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**Cultural Branding of Young and Emerging
Contemporary Artists:
The Role of Art Fairs and Online Platforms**

A Thesis Submitted to the University of Kent in the subject of Management for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By Jinwoo LEE

Supervisors: Prof. Soo Hee LEE and Prof. Alexander Mohr

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to analyse the process of branding young and emerging artists in the contemporary art market, focusing on the valuation of works of art. The ambiguous borderline of being a work of art in terms of appearance poses a challenge for the market, which requires an explanation of its symbolic value and meaning. A thick, multifarious group of intermediaries in the art world contributes to the construction of legitimacy for artists and their artworks, engendering the understanding of such value. Through the legitimation process, artworks by young and emerging artists are rendered accepted and validated, thereby branding them.

Some researchers on arts marketing have explored the valuation process by applying socio-cultural perspective on branding. However, such application has empirically overlooked two important mediums: art fairs and online platforms. Theoretically, the complex and fluid valuation structure in the art market, driven by the uncertain value of contemporary art and the repositioning of inner members of the art world, is a compelling research issue to be explored at the societal level. To do so, this thesis begins with investigating Andy Warhol's *Brillo Box*. This research also explores Frieze London and the Other Art Fair by collecting data from direct observation and secondary sources. The research additionally conducts an instrumental case study of Saatchi Art, using data from interviews, observation, and document reviews.

The key finding of the historical case is that the legitimacy of Warhol and his artworks was shaped by various elements such as the intermediaries, a myth in society, an artistic movement, the artists' persona and social networks. Moreover, the empirical cases of art fairs and an online platform enact the functions of discovering, introducing, instructing, and including young and emerging artists. This indicates that these institutions play the role of intermediaries and contribute to framing the legitimacy of the artists and artworks, thereby branding new artists. Although art fairs and an online platform hold varying positions in the hierarchical order of valuing artworks in the art world (depending on the extent of their accumulated symbolic value), it is noteworthy that such mediums, which did not exist in the hierarchical structure before the twentieth century, have become important insiders in the structure. However, this research concludes that this change does not substantially reconstitute the stratified structure of the art world that has existed prior to their emergence.

The theoretical contribution of this thesis lies in extending the application of Holt's (2004) theory of cultural branding to the context of arts. Building on the recent literature on cultural branding of artists (Kerrigan et al. 2011; Hower, Brownlie and Kerrigan 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine 2014; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015), this thesis conceptualises the process of legitimising young and emerging artists and their artworks as normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy shaped by intermediaries through the stages of discovery, introduction, instruction, and selection. Moreover, by drawing on sociological arguments by Becker (1984) and Bourdieu (1996), the conceptual framework of the present study acknowledges the hierarchical structure of the art market and intricate interactions among intermediaries in the art world.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this submission is for examination for the PhD degree of the Kent Business School, University of Kent and it is my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is work of others.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Motivation of the Research

What makes it art? And why need Warhol make these things anyway? [...] Is this man a kind of Midas, turning whatever he touches into the gold of pure art? And the whole world consisting of latent artworks waiting, like the bread and wine of reality, to be transfigured, through some dark mystery, into the indiscernible flesh and blood of the sacrament? Never mind that the Brillo box may not be good, much less great art. The impressive thing is that it is art at all (Danto, 1964, p.580).

Contemporary art has been paid increasingly pronounced attention by the public. In this thesis, '[t]he term contemporary art is loosely used to refer to art of the present day and of the relatively recent past, of an innovatory or avant-garde nature' (TATE, n.d.). Although it is arguable that contemporary artworks are avant-garde in nature¹, museums and galleries concerned with contemporary art have become new types of popular entertainment, like zoos or cinemas (Williams 2011). Moreover, the surge of interest in contemporary art has attracted the attention not only of visitors, but also of art dealers, galleries, museums, and institutional and individual collectors. This level of attention, then, has created a great deal of money in the contemporary art market (CAM): the market² has never flourished or been as competitive as in the current age.

We have also witnessed the globalisation of the CAM since the late twentieth century. While Westerners have increasingly collected works of art from emerging markets such as China, India, Russia, and so on, parvenus in the those countries consider contemporary art by Western artists to be 'an object of desire, a status symbol, or potential investment' (Velthuis, 2012, p.24). Moreover, the proliferation of international art fairs, biennales, and online platforms facilitates the global exchange of contemporary art.

The above quotation from Danto's (1962) article shows his intellectual curiosity about the value of Andy Warhol's *Brillo Box* – in which Warhol intentionally reproduced the form of mundane goods – which paved the way for contemporary art. While the

¹ Crane (2009) insists that some contemporary art deviates from a genuine form of avant-garde.

² The Market, here, means, '[the] network of interdependent actors and institutions that produce, circulate and consume art' (Degen, 2013, p.12).

CAM has been growing and expanding, the value of contemporary art remains problematic (Beckert and Rössel, 2013). That is, contemporary art is hardly judged based on its beauty or the artist's labour or the value of material used for making it (Peterson, 1997). Nevertheless, it is very interesting that every contemporary artwork has a different value.

In the CAM, the economic value of a work of art might come to be seen as the main indicator of its worth. Damien Hirst's *The Physical Impossibility of Death in the Mind of Someone Living* (1991), a stuffed shark placed in a formaldehyde solution, was valued at approximately \$12m (Thornton, 2008). The price, then, 'reveals the cost of acquiring ownership...but nothing about its value in the eyes of other viewers' (Bull, 2011, p.181). Within economic sociology, \$12m is subjective: the price is drawn from a social dynamic and then it 'signals aesthetic value' (Currid, 2007a, p.386). In this way, the prices of artworks convey symbolic meaning to their stakeholders, as well as to the artworks themselves (Velthuis, 2005). Although the price of works of art can give such indications of their value, the reflection of artistic value in the economic valuation remains questionable. Previous researchers have therefore offered complex and conflicting rationales to explain the prices paid for different works on the market (Alexander and Bowler, 2014).

Many scholars share the basic common assumption that the objective value of an artwork is not fundamentally related to its beauty (see below). Previous studies report that it is difficult to judge the value of most cultural goods because there are no explicit standards in place against which to do so (Wijnberg and Gemser, 2000; Alexander and Bowler, 2014). Thus, a high level of uncertainty pertains to cultural products (Hirsch, 1972). In the visual art market, although the value of artworks is influenced by the inherent features of works of art, such as the 'style, medium, technique, size and content' (Yogev, 2010, p.512) and other quantifiable aspects (Jeffri, 2005), one cannot rely upon any objective or moral standards (Pénet and Lee, 2014). As Bonus and Ronte (1997, p.104) remind us, 'there is no way to establish the quality of a certain picture or oeuvre'. In particular, the valuation of contemporary art becomes more difficult as the focus of artists' intentions shifts from tangible appearance to the intangible conception of artworks (Danto, 1997a).

In the CAM, the ambiguous identification of a work of art in terms of its appearance poses a challenge for both academic and practical fields. In the academic field, a lack of standards for judging contemporary art requires ‘translators’ who guide buyers or audiences in understanding the intention or context behind works of art (Pettersson, 2014). Interestingly, the translators do not rely on the opinions of a single person, but many people engage in interpretation in the art world; the explanation or belief (Bourdieu, 1996) is produced by a collective network based on arguments in the art world (Danto 1964; Dickie 1974; Becker 1982).

As such, producers (artists), intermediaries (dealers, critics) and consumers (viewers, collectors) collectively constitute the valuation system in the art world. This complex network contributes to the valuation of works of art, which is expressed as branding in the business world (Thompson, 2011). In the practical field, the uncertain quality of a piece of contemporary art encourages collectors to pay more attention to its maker, dealer, history, and previous owners, i.e. its brand.

The emphasis on branding in the market and the uncertain status of visual art have inspired previous researchers to explore visual art from the viewpoint of management or marketing (Schroeder 2005, 2006; Robertson 2005; Thornton 2008; Thompson 2008, 2014). Indeed, such studies lie in the research stream of arts marketing. The literature of arts marketing started as a sub-field of marketing and has been growing since the 1970s. In its first stages, scholars in the arts marketing field paid attention to the application of tactics from marketing directly into the promotion of cultural institutions (Kotler and Scheff, 1997). By critically addressing such instrumental applications (Bradshaw, 2010), the research in arts marketing has focused on the distinctive characteristic of arts such as aesthetic value (Brown and Patterson, 2000) and explored the context of arts interpretively, in order to make innovative contributions to marketing and branding theory.

The complex and fluid valuation structure in the CAM, driven by the uncertain value of contemporary art and the repositioning of inner members of the art world, is the compelling research item to be explored at the societal level. In this sense, a socio-cultural approach to brands is relevant to the study of contemporary art. That is, previous research interprets brands as a symbolic resource (O’Reilly, 2005a) or a repository of meaning (McCracken 1993; Fournier 1998; Holt 2006; Allen, Fournier

and Miller 2008). Most particularly, echoing Holt's (2004) theory of cultural branding, earlier researchers in arts marketing attempted to elucidate branding theory in the context of the visual arts (Kerrigan et al. 2011; Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine 2014; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015). Extending this strand of research, this thesis explores the process of constructing the legitimacy of artworks by young and emerging artists, and thereby valuing them.

To conceptualise this process, this thesis borrows from the lens of neo-institutional theory. Neo-institutional theory has been developed in organisational theories over the past forty years (Greenwood et al., 2008), and originated as a means of challenging the view that the structure of organisation is driven solely by efficiency (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Within neo-institutional research, that is, the behaviours of actors or the practices of organisations occur when those practices and behaviours are socially legitimated (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995). By considering neo-institutional theory as an analytic frame, marketing scholars have recently expanded the scope of their research into the exploration of the market at a societal level (e.g. Dolbec and Fischer, 2015; Humphreys, 2010a; Humphreys, 2010b; Humphreys and Latour, 2013; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2012). As such, these studies have examined the occurrence of the legitimacy of consumption practices across institutional pillars (Scott, 1995). Correspondingly, this thesis will investigate the way in which young and emerging artists and their artworks are cognitively and normatively legitimised in the art world, thus rendering them valid.

The reason for paying more attention to young and emerging artists in this thesis is that the outcome of such exploration will be able to offer innovative insights into the literature of arts marketing. In popular terms, the figure of the artist is often understood as 'an eccentric genius' who is a worker isolated from their peers (Crane 1989, p. 19). This image, originating in Romantic myth in the nineteenth century, leads to the notion of charismatic artists who are 'independent, solitary and disinterested' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p.167). Such a myth of the marginality of artists (Bain, 2005) is barely applicable to the reality of artists in contemporary society (Alexander, 2003). Although their creativity is posited as central to the process of artistic production, the artists largely depend on various institutions, agents, peers, patronages in order to produce artworks, as well to disseminate them: artists are located in an integrated socio-economic network (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996).

Put differently, research on the artists – it is impossible to study them without exploring the context surrounding them – enriches our understanding of their complex social milieu. This thesis does not deny that previous research on renowned artists profoundly helps us to understand the art world (Schroeder 2005; Kerrigan et al. 2011; Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine 2014; Preece 2015; Preece, Kerrigan and O’Reilly 2016). Rather, extending these studies, this thesis attempts to turn our attention to young and emerging artists. Compared to the relatively small group of famous artists, there are more artists who have not achieved the success of their renowned colleagues; therefore, there should be a differentiated structure for the young and emerging artists from the one occupied by high-profile artists. Hence, in this thesis, the exploration of the process of legitimising works by young and emerging artists who are marginalised from the hierarchical structure of the art world elucidates the new intermediaries who facilitate the embrace of such artists, as well as helping us to understand the dynamics between the new intermediaries and traditional ones.

Before exploring the role of new intermediaries in shaping the legitimacy of young and emerging artists and their artworks, this thesis will conceptualise various elements which influence the legitimisation of the artists through an exploration of *Brillo Box* by Andy Warhol. In *Historical Case Study*, this thesis delimits the scope of the research to the United States of America (USA) in the 1960s, which allows us to examine the ways in which *Brillo Box* was validated after its first appearance in 1964. Blurring distinction between artworks and commercial packages, *Brillo Box* challenged the existing standards of works of art (Danto, 1997a) and sought legitimacy in the art world. To holistically understand the process of legitimising the artwork, we will analyse selected historical data about *Brillo Box* and the context surrounding it, such as prevalent myths in American society in the 1960s, market intermediaries, Andy Warhol’s personality and social networks, and other artworks by different artists at that time.

1.2. The Research Questions and Purpose

This thesis identifies two important questions about the emergence of a new medium or distribution channel in the art market. Firstly, while previous research has contributed to the application of brand theory to the field of art, these studies have

overlooked the recent explosion of art fairs. Indeed, 78% of current art fairs were founded between 1999 and 2010 (Morgner, 2014); thus, we are currently in '[t]he art fair age' (Barragán, 2008). In general, an art fair can be defined as a fixed-duration event that serves 'as a meeting place, an economic cluster' (Robertson and Chong, 2008, p.10), at which many dealers present works by artists to individual and institutional collectors, dealers, curators, critics, artists, media and even art lovers. In other words, art fairs are annual events which last a limited time, and this type of commercial fair offers spaces for dealers to present works of art for the purpose of making sales. The boom in art fairs is well-illustrated by following figures: there are currently over 180 art fairs each year and 33% of dealer's total sales were made through art fairs in 2013 (McAndrew, 2014).

Moreover, the rising popularity of collecting contemporary art has encouraged the creation of more art fairs, which can include a variety of market segments (Chong, 2008). Art fairs such as Art Basel, Art Basel Miami Beach, the Armory Show, Frieze and Berlin³ deal in mainstream (high-priced) works, while the Affordable Art Fair trades affordable artworks. Additionally, there are some domestic fairs, such as the Shanghai Art Fair in China and ARCO in Spain. Over the last two decades, art fairs have emerged as a significant ancillary channel for creating meaning or value in contemporary art, in addition to the traditional institutions and intermediaries of the art world.

Previous research on art fairs has focused on the conception of a network (Yogev and Grund, 2012; Morgner, 2014) and globalisation (Curioni 2012; Quemin 2013; Velthuis 2014; Curioni, Forti and Leone 2015; Vermeulen 2015). Curioni, Forti, and Leone (2015) deem the internal selection of an art fair as one of the gatekeepers. Extending this view, we look at art fairs as 'a solid piece of the art system' (Garutti, 2014, p.15), which is one of elements involved in determining the value of art. As there are few studies on valuing and legitimating works of art by young and emerging artists, we revisit the issue of the institutional process of valuing art by focusing on young and emerging artists. Therefore, the first research question is as follows:

³ The list of art fairs is reported from consultation with dealers (Robertson, 2005b, p.34)

1. What role do art fairs play in the process of branding and legitimising young and emerging artists? And in what ways do art fairs contribute to constructing the value of art?

Secondly, research on the impact of online trading in visual artworks has had little attention. Indeed, the growth of internet usage has changed the art market on all levels. Numerous digital platforms have emerged and changed the situation in the art market. Without the constraints of physical or temporal location, the usage of the internet has created new opportunities for insiders in art world. On the one hand, stakeholders in the conventional art world have a new channel that not only promotes them but also helps them to make a profit. With respect to museums, many use their website to release information to prospective visitors. Producers and artists are able to take advantage of multiple media outlets (like having their own homepage or social media) for conducting transactions by making direct contact with consumers. For dealers, benefits of the internet include new forums for meeting potential buyers, and an additional means to make a profit by selling works of art via JPEG images on their website (Velthuis, 2014).

On the other hand, new types of online-based platforms and business models have emerged in the art markets. These include innovative platforms not found in offline markets such as crowdfunding, and imitations of offline activities which convert the conventional art market into a digital environment. For instance, several online firms sell works of art via online galleries in a manner similar to conventional dealers and auctioneers. They then charge a commission for such transactions.

Despite these significant changes in the art market, the adoption of the internet for trading products has been much slower than in any other market. Indeed, online trading of art is not a new phenomenon—many websites were founded during the ‘dot.com boom’ era in the 1990s (Adam 2014, p. 121). However, the majority of these sites have disappeared because trading works of art requires ‘proximity and physical, tactile interactions’ between consumers and works of art (Velthuis and Curioni, 2015, p.18). Moreover, at that time, the aesthetic experience was often disturbed by technical difficulties (Horowitz, 2012). Today, however, users are more accustomed to using the internet for trading in goods and services. The technology has developed, and is now able to display high-resolution digital images in a relatively short time, enabling

the proper appreciation of visual artworks in the online space. This has led to the proliferation of a second generation of websites for selling works of art, as the steep growth of online sales of works of art shows: according to Hiscox's 2014 report, estimated online sales were \$1.57 billion, 1.6% of the entire art market. With an annual growth rate of 19%, online sales will reach \$3.76 billion by 2018.

In the academic field, the museology scholars have studied the digital impact on museums in terms, for example, of online interactions with their audiences (Cunliffe, Kritou and Tudhope, 2001; Goldman and Schaller, 2004; Marty, 2008; Pulh and Mencarelli, 2015), the issue of digitalisation (Groys, 2008; Gardner, 2011) and the emergence of new connoisseurship (Arora and Vermeulen, 2013). Although this research field has called for the conduct of further studies (Alexander and Bowler, 2014), previous studies have ignored the trade in visual arts in online settings, excluding Khaire's (2015) research: she explores the trading of art by three online firms, each of which trade mainly in established artists' works. By focusing on the creation of value of artworks by young and emerging artists, the untouched area in Khaire's research, this thesis formulates its second research question as follows:

2. What role do online platforms play in the process of branding and legitimising young and emerging artists? And in what ways do online platforms contribute to the construction of the value of art?

Lastly, Rodner and Preece (2015) and Preece and Kerrigan (2015) attempt to integrate Holt's cultural branding model with sociological research highlighting the role of intermediaries in the CAM. This thesis extends these studies by adding further sociological arguments. That is because 'art markets are treated as microcosms of wider local and global power dynamic' (Herrero, 2013, p.156). Therefore, we underline that unaccepted artworks are rendered accepted and valid through the unstable consensus about the works which is constituted by the intermediaries in the art world (Becker, 1982). Moreover, this thesis acknowledges that the degree of intermediaries' contributions to such consensus is varied, according to the social status of each intermediary. At the same time, the hierarchical structure of the art field becomes explicit through the accumulation of unbalanced acceptances of artworks to the art world in such a process (Bourdieu, 1996).

There is an intricate interaction between intermediaries and the network of intermediaries which can be described as a spider web, rather than a linear connection (Jyrämä and Äyväri, 2010). Within the network, that is, collaborations, struggles and competitions are enacted. To some extent, both art fairs and online platforms are relatively new institutions in the CAM from the traditional market intermediaries' point-of-view. Thus, it is interesting to investigate the relationship between new players and the rest. In this regard, the last research question of this study is:

3. In what ways do art fairs and online platforms contribute to the transformation of the existing structures for legitimising contemporary art and artists?

Corresponding with our research questions, this thesis aims to deepen our understanding of the role of art fairs and online platforms in the process of branding and legitimising young and emerging artists. By integrating neo-institutional theory and the concept of the art world, this study sheds light on the function of intermediaries in shaping the legitimacy of artists and their artworks. Moreover, the analysis of the findings from the case study on art fairs and online platforms at the societal level sheds light on the new players' influence on the extant legitimation structure in the art world (in which the intermediaries are highly stratified).

1.3. Methodological Issues

This thesis comprises three case studies, one historical and two empirical. The adoption of a constructivist research philosophy leads this research to follow the logic that Stakes (1994, 1995, 2005) developed when conducting a case study. This is so that our case study is qualitative, and can be characterised as holistic, empirical, interpretive and empathic.

