive. People attending museums and cultural activities were well educated and had a generally high occupational standing, while members of the working class, individuals with low incomes or

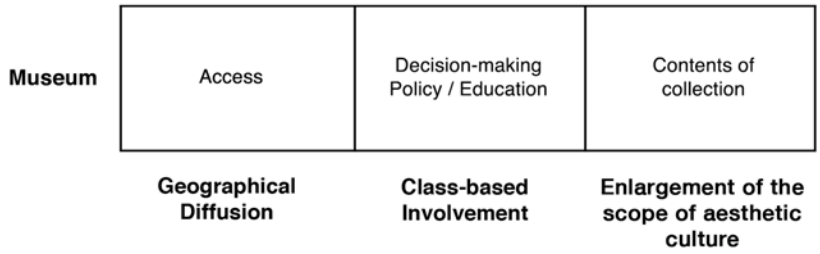


Fig. 2 Different spheres of action of the democratization process in the museum space.

little education, and racial and ethnic minorities appeared to be greatly underrepresented.[8]

Thanks in part to contributions from scholars like these, who collaborated in the development of the debate on the question of cultural access, a real demand for art and cultural access became increasingly important in political agendas worldwide; cultural policies began to concentrate primarily on museum and cultural event attendance by targeting the public on a mass scale. Giving people access to direct cultural resources and achieving an elevated number of visitors in museums, theaters and concert halls was considered a valid strategy for obtaining a higher level of cultural democratization and was, at the same time, a reliable way of measuring it. In fact, while culture typically entails dealing with intangible values - i.e. those related to identity and to the social and the spiritual values - whose outcomes are never easy to calculate in monetary terms or in social numbers, cultural attendance, which is measured by the number of visitors, represents an easier way to demonstrate the democratic trend.

The status of democracy of the arts has drastically changed since DiMaggio's survey was conducted in the '70s and today,

[8] DiMaggio, Useem, 1978

the relationship with art consumers, and in particular between museums and their public, has acquired a new assortment of problems.

The study and understanding of the nature of a museum's public have transformed the processes of cultural transmission through museums. As such, museums have not only multiplied and diversified, but the very concept of museology has taken on a new epistemological dimension that goes beyond the role of acquiring, keeping and displaying collections.[9]

As a consequence of this forty-year-long drive to democratize public access, the principal museums worldwide have succeeded in dramatically increasing the number of their visitors, which has now allowed them to shift their attention from a concern over attendance to a focus on opportunities and cultural authority.

In his 2007 study on cultural diversity and cultural authority, DiMaggio noted in fact that public opinion is in part skeptical about the right of legitimate experts and academia to evaluate cultural objects; these opponents of authority fear the risk that those holding cultural power are part of a traditional elite which tends to suffer from a self-selection basis, thus continually reaffirming old hierarchies.[10]

According to DiMaggio's study, a low trust in cultural authority usually leads to an appeal to common sense, to a rejection of professionalism and to an attitude of general opposition to elites and high culture. Moreover, it also entails an attitude of endorsement of minorities and the enlargement of the content of aesthetic culture. In other words, people with a low consideration of cultural authority are typically against the elitism of professionalism and against any imposition of supposedly "high culture". They tend to favor a wider concept of

[9] De la Rocha Mille, 2011: 14

[10] DiMaggio, 2007: 248

culture, one that is more inclusive of traditionally excluded contents and forms of art.

Correspondingly, a faith in cultural authority is commonly associated with greater conservatism, an orientation toward high culture and a deeper respect for literary classics.[11] People with a higher trust in authority tend to acknowledge the judgment of scholars, professors, and insiders and recognize the existence and value of a traditional culture inherited from the past that is generally accepted as "high culture".

The opposition between these two different attitudes - which are, however, far from being effectively polarized or radicalized among citizens as DiMaggio clarifies - may be used as a metaphor for the inescapable clash between high and low culture, as "pop" implies the ultimate rejection of cultural authority, while "high culture" requires selection by an authorized commission.

In the juxtaposition of pop and high culture, the archive is the watershed that decides. Its function is in fact to select and protect what has been deemed valuable and worthy of being remembered and will therefore be separated from self-consuming low pop culture. As Bettina Funcke maintains, high and mass culture draw their justifications from two different instances which are, to some extent, opposed to one another.[12]

On the one hand, mass culture draws its justification from and is informed by commercial success, which is translated into monetary gain. Monetary profit is typically achieved by the commercial sale of large amounts of items that are consequently multiplied, put on the market, and massively consumed.

High culture, on the other hand, is acknowledged thanks to its historical legitimacy and to its position within the intellectual

[11] DiMaggio P., 2007

[12] Funcke B., 2009

discourse, which usually grants high culture a room in the archive of knowledge.[13]

The archive, then, is the tool used to distance high culture from ephemeral facts and artifacts, and, as Foucault put it, it responds in turn to the values of a limited elite who have been controlling it entirely. Through the archive, the dominant class not only decides what to preserve, but also how to preserve it, and what linkages between facts and artifacts are to be established.[14] For Foucault, the archive is the *system of enunciability* and the *system of functioning* of the events, and it thus represents the key for the formation of our whole system of knowledge:

> *"The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events. But the archive is also that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, nor are they inscribed in an unbroken linearity, nor do they disappear at the mercy of chance external accidents; but they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with multiple relations, maintained or blurred in accordance with specific regularities;"*[15]

4.3 Background. Museums and the Democratization Process

Museums have become the symbol of the democratic process that has penetrated art and culture and, as such, they have been transformed since their early conception by evolving into powerful social, economic and political resources. The

[13] Funcke B., 2009: 35

[14] Foucault (1969), 1972: 130

[15] *Ibidem*

democratization trend in society has, together with the diffusion of new information technology, pushed museums to change and to become more communicative with their public.[16] Increasingly, they have started to invest in communications, to focus on dialogue, to promote active participation and to be more attentive to the changing outside world.

The three different spheres of action of the democratization process have affected museums by forcing them to rethink the way they are accessed by the public, the contents of their collections and the decision-making policies at the basis of their institutional machine. Greater access is of course the first step for allowing people to experience art, and the best way for this to occur is through the multiplication of cultural occasions over the territory; these occasions can take the form of brand-new museums, special exhibitions, or even temporary pavilions in impoverished locations but free admissions, reduced ticket prices and the extension of a museum's opening hours can also be valuable examples of strategies to facilitate access.

Museums' collections are also influenced by the fact that the concept of museums as sacred temples of knowledge has increasingly been replaced by a more dynamic vision in which museums have not only started becoming places of interactivity and participation, but, most importantly, they have also started to be questioned about the content of their collections, thus pushing them to be more sensitive to minorities and alternative forms of culture and, in general, to become more inclusive institutions.

The need for a more democratic regime has also involved an inquiry into the decision-making policies shaping museums' programming, collections and contents. In accordance with the idea that museums should be agencies at the service of the public and informed by the public, citizens represent a valuable

[16] Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt & Runnel, 2011: 159-179

resource for cultural institutions not only as consumers but also as active participants in the shaping of the museological machine. The ecomuseum, which will be discussed later, is one of the first examples of the participatory museum, and it entrusts communities with the power to decide what is worthy of being preserved and put on display. It theorizes an active participation of local communities in the everyday activities of a museum by establishing a strong bond between places and people. Nevertheless, museums are not merely the expression of a univocal flow from the external society toward the inside, but they can also influence society, transform values, educate the public and forge social identity.

The role of museums within society and their relationship with social identity is an essential premise for any investigation into art democratization. In this light, museums are considered as places of social interactions capable of engaging with the cultural practices and identities of their local context. Historically, the relationship between museums and identity is the result of the development and strengthening of museums' educational role, which has been evolving since the Enlightenment period with particularly notable changes in the 19th century.

The capacity of cultural institutions like museums and local fairs to educate citizens and frame a national cultural boundary has been recognized and perpetuated since the 19th century, when the educational role became a distinctive mission for national museums. Today, through the growing use of different means of mass communication – powerful tools for the orientation of taste – museums are steadily developing and employing educational programs for their public.[17]

The guiding principles behind museums have changed over time, according to the role that museums have assumed

[17] Zuliani S., 2009

within society. While 17th century *cabinets of curiosity* were devised around the concept of rarities and oddities for the personal amusement of an élite, during the Enlightenment and into the 19th century, the search for a taxonomic logic to museum construction laid the foundations for the educational role of museums. In France, the establishment of the *Muséum Central des Arts et des Sciences* in 1793 invested the work of art with the role of the political, ethical and artistic education of citizens.[18] Although in the 19th century museums were still in part a way to confirm social distinctions, it was then that they began to be conceived as tools for educating the general public. According to Foucault's thesis, the shift from *cabinets* to museums was the reflection of the mutation in the western structure of knowledge[19] and this caused many scholars to start considering museological space itself as a cultural matter, on an equal basis with the works being exhibited.

The recognition of education as a prime activity was mainly a 20th century process, linking the emergence of social sciences and the national education system, but it was actually part of a long process that had begun in the latter half of the 19th century and that witnessed the combination of socio-political movements with the development of sociological and psychological studies, leading eventually to the recognition of specialized figures for museum education activities.[20]

Within this revolutionary social stream, museums were called upon to take part in the process of the improvement of society by offering a number of social services. Education was considered the most significant contribution museums could provide; it was their response to the demand for social responsibility, at least at that particular socio-historical moment.

---

[18] Clair J. (2007), 2008: 78

[19] Foucault M. (1966), *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*

[20] Hein G. E., 2011: 343

Through this process of legitimization of their educational role, museums became increasingly engaged with society and the external world and were consequently viewed as a powerful means for the formation and development of social identity.
On the one hand, museums were reflecting the context that was creating them; on the other, they were producing new versions and visions of reality. The educational goal led museums to organize reality according to specific criteria which affected the very nature of the museums themselves and also laid the premises for society to be changed in turn. Different communities entered the sphere of museums and were changed by their interaction[21]. Museums are completely embedded in society, for which they work simultaneously as makers of new meanings and as an expression of external reality. Even today, museums are suspended between the two roles of active and passive agent, a dual function that more often than not ends up being combined. Museums do respond to the social world, but sociology has also recognized their role in the making of social identity.

In this context, an active role refers to that fact that museums have the capacity to propose and create new perspectives of the external world through the analytical tools they offer to the collectivity. In other words, museums, as well as other "social media", can initiate specific visions of reality, thus playing an active role in the identity-making process.
At the same time, museums are founded within a specific society and its experiences which inevitably reflect its ideals in its institutions. In this sense, museums play a passive role that enables them to transfer social identity inside their walls.
Museums are agencies that mediate reality according to the social structure in which they lie, that is, in the divisions of class, gender, economics and religion. In the Western world, for

[21] Clifford J., 1997

example, national museums are rooted in the history of their correspondent states, for which they have also provided the ideology necessary to build a sense of national identity. According to 20th century critics of mass culture and power, like Adorno, Bourdieu and Horkheimer, museums are commonly considered spatial arguments built in keeping with the specific choices of specific visions – agencies for the spread of dominant ideologies and nationalism.[22]

Museums are "sites of memory"[23] suitable for the affirmation of cultural identity, as well as for the legitimization of an ethnicity's heritage or power. Museums in Europe did not just happen to develop during the 19th century; their prominence emerged in parallel with the rise of nation-states, for which they provided a supporting ideological narrative. From Foucault's perspective, we might say that museums provide a way to control the representation of a community and its values. The most powerful groups in this community are also those whose identities are best represented and thus confirmed.[24]

Museums are, however, also embedded in complex relationships with the outside, as they must establish links with the public, the state, the market, industry and so forth. The deeper this mediation system is rooted in society, the more opportunities the museum has to convey new messages that will enter the external world and be assimilated by society.

Ideally, this dual essence of museums is part of a circular and never ending process, whose balance ensures a museum's stability and projection into the future.

Museums are in fact as variable as the ideology supporting them; they are changing institutions influenced by the variability of reality. New needs, new powers, new interests and new customs

---

[22] Fyfe G., 2006: 38

[23] Nora P., 1996

[24] Duncan C., 1995

change the role and the mission of museums and are changed in turn. It was not an accident that the ICOM definition of "museum" in 1946 did not mention education, while both the 1992 statement by the American Association of Museums and the 2007 ICOM definition put education as a leading goal for all museological institutions.[25]

Within this museological historic evolution, the recent process of art democratization is both a consequence of and a stimulus for the role of museums in today's world.

Although the question of the relationship between art and democracy has been historically present for a long time, and especially since the Enlightenment, it has assumed a particular importance today, a period in which art and culture are increasingly being considered vehicles and objects of politics. According to Melzer, Weinberger and Zinman, during the last two decades, politicians seem to have dramatically turned to culture with a shift of attention from economic well-being to concerns of ethics and cultural identity.[26] From their analysis on American society, it is clear how the major changes in western countries since the 1950s have derived from the arts, with a general growth of popular culture and the consequent blurring of the distinction between high brow culture and popular

[25] The 2007 ICOM definition states: "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment". http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/

[26] Melzer A. M., Weinberger J., Zinman M. R. (eds.), *Democracy and the Arts*, Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, 1999.

culture.[27] In fact, with the advent of mass society, more and more scholars have started questioning the role of culture in the domains of politics, ethics, and democracy.

Bourdieu's studies on French higher education in *The Love of Art* called for a *rational pedagogy* in place of the traditional forms of education (which he considered to be legitimizers of the existing class divisions), in order to advance toward a democratization of culture.[28] In the mid-twentieth century, the debate on cultural democracy was flourishing within a context of general economic growth in all western societies. During the 1950s, the French national GDP achieved an average growth of 5.8 percent along with an increase in paid holidays and decrease in the number of working hours. As a direct consequence, between 1958 and 1969 the French government's expenditures on cultural activities and leisure time activities had increased by 50 percent and, similarly, the world of higher education was suddenly in the reach of a growing number of citizens.[29] Culture was a sector in rapid change and expansion. From France to the United States, the arts were at the center of an anti-elitist movement looking at a mass spread of opportunities for a collective participation in and consumption of culture.

From Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" and

---

[27] "[…] the rise of television in the 1950's, the development of an almost obsessive interest in popular music in the 60's, and, more generally, the growing reach and authority of popular culture. These changes continue to progress as audio and video technology advance toward virtual reality, […] and as entertainment becomes an ever more central part of modern life."
Melzer A. M., Weinberger J., Zinman M. R. (eds.), 1999, p. 2-3.

[28] Bourdieu P., Darbel A. (1969), 1991

[29] Lane J. F., 2000: 35

"Suggestions for a Policy of Democratization"[30], to the fusion of high and popular culture in the American movement of Pop Art, to today's examples of museums designed for the massive participation of the public, the general and ever stronger tendency has been to follow a principle of democratization.

Similarly, the United States underwent a period of strong transformation of culture and its structure, visible in the process of "democratization" of the NEA (National Endowment for the Arts). As Robert Brustein remarked, at a certain point, the NEA started turning its attention and support to a "dissemination" of art, thus replacing a prior more evident concern with quality.[31] But what is really relevant here is the transformation of culture into an agency of social welfare, a process that has been the primary cause behind the broad diffusion of the concept of cultural democratization.

But what really constitutes democratic art? As Melzer, Weinberger and Zinman have observed, since postmodernism the issue has centered around the question of whether and how art may serve democracy and vice versa[32]. Art is both the vehicle and the object of the democratic trend. First, art is perceived as a means for reaching democracy, but, as a matter of fact, in order to pursue a democratic state of the arts, art itself must be democratized. It is exactly within this perspective that art can be transformed and changed. Art adapts itself in accordance with new needs, and it does so in a three-dimensional way that

[30] "Quelques Indications pour une politique de démocratisation", Dossier no 1 du Centre de sociologie européenne, included in Poupeau, F. & Discepolo T. (eds.), *Interventions, 1961-2001: Science sociale et action politique*, Marseille: Agone, 2000, pp. 69-72

[31] Brustein R., "Democracy & Culture", in Melzer A. M., Weinberger J., Zinman M. R. (eds.), *Democracy and the Arts*, 1999

[32] Melzer A. M., Weinberger J., Zinman M. R., 1999

encompasses the making of art (the cultural object), its institutions (museums) and its audience (the public).[33]
Contemporary art has also fundamentally changed its relationships with the context in which it lies and with the public who experiences it. The work of art has in fact been increasingly integrating the context surrounding it as part of its self existence - being this context either temporal, physical or social - thus turning into an art experience, an installation, in which the public plays a fundamental role. As Nathalie Heinich observes, the public, through art experience and consumption, has become an essential element for the legitimization of the art object; the artwork is now an event for which is requested an active participation of the public, whose reaction and interpretation will fundamentally cooperate in the artistic process.[34] The public's intervention is part of the work of art, whose existence is given by its very presence among its receivers.[35] Contemporary art and, in particular, the art installation, is blurring the boundaries between production, mediation and reception and requires an active participation of the agents involved and of the public.
Museums, as diaphragms between the inside and the outside - that is between inside art and the public - are under the pressure of this dual transformation of art and audience, and respond by transforming themselves in turn. Cultural institutions have come to represent the most suitable place for performing the new artistic trend, which can thus find a way to be transmitted and distributed to society.

The success of the trend for democratization may also lie in the educational goals of museums which are the most eloquent expression of their desire to be a social instrument at the service

[33] Jacob M. J., 1995

[34] Heinich, N., 2014: 122-129

[35] Bourriaud, N.. 1998: 51

of the whole community. Museums are, in fact, the main agencies for the execution of art democratization, as their vocation almost always follows a vision of cultural spread, both socially and geographically, among their community. The idea of democratization is so embedded in the museological mission that it has started to influence the programs and policies of the museums themselves.

As the importance of the democratization trend grew and spread through the art world, more and more institutions and cultural events embraced this new vision – in a tendency of art democracy for art democracy's sake.

There has been a sort of transitional period wherein the democratization process has moved from being the result of and response to specific needs, i.e. the mission and social-educational role of museums, to becoming a stimulus for and sometimes even the ultimate goal of many different cultural agencies. In other words, the art democratization process can directly influence the cultural object[36], shape its content and modify its tools. New cultural projects and their funds are ever more at the service of specific programs of social relevance, rather than at those of the traditional artistic and aesthetic pursuit. Following a logic of usefulness rather than beauty, art is measured by standards of social impact and egalitarian pressure. As Brustein noted, "A*ctive rather than receptive in relation to the choices of artists and the programming of artistic institutions, the foundation world is now engaged in what I elsewhere called 'coercive philanthropy'*."[37] In short, the social goal is becoming so important that it is almost overwhelming the artistic dimension of cultural objects.

Because of their need to be an instrument for the education of the public, major institutions have introduced a number of new

---

[36] As defined in Griswold W., *Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in London Theatre from 1576 to 1980,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986

[37] Brustein R., 1999: 20

inside intermediaries in order to connect the museum with its public. New professional figures work today in a series of departments dedicated to the public: the educational programming department, the public development department, the public services, public reception department, pedagogical spaces department, and so on.[38] Among these new museum professionals, the figure of the cultural mediator has assumed a growing importance for the execution of the democratization process inside museums. A cultural mediator's mission of to educate the public and manage and implement museum visits; the mediator is not merely a guide but a museum professional who relates the visitors to the art objects and tries to find new strategies to broaden and engage the public.

What has basically occurred in museums is a shift of attention from the work of art to the visitor, seen as both a consumer and as a citizen with specific needs to be fulfilled.
Museum exhibitions are one of the most widely adopted tools used to educate and attract the public. They are supposed to facilitate visitor meaning-making. This approach obviously has a profound impact on the nature and conceptualization of the exhibition itself and, more in general, it has vast repercussions on the way society experiences culture. The aestheticization of communication and the simultaneous intensification of image circulation, typical of the last few years of globalization, has propelled the spread of a new form of culture consumption, what Mark Rectanus defined "event culture".[39] Furthermore, being a more versatile form of cultural consumption, events can be easily transported and adapted to different scenarios, in order to attract new audiences. Unfettered by the usual constraits, all that is called "event" has a free spirit of adaptation as well as a set of languages and means of communication which are from

[38] Heinich N., 2014: 199

[39] Rectanus M. W., 2002

time to time lent to multiple dimensions, from design to fashion, and from TV to internet. Exhibitions are the basic example of *event culture*, as they are transitory and often combined with a strong advertising campaign and collateral activities (like *vernissages,* parties and events).

This new cultural approach derives from the museum's need to perform multidimensionally, which basically entails the transformation of museology into a long and continual series of cultural events.

Like the society described by Guy Debord, museums turn to an accumulation of images that, together, mediate and generate the spectacle. For the spectacle is both the result and the project of the dominant mode of production and represents the dominant *model* of life; culture needs to be first simplified and then communicated through high speed and effective media, in which the language of the spectacle becomes the transversal mediator among different spheres, from art to cinema, form television to advertising, fashion and more.[40]

The educational factor has also affected changes in the mobility inside museums, improving the flow of movement for visitors and thus allowing them a more dynamic, active role. Today's museums are complex and complicated machines; they represent a very broad range of entities, both physical and conceptual, which puts them under the pressure of market forces. Their educational vocation forces museum directors to develop active strategies capable of holding the public's attention and of allowing a steady flow of information from within the museum toward the outside world. Museums have shifted from being rather static repositories of knowledge to centers of multidimensional action, where they are continuously required to provide visitors with a diversified plethora of

[40] Debord G., 1967

programs.[41] This shift is ultimately the symptom of museums' tendency to reflect reality and contemporary society, whose needs frame the definition of the museum itself.

In other words, museums and cultural institutions, along with mass media and under the pressure of their ethical vocation, have transformed culture in order to reach the widest public possible and the greatest number of visitors. The boundaries between high and pop culture have become increasingly blurred and contemporary art has moved into closer contact with elements of a mass culture in which artists have turned into popular celebrities.[42] The art world as a whole has become similar to the fashion world, with which it shares similar languages, a similar collective imaginary, similar players and a similar public.

At the opposite end of the spectrum of mass museums performing event culture, the ecomuseum represents an emblematic example of museums' need to become social tools for the achievement of a higher level of democracy. The term "ecomuseum" is the English translation of the word *ecomusée*, first coined by the museologist Hugues de Varine in 1971 to indicate a new museological approach to community environment, an idea arising in France at a time when environmentalism was achieving great prominence.[43] The two main proponents of the ecomuseum were in fact Hugues de Varine and Georges Henri Rivière (1897–1985) who, by developing this new idea of museology fundamentally related to communities and heritage, expressed concerns about the

[41] De Montebello, 2004: 157

[42] Stallabrass, 2004: 136

[43] Davis, 2005: 408

interpretation of human history and ethnography as well as about the democratization of museums and culture.[44]

The prefix "eco" added to the word "museum" clearly recalls terms like *ecology* and it indicates the fundamental focus on a museum's *environment;* in fact, the concept of ecomuseum started flourishing during the '60s, supported by the increasing emergence of environmentalism as an ideology advocating the importance of the protection of the environment as a primary concern. In the case of ecomuseology, as Davis notes, the term "environment" is conceived in a broad sense that includes not only geological and biological features, but also the people who live in a certain place, the landscapes that they have modified, their traditions, and ways of life.[45]

The principles behind this form of museum pivot around the fundamental role of the local community in any museological process, from decision making to everyday heritage management. The local community, considered a living heritage of a specific place, is entrusted with the selection of what must be included as a heritage resource and with its ongoing control. The museum is in this sense a *living* concept that reflects the outside identity and is modified by everyday external stimuli.

The philosophy of the ecomuseum symbolizes the vision of museums as diaphragms between the inside and the outside, and as not only "sites of memory" but also sites of inherited and living identity. The essence of a place cannot be entirely represented by museums but rather lies beyond, in the environment itself, and is defined by the individuals and communities living and operating there.

The ideology of ecomuseums acknowledges the existence of an essential connection between people and places and suggests a local responsibility for local heritage, in order to retain and

---

[44] Hugues de Varine 1976; Georges-Henri Rivière, 1989

[45] Davis, 2005: 404

preserve the cultural landscape. The ecomuseum is ultimately an example of a more democratic institution, one in which the democratization trend comprises not only accessibility, education and recreational activities but also claims the entire community as an active part of the museum's managing and decision-making policies.

Despite the existence of successful examples of community-run museums, the application of this kind of managerial and philosophical leadership is not always easily and smoothly applied.[46] The management of a museum, since it is typically an institution that involves a plethora of different stakeholders, is likely to face many challenges; there are often conflicts among the different parties, particularly when these parties are in charge of different aspects of the museum such as the curatorial, the financial or political sectors.

The Anacostia museum in Washington D.C. is a good example of the challenges brought about by the evolution from a community-based museological experiment to a more institutionalized museum, as well as of the potential for dissension among museum staff members. The Anacostia 'neighborhood museum' was founded in 1967 as a branch of the Smithsonian Institution with the purpose of regenerating one of the poorest areas in the District of Columbia. From its inception, under the guidance and strong views of the museum's first director, John Kinard, the museum was conceived as a model for community access and involvement and for the democratization

[46] The first and still successful experiments with ecomuseums took place in France in the late 1960s under the guidance of Georges Henri Rivière; along with the establishment of the Parc Naturel Regional d'Armorique (pnr-armorique.fr) in Finistère, Brittany, the Ecomusée des Monts d'Arrée and the Ecomusée de l'Ile de Ouessant were founded in 1969. The creation of the two ecomuseums was at the base of a plan to protect local ethnography, Breton culture, and natural resources, as well as to provide resources for seasonal tourists and establish an environmental education center (Notteghem, 1976).

of museum action.[47] The main source of inspiration setting the premises for the Anacostia museum was the underrepresentation of inner-city residents among the visitors to the Smithsonian Institution. Dillon Ripley, then secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, noticed how people from disadvantaged neighborhoods were not only unrepresented in a tally of the museum's visitors, but also tended to remain in their own neighborhoods.[48] Ripley's goal was to re-examine the role of museums in order to achieve a new involvement of this class of citizens.

While the idea of a bookmobile Smithsonian museum was part of the initial proposal, Ripley considered it just a form of charity and an imposition by "rich folks" on the poor areas, which would not achieve a real involvement of the community. Anacostia needed its own museum, one in which the whole community could participate.

> "*To a large extent, people from rundown neighborhoods tend to stay there.* […] *Here I agree wholeheartedly with the sociologists. Indeed such people may feel awkward going out of their district, badly dressed or ill at ease. They may easily feel lost as they wend their way along an unfamiliar sidewalk toward a vast monumental marble palace. They may even feel hostile. If the above is true, then the only solution is to bring the museum to them. For of all our people, these are the ones who most deserve to have the fun of seeing, of being in a museum*".[49]

Once an abandoned theatre was selected as the site for the museum, a team of young people from the neighborhood started working with museum staff for the renovation of the site. Soon afterwards, a weekly meeting was established to plan the

---

[47] James, 2005: 373

[48] Ripley, 1969:105

[49] *Ibidem*

museum's programming and exhibitions; these meetings were held by an informal advisory committee trying to represent every agency and organization in the community. There was just one restriction to membership—that the majority of the members be residents of Anacostia. These joint meetings between people from the local community and Smithsonian professionals sought to lay the foundations of the new museum.

While the original vision of the Smithsonian planners was to have the Anacostia museum as an emissary institution that would bring the Smithsonian to an isolated inner city of African-American residents, very soon the direct involvement of community advisors and people from the neighborhood started to transform the initial mission into something else. More than simply having a piece of Smithsonian in their community, local people wanted to bring their own vision, experiences and perspectives inside the museum. This gave rise to a discourse about the contents of Anacostia's shows and directed attention to themes of African-American history that had never been considered in museum exhibitions before.

The informality and relatively simplicity of the managerial structure of the ANM allowed for a favorable level of dynamism in the everyday activities of the museum. Besides assisting with the duties of installing exhibitions and with simple managerial tasks, residents suggested topics and shaped the programming of the museum as well as easily accessing the development process of exhibitions. This form of collaboration in the early years framed the museum according to the residents' vision and contributed to the great success of the overall project.

At the end of the 1960s, the museum started to expand its staff and exhibition facilities were upgraded. As James reported: "*As the complexity of exhibition goals increased, however, the museum's relationship with its local community grew more challenging, and the kind of informal, active intervention by community people that characterized the museum's early years gave*

way to more formal, more structured ways of integrating community voices into exhibitions."[50]

Staff efforts to "professionalize" and upgrade museum operations started to threaten community access to the exhibition development process, and most community/museum interaction was gradually relegated to the program and outreach activities of the education department.

Exhibitions became more sophisticated and expensive paralyzing the management of the museum's financial resources.

In 1973, the original Neighborhood Advisory Committee was reduced to a less than a third of its members and converted into a Board of Directors, all in order to transform it into a more easily manageable agency. In 1982, most of the museum's diverse community advisory boards had slowly dissipated. In 1987, the museum was moved from its original location to a site a mile away in the center of a public park that no longer allowed for casual walk-in visitors. The name of the museum was also changed by deleting the term "Neighborhood" from the original name.

Within the space of a decade, the identity of the museum began to disintegrate, suspended as it was between its original community vocation and the new Board's vision of a more traditional museum. The upgrade to a larger, more academically engaged museum had undermined the foundations of the museum and bogged down the initial managerial flexibility and dynamism.

As James noted, for small and underfunded institutions, continuity of mission and identity over long periods of time is sometimes problematic. New accomplishments and changes in the managerial sector can profoundly affect the institution and compromise the relationships among the different stakeholders. Moreover, institutional identity is provided by museum

[50] James, 2005: 379

administrators and by the ties between the institution and its external environment, and "*there must be stronger bridges between the museum— as both an intellectual and a public institution—and its claimed communities*".[51]

[51] James, 2005: 391

4.4 Geographical Diffusion of Art
The Case of the Pompidou Mobile, France

Cultural Democratization in France

In France the national government has had a leading role in supporting the arts for a long time. The origins of a modern cultural policy aimed at promoting the cultural access of citizens can be traced back to 1959 with the establishment of the Ministry of Culture with André Malraux (1901-1976) as the first Minister of Cultural Affairs. Malraux's policy of cultural democratization proposed to extend access to culture to all citizens mainly by the foundation and territorial spread of cultural facilities called "Maisons de la Culture", a project in which he invested his greatest energy.

The Houses of Culture were meant to provide local people from different parts of France with a wide range of cultural offer - arts, theater, music and cinema - which up until that moment had been the exclusive privilege of Parisians and of the upper classes who were able to travel to Paris to experience culture. The Maisons were new buildings constructed to house a large hall for lectures, theater shows and art exhibitions, often with a space for libraries.

The idea of the Houses of Culture was not invented by Malraux but borrowed from preexisting experiments born first in the Soviet Union after the 1917 Revolution and later cloned in France by the intellectuals of the French Communist Party.[52] The first Maison was founded in 1934 in Paris and later it was replicated in other cities such as Rouen, Rheims and Nice as well as in the African colonies, where Malraux himself had taken part in many cultural activities.

Malraux's idea for the Houses of Culture was to spread the high level culture from Paris to minor French cities, and, as a

[52] Lebovics H., 1999: 117

consequence, to abolish the idea of "province" as something culturally lower and inferior, while at the same time cementing a national high culture.[53]

Malraux's policy of the Maisons was recurrently criticized as a top-down approach that brought high culture to the provincial towns without any sort of educational mediation to facilitate the public's understanding of the proposed cultural offer. But Malraux believed in the power of aesthetics and considered the Houses of Culture a first step for people to engage with culture and grasp its potential for society.[54] He also made some changes in the educational system, by including music, art, and theater in the school curriculum in order to bring these symbols of the upper social classes and aristocracy to every French child and to build a new civic sense based upon the values of art and culture which could replace the spiritual role of the church.

Since the ideological movements of 1968, cultural policy has progressively encouraged engagement with social questions and cultural inclusion, but even so direct support to contemporary arts was still very limited.[55] The 1980s represented a major break for the creation of new policies addressed to contemporary art production. In 1982 two institutions for the visual arts were founded: the DAP, *Delegation aux Arts Plastiques*, an agency of the Ministry of Culture and Communication, was established to set out the conditions for implementing public policies, while the CNAP, the *Centre National des Arts Plastiques*, was created to improve management flexibility and to directly support players in the art market by granting scholarships, resources, and aid to galleries.[56] In the

[53] Lebovics H., 1999: 113

[54] Ahearne, 2010: 99

[55] Augustin Girard, "Un cas de partenariat entre administration et recherche scientifique", in Menger and Passeron (eds.), 1994, p. 146

[56] Coalition française pour la diversité culturelle, "Cultural Policies in France", 2008

same period, the reinforcement of budgetary funds enabled the CNAP to start an ambitious purchasing activity conceived within the policy of direct support to the arts. The establishment of the FNAC, the F*ond National d'Art Contemporain*, was conceived to purchase works of contemporary art, and was flanked by 22 *Fonds Régionaux d'Art Contemporain* (FRAC), one in each region, intended to guarantee a plurality in the choices made.

Since its foundation, three national commissions of experts have been in charge of acquiring works each year in the fields of visual arts (photography and video; decorative arts, crafts and industrial design). Any artist who lives in France or is represented by a French gallery may directly submit works to the acquisition commissions. The FNAC collection is meant to reflect France's contemporary art scene and, today, it features about 95,000 works, which are cyclically exhibited or borrowed for exhibitions in order to enhance the awareness and knowledge of contemporary art within the French territory. In order to favor the French art market, purchases of art objects are made primarily through galleries; in 2012, 70 purchases were made through galleries (61 in France, 7 in the European Union and 2 outside Europe) and only 8 purchases were made directly through the artists.

By looking at current French cultural data, the distribution of public resources in the diverse sectors of culture is in fact the expression of just such a cultural policy; if we analyze France's budget breakdown by cultural program, it appears clear that the sector receiving the greatest amount of resources from the State reflects the process of democratization. In 2013, 27 percent of the overall public budget of the Ministry for Culture and Communication (4 billion euros) went to the program

"Transmission of Knowledge and Democratization of Culture", underscoring the relationship between culture and politics.[57]

In compliance with visitors' demand for ephemeral shows and cultural events, the Centre Pompidou Mobile project was devised in accordance with the trend of art democratization, endorsing and re-proposing the practice of ephemeral events and adopting an easy, colorful and direct language for its architectural choices. Even more importantly, the Pompidou Mobile's goal was to become a powerful instrument for the diffusion of both art history and cultural identity, a goal that implied the massive involvement of schools and students, who

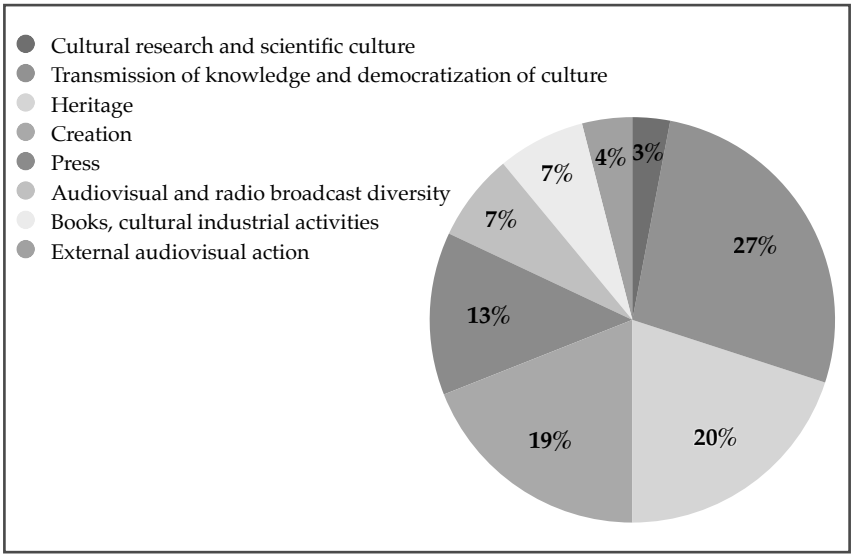


Fig. 3 Breakdown by program of the 2013 budget of the Ministry for Culture and Communication
Source: Key Figures. Culture Statistics 2013

[57] Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication Secrétariat général Service de la coordination des politiques culturelles et de l'innovation Département des études, de la prospective et des statistiques, *Key Figures. Culture Statistics 2013*, Chantal Lacroix. http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Etudes-et-statistiques

2008

Sur 100 personnes de 15 ans et plus de chaque groupe ont visité :

	au moins une fois au cours de leur vie				au cours des douze derniers mois			
	Parc : Futuroscope, Cité des sciences et de l'industrie (La Villette)…	Exposition temporaire de peinture ou de sculpture	Exposition de photographie	Musée	Parc : Futuroscope, Cité des sciences et de l'industrie (La Villette)…	Exposition temporaire de peinture ou de sculpture	Exposition de photographie	Musée
Ensemble	**46**	**52**	**36**	**77**	**8**	**24**	**15**	**30**
Hommes	49	50	37	78	9	24	15	30
Femmes	43	54	35	77	7	24	14	29
15 à 19 ans	55	53	27	77	15	21	13	37
20 à 24 ans	65	62	38	83	13	26	14	34
25 à 34 ans	57	50	35	78	10	21	13	29
35 à 44 ans	47	52	37	77	12	25	15	34
45 à 54 ans	42	52	41	75	8	28	17	29
55 à 64 ans	41	56	39	79	5	27	17	31
65 ans et plus	32	48	32	77	2	19	13	21
Aucun diplôme, CEP	27	35	22	66	3	12	8	15
CAP, BEP	42	46	34	75	7	18	11	23
BEPC	47	57	42	78	7	24	13	26
Bac	59	66	46	88	8	31	20	37
Bac + 2 ou + 3	68	75	52	92	15	40	24	47
Bac + 4 et plus	83	89	70	98	18	61	41	72
Élève, étudiant	62	64	38	84	17	29	17	47
Communes rurales	45	46	29	73	6	17	10	22
Moins de 20 000 hab.	41	46	31	70	6	19	12	23
20 000 à 100 000 hab.	37	52	36	76	6	21	13	26
Plus de 100 000 hab.	47	56	40	82	7	27	17	34
Paris *intra-muros*	66	78	66	89	30	62	46	65
Reste de l'agglomération parisienne	54	56	38	83	15	28	16	40

Source : MCC/DEPS

Fig. 4 "Fréquentation des Musées et Expositions". Museum attendance for the year 2008. Source: Chiffres Clés Statistiques de la Culture 2013, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication

were then considered privileged visitors. School education is indeed a key element for the development of a collective cultural identity and for getting used to a daily consumption of culture - and of museums; not surprisingly, children become a common target of any cultural program.

Architecture was a central part of the project and had to immediately communicate the museum's mission to the outside. More than being spectacular, the building had to be familiar and recall something entertaining and fun. By the use of colorful tarpaulins, Bouchain's project and choice of materials evoked the idea of local fairs and circuses. The selection of colors - blue, orange and red - was an explicit reference to circus tents, and everything had to resemble a familiar place in order to attract a new public who was assumed to be somewhat suspicious of museums.

The public is the core element around which the whole concept, architectural project, programming and development of the Pompidou Mobile have pivoted since its inception. The project was in fact developed according to three main principles, all of which ultimately focused on the museum's relationship with the public. First, the architecture of the PM had to be friendly and familiar in order not to scare people but attract them inside instead. Secondly, free admission was considered a mandatory characteristic of the project as it had been from the very beginning. Everybody was supposed to be able to visit the PM, and an admission ticket was believed to be an obstacle for many people. Thirdly, the programming and contents of the nomadic museum had to be addressed to a large public, as did all aspects regarding communication and education. In other words, exhibitions needed to be simple and simply explained, presenting concepts which could for the most part be immediately understood.

The PM not only complies with the idea of art as an ephemeral event or happening, but it also refers directly to the collective

repertoire of locales for entertainment. It openly claims to be part of the heritage of circuses, magicians and country fairs, abandoning the outdated idea of the museum as a rigid, overly serious place. Above all, it stresses a new vision for culture: *art must be for everyone; it must be reassuring and entertaining; it can be a game; and, not least of all, art can go to the people and invite them in*.

The interviews collected in Aubagne in September 2013 among visitors to the Pompidou Mobile showed that, with the exception of school classes, 57 percent of the visitors were between 50-70 years old and 56 percent were women. Moreover, 68 percent of the public affirmed they knew almost nothing about either the artists or the artworks on show before coming, thus providing evidence of the project's partial success in terms of educational goals and cultural spread.

The great majority of interviewees judged the CPM a positive experience and thought that Aubagne had gained cultural and economic advantages from the museum. Probably due to the historically strong centralism of France, Alain Seban's main mission for the Pompidou was to spread culture throughout the country, while at the same time making it possible for citizens to familiarize themselves with contemporary creation and also allow works of art to be a daily presence in their lives. The PM was first of all an event, an occasion for the host city to experience a new museological happening while attracting the media and organizing collateral events – the event within the event.

This new trend uses event culture to attract people and to offer a new, more appealing vision of museums. Accordingly, on the occasion of the exhibition in Aubagne, the majority of interviewees declared that they had been drawn to the museum as a possibility for entertainment. For most visitors, who mainly came from the surrounding area, the Pompidou Mobile offered an opportunity to spend a Saturday afternoon in a new way. This idea of culture is perfectly in line with the general assumption of

event culture that approves the merging of amusement and culture.

When the Pompidou opened its doors in Paris in 1977, it was conceived as a sort of social sealant that would unite the public and culture, thus laying the foundations for a completely new vision of museums. With its open ground floor and ongoing offerings of events and activities, it acted as a huge catalyst for the urban cultural scene. The transparent façade, flexible structure and indefinite form of the Centre Pompidou Paris was meant to operate as an open invitation to the public and to be an example of the democratic urban experience. At that time, Rogers' and Piano's colorful devices symbolized the launch of the culture machine; today, Bouchain's bright tents demonstrate once again how powerful a museum can be, while also displaying the Centre Pompidou's sense of culture.

From the still vigorous perspective of the Enlightenment, the cultural institution is proposed as a powerful element capable of redeeming the entire social system and, as such, its existence revolves around this sense of purpose; in a very contemporary perspective, with the CPM, the large, central national museum has cloned itself through an appendix that can travel around the country, in a thaumaturgic process where culture is the cure.

There are and will be other projects like the Pompidou Mobile. One of the most recent and best-known cases is that of the Ark Nova Project, a traveling theater designed by the artist Anish Kapoor and the architect Arata Isozaki. It is a purple inflatable membrane structure able to host up to 500 people and designed to travel all around the globe.

Similarly to the Pompidou Mobile experiment, it has proven to be an event in and of itself, a work of art created by an artist to host events that might even be less noteworthy than the structure.[58] The idea of culture as an event, as a container of

[58] For more details, see: http://ark-nova.com/.

something, is the process that structures both the production and the consumption of art. The world is currently witnessing a shift in emphasis from function to form and from content to packaging. In consideration of Jean Clair's elaboration of "culture" through the ternary "cult/culture/cultural"[59], museums are likely to prefer a type of relationship with their public founded on a ritualistic event, rather than on a quiet everyday bond. The architecture of a museum can establish a powerful relationship with its environment, working as a physical and symbolic icon for the community.

Moreover, as happened with the Centre Pompidou in Paris, the museum's architectural space expands the opportunity for cultural proposals and new services, like restaurants, cafés and shops. Besides the goal of cultural democratization, the Pompidou Mobile also aspired to regenerate the economy in the places it visited.

Some believe that, in line with the Bilbao effect, a "branded culture"[60] can change the destiny of a local economy. Branding plays an important role in culture-led regeneration and economic development. Cultural facilities like art museums, housed in architecturally iconic structures and attached to a highly marketable image, enhance the value of a place.[61] As Rectanus explains, corporations contribute to the definition of public cultural agenda. In fact, corporations provide cultural organizations with a model of institutional operation and management, and, more importantly, they "produce consumer and media culture by defining the relations between products and images that construct the context and social relations of

[59] Clair J., 2007

[60] The term is used to refer to cultural objects produced by established and internationally well-known institutions, which usually can rely on powerful means for the promotion of themselves and their programs, mainly thanks to a process of strong self-reference.

[61] Plaza B., 2013: 63

everyday life."[62] Museums are adapting almost everywhere to these new communicative strategies.

Brazilian museums registered a sudden and dramatic increase in the number of visitors whenever they held an international temporary exhibition conceived and managed by foreign museums and curators. As observed by de Santos, during international exhibitions – like the ones displaying works by Matisse and Picasso in Rio de Janeiro – attendance at the most important museums in Brazil registered 250,000 visitors in one month (as opposed to only 300,000 in one whole year).[63] Statistics like these underline the importance of marketing and of updated communication strategies in museum management.

Museums have simultaneously been active and passive subjects of the widespread trend of democratization. For one thing, since they serve as the principal agents in the relationship between experts and the public, they have been called upon to become the main active proponents of a new more democratized cultural society. Through educational departments, collaboration with schools and communities and a general attitude of public welcoming, museums are a perfect place for the execution of democratization and social equalization.

For another, the democratizing goal has at times proved to be a form of political and social pressure that has pushed museums to modify and adapt not only their container - i.e. their means of communication and policies toward the public - but also their contents, by turning to easier and simpler exhibitions.

Within this post-global context, museums and the new forms of mass media share the important role of acting as cultural ambassadors with profound implications in the domain of cultural industry and economics. Event culture, the movement of similar exhibitions/events around the globe and the common

---

[62] Rectanus M. W, 2002: 23

[63] Dos Santos , M. S., 2001: 29-45

use of a shared marketing language for advertising and democratizing culture may lead to a process of exportation of cultural products from stronger toward weaker countries, communities or ethnic groups, thus causing an even more extensive homogenization of the world's cultures.

In this sense, the Pompidou Mobile, from its inception to its untimely dissolution, exemplifies the main features of a trend in cultural policy that looks for high numbers of visitors in a brief time frame together with an easy, blockbuster cultural offer that is generated in a centrality and then moves toward a weaker periphery in a top-down process.

Finally, this trend demonstrates the belief that the masses are drawn almost exclusively by pop or digestible culture, something that widens the gap between high culture, which belongs to elites, and pop/commercial culture, which is addressed to everybody else. The trend seems likely to further develop the idea that high culture will remain the province of the few, while the masses will continue to consume pop and event-like cultural objects.

4.5 Class-based Involvement of the Public
The Case of "Artisti a Km0" Project, Prato, Italy

As analyzed in the previous chapter, the aim of the "Artisti a Km0" project is to create a relationship between local artists and citizens and to develop a critical conscience for cultural and dialectic exchanges. Each event that the project organizes, open to the public and completely free, can be considered both a starting point for evolving and enhancing collective awareness of the art world and a tool for supporting the work of emerging young local artists.
Shaped and conceived with this precise democratizing goal, "Artisti a Km0" represents an example of the increasing transformation of the cultural object under the pressure of ethical aims that shift the attention from aesthetic to moral concerns.
Artists are invited to show their work at a one night event and their role is legitimized through a process of *institutionalization*. In doing so, the project provides local artists with a unique opportunity of democratization but its real and ultimate goal is to attract new public thanks to the particular type of cultural event. The project's lack of rigid rules, together with the strong bond established with the local community, addresses those people who are unaccustomed to museum practice by making them feel more comfortable entering a museum. Artists must give their list of contacts to the museum so that the more artists have access to the show, the more potential museum-goers there are.

During the last few decades, the theory of the so called "death of the author" as described by Roland Barthes has progressively been replacing the 19th century romantic vision of the artist as genius.[64] The most significant result of Barthes' studies, along with the contributions of Foucault, Becker, Bordieu and others, has been the disappearance of the theories that

[64] Barthes R., 1977

considered the work of art the result of the single artist. Today, theories tend rather to consider any cultural object the result of a collective activity.

According to Becker, there are at least four categories of players involved in the artistic process: the creator, the executor, the distributor and the person or persons providing technical support.[65] These categories are all essential for the artwork's existence and the tasks they perform are split into smaller and finer subdivisions. An important part of the *beaurocratization* of the artistic process lies in the identification of the artist and the labeling of his work as a true form of art. In the academic world, judgment is for the most part removed from the user/public, while institutions, with their apparatus of critics and aestheticians, are awarded the task of judging and deciding what is art. At the same time, institutions must allow for the production of culture, building around the art world a certain narrative and set of rules. Museums work as places of legitimization and they assist in sorting out the artists from the non-artists.

The contemporary art world is indeed a network of overlapping subcultures held together by a belief in art.[66] It may be spread all over the world in a globalized system, but it is hierarchically concentrated around clusters corresponding to certain world capitals - New York, Berlin, Hong Kong and London. These clusters are the places where the most important actors in the contemporary art scene meet and cooperate for the purpose of legitimizing themselves and what they do. These actors comprise the crucial network of artists, dealers, critics, curators, collectors and museums that, together, supports the system.

---

[65] Becker H., 1982: 4

[66] A similar definition is given by Sarah Thornton in *Seven Days in the Art World*, Norton, New York, 2009

Artists need to be assigned a certain value and they need to build a narrative to boost their reputation. In the art world, reputation is the essential element that makes the translation from artistic to monetary value possible. It is the inside players who create a set of conventions that declare what is in and what is out. These conventions are the common language that professionals in the art world use to be understood.

Within this framework, Becker emphasizes how the artist himself is the product of those conventions. The artist must respect rules about size in order for his artworks to be allowed to enter a certain museum; he may need technical support from other professionals or technicians and he will certainly need someone to publicize his work just as a musician at times has to follow rules about the length of his concert and needs someone to take care of his instrument.[67] The art world defines the standards and these standards influence what the artist creates. As a result, only those artists connected with the network will be insiders and being insiders will shape the work they do. Networking is a crucial element for an artist's success.

At first sight, the "Artisti a Km0" project seems to be in a transversal position with respect to the hegemonic centers of the art system, since it could potentially challenge the functioning of the system and its pivotal rules of the status creation process. In line with the tradition of Cultural Studies, and with Barthes' definition of culture, the project questions the common definition of art.[68] The Pecci Center has become the megaphone for a message of great consequence: anyone is potentially capable of becoming an artist, even outside the established path, and this is due to a collective process wherein citizens, artists and institutions are equally and mutually important.

---

[67] Becker H., 1982

[68] Barthes R., *Mythologie*s, 1972

The project makes use of the institutional power and recognition of the Pecci Center to confer validation on artists within the system. Artistic status is achieved through an institutionalization process in which the museum works as a mediator and gatekeeper. But the lack of any selection process concerning the artists who are allowed to show their work may risk at the same time diminishing the level of artistic research that typically requires both discernment of experts and sufficient time to develop a coherent and stratified narrative.

Nonetheless, non-intervention by a professional board (*managerial subsystem*) in the selection of the artists is a sociological and political choice and, as a choice, it replicates the pattern of the cultural industry system. "Artisti a Km0" exists within the institutional aura of the Pecci Center and it works as a gatekeeper in the culture industry system. The project makes it possible to transform a work into an artwork, not by a qualitative process, but through an institutionalization process. And indeed, according to Becker's analysis, once an artist has been accepted under a museological roof and his works labeled as art, the museum acts as a filter between the outside and inside of the art world.[69]

What still rests to be investigated is the position of the project within the art system. But only the future developments of the project will reveal whether "Artisti a Km0" is acting as an inside player or whether it is creating a new ecology out of the art system. This future scenario will largely depend on the project's success together with its capacity to spread and be replicated; it will also be a consequence of political decisions coming from the system itself. Nevertheless, according to Paul Hirsch's analyses, sociology must here rely on empirical data,

[69] Becker H., 1982: 128-29

given the unpredictable nature of the problem.[70]

While the destiny of all the artists that have passed under the institutional roof of the Centro Pecci is still to be verified, we can state here that the democratization process seems actually to address the public, who is ultimately a crucial target of the entire project. In fact, artists are asked to give their list of contacts to the museum and to invite as many people as possible. By providing artists with the opportunity of exhibiting in its space, the museum hopes to increase its public in return and the more artists have access to the show, the more people will potentially become part of the museum's community in the future.

As in the case of the Pompidou Mobile, the Pecci project is making use of special events in order to attract more public; once again, we see an example of how culture must be transformed into an event in order to lure a crowd of cultural consumers that covers a broad spectrum of public. Unlike the Pompidou case, though, "Artisti a Km0" does not propose a spectacular media event but rather a long-term calendar of appointments for the city. Despite being designated for anyone from any social class and educational level, the project has not adopted the blockbuster philosophy but is looking for a more reserved yet still effective way of involving the public, one which will succeed in creating a sustainable and longstanding relationship with citizens as a civic commitment.

There are two elements of innovation in the relationship "Artisti a Km0" has with its public: the role of visitors and the decision to target a regional public. As demonstrated by the linkages of Griswold's cultural diamond, visitors are vital lymph for the legitimization of museums. Moreover, the relationship

---

[70] Cultural organizations deal with very large audiences that are almost totally unknown to them and no one knows exactly what this mass audience will appreciate and accept. Hirsch P. M., *Processing Fads and Fashion: an Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems*, American Journal of Sociology 77, 1972, pp.639-59;

between museums and their community is an increasingly common theme in political and social arenas. Museums are ever more frequently perceived as social connectors and the agencies of democratization; they should also be used to help resolve social conflicts. It is clear that today museums are functioning as social identity-makers.[71] The Pecci Center is working from this perspective to attract a new kind of public, one that is in turn able to contribute fresh interpretations and a fresh significance to the museum. By fostering a process of hybridization among different cultural levels, the project has proved the impossibility of establishing a univocal definition of culture and confirmed that the concept itself is fluid and subject to different interpretations.

Schudson's five categories of the potency of a cultural object provide another useful frame of reference with which to evaluate the project's relationship with its public.[72] The project's economic and social accessibility reveals a high degree of **retrievability**, a term which describes the capacity of a cultural object to reach people. "Artisti a Km 0" events are free for all visitors, who are highly motivated to participate since they are members of the same community as the artist. The artist is not a stranger but more likely a friend or a relative who has directly invited his supporters to participate in the event. The synergy between the creator, the public and the cultural object produces a multidimensional degree of retrievability: the work of art is economically, socially, temporally and geographically retrievable. Moreover, the project's approach denies the static idea of "museum-mausoleum"[73], of a monument to be "frontally" visited, encouraging instead a dynamic participation in the museum's programming. Art is here perceived as an evolving

[71] Tota A. L., 1999

[72] Schudson M., 1989

[73] Witcomb A., 2003

process able to trigger a social response on the part of the community.

Even marketing campaigns are part of the process of retrievability and they can assist in the process by bringing the object closer to the public and producing a lasting impact.[74] Once the cultural object becomes retrievable, it must address its public with a certain **rhetorical force** - the capacity to cause something to be remembered because of the powerful message it communicates. The "Artisti a Km0" project aims at becoming a part of the city's cultural agenda by gaining the attention of all stakeholders involved, but it still needs to choose a certain type of communicative strategy, a suitable medium and the right message. In fact, without a certain level of rhetorical force, the project risks undermining the effectiveness of the other four dimensions.

As for its retrievability, the Centro Pecci project is characterized by a high degree of **resonance** within the local community; it succeeds in attracting visitors because it is a part of their empathic and cognitive spheres. Although today people are over-stimulated by thousands of different possibilities, in this context they will tend to pay attention and remember, because of all the things they are already comfortable with or know. "*The relevance of a cultural object to its audience is a property …* [also] *of the position of the object in the cultural tradition of the society the audience is part of*."[75]

For the vast majority of the public, the cultural object in "Artisti a Km0" is itself part of the community and this enables them to cross the invisible line that too often keeps citizens out of contemporary art museums. The cold *white cube* has been "warmed" by the familiar condition of being with ordinary people who are part of one's own cultural tradition.

---

[74] Schudson M., 1989: 163

[75] *Idem:* 169

Obviously, however, the existence of a project like this would be impossible without the support of an institution capable of creating the conditions for the object's **institutional retention**. Schudson's term describes the need of any cultural object to become part of the knowledge formally required or proposed by an institution. The Centro Pecci becomes, in this case, the gatekeeper for the process of legitimization of the project and it certifies the effective entrance of the artistic object into the art world.

Finally, the project acts with a certain level of **resolution**. In order to obtain a high degree of resolution, the cultural object must be able to influence people's actions and to convince citizens to take concrete action. Encouraging people to do something they would never have done otherwise is the kind of cultural mobilizing power that resolution describes and is what "Artisti a Km0" does very effectively.

4.6 Democratization of Art Production and Artists' Freedom The Case of Art in General, New York

In modern America, the market has been for long time the watershed between high and popular culture. While commercialization provided American citizens with commodity-art objects regulated by market laws, high culture was in the hands of wealthy elites who, looking to Europe for guidance, wanted to make certain it was differentiated from mass consumed culture.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the American desire to be in the forefront of cultural production while continuing to support less commercial culture, led to the formation of systems of federal support as well as to private initiatives of arts commitment.

After some early examples of federal support to the arts during the New Deal government and of private corporate support initiatives, like those by the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, among others, and, in particular, following the establishment of the NEA, the National Endowment for the Arts, in 1965, support toward nonprofit institutions started increasing all around the country and, as a consequence, the number of new nonprofit organizations also rose.

Nonprofit service organizations play a critical role in American society and in citizens' everyday lives. They also play a political role because, through the direct involvement of communities, they deal with community problems and work as intermediaries between state policy and service delivery. They are in fact virtually present all around the territory through social clubs, foundations, federated charities and church. As a consequence, non profit organizations appear to have a

legitimacy based on their philanthropic role which frees them from the coercion of government laws.[76]

The ethical narrative surrounding nonprofits, together with the tax incentives introduced as early as 1913 in American law[77], led to a massive increase in the number of these kinds of organizations which came to represent the interface between central government and local territories and the fundamental system for the American cultural scene.

Nonprofits, whether concerned with supporting young artists or helping children, arose, flourished and still are today the pastime of groups of wealthy individuals who are driven by the moral aspects of these organizations' ethical mission.

While super rich patrons, like the Rockefeller family in New York, started pouring huge sums of money into the arts system, upper middle-class American society, in search of the same cultural and moral prestige, mimicked their example by founding hundreds and thousands of private nonprofits and becoming members of their boards.

Board members not only supported their institution through direct funding but also decided over programming and guidelines, a fact that essentially put elites in charge of a vast majority of cultural production. In other words, these groups of people were entrusted with the power to decide what art should be nurtured and made more available.

---

[76] Smith S.R., Lipsky M., *Nonprofits for hire. The welfare states in the age of contracting*, Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 3

[77] The origin of the income tax on individuals is generally cited as the passage of the 16th Amendment, passed by Congress on July 2, 1909, and ratified February 3, 1913.
"*With the enactment of the Income Tax Law of 1913, the Federal Government began to apply effectively the widely accepted principle that taxes should be levied in proportion to ability to pay and in proportion to the benefits received. Income was wisely chosen as the measure of benefits and of ability to pay. This was, and still is, a wholesome guide for national policy*" (President Roosevelt, Message to Congress on Tax Revision delivered on June 19, 1935.
Source: www.treasury.gov/resource-center/)

With a cultural system relying mostly on the contributions of the upper class, American cultural offer has for a long time been propelled in one direction and it has taken the cultural public with it. Rich white Americans have long controlled the production and distribution of art, thus directly or indirectly favoring their own cultural category. Despite the fact that things have slowly changed with time, the breakdown of the 2008 demographic distribution of visitors to museums and galleries gives a pretty dramatic view of the situation in today's America. While 78.9 percent of visitors are white, only 5.9 percent are African-American and 8.6 percent are Hispanic - figures which, if compared to those of ten and twenty years ago, have not improved at all.