Historical Case Study selects Andy Warhol's *Brillo Box* as a case to outline the complex ecosystem in which the legitimacy of the artist and artwork is constructed. With the guidance of the theory, this historical case selectively collects data based on secondary sources relating to the context of America in the 1960s; Warhol's life, persona and social relationships; and intermediaries' activities in relation to the case. The examination of the relationship between the conceptual frame and the historical data is carried out in relation to the data analysis. The instrumental case study thereby

prompts us to various elements which engage with shaping the legitimacy of artists and artworks.

Case Study I and *Case Study II* concentrate the roles of intermediaries in legitimisation of artists with empirical data. In response to research question 1—what role do art fairs play in the process of branding and legitimising young and emerging artists?—*Case Study I* is a collective case study (Stake, 1995). Two contemporary and international art fairs served as our cases: Frieze London (one of the ‘must-see’ exhibitions [Thompson 2011]) and the Other Art Fair (for discovering and supporting talented artists). We examine these cases through purposive sampling (Merriam, 1998): such identification allows us to enhance the understanding of the legitimisation for young and emerging artists’ works by exploring its spaces and selection process.

The prestigious art fair Frieze London only presents a handful artists, and thereby offers limited space to young and emerging artists. By including the case of the Other Art Fair, which is designated as entirely for young and emerging artists, we are able to gain a holistic view of the influence and proliferation of the medium of art fairs on the art world. *Case Study I* mainly collects data by reviewing secondary sources about each case’s operation, practices, history, development, venues and selection process. The various published data were gathered from books, journals, newspaper articles, catalogues, blogs, homepages and annual reports. Moreover, this author visited both cultural events and conducted direct observation for gaining a better understanding of art fairs. The method of direct observation provides ‘contextual information [about our case] in a real-world setting’ (Elsbach, 2009, p.1051). During the four-hour observation at the venue, the author took notes related to the operation of art fairs, visitors’ responses to events and workshops, the various ways of displaying artworks, the structures and supplies of each stand, as well as providing photos taken for this thesis.

In *Case Study II*, our second research question—what role do online platforms play in the process of branding and legitimising young and emerging artists? —is addressed by conducting an instrumental case study of Saatchi Art (<http://www.saatchiart.com/>), ‘[t]he world’s leading online gallery, connecting people with art and artists they love’ (SAATCHIART n.d.). The platform was launched in 2006 by Charles Saatchi, an influential arts dealer, to offer a virtual space for artists to share their works, and was re-launched in 2008 as an e-commerce website. Without the limitation of presenting

artworks in terms of artists' careers, the platform allows anyone to upload an image of an artworks with modest price and sales of it. By doing so, the platform is designed for young and emerging artists.

We selected Saatchi Art as a case because we can learn most from it (Merriam, 1998) and deepen our understanding of the process of constituting the value and meaning of artworks by young and emerging artists in the online setting. By gathering various secondary sources and direct observations about the online platform, we firstly delineate the context surrounding our case, in terms of its history, business model, business practice, interface and curatorial programme. In addition, three different perspectives on trading works of art in online are examined: artists, Saatchi Art and its users.

Firstly, we carried out interviews to understand artists' opinions. The potential informants were selected through two filters: 1) artists who had been introduced by *Saatchi Art* in their curatorial practices before December 2015; and 2) artists working in the UK. By these means, 106 artists out of a possible 50,000 were selected for interview. The filtering was important in order to identify informative interviewees for this project, which heavily impacts on the quality and analysis of data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). By a process of invitation, we undertook 28 interviews [A]. We gave the informants the options of face-to-face or email interviews in order to increase the rate of participation. As a result, we obtained data from seven face-to-face and 21 email interviews.

Moreover, *Case Study II* includes the perspective of Saatchi Art, based on secondary sources such as a video clip interview with the chief curator of the platform, official publications by the platform, interview data from various media, and social media. Lastly, we obtained users insights about the issue by reviewing buyers' reviews in a consumer review community (www.trustpilot.com) on 15 Dec, 2015. After narrowing down data by removing excessively short reviews, the final data included 141 reviews [B] concerning Saatchi Art. Also, the empirical study selectively collected 30 user comments [U] about curatorial practices on the website.

Regardless of our philosophical position, in both case studies, we systematically analyse the collected data within the terms of our theoretical framework (Yin, 2009). In other words, we compare our findings with our theoretical argument and the

analytic categories suggested by our research problem and the review of the previous literature (Eisenhardt, 1989). As we addressed the process by which young and emerging artists are rendered valid in art fairs and online platforms, the following categories were identified by consulting the existing literature: cultural branding in our case studies (introduction, instruction, selection), and our case studies' positions in the art world. We also point out that the process of analysing data was concurrently performed with collecting data and it was iterative; this was in order to compare the suggested categories and data systematically.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 aims to provide an integrative review and position this thesis in the literature on arts marketing by highlighting the social and cultural mechanisms by which marketing research can be inspired, especially in the context of contemporary art. We categorise previous research in arts marketing into three perspectives: *Marketing of Arts Organisations*; *Marketing with Artworks/ Artists*; *Marketing from the Art World*. With these three categories, this chapter also examines recent developments in the CAM to discover emerging trends and issues. The primary contribution of the section lies in identifying *Marketing from the Art World* as the relevant perspective from which this thesis can explore central issues of marketing associated with the uncertainty and fluidity of the CAM. Moreover, this chapter reviews and identifies the relevant literature (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Holt, 2004; McCracken, 1986; Scott, 1995) to explore the CAM in *Marketing from the Art World*.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework used to understand the process of rendering contemporary art valid, namely taking a multi-disciplinary approach involving aesthetics, sociology and neo-institutional theory. While the concept of the art world allows this thesis to identify the role and power dynamic of intermediaries in the legitimation of artists, neo-institutional theory leads us to specify the process of legitimising artist by examining two pillars of legitimacy. By doing so, this thesis conceptualises intermediaries' practices of introducing, instructing, and selecting contemporary artists as shaping the normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy of these artists in an institutionalised social structure (the art world).

Chapter 4 addresses methodological issues in this thesis. The philosophical stance of the researcher (in this case, constructivism) has an influence on the conduction of the research. Thus, our qualitative case study in this thesis follows Stake's (1995) approach to conducting a case study. By the application of purposive sampling (Merriam, 1998), we selected our cases and conducted three case studies: a historical case study, a collective case study of art fairs and a single case study of online gallery. The one explores the medium of art fairs by collecting data by reviewing secondary sources and from direct observation. The other investigates online platforms and gathers data by conducting interviews, reviewing documents and direct observation. The refined theoretical framework provides analytic themes for analysing the collected data.

Chapter 5 examines the historical case of Andy Warhol's *Brillo Box* according to the conceptual framework of this thesis. This chapter captures a particular historical moment in the USA in the 1960s. Thus, the historical case study delineates *Brillo Box* in terms of its appearance, the way of marking such artworks, its artist and stakeholders (critics, dealers, and media), as well as exploring the context surrounding artworks at the time: the prevalent myths in American society and an artistic movement – *Pop Art* - in the 1960s. By doing so, this chapter highlights various elements which influence the shaping of the legitimacy of an artist and artworks, such as a certain myth in society, intermediaries, an artistic movement and artist's personality, and social networks.

Chapter 6 presents an in-depth understanding of the medium of art fairs. The selective review of the CAM has pointed out the explosion of the market is characterised by its globalisation and increasing commercialisation. This contextual background closely relates to the proliferation of art fairs and, thus, we review two art fairs with a focus on their historical trail, operations, and organisation systems. This chapter focuses on the process by which art fairs contribute to the legitimisation of young and emerging artists. As we treat art fairs as a solid medium in the art world, moreover, this chapter explores the intricate relationship between new players and traditional intermediaries.

Chapter 7 investigates the issue of legitimisation in the online trade of artworks through the case of Saatchi Art. Our contextual analysis of three online firms who have led the online art market allows us to define the characteristics of online arts platforms. By

selecting the case of Saatchi Art, this chapter provides findings about its history, business model and curatorial practices from a variety of angles, including the views of Saatchi Art, artists and users. We search for the meaning of practices on the online platform within our classifications of intermediaries in terms of their introduction, instruction, and selection functions. By understanding our case in the art world, we also examine the influence of Saatchi Art on traditional intermediaries and vice versa.

Chapter 8 begins by reviewing the research problem and aim of this thesis, which helps to outline the theoretical and empirical focus. Secondly, the chapter delineates the key findings and arguments of this research within the framework of the research questions. The following categories are formulated in order to address the questions: the role of art fairs/online platforms in the process of branding and legitimising young and emerging artists; the changes of the process of legitimation of contemporary art caused by the emergence of new intermediaries; and globalisation. By doing so, we are systematically able to examine the linkages between theoretical issues and empirical findings.

Thirdly, the chapter discusses the theoretical and empirical contributions of this research. Briefly, the theoretical contribution of the research is to extend the application of Holt's (2004) cultural branding model to the field of art (Preece and Kerrigan, 2015; Rodner and Preece, 2015) by specifying the role of intermediaries in shaping artists' normative and cognitive legitimacy (Humphreys, 2010a; Humphreys, 2010b; Scott, 1995) in the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996). The systematic understanding of new intermediaries at a societal level also offers a conceptual direction for the literature of arts marketing. In addition, this thesis provides an empirical record of art fairs and online platforms with a focus on young and emerging artists. Lastly, the chapter considers the limitations of this research and proposes directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

As we have seen in the introduction, the uncertain value of contemporary art provides extraordinary structure for valuing artworks as well as an emphasis on being brands in the practical field. Previous research attempts to address such issues in arts marketing and arts marketing research has evolved ‘from being an application of marketing using long-held principles into a discipline where critical and creative approaches are now being used to generate more meaningful and actionable arts marketing theory’ (Fillis, 2011, p.11). The following research is the exemplars of such evolvement: (Brown and Patterson, 2000; O’Reilly, 2005b; Kerrigan et al., 2011; Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014; Rodner and Kerrigan, 2014; Preece and Kerrigan, 2015; Rodner and Preece, 2015; Preece, Kerrigan and O’Reilly, 2016). By placing this thesis in this stream of research, in this chapter, this integrative review aims to identify and specify the necessity of studying social and cultural mechanisms in the context of contemporary art.

To do so, firstly, we briefly provide a historical review of research in arts marketing to explain the initial adaptation of marketing in the arts and its later developments. Since the 1990s, the period of noteworthy development in arts marketing (Lee 2005), the discipline has evolved in terms of either upholding the initial adaptation of marketing techniques to the arts such as promotion, pricing, and market segmentations or developing new research directions by considering ‘the arts as a marketing context’ (Butler, 2000, p.345).

Secondly, we present a thematic classification of research in terms of three perspectives, highlighting the evolutionary process of arts marketing over the last two decades: 1) *Marketing of Arts Organisations* is concerned with applying marketing concepts and techniques to increase the audience of arts institutions in line with their missions; 2) *Marketing with Artworks/Artists* focuses on what marketing can learn from the arts; and 3) *Marketing from the Art World* explores the social context and structure as central constituents of arts marketing rather than just shadows of influence. The art world was initially conceived as an abstract property that enables aesthetic appreciation: ‘[t]o see something as art requires something the eye cannot decry - an atmosphere of artistic theory...’ (Danto, 1964, p.580). The concept of the art world

allows researchers to examine social networks (Becker, 1982) with which artists and intermediaries such as collectors, dealers and critics collectively constitute the knowledge that ‘a work can be seen as an artwork’ (van Maanen, 2009, p.8). Thus, a sociological approach to arts marketing holds much promise for rigorous research and meaningful discoveries.

Thirdly, based on the classification of research in arts marketing, we discuss different interpretations of branding from the three perspectives to delineate pertinent issues of research in the context of the contemporary art market. This involves the consideration of key actors in the market as brands and the emergence of new intermediaries such as art fairs and digital platforms. We also examine relevant research by scholars according to each perspective. Moreover, this chapter reviews the theories, the movement of meaning (McCracken, 1986), cultural branding (Holt, 2004), and neo-intuitional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995) to conceptualise the identified issue in the CAM. Arguing for the necessity of the *Marketing from the Art World* perspective for exploring the significant transformation in the CAM, this thesis will identify emerging issues in the practical field and discuss their implications for arts marketing research.

2.1. Critical Review of Research in Arts Marketing

Arts management emerged as a higher education programme and an academic discipline in the United States in the 1960s. According to Chong (2009), cultural institutions and large corporations in America promoted arts and cultural industry in the 1960s because they recognised a significant imbalance between the country’s artistic and cultural status and its geopolitical and economic power. He continues that American institutions and corporations advanced ‘a nexus between business and the arts, including business sponsorship and culture as subjects of economic inquiry’, which was adopted later as a viable cultural strategy by other countries (Chong, 2009, p.3).

Since the 1970s, the discipline of arts marketing has been flourishing (Boorsma, 2006; O’Reilly, Rentschler and Kirchner, 2014), contributing to organizational effectiveness and public awareness of cultural promotion. With the development of the field of arts management shaped by publishing journals (Ebewo and Sirayi, 2009), expanding

educational programmes (Evrard and Colbert, 2000), and launching international conferences (Kirchner and Rentschler, 2015), arts marketing has enjoyed shared scholarly growth while establishing itself as a distinctive discipline to analyse the art market (O'Reilly 2011).

Several scholars have attempted to review the literature in arts marketing and management. Colbert and St.-James (2014) map out the evolution of arts marketing and propose a roadmap for future research. Fillis (2011) outlines the development of research in arts marketing with a longitudinal approach. Bradshaw (2010) explains the relationship between arts and marketing based on an axiomatic analysis. The scholarly progress of arts marketing is also examined with the analysis of citations (Rentschler and Shilbury 2008; Pérez-Cabañero and Cuadrado-García 2011; Rentschler and Kirchner 2012; Kirchner and Rentschler 2015). However, these studies pay scant attention to the relationship between their proposed directions of academic research and contemporary contexts and issues of arts marketing practice. To fill the gap, this chapter aims to investigate the link between academic analyses and empirical contexts of arts marketing.

2.1.1. A Historical Overview of Arts Marketing Research

Kotler and Levy's seminal article (1969) expanded the concept of marketing into all types of organisations, as well as services, people and ideas. Following Kotler and Levy (1969), the 1970s witnessed the development of marketing concepts in sectors of health, service industries and non-profit organisations (Colbert and St-James, 2014). The field of art was not immune from this trend and the concept of marketing was also introduced to the arts sector. Diggle (1976, p. 21) defines arts marketing as follows:

The primary aim of arts marketing is to bring an appropriate number of people into an appropriate form of contact with the artists and in so doing to arrive at the best financial outcome that is compatible with the achievement of that aim.

In its beginning, arts marketing was concerned with 'marketing as a set of techniques' (Lee, 2005, p.292). In other words, the tactics from marketing in commercial sectors were directly applied into arts to increase the sales of tickets. The American scholar Danny Newman (1977), for instance, stressed subscriptions as a tactic to increase

audiences for performing arts. In this period, therefore, research in the field mainly examined the audience's activities of learning or education (Rentschler, 2002).

In the 1980s, the influence of marketing on the arts sector increased considerably and many handbooks about arts marketing were published, including *The Guide to Art Marketing* (Diggle, 1984), *Marketing the Arts* (Mokwa, Dawson and Prieve, 1980), and *Marketing the Arts!* (Melillo, 1983). In the preface to *Marketing the Arts*, Kotler (1980, p. xv) said that marketing became 'the critical mechanism for building enduring and satisfying the relationships between arts organizations and its target audience', pointing out the problem of transferring marketing concepts directly to the arts sector. The problem lies in the differences between commercial goods and artistic outcomes. Arts marketing does not start from the needs of the market, but is initiated right after the produced outcomes from artists. In this sense, Mokwa, Nakamoto, and Enis (1980, p. 15) argue that, '[m]arketing does not tell an artist how to create a work of art; rather, the role of marketing is to match the artists' creations and interpretations with an appropriate audience'.

As the discipline of marketing expands its interest in non-profit arts organisations, arts marketing becomes aware of 'a shift in power and authority from producer to consumer' (Rentschler and Wood 2001, p. 62) while recognising the need for democratising arts organisations. Accordingly, marketers need to develop differentiated strategies for targeting different segments of the audience. In this period, empirical research focused on the motivations and behaviour of visitors to cultural institutions by directly adopting the logic of marketing (Andreasen and Belk, 1980) and analysing patronage of the performing arts (Belk and Andreasen, 1982).

Since the 1990s, the position of marketing in the arts has been established by creating and disseminating knowledge through higher education programmes, academic and practitioner conferences and manuals of marketing practice supported by government funds (Lee 2005). The proliferation of research in arts marketing has led the discipline 'from marketing as a functional tool to marketing as a business philosophy and strategy' (Boorsma and Chiaravalloti, 2010, p.298). While arts marketing has cultivated a flourishing field of research the practical contextual nature of the discipline has also led to a lack of consensus on its boundary and content.

The fragmentation of research themes in arts marketing is mainly caused by the possibility of interpreting the term, *arts marketing*, in different ways. Different connotations of *arts marketing* result in variations in the direction of research and the subjects of inquiries. As we can see in Table 1, several scholars categorised the context of arts marketing differently. With reference to different definitions of arts marketing shown in Table 1, the connotations of arts marketing are reconceptualised and categorised into three broad perspectives: *Marketing of Arts Organisations*, *Marketing with Artworks/Artists*, and *Marketing from the Art World*.

Table 1. Categorising the Discipline of Arts Marketing

Authors	Definition
O'Reilly and Kerrigan (2010, p. 1)	'the marketing of arts, marketing in arts, marketing through arts, marketing from arts, marketing as arts'
Bradshaw (2010, p. 8)	'the consumption of art, marketing as art, art as marketing, and marketing interpreting art'
Kubacki and O'Reilly (2009, p. 58)	'art marketing as managerial tools and marketing is an integral element of artistic production'
Chong (2009, p. 131)	'marketing the arts, the arts for marketing'

2.1.2. Marketing of Arts Organisations

The first perspective, *Marketing of Arts Organisations*, is primarily concerned with cultural institutions applying marketing concepts and principles. It highlights the arts manager's role in executing marketing strategies 'to maximize revenue and meet the organisation's objectives' (Byrnes, 2009, p.373). Following practitioner-oriented research by Diggle (1977) and Newman (1976) in the performing arts sector in the 1980s, research based on this perspective focuses on promotional activities of cultural organisations especially for increasing the number of audiences members or buyers (Diggle 1994; Kotler and Kotler 2000; Hill, O'Sullivan, and O'Sullivan 2003; Kotler, Kotler, and Kotler 2008; Byrnes 2009;). Bradshaw (2010) points out that previous research based on Kotler and Scheff (1997) informs cultural institutions in applying marketing principles, instructing how to perform market segmentation and how to apply quantitative market research tools. Venkatesh and Meamber (2006, p. 15) call this tendency '*managerial-orientation*' as '[m]arketing principles are applied to

advance arts consumption (e.g. segmentation)'. Colbert et al. (1994) also emphasise the importance of segmentation as a marketing strategy in cultural organisations. In other words, within this point, arts marketing is deployed as a managerial tool for artists or cultural institutions in order to promote their cultural goods (Kubacki and O'Reilly, 2009).