Evidence, then, points to a significant disparity in museum participation by different racial and ethnic groups. Even though museum attendance is affected by many diverse factors, including particular historical legacies, personal motivations and individual patterns of behavior, just to name a few, it is largely

By race/ethnicity	% of visitors to art museums	% of U.S. population
Hispanic	8.6 %	13.5 %
White	78.9 %	68.7 %
African American	5.9 %	11.4 %
Other	6.6 %	6.4 %

Fig. 5 Demographic distribution of visitors to art museums/galleries in 2008. Source: NEA, 2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts

accepted that education, income and social class massively influence the relationship with culture. Clearly, cultural policies are the means to contrast inequalities and roadmap tomorrow's cultural landscape.

At the same time, however, the role provided by the National Endowment for the Arts in the United States was limited to supply-side grants and financial aid. The NEA, despite being able to rely on a panel process for grant consignment, which helps to shape cultural trends, had little or no control over the concrete quality of cultural offer, which was progressively driven by the public's taste. A discussion on the structural model and financial sustainability of nonprofits will be treated in the next chapter, but for now, it is important to underline how nonprofit institutions have grown, for the most part, as private institutions financed by private and public grants and supported by groups of private individuals with typically substantial financial means.

Art in General deals primarily with artists by giving them two crucial resources, space and funding. The institution helps artists produce new and experimental projects that would otherwise not be realized.

Unlike the case of Pompidou Mobile, Art in General is not particularly concerned with a mass involvement of public; its core mission is about giving emerging artists an opportunity of art production in the logic of a strict selection of the artists.

Even though with different modalities, AiG shares some similarities with the case of the Centro Pecci, particularly, as we saw in the previous chapter, with respect to its direct relationship with artists and its influence within the local community; both institutions address artists and try to provide them with a genuine opportunity of artistic production independently from commercial and market forces.

However, despite similarities, the two institutions pursue two diverse agendas for the achievement of the democratic goal, one based on the decision of non-intervention over selection and

quality, the other fundamentally tied by a highly selective process driven in turn by curatorial choices.

Leaving aside for a moment the questions of how AiG as an institution looks for funds and what its sustainability is, let us focus on what happens at the level of the artist in its relationship with the outside.

Today, contemporary art is almost exclusively identified with market conditions and few are the examples where an artwork is produced under different mechanisms.

During the course of modernity the market has been seen as a means to liberate the artist from external pressures that used to tie the artist to his patron's will. Thanks to the changes in the configuration of the art system which had it pivoting around the role of the market, artists started to assert the autonomy of their art, and the power to decide what the term might or might not include.

Boris Groys has discussed extensively the theme of freedom related to art; according to Groys, historically an artwork can be brought to the public either as a commodity - i.e. under standard market conditions - or as a tool of propaganda - for which art is produced beside market forces, as happens with totalitarian art.[78]

In the art market, artworks are decontextualized and circulate independently from any curatorial choice. In this regard, the art market works as the mediator for artists' freedom.

Nevertheless, as Groys points out, the sovereign right of an artist to produce an artwork according to his sole will and without any need for justification is ultimately denied by the decision of a buyer to pay a certain amount of money for that artwork at his discretion, as happens during auctions. When put on the market the artwork is no longer controlled by its creator who loses any decisional power over it.[79]

---

[78] Groys B., 2008: 5

[79] Groys B., 2009

Moreover, because of its special nature, the art market is still very different from the market of standard goods. As Stallabrass puts it, major galleries, dealers and these days even artists and collectors directly manipulate the market, which can thus hardly be considered "free".[80] In the primary market, dealers attentively select their buyers and place their artists strategically with the right people, and, even in the secondary market and especially at auctions, art prices are controlled, manipulated by owners buying up their own pieces and subject to minimum starting bid prices and reserve prices.
For this particular structure of the market, art is not free, but rather in the hands of a few stakeholders who determine its production and distribution and, ultimately, its mass consumption.

As a gatekeeper able to welcome artists into the system, AiG invests in young emerging artists by giving them not only a space, a narrative and institutional support, but also by providing them with money for their fees and the costs of production. The question of sustainability of art and the role of the market has assumed a different connotation in the American case, as it moves from the art object to the art institution.
For it is Art in General, as an institution, that looks for funds and its self sustainability and therefore that deals with any economic rules, the artist is essentially released from market forces and entrusted with a fixed amount of resources that he may use at his discretion. In the case of AiG the democratization trend lies in putting the artist outside the mechanisms of the market similarly to what museums do.

Art in General's New Commissions program represents a different way of production, promotion and even distribution of the art object. Groys has analyzed this role of exhibition practice

[80] Stallabrass J., 2003

as opposed to the art market.[81] If the art market is meant to be the domain of rich collectors having a stake in the purchase of art, exhibitions - museum exhibitions, biennials and documentas - are made for a public who is not interested in buying art. Moreover, according to Groys, the art installation, operating as a symbolical privatization of the exhibition space by the artist, provides artists with a real opportunity for free creation.

At AiG artists are called upon to create an installation composed of different objects but meant as a whole. Herein lies the opportunity of freedom, which is based on the artist's sovereign decision. Artists define and organize the space, decide what to include and what to exclude, and finally, create an art object in its entirety. The artist's freedom thus expands from the single object - which can be put on the market - to the exhibition space - which cannot be sold unless shattered in meaningless pieces.

Recent examples of the use of space outside the market are the works that Latvian artist Ola Vasiljeva and the American Lisi Raskin produced for their Commissions at Art in General in 2014. For her exhibition *Jargot,* Ola Vasiljeva (b. 1981) created a sculptural installation that represented her ongoing investigation into the relationship between thought, language and the production of objects. To enact the uncanny and surreal reality of dreams, Vasiljeva built a stage of objects by the use of ready-made, site-specific sculptures and personal objects which, together, were meant to infuse the beholder with feelings of an open-ended interpretation. The exhibition included one shoe, a large chalk drawing on a wooden board, some potatoes, cigarettes, videos, colored lights and a few objects from the offices of Art in General.

In her exhibition *Recuperative Tactics*, Lisi Rasking (b. 1974) turned the gallery space into a platform for social interactions and artistic performances. With the use of donated and

[81] Groys, 2009

scavenged materials, including physical remnants from her previous works, she created a large-scale, immersive environment, which the public was invited to experience and other artists to enjoy through performances. The walls of the gallery were covered with colorful wooden pieces, the result of a joint activity among staff and other artists, and a long table was put in the middle of the space.

While it is surely true that through their exhibitions both artists were intensifying the narrative around their work and thus strengthening their position among peers and on the market, their installations were also free to propose themes impossible to sell as objects on the market. Artists could freely use the space as an experience without being pushed by commercial or market constraints. In this regard, Art in General, by allowing artists to create their own exhibition by providing them with the necessary resources, empowers artists and gives them an opportunity to operate according to their sovereign will, outside market forces.

Art in General looks for a safeguard for the artistic narrative that is achieved by the application of a rigid selection of the artists based on the personal decision of the institution's curator. The curator is in turn selected according to his or her capacity to understand the dynamics of the art world and foresee its trends and to establish meaningful relationships with the major institutions of contemporary art in the world. Due to the high profile of its programming and the ways in which its mission is propagated in the external world - toward the public - Art in General does not seem interested in reaching a broad spectrum of the public but rather in keeping an exclusive relationship with art insiders and experts. Having a small, highly select group is believed necessary to yield a high profile level of artistic production. Although its mission lies in the fundamental spread of opportunities for new artistic production, because of its exclusivity in the selection process Art in General paradoxically

ends up being a privilege for the few, thus compromising a real democratic aim.

Put from another perspective, the three case studies being examined here may be considered a rough interpretation of the dualism between mass and high culture. "Artists a Km0" and, in a different way, the Pompidou Mobile may be seen as the attempt to reach a very large audience, the masses, through a new, easily digestible and informal medium, while Art in General renounces a broad public in favor of a deeply committed artistic outcome.

As Bettina Funcke maintains, high culture and popular culture can be depicted as belonging to opposite conceptual categories, epitomized by the "artist versus audience" dualism.[82] The two

Fig. 6 Roxanne D. Crocker's *CAKE* at the opening of *you know it when you feel it* as part of Lisi Raskin's *Recuperative Tactics*, Art in General, April 19, 2014 (detail). Image courtesy: the artist and Art in General. Photography: Steven Probert

[82] Funcke B., 2009: 16

instances represent opposite ends of the spectrum in which the three case studies lie: Art in General invests in artists and in their artistic outcome while "Artisti a Km0" and the Pompidou aim at reaching a large public. A focus on the artist means a shift in attention from process to product, whereas a focus on the audience accentuates the value of the process. The ultimate goal of "Artisti a Km0" and the Pompidou project is to spread opportunities for culturally disadvantaged people, while Art in General overlooks the public by focusing on the level of artistic production.

As Groys states, the difference between mass commercial art and high-brow art ultimately lies in the role of the archive that is the demarcation line between the two spheres.[83] The archive, allowing the cultural object to last and be inherited by future generations, is the instrument that society can use to decide whether a work is accepted as "high culture" or simply as an

Fig. 7 Ola Vasiljeva, *Jargot*, Installation view at Art in General, 2014. Image courtesy of the artist and Art in General. Photography: Steven Probert

[83] Groys B., 2009

ephemeral product to be consumed. The question of whether the artists of "Artisti a Km0" and Art in General is for future generations to answer. However, it is possible to make a first consideration about the nature of the two projects; in the Italian case, which is characterized by a shift of attention from the single featured artist to the process as a whole, it seems more likely that the project, rather than the single artists, will be remembered. In the American case, characterized by an investment in the single artist's project, artists typically experience a turning point in their careers after the show, which suggests that here featured artists are more likely to be included in the archive than the institution is.

An attempt to achieve a combination of the two opposite instances - high vs pop culture - is still to be made; perhaps, when the "artists vs audience" dualism merges, a truly democratic system will be within reach.

Conclusions
Situation and Complications

- The term "art democratization" designates the cultural and political trend whose aim is to expand cultural access to previously excluded groups and to increase the mass involvement of the public in the consumption and production of art.
- The current democratization of culture envisages two diverse but parallel levels of action: 1) because the art world is geographically concentrated in only a few centers of cultural power, one element of the democratizing trend seeks for a *geographical inclusion* of culture; and 2) because culture is still concentrated among elites with a high level of cultural and economic capital, a second element refers to a transversal *class-based involvement* of the public.
- Since the 1950s museums have been the symbol of the trend of cultural democratization, a process that has focused on public attendance thus increasing participation to the point of turning museums into a mass phenomenon.
  As a consequence, museums have not only multiplied and diversified but they have become a dynamic place for social interactions, producing a shift in attention from a concern with attendance to one of opportunities and cultural authority.
- Under the pressure of their ethical mission, in a tendency of art democracy for art democracy's sake, museums have become the target of the democratizing trend themselves and, as such, may risk compromising the integrity of the cultural object they try to convey into the external world.
  The level of trust in cultural authority thus becomes the watershed between two opposite positions that endorse either high culture or pop culture.

- The rise in the number of museums, the aestheticization of communication and the need of museums to be a multidimensional social space have propelled the spread of a new form of cultural consumption that Mark Rectanus defines "event culture".

- The case of the Pompidou Mobile represents a concrete example of a museum conceived with a precise democratizing goal. Despite its aim of encouraging museum participation and cultural spread in culturally and economically disadvantaged areas of France, the project failed to engage with local identity. Its idea of culture was perfectly in line with the general trend of event culture that pursues the merging of amusement and culture. This trend uses event culture to attract people and to offer a new, more appealing vision of museums.

- "Artisti a Km0" is an example of class-based involvement of the public and institutional legitimization of artists within specific geographical boundaries; the project exemplifies the increasing transformation of the cultural object under the pressure of ethical aims that shift attention from aesthetic to moral concerns and therefore question the common definition of art.
  "Artisti a Km0" pursues a "moderate" strategy of public involvement based on local instances and capable of creating a sustainable and longstanding relationship and civic commitment with citizens.

- Art in General is an institution that focuses on its relationship with artists, by providing them with a genuine opportunity for art production outside market forces. Unlike the Italian case, the democratic goal of AiG is based upon a very strict selection process of artists, which is meant to safeguard the high quality of the cultural object.

Art in General's New Commission program represents a different way of production, promotion, and even distribution of the art object, in which the democratization trend lies in putting the artist outside the mechanisms of the market.

- The chapter has looked at different strategies for the achievement of the democratic goal and has sketched out two opposite trends, the one focusing on event-culture, the other based upon slower bottom-up approaches with the local community. The establishment of this second type of relationship has appeared more effective in terms of the creation of cultural capital and recurring pattern behaviors of cultural participation, thus it is the one recommended for a democratizing goal.
- The lack of any cultural authority may lead to a compromise on the quality and value of the cultural object, while a focus on high quality artistic outcome coincides with a general disinterest in public participation, thus compromising a democratic aim. This duality symbolizes the alleged incompatibility between high culture and mass consumption, and claims the need for further investigation into the means necessary to achieve a fusion of the two instances in order to achieve a truly democratic state for the arts.

Chapter 5
Sustainability of Art
Art and Its Market

V

"Business art is the step that comes after Art. […]
Good business is the best art"
Andy Warhol[1]

Introduction

As seen in the previous chapters, the cases of the geographies of art and its consumption illustrate the oppositions in the art world between global and local and between mass consumption and elitist networks of power; an insight into the financial system of contemporary art will highlight both the dialectics between the spiritual value of art and its commercial price and the clash between a system of free trade and its alleged monopoly. While many art insiders like critics, academics and artists still tend to distance themselves from the market and condemn it, art and the market are ever more mutually dependent and can be described as a "dialectical unity of opposites", an opposition whose poles form a single unity.[2]

Whereas markets in the arts have existed for many centuries, their form has evolved quite dramatically in recent years since the art world has moved from being a closed system based on the tastes and decisions of a small circle of connoisseurs to being a globalized phenomenon primarily pivoting around the role of the art market. In the postmodern economy, with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the rapid upsurge of a global society and marketplace, ever more art is being seen, exhibited and collected by audiences and buyers than in any previous period.[3]

Contemporary art has become the symbol of this newly configured system and its worth on the market has been rising

---

[1] Warhol A., *The Philosophy of Andy Warhol (From A to B & Back Again)*, HBJ, 1975

[2] Graw I., 2010

3 Horowitz N., 2011: 9

relentlessly for the last fifteen years with a growth of 480 percent between 2002 and 2007; in 2012 Post War and Contemporary art sectors together accounted for 75 percent of the art total art market value.[4]

During this time, the transition from an elitist community of art insiders to a global economy and global art trade has brought about profound changes in the structure of the art world that have simultaneously impacted the production, consumption and circulation of art and produced a dismantlement of previous hierarchies, an expansion of its scope and redefinition of geographies. In this context, an analysis of the art market will help illuminate the ways art and culture today are not only sustained, but also conceived and produced.

The question of art sustainability has been the subject of extensive and diverse research that has mainly focused on the analysis of the passage from an old patron-based system of production to today's global market, on the financialization of the art market and on the dialectics between the intangible value of cultural objects and their market price. Debates about the role of the market in the art system and the value of the art object as financial investment have started flourishing during the Sixties and Seventies, when the art world was in fact evolving into a broader modern system of patronage together with the upsurge of an international art trade.

In 1961, Richard Rush published *Art as an Investment*, a book dedicated to the art market and art investments with examples of impressive art sales - like the then record $1,166,000 paid by Andrew Mellon for Raphael's *Alba Madonna*, or the $255,000 for Gauguin's *Still Life Apples* - and conceived to guide American collectors of art in "*the most rewarding activity of all time*".[5] In the same year Gerard Reitlinger published the first of three volumes

[4] Mc Andrew C., TEFAF Art Market Report 2014, p. 35

[5] Rush R., 1961: XI

of *The Economics of Taste*, where he examined the art market in eighteenth century France through examples of art sales from the past.

In this phase, new players began to assume a role in the art world that was about to evolve from being the domain of a small network of powerful and knowledgeable actors to one of a broad ecology of multiple stakeholders within the boundaries of a growing global economy. Previously the system was based on the artist-dealer relationship, in which a limited number of galleries were both the place to buy art objects and the place to get the latest news about up-and-coming artists and be informed of the intellectual discourse about art, sometimes even ahead of museums. The entry of auction houses into the contemporary art sector, the financialization of the art world and spread of investment initiatives related to the artistic product, and, almost immediately thereafter, the proliferation of new super wealthy individuals and fast-growing economies brought about a partial dissolution of past hierarchies and the beginning of today's globalized art world. In a few words, the art market has been accelerating, leading to an increase in the overall number of art activities at all levels.

The commercial art market can be regarded as an expanding system that is gradually gaining total control over the public reception of art, while at the same time supplanting the hegemony of museums and academic experts.[6]

Despite the prices paid for masterpieces, public sector budgets have shrunk and in many countries the management of a large number of museums has often become unsustainable; culture and cultural heritage are now being perceived as an economic burden and have triggered a political controversy epitomized by the opposition between private and public sector. This has led to an increase in the number of private museums and collections all

[6] Boll D., 2011: 9

around the globe and a growth in multinational commercial galleries with venues in different countries. Moreover, the influence that public museums and other institutions used to have in the art world as a whole has declined, while ever-richer collectors have dramatically implemented their role in the careers and success of artists.[7]

In this chapter, I will outline the evolution of art ecology by describing the structure of the global market and its players and by analyzing the shift in the assessment of the value of art and the delineation of new gatekeepers.

The purpose of this analysis is to underline how – despite the evolution of the art market into a global phenomenon and the inclusion of new social groups – today's art system still remains the privilege of a small elite with the power to influence trends and control the market.

While the main activities of the art market take place in a limited number of cities with a limited network of auction houses, galleries and collectors where all the attention of media and celebrities is concentrated, the contemporary art world as a whole is very different. Any artist aiming at commercial success has to move to centers like New York, London, or, more recently, Berlin. The periphery of the system is isolated and struggles to survive because it does not have a concrete possibility of rising to the top. A capillary system of local art production coexists in parallel with the primary level but it is not part of a pyramidal hierarchy of production able to dialogue with the higher level.

Since the market is in the hands of a small group of multinational galleries and auction houses (namely Sotheby's and Christie's), small galleries with limited budgets in peripheral areas can only rely on a local market whose representatives are very unlike to ascend to stardom.

[7] Velthuis O., 2012: 17

Even through art has been penetrated by an international trade business that mirrors the dynamics of the general global market and neoliberal economy of free trade, in certain ways it is not a free market at all and it is not regulated by the same laws of demand and supply as other asset categories.

This is partly due to the fact that the value of art lies in its spiritual value and cannot be measured like other common goods. With the impressive rise in prices for contemporary art, the art market has in fact become more similar to the luxury sector whose clients are very often buyers of huge and priceless art collections. These super wealthy individuals very often have the resources to put together art collections that are larger than museums' and can thus influence trends and tastes of the art system.[8]

Some observers see the art market as a monopoly of sorts, where prices, sales and market trends are manipulated by a few stakeholders.[9] This happens for example when owners of hedge funds, who control and manage super wealthy people's portfolios, decide to invest in contemporary art with the same speculative aim they have in the stock market. When they invest a huge amount of capital in a certain artist, they automatically increase the value of that artist's work and maximize their own profits. They can also restrict supply artificially when demand for these artists increases, leading to higher prices and more demand.[10]

This system does not seem profitable because it aggravates cultural and economic inequalities while also squandering the potential of unexploited markets, unrepresented artists and aspiring collectors from peripheral areas.

---

[8] Crane D., 2008: 339

[9] Stallabrass J., 2008, in *Art, Price, and Value*, Firenze: CCC Strozzina, 2008

[10] Bellet, De Roux, 2007

5.2 Brief Overview of the Modern Art Market Evolution

Art collecting and the art market are mutually dependent instances because art collecting automatically begets an art market in order to supply collectors; without buyers there would be no art market.[11] Joseph Alsop (1982) differentiates art patrons, who pursue an "art for use", from art collectors, who instead simply value objects as "art" even when they are completely divorced from any practical use.[12] After all, to collecting is to "gather objects belonging to a particular category", despite a lack of any conceivable purpose.[13]

Even though ever since art has been made there has always been a market for it, the role of artists and the purpose of collecting art have changed over and over again throughout history. The practice of collecting art became popular among the ruling class in Rome during the Imperial Era, when it was important for every educated Roman to have his own collection of art. This spurred the development of a market for artifacts, mainly from Greece, conducted by merchants who tended to gather along Saepta Julia street in Rome.[14]

At this time and even later on, during the Middle Ages when sacred images and pictorial works started circulating, artists did not rank very highly in society and were considered no more than artisans, often hired by the merchants themselves.

Artists and their patrons were tied by a simple relationship wherein artworks were directly commissioned by the Church or by rich members of the upper class. Works of art were the result of specific commissions chosen by the patrons who used to give precise instructions as to subject matter, colors and size. Michael

---

[11] Gombrich E. H., Woodfield, ed., *Reflections on the History of Art*, 1987; p. 169

[12] Alsop J., 1982

[13] Gombrich E. H., Woodfield, 1987: 170

[14] Boll D., 2011: 14

Baxandall has thoroughly examined the relationship between paintings and their commissions and developed the concept of "period eye" as an instrument to better analyze the history of art and of specific artworks. In his book *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-century Italy* (1972) he provides some very relevant examples of art contracts that include details about payment methods and about the quality of the colors to be used in the painting, as well as directives concerning the subject matter and figures to be depicted. At this time, though, it was not only the figure of the patron who conditioned the execution of the art object but also the overall artistic context, which used to encourage a circle of requests for art pieces among collectors and members of the upper classes.

Despite this direct connection between money and the art produced, artists could not count on an independent market and were forced to work under the constraints of their patrons' demands. Nonetheless, during the course of the fifteenth century a growing social prestige was conferred on artists, process that resulted in a partial emancipation of the figure of the artist from craftsmanship to "genius".[15]

In Europe, starting from the early sixteenth century, the demand on the part of the aristocracy for collectible art objects led to the establishment of a network of art dealers and merchants traveling among different territories. The transition to a more independent market, to some extent similar to the modern art market, took place in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands, where, as Boll points out, two parallel factors led to the flourishing of the art trade in the country: a concentration of the wealth accumulated thanks to Dutch primacy in trade but that could not be invested in real estate due to the lack of available land and the simultaneous diffusion of Calvinist morals

[15] Gombrich, Ernst, "Cities, Courts and Artists" symposium, published in *Past and Present*, No. 19, April 1961, p. 19. A summary of the symposium is reported in Castelnuovo, E. (1977), 1985, p. 41

that banned the creation of religious images. The first factor led to investments in art and precious objects; the second led to the elimination of the Church as an art patron fact that was responsible for the establishment of a broad network of trade relations that allowed artists to work –independently of commissions and pushed them to find new ways to make a living. Artists began to put together an inventory of works that could be sold through dealers, in their studios, at auctions, or even, for example, at an art market with more than one hundred stands in the Antwerp stock exchange.[16] The market had evolved from the previous system of courtly patronage to a modern economy based on supply and demand.

In 1674 the Auktionsverket, the first auction house still operating today, was founded in Stockholm, followed by Sotheby's in 1744 and by Christie's in 1766, both in London. This was a period of great art trade and more than sixty other auction houses were established in London alone.[17] Thanks in part to the huge number of artworks and precious objects sold by the French aristocracy fleeing from the Revolution, London became a powerful center of the art market; the art trade was increasingly the pastime of a rising middle class, which led to the foundation of the modern art market.

With the arrival of the Industrial Revolution, traditions in art gradually disappeared and craftsmanship was progressively replaced by mechanical reproduction. Artists consequently lost faith in traditional, academic art and began trying to let their individuality emerge. While up until that moment artists were used to working on conventional models that usually accommodated patrons' expectations, the nineteenth century fracture with tradition exposed artists to a vast range of different possibilities that increasingly distanced them from the wider

[16] Boll D., 2011: 16

[17] *Idem:* 17

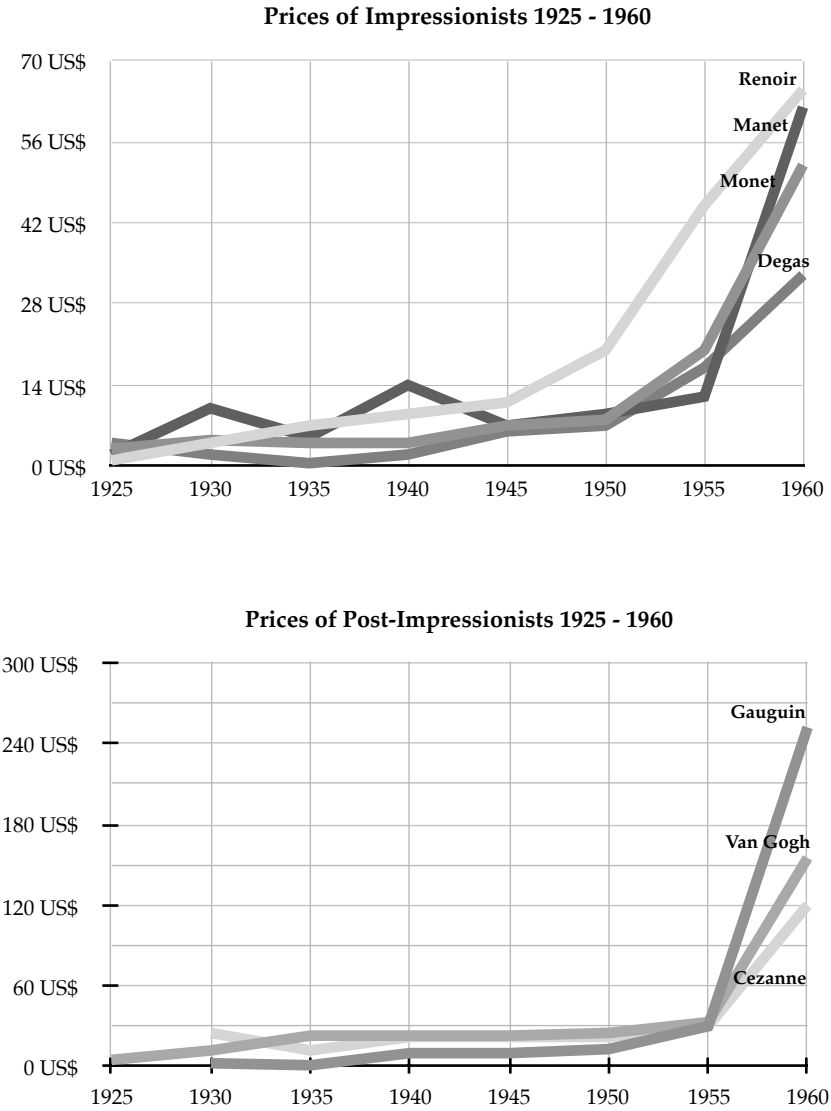


Fig. 1 Evolution of prices for Impressionist paintings in thousands of dollars. Data from R. Rush, 1961

public's taste. Art was released by any other aim than art itself and perceived by artists as a means to express their individuality differently from the way they did in the past when rigid norms and style limited their freedom.[18] As Alan Bowness notes, during the Romantic movement the figure of the "modern artist" emerged and has remained more or less unchanged since then. The new sense of freedom that artists started to possess elevated his status to that of independent "genius".[19]

The advent of Impressionism is usually described as the origin of the modern art market with Paris as its founding capital. Initially rejected and forced to find alternative ways to exhibit their works, Impressionist painters relied on a public composed of the rising bourgeoisie who had the economic resources to buy their paintings. As Robert Herbert points out, the mid-nineteenth century witnessed the progressive spread of a philosophy of commodities and leisure time, which dew upon the increasingly important role of the "market".[20] The art market expanded enormously and a great deal of artworks were exhibited at the two major exhibitions in Paris (Paris Salon) and in London (the Royal Academy) which involved thousands of artists and attracted impressive attendances. [21]Impressionist painters responded to these social changes by promoting their art through advertising, independent group shows and gallery retrospectives and they generally railed against "the tyranny of the Salon system"[22]. For these painters the market was a way to liberate their activity from the taste of patrons and they started considering themselves independent masters.

---

[18] Gombrich E.H., The story of Art, 1950

[19] Bowness A., 1989: 7

[20] Herbert R., 1988

[21] Bowness, 1989: 9

[22] Nord P., 2000: 5

In these artists' paintings emerges the description of the rising Republican democratic society, with its leisure time, its parties and celebrities, where impressionists could find their earliest patrons. The first collectors of Impressionist art were for most part middle-class individuals coming from the professional and business world.[23]

At that time the relationship between cultural producers and ruling class had completely changed turning into what Bourdieu defines a "*structural subordination*".[24] The new structural configuration occurred mainly due to two mediations; the market, which worked as the necessary economic framework for the development of the new cultural movements in contrast with traditions of the past, and the intellectual Haussmannian salons, where artists and writers could meet and converse while establishing a direct connection with the rising ruling class and creating a new continuity between the two *fields* of power.

The myth of the Impressionists and their battle for new art expressions was born and became the symbol of artists' independency and of the incapability of critics and public to understand new and unusual artistic expressions, thus decreeing artists' freedom over taste.

The figure of the art dealer started arose in Europe as an intermediary between artist and collector, and it was art dealers who facilitated the entry of Impressionist and Cubist art into the United States. The Frenchman Paul Durand-Ruel and the Englishman Joseph Duveen opened their galleries in New York and introduced Impressionist and European art to the American market. After World War II, the immigration to the United States of many artists fleeing from Nazism and Fascism strengthened the new role of New York as an international capital for the

[23] Nord P., 2000: 66

[24] Bourdieu P., *Les regles de l'Art*, 1992

contemporary art market and as a new place for artistic research and the development of the avant-garde movements.

After the war, while Europe was in the process of rebuilding democratic governance from scratches, important new galleries and momentous shows were opening in New York. Peggy Guggenheim, Leo Castelli, Sidney Janis, Julien Levy opened their galleries in the city which became the major destinations for work by exponents of Surrealism and, shortly thereafter, Abstract Expressionism.

During the sixties, galleries were *the* place to buy contemporary art and to catch the latest and best art shows. Galleries in the Unites States also had strong connections with museums, which started implementing their collections with contemporary art.

At that time, auction houses were focusing on antiques and modern art and Impressionist and Cubist paintings were being sold for ever greater prices, causing a speculative bubble in the 1960's. Rush's book offers many examples of the boom of Modern Masters' paintings: in November 1954 Christie's in London sold the Ree Jeffries Collection, whose original cost for the seller was £3,332, for a total of £44,320. A Matisse that had cost the seller £1,700 in 1928, sold for £19,700 and a Braque bought originally for $210 sold for £3400. In less than two decades, the sale price at auction had risen over thirteen times the purchase price.[25]

In the United States, auctions began to be broadcast nation-wide and people from cities other than New York could not only watch the paintings being sold live on a television but could also take part in the auction and even make bid.

Thus was the modern art market established and, even though the relationships and roles between players have evolved since then, its structure has more or less remained unchanged to this day. At this time auction houses were used to dealing

[25] Rush R., 1961: 4

exclusively with secondary market, while galleries and dealers were in charge of finding new talents and selling their work to collectors. Galleries in the main art centers - New York, London, Paris and Berlin - were the principal actors and promoters of contemporary art and were part of an elitist network of dealers, artists, art lovers and museum directors who constituted a sort of monopoly over the marketing and distribution of art.
Art dealers were the intermediaries between the artists and the market; they took care of promoting and distributing artists' work hence freeing the artist from material concerns and allowing him from the market, still largely perceived by the community as unethical. Market and commercial success was still considered disreputable because "the artist could triumph on the symbolic terrain only to the extent that he loses on the economic one".[26]

As of the seventies the art world has been integrated into a global market and has undergone an ever increasing process of financialization. During this time, a period of great corporate profitability, huge investments have been made in the infrastructure of art, involving the establishment of new museums, fairs, galleries and ancillary services.
Driven by the growth of the financial services industry, art funds truly began to take off when the British Rail Pension Fund first launched its art investment program in 1974, followed in 1979 by Citibank with its Art Advisory Service.[27] Art funds were meant to act as a foil to inflation and were adopted during the turn toward a postmodern economy based on exchanges of immaterial goods and services, strong deregulation and a fluid system of international trade. At the same time, the introduction in 1967 of the Times-Sothebys Art Index, which visualized the price

[26] Pierre Bourdieu, "An Economic world Turned Upside Down" in *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, 1986; p. 83

[27] Horowitz, 2011: 9

movements of art objects, was a first step towards the redefinition of art as an investment object.[28] Art was emigrating from a small bourgeois niche to a capitalist market.

In 1970 Sotheby's New York created a separate department for contemporary art and in 1973 it launched the first stand alone auction for contemporary art. Robert and Ethel Scull's collection was sold on Madison Avenue on October 18, right after the couple's divorce, and featured artists whose career had taken off after World War II. At the time, everybody knew about the significance of the event; André Emmerich, then president of the Art Dealers Association, stated " The Scull sale was a comparable watershed. I felt awe and shock - that pictures could be worth that much money".[29]

During the eighties the art market recorded another impressive hike in sales and prices. American Pop art was at its peak of fame: artists were talked about in the tabloids, Jeff Koons was showing his *commodity sculptures*, Vogue Paris was issued with a cover by Andy Warhol and collecting art became a status symbol, a "must-have" for every wealthy Wall Street broker. Art, popular entertainment and consumerism all merged together and major artists became pop stars.

In the decade between 1980 and 1990, right before the speculative bubble that sank the art market after the sudden withdrawal of Japanese buyers, prices for Impressionists increased around 940 percent, and in May 1990 the Japanese paper manufacturer Ryoei Saito purchased Van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* at Christie's New York for 82.5 million dollars.[30]

While Impressionists' paintings were being sold for incredible record prices, auction houses were dealing more and more with

---

[28] Dossi P., 2008: 15

[29] Haden-Guest A., *True Colors. The real life of the Art World*, New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1996; p. 17

[30] Boll D., 2011: 25

contemporary art. After the well-known case of the Scull collection, the two rival auction houses Sotheby's and Christie's underwent a process of expansion by opening new venues in Asia and becoming more aggressive on the primary market. As we will see, this had a profound impact on the structure of the art world, upsetting the former networks and hierarchies in the art world.

5.3 The Global Art Market

With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, globalization experienced a rapid upsurge epitomized by the diffusion of new media and means of mass communication and the establishment of a truly global marketplace. As analyzed in chapter three, the process of globalization has had a profound impact on the world of culture which has since then been characterized by a growing and relentless movement among countries of cultural objects, identities, heritages, museums, curators and other cultural agents.

With the creation of a global and interconnected art community and the impressive rise of new ultra net worth individuals coming mainly from the growing economies, the art market has been empowered and new money has been poured into the system.

One very important consequence of the trend is the transformation of the "art business" into a global industry governed by the corporate logic of large-scale enterprises. As Isabelle Graw notes, as of the nineties the art business has shifted from a "retail" model to a globally networked industry that, "parallel to developments in the music and film industries, now obeys the logic of celebrity, and its dominant competitive

positions are occupied by corporate gallery agglomerations à la Gagosian".[31]

During the '90s the pace of the process that was transforming the structure of the art world sped up with profound consequences on the role of the market. Whereas prior to this moment the market was considered by most art insiders in its functional terms, as "a means of doing business" or at least as the mediator that would liberate art and make it independent, now its status was elevated - as were art prices - to that of judge and guarantor of quality.[32]

In other words, as Diana Crane notes, what has changed is the "reward system" of art that has moved from a focus on symbolic value to one on commercial success. This is partly due to the fact that up until the nineties the art world was structured around a limited number of urban poles whose communities were used to setting the standards for high quality art; with the expansion and progressive dematerialization of the market and its structure, new centers and new stakeholders have come on stage and are influencing the art world quantitatively and qualitatively.[33] Moreover, the sheer rise in the number of new artists with often new aesthetic perspective makes a unified vision of shared aesthetic standards difficult. Hence, the importance of an artwork is increasingly determined by its notoriety and publicity - rather than by aesthetic evaluations - and by the price it reaches on the market.

With the rise in prices for art and in particular for the contemporary sector, art objects are ever more frequently being equated with asset categories and have become the subject of million dollar investments. Blue chip artists are now like pop stars with a personal net worth of millions, while at the opposite

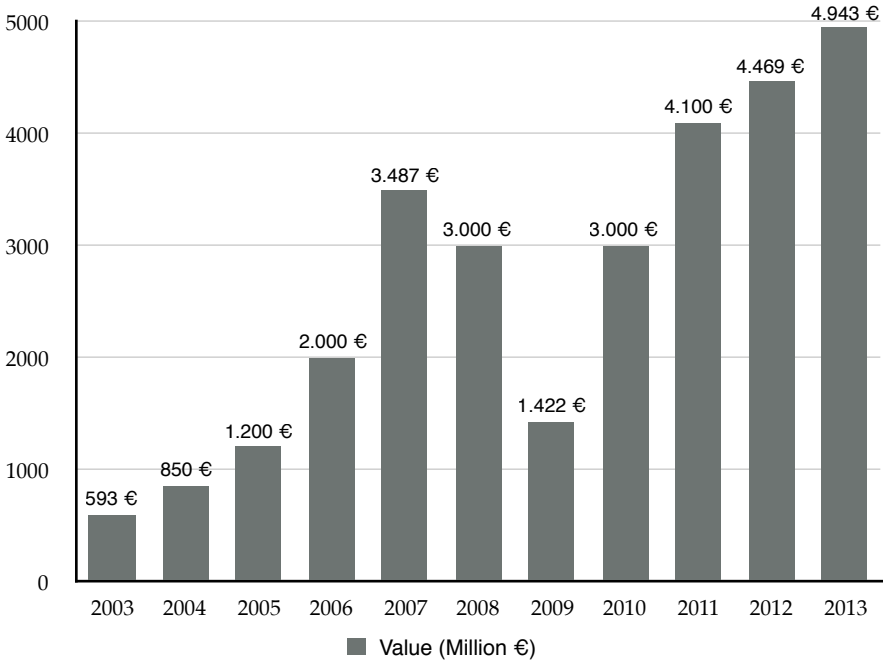
---

[31] Graw I., 2010: 20

[32] *Idem:* 56

[33] Crane D., 2008

Fig. 2 The Post War and Contemporary Art Sector: 2003 to 2013
Source: Clare TEFAF Art Market Report 2014



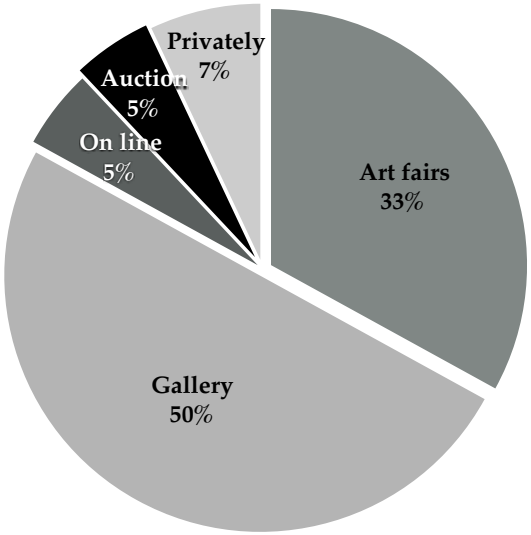
end of the spectrum, a plethora of artists are unable even to make a living off their art. More in general, the art world is experiencing a period of great commercialization and the erosion of the boundaries between high and low culture.

Artists, dealers and collectors, aware of the important role of the market and prices in assessing the value of an artwork, have become more profit-oriented and less concerned with intellectual matters. Major artists' studios have become large enterprises following the lines of a corporate model and relying on assistants who physically execute the work.[34]

Furthermore, artists tend to create easily digestible works, often highly provocative and with an imaginary borrowed from

[34] Velthuis O., 2012: 19

Fig. 3 Share of dealer sales by value in 2013
Source: TEFAF Art Market Report 2014



popular and commercial culture. They also find occupations in other business sectors, like fashion, design or advertising, which all use the power of visual culture for commercial and monetary goals. While already Andy Warhol worked on commercials and television shows, today examples of the trend include the extensive collaborations between Louis Vuitton and many artists and architects such as Takashi Murakami, David LaChapelle, Richard Prince and Yayoi Kusama, just to name a few, or Marina Abramović's recent acceptance of the position of artistic director for Givenchy.

The changes that have invested the art world during the last two decades can be summarized as follow;

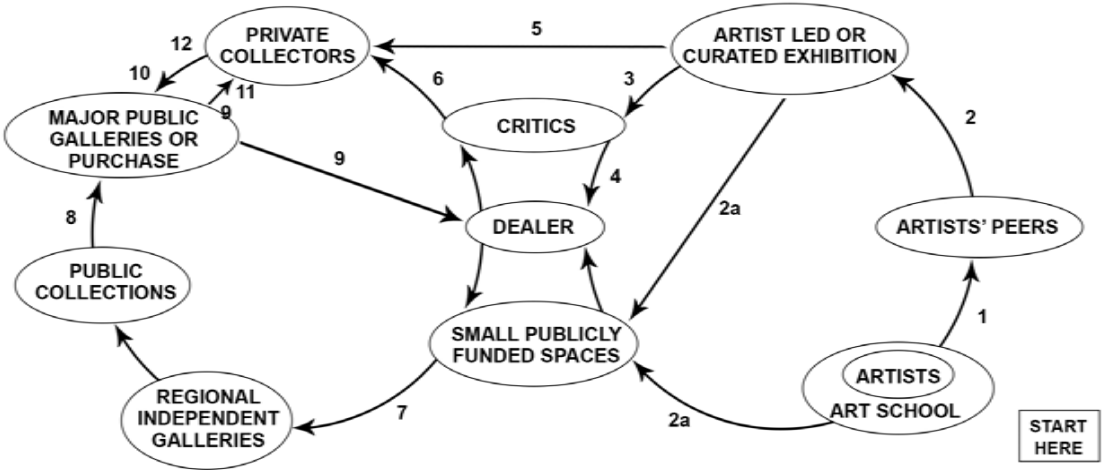
- An increase in the number of new wealthy collectors and the development of new regional markets in the fast-rising economies of China, India, Russia.

India's art exports soared from €2.6 million in 2000 to €486 million in 2006; in 2007 China became the third largest auction market in the world.

- An upsurge in commercial galleries, with only a few of them leading the market as multinational brands with venues in different countries - Gagosian, Pace, Saatchi.
- An increase in the number of art-related activities and business, including art fairs, biennials, exhibitions, galas, conferences and ancillary services, in parallel with an increase in the number of art players including artists, collectors and professionals.
- A boom in the number of new art museums and the expansion of existing ones, in parallel with the growth of privately owned collections, museums and institutions.
- A growth in the popularity of contemporary art increasingly mainstreamed by mass media and the erosion of boundaries between high brow and pop culture fueled by sensational stories about art prices, links to Hollywood and celebrities and connections with fashion and the design industry.
- A growing professionalization in the art industry (thanks to education, consultancy, nonprofits and market strategy).
- A rapid escalation in prices for contemporary art.

5.4 The Structure and Distribution of the Art Market

As just discussed, the market is not, or is no longer, detached from the art world and from non-commercial intermediaries but rather a partner in the meaning creation process in which all the different players (artists, dealers, collectors and museums) are intimately connected to one another. In fact, even though dealers, auctioneers and collectors are the main agents engaged in economic exchanges on the market, the commercial value of art would not be realized without noncommercial institutions and without what Velthuis calls a wide-spread "political economy of



1 Artists attract recognition of peers
2 Exhibition curated by artists or freelance curator
2a Representation in a small publicly funded gallery
3 Activity attracts critical attention
4 Attracts attention of dealer
5 Attracts private collectors
6 Dealers build artists' reputation through sales including international art fairs
7 Dealers build critical endorsement through exhibitions/sales in small publicly funded galleries
8 Purchase or exhibition in major public gallery
9 Legitimization adds value and status to collector and profit to dealer and artist
10 Collector lends to public gallery
11 Collector's discemment is endorsed - invited onto Boards of Galleries
12 Collector bequests collection to galleries

Fig. 4 The Art Eco-System Model developed by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre.
***Taste Buds: How to Cultivate the Art Market*, London: Arts Council England, 2004**

taste".[35]

During the course of the twentieth century, the series of agencies engaged in the distribution of art and culture have had a growing importance within the artistic "field". As Bourdieu has underlined, during this time all the instances dealing with the legitimization, promotion, education, selection, sale, conservation, protection of art have progressively been empowered and assumed a relative independency within the system thus starting functioning as mediating actors from and within the art field.[36] Art ecology is composed of a long series of individuals and institutions that manage, distribute and interpret art and that allow artists and buyers to meet.

Art dealers

Dealers have always represented the symbol of the modern market of art and up until the advent of a truly global art market, they were the absolute protagonists of the contemporary art scene. At the beginning of the last century, their role was crucial in the founding of the Impressionist, Post-impressionist, and avant-guarde art market and in exporting it to New York. Later on, dealers like Leo Castelli and Mary Boone were legends in the art community for their contributions to the development of New York's art scene. Today, however, dealers share the stage with other intermediaries and players who have destabilized dealers' former control over the system.

Dealers can work for institutions and be owners of a gallery. In the latter case, they can take part in art fairs and organize shows in their space. Despite the rise in importance of auction houses, commercial galleries are the main type of distributor in the contemporary art market, as they are also the primary intermediary between the artist, critics and other institutions. In

[35] Velthuis O., 2005: 12

[36] Bourdieu P., 1971: 49

2013, the dealer sector (including dealer and gallery sales and private sales within the art trade) was estimated to account for around 53 percent of the global art and antiques market by value.[37]

They also sometimes collaborate in the development of new markets and are linked with the emergence of particular movements (for example, Jay Jopling and the YBAs). Since dealers usually work in the primary market with new emerging artists, they tend to strategize very carefully about the collectors they sell to and the artists they represent in order to smartly manage the artists' career and increase their own reputation as good talent scouts.

While only a few dealers pay a monthly fee to artists or buy the works in advance, the majority of galleries share 50 percent of the sale with the artist. Due to the high level of operational costs and the need to continuously reinvest money in new artists and projects, the most famous art galleries are usually bankrolled by the personal net worth of the owner. Compared to the capital invested by banks and hedge fund managers, galleries are small and medium sized enterprises that do not have an elevated purchasing power and are therefore pushed to rely on strategies based on very fast resales after buying at a substantial discount.[38]

They also resort to more opaque strategies based on the division between front-room and backroom business. Front-room activity is usually associated with experimental and symbolic investments and informs the direction and role that the gallery wants to instill in its public. Front-room investments are addressed to the promotion of emerging artists and provide a narrative context for artists being represented through less commercial shows.

---

[37] McAndrew C., TEFAF Art Market Report 2014, p. 41

[38] Horowitz, 2011: 148

Backroom sales are instead a more commercial activity held for the purpose of increasing liquidity and the gallery's income. These sales rely on more commercial and conventional works or even on secondary market re-sales, which are more likely to guarantee greater income.[39] Olav Velthuis believes backroom sales represent between 25 to 60 percent of primary galleries' earnings, allowing them to promote non commercial works like video or experimental art.[40]

Galleries' turnover is typically very opaque. Dealers tend not to disclose real prices and like to define themselves art lovers who are not concerned with the market. They claim that they are not always looking for profits as they are moved by a genuine love for art and by the desire to help artists. As Isabelle Graw points out, this kind of rhetoric that counterposes a financially driven art market to a small community of aficionados is only an apparent discrepancy within the art world as it fundamentally helps the art object to increase value through its spiritual and intellectual content and it is often "a precondition for the successful marketing of artworks".[41] The art market, like any other type of social interaction, relies on specific rituals and involves an exchange of complex meanings and symbols among people.[42] Therefore, it is not only important to notice how market forces have commercialized the work of art, but also how the market has in turn been conditioned by culture and social values.

By its very nature, the art market is not evenly distributed geographically or socially. Despite the great popularity that has engulfed the art world and the increase in the number of players, only a few dealers actually dominate the market, while most

[39] Horowitz, 2011: 23

[40] Velthuis O., 2005

[41] Graw I.,2009: 9

[42] Velthuis O., 2005: 3

galleries turn out to be short-lived ventures characterized by frequent bankruptcies. According to McAndrew, in point of fact, only four thousand out of seventy-one thousand dealers account for 75 percent of fine arts, antiques and decorative arts transactions worldwide, and fifty percent of the market value lies in the hands of one thousand dealers alone.[43] Whereas the major poles of the market, like New York, London and Beijing, host large, profitable enterprises, the majority of galleries are very small businesses that do not even provide their owners with a sustainable source of income.[44] As the art business is increasingly subject to the 99/1 percent rule, wherein the one percent prevails over everybody else, the role of small and mid-size galleries is fading and their business becoming increasingly unsustainable. The dealer Edward Winkleman, who closed his 27th Street space gallery in New York last year, thinks the problem lies in the lack of financial support for the gallery system. "If the mega-galleries continuously approach the bestselling artists from the mid-level or emerging galleries so that those galleries never realize the return on their investments, then I think the nurturing system that we have is in jeopardy."[45]

At the top end of the market, the last two decades have seen the emergence of powerhouse dealers of contemporary art who push the idea of branding and the narrative of "museum quality" as a commercial rhetoric. The gallery spaces of these multinational brands are highly polished, designed like the space in a museum and open to the public. Rather than focusing on selling works, these dealers focus on long-term investments in their artists and

---

[43] McAndrew, *The international art market*, p.21

[44] Velthuis O., 2005: 15

[45] Haden-Guest A., Are Mid-size galleries disappearing, and who's to blame?, artnet.com, April 10, 2014

on "placing" artworks in the "right" in order to secure their relationships with major museums and private collections.[46]
Art fairs are a recent but fast-growing phenomenon which have become the primary form of investment for galleries which attend fairs to get visibility and to concentrate their sales in a few days; in 2013 sales at art fairs accounted for 33 percent of the overall volume of sale, while the percentage of sales made in the gallery decreased.

Art Fairs

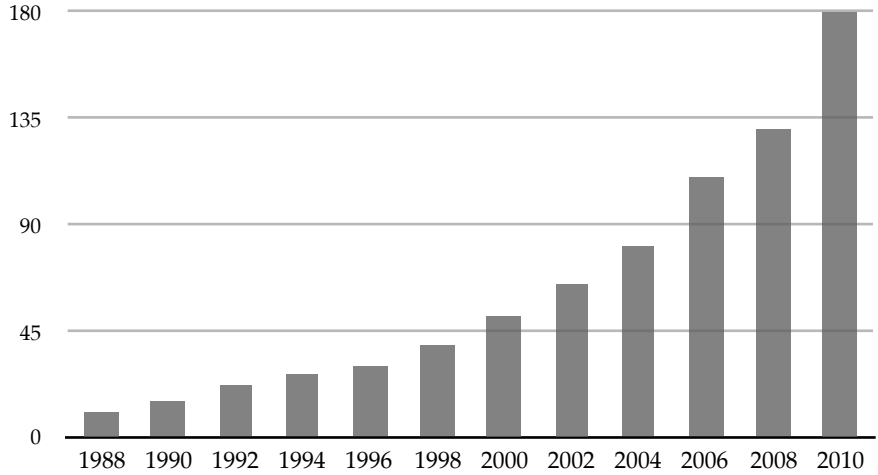
Art fairs offer dealers a good opportunity to present their wares to a larger public. As time is an increasingly precious commodity, many collectors think of fairs as a way to obtain an overview of the market and publicize their programs without spending too much time and effort. Most importantly, fairs allow collectors to meet new dealers and vice versa.
During the last fifteen years the number of fairs - together with the number of biennials - has grown impressively. Whereas in 1990 the total number of fairs worldwide was fourteen, in 2011 there were 189, and the increase in biennials is similar.[47]
The most important international fairs take usually place once a year in New York (The Armory Show), London (the Freize Art Fair), Basel, Miami and Hong Kong (Art Basel); given the high level of participants, art insiders can identify new trends and new talents rapidly.[48]
Fairs typically attract the attention of the media and have become very glamorous places where celebrities from all over the world can meet and be caught on camera by the paparazzi. The fairs are big social events - ephemeral, entertaining, fashionable -

[46] Chong D., "The Emergence of Powerhouse Dealers", in Harris, 2011, p. 433

[47] Baia Curioni S., 2012: 119

[48] Crane D., 2008: 335

Fig. 5 Evolution of fairs worldwide by quantity
Sources: Artfacts.net website



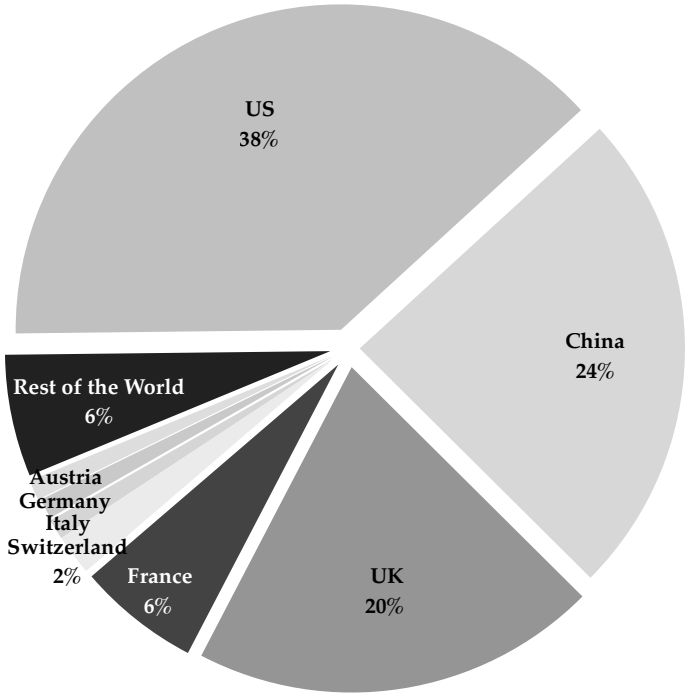
and capable of attracting a vast public. Fairs are all about consumption and leisure activities.

During the opening, when all the best deals are made, the most important collectors, curators, dealers and anyone else who counts in the art world meet up with prominent Hollywood stars, personalities from show business and politicians. Being invited to the very VIP previews of the major fairs means being someone who counts, for one reason or for another.

For a dealer, being accepted to participate in one of the major fairs is quite a challenge. Space is limited and competition is extremely fierce.

Every year, more than two thousand galleries apply for a space at Art Basel, one of the top three fairs in the world, but only 300 are accepted. The admission application for Art Basel requires a copious amount of documentation about the gallery regarding its history, reputation and past exhibitions, together with sketches,

Fig. 6 Global Art Market Share by Value in 2013
Source: TEFAF Report 2014



models and virtual tours of their planned exhibition for the fair. Six judges are in charge of the selection of participants and, as Graham Bowely notes, they have become among the most powerful gatekeepers in the art world. [49]

Once accepted, galleries have to pay a very high price to get their booth which costs, at Art Basel, between $50,000 and $80,000. As

[49] Bowley G., *At Basel Art Fair, a jury controls the market*, The New York Times, June 15, 2015

Sarah Thornton puts it, "art is about experiment and ideas, but it is also about excellence and exclusion".[50]

Even though the costs of participation are usually very high, fairs have become the only way to gain access to a high number of collectors and to pick up information about future trends in the art world; for many galleries, fair sales constitute half their annual turnover.

Besides being a key strategy in empowering galleries and providing dealers with a valuable opportunity for networking, another probable reason for the recent popularity of art fairs lies in the fact that they provide a logical and market-friendly resolution which, in the chaos and plurality of today's art world, offers participants the chance to view a large portion of the best current artworks in a very short period of time.[51]

Art fairs have multiplied all over the globe and today they count for about 200 events worldwide; even more striking is the fact that fairs still in part reflect the supremacy of the Western art world and the distribution of global commercial power. In their analysis of art fairs, Alain Quemin and Stefano Baia Curioni have demonstrated that the art scene responds to a center-periphery logic and is still strongly influenced by a few dominant Western countries.[52] Even though international fairs have spread worldwide, entire regions or even continents - Africa, for example - are almost completely unrepresented.

"*This means that nationality is a relevant criterion in the process of admitting a gallery to participate in the fair. This is understandable as the result of the need to attract the highest possible number of important collectors, which is to say, to include the best galleries from the different scenes while giving a privilege to the most developed ones*

[50] Thornton S., 2008: xii

[51] Horowitz N., 2011: 131

[52] Baia Curioni S., 2012; Quemin A., 2012

(for obvious commercial reasons) and taking into consideration their logistical proximity to Basel."[53]

Auction Houses

Concomitantly with the emergence of art fairs, major auction houses have become much more influential and have been also multiplying geographically.

The auction is an organized way to sell goods to the public within a very specific time. The main characteristic of auctions is that works are sold at the highest price that can possibly be achieved at that particular moment.

Today, the fine arts auction circuit accounts for 47 percent of the overall market dominated by Sotheby's and Christie's which, together, share 73 percent of art auction sales by value from just 16 percent of overall transactions, underlining the impressive value of the lots they usually deal with.[54] Sotheby's and Christie's are global art businesses with venues in all cities or countries with high concentrations of wealth and commercial power.

Auctions serve as a reference to the market in general, since they constitute the almost only way to observe how the market and prices evolve over time. The transparency of prices and the public nature of sales data in the auction sector have made it the basis for much of the analysis of the art market and the object of all media attention.

While for most of the twentieth century auction houses functioned as wholesalers to the trade, where buyers were also dealers seeking to spot undervalued works to be later resold, today they can directly influence and make the market. The role of major auction houses has also expanded to include services and activities, such as private dinners, cocktail parties, articles in

[53] Baia Curioni S., 2012: 125

[54] McAndrew, 2014; Horowitz, 2011

magazines, lectures and panel discussions, all focused on the sale of a particular item or collection.[55]

The leading role played by auctions, whether occurring in sale rooms or over the Internet, derives in part from the fact that this is where important works are sold and, above all, from the fact that auctions address the rising class of ultra wealthy individuals by welcoming them despite their usually minimal previous exposure to art. This class of people considers art a luxury product and wants "to buy themselves participation in this free zone through ownership".[56]

In 2014, 1530 lots for over €1 million were sold at auction (including 96 for over €10 million) with an increase of nearly 17 percent from 2013.[57] These lots together represented 48 percent of the value of the fine arts auction market but only 0.5 percent of the number of transactions, meaning that roughly half of the total value of the market is in the hands of just 0.5 percent of buyers and auctioneers and applies to very expensive artworks (i.e. blue chip artists).