As Rentschler's (2002) analysis highlights arts marketing's maturation in terms of evolving from a functional use of marketing for the arts to integrating the mission of arts organisations with marketing. Colbert et al. (1994, p. 14) notes that 'cultural marketing is the art of reaching those market segments... in contact with a sufficient number of consumers and to reach the objectives consistent with the mission of the cultural enterprise'. For instance, to achieve the mission of a museum in the United States, market research should be carried out in terms of geographical, demographic, psychographic and behavioural aspects of the audience. This generates 'strategic goals' for the museum, deploying marketing tools and tactics such as advertising, promoting, pricing, positioning and branding (Kotler, Kotler and Kotler, 2008, p.460). Additionally, social and cultural issues are addressed by analysing consumers' satisfaction, trust, and commitment to the organisation (Garbarino and Johnson, 1999). Thompson (2008; 2014) applied the concept of brands to players in the CAM explicitly. More recently, the application of social network services for museums is explored in connection with relationship marketing (Chung, Marcketti and Fiore, 2014).

Branding in this stream of research is considered one of the marketing tools for increasing the reputation of arts organisations, which results in more visitors (Phillips and O'Reilly, 2007; Hede, 2007; Scott, 2007). According to Kotler, Kotler, and Kotler (2008, p. 139), the purpose of applying branding to a museum is 'to amplify the museum's positioning strategy so that it is carried out in all of the museum's decisions and activities'. Several studies explore the museum context in relation to branding theory. After introducing the brand equity of museums conceptually (Caldwell, 2000), empirical study is conducted with the purpose of measuring the brand association of a museum with relation to the motivation of viewers (Caldwell and Coshall, 2002). They notice that visitors are not aware of it in spite of expecting museums to play a role as a brand, which gives opportunities for museum managers to formulate the brand identity and association of the museum. Camarero, Garrido, and Vicente (2010) examine the determinants of brand equity in a particular art exhibition and compare

the views between external and internal visitors. In their later work they introduce the idea of ‘cultural brand equity’ and explore the satisfaction of visitors (Camarero, Garrido-Samaniego and Vicente, 2012, p.1532). More recently, using a survey, Liu, Liu, and Lin (2013) measured brand equity of a science museum in Taiwan.

2.1.3. Marketing with Artworks/ Artists

The second research perspective, *Marketing with Artworks/Artists*, stems from critical responses to the limitations of research from the instrumental perspective of *Marketing of Arts Organisations* (Hirschman 1983; McCracken 1990; Fillis and Rentschler 2005; Chong 2009; Fillis 2011). The main criticism of *Marketing of Arts Organisations* is that it hardly explains ‘museum-goers as culture-bearers, art object as cultural artifacts, and the interaction between consumers and object as a complex social and cultural event’ (Venkatesh and Meamber, 2006, p.14). Bradshaw (2010, p. 8) insists that this stream of research separates the domain of the arts from the concept of marketing, for it ‘arguably smuggle[s] a primitive conceptualization of art and marketing as diametrically opposed’. Thus Bradshaw stresses the implication of interaction between the arts and the marketing context. Fillis (2011) also suggests that examining arts as a context would give creative insights to marketing theory. *Marketing with Artworks/Artists* embraces the interpretive and aesthetic dimension of art:

[It] includes engaging with the marketing content of artistic artifacts, and applying the tools and techniques of artistic appreciation to marketing institutions and ephemera such as advertising and promotional campaigns (Chong, 2009, p.131).

Following Chong’s argument, we divide *Marketing with Artworks /Artists* further into two categories of literature.

The first category of *Marketing with Artworks/Artists* is the application of artistic products and contents to marketing in which organisations consider arts as an instrument of their marketing practice: ‘arts as a means by which management can enhance organisational value-creation capacity and boost business performance’ (Schiuma, 2011, p.1). In other words, this perspective intends to use the characteristics of the arts as the content of marketing. For instance, several companies use the features of art to promote their products. De Beers has used paintings to convey the idea of equating the image of diamonds with the unique image of certain paintings (Epstein,

1982). Since 1986, Absolut Vodka has exposed artistic images in their advertisements by collaborating with contemporary visual artists (Lewis, 1996). Louis Vuitton launched a new design line in partnership with Takashi Murakami, a contemporary artist from Japan, for the purpose of intriguing younger customers (Riot, Chamaret and Rigaud, 2013).

Several empirical studies adopt an interpretive and aesthetic approach to marketing. Fine arts are used in advertising (Hetsroni and Tukachinsky, 2005) while music is a catalyst affecting the purchase intention of customers (Alpert and Alpert, 1990). Hagtvedt and Patrick (2008a) report the influence of visual arts on marketing in their empirical study. They point out that art creates connotations of luxury and prestige and facilitates cognitive flexibility, positively affecting customers' evaluation of brand extension. Through similar experiments, they reveal that the presence of visual arts has a positive effect on the consumers' evaluation of a product (Hagtvedt and Patrick, 2008b).

The second category in *Marketing with Artworks/Artists* includes research contributing to the development of marketing theory via understanding the context of the arts. The following research falls into this category (Fillis 2004; Fillis and Rentschler 2005; Fillis 2006, 2009, 2011, 2015; Bradshaw and Holbrook 2007; Bradshaw, Kerrigan and Holbrook 2010; Lehman and Wickham 2014). That is, the research in this category explores 'what the marketer can learn from the artists' (Fillis, 2000, p.52). As Brown and Patterson (2000, title page) said, '[a]rt and aesthetics are firing the marketing imagination', which is an essential concept of interpretative marketing approaches in the arts. Butler (2000, p. 345), puts it differently, noting that arts marketing is 'knowledge of the marketing concept...focuses directly on the distinctive characteristics of the arts that have implications for marketing decisions and activities'.

In previous research, historical archives of famous artists provided innovative insights into marketing theory. For instance, historical documents on Andy Warhol are explored to offer insights into the theory of consumer behaviour (Schroeder, 1997), capturing the intersection between visual arts and marketing. For instance, Italian Renaissance Art could give insights into inducing consumers' desire for technological innovation (Schroeder and Borgerson, 2002). In addition, Schroeder (2006) explains

the rationale for studying artists in the management field, based on his study of the American contemporary artist, Thomas Kinkade, reminding the intellectual risks of aestheticizing management.

For Marketing with Artworks /Artists, the context of art is a lively source of innovative insights for branding. For instance, Schroeder (2005) explores the historical context of famous artists such as Andy Warhol, Cindy Sherman and Barbara Kruger, in terms of creating their images and fame, thus treating them as brands. Muñiz, Norris, and Fine (2014) point out that Schroeder's (2005) work is impressive in terms of explaining the theory of branding based on artistic context, but it is not surprising as the artists - who are explored by Schroeder – already engage with consumer culture (e.g., Andy Warhol appropriated the image of commercial brands). They suggest that '[m]odern artists, in other words, can help us understand how a brand achieves cultural resonance and becomes iconic' (Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014, p.83). That is because the data about famous artists are richer than those about a successful brand. Studying biographical data on Pablo Picasso, Muñiz, Norris, and Fine (2014) argue that the development of brands can be understood by tracing Picasso's skills in reading cultural changes and interacting with the intermediaries in the field of art.

2.1.4. Marketing from the Art World

The third perspective, *Marketing from the Art World*, stresses social and contextual approaches to art which overlap in part with *Marketing with Artists/Artworks*. The research from both perspectives contributes to generating fresh insights for marketing theory by examining artistic context and content. While research in *Marketing with Artist/Artworks* explores creativity, aesthetics, symbolic value and hedonic experiences in arts, research in *Marketing from the Art World* focuses more on the societal level issues of the arts.

The arts are not isolated from society (Alexander, 2003) and the market for the arts is built based on the political and sociocultural context of society. Referring to Powell and DiMaggio (1991), Lee (2005, p. 301) argues that 'ongoing social relations and institutions such as trust, networks, norms and beliefs' influence and constrain the market. *Marketing from the Art World*, therefore, focuses on social mechanisms for generating the arts, symbolic meaning of the arts, and networks and processes of

legitimising artists/artworks. For this perspective, the aim of marketing is associated with the ways of increasing potential artistic value, which requires an understanding of the way in which the value is spread to the society (Botti, 2000).

Marketing from the Art World is inspired by sociological interpretations of the art market (Danto 1964; Becker 1982; Bourdieu 1993; Bain 2005; Baumann 2007). Indeed, Danto (1964) introduced the notion of *art world* (Yanal, 1998). He suggests that applicable rationales in art theory and history may serve to identify an object as a work of art, and these rationales should supersede judgements based upon the beauty or appearance of the artwork (Danto, 1964). The *Art world* is also discussed by Dickie (1974) in the sense that it operates ‘both as a gatekeeper and as an attributor of value’ (MacNeill and Wilson-Anastasios, 2014, p.296).

In sociology, Becker (1982) addresses the production of the cultural approach to art with the *art world*. Becker (1982, p. X) denotes the term *art world* as,

[T]he network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for.

In Becker’s *art world*, the artist is not the sole contributor in producing the value of artworks, but the endorsements in the whole system/network also contribute to providing artworks to society. As there is a holistic structure of social networks regarding the production, distribution, and consumption of artworks in society, the value of artworks is determined by the consensus between players in the network.

Becker’s *art world* corresponds to Bourdieu’s (1996) concept of *the field of art*. Both *art world* and *the field of art* refer to the properties of social structure underlying the realm of art practice. An artist, in their view, is not isolated from the society. Bourdieu (1993) argues that insiders in *the field of art* contribute to constituting the ideology of arts and acknowledges that the ideology enables the legitimacy of artworks. With regards to the difference between these two seminal authors, Bourdieu theorises the connection between *the field of art* and the wider social structure whilst Becker does not explicitly argue for such a connection with ‘sever[ing] art worlds from the society in which they are embedded’ (Alexander, 2003, p.295). While Becker’s concept of *art world* highlights the cooperative network without addressing the issue of power

conflict, in Bourdieu’s *the field of art*, the value of artworks is essentially constructed by the agents’ struggles for power positions and their social legitimacy.

In the context of general product markets, scholars consider a brand as a repository of meaning and the meaning is collectively constructed in society (McCracken 1993; Fournier 1998; Holt 2004; Hatch and Rubin 2006; Kornberger 2010). A group of researchers studied branding in the art market from a socio-cultural perspective (Hewer, Brownlie, and Kerrigan 2013; Kerrigan et al. 2011; Muñiz, Norris, and Fine 2014; Rodner and Kerrigan 2014; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015). They address how brands are posited in society, considering brands (artists) as a symbol and branding as the process of generating symbolic meaning for the brand in society. While acknowledging the limitations of applying the logics of branding, devised for controlling brands in a private company, the socio-cultural perspective on branding provides a useful lens to analyse the art market (Preece and Kerrigan, 2015). Following Bourdieu’s theory of cultural, social, and symbolic capitals, Rodner and Kerrigan (2014, p. 113) argue that the symbolic meaning of artist brands is collectively constructed by agents in the art world and the agents ‘utilise their cultural and social capital as a means of validating and positioning artists within the market’.

Table 2. Three Perspectives on Arts Marketing Literature.

Perspectives	Logics	Key Studies	Implications for Branding
<i>Marketing of Arts Organisations</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental • Commercial 	Applying marketing models to artists or art organisation	Kotler (1980) Diggle (1976;1984; 1994) Newman (1977) Kotler and Scheff (1997) Kotler, Kotler, and Kotler (2008) Andreasen and Belk (1980); Belk and Andreasen (1982); Garbarino and Johnson (1999) Thompson (2008; 2014)	Branding is one of the marketing tools for increasing the reputation of organisations or artists
<i>Marketing with Artworks/ Artists</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpretive • Aesthetic 	Using the characteristic of arts as part of marketing.	Alpert and Alpert (1990) Hagtvedt and Patrick (2008a); Hagtvedt and Patrick (2008b) Hetsroni and Tukachinsky (2005)	Branding uses aesthetic in the arts

	Considering the context of arts as a source of marketing ideas	Schroeder (1997, 2005, 2010) Schroeder and Borgerson (2002) Brown and Patterson (2000) Muñiz, Norris, and Fine(2014)	Branding learns from artistic practice.
<i>Marketing from the Art World</i>	Highlighting the social mechanisms for yielding the symbolic meaning of the arts, and the process of legitimising artists and artworks	Kerrigan et al. (2011) Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan (2013) Rodner and Kerrigan (2014) Rodner and Preece (2015) Preece and Kerrigan (2015) Preece, Kerrigan and O'Reilly (2016)	Branding is underpinned by the social network of diffusing the value of artworks.

Three perspectives on arts marketing and their implications for branding are summarised in Table 2. Representative empirical studies are identified according to these three perspectives of research. In the following section, we explain why the *Marketing from the Art World* perspective is necessary for exploring distinctive changes in the CAM.

2.2. Current Trends in Contemporary Art Market

2.2.1. Brands in the CAM

As both individuals and cultural institutions can be considered as brands (Thompson, 2008), brands noticeably pertain to the CAM (Aaker, 2009): ‘[p]erhaps in no other market is the relationship between name recognition, value and branding so clear’ (Schroeder, 2005, p.1300). Scholars have agreed that famous artists might be considered as brands (Schroeder, 2005, 2010; Thompson, 2009; Hewer et al., 2013; Kerrigan et al., 2011; Muniz et al., 2013). For example, the fine art market has been led by works of famous artists, such as Picasso, Van Gogh, Rembrandt, and Caravaggio. The phenomenon of artists as global brands has been intensified in the CAM (Schroeder, 2005) as illustrated by the cases of Andy Warhol and Damien Hirst (Lehman, 2009).

Secondly, cultural institutions are also regarded as brands. Visitors to museums and galleries have many choices, resulting in competition between cultural institutions.

These institutions have considered various ways in which they can attract more visitors by building their brand image. For example, certain museums have successfully established their brand value in the global market, such as MOMA (Camarero, Garrido-Samaniego and Vicente, 2012), TATE (Ridge 2006; Phillips and O'Reilly 2007), and Guggenheim (Caldwell, 2000; Chong, 2009). In addition to this, prestigious auction houses like Sotheby's and Christie's (Thompson, 2008) are also considered brands. Putting certain artists' works in cultural institutions with high status adds symbolic value and increases their financial value. Chong (2009, p.198) similarly pointed out that the '[p]ublic art museum as an idealized final resting place for art enhances the status of the artist, collector, dealer.'

Thirdly, renowned collectors are also considered to be a brand in the CAM. Charles Saatchi, a former advertising mogul, exemplifies the branded collector. Saatchi is a major player in the CAM (Freeland, 2001), embodying multiple roles as dealer, gallerist, and collector.

Many say [Saatchi] is the most powerful collector in contemporary art – in the words of one dealer, a twentieth-century Medici – one whose influence as a tastemaker exceeds that of any critic or curator, and who can make or break a trend. Where Saatchi leads, it is said a host of another follow. Fittingly, the adman himself has become the ultimate advertisement for the latest artists or trend (Walker, 1987 cited in Hatton and Walker 2003, p.vi).

In the 1980s, along with riches, Saatchi bought large quantities of works by artists and stored and promoted (either displaying or documenting) them in a bid to control supply in the market, so as to inflate the price (Rodner and Thomson, 2013). Saatchi's significant influence on the market is demonstrated in the establishment of the Young British Artists. Muñiz, Norris, and Fine (2014, p. 74) note that Saatchi's purchase of artworks gave 'strong prestige' to artists. With supporting Hirst's Shark project in advance and by adding the artwork to Saatchi's collection, Saatchi contributed to revaluing the Shark project, as well as making 'Hirst's brand-name as prominent and profitable as his own' (Rodner and Thomson, 2013, p.64). Put differently, the branded collector's acquisition of contemporary art provides an indirect hallmark (brand) for the public.

With regard to his promotional skills, Saatchi promotes artworks—which are one of his massive collections—through using his social status and network. In the 1980s, for

instance, Saatchi officially had a part in two public cultural institutions: Tate and Whitechapel. At 1982, Tate presented the solo exhibition of Julian Schnabel in which nine of eleven artworks came from Saatchi's collection. After presenting artworks at Tate, Saatchi made huge profits by selling Schnabel's works, which resulted in heavy criticism (See Hatton and Walker 2003). Then, Saatchi founded his own gallery, Saatchi Gallery, which conferred higher esteem on him. Moreover, Saatchi had a chance to show his collection to the public, which helped to improve the value of such a collection in general.

In the case of a private and renowned collector, in the CAM, the acquisition of contemporary art provides a direct/indirect influence on the works of art, as well as their artists. In the secondary market (auction houses) the provenance of artworks is important for buyers. In acknowledging such importance, thus, dealers expect that their artists' works are sold by renowned collectors, which reflects dealers' intention to maintain artists' reputation and their works' value (Velthuis, 2005).

2.2.2. Globalisation and the Emergence of New Intermediaries

In the CAM, the most remarkable change is the growing importance of new intermediaries such as art fairs and digital platforms. The market has witnessed the establishment of art fairs and the expansion of online platforms for the last decade. Both of these two intermediaries are considered to be symbols of cultural globalisation (Velthuis, 2014). Indeed, we have witnessed the globalisation of the CAM since the late twenty century. The European fine art foundation clearly reported how art market globally shared in 2013 (McAndrew, 2014), namely US (38%), China (24%), UK(20%), France (6%), Switzerland (2%), and the rest of world (10%).

Globalisation provides not only opportunities for actors in the CAM, but it also presents risks for the traditional players in the market. On one hand, the growing demand in developing countries allows dealers, museum, auction houses, and art fairs to seek new opportunities for opening satellite spaces in each country such as Gagosian gallery in Hong Kong and Sotheby's in Beijing. In addition, with the increasing accessibility in using the Internet, collectors are able to buy works of art without territorial constraints, which gives a chance for artists and cultural institutions to reach global audiences. On the other hand, globalisation puts financial and organisational

pressures on dealers, galleries and auction houses in coping with larger scale and scope of operation. A massive volume of temporary demand for artists would also negatively impact the quality of their works.

Globalisation of the CAM

The notion of globalisation generally refers to ‘the sense of an immense enlargement of world communication, as well as of the horizon of a world market...’ (Jameson, 1998, p.xi). In the context of art, international trades of fine arts contribute to increasing opportunities for the global audience to access diverse arts; however, globalisation also has negative ramifications. Although more people are able to appreciate more international artworks with traveling abroad and buying works, only a limited number of wealthy countries and people can take advantage of it on account of the high expenditures associated with such activities (Alexander, 2003). Crane (2009, p. 352) further insists that, ‘[t]he global art market is an illustration of the way in which the globalization of markets is expanding economic and cultural inequality by increasing the wealth and privileges of small segments of the world’s population at the expense of [the] remainder’ as the global contemporary art market is exclusively accessible to a small number of wealthy collectors and powerful dealers.

Although the market for fine arts has become globalised since the 1990s, artists interacted with others on an international level before that time. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was globalisation in the field of fine art in the form of spreading artistic innovation. According to Galenson (2009, p. 278), globalisation involves the movement of goods, people and ideas; thus, globalisation is the ‘geographic diffusion of new techniques and styles’. Artistic innovations were widely spread according to the artists’ willingness to adopt an innovation. For instance, American artists adopted the artistic style of Cubism after they saw Picasso’s artworks, drawn from Paris, in museums in New York. Some techniques for making artworks were internationally shared with artists based on the description of the technique without seeing the works. In the case of collage, an Italian painter used the technique based on a conversation with Picasso’s college without ‘contact[ing]...Picasso, or even the sight of one of Picasso’s work’ (Galenson, 2009, p.286). The flow of sharing artistic forms or style is not limited to Western countries: the inspiration for the

paintings by van Gogh were Japanese works and Picasso was inspired by African art (Velthuis and Curioni, 2015). Therefore, the styles, techniques, and motifs in fine art were intellectually and internationally exchanged before establishing a globalised art market.