Damien Hirst's two-day solo auction at Sotheby's London in September 2008 was a landmark indicative of the changing role of auction houses. The auction, titled *Beautiful Inside My Head Forever*, featured over two hundred works all of which had been created expressly for the auction. For the very first time, a living - and relatively young - artist was directly selling his work through a public auction and deliberately excluding his two dealers, Jay Joplin and Larry Gagosian, who nonetheless played a prominent role in the auction by making bids and purchases on half of the lots.[58]

---

[55] Findlay M., 2012: 32

[56] Stallabrass J., 2003

[57] McAndrew, 2014: 22

[58] Horowitz N., 2011: xv

The entire event was a consecration of Hirst's personality and, with the help of tabloids and the mass media, consecrated the figure of the artist as pop star. The auction ended up generating $201 million, with works like *Golden Calf* or *The Kingdom* being sold for $19 million and $17.7 million respectively. [59]

Auction sales have increased over 150 percent in the last ten years, and much of this growth has been driven by increasingly higher prices, particularly in the fine arts sector and due to the growth of the Chinese market. In the auction sector, China and the United States share evenly in overall auction sales with 33 percent each.

5.5 The System of Prices in the Global Market

The question of why prices for contemporary art have in recent times become so high is fundamental to an understanding of today's art system as well as of the evolution of the key players involved in the value-making process.

Despite the increasing financialization of the contemporary art world and the rise of investment activities in the sector, it is still not clear how to define an art object from an economic point of view. The art object is in fact characterized by a commercial value - which depends on the cycle of consumption that comes after its creation through a "joint activity of a number of individuals"[60] - and a symbolic value - which depends instead upon the aura and role of art in today's society. Furthermore, art objects provide consumers with the opportunity for a dual capitalization of their investment, based on the economic value of the object on the market and on its cultural capital, which is characterized as "knowledge and familiarity with styles and genres that are

[59] Horowitz N., 2011

[60] Becker H., 1982: 1

socially valued and that confer prestige upon those who have mastered them".[61]

Alan Bowness suggested that artist fame is somehow predictable and prices legitimized by the artist's skills.[62] Bowes identifies four *circles of recognition,* through which the artist-genius reaches fame: peer recognition, critical recognition, patronage by dealers and collectors, and public acclaim. These four steps are all consequential and essential to the fame status and they once again points to a division between critical acclaim - spiritual value - and market success - patronage by collectors. Since 1989, however, when Bowness published *The Conditions of Success. How the Modern Artist Rises to Fame*, many things have changed in the art system and most of today's blue-chip artists have not necessarily risen to success in, as Bowness declared, twenty-five years[63], but in just a *lustrum*, as demonstrated by the rapid upsurge of the careers of artists such as Damien Hirst or Maurizio Cattelan. Today the market has assumed a new powerful role and art prices have become even more important.

So, why have prices risen and who sets the value of art?

Neoclassical economists have argued that the behavior of actors in the art market is no different from the behavior of actors in other markets, because no matter what the object, each player will always tend to maximize his profits, whether they be cultural, aesthetic or financial. In his book *Pricing the Priceless*, William Grampp argues that the price alone rules the art market

---

[61] DiMaggio P., "Cultural Entrepreneurship in 19th-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America", in Mukerji C. and Schudson M.. eds., *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies,* Berkely: University of California Press, 1991; p. 377

[62] Bowness A., 1989

[63] *Idem*: 47

and that artworks are economic goods whose value can be measured by the market.[64]

This kind of vision appears pretty simplistic to most of art insiders and is, for obvious reasons, denied by art historians and cultural experts, who believe instead that the value that art possesses is greater than a mere economic index can measure; in fact, Horkheimer and Adorno have already examined how the market, in response to the uniqueness of art, uses prices to make all objects comparable to one another.

Diana Crane underlines how the erosion of boundaries between high culture and pop culture, together with the quantitative and qualitative expansion of the art world, has progressively destabilized the reward system of art objects. In the past, this was characterized by the opposition between symbolic rewards and material rewards which in turn used to distinguish high brow culture - like art - from commercial culture - like television, films and commercial music.[65] In the art world, symbolic rewards were more important than commercial ones because the art object was first of all considered a bearer of intellectual, historical and philosophical contents. Likewise, value lay in the uniqueness and artisanal production of art works in contrast to those made by industrialized mass production.

According to Bourdieu's thesis, the two systems can eventually move in parallel, as the accumulation of *symbolic capital* will eventually be translated into *economic capital*. Yet, as Horowitz points out, Bourdieu's model might also be questioned when dealing with today's art speculators.[66] As a matter of fact, art investors are not in search of cultural capital but rather of maximum profits from the purchase and sale of art.

---

[64] Grampp W., 1989: 20-21

[65] Crane D., 2008: 332

[66] Horowitz N., 2011: 22

This is probably due to the fact that the concept of "Art" as an economy-free zone is no longer effective and can no longer be maintained because artworks, when circulating on the market, become commodities like any other asset category. Everything that is commercialized loses cultural value, and, as a consequence, must be reevaluated in the realm of the profane.[67] At the same time, as Graw puts it, aesthetic judgment and the idealistic privileged position granted to art objects have created the ideal conditions for their marketing evolution.[68] Commercialization and valorization are constantly being exchanged one for the other.[69]

And today, because postmodern society has moved from the industrial capitalism of the '70s to a *cognitive capitalism* centered on the value of immaterial assets, knowledge and information, increased importance would once more be accorded to the symbolic meaning bestowed upon an artwork, i.e. its symbolic value.[70]

Collecting art can provide immediate rewards to the buyer, because it enhances social prestige and one's sense of cultural erudition, both of which can today be easily and immediately shared and communicated with peers vanquishing even linguistic boundaries. Moreover, in a world in which forms of consumption are ever more standardized, art offers its uniqueness and reinforces the buyer's individuality.

Olav Velthuis suggests that prices for contemporary art convey meanings that rely on cognitive processes involved in evaluating art, which help explain the behavior of internal players. According to his thesis, one reason which explains the

---

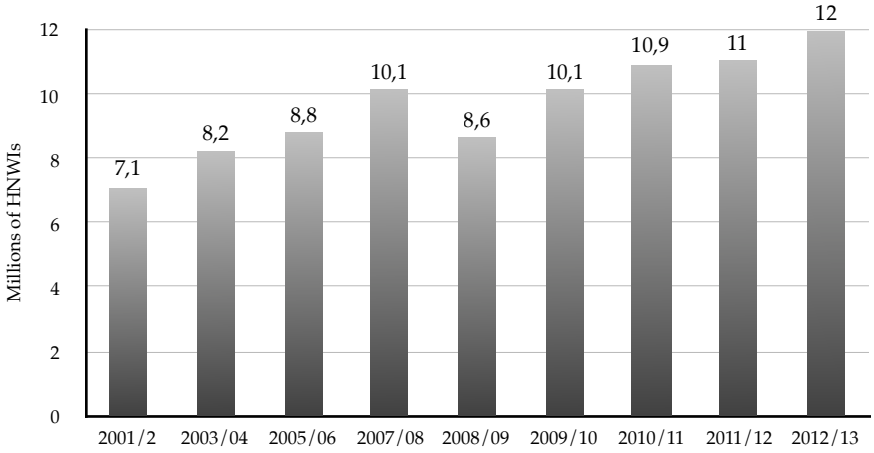
[67] Funcke B., 2009: 46

[68] Graw I., 2009: 13

[69] Groys B. (1992), 2014 : 74-78

[70] Peters M. A., "Cognitive Capitalism, Education and the Question of Digital Labor", 2011

Fig. 7 The Total Global Population of High Net Worth Individuals
Source: TEFAF Art Market Report



rise in prices for art is that dealers and artists behave like "price rather than profit maximizers".[71] This would also explain why the art market is not subject to price fluctuations which are instead a central theory of other market categories. Those selling art objects continuously seek to surpass previous selling prices and set new records.

Another very important reason for the sudden hike in price is the involvement of Ultra High Net Worth Individuals - defined as those having a net worth of more than $30 million - in the market. The global economy has created an enormous amount of disposable wealth that is in the hands of a small elite. The richest 10 percent of people worldwide held around 86 percent of the world's wealth in 2013, with the top one percent alone

[71] Velthuis O., "Symbolic meanings of prices: Constructing the value of contemporary art in Amsterdam and New York galleries", in *Theory and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 2, April 2003; p. 186

accounting for 46 percent of global assets.[72] The growing number of individuals in this category (from just 7 million to 12 million in ten years) has fueled greater consumption of all luxury goods.

This very small group of people, who represent 0.3 percent of the art community population, accounted for 46 percent of the overall art market turnover in 2014. Trends in the HNW segments of national and world populations have direct links with the art market. It is these top segments that drive the strongest flows of private assets and trends in investment, and this is particularly the case in the art market. The main buyers in the art market belong to this category and participate in other financial and asset markets internationally.

Not only are these mega-collectors influencing the art market through their astonishing purchasing power, but they also have the resources to invest in the production of art, thus setting trends in the art world. Investment initiatives are bound up with the production, distribution and exhibition of art and the tastes of this new group of collectors are shaping the market and the characteristics of art objects. Usually assisted by art advisors, these collectors have the means to invest in certain artists and control the market. Even long-term collectors have nevertheless been affected by the trend of art commercialization. Many of these "senior" collectors, most of whom started buying art at the turn of the new millennium, have all of a sudden accelerated their purchases, often doubling the size of their collections.

The emergence of this new group of collectors is contributing to the changes in the nature and production of artworks.[73] They address a small number of artists who are the subject of intense speculation and have in turn become very popular and rich. These artists' work is usually either based on appropriations of

[72] TEFAF (op. cit.); p. 52

[73] Crane D., 2008: 340

popular images or deliberatively provocative and sensational, underlining the erosion of the line between mass and high culture and the desire to draw media attention. Nevertheless, this kind of system and art needs the public in order to produce the auratic value of art and increase its economic value.

The gap between the top and bottom ends of the system has never been so wide; in fact, despite its great popularity and mass diffusion, art has not become more available to the general public, in particular with regard to the market.

These artworks tend to be the privilege of a small segment of the world's population who, by bypassing local communities, are responsible for and part of an anonymous global trade that is highly concentrated in the hands of a few powerful dealers and auction houses. Apart from China, Western countries still dominate the rest of the world, thus producing a schism between globalization and regionalization in the art market.

5.6 If a New Art World Is Born
The Case of "Artisti a Km0" project, Prato, Italy

The "Artisti a Km0" project represents above all an attempt to create a new ecosystem, an alternative to the mainstream art system. The project does not openly challenge the current dominant system; it proposes instead a sub-system able to coexist with the upper hierarchies.

The ecosystem proposed by the Pecci Center entails the simultaneous co-participation of art producers (artists), art receivers (the public) and institutions (the Centro Pecci for Contemporary Art). These stakeholders are part of a local system in which universal values of cultural heritage are mediated through local production, local instances and local concerns. In other words, there is a local system of traditions, dialects and historical customs that coexists in parallel with the higher level of national cultural heritage and production; the former does not conflict with the latter and vice versa. This system of dualities is replicable in different fields, geographies and scales and represents the resistance on the part of local identities against the stronger and unifying forces.

In the contemporary art system and market, though, this takes place much less effectively. In fact, the traditional elitism that has characterized the art world for such a long time - and still does - is an obstacle for a wide and popular reaction to the system. Nonetheless, this does not mean that there is no local contemporary art.

The idea behind the Pecci Center project is that there can be a local system for art and culture that is based upon local instances. This sub-system entails the direct involvement of citizens and local agencies through a fairer and self-sustained cultural order; even the market is potentially affected by the trend.

While on the one hand the global art world relies on a global art market, a "Km0 culture" envisions the possibility of developing a parallel and local market able to support local artists.[74]

Following the example of the Pecci Center in 2011, theories of local art and culture production have slowly started spreading around Italy through direct cases (like that of the Crepaccio Pavilion in Venice) and, within the academic world, through the work of Walter Santagata, Giovanna Segre and Vittorio Falletti from the Centro Studi Silvia Santagata. They all believe the establishment or strengthening of local art markets corresponds to recent general theories about the economy of culture that focus on the sustainability of local markets for the purpose of pursuing a higher level of social equality and cultural democratization.

To a certain extent, the philosophy behind the "Artisti Km0" project and current theories on the local art market are based on the concept of the ecomuseum as defined by de Varine and Rivière and on Salvatore Settis' idea of the "museo diffuso".[75] In the ecomuseum theory, support to and for the local cultural system is the fundamental premise for the necessary safeguard of local identities. While the ecomuseum's goal is to protect local traditions and the everyday network of customs and places that constitutes a certain territory's identity, the "Km0 art market" should be able to sustain the living heritage of contemporary artists by providing local artists with a network of local collectors.

It is also deeply connected with the idea of biodiversity promoted by Carlo Petrini's Slow Food movement.[76] Just as eating food produced locally is environmentally, socially, culturally and financially more desirable, so can supporting local

[74] Santagata W., 2014

[75] Settis S., 2002

[76] http://www.slowfood.com

artists foster local creativity, expand local economy, empower local cultural production and increase local welfare.

This is first of all a sociological and political process but it can be taught and communicated by local cultural agencies. The Pecci Center is working towards being an initial intermediary between this new cultural policy and the community.

As Becker maintains, new art worlds can originate from main stream culture in more or less powerful ways and have varying degrees of effect: for example, some are born and then die out, while others are capable of redirecting the path of the dominant system. Through the analysis of the creation of new art worlds provided by Becker, it is possible to understand the potential of the Pecci project to become a powerful startup for a revolution in the art world, thanks to its position in the system.[77]

As Becker puts it, an art world defines the boundaries of acceptable art, recognizing those who can be labeled as artists and denying membership to those who cannot. In fact, the dominant art world - like any other art world - relies on the use of standard elements to judge the quality of works and ways of working. "*The conventional way of doing things in any art utilizes an existing cooperative network, which rewards those who manipulate the existing conventions appropriately in light of the associated aesthetic*".[78]

This does not mean art worlds cannot change; they change all the time at a more or less rapid pace.

History is full of examples of how things can change and be done differently, whether from canons or from standard ways of doing them. The rise of the impressionist art movement is a well-known case of a parallel revolution of aesthetic canons and structural modifications in the art system. The avant-garde

[77] Becker H., 1982

[78] *Idem*: 306

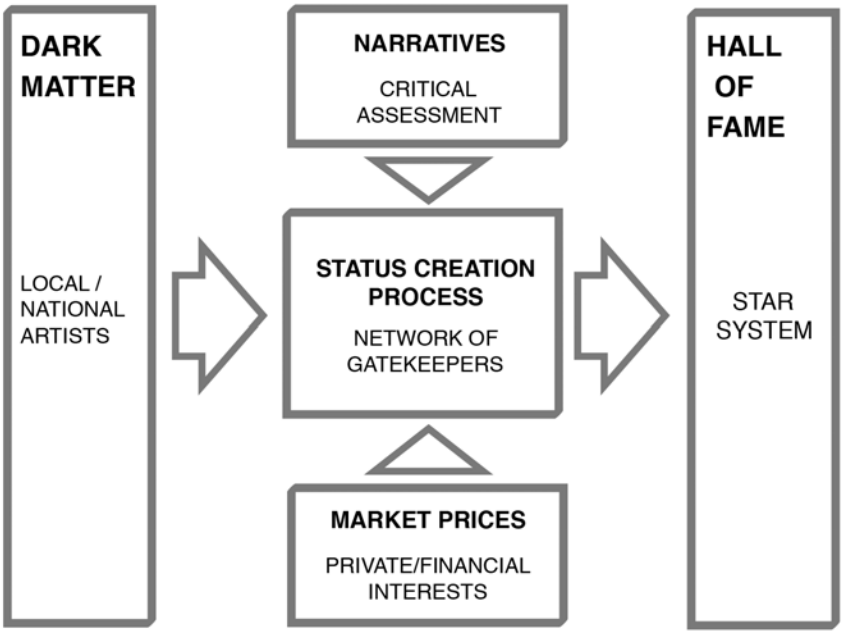


Fig. 8 Baia Curioni's model of artists' status creation process.
The model recalls Becker's idea of the legitimization process of the artist, where the two main spheres of market and academy cooperate in the creation of reputation.

struggled for aesthetic equality and wanted to turn the cultural system upside down.

Even today, we can see how the reward system of contemporary art has changed quite dramatically in the last few decades, moving from a focus on spiritual reward to a focus on commercial reward based on high prices. This testifies that changes can happen, at an even faster pace today than before, thanks to the speed at which information is communicated by the mass media.

As Becker describes, changes in the art world can at times come from mavericks and geniuses, at times from isolated artists

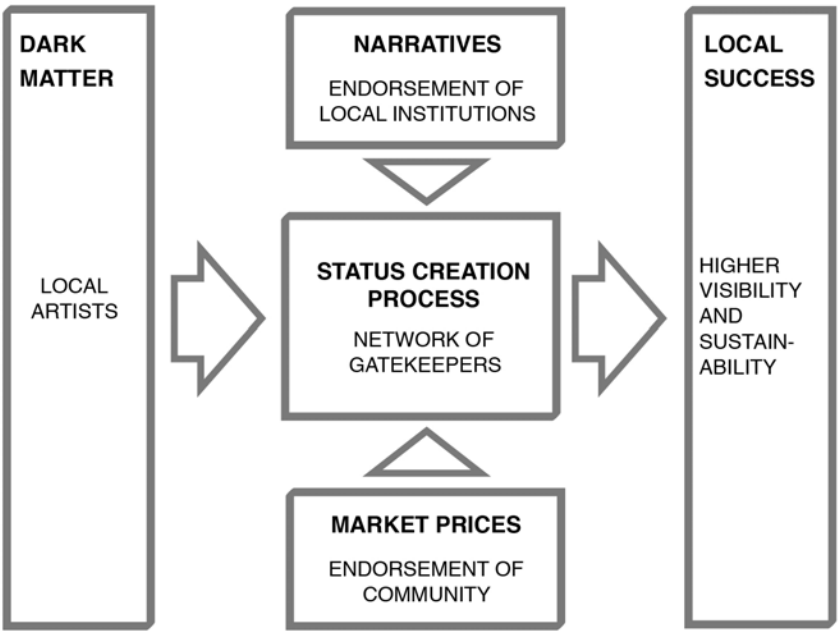


Fig. 9 Baia Curioni's model applied to the Pecci Center case.
What the project basically entails is the creation of an intermediary level between stardom and dark matter.

or groups at first rejected by the dominant system and then accepted and incorporated. The vocation of the "Artisti a Km0" project for change does not spring from among naives or solitary artists but is instead being promoted by an institution, or by those that Backer calls "integrated professionals".[79] Integrated professionals are, to a greater or lesser degree, part of the existing network of the art world and, as such, they are people who know the boundaries of the art world and the rules of the system as well as what is considered acceptable and respectable. For this

[79] Becker, 1982: 282

reason, they do not defy the system but try to act from within. The Centro Pecci does not appear to be looking for a revolution that will change the patterns of convention-mediated cooperative activity but rather to be attempting to define a problem. Moreover, the idea of "Km0 art" does not necessarily involve mainstream art or the global network; a change can be revolutionary for some people while at the same time not affecting others.

The project raises the question of local art production and has proposed it to the community in order to find solutions. It also gives artists and the public its institutional support thus becoming the mediating element of the new sub-system. This assigns the project higher relevance because when changes find an organizational base they tend to last.

Nevertheless, to truly endure, changes in art must be accompanied by changes in society. Stakeholders and participants must incorporate changes into their mode of cooperation and respond to the vision these changes propose. The Pecci Center project is attempting to do just that, by addressing the community and reducing the gap between art and politics, leading to the strengthening of what Boris Groys defines as the "struggle for equality".[80]

Because both politics and art struggle for equality - political and aesthetic - they are bound to each other and they can take changes on together. Both forms of struggle have the goal of achieving equal rights for all people, and this is the ultimate ethical goal of the project, i.e. to create a socially-engaged art system. The institution serves artists who serve the collectivity.

While in the case of Art in General we saw how the New Commissions Program resists market forces by giving artists the opportunity to operate in an inter-space of freedom which constitutes the ultimate democratizing process (p. 104), in the

[80] Groys B., "The Politics of Equal Aesthetic Rights", in Alliez E., Osborne P., *Spheres of Action: Art and Politics*, London: Tate, 2013; pp. 141-150

case of "Artisti a Km0" the project does not reject the market but rather seems to emulate it on a smaller and more personal scale.
Partly funded by money from private local stakeholders, the Pecci museum has turned its attention to the community and designed a project for the collectivity, thus possibly creating a self-sustained ecology of local patrons, potential collectors, institutions, agencies and public.
The museum supports artists from an economic point of view by providing space and resources, and serves the collectivity both socially and economically. The aim of the project is in fact to improve sociability, to increase relations among different local stakeholders, to expose all social categories to cultural events and to animate the city's cultural agenda. The project can also, however, potentially boost the local economy by focusing on local activities, services and suppliers, by increasing the attractiveness of the territory and, most importantly, by helping to improve the local market for artists and galleries.

Florence based artist Anaclet Abraham - known as Clet - represents a recent example of a local art market emerging from the community. After studying art in France and initially working as a restorer in Rome, in 2005 Clet moved to Florence where his artistic career started taking off. He began manipulating street signs with removable stickers as a form of protest against the excessive number of signs in the city and in a few years he started drawing the attention of the local population. Everyone in the city could see his work and soon people started recognizing and appreciating his street art. He then opened a studio in the San Niccolò neighborhood in Florence where he displays and sells his work. A couple of years later, some local shops started selling his works and, then, despite being fined many times by local authorities, several town councils in Tuscany and in France (Prato, Incisa Valdarno, Signa and Evry) commissioned him to create public art projects. In a few years, he became very popular and is now sustained by a

local market that has arisen from within the community, in a bottom-up process. Clet has become part of the community that loves and supports him.[81]

"Artisti a Km0" and the Centro Pecci's role in the city of Prato are moving forward the creation of a new art world, because they bring together people "*who never cooperated before to produce art based on and using conventions previously unknown or not exploited in that way*".[82] As long as these people keep cooperating, their art world can survive and, with luck, prosper. If the Pecci Center has the strength to promote and divulge its message to a broader community, its actions can be reinforced.

If so, the institution and the local system at large might work as intermediary agencies between the local territory and the upper level of the art system, not only helping artists to be sustained at the bottom level, but also allowing potential talents to be found and to flourish.

[81] Neri M., "L'artista modifica i cartelli stradali a Firenze divieti d'accesso come tele urbane", in La Repubblica journal, 26/10/2010
www.https://www.facebook.com/pages/CLET/108974755823172
Mietta G., "Clet Abraham, colpevole di street art", in Il Manifesto journal, 21/01/2015

[82] Becker H., 1982: 310

5.7 An American Model of a Nonprofit Institution The Case of Art in General

Evaluations of the American cultural landscape, which is distinguished by its lack of a ministry of culture, has generally been confined in the division between popular and commercial culture as opposed to high or "precious" culture. Popular culture is regulated by the art industry which transforms it into a commodity and delivers it on the market. High culture, however, has largely been the prerogative of nonprofit institutions that act with little or no regard for audience demand. Leveraging on the unlimited value of culture, the ideal surrounding nonprofits is the fact that high culture is necessary to the public even if the public does not want it.[83]

While early examples of nonprofit organizations existed in the nineteenth century with educational or charitable purposes, they only began to mushroom in the United States subsequent to the 1913 and 1917 federal income tax reforms. A tax code was established in order to, first, exempt nonprofit institutions from paying corporate income tax and, secondly, introduce tax deductions for donors who supported these organizations.

In a society advancing toward an increasing level of industrialization and mass production, nonprofits started emerging among urban elites of wealthy citizens who wanted primarily to isolate high culture and distinguish it from commercial culture.[84]

As Weisbrod has shown, however, nonprofit organizations also play a role in providing public goods, which they produce under the following two conditions: when some people want more of a

---

[83] Ivey B., "Going to extremes. Commercial and Nonprofit Valuation in the U.S. Arts System", in Hutter M., Throsby, D., 2008, p. 289

[84] DiMaggio P., "Cultural Entrepreneurship in 19th-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America", in Mukerji C. and Schudson M.. eds., 1991, p. 377

public good than voters will pay for and are willing to cover the difference (as, for example, when community educational foundations raise funds for public schools in districts in which tax revolts have stripped away public support), and when policy makers believe that the government can supply public goods more effectively by paying nonprofit organizations to produce them than by producing them itself.[85]

This is also connected to the idea of nonprofits arising out of "market failures".[86] For many economists, governments produce collective goods such as roads and lighthouses because these necessary goods cannot be produced by markets. No single individual can afford to produce them nor to pay for them. Consequently, governments cover for this market failure and, through taxes, take care of the production of collective goods. Even in the case of "high art", which by definitions does not have the consensus of a mass audience, market failure spurs the formation of private collective actions, like the case of Art in General.

Nonprofit status is a legal option that presents a set of constraints and advantages. Constraints include the political structure of governance, prohibition against the distribution of profits and assets to individual directors and restrictions on the activities allowed to nonprofits. Benefits include of course favorable tax treatment and public subsidies.

Moreover, donations of time or money connect citizens with one another and build a community of individuals apart from the bureaucratic state. People establish and join organizations because the advantages outweigh the costs in personal time and resources required. These calculations of costs and benefits are

---

[85] DiMaggio P., Weiss J.A., Clotfelter C.T., "Resources For Research On Selected Types Of Nonprofit Organizations", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 45 No. 10, June 2002: 1474-1492
Weisbrod B.A., 1988

[86] Weisbrod B.A., 1988: 27

profoundly affected by historical precedent, government policy and peer and community pressure.

Nonprofit organizations - spanning from education, to health care, culture and assistance - tend to hold social life together and to work as mediating agencies together with family structures and government organization. According to Smith and Lipsky, the theory of "mediating institutions" spotlights the capacity of communities to solve their own problems and play a social role that cannot be fully managed by government. This can also be traced back to Adam Smith's definition of "invisible hand" that naturally pushes people to maximize their own gain and pursue individual interests: "*Every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. […] Nor is it always the worse for society that it was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it.*"[87]

While social policy in the United States has evolved in ways that favor increased public responsibility in certain areas (like education), the contemporary art sector is still mostly in private hands.

One critical issue of this situation concerns the legitimacy of handing state power over to private providers. Contracting surrenders the responsibility for important decisions about people, often in cases in which there is only a rudimentary monitoring or auditing program. Basically, this system relies on the professional commitment of the people involved.

The question of transferring functions from public to private hands can also become extremely important when, for example, dealing with services dedicated to health, child protection or drug addiction. In all these cases, responsibilities are even

[87] Smith, A., 1776, Book IV, chapter 2

greater and the role of the institution, some say, should be scrupulously monitored.[88]

Created by the Congress of the United States under the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965, the NEA is a federal arts agency established "to nurture American creativity, to elevate the nation's culture, and to sustain and preserve the country's many artistic traditions".[89] The mission of the NEA also entailed a geographical democratization of culture by aiming for the spread of artistic prosperity throughout the nation, in order for every citizen to take part in the cultural process. After the bill was signed on October 31, 1965, NEA began its mission with an annual budget of $2.5 million; its first grant was awarded to the American Ballet Theatre.[90] In 1968, NEA's budget was increased to $7.2 million, and grants went to 187 individual artists and 276 organizations. In 1970, a panel process for the selection of grants was established. The advisory boards included a numerous group of artists, performers, impresarios and directors; by 1977 the advisory panel numbered 437 consultants.[91]

Even greater support to nonprofit organizations arrived when Nancy Hanks became the chairman of the NEA as she preferred to create partnerships with organizations rather than underwrite the budgets of state-sponsored arts groups. She also broadened the scope of applications and favored local and regional institutions. During these transformative years under Hanks, NEA funding rose from $9 million in 1970 to $99.9 million in fiscal year 1977, and the NEA became a central, extremely influential institution in the world of American art. In addition,

---

[88] Smith, Lipsky, 1993: 12

[89] Bauerlein M., Grantham E., *NEA. A History 1965-2008*, Washington DC, National Endowment for the Arts, 2009

[90] Bauerlein M., Grantham E., 2009: 19

[91] *Idem*: 29

the great expansion of higher education during the 1960s produced a significantly larger number of aspiring artists than had existed in the 1950s. From 4.1 million first-year college students in 1961, enrollments grew to 8.6 million in 1970 and to 12 million in 1980.