With the diffusion of the concept of contemporary art (Velthuis and Curioni, 2015), the market for such artworks seemingly becomes globalised. There is a mutual trade between the centre of the art market and the remainders; while emerging economies which are originally marginalised from the mainstream of the art market collect Western contemporary art, Western collectors increase their interests in artworks from emerging countries (Adam, 2014). Also, the appearance of new platforms globally facilitates the intellectual and commercial exchanges of arts such as biennales and art fairs.

Unlike the exposure of media or rhetorical lines for promoting such cultural events, however, previous research points out that the CAM is barely considered a fully globalised market. Velthuis (2013) analyses the quantified data: 3072 artists' nationalities at the 79 galleries in the Netherlands and 73 galleries in Germany. By confirming the galleries' reliance on home artists (around 40%), the artists' nationalities are dominated by Western countries, except China and Japan (low rated). In this sense, Velthuis (2013, p. 294) insists that, '[g]alleries do in other words operate internationally, but it would be an exaggeration to claim that their business is truly global'. Globalisation hardly erodes territorial barriers across the world in the CAM.

The national diversity of participants at international art fairs for contemporary art also shows a similar pattern. According to Quemin (2013), participants' national profiles at 41 art fairs are dominated by 33% of all the countries in the world in which more than half of exhibitors are from six western countries (America, the UK, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain). Although Curioni, Forti and Leone's (2015) study widely agrees with Quemin's (2013) argument on the presence of geographic barriers in the CAM, their analysis of participant's demography at Art Basel clarifies the symptom of globalisation as the number of artists from Brazil, India, and China at the art fair progressively growing from 2005 to 2012.

Biennials are also not immune to this trend. Wu (2009) analysed the national diversity of artists who participated in Kassel documenta between 1968 and 2007; although, as

time went by, the data shows that the domination of artists from North America and Europe at the documenta had moderated (from 100% to 61%), the biennials are still dominated by Western artists. While the organisers of the international arts events claim that they decolonise and democratise arts, the events ‘proved still to embody the traditional power structures of the contemporary Western art world’ (Wu, 2009, p.115).

As these empirical studies proved, the issue of globalisation in the CAM is problematic in terms of the Western art world’s domination of the market. McLean (2004, p. 293) goes even further saying that ‘globalisation is more or less synonymous with postcolonialism’. Indeed, the foundation of the international art markets was led by Western cultural institutions, intermediaries, pundits, aesthetics, and appraisal (Harris, 2013b). Although they need to share their power with emerging countries to expand their territories, accordingly, ‘the power and resources are held overwhelmingly by Western art world interests’ (Harris, 2013a, p.546). In a similar vein, Quemín (2013) asserts that inequity in the process of exchanging culture internationally becomes explicit, and thereby dominated by few countries (usually Western), following the theoretical argument on the globalisation of culture by Wallerstein (1991) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999). Thus, cultural hegemony of some Western nations prominently remains in the CAM.

Nevertheless, the rapid expansion of art fairs and digital platforms is underpinned by the increasing globalisation of the CAM. First, art fairs have become established as a significant ancillary channel for distribution in the art market. Temporary events for dealing in fine arts or antiques are held in different host cities at different periods, which means that the art fair is held globally in an entire year. Therefore, we can say that we are currently in ‘[t]he art fair age’ (Barragán, 2008) or the ‘art fair phenomenon’ (Dalley, 2013). The following figures specify the influence of art fairs on the entire art market: according to annual report by TEFAF (McAndrew, 2015), over 180 major art fairs, covering either fine arts or decorative works, took place in 2014 in which sales of works of art recorded around \$12 billion. Moreover, dealers have achieved more than thirty percent of their annual sales by attending various art fairs.

Secondly, the growing popularity of digital platforms has had a significant influence on the field of visual arts, including virtual curation and the consumption of art. While echoing the increase in visitors’ demands, cultural institutions have confronted the

issue of digitalisation of their own artworks (Russo and Watkins 2007; Marty 2008). Moreover, every actor in the art market can have their own homepage for presenting their artwork (in the case of artists) and their artists (in the case of dealers). By doing so, artists and dealers meet more consumers. However, the emergence of online trading in this area has developed more slowly than other fields, as it requires 'proximity and physical, tactile interactions' between consumers and works of art (Velthuis and Curioni, 2015, p.18). Nevertheless, the CAM continues to show a steep growth in the online sales of visual works of art: estimated online sales were \$1.57 billion or 1.6 percent of the entire art market for 2013. With an annual growth rate of nineteen percent, online sales will reach \$3.76 billion by 2018 (Hiscox, 2014).

2.2.3. The Uncertain Value of Contemporary art

We previously demonstrated the notable trend of being brands in the CAM. The issue of disproportionate branding effect in the CAM originates from the uncertain value of artworks (Hirsch 1972; Peterson 1997; Jyrämä and Ylikoski 2000; Wijnberg and Gemser 2000; Yogev 2010; Zorloni 2013; Alexander and Bowler 2014). Although the economic value of artworks is partly influenced by the inherent features of the artworks, such as the 'style, medium, technique, size, and content' (Yogev, 2010, p.512), one cannot rely upon any objective or moral standard (Pénet and Lee, 2014). Unlike material goods, according to Peterson (1997), the value of visual arts cannot be calculated by the expenditure of raw material used in making it, such as canvas, paints, brush, or the artists' labour.

With regard to the consumption of arts, there are two types of consumers: buyers and audience. To appreciate the confronted artwork properly (especially conceptual works), the audience needs to acquire knowledge about artworks which is often delivered by intermediaries in the market. As with other credence goods (Darby and Karni, 1973), buyers also need to have additional information for judging the quality of artworks even after purchasing them. Thus, the act of buying an artwork means not only the ownership of it, but also, 'buying into [traders'] reputation, taste, and understanding of the market' (Robertson, 2005b, p.24). In addition, in the production side of the market, artists heavily rely on other actors' activities in the distribution system of the market; Giuffre (1999) notes that artists inevitably need galleries for generating publicity and making profits.

The market system and economic discourses in arts

During the Middle Ages, artists, who were usually affiliated with an artistic guild, were parallel with craftsmen or skilled workers in terms of earning money based on manual labour (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Throughout the period of the Renaissance, artists were considered intellectual, rather than manual, workers, which drove artists to charge 'star fees' for their works of art while artists were required to present their disinterest in monetary returns to the public (Galenson, 2009, p.340). The implicit attitude to money for artists drawn from the Renaissance persisted until the beginning of twentieth century despite changing the market system.

The medieval guild system regulated artists' competitive behaviours, which were sustained to the time of the Academy during the Italian Renaissance. During the nineteenth century, in Paris, the production of the arts institutionally changed from being controlled by individuals, the government, or institutions for regulating creative practices of artists such as the Academy or patrons to the competitive market by encouraging artists to produce innovative artworks (White and White 1993 [1965]). According to 'the increasing ideological fragmentation of modern society', artists freely created artworks rather than providing patronised artworks reflecting the taste of social elite (Crane, 1989, p.138).

Impressionists, representatively Monet, exemplify the production of innovative artworks with respect to artistic style, colours, and subject matter. By doing so, Impressionists challenged existing conventions, which required an explanation to be understood. For endorsing the innovative artworks by Impressionists, the peer-selection system in the Academy for recognising and distributing artworks shifted to an expert-selection system which included the dealer-critic system (White and White 1993 [1965]) and art museums (Wijnberg and Gemser, 2000). This system stipulated that dealers represented and promoted a limited number of artists and tried to 'build and stabilize the market for their work by having museum directors, curators, critics, and other actors without a direct financial interest in the market consecrate the artist's work' (Velthuis and Curioni, 2015, p.13). Despite growing and expanding these systems by the early twentieth century (Moulin, 1987), artists still eschewed economic interests. In other words, artists were disinterested (Bourdieu, 1996).

Since the mid-twentieth century, the model of artists has changed, in correlation with the increasing importance of culture brought about by the expansion of cultural institutions, with the result that the period has witnessed the growth of the acceptance of high culture in public. According to Crane (1989, p. 140), the role of artists gradually shifted from iconoclast and aesthetic innovators⁴ to ‘a moyen grade’; artists explored the visual perception by reflecting ‘attitudes of passivity and withdrawal into private concerns rather than alienation or rebellion’. With regard to attitude toward economic discourse, the rise of Andy Warhol started to challenge the general assumption that ‘artists would not openly acknowledge money as a primary motivation’ (Galenson, 2009, p.341). In the current age, Damien Hirst and Jeff Koons follow Warhol’s legacy with exposing their commercial interests and monetary value.

Although the model of some artists has shifted from denial of commercial interest to stressing economic discourse, the basic principal of constituting the market system has remained. That is, the uncertain value of visual arts contributes to the constitution of a unique market structure in which the role of third-party players is highlighted. Therefore, we point out that examining the valuation issue in the CAM is pertinent to understanding the holistic structure of the market. The question that follows is why valuation is more important in the CAM than in other art markets. The answer to this question is associated with the fluidity in the market.

2.2.4. The Fluidity of the Valuation Structure in the Art Market

The organisation of the art world is in a state of flux. Based on the theory of *field* by Bourdieu (1984), Giuffre (1999, p. 830) insists that players in the art market move in a way to ‘reposition themselves relative to each other’, which leads to a continuously changing structure of the market. We point out two noteworthy issues regarding the reason for this dynamic in the art market: breaking conventions and the emergence of new intermediaries. First, some artists tend to produce artworks conforming to a dominant artistic style — convention (in Becker 1974) – whereas other innovative artists challenge the dominant style. Butler (2000, p. 355) further argues that artists

⁴ Crane (1989) considers iconoclastic innovators those artists who attack the social system via their artworks. For instance, Monet and Duchamp challenged the institutional system in the art world. Abstract expressionism exemplifies the type of aesthetic innovators: ‘these painters analysed visual reality in terms of its constituents and concentrated on particular dimensions of reality, such as color and form’ (p. 139).

are unwilling to follow others because '[i]n the arts world, artists feel they must shun the notion of following, and produce or perform out of their own commitment to their field'.

Moreover, according to Becker (1982), artists who intend to break existing conventions, find it harder to circulate their artworks whilst they might have more freedom in producing their works. Once artists present new types of artworks, the members of the art world might/might not contribute to accepting or denying the artworks. Although the activities of breaking convention by some artists are not always rewarded, the success of an endorsement 'gives a *raison d'être* to the rest' (Thornton, 2008, p.XV). Then, the group of artists producing artworks within an accepted artistic style are recognised and labelled by critics who give a rationale for occupying a certain position in art history.

In the CAM, artists intentionally stress the concept of their work rather than its beauty. Danto (1997) argues that the shift from the appearance of artworks to their ideas marks the current era. Similarly, Peterson (1997, p. 244) points out that artists in this era keep questioning 'artistic value and authorship central to the subject matter of their works', which makes valuation in the market more problematic. As contemporary artists keep breaking conventions, it is a challenge for the public to appreciate their works of art and for art professionals to value them. Therefore, the structure of valuation would also have to change in order to judge a new style or form of contemporary art.

Secondly, new types of institutions affecting the valuation system in the art market have emerged due to globalisation (Velthuis, 2012). The last two decades have witnessed the gradual expansion of sales in the CAM by means of digital platforms and arts fairs. More importantly, along with biennales (Sassatelli, 2017), the gatekeeping role of arts fairs in terms of selection procedure has become conspicuous (Curioni, Forti and Leone, 2015). The record of participating in such events (especially biennale) is 'often regarded within [the arts] industry as conferring a seal of approval on an artist's works' (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011, p.324). On the other hand, increasing online transactions of visual artworks have significant influence upon altering the structure of the market, not only disturbing the traditional art market but also engaging with it (Khaire, 2015). Therefore, art fairs and digital platforms as new

intermediaries contribute to altering the original structure of valuation by legitimating artworks in the CAM.

2.3. Cultural Meaning and Cultural Branding

2.3.1. The Movement of Cultural Meaning

McCracken's (1986) model of the movement of meaning (Figure 1), widely cited in consumer research, which describes the moving of cultural meaning from culturally constituted world to consumer goods. In his model, meaning exists in three locations: 'culturally constituted world, consumer goods and individual consumers' (McCracken, 1986, p.81). In brief, according to McCracken, consumer goods go beyond their utilitarian nature and economic value and have the capacity to deliver their embodied cultural meaning to consumers. The first stage in McCracken's model posits two channels, advertising and fashion systems, for conveying meaning from the world to goods.

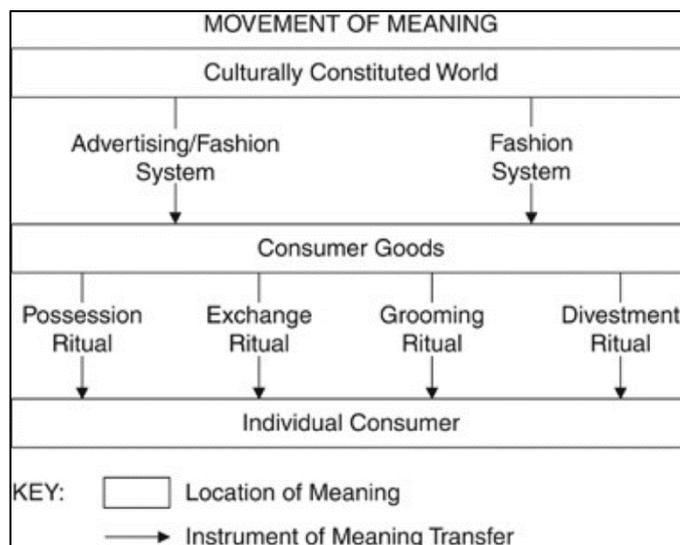


Figure 1. The Movement of Meaning
Source: McCracken (1986, p. 72)

McCracken explores two institutions, advertising and fashion, to examine his own model and concludes that both systems are instruments for transferring meaning. Advertising, in McCracken's model, potentially transfers cultural meaning from the world to goods. In advertising, a creative director conjoins consumer goods and representing the scene of world. To succeed in transferring meaning, the role of the

creative director is underscored to establish symbolic equivalences between the devised world in an advertisement and the real world for consumers.

In the context of the art market, the creative director's role in an advertising agency is similar to that of an artist. That is, an artist resides between the world and goods in the meaning-making process, which means that an artist creates meaning on the beginning of procedure. However, there are distinctive differences between creative directors and artists. While of a creative director faces constraints such as limited budgets, particular requirements from clients, and the need to maintain the brand image of goods, artists are not concerned with such limitations in expressing the world. Rather, unknown artists might consider their output introspectively, and the demands of the market have a greater influence upon artists' output in developing their careers (Lehman and Wickham, 2014). These market demands for artists are hardly equivalent with constraints on creative directors' activities.

McCracken (1986, p.76) suggests three capacities of meaning transfers in fashion as fashion system is more complicated than advertising one with considering its 'more source of meaning, agents and media of communication'. The first capacity is the delivery of meaning, which refers to the same process of moving meaning in advertising. Moreover, McCracken highlights the invention of new cultural meaning, generated based on the shaping and refining of existing cultural meaning, by opinion leaders (such as fashion designers) who hold high esteem in the institution. Finally, he notes that cultural meaning is radically reformed by the fashion system in which agents (designers and journalists) gather cultural meaning and deliver it effectively to consumer goods.

Journalists classify a certain innovation as either vital or trivial, and McCracken argues that journalists play a similar gatekeeping role in the art (Becker, 1982) and music (Hirsch, 1972) worlds. The aforementioned designers give selected meanings from the world to goods. Because designers face the challenge of conveying the embodied meaning of designed goods to consumers, the designers profoundly rely on journalists. In short, the procedure of conveying meaning in the fashion system cannot be accomplished without fashion journalists.

Of the two systems examined by McCracken, the art market is more similar to the fashion system than to advertising. That is, an artist more closely resembles a designer

in the fashion system than a creative director in advertising. Although both directors and designers rely on 'the consumer to supply the final act of association and effect the meaning transfer from world to object' (McCracken, 1986, p.77), designers, like artists, seek to transform physical features, along with embedded symbolic features. Akin to journalists' jobs in the fashion field, as McCracken mentions, there are gatekeepers in the art market, such as critics, gallery owners, dealers, and journalists. However, unlike in the fashion system, these intermediaries in the art market have no direct impacts upon the process of conveying meaning between the world and goods. Rather, they engage in the procedure of meaning transfer from goods to consumers.

McCracken's model describes the transference of cultural meaning from goods to consumers via four personal rituals (possession, exchange, grooming, and divestment) in the second phase. In other words, consumers are able to differently adapt the meaning that resides in consumer goods, according to the individual's various situations (Allen, Fournier and Miller, 2008). In a similar vein, the negotiations of meaning, and the interactive, dialogical character of meaning, are brought into a marketing context from reader response theory in the literature. For instance, the meaning of text is varied and depends on the circumstances of the readers (Scott, 1994).

Although McCracken's model is significant in addressing consumption within the socio-cultural context, the model has been criticised concerning the following points. First of all, McCracken hardly addresses political aspect to his cultural analysis whereby it might clarify the meaning structure influenced by cultural dominance or 'competing segments within a society' (Joy, 1989, p.289). According to O'Reilly (2005a), also, consumer groups are ignored, as are the interactions between individual consumers and individual producers. In addition, as McCracken's model fail to embrace non-western cultures as it is inspired by individualism in Western culture (Belk, 1989).

More importantly, while McCracken's model presents a one-direction flow of meaning from the world to customers, several researchers highlight flow disruption, opposite flow, and dynamics by other parallel competitive flows (Fournier, 1998; Holt, 2002; Thompson and Haytko, 1997; O'Reilly, 2005a; McKechnie and Tynan, 2006). Although McCracken shows consumers' the possibility of personising the meaning of goods in the meaning transfer from goods to consumers, these scholars conceptualise

consumers as active meaning-makers by highlighting reciprocating meaning between goods to consumers. That is, the cultural meanings of goods or brands are not simply accepted or rejected by consumers, but emerge out of negotiation, manipulation, revision and engaging with consumers. Through these activities by consumers, they become ‘not only the author of his/her unique understanding, but also, thorough extension, a partial author of the brand’ (Allen, Fournier and Miller, 2008, p.787).

Despite the criticisms, it can be argued that McCracken's (1986) model provides valuable insights into consumption in the art market, since we have argued that the consumption procedure of the art market is similar with the fashion system in the first stage of the model. Moreover, as art is deeply engaged with society and culture, works of art contain culturally-embedded meaning. Although deeming works of art goods is a contentious issue, works of art have been manifestly chosen for consumption in different ways: appreciation and possession. In particular, it has diffused a wider awareness of works of art as investments (Alexander and Bowler, 2014).

In addition, we point out that works of art serve to deliver meaning in society. In a sociological context, ‘art is communication’; so, works of art are delivered from creators to consumers (Alexander, 2003, p.62). In other words, creators of works of art communicate with audiences or consumers, which means that the meaning in artists’ oeuvres is conveyed to its consumers. Based on the conceptual understanding of the movement of cultural meaning, we turn our attention to the theory of cultural branding. As O’Reilly (2005a) introduced McCracken's (1986) meaning movement model for gaining the theoretical background of cultural branding in his article, the theory of cultural branding broadly embraces the arguments of meaning movement.

2.3.2. Cultural Brands and Cultural Branding

According to Preece and Kerrigan (2015), brand theory largely branches into two. Strategic brand management approach (SBM), firstly, underlines ‘the locus of control as the organisation’ (p. 1208). Brand equity, a key term expressed in SBM, spells out a set of assets for a brand to gain a competitive advantage in the market. According to Farquhar (1989), the notion of brand equity refers to adding the value of brands to a product. Because of these factors, a company invests heavily in brand assets to improve their brand value in the competitive market. There are several different views

about the definition of brand equity. Thus, the definition of the notion is unclear (Winters, 1991). Ha, Janda and Muthaly (2010) point out that this is because different people define brand equity with different definitions.

However, generally, most authors hold a similar point of view to Farquhar's definition of brand equity (Kamakura and Russell 1993; Keller 1993; Aaker 1996). Nevertheless, the contents among them are slightly different, according to the perception (Myers, 2003). The first one refers to organisational brand equity, which emphasises financial value, the movement of stock prices (Simon and Sullivan, 1993), brands' potential value (Mahajan, Rao and Srivastava, 1990), money for establishing a new brand (Simon and Sullivan, 1993), and measuring profits by brand value (Ourusoff et al., 1992).

Another one is consumer-oriented brand equity. According to Keller (1998) and Aaker (1996), brand equity aids customers in gaining a distinctive awareness of a brand. In particular, Aaker (1996, p. 7) defines brand equity as 'a set of assets (and liabilities) linked to a brand's name and symbol that adds to (or subtracts from) the value provided by a product or service to a firm and/or that firm's customers.' Then, Aaker (1996) remarks on five elements of brand equity: 1) brand name awareness, 2) brand associations, 3) brand loyalty, 4) perceived quality, and 5) other proprietary brand assets. Keller (1993, p.2) terms customer-based brand equity as 'the differential effect of brand knowledge on consumer response to the marketing of the brand.' In other words, customer-based brand equity depends on the familiarity of a particular brand and the held memory about brand associations.

Another approach adopts socio-cultural perspective. From this viewpoint, we characterise a brand as a symbolic signal in society (O'Reilly, 2005a; Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014). A brand, in this study, is not simply considered under its general definition, as 'a type of product manufactured by a particular company under a particular name' (Oxford University Press, 2017). Rather, a brand is defined as, a repository of meaning (Allen, Fournier and Miller, 2008; Fournier, 1998; McCracken, 1993). In an expansion of this description, brands are construed as creating meaning that constructs our world (Kornberger, 2010). Therefore, the creation of a brand's meaning is not immune from society and Hatch and Rubin (2006, p. 40) argue that 'brands exist as symbols in popular culture with their meanings contingent on

particular cultural contexts’. In this sense, brands need to adopt cultural code (Schroeder, 2009) to strategically produce meaning in society.

O’Reilly (2005a) distinguishes and identifies several perspectives on cultural brands. He classifies the concept into three groups: ‘cultrepreneurs’, commercial corporations, and cultural corporations. This classification is divided into the mainstream business sector and cultural industries. On the one hand, a cultural brand, largely accepted in the marketing (branding) literature, is a commercial corporation brand that has become an icon, constituting a particular culture of society. From this point of view, Holt (2004) elaborates on cultural brands, defined as iconic brands that offer myths to resolve contradictions and anxieties in society. For instance, Guinness represents the culture of Ireland in the beer industry, and Bollywood movies represent India in the film industry (Guzmán and Paswan, 2009).

In the cultural industry, on the other hand, ‘cultural brands’ refer to cultural organisations such as museums, theatre agencies, and academic institutions or artists (referred to as ‘culturepreneurs’ by O’Reilly). In particular, cultrepreneurs are principal agents who produce cultural products, such as Damien Hirst, Andy Warhol (visual arts), and Madonna (pop music). On the face of it, cultural brands promote themselves to achieve commercial success. In some sense, this definition of a cultural brand (cultrepreneurs) is similar to Kerrigan et al.'s (2011) explanation of celebrity endorsement, which is expanded by Preece (2015) in exploring Ai Weiwei’s , one of leading contemporary artists, celebrity figures.

Table 3. The Definition of Cultural Brand

Authors	Definition
Holt (2004, p.14)	‘Performer of, container for, an identity of myth’.
O’Reilly (2005a, p.573)	‘All brands are symbolic articulators of production and consumption... representational texts, and are socially, not merely managerially, constructed’.
Guzmán and Paswan (2009, p. 71)	‘Cultural brands embody a sum total of a group’s cultural identity, including a surrounding myth, a tie to its cultural roots, and associations of its past and aspired future’.

Several studies have explored the aforementioned relationship between brands and culture (Brown, Kozinets and Sherry 2003; Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006; Thompson, Rindfleisch and Arsel 2006; Diamond et al. 2009). In this line, the term ‘cultural brand’ appeared. As we indicated in Table 3, the idea of a cultural brand is interpreted differently according to various views (Guzmán and Paswan, 2009). In this thesis, we consider artists as cultural brands with extending Muñiz, Norris and Fine's (2014) argument on the relationship between brands and artists: they deem artists brands in terms of containing socially constructed meanings with announcing as, ‘brands are strategically developed bundles of ideas and meaning’. Thus, cultural brands adapt and deliver embedded culture, which is equivalent to the role of artists in the art market.

Holt's (2004) cultural branding theory delineates how brands employ cultures which hold certain myths. Holt, that is, articulates the process of ‘how exactly cultures create brands’ (Allen, Fournier and Miller, 2008, p.792). Echoing previous understanding on the contribution of branding to social meaning (Scott 1994; Fournier 1998; Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001; Holt 2002), Holt's examination of the close relationship between cultures and brands has inspired various research in marketing field (Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006; Thompson, Rindfleisch and Arsel 2006; Diamond et al. 2009; Hartmann and Ostberg 2013).

Holt (2004) points out that brands strategically target the myth market. Myth, ‘[s]imple stories with compelling characters and resonant plots’ (Holt, 2003, p.44), can assuage tension or anxiety in consumers which are drawn from contradictions between prevailing ideologies and an individual's lived experience. By developing a new method of brand genealogy, Holt (2004) chronologically analyses the advertisements of corporate brands taking popular culture and the economic and political changes in society into account. For instance, Holt analyses the processes by which brands attain an iconic status, selecting as case studies the examples of Nike, Harley-Davidson and Coca-Cola and concludes that brands have succeeded where they have acquired their own cultural codes which are developed within the relevant social and political contexts. Iconic brand provides a simple story (a *myth* in Holt's term) that enables consumers to resolve cultural contradictions. According to Allen et al. (2008, p. 793), for instance, Dove creates the myth of ‘*Real Beauty*’, which resolves the cultural contradiction between perfect, youthful bodies (the dominant ideology) and imperfect

bodies (consumer's lived experience). The brand myth is then expressed in their advertisements and the myth is discovered from cultural products such as novels, films, music and so on, rather than creating it.

In this way, Holt (2004) explores the process by which brands develop the status of icons and he argues that this status is drawn from identifying and performing valuable myths. With regards to the definition of myth, Campbell (1988, p. 48) point out that, 'a myth is the society's dream'. The function of myth is to 'help us make sense of the world' (Holt, 2003, p.44) in terms of providing 'meaning, identity, a comprehensive understanding image of the world and to support the social order' (Fisher, 1973, p.161). Moreover, Holt shows the cultural context in which myths work. Myths are not completely new, but are grounded in cultural products (Holt, 2004). According to Barthes (1985, p. 109), along similar lines, myth can be supported by 'not only written discourse, but also photography, cinema, reporting, sport, shows, [and] publicity'. In the U.S, for instance, the gunfighter myth⁵ was embodied in films, such as '[t]he Gunfighter, High Noon, and Shane' (Holt, 2006, p.363). At that time, the American man was required to act collaboratively as a team member in bureaucracies, which provoked man's antipathy and this cultural rebuttal. In the given circumstances, the majority of whiskey brands associated their whiskey with the well-dressed man who is successful in their profession. However, unlike them, Jack Daniel captured American man's anxiety about being an organisation man, and resolved it by performing the gunfighter myth via their advertisement (Holt and Cameron, 2010).

In the context of visual arts, artists closely relate to myths by identifying and performing them through their creative practices. According to Campbell (2007, p. 183), '[t]his personal creative act is related to the realm of myth...because myth is the homeland of the inspiration of the arts'. That is, artists create artworks inspired by myth. Holt's model inspired several studies in the art field; Muñiz, Norris and Fine (2014) examine cultural branding theory by focusing on Pablo Picasso's recognition of cultural trend. Moreover, Kerrigan et al. (2011) apply Holt's theory to Andy Warhol's celebrity brand and stress the roles of related players in distinguishing artist

⁵ Gunfighters were demonstrated as dangerous, wild, adventurous man with upholding American frontier. Their violence is positively interpreted as being 'reactionary populists who stand up for self-reliance and use their semi-barbaric aptitude to take on 'totalitarian' modern institutions and ever more vigorous barbarian enemies' (Holt, 2006, p.363).

from general brands. Establishing new brands involves various considerations: providing 'myth' with a focus upon particular place (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013); the importance of stakeholders (Preece and Kerrigan, 2015); political stance (Rodner and Preece, 2015).

2.3.3. The Application of Neo-Institutional Theory to Marketing

Institutions are social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. [They] are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life (Scott, 1995, p.33)

Neo-institutional theory is well established in organisational studies (Greenwood et al., 2008) originated as a means of arguing Weber's (1978) view of institutional theory that the structure of organisation is driven solely by efficiency (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). As can be seen above quotation, the concept of institutions - socially constructed by various individuals with providing shared meaning and behaviours (Scott, 1995) - has enabled previous research to study organisations at the socio-cultural level by analysing their conformity to institutions for attaining legitimacy (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In organisation studies, neo-institutional theory was originally associated with the stability of institution, then evolved to explore the change or transformation of institutions (Chaney and Ben Slimane, 2014) with spawning several strands such as institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988), institutional logic (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), and institutional work (Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca, 2011).

The benefits of using institutional theory for studies in marketing have been raised recently due to its suitability for explaining the market and its actors at macro levels beyond the relationship between consumers and firms (Chaney, Ben Slimane and Humphreys, 2016). Previous scholars of institutional theory have explored market dynamics (Dolbec and Fischer, 2015; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2012), intermediaries (Humphreys, 2010b), and a new market creation (Humphreys, 2010a) at the societal level. According to a broad framework for studying institutions developed by Scott (1995), marketing scholars examine cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative legitimacy of consumer practice.

For instance, Humphreys (2010b) delineates institutional factors that influence the historical process of shifting the legitimacy of consumer practices (gambling), which is shaped by journalists. By considering media not simply as gatekeepers, Humphreys (2010b) finds that newspapers selected, valued, and realized information about casino gambling, which constitutes the legitimation process. Likewise, marketing literature evolves from offering effective strategies for firms to attract more consumers to delineating the way in which 'marketing strategy affects the way that markets are socially constructed and how they operate' (Chaney, Ben Slimane and Humphreys, 2016, p.472). By considering neo-institutional theory as an analytic frame, thus, marketing scholars have expanded the scope of their research into the exploration of the market at a societal level.

2.4. Critical Evaluation of the Literature

Echoing Fillis (2011), the academic literature on arts marketing has evolved from its basis of applying marketing theory to cultural institutions to capturing innovative lessons for marketing theory by exploring the artistic context. Brands have become more important for judging the quality of contemporary artworks rather than the content of artworks per se in the market. Therefore, questions, such as who made it, who deals it, who previously possessed it, and where it was displayed add the value of the artwork. Most notably Schroeder (2005, 2010) and Thompson (2008, 2014) have pioneered a new direction of arts marketing research in propagating the importance of branding in the CAM. However, a more careful scrutiny of the difference between artists' brands and conventional product brands and new trends in the CAM is warranted for further developing the academic field of arts marketing.

The concept of brand crosses over between the general commercial market and the visual arts market, which have two facets in common. Firstly, the outputs of producers are distinguished by brand. For instance, in the general market, the brand of a product plays a role in signposting standards and differences within a similar product category (Aaker, 1991). In a similar way, the branding of artworks act is a crucial factor in distinguishing the artwork from other artefacts of a similar style (Schroeder, 2005). Moreover, brand influences purchase-decisions pertaining to the product. Brand recognition decreases perceived decision-making risks (functional, physical, financial, social, psychological and time risks) and encourages the consumer to decide to

purchase a product (Keller, 1998). Equivalently, branded actors ‘confer a guarantee on artworks, giving consumers a sense of security and sustainability in a market that is constantly in flux’ (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011, p.320). In other words, a known brand instils trust and reduce risks when consuming (either buying or viewing the works) - artworks (Thompson, 2008).

In contrast with these similarities, there are broad distinctions between brands in the arts and commercial markets. The first difference involves perspectives on the usage of the ‘brand’ concept. Although the operation of brand theory is crucial in general marketing, using the term ‘brand’ is seen as too vulgar in the arts market (Sargeant, 1999; Rentschler, 2007), as there is a belief that the explicit utilisation of the concept of ‘brand’ might negatively impact on the perceived ‘purity’ of the arts. Secondly, an artist can be considered as a brand when the artist plays the role of brand manager for his/her brand whilst managing their career at the same time, thereby generating ‘multifaceted public identity that is distinct from a product brand’ (Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014, p.69). Lastly, although the visual artist is a central point in the arts market network (Jyrämä and Äyväri, 2010), differentiating an artist’s brand from others in the market is not under their own control. Compared with conventional product brands, the artworks created under an artist’s brand have more uncertain value (Hirsch, 1972), meaning that artists’ brands depend on the institutional structure, namely the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996), to grant legitimacy to their artworks.

This thesis, thus, adopts a socio-cultural approach to interpreting artists’ brands. As such, we define a brand as a symbolic signal (O’Reilly, 2005a; Hatch and Rubin, 2006) in which a brand means ‘vessels of meaning and sentiment that are valued in society’ (Holt, 2006, p.357). Accordingly, we are interpreting the word ‘brand’ not as an object, but rather ‘as the result of a set of practices’ (Kornberger 2010, p. 48). Applying this perspective, brand creation is understood as a collaboratively engineered social construction (O’Reilly, 2005a), aimed at promoting public recognition of a brand’s distinctive characteristics (Preece and Kerrigan, 2015).

The key trends in the CAM - consideration of reputable people/institutions as brands and the rising importance of art fairs and digital platforms - can be explored in each of the three perspectives we have categorised in this chapter. The focus of research in *Marketing of Arts Organisations* is on the application of branding as one of the

marketing tools for individual brands in the CAM. When the brand is a person, for instance, maximising the exposures of the brands to the public, namely personal branding (Montoya, 2002), might be a suitable approach to analyse the phenomenon of being a brand in the CAM. In *Marketing with Artworks/Artists*, the discovery of lessons for branding is the main objective for researchers in exploring artistic practice. It is exemplified by the aforementioned Schroeder's (2005) article.

Although both perspectives contribute to the development of arts marketing, their approaches to the CAM hardly provide a systematic account of the following issues: why the market considers particular people and institutions as brands; what the meaning of brands is in the CAM and why brands become important in the CAM; how art fairs and digital platforms become new intermediaries and how they change the hierarchical structure in the field of arts. This chapter insists that these questions can be explored more fruitfully from the perspective of *Marketing from the Art World*.

Moreover, theoretically, the close connection between the visual art market and branding has inspired previous scholars in the marketing field (Schroeder 1997, 2005, 2010; Lehman and Wickham 2014). By acknowledging the limitations of applying corporate branding theory to the art market, the research has shifted to adopting sociocultural approaches for studying the subject of visual arts (Kerrigan, et al., 2011; Muniz, et al., 2014; Preece and Kerrigan, 2015; Rodner and Preece, 2015). Although these researchers commonly present cultural branding theory (Holt, 2004) at the level of the conceptualisation of their arguments, such application needs to be specified to explore the contributions of art fairs and online platforms to legitimisation structure of artists, and the relationship between new intermediaries and old ones.

The complex and fluid valuation structure in the CAM driven by the uncertain value of contemporary art and the repositioning of inner members in the art world are the compelling research items to be explored at the societal level. Therefore, this thesis argues that scholars in arts marketing need to build on the sociological perspective of *Marketing from the Art World* in exploring branded institutions or people (artists, museums or collectors) in the CAM. Since the necessity of brands originates from the uncertain value of arts, the symbolic value of contemporary artworks, rather than its functional features, is highlighted and the value is collectively constructed or bestowed in the art world.

However, our assessment of the current literature on *Marketing from the Art World*, led by some European scholars (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan 2013; Rodner and Kerrigan 2014; Rodner and Preece 2015), is that most studies have not explicitly addressed the power relationships between players or agents in the art world. As the role of intermediaries in establishing the value of artworks in the art market is conspicuous, it is obvious to see their struggles for power (Bourdieu, 1996) or collective actions (Becker, 1982). In particular, in the CAM, the explosion of autonomous or independent artists (Heinich, 2012) highlights the growing need to gain legitimacy of their creations in the *art world*. In a line with this, Preece and Kerrigan (2015) argue that artists' brands are developed through the relationships with different stakeholders according to their career stages.

As the value of their works has not yet been approved, there needs to be a collective endorsement by several intermediaries. In this sense, exploring young/emerging artists provides a way to deepen the understanding of the CAM. Some scholars have shifted their attention from famous artists (Schroeder 1997, 2005; Muñiz, Norris, and Fine 2014) to young/emerging artists (O'Reilly 2005b; Lehman and Wickham 2014; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015). Future research could investigate the process by which young/emerging artists' works are valued in the market and how they struggle against the inequality of power in such a process.

More importantly, we have witnessed the enormous changes in the CAM over the last decade with emerging new players such as digital platforms and arts fairs. These new intermediaries have significant effects upon the dynamic of the CAM, transforming mechanisms of the existing valuation system. Thus, traditional market intermediaries should figure out how to respond to the new players in order to keep their influence on the valuing process. Although several scholars have studied art fairs (Thompson 2011; Yogev and Grund 2012), researchers in arts marketing could pay more attention to these new players and emerging trends. In particular, future research could investigate how art fairs function as a medium for constituting the art world (Curioni, 2014; Curioni, Forti and Leone, 2015; Schultheis, 2015). In addition, the topic of trading contemporary art online gives opportunities for researchers in arts marketing to investigate how the systems of valuations in offline and online settings differ, and how online or digital platforms intermediate the relationship between artists and buyers (Khaire, 2015).

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have identified that the dimension of arts marketing has evolved on a scholarly level toward giving innovative insights into marketing contexts by exploring artistic content. Indeed, previous research on the review of arts marketing categorises the research in arts marketing (See Venkatesh and Meamber 2006; Chong 2009; Kubacki and O'Reilly 2009; Bradshaw, Kerrigan and Holbrook 2010). Such categorisation contributes to discussing the scholarly development in arts marketing, as well as to proposing the direction of further research in the field. Accordingly, we also categorised previous research on arts marketing into three categories and each perspective was elaborated. By comparing different approaches to the arts in arts marketing with the current issues in the CAM, we mainly discuss the suitability of the perspective of *Marketing from the Art World* to explore the intricate and fluid structure in the CAM.