Today, five decades of support directed toward nonprofit institutions has produced an overbuilt sector with 50,000 nonprofit cultural organizations in excess.[92] The continuous struggle for survival after decades of support from large grants has pushed organizations to turn to more conservative programs in order to retain their paying audience, thus affecting the quality of artistic research in favor of more standard and "popular" programming. Moreover, according to Bill Ivey, since the cultural policy debate has been confined to the supply-side needs of the nonprofit organizations, the for-profit cultural industry has been free to expand and promote the idea of art as a commodity while also pursuing shareholder value. The combination of an increase in "easy" programming due to the high level of competition among nonprofits, together with the dominance of commodity-art driven by the for-profit sector, has led to an art system in which demand shapes the cultural landscape, which does not necessarily serve public interest.[93]

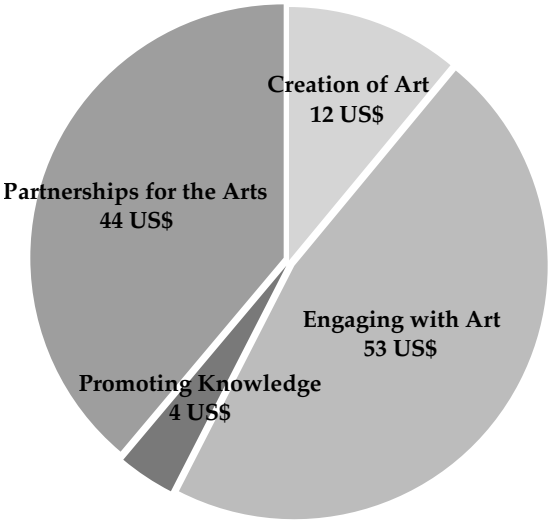
The level of competitiveness among nonprofit institutions has become intense. Every year the number of new organizations increases at a much faster pace than grants do, thus pushing them to compete for their sustainability. But what are the sources of revenue for nonprofits and where is the money spent? A look at the Art in General model provides some answers.

---

[92] Ivey B., 1995: 294

[93] *Idem*: 295

Fig. 9 NEA FY2013 allocated funds
Source: NEA 2013 Annual Report



Nonprofit organizations - also called 501(c)(3) organizations - are business entities that are exempted by the IRS[94] from paying tax. Donations made by individuals or corporations are tax exempt for nonprofit institutions and tax-deductible for donors.
To qualify for tax-exempt status, organizations must provide a public benefit and, above all, none of the earnings may be shared by a private shareholder with other individuals. The organization must not be organized or operated for the benefit of private interests, and there are restrictions on how many political and legislative activities - like lobbying - the organization may conduct.

A nonprofit organization is usually composed of a board of members, chaired by a president, and a CEO or director, appointed by the board itself. The board's role is one of

[94] Internal Revenue Service

stewardship on behalf of its communities. The board focuses on the vision, mission, values and strategic priorities of the organization, ensures responsiveness to community stakeholders, and empowers staff to carry out the mission within established limitations.[95] The board governs the organization by also articulating and broad policies and setting guidelines to correctly fulfill the organization's mission.
The CEO provides operational leadership in the everyday managing of the organization and monitors the good functioning of the business machine. The number of board members is not fixed and can vary over time and, with it, the mission and core activities of the institution.

The Art in General board is comprised of twelve members and one director who manages a fairly limited staff with a flexible number of roles. The organization is more or less divided into a curatorial department and a development department. The curatorial department oversees programs, organizes and curates exhibitions, select artists' proposals and manages the everyday operation of the gallery space. The development department is instead concerned with fundraising activities and with the financial side of the institution. The development manager deals with grants, donations, capital campaigns, marketing strategies and fundraising events.

Art in General is funded by public and private money that reaches the institution in different ways, which can basically be summarized as follows:

- Grants
  Grants can be released by public agencies (the NEA, the New York State Council on the Arts, the New York City Department of Cultural Affairs) or private organizations (the Andy Warhol

[95] Bradshaw P., Hayday B., Armstrong R., "Non-profit Governance Models: Problems and Prospects", *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, Volume 12(3), 2007; p. 9

Foundation, the Lambent Foundation, the William Talbott Hillman Foundation and the Jerome Foundation, among others). In the last fiscal year, private contributions represented about 74 percent of the overall grants and public grants 26 percent. This is due to the acute competition for publicly-funded grants that can no longer finance the increasing number of organizations.
Grants are awarded through calls for application and serve different goals, whose guidelines may sometimes influence the institution's programming.

- Donations
  Donations are a very important source of revenue for the institution. They can arrive in the form of small amounts or larger amounts from patrons. The establishment of the New Commissioners' Circle last year represented a way for the institution to find new private funders who are invited to donate money to directly support artists and exhibitions. Donors are incentivized by the fact that they can fully deduct the donated amount and by the appeal of becoming part of an elitist community.

- Board dues
  In order to be part of the board and to maintain their status, board members have to pay a set sum of money, established by a unanimous vote, in the form of board dues. The amount varies among different institutions (on average $10,000 a year in New York) and can change over time. Board dues are part of Art in General's general budget and can be used as needed, unlike grants which have to be spent on specific and assigned projects.

- Membership
  Membership is a smart way to obtain revenue while creating a circle of loyal individuals around the organization. A single annual membership to AiG costs $500 and a dual membership

$800. Insider Members are invited to special events that the institution organizes, such as private tours of museums, cultural trips, after-parties, cocktail receptions, VIP fair access, and so on. Besides the income they provide, memberships are a very strategic tool for the expansion of the institution's public and the creation of a network of people bound emotionally to the institution who are also potential funders ad donors.

- Limited Editions
  Almost from its inception, Art in General has used the sale of limited editions as an effective source of revenue. Limited Editions are produced by the institution to which, following the exhibition, the artist donates a piece to be replicated in a limited number of copies. Besides the economic profit from the sale, limited editions are also a way to promote artists and serve as a reminder of their participation in the AiG New Commissions program.

- Fundraising events
  Every year Art in General, like most of nonprofit institutions, organizes three or four events to raise funds for the organization. The Spring Gala is the main event of the year and it entails a seated dinner followed by a more informal After Party. The main source of revenue of the Gala comes from tickets; tickets start from $500, but the majority of attendees is usually willing to pay a minimum of $1000 in order to have their name included in the Gala Committee of the event. Another fundamental source of revenue of the Gala is the benefit auction. A few months before the Gala, some of the artists and gallery owners in the institution's network are invited to donate a piece to the auction, whose proceeds from sale go to Art in General. Other fundraising events include a Summer Party usually with a second auction, a Fall Party, and other promotional events during which the institution may, for

example, present a newly released Limited Edition and ask for donations or contributions.

Despite this long list of revenue structure, management of the budget is still a fairly difficult task. An institution like Art in General, based in Manhattan and with such high profile programming, faces incredibly high expenses. Operating costs are about 50 percent of the institution's budget and, after salaries, space rentals and various other expenses, less than 24 percent is left for the artists, a fact that signals the level of criticality.

Other crucial points related to Art in General that also affect the majority of nonprofit organizations concern the managerial structure and the combination of internal and external pressures that institutions have to deal with.

Internal pressures are usually originated by the managerial structure and governance of this kind of organization where balancing the relationship between the managerial level of the board and the lower level of the staff can sometimes be difficult. Power is mainly concentrated in the hands of the board members who, however, do not take part in the everyday duties and activities of the organization. For this reason, relations between board and staff may sometimes be vulnerable and disconnected because of the emphasis on separate and distinct roles creating an obstacle in the way of a productive board/staff partnership. Moreover, staff often mistrust the board's ability to govern because of a perception that the board does not understand the organization's operations.[96]

The board, on the other hand, may feel detached from the concrete programming of the activities which actually shape the everyday essence of the institution. This at time drives them to interfere in the precise contents of the organization, thus causing frustration as they push their role too far.

[96] Bradshaw P., Hayday B., Armstrong R., 2007

Moreover, because it is in fact the highest level of governance in the institution and because its members may feel legitimized by the payment of board dues, the board - and its members - often profoundly influence the overall quality of the cultural offer and their taste shapes the organization's programming and exhibitions.

External pressures concern the increasingly high level of competitiveness among nonprofit organizations. Since New York is a city teeming with artistic activities, artists and creativity, everybody wants to live and launch their business there. As an obvious consequence, competition is extremely high and money from contributions must be shared among far too many individuals and agencies.

There are no longer enough grants for everybody and even well-established, long-standing institutions cannot be sure about the outcome of their applications.

This situation has resulted in two significant consequences. First, as grants are steadily becoming an uncertain and unreliable source of funding, institutions are turning their attention to loyal single patrons who are willing and able to donate conspicuous sums of money. To some extent, the trend represents a second degree round of the privatization process in which already privately owned institutions turn to even richer individuals for funding. Nevertheless, the situation risks falling into the same critical scheme as the relationship between board members and the institution. Will patrons, whose importance is growing and whose money is increasingly necessary, expect to influence the institution’s decisions? What if they were to push the organization to select certain artists or exhibit only certain artworks?

The question is challenging and undoubtedly aggravated by another trend emerging from the shortage of grants and the complicated procedure required to apply for them.

Besides being separately designed for distinct categories such as artists, theaters and institutions, each public or private grant addresses a certain specific topic. A private foundation can, for example, offer a grant to black female artists and another to an institution pursuing research in the politics of Chinese art. Private grants can be affected by fashion or driven by debates in the academic world or certain other settings.

Public grants are designed by the NEA and federal authorities in order to set guidelines and, in a way, to plan future cultural production; they are designed to implement specific topics, to favor certain categories and to reduce others.

As a result, because of the need of institutions and artists to obtain funds, the subject of grants has had a ripple effect on the whole system, pushing applicants to adapt their projects in order to be eligible for the grant. In this sense, organizations face pressure from their environment.

As Victoria D. Alexander has noted, various stakeholders, notably external funders and museum curators, press for specific and sometimes different organizational outputs. In her analysis on art museums, she demonstrates that as funders' importance increases, funders' tastes start affecting exhibitions.[97]

Like nonprofit institutions, art museums also face an uncertain budget every year and must work constantly to raise funds and to find generous external donors, principally individual philanthropists, foundations, corporations and government agencies. The dependency of museums on external financial aid constitutes the premise for the establishment of a very clear connection between external force (funders) and organizational output (exhibitions). As Alexander has pointed out, since all philanthropists have personal ambitions that condition their giving, the goals of external parties may structure the type of art

[97] Alexander V. D., "Pictures at an Exhibition: Conflicting Pressures in Museums and the Display of Art", 1996, pp. 797-839

exhibited; moreover, in the event of different sources for donations, different types of art will be created.[98]

While this line of influence is not limited to private patrons but also occurs with public agencies which, for example, tend to fund popular, scholarly and accessible exhibition, it nonetheless represents a limitation to the freedom of curators.

Limiting curators' freedom is certainly not a problem per se but, because curators are professional art historians whose prestige should only rest on the scholarship and quality of their work, they should be the ones responsible for overseeing quality and for showing the best and most relevant artistic outcomes to the public. As Alexander puts it, "what these art historians believe about museum integrity comes from their background and professional training"; they hold advanced degrees in art history, usually Ph.D.'s and are interested in scholarly relevant exhibitions.

If society entrusts curators with such an important role, then they should be free to perform it without external pressures, particularly from private commercial agencies that, above all, are not primarily concerned with the public interest.

Despite the fact that Art in General, like the majority of art museums and institutions in the U.S., was founded privately, it is very unlikely that the goals of its sponsors and new funders will be the same as those of the institution; similarly, the goals of corporate and government funders are likely to conflict with the normatively defined goals of museum curators.

[98] Alexander V. D., 1996: 799

Conclusions
Situation and Complications

- The art world has been massively influenced by and treated like other areas of commerce, thus undergoing a period of intense commercialization. Despite becoming increasingly more market-oriented, the art market does not benefit from the freedom typical of the neoliberal market, whose barriers are a general opacity of the prices, transactions and stakeholders involved.
- Moreover, despite the popularity of art, art has not become more available to the general public and the gap between the top and bottom ends of the system has never been so wide.
  This system is not beneficial for wider artistic research or for an equal distribution of the art market.
- The entry of new super wealthy collectors and speculators in the art market has caused a sudden rise in prices for contemporary art thus changing the reward system that used to characterize high brow art. Moreover, art speculators and dealers act as price-maximizers and contribute to the continuous increase in prices.
- The art business has become an industry ever more detached from local communities. With only a few centers of art and capital power, the hierarchical pyramid of art production is geographically very narrow.
  To get access to a more efficient market, artists are obliged to emigrate toward the major centers, the hegemonic districts of the market, thus disadvantaging their countries of origin and depriving them of a potential market and talented artists.
- There are growing difficulties for small and medium-size galleries because the capillary system of local art production that coexists in parallel with the primary level has no concrete possibility of rising to the top.

Small and medium-size art galleries are often not self-sustainable and struggle to remain open, while multinational branded competitors account for most of the market. Small galleries feed a local market that often results insufficient for their own existence, continually causing bankruptcies and failures.

➡ While a few artists are the object of intense speculations, there is a high number of potential artists distributed over the territory who are not well-known and in whom nobody invests.
Artists sustained by local minor galleries do not have a solid possibility of global success and fame. To get access to a more efficient market, artists are obliged to emigrate toward the major centers, the hegemonic districts of the market.

➡ As opposed to the global network of art and the art market, the case of the "Artisti a Km0" project promotes a local system of art production and sustainability that, through the involvement of local stakeholders, is able to create a new art ecology. Moreover, "Km0 art" can be a powerful means for boosting social interaction, equality, welfare and the local economy.

➡ The case of Art in General exemplifies the American model of private nonprofit institutions as opposed to the European model of public museums. The analysis of its business model and financial sustainability helps to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the American system in which private funding may mean the risk of external pressures over the contents of the cultural object.

Chapter 6
A Local System for the Sustainability of Art
A Hub for Contemporary Art

VI

The previous chapters have highlighted how the art world is not a homogenous and balanced system but is characterized by specific instabilities that produce certain disadvantages particularly at the local level.

In the third chapter focusing on the relationship between local and global, the analysis has underlined that a growing resistance on the part of local identities and minorities has been counterbalancing the pressure exerted on the art world by globalization and cultural simplification.

Starting from Alain Quemin's study of the art system, the analysis has divided the art world into a tripartite ranking of centrality, semi-periphery, and periphery. In this division, a limited number of centralities of the system dominate a vast periphery, both culturally and economically, and succeed in assembling the principal artists, curators, galleries and collectors. The existence of a system as such challenges the actual occurrence of globalization because it opposes geographical equality and a mutual cultural exchange among the different levels.

Geographical inequalities are counterbalanced by the diffuse and general trend of cultural democratization that has been pervading museums and cultural policies, which has been discussed in the fourth chapter. The phenomenon of "art democratization" seeks to expand cultural access to previously excluded social groups and to increase the mass involvement of the public in the consumption and production of art. In order to perform a higher democratic regime of culture, cultural policy has turned to museums which have embraced the cause by focusing on accessibility and the increase of public attendance.

As a consequence, museums have multiplied and become a place for social interaction and mass encounters. Recently, they have also started to be conceived as tools for social and cultural

regeneration and for boosting local economies, thanks to the wide range of activities they have undertaken (exhibitions, screenings, events, cocktail parties, education, shops and restaurants, among others), to their impact on other local agencies and stakeholders (like hotels, restaurants, goods and service suppliers, schools, and so on) and to the increase of tourism and population.

Chapter five has focused on the art market while pointing out that, despite undergoing a period of great commercialization, the art market is not a form of free trade on a par with the neoliberal marketplace but it is instead controlled and manipulated by a network of powerful dealers and collectors, who tend not to disclose prices, to select buyers or to artificially regulate sales.

The entry of new super wealthy collectors and speculators in the art market has caused a sudden rise in prices for contemporary art and changed the reward system that used to characterized high brow art (spiritual reward) and popular art (commercial reward). Moreover, art speculators and dealers act as price-maximizers (Velthuis, 2005) and contribute to the continuous increase of prices.

This has widened the gap between the top and bottom ends of the system, in which only a small group of blue-chip artists have gained unprecedented fame and fortune, while all the others struggle for their own sustainability.

6.1 A Model for the Sustainability of Local Contemporary Art

The periphery of the system is where the inequalities of the current system of art tend to concentrate. At the local level, the lack of a network of agencies and stakeholders able to promote local art production contributes to the imbalance between center and periphery. Museums, challenged by budget constraints and high competition, try to increase attendance through either

established artists or blockbuster exhibitions, both believed to be more likely to draw the public's attention. This gives young and emerging artists few opportunities of visibility and sustainability; because artists who live in marginal areas of the art world spectrum (periphery) are little-known, sometimes not at all, and have dramatically fewer chances to emerge, they are obliged to emigrate toward the major centers in order to get access to greater visibility and a more efficient market.

In a country like Italy, where museums have to deal with the complex management of cultural heritage which has already been the target of budget cuts, contemporary art struggles to be efficiently promoted and sustained. Besides a few examples of large-scale museums of contemporary art in the main capitals,[1] the promotion of contemporary art relies on local schools, or private galleries, foundations (also concentrated in the main cities), and collectives of artists, which all usually turn into unsuccessful short-term ventures.

A new institutional model for contemporary art - the "Hub" - is here proposed with the intent to offer a practical solution to the instabilities that characterize the art system. The aim of the Hub is to be a response to the geographical imbalance between the hegemonic centers and the periphery of the system through a capillary distribution of art market opportunities on the territory.

The mission of the Hub is to give expression to minorities and local artists, while creating a self-sustainable and durable model for local contemporary art to be cloned all over Italy and Europe in the long term.

The Hub is a flexible organization on regional scale able to work as a repeatable model in a network of interconnected Hubs. The

[1] The National Museum of Contemporary Art and the National Museum of 21st Century Arts in Rome, the Museum of Contemporary Art Donna Regina in Naples, the Pavilion for Contemporary Art in Milan, together with the well-known cases of private institutions in Venice; just to name the most important.

organization is firmly rooted in its regional context and its mission is to promote local art and create a sustainable environment for artists and collectors.
The Hub is a place for both the sale and exhibition of local artists, and an intermediary agency between the bottom end sector of the system - the local territory - and the higher levels - local museums, major museums and major dealers.

As examined in the analysis of the case studies, the growing tension between local identities and global forces, which is put into play by the clash between the global and the local public sphere, can be resolved by a bottom-up approach involving local communities and different identities in the cultural process. Parallel to the main circuit of artists and collectors, another level of art production can coexist and be sustained locally. Currently, the geographical inequality of the art world entails that in the periphery a number of local resources gets wasted, thus depriving the territory of opportunities and affecting artists, curators, dealers, the public.
Supporting local art production would help to safeguard local identities, cultural roots and minorities, while keeping cultural production alive. Moreover, young artists could be part of an ecology in which they could dialogue with other artists and citizens thanks to a direct relationship. Emerging and established artists can coexist in this local ecology and mutually benefit from one another's proximity; young students could learn from and confront themselves with more experienced artists who, in turn, could be inspired by their students and also be part of a collective sphere of artistic democracy and dialogue.
Citizens would retain the cultural value of their territory and be involved by the mere fact of belonging to the same community. The cultural object would be closer to them and cultural dialogue would be fostered by the use of a shared language. Cultural receivers would also move from passive spectator to active users and co-creators of the cultural product.

The development of local art production would not only favor the territory's cultural sphere but also generate social and economic value for citizens. It is now generally accepted that economic growth is favored by social wealth and creativity because cultural goods yield cultural and economic values. Artistic and cultural activities can in fact provide employment-creation opportunities, improve the "livability" of cities and provide stimuli for urban regeneration.[2]

The Hub follows the patterns of "Km0 art and market". While the main globalized network that values chains of cultural goods is long and complex (art is sometimes produced through joint investments and commissions, artworks move from main galleries to mass media, museums, auction houses, fairs,

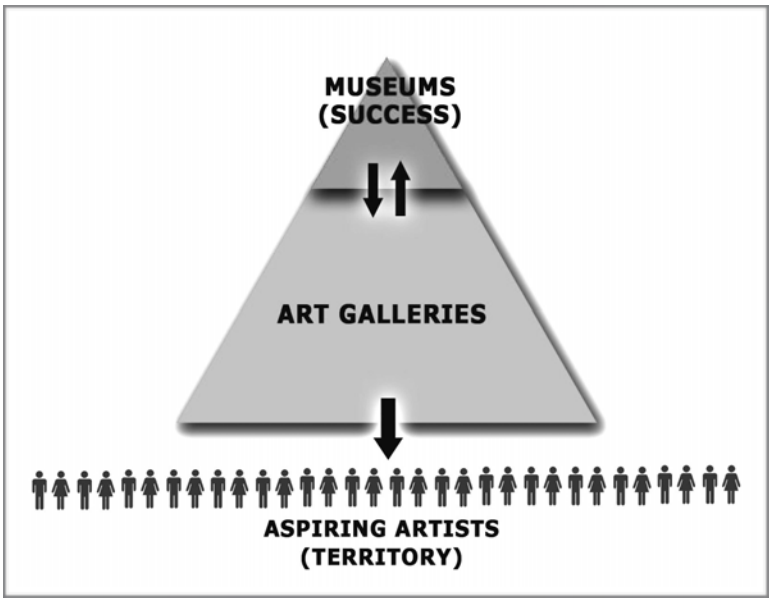


Fig. 1 Current system of artists' status-creation process

[2] Throsby D., 2010: 131

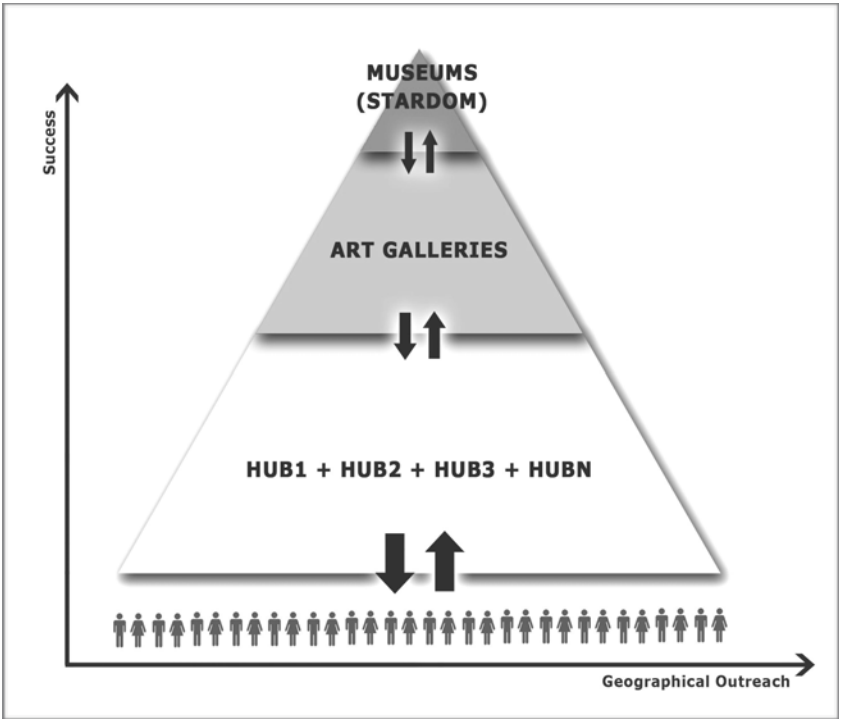


Fig. 2 The role of the Hub in the status-creation process

collectors, and back again), in "Km0 art" the value chain is much more straightforward and profits are within much closer reach for more of the community. Artists would be able to show and sell within the urban environment where the public and collectors can directly draw from.

"Km0 art production" does not necessarily pursue best quality standards but favors instead an inclusive process with a wide and democratic outreach. It is a socially-engaged art that fosters community life, sociability and dialogue.

The Hub seeks the promotion of cultural diversity, drawing from the same principles that protect biodiversity in biology. Biodiversity is the tool that pushes nature to improve itself and

to flourish and has an existence value per se. In the same way, multiculturalism represents the richness of human beings and the potential for a greater creativity.
The 2005 UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* represents the most important guidelines for a cultural policy of protection of cultural diversity. "Cultural diversity" is defined as the "manifold ways in which cultures of groups and societies find expression" and are transmitted "through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment".[3] The Convention declares the importance of cultural diversity as a form of common heritage and defining characteristic of humanity. Cultural diversity can also increase and nurture human capacities and lead to a sustainable development of communities, people, and nations. Moreover, it fundamentally pursues a democratic goal of cultural recognition and freedom, and fosters social cohesion and creativity. Cultural diversity also entails principles of equitable access to culture and cultural production, which the Hub aims to achieve. The territorial dissemination of cultural opportunities represents the fundamental action for the encouragement of mutual understanding and of a sustainable economic and social development of urban contexts.

6.2 The Hub and Its Relationship with the Local Community

The Hub is conceived as a regional-sized organization for the development and promotion of regional contemporary art. Its aim is to contrast the imbalance among different geographies in the art system as well as between the hegemonic centers and the periphery, via a distribution of the market and resources. Through a bottom-up path from a regional to a global scale, the

[3] *2005 UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity*, p. 4

Hub gives visibility to minorities and young artists and aims to lead them up from inside the territory toward the globally-connected network of interconnected Hubs.

The Hub's territorial dimension can vary depending on the political division of each country and its geographical traditions. The region would be suitable in the case of Italy or France, while the state might be more appropriate in the case of the United States, the county in China, the district in India, and so on. In Italy, a region provides a big enough scale for a certain degree of visibility and importance, while an urban context is suitable for big cities or for those cases where a strong independent urban identity is present.

As in the case of the "Artisti Km0" project, the establishment of a strong bond with the public is essential for the success of the project. Similarly to the Italian case, furthermore, the Hub is conceived within a specific geographic area for the promotion of a specific geographical target. In order to be sustainable and to be able to operate over time, the Hub must establish a stable relationship with the public through recurring programs, educational activities, and events.

Since a major cause of the imbalance of the art market is the lack of a wide and properly functioning hierarchical pyramid, the aim of the Hub is to extend the bottom line of the pyramid and to give better opportunities to a higher number of artists.

The model makes use of a wide-based pyramid that is able to link the regional level - the wide, undifferentiated level (the bottom of the pyramid) - with the upper level of the network - the narrow, highly select level (the tip of the pyramid).

Currently the status-creation process signifies an opaque path in which the bottom of the pyramid relies on a univocal relationship in which galleries select their artist and try to lead them up the ascensional path. The basis of the pyramid is rather

narrow and tends to concentrate in the main centers of the art system (Fig. 1).

Based upon a system of open calls, the Hub works as an intermediary between the hierarchical level and creates a two-way relationship between the territory and the first hierarchical step of the pyramid. Emerging artists can autonomously apply to be included in the Hub and the Hub can select them and include them in the process. A similar relationship is replicated in the second hierarchical step, because the Hub can push the selected artists up to the higher level thanks to the high number of linkages it has within the diffused network of Hubs. Moreover, the Hub can promote artists from a higher place of authority than artists alone could do. At the same time, art galleries can benefit from the 'discovery' of new potential talents through the Hub.

The basis of the pyramid is wider, and opportunities are geographically shared in the system. The status-creation path is longer, thus allowing more people to be included and involved in the process (Fig. 2).

6.3 The Hub and the Art Democratization Process

The underlying philosophy of the Hub for contemporary art responds to the demands of the process of art democratization, a term that has been previously defined as the cultural and political trend whose aim is to expand cultural access to previously excluded groups.

The aim of the institutional model being proposed is to spread opportunities to local communities and to become an instrument for the democratization of contemporary art. Like the cases of the Pompidou Mobile and "Artisti a Km0", the Hub's mission is to encourage cultural participation, access, and spread. Because the Hub has been conceived as a means for the mass involvement of artists and public and because its aim is to be replicated over the

territory, the model refers to both trends of cultural democratization that have been discussed earlier (Chapter 4) - a *geographical diffusion* of art and a transversal *class-based involvement* of receivers and producers.

While in the case of "Artisti a Km0" the analysis has revealed that the lack of any selection process of the artists admitted led to a shift of attention from the art object to the process thus focusing on the ethical nature of project, the Hub requires the involvement of a scientific board in order to protect certain minimum standards of quality. The scientific committee should be composed of local scholars and experts, stakeholders from the community and one external expert from the art world at large. The committee's annual duty is to list the artists admitted to the Hub. The selection process relies on criteria of minimum standards such as educational degree and geographical provenance and takes into consideration the ethical principles of the Hub for the spread of opportunities to young emerging artists. Furthermore, the involvement of a certain degree of cultural authority has been considered necessary in order to create trust among peers and safeguard the overall quality of the project. In fact, unlike the Pecci Center, the Hub wants to become a tool for the sale of art, which, as we saw, requires a network of trustful relationships with collectors.

The Hub should consist of a medium-size gallery able to hold a minimum average of sixty artworks at each exhibition. Each exhibition should last one month and feature the work of three artists who can show an average of twenty pieces each; at the end of the year, the Hub will have promoted a minimum of 36 emerging artists and put their work on sale.

In order to strengthen its role and impact on the art system, the Hub model needs to be replicated in different territories through different Hubs that, together, form an interconnected network able to share knowledge, know-how and updates, and to transversally promote artists from one place to another.

Because, currently, having a low number of connections in the main network of art represents low success and low credibility, the Hub needs to be part of a network of peer institutions.
Every hub can exchange information and scientific opinions, hold e-conferences and establish coordinated events. The promotion of standards of cooperation among different stakeholders and strong connections with other Hubs would create a network sharing the same mission and guidelines.
Moreover, strong networking with the other hubs would also be a useful tool for the status-creation process of artists. Artists could get in touch with other Hubs in order to get higher visibility and to see what other artists are doing.

6.4 Financial Sustainability of the Hub Model

The Hub addresses all those artists distributed over the territory who are not well-known because they do not have a market and because nobody invests in them.
To get access to a more efficient market, these artists are forced to emigrate toward the major centers of the market, where they nevertheless have to face a very high level of competition with often little chance of success. The Hub would become a mediator between these artists and their public through a process of democratization of art opportunities for artists and one of democratization of the art market for the public.
While the media reports on the incredibly high prices of works sold at the main auction houses, the Hub would sell art that is affordable because it comes from emerging artists. It pushes the idea of art as a commodity even further in an attempt to educate the public to turn into collectors thus helping artists to become independent. Like for-profit organizations, the Hub can make use of strong marketing campaigns able to convey the message to the outside.