By doing so, this thesis positions itself in *Marketing from the Art World* which highlights the social mechanisms for yielding symbolic meaning for the arts, and the network and process of legitimising and branding the artists or artworks. While this thesis follows and expands previous research in this category (See Table 2), this section has identified compelling research items in arts marketing as follows:

1. The dynamics of power among intermediaries in the legitimisation structure
2. The exploration of young and emerging artists
3. The emergence of art fairs and online arts platforms as new intermediaries

Consequently, those identified issues from a review of research in arts marketing has formed the boundary of this thesis. By examining such issues, the outcome of this thesis contributes to offering 'meaningful and actionable arts marketing theory' (Fillis, 2011, p.11). In line with this, a sociocultural approach to branding—considering brands as the outcome of social construction—is more suitable for exploring the complex structure of valuing contemporary art in the market. In particular, Holt's (2004) cultural branding allows previous research in arts marketing to understand the context of visual arts. However, there is still enough room to advance the application of cultural branding to the area of arts. Moreover, what artists are branded is parallel with the process of giving legitimacy to artists. Therefore, the brief explanation of the valuation structure, the concept of legitimacy within neo-institutional theory, and the

conception of the art world in this chapter will be specified and discussed in following chapter in order to develop a theoretical framework for this thesis.

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The previous section elucidated the phenomenon of branded individuals and cultural institutions and emerging new intermediaries, namely art fairs and digital platforms, in the contemporary art market (CAM). This thesis also identified that the uncertain value of contemporary art engenders the unique valuation structure in the CAM. Moreover, we found that the structure of valuing contemporary art is in flux because of the characteristics of contemporary art and the emergence of new intermediaries. In this sense, the previous section argued that *Marketing from the Art World*—an emphasis more upon the societal level issues of the arts—is a suitable approach to explore the identified issues, and thereby posit this thesis within.

In line with Holt's (2004) cultural branding theory, previous research offers perceptive insights into visual artists within their socio-cultural context (Kerrigan et al., 2011; Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014; Preece and Kerrigan, 2015; Preece, 2015; Rodner and Preece, 2015). This application of cultural branding theory in the visual arts needs to be specified and expanded in order to explore research items which were previously overlooked or insufficiently discussed. This includes the new entrants' (art fairs and online platforms) contributions to the valuation structure in the CAM, and the intricate linkages between new intermediaries and old ones. To address this issue, the chapter focuses more on the process of the valuation of artworks and the legitimisation of artists. To do so, this chapter aims to provide a theoretical framework by specifying and expanding the application of Holt's (2004) cultural branding model to the field of visual arts, incorporating the idea of the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996; Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1974) and neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995).

The following part consists of three sections: 1) the concept of the art world – which was briefly mentioned in Chapter 2 – will be reviewed, enabling the conceptual study of the value of artworks; 2) the concept of legitimacy, which is focal point in valuing artworks, will be reviewed from the perspective of neo-institutional theory and the art world; 3) the theoretical framework will be discussed by conjoining two bodies of theory in order to better understand the legitimacy of artists, thus deepening our understanding of the valuation system of contemporary art in the current art market.

3.1. Valuation

Determining the value of works of art, particularly artistic value, is essential in the field of aesthetics. In spite of this, attempts to explain the appeal of certain works of art, such as ready-mades, in terms of beauty alone has proven difficult. Therefore, an alternative perspective should be adopted when considering these works of art. Aesthetician Arthur Danto (1964) introduced the notion of an *art world* (Yanal, 1998). This notion means that applicable rationales in art theory and history may serve to identify an object as a work of art, and that rationales should supersede judgements based upon the beauty or appearance of the artwork (Danto, 1964). The arguments on the issue of valuation from the contexts of aesthetics and sociology will be discussed further in the following section.

3.1.1. Artistic Value

Broadly speaking, in the context of the arts, there are two different ways of categorising value: the *intrinsic value* and the *instrumental value*. Intrinsic value means that an object has value for its own sake, whereas instrumental value refers to the value that ‘something has as a means or a contribution to something else valued as end’ (Stecker, 2005b, p.309). Most of the determinants that partake in the evaluation of artistic value have traditionally been linked to the experience of works of art. Empiricist philosopher Hume (1758, p.230), for instance, argued that ‘all the general rules of art are founded only on experience and on the observation of the common sentiments of human nature’. Budd (1995) also defines aesthetic value in terms of the experience of artworks, equating experiencing a work of art with its understanding. Similarly, by adopting Holbrook and Hirschman's (1982) outline of experiential consumption, Bradshaw, Kerrigan and Holbrook (2010) highlight the aesthetic appreciations of confronting physical works of art. By focusing on the consumer, they mainly discuss the importance of shifting the perspective on the value of artworks from its external value (price or social recognition) to its internal value, drawn from aesthetic consumption. In this line, we might self-justify the intrinsic value of Damien Hirst's stuffed shark based on our own aesthetical experience⁶.

⁶ For instance, the aesthetical experience on the stuffed shark is well demonstrated by Jones (2007, p. 8) as, ‘[t]he tail seems to move in a leisurely way. The grey skin of the fish is magnified when you look from the outside...’

However, the idea that an audience's experience of an artwork is wholly constitutive of the artistic value of the artwork has its limitations (Kieran, 2005). First of all, this perspective on artistic value struggles to explain particular art movements. According to Kieran (2005), Cubism is an example of this, as audiences at the time did not respond positively to Cubist artworks, partly because paintings by Cubists are typically two-dimensional works which ignore perspective. Yet the negativity of the public at the time does not mean that Cubist paintings have little artistic value. A second problem with the experiential idea of artistic value is that the public receives the same optical experience from replicas and forgeries as it does from original works. For instance, Bonus and Ronte (1997) describe a painting in the style of Rembrandt called 'Man with Golden Helmet', which lost its audience and economic value once it was revealed not to be by Rembrandt himself. This demonstrates that despite two paintings being similar in style, they may not be deemed of equal artistic value.

Furthermore, many works of art aim to undermine or exclude our traditional understanding of visual appreciation, by highlighting instead the 'performative' aspects of art (Kieran, 2005, p.30). In line with this argument, it could be claimed that 'art is about departure' (Taylor, 2013, p.72), and thus that the artwork provides only a starting point for its audience. One seminal work of art which may fit into this category is *Fountain* (1917) by Duchamp, which was simply a urinal bearing the signature 'R.Mutt 1917'. For Duchamp, this represented the way banal manufactured objects could be seen as works of art (termed 'ready-mades' by Duchamp). Livingstone (1990, p.10) describes the ready-made as 'a mass-production functional object removed from its original context and presented, without any physical mediation, as a work of art'. Other examples of ready-made objects being appropriated as works of art include Picasso's (1942) use of saddles and the handle from a bicycle to fashion the head of a bull, and Jeff Koons' *Three Ball 50/50 Tank* (1985) (Thompson, 2008). These works force the viewer to conceive artistic value not in terms of visual experience, but instead in terms of the thought processes which inspired the object (Danto, 1997a).

3.1.2. Art World

It was a most exciting moment, not least of all because the entire structure of debate which had defined the New York art scene up to that point had ceased having application. A whole new theory was called for other than the theories of realism, abstraction, and modernism which had defined the

argument for Hopper and his allies and his opponents (Danto, 1997a, p.123).

As shown in Danto's description about the exhibition of Warhol's *Brillo Box*, he was immediately struck by the works of art and how it could not be explained using existing aesthetic standards, typified by Greenberg's (1961) views. In 1950s, the dominant aesthetic standard relied upon Greenberg's idea that a work of art should be evaluated based on its medium, rather than on its meaning (Freeland, 2001). Danto then introduced the term 'art world' to explain the ontology of art, suggesting that something could be seen as an artwork based upon its place in the 'art world': 'to see something as art requires something the eye cannot decry - an atmosphere of artistic theory, a knowledge of the history of art' (Danto, 1964, p.580). This approach argues that an object becomes a work of art once it engages with art theory.

Recent studies have taken Danto's opinion further by highlighting the part played by theoreticians as deciding value of artworks. Despite an emphasis of the symbiotic relationship between artists and critics, Wijnberg and Gemser (2000, p.327) are aware of the role played by critics in establishing the validity of an artwork. Moreover, based on their knowledge of aesthetics, critics can either make or break the reputation of artists (Beckert and Rössel, 2013). In other words, for the audience, the critics are qualified to establish the meaning of works of art (Rodner and Thomson, 2013). In this way, experts of art theory 'help us see more in the artist's work and understand it better' (Freeland, 2001, p.153).

According to Danto's (1964) approach, everything, even a painting by a child, can be a work of art as long as it supported by theory. He responds to the criticism by adding a condition to ratify that an object is an artwork: in later works, Danto (1981) included interpretation as a criteria to identify works of art. Furthermore, he added that, 'interpretation is...different depending on its art historical location' (Danto, 1973, p.15). For instance, Danto (1981) noticed that Picasso's and Cézanne's styles could not be interpreted the same way. That is because the historical surroundings of Picasso had an influence upon his art, which was not the case with Cézanne. Therefore, it is difficult to say that a painting by a child embodies artistic history, and thus such a painting should not be seen as an artwork.

However, this theory still fails to explain completely the value of artworks; the 'art world' as outlined by Danto is therefore not sufficient to identify an object as art, and stands merely as a necessary condition of such an identification (Sutton, 2000). That is, the art world consists of Danto's RT theory and of other practical aspects, such as galleries and the media. In order to elucidate these features, Danto's original description of the art world as an 'atmosphere' should be explained in more detail. In this respect, Dickie (1984) agrees that the 'atmosphere' of the art world (Danto, 1964) plays a vital role in the constitution of valuing artworks. However, Dickie highlights that Danto overlooks the ways in which this atmosphere constitutes itself. Dickie (1984), therefore, attempts to explain Danto's ambiguous notion of 'atmosphere' in the following way: it may be understood as the systematic structure constructed by people who have the ability to foster conventions.

In fact, in order to extend the range of Danto's art world, Dickie (1974) interprets the art world in conjunction with institutional theory. Dickie (1984) points out that Danto's 'art world' notion is not contradictory with the 'art world' of institutional theory. Earlier on, Dickie (1974) had indicated that, 'a work of art in the classificatory sense is: 1) an [original] artefact 2) a set of the aspects of which has had conferred upon it, the status of candidate for appreciation by some person or persons acting on behalf of a certain social institution (the art world)'. 'Artefact', according to Dickie (1974), means an object made by human intention.

However, Dickie's (1974) institutional theory of art was often criticised. The main issue with Dickie's theory proceeded from his problematic description of the type of institutions concerned. According to Beardsley (1976), there are two types of institutions: 'institution-types' and 'institution-tokens' (Wieand (1981) called these concepts 'action-institutions' and 'person-institutions'). The former term includes for instance social practices like marriage; Organisations like the Roman Catholic Church are instantiated as an institution-token. Beardsley (1976) remarked that although Dickie's art world was close to the 'institution-type', 'a set of practices' (van Maanen, 2009, p.24), Dickie's explanation included terms related to institution-tokens such as 'conferred', 'status' and 'on behalf of'. In this respect, Dickie (1984) accepted the criticisms and modified his original definitions by removing the problematic terminologies.

Other deviations emerged from the notion of artificiality. In his earlier works, Dickie (1974) insisted that artistic artificiality was elucidated via human activity: an object was 'artificial' either because it had been handmade, or because this artificial status had been conferred to it. For instance, a piece of wood would be considered 'artificial' from the moment it was hung up on a wall, even if it had not been crafted. In later works, Dickie (1984) revised this statement, declaring that artificiality should rely upon the object being crafted. Moreover, he stressed that the status of artefact embraced the meaning of making. One condition must also be taken into account: the people judging the object should belong to the art world. In this sense, ready-made becomes a work of art: Duchamp, who is a member of the art world, used a urinal as an artistic-medium, thus turning the urinal into an artefact in the art world. Therefore, in his later definitions of the art world, Dickie stipulated that it was only possible to ratify something as art from within the art world system (Dickie, 1984).

Despite Dickie's contribution to expanding the art world, he rarely explains the characteristics of institutions within the art world. Stecker (2005a, p.148), for instance, criticises Dickie for not explaining what makes a system specific to the art world: 'wherever a product is produced for consumers, there is such a system. How does Dickie distinguish artworld systems from the other artefact presentation systems?' We may notice that sociological approaches have deliberately been excluded from Danto and Dickie's interpretations of the art world. In the first place, as discussed above, Danto places too heavy an emphasis on intangible aspects of the art world, that is to say art theory. This results in a lack of interest in tangible features. He attributes essential elements of the art world to other fields of study; he announced that, 'museums, connoisseurs and others...a matter of almost purely sociological interest' (Danto, 1964, p.584). In other words, he disregards tangible or practical aspects of the art world, as he describes such practical aspects as 'makeweights' (Danto, 1964, p.584). Commenting upon Dickie's logic, van Maanen (2009, p. 28) observes that Dickie's institutional theory of art does not explain 'how art world systems make art, artists and artworks function in society'.

3.1.3. Becker's Art World

Becker (1982, p. 149) also criticises Danto's and Dickie's views as ideas that 'don't have much meat on [their] bones, only what is minimally necessary to make the points

they want to make'. Becker (1982), then, attempts to describe the unique characteristics of the art world system via sociological analyses. Becker's ideas initially originate in Danto's theory, which Becker extends with an emphasis on cooperation of the art world. Becker's (1974, p. 767) sociological interpretation of the art world includes the idea that 'art is social'. According to this principle, the art world consists of patterns yielded by the collective activities of insiders (Becker, 1982). Becker's interest lies in the division of labour in the production of artworks. For instance, in addition to an author, producing a book involves many other people throughout the manufacturing, design and distribution processes. Becker (1974) argues that it is these cooperative activities that give rise to specific outcomes within a network.

In his later works, Becker (1982) set his own definition of the art world, as we have seen in previous chapter. That is, inner members in the art world contribute to developing an unstable consensus about the value of artworks. Agreeing with Danto, Becker (1982, p. 131) notes that critics generate rationales of validity for particular works of art using aesthetic theory; their judgement is 'what gives them that worth', with critical evaluations spreading and impacting the reputation of a creator or of an artwork. For Becker, however, unlike Danto, the role of critic is only part of constituting the consensus. Becker (1982, p. 115), then, highlights that dealers and collectors are also important to develop 'a consensus about the worth of work and how it can be appreciated'. For instance, dealers can educate the audience on the rationales for the value of artworks. Following Becker's logic, therefore, art theory is one element of the art world. Art theory cannot reach society without distributors. In this sense, Danto himself reveals the weakness of his principle in the following sentence: 'outside the gallery, [*Brillo Boxes*] are pasteboard cartons' (Danto, 1964, p.581). Hence, the valuation of works of art is unavoidable without considering the consensus collectively constructed by intermediaries such as critics, the distributors and the media.

3.2. Towards Theoretical Framework

The valuation of cultural goods is closely linked to the issue of legitimacy as contemporary art have uncertain value. Thus, contemporary artists seek legitimation—'a process that brings the unaccepted into accord with accepted norms, values, beliefs,

practices, and procedures’ (Zelditch, 2001, p.9)—in order to attain a valuable status for their artworks. The following part will define legitimacy within a neo-institutional theory (Chaney, Ben Slimane and Humphreys, 2016; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995), which enables us to obtain a conceptual lens exploring the complex mechanism of legitimising contemporary artists and their artworks in the CAM. Moreover, we will readdress Becker’s art world, comparing to Bourdieu’s art field with a focus on the issue of legitimacy. In short, Becker (1982) explains that the powers of the art world’s participants, in terms of legitimating a work as an artwork, are equally given (van Maanen, 2009), whilst Bourdieu (1993) highlights the inequity of power—drawn from the social class system among the participants. This conceptual argument allows us to shed light on the hierarchical structure in the art world.

3.2.1. Legitimacy within a Neo Institutional Theory Context

So far as [social action] is not derived merely from fear or from motives of expediency, a willingness to submit to an order imposed by one man or a small group, always implies a belief in the legitimate authority (*Herrschaftsgewalt*) of the source imposing it (Weber [1922] 1978, p. 37)

The sociologist, Max Weber, argues that legitimacy clarifies the willingness and consistency of individuals to submit to authority. Legitimation refers to ‘recognition by oneself and others of the value of an entity (whether a person, an actions, or a situation)’ (Lamont, 2012, p.206). As we can see from Lamont’s definition, the process of recognition for such different entities is made by either individuals or groups. In this sense, although legitimacy is placed everywhere, it is seemingly ‘auxiliary to some other process’ (Zelditch, 2001, p.5). Not surprisingly, therefore, the directions for exploring legitimation are varied in different fields, ranging from sociology to management (see Überbacher 2014). In sociology, for instance, previous research has explored the legitimation in the level of personal interactions through a focus on the legitimacy of authority (Ford and Johnson, 1998); reward and justice (Mueller and Landsman, 2004); and group’s power (Berger et al., 1998).

In the field of management, the concept of legitimacy is a focal point of neo-institutional theory (Suchman, 1995; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2012). Through conforming to institutions that are socially constructed, an organisation can attain its

legitimacy in the organisational field⁷. Inspired by Max Weber's bureaucratisation (Weber [1922], 1978) – which highlights the efficiency of organisational rationalisation – neo-institutional theory contends that the structure of different organisations becomes similar to ones in the same field because of institutional pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Put differently, institutions are defined as 'social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. [They] are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life' (Scott, 1995, p.33). Thus, organisations acknowledge that multiple social actors involved in building such institutions contribute to legitimising the organisations in terms of being understandable and desirable in the organisational field (Suchman, 1995).

The identified elements or pillars of institution – regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive – offer a foundation to understanding legitimacy, which is a condition reflecting those three elements (Scott, 1995). The regulative pillar highlights 'rules-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities, both formal and informal' (Scott, 2008, p.222). Thus, regulative legitimacy appears when the government or regulatory institutions establish formal rules or laws that make practices or organisations legally acceptable (Chaney, Ben Slimane and Humphreys, 2016). Normative legitimacy highlights the reflection of evaluating organisations or practices normatively (Suchman, 1995). Regardless of the legality of its activities, normative legitimacy states that organisations or practices 'seek to establish congruence between the social values associated with or implied by their activities and the norms of acceptable behaviour in the larger social system of which they are a part' (Dowling and Pfeffer, 1975, p.122).

For instance, Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2013) argued that normative legitimacy is not possessed by stay-at-home fathers by virtue of their deviation from the norm of dominant gender expectations. Professionalisation, such as in universities and training centres, shapes normative legitimacy, and 'the filtering of personnel' is a mechanism of normatively legitimising an organisation in the field (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p.152). Unlike regulative legitimacy, normative legitimacy does not require the

⁷ The organisation field offers the creation and structuration of 'the shared social meaning of reality and the mental patterns that draw the different members of a field together' (Chaney, Ben Slimane and Humphreys, 2016, p.473)

approval of regulative institutions. Humphreys (2010a) outlined the distinction between them using the example of speeding. Although the practice of exceeding the speed limit is illegitimate on a regulative level, it can attain normative legitimacy in the case of transporting emergency patients, which is acceptable within the moral standards of society.

The last type of legitimacy is cultural-cognitive, 'which is the degree of fit with existing cognitive and cultural schemas' (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2012, p.1236). According to Suchman (1995), cognitive legitimacy is related to the roles of comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness. Stressing comprehensibility in legitimation originates from the extent to which practices engender acceptable explanation by cultural models. Another perspective on cognitive legitimacy mainly measures practices' quality of being taken for granted by institutions (Zucker, 1983). Within this perspective, 'institutions not only render disorder manageable, they actually transform it into a set of intersubjective "givens" that submerge the possibility of dissent' (Suchman, 1995, p.583). Moreover, cognitive legitimacy is interrelated with cultural elements; cultural process and framework reinforce and create cognitive schemas (Scott, 1995). For instance, Scaraboto and Fischer (2012) explored a stigmatised group of consumers in the fashion industry, in which the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of plus-sized consumers is deficient. This is because fatness and fashionableness are hardly understandable or classifiable by the existing cultural-cognitive framework, which perceives that being fashionable is associated with being thin.

These three levels of legitimacy are interrelated, which means they can strengthen or compete with each other (Scott, 1995). Despite disputing the order in which cognitive and normative legitimacy occur, scholars have commonly asserted the close link between both forms of legitimacy. The analysis of stay-at-home fathers, in Coskuner-Balli and Thompson's (2013) article, shows the co-emergency of normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy. The lack of normative legitimacy of stay-at-home fathers has previously been shown, yet they are also cognitively illegitimate, as their normative illegitimacy 'is readily interpreted through pejorative cultural frameworks, such as the Mr. Mom stereotype or incompetent caregiver presumptions' (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2013, p.28). Moreover, the varying extent of the three types of

legitimacy is differently exhibited for diverse organisations or practices (Humphreys 2010a).

3.2.2. Legitimacy and the Art World

In the context of the arts, the legitimacy of the value of cultural goods is the main concern. That is because cultural products are driven by taste, rather than performance and thus, ‘what makes ‘good art’ (popular or elite) is seemingly arbitrary’ (Currid, 2007a, p.386). Therefore, the legitimation of cultural producers is required to render their goods valid. Several factors are involved in the mechanism of legitimation in the CAM. For instance, gatekeepers contribute to legitimising young artists’ artistic identity, thereby giving value to their works of art (Preece and Kerrigan, 2015). Along with the role of gatekeepers, the distribution of cultural goods is also highlighted in artistic legitimation in terms of offering access to consumers (Hirsch 1972; Currid 2007a) in which the symbolic value of artworks is able to transform to economic value (Rodner and Kerrigan, 2014). Moreover, the legitimation mechanism of contemporary artists additionally includes the recognitions by the media and their peers (Preece, Kerrigan and O’Reilly, 2016).

The interest in legitimising the value of artworks originated from the sociology of art. In the context of sociology of art, legitimation refers to the redefining of productions as culture through repositioning institutionally and intellectually cultural productions (Baumann, 2007). Indeed, historically, artists were considered solitary, disinterested and independent by imbuing with unique charismas in nineteenth century, namely Romantic myth about artists. In the current age, however, artists are hardly distanced from society and economy in order to produce and distribute their artworks, as well as to attain legitimacy and be recognised by ‘art museums, curators, publishers and critics...In their control of what is ‘legitimate’ art, these gatekeepers also effectively say who is, and who is not, a legitimate artists’ (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p.167). While agreeing with the fact that artists are at the centre of the cultural production, sociologists are concerned about how the authority of artists is defined in society (Alexander, 2003). In this sense, the roles of gatekeepers or intermediaries are highlighted (Greenfeld, 1988; Joy and Sherry, 2003; Heinich, 2012).

The concept of the art world is useful to understand the way in which artists attain legitimacy. As we have seen, the art world is originally devised from Danto (1964) and the concept highlights the roles of critics to legitimise objects as artworks. While considering the art world as engaged with people's networks, Becker (1982) underlines their cooperative activities. As such, these networks consist of people conceiving the ideas for, executing, providing constituent materials for, and making up the audiences for, artworks (Becker, 1976). Unlike Danto, Becker insists that critics constitute only part of an evaluation network in the art market, saying as 'aestheticians are not the only ones with such a desire [for distinguishing art from non-art]' (Becker, 1982, p.163). Therefore, in Becker's art world, the unstable consensus of judging artworks emerges through the collective actions of inner members. Depending on the consensus, legitimation occurs (Zelditch, 2001).

In addition, Becker discusses the role of convention, which mediates the cooperative activities. The people who engage in these cooperative activities rely on the fact that 'earlier agreements now become customary, agreements that have become part of the conventional way of doing things in that art' (Becker, 1974, p.770). For instance, in the field of visual arts, the sizes or shapes of artworks are commonly perceived as appropriate to the prevalence of certain materials. This kind of artistic convention is established through the routinisation of cooperative activities (Bottero and Crossley, 2011). Put differently, every convention carries with it an aesthetic 'which makes what is conventional the standard of artistic beauty and effectiveness' (Becker, 1982, p.305).

In general, on the one hand, a newly unveiled work of art is rarely, if ever, completely new, as it is typically based on previously established artistic conventions, used to simplify collective action. When artists break with prevailed conventions, on the other hand, this challenges the artists in terms of decreasing the circulation of their works despite increasing their freedom. Becker insists that artists' behaviours in terms of breaking with existing conventions attack the aesthetics embodied in the conventions, which is an attack on 'an existing arrangement of ranked statuses, a stratification system' (Becker, 1974, p.774). The appearance of new artwork contributes to creating a new art world in which a new convention for embodying the artistic value of the new artwork is defined by intermediaries' endorsements. Then, several different art worlds coexist at the same time and such worlds may be 'unaware of each other, in conflict, or in some sort of symbiotic or cooperative relation' (Becker, 1976, p.704).

Becker's Art world is similar to Bourdieu's (1996) field of Art. Both the art world and the field of Art refer to the same sociological phenomenon while delineating the realm encompassing art, and they commonly consider artists who are not isolated from society (Alexander, 2003). However, it is important to note that the focus in the works of Becker and Bourdieu is different⁸. Becker looks at the social collaborations and networks that exist within fields such as the art world, whereas Bourdieu looks more at the tensions that exist within fields for the competitive search for capital among field members.

Bourdieu (1993) also argues that insiders in the field of art contribute to constituting the ideology of arts and acknowledges that the ideology enables the legitimacy of artworks. More importantly, Bourdieu (1993) highlights the degree of considering the ideology of artists or artworks supported by particular intermediaries as consensus in the field of art is varied. According to Webb, Schirato, and Danaher's (2002, p. 171) interpretation of Bourdieu's works, the legitimation of artworks depends on the stories surrounding the artists and 'the status (the capital) of the storytellers'. Newman, Goulding, and Whitehead (2013, p. 460) also support this view as, '[l]egitimacy in the field of contemporary visual art is defined by those who have dominant field positions, such as certain artists, curators and critics'.

Therefore, the legitimation of art depends on the difference in the power of the intermediaries drawn from their social and economic capital in the wider social class system (Bourdieu, 1984). In this sense, Becker (1982) explains that participants in the art world all share the same responsibility in legitimating the value of an artwork (van Maanen, 2009), whilst Bourdieu (1993) highlights relations of power within the broader social class system.

According to the degree of accepting a story about artists which is supported by certain intermediaries, thereby considering the story as consensus, the intermediaries are hierarchically organised in the art world. In this sense, Bourdieu (1991, p. 166) pointed out that symbols, arts in this paper, 'make it possible for there to be a consensus on the meaning of the social world, a consensus which contributes fundamentally to the

⁸ Someone argues that the difference between Becker's art world and Bourdieu's artistic field lies in the level of emphasis, rather than in the essence of the idea (Alexander, 2003).

reproduction of the social order'. Therefore, the hierarchical ordering among insiders in the art field gets to be unequivocal through the process of legitimising artists.

3.2.3. Redrawing a Conceptual Framework

The imponderable value of a work of contemporary art (its uncertain quality) results from its unique characteristic of cultural products (Peterson 1997; Wijnberg and Gemser 2000; Yogev 2010; Shin, Lee and Lee 2014). From a wider viewpoint, a work of contemporary art is a type of cultural product. Hirsch (1972, p. 641) defines cultural products as 'nonmaterial goods' that do not generally serve utilitarian needs, such as food and detergent, but provide an aesthetic or expressive value to the public. Put differently, works of art are credence goods (Darby and Karni, 1973), which are defined using consumers' costly judgements after purchase.

In economics, the seminal work by Nelson (1970) reports two categories of the acquisition of information by consumers: search goods and experience goods. In search goods, consumers acquire information prior to buying. Conversely, in experience goods, information cannot be obtained before purchasing and using the products. For instance, vegetables are a representative example of search goods, and restaurants are experience goods (Choi and Kim, 1996). In this sense, some scholars arguably classify cultural products as experience goods (Shin, Lee and Lee, 2014). However, even after experiencing cultural products, the uncertainty of their quality endures, as the consumers' satisfaction after buying cultural products will be subjective (Caves, 2000). Therefore, we insist that cultural products, especially visual arts, are credence goods.

In this respect, to judge its worth, contemporary art requires information regarding cultural knowledge (Bonus and Ronte, 1997). In other words, the uncertainty of contemporary art requires the explanation of its symbolic value/meaning. The procedure of building such value requires what 'the art world calls validation, and the business world calls branding' (Thompson 2011, p. 70). While acknowledging the relationship between validation and brand, we consider the process of valorising works of art within branding theory. Previous scholars were aware of the relevance of explaining the visual artist and the market from the perspective of brand. With the extension of deeming artists as entrepreneurs (Fillis, 2004), previous studies consider

an artist a brand manager in terms of handling their name (brand) and works of art (products) in the market (Schroeder, 2005; Kerrigan et al., 2011; Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014).

More importantly, recent research adopts the approach of brand theory from the socio-cultural perspective owing to acknowledging the difficulties of applying general brand theory to the arts field (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine 2014; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015). This is because general brand theory, which shows that firms control brands, does not embrace the uniqueness of the art market in terms of interdependency and intermediaries. Put differently, artists do not produce their works of art without support-personnel (Becker, 1974) and the meaning behind artwork is delivered to recipients, like appreciators and collectors, through collective actions of a dense group of intermediaries.

More precisely, within the socio-cultural perspective, the brand is posited not only in its affiliated market, but also in the wider context of society and culture. Brand is here defined as a symbol of containing the ‘culturally-embedded meaning’ (Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014) that is created by society. Therefore, brand is socially formed (O’Reilly, 2005a). In this sense, Holt (2004, 14) specifies it by suggesting that the conception of a cultural brand is a ‘performer of, container of, an identity of myth’. Indeed, artists reflect society in their works of art. In other words, artists transfer the cultural meaning of the world, which is embedded in their works of art. Therefore, an artist is the equivalent of a cultural brand in terms of ‘traffic[king] in meaning and idea’ (Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014, p.69).

With the extension of the concept of a cultural brand, in this section we pay more attention to distinguishing one particular cultural brand from others. In this sense, Holt (2004) initially introduces the term *cultural branding* by referring to the strategic model of capturing cultural codes for making a brand into a cultural icon. The cultural branding model (Holt 2004) conceptually inspired previous scholars who explore visual artists within socio-cultural perspective (Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014; Preece and Kerrigan, 2015; Kerrigan et al., 2011; Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013; Rodner and Preece, 2015). In particular, an interpretation of cultural branding as ‘the legitimation of the art world’ (Rodner and Preece, 2015, p.131) allows this study some theoretical insight into exploring the art market.

To further explore the legitimacy of artists in the art world, this thesis borrows from the conceptual lens of neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995). To some extent, the art world can be interpreted within the concept of institutionalisation. According to Meyer and Rowan (1977, p.341), the term ‘institutionalisation’ expresses, ‘the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule-like status in social thought and action’. ‘Institutionalised’, thus, means that something has obtained a rule-like status (Greenwood et al., 2008, p.5). Corresponding with the focal points highlighted by previous scholars with regard to the art world (Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1974; Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996), the art world – constituted by intermediaries – demonstrates rule-like processes and, thus, we can consider the system of the art world as an institutionalised structure.

Moreover, neo-institutional theory allows this study to systemically understand the occurrence of legitimacy in the art market. Although the application of institutional theory to a marketing context concerns the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive legitimacy of consumer practice, this thesis deals with the normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy of artists in the art market, because ‘[a]fter industries mature, regulative legitimacy become less important because the industry has been certified, legalized, and sanctioned for the public’ (Humphreys, 2010a, p.4). The normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy of artists in the art market is shaped in the art world.

We, thus, refer to the process of constituting the legitimacy of artists in the art world through the mediation of intermediaries in the art world between art market and collectors/appreciators, as *cultural branding*. The framework highlights the process of interpreting, shaping, and disseminating the cultural meaning embedded in artworks by the layer of intermediaries. In the wider views of Holt’s logic, the *cultural branding* model signifies the collective activities for branding cultural brands by intermediaries in the art world (Danto 1964; Becker 1982) between artists and consumers. As such, the activities contribute to co-construct the meaning behind works of art and legitimise certain works of art based on a constructed standard. Moreover, we highlight that the relationship between intermediaries is not linear but is intricately intertwined like a spider’s web in the layer of cultural branding. In this complex web, the actors interact

either regularly or irregularly, which results in a strong or weak relationship among them (Jyrämä and Äyväri, 2010).

In order to specify in what ways cultural branding occurs (the intermediaries mediate between artists and consumers by conferring normative and cultural cognitive legitimacy upon artists), we conceptually classify the activities of intermediaries into three categories: introduction, instruction, and inclusion. This categorisation helps us gain theoretical insights into the process by which the intermediaries craft the meaning of artworks toward rendering its producer (the artist) valid normatively and culturally. In addition, we point out that the categorisation is developed based on Khaire's (2015) classification of intermediaries' activities in the art market.

1) Introduction: the category of 'introduction' refers to intermediaries' commitments to discovering and introducing artists to other intermediaries who compose the valuation system in the art world. In a similar vein, some intermediaries insert '[artists]' works into art world's taste-making machinery' (Velthuis, 2005, p.41). As there is an overabundance of artists in the art market, engendering 'the awareness of the existence of the [certain artworks]' (Khaire, 2015, p.118) is crucial. Thus, the introduction of artists contributes to increasing their presence in existing cognitive schemas (the art world). As Humphreys (2010b) clearly shows, journalists represent gambling practice in newspapers, thereby adding cultural-cognitive legitimacy to the consumer practice. Similarly, the intermediaries in the art world bolster the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of artists in virtue of the introductory practice of intermediaries.

Dealers and gallerists are chiefly in charge of conducting the introduction of discovered artists by organising their first exhibitions. Historically, after eighteen centuries, Salons (French Academy) was a main contributor to debuting artists, which was replaced by dealers with the appearance of innovative artworks by Impressionists (White and White 1993 [1965]; Wijnberg and Gemser 2000). From that time, dealers and gallerists have been a focal point for discovering and introducing artists (Moulin 1987; Crane 1989). According to Bystryn (1978, p. 393), for instance, the dealers who have close links with the artistic community play a role in 'an initial screening of potentially successful artists'. This identification of artistic talent is not only difficult, but also competitive among dealers (Peterson, 1997).

2) Instruction: The instructive activities by intermediaries contribute to helping a wider audience ‘understand and grasp the ideas being convey[ed] by artists through their works, by decoding their symbolism as well as explicating evaluative schema’ (Khaire, 2015, p.118). The practice of instruction embraces the intermediaries’ own interpretation about artists, making artists incongruent or congruent with the norms and values in the art world and contributing normative legitimacy to artists. Indeed, cultural goods have a high level of uncertainty in terms of their value (Hirsch, 1972). In the case of fine art, this uncertainty comes from explicit features of visual works of art: there are no obvious and objective standards for valorising them in the market (Alexander and Bowler, 2014). In particular, the valuation of contemporary visual arts becomes more difficult as the focus of artists’ intention shifts from tangible appearance to the intangible conception of artworks (Danto, 1997a). Hence, some intermediaries play a role in instructing consumers and other intermediaries to understand the meaning and value embedded in artworks (which can be similarly described as the ‘Interpretation’ stage in Drummond's (2006) article).

Connoisseurs can be representatives to delineate the instruction of intermediaries, although their influence has been weaker than in the past because of increasing commercialism in the CAM (Crane, 2009). By placing the artworks or artists in the history of art (Danto, 1964), critics engage with persuading the wider audience regarding how to understand them, and thereby ‘protecting the art from commodification and giving it its cultural value’ (Preece, Kerrigan and O’Reilly, 2016, p.1388). Honneth (2004, p. 9) describes critics’ interpretations of artists’ oeuvres as follows: ‘artists’ intention invariably took on a more complicated, profound and mysterious air than in their own explanation’. With the increasing number of media sources, the public are exposed more to discourses between pundits on certain works of art, artists, or exhibitions, thus creating a wider audience.

Moreover, a wider audience is able to receive indirect instructions about artworks from the collective arrangement in exhibitions. Since the 1960s, indeed, we have witnessed a radical change in the perception of curators, from a ‘...behind-the-scenes aesthetic arbiter to a more centralised position on a much broader stage...to play in the production, mediation, and dissemination of art itself’ (O’Neill, 2007, p.12). Thus, curators mainly contribute to framing aesthetic discourse (Morgner, 2014), so that it indirectly delivers the meaning of the art.

3) Selection/ inclusion: The layer of thick intermediaries in the art world selectively includes few artists or artworks to render them valid or legitimise them. The legitimacy of selected artists is granted in the intermediaries' activities of selection, stressing few artists and a particular way of understanding their artworks.

Wherever an art world exists, it defines the boundaries of acceptable art, recognizing ...artists ... we can see that such large-scale editorial choices made by the organizations of an art world exclude many people whose work closely resembles work accepted as art. We can see, too, that art worlds frequently incorporate at a later date works they originally rejected, so that the distinction must lie not in the work but in the ability of an art world to accept it and its maker. (Becker, 1982, p.226)

In the above quotation, Becker (1982) highlights the legitimacy of being valuable artworks is bestowed according to the ability of the art world. We previously specified the ability into the discovery, introduction, and instruction of intermediaries. This thesis hereby adds 'selection/inclusion' into the specification. That is, the function of selection by intermediaries engages with other functions. The art world is comprised of diverse introduced artists/artworks, along with its instructions. All this overflowed discourse about new artists/artworks in the art world is hardly conveyed to consumers in the market. Rather, only selected artists/artworks are able to deliver the information and knowledge about them to a wider audience. The intermediaries, thus, filter the limited numbers of artists/artworks out like cultural gatekeepers (Hirsch, 1972; Currid, 2007a).

We also acknowledge that the extent of each intermediary's contribution to building an agreeable quality about artworks/artists differs according to the contributors' original status in the market. The lack of equality in such a contribution, as we have noticed from the limitation of the case of *Brillo Box*, has led us to look at sociological interpretations regarding the visual arts field (Moulin 1995; Bourdieu 1996; Heinich 2012) where the field is observed as being hierarchically organised. That is, some international art exhibitions, museums and art fairs are artistically recognised, while others are much less so.

Although each actor plays a role in constructing the consensus surrounding the aesthetic standards for evaluating art (Becker, 1982), the disagreement around certain interpretations of art must be discussed before reaching a consensus. According to

Bourdieu (1983), the economic or cultural capitals⁹ of each actor hugely impact these discussions, which is clearly shown in his later work,

...the artists who makes the work is himself made...by the whole ensemble of those who help to 'discover' him and to consecrate him as an artist who is 'known' and recognized...the consecration will be greater the more consecrated the merchant [or intermediary] himself is. He contributes to 'making' the value of the [artists] he supports by the sole fact of bring him or her into a known and renowned existence, so that the [artists] is assured of publication (under his imprint, in his gallery, his theatre, etc.) and offered as a guarantee all the symbolic capital the merchant has accumulated (Bourdieu, 1996, p.167)

In a similar vein, Moulin (2009, 47 cited in Tomiuc 2015) says that the success of promoting a new artistic movement by a leading gallery depends upon its cultural reputation and financial status. Therefore, the distinguished identity of each actor unequally contributes to the legitimation of artworks while, at the same time, the hierarchical structure in the art field becomes explicit through the accumulation of unbalanced acceptances in such a process.