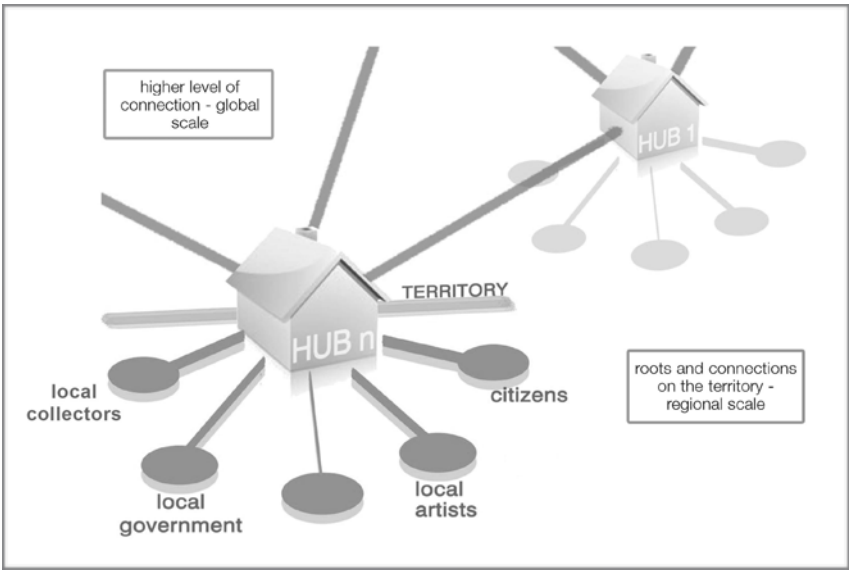


Fig. 3 Outline of the Hub's set of relations. The Hub is rooted in its regional context through a multi-stakeholder approach and connected with other Hubs in different regions.

So far, the democratization process has only partially affected the art market as it has mainly focused on museums and public attendance. One possible explanation for the lack of a mass trend of art market democratization may lie in the fact that a system of celebrities and high prices for contemporary art is perceived as a useful instrument to elevate the desirability of art objects and to create the "auratic value" of art.[4] In order to preserve the distinction and *status quo* of an art that is the bearer of spiritual and intangible values - a process that is still part of the nineteenth century legacy of the Romantic artist-genius and prophet - art can be deemed priceless. High prices are the material consequence of the spiritual value of art and, at the

[4] Baia Curioni S., Forti L., Martinazzoli L., 2011

same time, the stimulus for its own legitimacy and further increase of its monetary value.

Nevertheless, recently, a trend for the promotion of affordable art has emerged worldwide. The phenomenon manifests itself through the so called 'affordable art fairs' in which less expensive participation fees allow minor galleries to participate and to sell art objects that are affordable for new and young collectors. The first example of the trend is AAF, the Affordable Art Fair, a project that was born in 1999 in London and has spread throughout Europe (Amsterdam, Brussels, Hamburg, Maastricht, Milan and Stockholm), America (New York and Toronto), and Asia (Hong Kong, Singapore and Seoul). The AAF requires galleries to feature at least two under 40 year old artists and to include works that range from €100 to €6000. In 2004, the contemporary art fair Artissima, in Turin, Italy, launched Paratissima with the aim of giving emerging talents an opportunity to surface and grow and to directly sell their artworks to the public at a set limited price. According to the reports of the existing cases of affordable art fairs, participants and art sales have been growing steadily since their inception; last year, the AAF registered an impressive growth of 30 percent in sales, underlining the rise of a profusion of new art collectors.[5]

The size and business model of Art in General have been used as reference for the institutional design of the Hub. The Hub has been conceived as a private, nonprofit, self-sustained organization whose mission is the development and promotion of regional contemporary art and is characterized by the coexistence of the display and sale of art.

The Hub is a hybrid organization in between a commercial art gallery and a museum. Like commercial galleries, the Hub relies on the sale of artworks but, unlike for-profit spaces, it reinvests all or part of its revenue in the organization. Depending on the

[5] http://affordableartfair.com
http://paratissima.it/

country in which the Hub is hosted, it can assume different juridical forms.

In Italy, where the first Hub has been imagined as a theoretical assumption, the organization would be eligible to be an ONLUS (a Nonprofit Organization with Social Utility), or a similar "social enterprise", which would grant the institution and its donors certain fiscal benefits and, given its nonprofit status, would help to safeguard the transparency of activities and equity of processes.

The artworks that the institution exhibits would be for sale and the revenues shared fifty-fifty between the artists and the organization - with the same model of commercial galleries.

Art sales would be the primary source of revenue for the Hub, which could nevertheless also rely on donations, memberships and sponsorships. Moreover, given its social and ethical mission, it might also be eligible for other occasional sources of funding, such as those from the European Community or from a government's funds for cultural projects. In certain cases public administrations might be willing to either donate the space or rent it out at an assisted price. The Ministry of Culture, the Chamber of Commerce, and the European Community offer funds for cultural projects as well as for regional development projects (See Law CE N.1080/2006, for example).

The Hub will have to be a place for the intellectual debate and a center of research for the promotion of art. It can host conferences and debates, offer counseling activity and support to artists and collectors and function as an urban platform for creativity.

Main Features of the New Organizational Model

- Locally rooted and globally interconnected
- Able to give expression to local artists and minorities
- Able to be self-sustained through the sale of art
- Able to spread culture among local communities
- Able to spread opportunities of self-sustainability to artists

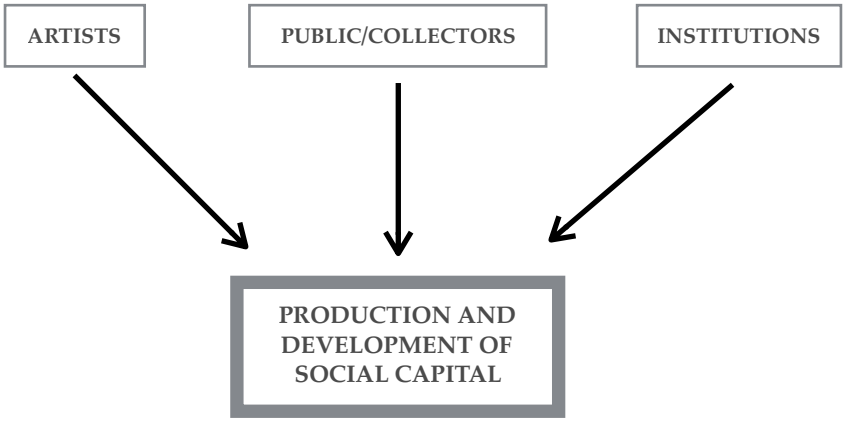
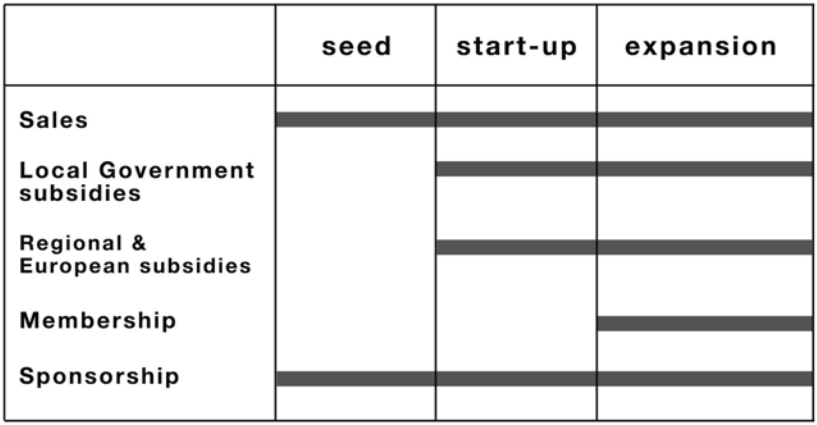


Fig. 4 Financial stages for the implementation of the Hub

Incomes



Expenditure

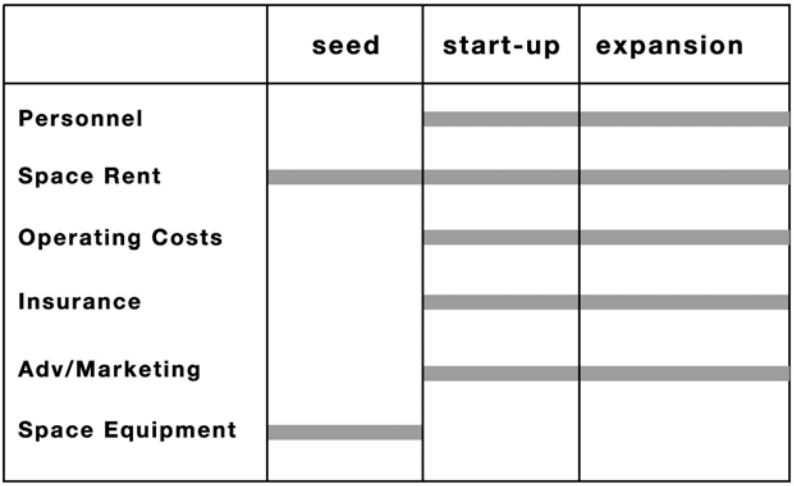


Fig. 5 Potential Sources of Revenue of the Hub

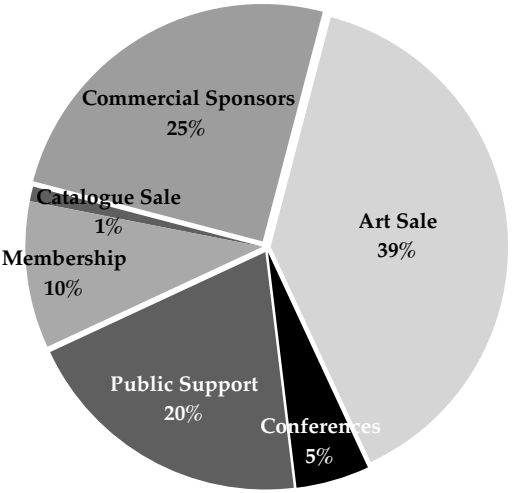
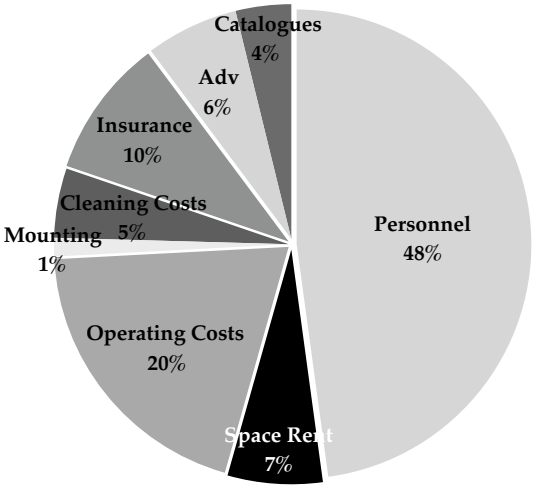


Fig. 6 Potential Sources of Expenditures of the Hub



CONCLUSIONS

VII

This study set out to explore the ecology of the contemporary art system and the reasons behind and extent of its inequalities. The dissertation has focused on the question of how to resolve the geographical imbalance that characterizes the system of contemporary art in order to create new sustainable ecologies for artists and minorities over the territory and on an investigation into the resources required to achieve a higher level of democratization of contemporary art for artists and the public. Through the analysis of three main case studies, the research has examined the profound changes that have been transforming the contemporary art world over the last two decades, by trying to understand the reasons for these changes and their recent historical evolution.

These transformations are both components and consequences of broader social changes occurring in the spectrum of human relations at large, all of which relate to the recent process of globalization. Concurrently, the art world itself has become a global phenomenon characterized by complex networks of different stakeholders involved in the production of cultural and market values. Globalization has expanded the scope and dimensions of the contemporary art world, empowered its market and initiated a broad process of democratization of art and culture. As a result of the high degree of complexity in which cultural contents today are produced, transmitted and sustained, it was necessary to analyze the correlations among the different fields of action around which the contemporary art world pivots. The research has investigated the effects of globalization on the consumption and production of contemporary art and questioned whether or not a new global public sphere has emerged and, if so, to what extent it has encouraged a global and equal participation in the art debate. The process of art democratization that has been accelerating

during the last two decades has turned museums into a place for multiple activities and for a mass consumption of art and has raised questions about the evolution of the contents of the cultural object under such circumstances.
At the same time, the empowerment of the role of the market in the consumption and distribution of art has led to a growing commercialization of the artistic value of artworks; the process has also been witness to the involvement of a broader group of new, previously excluded, players, which has given rise to speculations about the potential of the democratizing role of the market.
Three main case studies (the "Artisti a Km0" project of the Pecci Center for Contemporary Art in Prato, Italy, the Pompidou Mobile in France and Art in General, a nonprofit organization in New York) were chosen in order to analyze the features of three different geographical and hierarchical levels of the system - periphery, semi-periphery and centrality - and to explore the similarities and differences in the relationships they establish with their local communities, in their methods of art democratization and in their positions in the global art market. The case studies were broken down in each of the chapters and analyzed under the lens of the different relational objectives.

Surprisingly, the analysis of these different aspects demonstrated that there are correlations and common demands crossing the various geographies and fields in all three cases. These correlations emerged in the three analytical chapters through the three case studies and in the last chapter, where the research has tried to answer the initial question posed by outlining a methodological proposal for a practical solution in the field.

Contemporary Art between Local and Global Practices

The first analytical chapter (Chapter 3) investigated globalization as the driving force in the developments of today's art world. In the world of culture, globalization has determined a fast cross-national movement of cultural objects, identities, heritages, museums, curators and other cultural agents, which has put culture at the center of a massive trend of internationalization and mixing. An insight into the trend of globalization was a necessary premise for the analysis of the main changes that have overtaken the art world but also imperative as a theoretical framework for an examination of to the relationship between global cultural production and local instances. The research has borrowed Harris' description of the term "globalization", defining it an *analytic construct* concerning "the progressive ordering of the world and its hitherto separable societies, their people, activities and producers, into a single system"[1] in order to include the connotation of homogenization (defined with terms such as *Americanization*, *Westernization* and *Colonization*) that many recognize in the process and that entails the exportation of social, political and cultural models from Western societies toward the rest of the world.

Becker's conception of the art world as a cluster of interconnected and mutually dependent activities has assumed global connotations characterized by the fluidity and blurring of regional boundaries and cultural identities. The research has discussed how globalization has pushed the formation of new levels of artistic sociability and given rise to a global public sphere in which different actors from the global art community collaborate and interact (Rodenbeck, 2011; Papastergiadis, 2011). This new artistic methodology based on collaborative and fluid human interactions was analyzed in accordance with Nicolas Bourriaud's concept of "relational aesthetics" in which art is

[1] J. Harris, 2011: 1

enabled to produce areas of social exchange, dialogue and collective elaborations of meanings.[2]

The existence of a "relational aesthetic" was compared to Alain Quemin's studies on globalization and Miwon Kwon's idea of *site-specific art*. The research also discussed the rise, in parallel to the emergence of the global collective practices, of a growing resistance on the part of local identities and minorities to the pressure exerted on the art world by globalization and cultural simplification. It has been argued that globalization is not a symmetrical trend that occasions equal cultural exchanges, but rather a standardizing wave spreading from stronger over weaker identities that may clash with local identities. Seen from this perspective, the actuality of globalization in the world of art is seriously debatable; the existence of a hegemony of a few over a broad periphery seems to deny any possibility of real and mutual cultural exchange.

The case of the Pompidou Mobile has helped to understand the effects of cultural strategies on local identities as well as the role of museums and cultural institutions in delivering social meanings. First, the analysis of the project through Griswold's "cultural diamond" (Griswold, 2008) revealed the information that the cultural object - in this case, the Pompidou Mobile - can influence the social world by submitting narratives for the creation of a national community. However, direct interviews collected at the Pompidou Mobile in Aubagne demonstrated a conflict between the original vision of the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris and its reception by the local community; the majority of interviewees stated that they did not perceive the PM as part of their own community. Therefore, the study has exposed the ultimate failure of the project due to its inability to engage with its local community and argues that the reason for this failure lay in the use of a top-down approach in

[2] Bourriaud, 2002: 15

the decision making process which produced a partial clash between the central government and local identities, thus creating an obstacle in that particular time and place.

The case of the "Artisti a Km0" project represents a completely different example from that of the Pompidou Mobile. Developed explicitly for and within a specific geographic area, the project aims to establish stable and recurring relationships between the institution and the local community. The analysis has tried to demonstrate that when a museum corresponds to its urban community, social capital grows and becomes beneficial not only for the single individuals visiting the museum but also for the entire city. Having a "Km0-constituency" of public and artists inevitably affects local production, boost socio-economic growth and strengthens both the role of the museum in the community and mutual trust.
As a consequence, the museum will collaborate on the creation of a lasting production of social capital.

The case of Art in General has provided an insight into a centrality of the art system. The institution is suspended between a vocation to address an international audience and to support its local roots. AiG is subjected to the influence of the context on the part of two opposite forces, one pressing the institution to be global and a-geographical, and one, on the part of the board members who manage the institution, urging it to be local and to reflect particular geographical instances. Board members use their economic and cultural capital to make decisions and influence the cultural object in order to accumulate new cultural capital and increase their control over local power mechanisms. This creates a demand for connection with the local context - essential for the sustainability of the institution - which makes Art in General a "glocal" institution, suspended between local and global instances.

In chapter 3, the study has discussed cases of cultural supremacy over minorities in which local cultural identities and

interests are put at risk; cultural supremacy has been observed as a consequence of the geographical imbalance in the art system which also leads to diffuse inequality.
Evidence from the analysis of the case studies has revealed that despite the existence of an international system of the arts that connects different geographies on a global scale, the relationship with the local community still remains fundamental for the success of cultural institutions. A return to the local scale appears to be a potential factor in a fairer, more sustainable idea of an institution, which can be financially more efficient but can also contribute to the pursuit of the democratic goal and of art diffusion in the local territory.

High Brow and Pop Culture in the Cultural Democratization Process

The research then initiated an investigation of the process of art democratization in today's art world and of the role that museums have assumed in response to it. The term "art democratization" designates the cultural and political trend whose aim is to expand cultural access to previously excluded groups and to increase the mass involvement of the public in the consumption and production of art (Zolberg, 2007). The process has been a major force in the development of today's art system but, a the same time, it is also a necessary precondition for the achievement of a fairer spread of contemporary art over the territory which the dissertation is proposing.
The analysis has outlined two parallel levels of action of the democratization trend which respond to the geographical and social inequality of the art world. One scope of action seeks for a *geographical spread* of culture in order to contrast the geographical concentration of culture in the main hegemonic centers; the other refers to a transversal *class-based involvement* of the public in response to the fact that culture is still concentrated among elites

with a high level of cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1973; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978).

Despite differences in political traditions, structures of governances and translations of the concept of democracy among the various countries, the trend of cultural democratization cuts across geography and presents shared features that are identifiable in the globalized art world as a whole.

The increase of public accessibility and participation has been the goal of museums and cultural institutions in the United States and in Europe since the 1950s. Museums have become the symbol of the trend of cultural democratization, and during the past few decades the huge increase in public attendance has turned museums into a mass phenomenon.

As a consequence, museums have not only multiplied and diversified but they have become a dynamic place for social interactions, producing a shift of attention from a concern with attendance to one with opportunities and cultural authority (Bourdieu, 1973; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; DiMaggio, 2007). The research has analyzed the transformation of culture consequent to the need for and achievement of mass participation and has led to an analysis of the dialectic between high brow and pop culture.

Following DiMaggio's study, the level of trust in cultural authority has been identified as the indicator distinguishing between high and pop culture, as the latter implies the ultimate rejection of cultural authority, while "high culture" requires an attentive selection process by an entrusted jury.

The analysis proceeded by identifying two polarized strategies that museums can exploit to put the democratizing trend into effect. One is the so-called "event culture" (Rectanus, 2002) that museums utilize to mediate and generate the spectacle of

culture.[3] Exhibitions are the basic example of event culture because they are a versatile form of cultural consumption that can be massively communicated in order to attract new audience. The other, at the opposite end of the spectrum, regards ecomuseums which seek a higher level of democracy through the establishment of deep bonds with the local community. In the ecomuseum the democratization trend invests not only accessibility, education and recreational activities but also claims the entire community as an active part of a museum's management and decision-making policies, thus turning the institution into a tool for social improvement.

The analysis of the three case studies has helped to identify three different approaches for the achievement of a democratic regime.

The case of the Pompidou Mobile has provided an example of "event-culture museum". The project made use of an idea of culture that pursues the merging of amusement and culture in order to attract people unused to museums and to offer a new, more appealing vision of cultural institutions. Characterized by this ephemeral feature, like an epiphany parachuted into disadvantaged areas of France, the project nevertheless failed to create a durable and sustainable relationship with the citizenry for whom, once the museum was gone, everything went back to "normality".

The "Artisti a Km0" project is instead a much closer approximation of ecomuseum concept. It is an example of class-based involvement of public and institutional legitimization of artists within specific geographical boundaries. The analysis has shown that the project is pursuing a "moderate" strategy of public involvement, based on local instances and able to create a sustainable and longstanding relationship and civic commitment with its community. Nevertheless, the overall quality of the

[3] Debord G., 1967

cultural contents suffers from the lack of any cultural authority which would grant the achievement of a higher cultural level.
The case of Art in General affords a different example of cultural democratization that puts the artist at the center of the process. The analysis has revealed how the democratization trend in this context lies in putting artists outside the mechanisms and pressures of the market, by providing them with a genuine opportunity for art production. Unlike the previous case, Art in General tries to preserve artistic quality by adopting a very strict selection process for its artists, one which ultimately leads to a lower offer of opportunities. Moreover, the focus on high quality artistic outcome is accompanied by a general disinterest in public participation, symbolizing the alleged incompatibility between high culture and mass consumption.

This chapter (Chapter 4) has dealt with different strategies for the democratization of culture, which have underlined the importance for cultural institutions to establish a strong bond with public and local communities. Instead of focusing on cultural practices based upon ephemeral "hit and run" events, the outcomes of the analysis of the case studies have suggested that a focus on local instances and the establishment of a recurring behavior pattern of cultural participation may lead to a production of social capital and to a long standing relationship between institutions and the local community.
Findings have also pointed to the importance of cultural authority as a means of safeguarding cultural quality. Balancing the two opposite instances of high and popular culture is believed to be a feasible strategy for the generation of truly democratic conditions.

The Ecological Sustainability of the Art Market

The third analytical chapter (Chapter 5) has outlined the structure of the global market and its players in order to

investigate the functioning of today's art ecology. The study has shown that even today the art system is still the privilege of a small elite, who is able to influence trends and control the market; in fact, although art has clearly been co-opted by an international trade that mirrors the dynamics of the general global market and neoliberal economy of free trade, the art market is not regulated by the same law of demand and supply as other asset categories (Bellet, De Roux, 2007; Velthuis, 2007; Horowitz, 2011). While at the end of the 19th century, the market was managed by a cultural elite who saw it as a way to free art from the historical will of patrons, during the course of the 20th century and particularly as of the 1970s, the art market has been expanding and assuming an increasingly important role in the creation, distribution and consumption of contemporary art. With the advent of a global and interconnected art community and the impressive rise of new Ultra Net Worth Individuals coming mainly from the growing economies, new money has been poured into the system and what was once defined as the "art business" has turned into a global industry governed by the corporate logic of large-scale enterprises (Graw, 2010).

Art ecology is composed of a wide range of individuals and institutions that manage, distribute and interpret art and that allow the artists and buyers to meet. This transpires in the analysis of dealers and commercial galleries, auction houses, art fairs and super rich collectors. All these players act as price-maximizers and contribute to the increase in prices for contemporary art (Velthuis, 2010). The commercialization of art and the entry of new gatekeepers have brought about changes in the "reward system" of art which has moved from a focus on symbolic value to one on commercial success. The erosion of boundaries between high culture and pop culture together with the quantitative and qualitative expansion of the art world have progressively destabilized the reward system of art objects (Crane, 2008).

The research has pointed out that the involvement of Ultra High Net Worth Individuals - defined as those individuals with a net worth of more than $30 million - in the art market has fueled a greater consumption of contemporary art and led to the sudden increase in prices.

This very small group representing 0.3 percent of the art community population is influencing the art market with its astonishing purchasing power and has the resources to invest in the production of art and set trends in the art world. Investment initiatives are bound up with the production, distribution and exhibition of art and the tastes of this new group of collectors are shaping the market and the characteristics of art objects.

The analysis of the "Artisti a Km0" project has provided a practical example of the creation of "Km0-art system". The project represents the attempt to create a new ecology as an alternative to the mainstream art system. Through the simultaneous participation of local art producers (artists), art receivers (the public) and institutions (the Pecci Center for Contemporary Art), the project aims to create a new local ecology of art in which the institution works as a mediator/ creator of new social capital. As opposed to the global network of art and market, "Km0 art" can be a powerful way to boost social interaction, equality, welfare and local economy.

The case of Art in General has helped to understand the strengths and the weaknesses of the American model of private nonprofit institutions and their sustainability. The analysis has questioned whether there is a risk that the private sources of funds that support the institution might lead to external pressures over the contents of the cultural object. In fact, because external funders, commercial sponsors, grant makers and patrons all press for specific and often different outputs, they can create tension in the institution and directly affect exhibitions and cultural offer.

The study has revealed that, despite the great popularity and mass diffusion of art, there is an even wider gap between the top and bottom ends of the system in which art has not become more available to the general public nor has the art market.
A small segment of the art world population controls the market, bypassing local communities, and is responsible for and part of an anonymous global trade that is highly concentrated in the hands of a few powerful dealers and auction houses. With such a small number of centers of art and capital power, the tip of the hierarchical pyramid of art production is geographically very narrow.
Because of the trend of branding and commercialization in the art system, there are growing difficulties for small and medium-size galleries because the capillary system of local art production that coexists parallel to the primary level does not have any concrete possibility of rising to the top.

The Hub for Contemporary Art as a Methodological Solution

In response to the instabilities generated by the geographical and market inequalities of the art system, the last chapter has offered a practical solution for the democratization of art production and distribution over the territory.
A new institutional model for contemporary art - the *"Hub"* - was proposed as a practical method to counter the instabilities that characterize the peripheral areas of the art system through the creation of an ecology of agencies and stakeholders at the local level. The Hub represents a response to the initial question of the present dissertation and proposes a tool-kit of guidelines for the establishment of a fairer art eco-system. The aim of the proposed institutional model is to spread opportunities to local communities and to become an instrument for the democratization of contemporary art.

The Hub is a flexible organization rooted in a regional scale that, through a capillary distribution of art market opportunities, addresses young and emerging artists who live in marginal areas of the art world spectrum (periphery) to provide them with new opportunities of visibility and sustainability thus providing an alternative to the current, inevitable flux of emigration.

The mission of the Hub is to promote cultural diversity and to give expression to minorities, while creating a self-sustainable and durable model for local contemporary art that can be cloned all over Italy and Europe in the long term. The Hub is a place for the sale and exhibition of art and an intermediary agency between the local territory and the higher levels of the system.

The Hub's goal is to be an agency for the spread of cultural democracy in order to pursue principles of equitable access to culture and cultural production and foster social cohesion and creativity. Moreover, a territorial spread of cultural opportunities represents the fundamental action necessary for a sustainable economic and social development of urban contexts (UNESCO 2005 Convention on Cultural Diversity).

On the model of affordable art fairs, the Hub is self-sustained by the sale of art works and addresses young and potential collectors through affordable prices and persistent educational approaches. The Hub adheres to the philosophy of "Km0 art" (as discussed in the case of the Pecci project), makes use of a bottom-up approach to represent local communities and to be shaped by them and aims to create a new ecology in which artists, the public and institutions are able, together, to produce social capital and to develop it over time.

Following the discussion of the various spheres of the contemporary art world, the Hub proposes practical solutions to resolve the interrelated questions that have been brought up in the present analysis. First, the Hub responds to the concerns of cultural supremacy caused by the geographical imbalance of the system by proposing a model rooted in the regional scale and

potentially interconnected on a global level. Also, as the research has revealed the importance of a strong bond with the local community for the long.standing success of cultural institutions, the Hub relies on bottom-up approaches based on local management through local stakeholders.

Secondly, the Hub takes a stand in the debate on the strategies for the democratization of culture. Findings have suggested that a successful democratic regime of culture is achieved and preserved through the establishment of a recurring behavior pattern of cultural participation; the Hub proposes a long-lasting model for cultural production and consumption that is based on the constant involvement of local agents without whom the Hub could not function. However, one of the Hub's goals is also to preserve a certain degree of cultural authority, an aspect that this study considers essential to safeguard the quality of the cultural contents.

Lastly, the Hub seeks to respond to the inequalities of the art market, by trying to distribute market opportunities over the local territory and to reduce the gap between the top and bottom ends of the system. It also fundamentally widens the bottom part of the hierarchical pyramid of art production as well as the range of contemporary art, by bridging the gap between commercial galleries and museums.

The present dissertation has investigated the inequalities that occur in the art system at the local level and has tried to propose a solution for a fairer democratization of contemporary art production, distribution and consumption.

The art world is typically described as a global and immaterial network based on fluid exchanges (Rodenbeck, 2011; Papastergiadis, 2011; Esche, 2005). This argument suggests that museums and cultural institutions are all part of this global system in which their relationships with their local and specific instances consistently tend to cede to the entry of a global sphere. However, the research has noted that cultural institutions are

instead suspended between their local context and the global scale of the art system, giving rise at times to conflicts of identity and of demands resulting from the different needs of the various stakeholders. The analysis has also underlined the importance of a commitment with local communities and their involvement in the decision-making process (Kwon, 2002; Hugues de Varine 1976; Georges-Henri Rivière, 1989). A "Km0 cultural policy" has been demonstrated to be an important tool to boost sociability and to develop sustainable cultural practices.

The study has highlighted how museum policies usually rely on "event-culture" and ephemeral projects in order to keep the public'a attention alive and increase participation. However, the evidence from the case studies and the proposed theoretical framework suggests that these kinds of strategies are unable to produce a sustainable and recurring cultural ecology (Rectanus, 2002; Throsby, 2010).

The research into the different aspects of this situation has demonstrated that there are common needs in the art world at all the various geographical levels and spheres of action, for which the dissertation has proposed a unified methodological approach. The Hub represents the proposal of a practical method which could respond to the needs of the various interrelated fields as well as function as a possible application of UNESCO's guidelines for the promotion of cultural diversity. At this stage, its main purpose is to address future local cultural policies and advise on possible strategies for the development of local art production and sustainability.

The present research has had to deal with multiple aspects of the global level of contemporary art in order to develop a set of strategies for the local context. The scale of the debate is nevertheless extensive and multifaceted even at the local level. The model proposed in the last chapter has been a useful means to summarize and respond in a concrete way to the questions that have emerged during the course of the reading.

However, it remains a theoretical assumption that requires further analysis and a more profound investigation of its practical translation.
Moreover, to generate a more reliable and achievable policy strategy with regards to cultural diversification, there is a need for more research and more case studies at the local level to allow further assessment of the subject and verification of the proposed model. Further research might address specific geographical targets and incorporate an accurate study of particular local cultural policies, cases of local cultural institutions and more direct interviews. This would allow for the elaboration of a precise, feasible plan for the Hub and its application in the different geographies.

The dissertation has provided an analysis of the relationship between global contemporary art trends and their effects on the local communities. It has shown the inequalities occurring in the current system of art and sought solutions to spread art opportunities in the periphery of the art world. The lack of a capillary network of agencies with bonds to local communities has been considered one of the main causes for the dualism of the art system. The study has also compared different strategies for the deployment of the cultural democratization goal and has stated the importance of education and of methods based on the involvement of local communities and bottom-up approaches to achieve a more durable and effective outcome. The discussion has also analyzed the system of sustainability of contemporary art and explored possible solutions to the hegemonic management of the art market. Alternatives have been identified in the system of "Km0 art market" as a powerful means for boosting social interaction, equality, welfare and the establishment of a local art economy.
Local institutions need to work as mediators between the upper levels of the system and the territory for the establishment of a regionally rooted network of interconnected agencies. This

would help the promotion of new ecologies for contemporary art in which artists, the public, consumers, local administrations and citizenry assume an active role in the development of the urban, social and economic context.

Bibliography

Ahearne, Jeremy. *Intellectuals, Culture and Public Policy in France: Approaches from the Left*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010

Alexander, Victoria. "Pictures at an Exhibition: Conflicting Pressures in Museums and the Display of Art", in *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 101 Number 4, January 1996

————————. *Museums & Money. The Impact of Funding on Exhibitions, Scholarship and Management*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996

————————. *Sociology of the Arts. Exploring Fine and Popular Forms*, New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2003

Alliez, Eric, Osborne, Peter. *Spheres of Action: Art and Politics*, London: Tate, 2013

Alsop, Joseph. *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and Its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared,* New York: Harper & Row, 1982

Andreasen, Alan R. and Belk, Russell W. "Consumer Response to Arts Offerings: A Study of Theater and Symphony" in *Four Southern Cities*, Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Arts, 1978

Baia Curioni, Stefano, Forti, Laura, and Martinazzoli, Luca. "Contemporary Art Museums in Europe. A comparative study in their stakeholder management", Quaderni ASK, Milano: Bocconi University, Vol. 1, 2011

Baia Curioni, Stefano. "A fairy tale: the art system, globalization, and the fair movement", Velthuis, Olav and Lind, Maria, eds. *Contemporary art and its commercial markets*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012

Banton, Michael, ed.. *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, New York: Praeger, 1966

Barthes, Roland. *Image Music Text*, Glasgow: Fontana-Collins, 1977

————————. *Mythologie*s London: Paladin, 1972

Basso Peressut, Luca, and Pozzi, Clelia (eds.). *Museums in an Age of Migrations*, Politecnico di Milano, Mela Books, 2012

Baudrillard Jean, *The Conspiracy of Art*, Semiotext, 2005;

Bauerlein, Mark and Grantham, Ellen, *NEA: A History 1965-2008,* Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, 2009

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Does Ethics Have a Chance in a World of Consumers?*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008

Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1972

Becker, Howard. *Art Worlds*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982

Bellet, Henry and De Roux, Emmanuel. "Les nouveaux collectionneurs" in *Le Monde*, July 17, 2007

Benhamou, Françoise, *L'economia della cultura*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000

Bennett, Tony. "Exhibition, Difference, and the Logic of Culture", Karp, Ivan, Kratz, Corinne, Szwaja, Lynn, *Museum Frictions. Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006

————————. "The Exhibitionary Complex", *New Formation*, Issue 4: Spring 1988

Berger, Peter. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion,* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969

Bharucha, Rustom. "The Limits of the Beyond. Contemporary Art Practice, Intervention and Collaboration in Public Spaces", *Third Text,* Vol. 21, July 2007, pp. 397-416

Billing, Johanna, Lind, Maria and Nilsson, Lars, *Taking the Matter into Common Hands*, London: Black Dog Publishing, 2007

Blake, Casey N., ed. *The Arts of Democracy: Culture, Civil Society, and the State*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007

Boll, Dirk. *Art for Sale: A Candid View of the Market*, Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2011

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Darbel A., (1969), *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public*, Polity Press, 1991

Bourdieu, Pierre. "Le Marché des Biens Symboliques", in *L'Année Sociologique,* 1971

————————. (1973) "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", in Brown, Richard, ed. *Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education,* London: Tavistock, 1975; 71-112

————————. *Interventions, 1961-2001: Science sociale et action politique*, in Poupeau, Franck and Discepolo, Thierry, eds. Marseille: Agone, 2000

————————. *The Inheritors: French Students and Their Relation to Culture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979

————————. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field,* Stanford: Stanford University Press,1995

————————. "Three Forms of Capital", in Halsey, A. H., Lauder, Hugh, Brown, Phillip and Wells, Amy Stuart, (eds), Education: *Culture, Economy and Society,* Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997

Bourriaud, Nicolas (1998). *Relational Aesthetics*, Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2002

Bowley, Graham, "At Art Basel a powerful jury controls the market", The New York Times, June 15, 2015

Bowness, Alan. The Conditions of Success: How the Modern Artist Rises to Fame, London: Thames and Hudson, 1989

Bradley, Will, and Esche, Charles., ed. *Art and Social Change. A critical Reader*, London: Tate Publishing and Afterall, 2007

Bradshaw, Patricia, and Hayday, Bryan, and Armstrong, Ruth. "Non-profit Governance Models: Problems and Prospects", in *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, Volume 12(3), 2007

Brown Richard K., ed. *Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education*, London: Tavistock, 1973

Brustein, Robert. “Democracy & Culture”, in Melzer A. M., Weinberger J., Zinman M. R.. eds. *Democracy and the Arts*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999

Bull, Malcolm. “The Two Economies of World Art”, in Harris, Jonathan, ed. *Globalization and Contemporary Art,* London and New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Carlesi Ferdinando, (1904) *Origine della città e del comune di Prato*, Bologna: Forni Editore, 1984

Casetti Francesco (a cura di), *L'arte al tempo dei media. Profili e tendenze della scena artistica italiana*, Milano: Postmedia, 2012

Castelnuovo, Enrico. *Arte, Industria, Rivoluzioni. Temi di storia sociale dell'arte*, Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1985

Chong, Derrick. “The Emergence of Powerhouse Dealers”, in Harris, Jonathan, ed. *Globalization and Contemporary Art,* London and New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. p. 431-438

Clair, Jean. *L'hiver de la culture*, Paris: Flammarion Café Voltaire, 2011

————. *Considerations sur l'état des beaux-arts: Critique de la modernité*, Paris: Gallimard, 1983;

————. *Malaise dans les musées*, Paris: Flammarion Café Voltaire, 2007

Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997

Cober, Rodney L. (1977). “A psychographic life style analysis of intergenerational continuity in the development of the rural theatre audience”, Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University

Cornwell Terry Lynn, *Democracy and the Arts. The Role of Participation*, New York: Praeger, 1990

Corsage, Gerard (ed.). *Heritage, Museums and Galleries. An Introductory Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005

Crane, Diana, ed. *The Sociology of Culture. Emerging Theoretical Perspectives*, Cambridge USA & Oxford UK: Blackwell, 1994

Crane, Susan. “Time, Memory and Museums”, in Macdonald, Sharon. ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Crimp, Douglas. *On the Museum’s Ruins*, MA: The MIT Press, 1993

Crooke, Elizabeth. “Museums and Community”, in Macdonald, Sharon, ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Cuno, James, ed. *Whose Muse? Art Museums and the Public Trust*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004

Danto, Arthur C. (1986). *The Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art,* New York: Columbia University Press, 2004

————————. *After the end of art. Contemporary Art and the Pale of History*, Princeton University Press, 1997;

Davis, Peter. “Places, ‘cultural touchstones’ and the ecomuseum”, in Corsage, Gerard (ed.), *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005

————————. *Ecomuseums: A sense of Place*, Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1999

de la Rocha Mille, Raymond (2011). *Museums without walls: The museology of Georges Henri Rivière,* (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, City University London)

De Montebello, Philippe. “Art Museums, Inspiring Public Trust”, in Cuno, James (ed.), *Whose Muse? Art museums and the public trust*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004

de Varine, Hugues. *La culture des autres*, Paris: Seuil, 1976

Debord, Guy (1967), *The Society of the Spectacle*, Oakland, CA: AKPress, 2005

Dewey, John. (1927). *The Public and its Problems,* Denver: A. Swallow, 1954

Dickie George, *The art circle: a theory of art*, New York: Haven Publications, 1984;

DiMaggio, Paul, (ed.), *The Twenty-First-Century Firm. Changing Economic Organization in International Perspective*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001;

———— . "Cultural Entrepreneurship in 19th-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America", in Mukerji C. and Schudson M.. eds., *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1991

———— . "Classification in Art", *American Sociological Review*, 52(4), 1987, pp. 440-455

DiMaggio, Paul, and Useem, Michael. (1978). "Social class and arts consumption: The origins and consequences of class differences to the arts in america", *Theory and Society*, 5(2), pp. 141-161

———— . "Cultural Democracy in a Period of Cultural Expansion: The Social Composition of Arts Audiences in the United States", *Social Problems*, Vol. 26, No. 2, Dec. 1978, pp. 179-197

DiMaggio, Paul, and Mukhtar, Toqir. "Arts Participation as Cultural Capital in the United States, 1982-2002: Signs of Decline?", *Poetics*, Elsevier, vol. 32, 2004

DiMaggio, Paul, Weiss J.A., and Clotfelter C.T. "Resources For Research On Selected Types Of Nonprofit Organizations", *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 45 No. 10, June 2002, pp. 1474-1492

Dos Santos, Myrian S., "The New Dynamic of Blockbuster Exhibitions: The Case of Brazilian Museums", in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 20 No. 1, Blackwell Publishers, 2001, pp.29-45

Dossi, Piroschka. "Contemporary Art and the Market", in *Art, Price and Value: Contemporary Art and the Market*, CCC Strozzina, Firenze: Silvana, 2008

Dossin, Catherine. "American Pop Art and the German People", *American Art*, Chicago Journal, Vol. 25, No. 3, Fall 2011, pp. 100-111

————————. "Speed! Money and the global art market", Artnet. First appeared in Artnet.de, shortened version of a talk delivered at the conference "Money Cultures" at the Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, on February 24, 2012

Duncan, Carol. *Civilizing Rituals. Inside Public Art Museums*, Oxford-New York; Rutledge, 1995

Eisenstadt, Shmuel. "Social Institutions: the concept", in Sills, David, L., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan, 1968

Eliasoph, Nina, and Lichterman, Paul. “Culture in Interaction”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.108, No. 4, Jan 2003, p. 735-94

Elkins J., Valiavicharska Z., Kim A., (eds.), *Art and Globalization*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010;

Esche Charles, *Modest Proposals*, Istanbul: Baglam Press, 2005

Fagiolo, Giorgio, and Mastrorillo, Marina. “International-Migration Network: Topology and Modeling”, Physical Review E., vol. 88, July 2013

Findlay, Michael. *The Value of Art. Money, Power, Beauty*, New York, London, Munich: Prestel, 2012

Foster H., Krauss R., Bois Y., Buchloh B., *Art Since 1900. Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, Thames & Hudson, 2005;

Foucault, Michel (1966). *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Taylor and Francis e-library, 2005

————————. (1969). Archaeology of Knowledge New York: Pantheon Books, 1972

Friedman, Thomas L. *The World is Flat. A brief history of twenty-first century*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005

Fukuyama, Francis (2000). “Social Capital”, in Harrison, Lawrence E., and Huntington, Samuel P. (eds.), *Culture Matters. How Values Shape Human Progress*, NY: Basic Group, 2000

Funcke, Bettina. *Pop or Populus. Art between High and Low*, New York: Sternberg Press, 2009

Fyfe, Gordon. “Sociology and the Social Aspects of Museums”, in Macdonald, Sharon, ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006

————————. "Reproductions, cultural capital and museums: aspects of the culture of copies”, *Museum and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 2004, pp. 47-67

Gans, Herbert J. *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*, New York: Basic Books Inc. Publishers, 1974

Geertz, Clifford. "Religion as a Cultural System", in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, Banton, Michael, ed., New York: Praeger, 1966; pp. 1-46

————————. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973

Giorgi, Liana, and Sassatelli, Monica, and Delanty, Gerard. *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*, London, New York: Routledge, 2011

Girard, Augustin. "Un cas de partenariat entre administration et recherche scientifique", in Menger, Pierre-Michel, and Passeron, Jean Claude, ed. *L'Art de la recherche. Essais en l'honneur de Raymonde Moulin,* Paris: La Documentation Française, 1994

Gombrich Ernst, Hans. *Reflections on the History of Art*, edited by Woodfield, Richard, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987

————————————. (1950). *The story of Art*, New York: Phaidon Publishers, 2006

Goodin, Robert E. *The theory of Institutional Design*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Gorgus, Nina. "L'Heimatmuseum, l'écomusée et G. H. Rivière", *Publics et Musées*, Presses Universitaires de Lyon, Vol. 17-18, 2000

Grampp, William. *Pricing the Priceless*, New York: Basic Books, 1989

Graw, Isabelle. *High Price: Art between the market and celebrity culture*, Berlin, New York: Sternberg Press, 2009

Griswold, Wendy. "The Fabrication of Meaning: Literary Interpretation in the United States, Great Britain, and the West Indies", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 92, no. 5, March 1987, pp. 1077-1117

————————. *Cultures and Societies in a Changing World,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 2012

————————. *Regionalism and the Reading Class*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008

————————. *Renaissance Revivals: City Comedy and Revenge Tragedy in London Theatre from 1576 to 1980,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986

Groys, Boris. "The Politics of Equal Aesthetic Rights", in Alliez, Eric, Osborne, Peter. *Spheres of Action: Art and Politics*, London: Tate, 2013

————————. "From Medium to Message: The Art Exhibition as Model of a New World Order", in *The Art Biennial as a Global Phenomenon - Strategies in Neo-political Times*, Open No. 16, 2009

————————. *Art Power*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2008

————————. (1992). *On the New*, London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2014; or. title *Über das Neue*, translated by Goshgarian, G. M.

Habermas, Jürgen (1962). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991

Haden-Guest, Anthony. "Are Mid-size galleries disappearing, and who's to blame?", artnet.com, April 10 2014

————————. *The Future of Commercial Art Galleries, Part Two,* Artnet, 8/20/2014

————————. *True Colors. The real life of the Art World*, New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1996

Halsey, A. H., Lauder, Hugh, Brown, Phillip and Wells, Amy Stuart, (eds), Education: *Culture, Economy and Society,* Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997

Hanru, Hou. *On the Mid-Ground*, Hong Kong: Timezone 8 Limited, 2002

Harris, Jonathan, ed. *Globalization and Contemporary Art,* London and New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Harris, Roy. *The great debate about art*, Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2010

Harrison, Lawrence E., and Huntington, Samuel P. (eds.). *Culture Matters. How Values Shape Human Progress*, NY: Basic Group, 2000

Hein, George E. "Museum Education", in Macdonald, Sharon. ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Heinich, Nathalie. *Le paradigme de l'art contemporain. Structures d'une révolution artistique*, Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2014

Heinich, Nathalie, and Shapiro, Roberta. "When is Artification?", *Contemporary Aesthetics*, Special Volume, Issue 4, 2012

Henri Rivière, George. *La muséologie*, Paris: Dunod, 1989

Herbert, Martin. "School's Out", Frieze Magazine, vol. 101, September 2006

Herbert, Robert. *Impressionism. Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988

Hirsch, Paul M. "Processing Fads and Fashion: an Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems", *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 77, 1972

————————. "Cultural Industries Revisited", *Organization Science,* Vol. 11, No. 3, Special Issue: *Cultural Industries: Learning fromEvolving Organizational Practices,* May - June 2000, pp. 356-361

Horowitz, Noah. *Art of the Deal. Contemporary art in a global financial market*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011

Hutter, Michael, and Throsby, David. Beyond Price: value in culture, economics, and the arts, Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2008

Ivey, Bill. "Going to extremes. Commercial and Nonprofit Valuation in the U.S. Arts System", in Jacob, Mary Jane (curated by), *Culture in action: a public art program of Sculpture Chicago*, Seattle: Bay Press, 1995

Jacob, Mary Jane (curated by). *Culture in action: a public art program of Sculpture Chicago*, Seattle: Bay Press, 1995

James, Portia. "Building a community-based identity at Anacostia Museum", in Corsage, Gerard (ed.), *Heritage, Museums and Galleries. An Introductory Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005

Karp, Ivan, Kratz, Corinne, and Szwaja, Lynn. *Museum Frictions. Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *Toward a geography of art*, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2004

Koolhaas, Rem (2001). "Junkspace", *October 100, Obsolescence: A Special Issue*, vol. 100, Spring 2002, pp. 175-190

Krauss, Rosalind. *The originality of the Avant-Garde and other Modernist Myths,* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986

Kwon, Miwon. *One place after another: site-specific art and locational identity*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002

La Muséologie selon Georges Henri Rivière, Cours de muséologie, textes et témoignages, Dunod, 1989

Lane, Jeremy F., *Pierre Bourdieu: a critical introduction*, London: Pluto Press, 2000

Lind, Maria. "The Collaborative Turn" in Billing, Johanna, Lind, Maria and Nilsson, Lars, *Taking the Matter into Common Hands*, London: Black Dog Publishing, 2007

Lebovics, Herman. *Mona Lisa's Escort. André Malraux and the Reinvention of French Culture*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999

Lindsay, Stace. "Culture, Mental Models and National Prosperity", in Harrison, Lawrence E., and Huntington, Samuel P., eds., *Culture Matters. How Values Shape Human Progress*, NY: Basic Group, 2000

Lizardo, Omar. "How Cultural Tastes Shape Personal Networks", *American Sociological Review*, vol. 71, October 2006

Macdonald, Sharon, ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006

Macdonald, Sharon, and Fyfe, Gordon (eds.). *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996

Marcuse, Herbert. *Towards a critical theory of society. Collected papers by Herbert Marcuse,* edited by Douglas Kellner, London and New York: Routledge, 2001

Marx, Karl (1859). *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, New York: International Publishers, 1970

Mauss, Marcel. (1925), *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, London and New York: Rutledge Classic, 2002

McAndrew, Clare. *TEFAF Art Market Report*, Maastricht, 2014

————————. *The International Art Market: A survey of Europe in a Global Context*, Helvoirt: European Fine Art Foundation, 2007

McGuigan J., *Rethinking Cultural Policy*, Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004

Melzer A. M., Weinberger J., Zinman M. R. (eds.), *Democracy and the Arts*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1999

Menger, Pierre-Michel, and Passeron, Jean Claude, ed. *L'Art de la recherche. Essais en l'honneur de Raymonde Moulin,* Paris: La Documentation Française, 1994

Mietta, G., "Clet Abraham, colpevole di street art", in *Il Manifesto*, 21/01/2015

Mitchell, William, John Thomas. *Cloning terror the war of images, 9/11 to the present*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011

Moulin, Raymonde. *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché*, Paris: Flammarion, 1992

Mukerji C. and Schudson M.. eds., *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1991

Neickel, Caspar Friedrich. *Museografia. Guida per una giusta idea ed un utile allestimento dei Musei*, curated by Pigozzi, Marinella, Giuliani Erika, Huber Antonella, Bologna: CLUEB, 2005

Neri M., "L'artista modifica i cartelli stradali a Firenze divieti d'accesso come tele urbane", in La Repubblica, 26/10/2010

Nora, Pierre. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996

Nord, Philip. *Impressionists and Politics. Art and Democracy in the Nineteenth Century*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000

O'Doherty, Brian (1976). *Inside the white cube. The ideology of the gallery space*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999

Papastergiadis, Nikos. "Art Biennales and cities as platforms for global dialogue". in Giorgi, Liana, and Sassatelli, Monica, and Delanty, Gerard. *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*, London, New York: Routledge, 2011

————————. "Collaboration in Art and Society: A Global Pursuit of Democratic Dialogue", in Harris, Jonathan, ed. *Globalization and Contemporary Art,* London and New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Patriarche, G., Bilandzic H., Jensen J. L., Jurisic, J., *Audience Research Methodologies. Between Innovation and Consolidation*, London: Routledge, 2011

Peters, M. A., and Bulut, E. *Cognitive Capitalism, Education and the Question of Digital Labor,* New York: Peter Lang, 2011

Pettit, Philip. (1992). "Institutional Design and Rational Choice", in Goodin, Robert E. *The theory of Institutional Design*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Plaza B. "The Bilbao Effect", in Wang W.. ed. *Culture: City*, Akademie der Kunste Berlin, Zurich: Lars Mueller Publisher, 2013

Pomian, Krzysztof. *Des saintes reliques à l'art moderne*, Paris: Gallimard, 2003

Poupeau, F. & Discepolo T. (eds.). *Interventions, 1961-2001: Science sociale et action politique*, Marseille: Agone, 2000

Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Pille, and Tatsi, Taavi, and Runnel, Pille, "Researching Audience Participation in Museums: A Multimethod and Multisite Interventionist Approach", in Patriarche, G., Bilandzic H., Jensen J. L., Jurisic, J., *Audience Research Methodologies. Between Innovation and Consolidation*, London: Routledge, 2011

Quemin, Alain. "Globalization and Mixing in the Visual Arts. An Empirical Survey of 'High Culture' and Globalization", *International Sociology*, SAGE, vol. 21, 2006

————————. "The internationalization of the contemporary art world and market: the role of nationality and territory in a supposedly 'globalized' sector", in Lind, Maria, Velthuis, Olav (eds.), *Contemporary art and its commercial markets, a report on current conditions and future scenarios*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012

Rauch, James E. and Trindade, Vitor. "Ethnic Chinese networks in international trade", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, vol. 84, no. 1, 2002, pp. 116-130

Rectanus, Marc W., *Culture Incorporated. Museums, artists, and corporate sponsorships*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002

———————. "Globalization: Incorporating the Museum", in Macdonald S. (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Ripley, S. Dillon, *The Sacred Grove: Essays On Museums*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969

Robertson, Iain, and Chong, Derrick. The Art Business, London and New York: Routledge, 2008

Rodenbeck, Judith. "Working to Learn Together: Failure as Tactic", in Harris, Jonathan, ed. *Globalization and Contemporary Art,* London and New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011

Rush, Richard. *Art as an Investment*, New York: Bonanza Book, 1961

Santagata, Walter. *Il Governo della Cultura. Promuovere sviluppo e qualità sociale,* Bologna, Il Mulino, 2014

———————. *Simbolo e merce. I mercati dei giovani artisti e le istituzioni dell'arte contemporanea*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998

Schudson, Michael. "How Culture Works: Perspectives from Media Studies on the Efficacy of Symbols", *Theory and Society*, Kluwer Academic Publisher, vol. 18, no. 2, March 1989

Schuster, J. Mark. "Statistics in the Wake of Challenges Posed by Cultural Diversity in a Globalization Context", paper prepared for the International Symposium on Cultural Statistics UNESCO Institute for Statistics Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec Montréal, Québec, Canada, 2002

Settis, Salvatore. *Italia S.p.A.*, Torino: Einaudi, 2002

Sgrignoli, Paolo, Metulini, Rodolfo, Schiavo, Stefano, Riccaboni, Massimo. "The Relation Between Global Migration and Trade Networks", IMT Lucca EIC Working Paper, Series 6, October 2013

Sills, David, L., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan, 1968

Simini, Filippo, González, Marta C., Maritan, Amos, and Barabási, Albert-Lászlo, "A universal model for mobility and migration patterns", *Nature*, Vol. 484, no. 7392, 2012, pp. 96-100

Sire, Marie-Anne. La France du Patrimoine. Les choix de la mémoire, Paris: Gallimard/Monum, 1996

Smith, Adam. (1776). *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Project Gutenberg Ebook, online resource

Smith, Steven R., and Lipsky, Michael. *Nonprofits for hire. The welfare states in the age of contracting*, Harvard University Press, 1993

Spillman, Lynn. *Cultural Sociology*, Malden, Mass. & Oxford: Blackwell, 2002

Stallabrass Julian, "Free Trade / Free Art", in Cummings, Neil and Lewandowska, Marysia, *Free Trade*, Manchester Art Gallery, 2003

————————. *Art Incorporated: the Story of Contemporary Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004

————————. *Gargantua. Manufactured Mass Culture,* London: Verso, 1996

————————. I*nternet Art: The Online Clash of Culture and Commerce,* London: Tate Publishing, 2003

Stewart, Martin. "'Critique of Relational Aesthetics", in *Third Text*, Volume 21, Issue 4, July 2007, pp. 369-386

Swidler, Ann. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies", *American Sociological Review*, vol. 51, April, 1986

Tepper, Steven J., Ivey, Bill, eds. *Engaging Art. The Next Great Transformation of America's Cultural Life*, New York and London: Routledge, 2008

Thompson, Donald. *The $12 Million Stuffed Shark: The Curious Economics of Contemporary Art*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010

Thornton, Sarah. *Seven Days in the Art World*, New York: Norton, 2009

Throsby, David. *Economics and Culture,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001

————————. *The Economics of Cultural Policy,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010

Tota, Anna Lisa. *Sociologie dell'Arte. Dal museo tradizionale all'arte multimediale*, Roma: Carrocci Editore, 1999

UNESCO, Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression, 2005

Varine, Hugues de. "Ecomuseum or Community Museum?", text from acts of the symposium L'Ecomusée de Bergslagen, 1996

Velthuis, Olav and Lind, Maria, eds. *Contemporary Art and Its Commercial Markets*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012

Velthuis, Olav. "Symbolic meanings of prices: Constructing the value of contemporary art in Amsterdam and New York galleries", in *Theory and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 2, April 2003

————————. *Talking Prices: Symbolic Meanings of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005

————————. "The Globalization of Markets for Contemporary Art. Why Local-ties Remain Dominant in Amsterdam and Berlin", European Societies, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2013, 290-308

VV. AA. "Art & Finance Report", Deloitte and ArtTactic, 3rd Edition, 2014

VV. AA. "Profit or Pleasure? Exploring the Motivations Behind Treasure Trends", *Barclays Wealth Insights*, Vol. 15, 2012

Wang, Wilfred, ed. *Culture: city*, Lars Mueller Publisher, Berlin, 2013;

Warhol, Andy. *The Philosophy of Andy Warhol (From A to B & Back Again)*, HBJ, 1975

Watson, Sheila (ed.). *Museums and their Communities*, London and New York: Routledge, 2007

Weisbrod B.A., *The Nonprofit Economy*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988

Wellman, Barry, Haase, Annabel Quan, Witte, James, and Hampton, Keith, "Does the Internet Increase, Decrease, or Supplement Social Capital?: Social Networks, Participation and Community Commitment", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 2001: 45; 436

Witcomb, Andrea. *Re-imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausuleum*, London: Routledge, 2003

Zerubavel, Eviatar. *Social Mindscapes*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997

Zolberg, Vera. "The Happy Few, en Masse: Franco-American Comparisons in Cultural Democratization" in Blake, Casey N., ed. *The Arts of Democracy: Culture, Civil Society, and the State*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007

Zuliani, Stefania, *Effetto Museo. Arte, critica, educazione*, Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2009

Online sources:

http://centrepompidou.fr/fr/Le-centre-pompidou#.
http://culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Espace-Presse/Dossiers-de-presse/Le-Centre-Pompidoumobile
http://.slowfood.com
http://culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Politiques-ministerielles/Etudes-et-statistiques/
http://groupegalerieslafayette.fr/wpcontent/uploads/dp_Centre_Pompidou_mobile_LE_HAVRE.pdf
http://legifrance.gouv.fr/.
http://centrepompidou.fr/fr/Le-centre-pompidou#
http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/
pnr-armorique.fr
http://culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Etudes-et-statistiques
http://ark-nova.com/
https://facebook.com/pages/CLET/108974755823172
https://treasury.gov/resource-center/
http://affordableartfair.com
http://paratissima.it/
http://statistica.comune.prato.it