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the valuation of works of art in order to provide a theoretical framework for understanding the process of branding young and emerging artists in the contemporary art market. While Holt's (2004) theory of cultural branding invited previous scholars to examine the field of visual art socially and culturally (Kerrigan et al., 2011; Hower, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014; Preece and Kerrigan, 2015; Preece, 2015; Rodner and Preece, 2015), as we have seen in Chapter 2, the application of cultural branding in the field of visual art deserves further study, focusing more on the issue of legitimacy in the field. According to the interpretation of Max Weber's ([1922] 1978) insight about legitimacy by Humphreys (2010a, p.3), it is a 'mechanism for explaining why people regularly and voluntarily submit to authority'. The exploration of the legitimacy of artists in the market enlightens us about the valuation of their works of art due to the absence of explicit objective standards for judging works of art. In this sense, we have addressed the mechanism of legitimacy by critically reviewing and integrating different views on

⁹ His field theory posits the field of cultural production within the field of power which is 'the site of struggles between holders of different powers (or kinds of capital)' (Bourdieu, 1996, p.215) for occupying its dominance.

the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996; Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1974) and neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995).

The theoretical framework of this thesis employs the concept of the art world and neo-institutional theory in terms of the following aspects. On the one hand, the theory of the art world allows this thesis to identify the role of intermediaries in shaping the legitimacy of artists and the stratified structure among the intermediaries. By introducing neo-institutional theory into our theoretical framework, on the other hand, we can deepen our understanding of legitimacy in the art market, by taking the concept of normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy into account. In the market, the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of artists concerns the extent to which their works of art fit with existing cultural schemes in the art world. The normative legitimacy of artists refers to the extent to which their works of art are acceptable in the accordance with the central norms and values in the art world.

In this thesis, hence, the model of cultural branding describes the process by which artists and artworks are legitimated by the intermediaries in the art world. We also conceptualise the role of intermediaries as the introduction, instruction, and the selection of shaping the normative and cognitive legitimacy of artists, which contributes to constructing the symbolic meaning and value of contemporary art, and thus conveying it from artists to their audiences. In addition, we have pointed out that the accumulated symbolic capital of each intermediary heavily influences the process of rendering valid artists supported by the intermediaries. The unbalanced acceptance of artist to the art world drawn from the different social identities of intermediaries contributes to intensifying the hierarchical structure in the art world.

As for young and emerging artists, they must navigate through some very hierarchical career trajectories. Then, the careers of artists become distinguished via the layer of intermediaries. The layer between artists and consumers traditionally consists of actors, such as dealers, galleries, critics, museums, and auction houses. According to Heinich (2012), the role of intermediaries, whose role it is to constitute and preserve knowledge, is growing in the CAM. These intermediaries contribute to establishing knowledge regarding the legitimation of works of art. This facilitates 'a recipient's measurement of the intangible value of knowledge received' (Millar and Choi, 2011, p.269). In other words, by virtue of the acquired knowledge, the market taste is gradually refined.

As we have identified in Chapter 2, more importantly, this layer has changed over the last two decades owing to the establishment of a new actor: art fairs and the usage of the Internet. After arguing the methodological issue in the following section, we will firstly explore the genesis of the valuation structure of the contemporary art market by analysing the rich data provided by the historical case of *Brillo Box* by Andy Warhol in order to understand the holistic process of legitimising visual artists in the market. Then, this thesis will examine the role of art fairs and the intermediation between artists and buyers in an online setting in terms of systematically discussing and identifying the layer (the process of legitimising the value of young and emerging artists' works). This thesis additionally will discuss the relationship between traditional actors and art fairs and digital platforms in terms of transforming the existing valuation structure in the CAM.

The following chapter will make a blueprint for conducting qualitative research for this thesis. With a review of the methodological approach taken by previous research on visual arts, a philosophical position, the thesis will argue that qualitative case studies are well-suited for understanding the issue of legitimising young and emerging artists. Along with clarifying the way of interpreting and analysing data, in addition, the particular methods which have undertaken for collecting data, such as document reviews, observations, and interviews, will be delineated.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

The aforementioned chapter identified that previous research in arts marketing has attempted to explain the process of rendering the uncertain value of contemporary art valid whilst they have overlooked the role of art fairs and digital platforms. As the operation of legitimising artists is reflective of a wider social context, the exploration of art fairs and digital platforms leads us to consider the issue of repositioning existing intermediaries by the emergence of such new intermediaries in the art world. To do so, this chapter offers the details of how this dissertation addresses these issues with the following question: ‘why did [this thesis] use these methods?’ (Silverman, 2010, p.333). By considering the question as guidance, this chapter develops its argument over the rationale of conducting a case study as a main method for this thesis.

This chapter will begin with reviewing previous research classified according to its methodologies. Next, the philosophical nature of this research will be discussed; this argument helps us define how to address the kinds of reality and knowledge that led this thesis to select relevant methods (qualitative case study). The last section of this chapter will present the type of case, the rationale for selecting a historical case, some art fairs and Internet platforms as our cases, and will specify the characteristics of the data (e.g., how to collect and analyse it). In addition, the trustworthiness of this research will be examined.

4.1. Methodological Review in the Arts Marketing Field

The purpose of this thesis is to understand the process of differentiating a few young and emerging contemporary artists from the rest. Such an understanding can be mapped out by exploring the valuation and legitimation structure of the CAM, as it is hard to understand the value and meaning of contemporary art only through its appearance. Thus, this characteristic of contemporary art engenders the unique structure of constituting its value and meaning, which contributes to legitimising young and emerging artists. The structure consists of various individuals and cultural institutions in different fields. As we have seen in the previous chapter, our research particularly focuses on two emerged mediums, art fairs and online platforms, among a group of intermediaries.

[A]rt markets are treated as microcosms of wider local and global power dynamics. Thus sociologists endeavor to learn not only about specific market operations, e.g., the forms of nationalistic value attached to artworks (paintings), but also how these operations are reflective of the social and cultural context within which they take place (Herrero, 2013, p.156).

Corresponding to the above quotation, this thesis is interested in the operation of both mediums in respect of branding young and emerging artists, whilst the status of the mediums in a wider socio-cultural context is also considered.

Previous research on exploring the context of visual arts usually uses historical data or auction records as gathering empirical data, a challenging task for inquirers. In fact, the CAM is roughly¹⁰ divided into two markets; primary (mainly transaction between artists and dealers) and secondary (transaction between buyers and auctions); the primary market is especially immeasurable and inaccessible. This is because most of the transactions are based on personal networks (Thompson, 2008). Moreover, dealers have intended to control the price of artwork, which results in unreliable data (Velthuis, 2005). Not surprisingly, a quantitative approach to the art market in previous studies rely on auction house results¹¹ of the resale value of artwork despite acknowledging the limitations (Beckert and Rössel 2013; Pénet and Lee 2014; Shin, Lee and Lee 2014): the outcome of these studies only explains the secondary market and established artists, as the works of art by established artists are able to be traded in auction houses (Preece, 2012).

Table 4. Qualitative Research on the Context of Visual Arts

Subject	Main Data type	Authors	Main Method	Details
Famous artists	Historical Data	Schroeder (2005, 2011)	Case study	Andy Warhol Cindy Sherman Barbara Kruger
		Kerrigan et al. (2011)	Biographical and archival analysis	Andy Warhol
		Muniz et al. (2013)	Biographical and archival analysis	Pablo Picasso

¹⁰ Even though the market is largely divided into a primary and secondary market, the market is very complicated, as illustrated by McIntyre's (2004) art eco-system model. This becomes more complex with the appearance of new distribution channels of works of art like international art fairs and online platforms.

¹¹ Transaction on auction houses is opened to public.

		Hewer et al. (2013)	Narrative research	Andy Warhol's studio
	Secondary Data	Schroeder (2006)	Case study	Thomas Kinkade
		Preece, Kerrigan and O'Reilly (2016)	Biographical method	Damien Hirst
		Preece (2015)	Biographical method	Ai Weiwei
Emerging artists	Primary Data	Bain (2005)	Interviews	Artists in Canada
		Lehman and Wickham (2014)	Interviews	Artists from the Tasmanian arts community
		Preece and Kerrigan (2015)	Ethnographic	London artists and stakeholders
		Rodner and Preece (2015)	Comparative case studies	Artists and professional in China and Venezuela
		O'Reilly (2005)	Case study	A painter
Intermediaries	Historical Data	Bystryn (1978)	Narrative	Galleries dealing works of Abstract Expressionism in New York
	Primary Data	Peterson (1997)	Interviews	Galleries in Paris
		Velthuis (2003, 2005, 2013, 2014)	Interviews	Galleries in Amsterdam, New York, Berlin
		Jyrämä and Äyväre (2010)	Interviews	Insiders in European markets
		Rodner, Omar and Thomson (2011)	Interviews	Venice Biennale
		Schultheis (2017)	Field study (Interviews)	Art Basel
	Secondary Data	Sassatelli (2016)	Case study	Venice Biennale
		Yogev and Grund (2012)	Analysis of Art Fair participations	Art Fairs between 2007 to 2007
		Quemin (2013)	Analysis of participants' nationality	International contemporary art fairs
		Curioni, Forti and Leone (2015)	Case study	Art Basel
		Khaire (2015)	Case study	Firms in online art market
	Local and International	Historical Data	White and White (1993 [1965])	Document review

art market/ scene		Crane (1989)	Document review	Artistic scene in New York between 1940 to 1985
		Wijnberg and Gemser (2000)	Case study	Artistic scene in the era of Impressionism
		Schroeder and Borgerson (2002)	Case study	Italian Renaissance art
		Galenson (2009)	Narrative study	Art world in 20 th centuries
	Secondary Data	Khaire and Wadhvani (2010)	Discourse Analysis	Indian Modern Art
	Primary Data	Yogev (2010)	Case study	Israel artists and insiders

Due to the limited explanation about the market by using auction data, qualitative methods have also been used in previous research (see Table 4). Previous researchers select famous and established artists or the scene involving them as subjects for study (Kerrigan et al., 2011; Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine, 2014). In these studies, by analysing historical documents, the types of biographical or narrative research are mainly used by aiming to elicit the development of their own arguments. A variety of historical documents are used in these studies ranging from reliable third-side sources such as books and from art history to movies (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013). The analysis of historical data also contributes to holistically articulating a particular art market (White and White, 1993; Wijnberg and Gemser, 2000; Schroeder and Borgerson, 2002; Galenson, 2009).

Moreover, some scholars explore renowned artists such as Damien Hirst, Ai Weiwei, and Thomas Kinkade in the current age by using multiple secondary sources (Schroeder, 2006; Preece, 2015; Preece, Kerrigan and O'Reilly, 2016). By using discourse analysis, various sources such as auction catalogues, annual reports, textbook, articles, interviews, and blogs are examined for elucidating the trajectory of establishing a new category of modern Indian art (Khaire and Wadhvani, 2010).

Some scholars show their interests in the status of practicing and emerging artists, commonly relying on extracting data from conducting interviews with an artist. Through carrying out 80 interviews with visual artists, Bain (2005) delineates the way

in which the interviewees construct their artistic identity (professional status). Preece and Kerrigan (2015) and Rodner and Preece (2015) examine the entire market structure of valuing works of art. In doing so, they select not only artists as interviewees, but also intermediaries such as gallerists, dealers, curator, and so on as informants. Unlike them, Lehman and Wickham (2014) interview only emerging artists to trace their intention of marketing themselves. The primary data corroborate information by other secondary sources such as newspaper articles, catalogues, and historical documents.

Some researchers focus on intermediaries by agreeing with their importance in the art world and market. For instance, dealers and galleries are mainly explored (Peterson, 1997; Velthuis, 2003, 2013, 2014) so that ‘dealers pass expert’s judgment onto collectors, thereby attempting to translate critical acclaim into commercial success’ (Velthuis, 2005, p.41). These scholars carry out interviews with gallerists or dealers who are considered main sources for their research. Moreover, emerging intermediaries such as biennales, art fairs, and online platforms have recently been given attention through various methods (see Table 4).

4.2. Philosophical Underpinnings of Research and Case Study

This part of the dissertation identifies philosophical positions, which are inevitable in every piece of research. The paradigm guides the ‘researcher’s beliefs and feelings about the world as well as the manner in which it can be understood’ (Wynn Jr. and Williams 2008, p. 9); understanding and acknowledging the paradigms helps inquirers to ensure its rationales for studying and the methods of conducting the research. Put differently, the philosophical position effects the entire research from start to finish. Therefore, the aim of this section is to apply a particular paradigm to this dissertation in a way that specifies the research process.

Given this aim, this section consists of two parts. First and foremost, constructivism will be described with an emphasis on unpacking the rationales for recognising the relevance of constructivism to this study, as well as discussing the ways of reflecting on this thesis through constructivism. In the second section, more importantly, we will look at the reasons of selecting a case study as a main method for this study. Several publications on conducting case studies by renowned scholars Robert Stake (1994,

1995, 2005) and Robert Yin (2009, 2011) will be explored. It is very valuable to review these two representative branches of specifying case studies as their philosophical assumptions are arguably at opposite poles: Yin at post-positivism and Stake at constructivism. By doing so, the acquaintance with the inextricable connection between philosophical position and the way of conducting case studies will justify the implication of the use of case studies in this thesis.

4.2.1. Identifying a Particular Paradigm for this Research

The following section argues the philosophical issues underlining this dissertation with reference to identifying characteristics of constructivism studies. The first part briefly looks at the philosophical stance of previous studies in arts marketing and describes the characteristics of constructivism. With acknowledging the characteristics of constructivism, this section ends up revealing the rationales of selecting constructivism as the philosophical assumption behind this research.

Philosophical Stances in Arts Marketing Research

Researchers reflect on the subjects of their studies through philosophical stances and by adopting particular paradigms and worldviews. A paradigm can be defined as ‘a set of basic beliefs’ (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.107). This helps investigators to yield and explain knowledge about reality. Over time, paradigms are continually altered and evolved, dependent upon a given set of basic beliefs held by researchers (Creswell, 2007). In general, inquirers adopt a certain paradigm through considering the following four philosophical assumptions (Guba and Lincoln, 1994): *ontology* (the nature of reality), *epistemology* (the relationship between inquirers and an investigated object), *methodology* (the way in which researchers generate knowledge), and *axiology* (the way in which knowledge is used).

Since the 1990s, the field of ‘arts marketing’ has emerged as a subfield of the marketing disciplines (Lehman and Wickham, 2014). Here, the mainstream paradigm is either positivism or interpretivism (constructivism). A representative paper based on a positivist assumption is that of Hagtvedt and Patrick (2008), who reported the influence of the visual arts on marketing concepts by conducting an experimental study. Precisely, they note that art creates connotations of luxury and prestige and

facilitates cognitive flexibility. These all positively affect customers' evaluations of an artwork's brand extension. Through a statistical approach, Pénet and Lee (2014) examine a new variable: nomination for prestigious art prizes. This was discovered to have a positive influence upon valuing artists' works. In the case of interpretivism, based on an inquirer's understanding, the result is created in a way that is subjective. That is, interpretivists rely on methods such as interviews and interpret them to find out the social meaning behind the art market. For instance, Preece and Kerrigan (2015) conduct a variety of interviews with artists and stakeholders from the art market. From this, they end up understanding that the narratives of artists' myths are collectively constituted by various stakeholders in the art market.

Characteristics of Constructivism

Constructivism, often interchangeable¹² with interpretivism, was primarily developed in the 1970s and has greatly affected several fields of research. Constructivists initially contribute to answering following question: '[w]hat is the purpose and aim of human inquiry (as distinct from inquiry into the physical world)?' (Schwandt 1994, p.118). It aims to understand and rebuild the construction that 'people (including the inquirer) initially hold, aiming towards consensus but still remaining open to new interpretations as information and sophistication improves'(Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.113). In other words, the purpose of the study of the constructivism position is to understand the meaning behind events rather than to predict forthcoming events (positivist). That is because constructivism concerns inherently open systems, whereas positivism places various regularities upon the conducting of research. As such, positivism controls both 'intrinsic and extrinsic conditions' (Tsang and Kwan, 1999, p.762) to reproduce the same results as previous studies. Put differently, positivists only know limited reality through creating artefacts such as 'theories, frameworks, constructs, and so on' (Weber, 2004, p.vii).

Ontology in constructivism represents as relativist; the nature of reality is the shape of 'multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific'

¹² Interpretivists and constructivists (social constructionists) share points of created meaning by human's activities, whilst constructivism is a more radical version of interpretivism, highlighting that socially constructed concepts 'correspond to something real in the world which are reflected in our knowledge' (Bastalich, 2017).

(Guba, 1990, p.27). Therefore, according to Easterby-Smith et al. (2002), constructivists consider that reality is established by people rather than by external and objective elements (positivism). In the sense of epistemology, the interaction between constructivist researchers and the studied object is stressed out towards making sense of the inquired subject with generating meaning; the subject's meaning is an essential element for understanding. The inquirers' subjectivities, moreover, are developed via interactions with others and 'through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives' (Creswell, 2007, p.21). With the aligned to this ontology, epistemology in constructivism, the way of conducting research in constructivism is address on 'hermeneutic, dialectic' (Guba, 1990); subjective interpretation by investigators is emphasised to give better understanding about gathered data from only the interactions between investigators and the inquired object.

How Constructivism Underpins this Thesis

In the first place, the rationale of positioning this thesis within the context of a constructivism study originates from the purpose of this study; we seek to understand the process by which young and emerging artists are distinguished from the rest in the CAM rather than predictions based on its current practise. As Mingers (2004) elucidates, the meanings of social systems such as the art market are inherently open. Therefore, the prediction of a market through a closed system can only explain consistent regularities. For instance, Shin et al. (2014) explore the Korean art market with a focus on causality between the market and the professional status of artists (x) and the price of works of art by them (y). This dissertation notices that a consistent regularity occurs between x and y under particular conditions, whereas there was no explanation underlining the mechanisms that generated regularity (Mingers, 2004). Hence, a constructivism stance is required to make sense of the opened, flexible mechanism of the CAM.

Moreover, the underlined philosophical stance also draws from the subject of this research: the CAM. This doctoral study as such deems the art market as a social system in which the pertaining actors contribute socially and collectively to constituting a particular knowledge of valuing or appreciating works of art. For instance, artists,

generally trained in art school,¹³ create works of art that are selectively delivered to the public (either both individual and institutional collectors or appreciators) via intermediaries such as dealers, gallerists, critics, and museum curators. That is, these observable activities combine to set the rules for legitimating object as works of art. More importantly, we notice that this social system constantly reproduces and transforms based on an interrelationship between social structures activated by social actors.

Therefore, the investigation of the actors' real practices is unavoidably required to understand the art market. Insider's activities in the market are also not reducible as the interactions between these actors are hardly described like a linear relationship, but more likely in the form of a complex web (Jyrämä and Äyväre, 2010). Furthermore, each actor holds their own knowledge of behaving a particular way that is socially built. In this sense, observable experience by actors in the market is generated by their original status. In particular, the reasons pertain to why certain actors hold different beliefs, along with looking at their organisational position and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984). Hence, the political, economic, and physical contexts are inevitable to understand the activities of insiders in the market.

4.3. Research Design and Data Collection

With taking the identified philosophical position into account, case study is a suitable method for this thesis to explore the CAM by virtue of the vague boundaries between the confronted phenomenon of the market, valuation issues and the emergence of new intermediaries, and the context of inquiring about the case. This argument echoes the appropriate condition of case study suggested by several scholars; Yin (2009) suggests a straightforward definition: '[a] case study is empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon with its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (p.18). To specify, it is very difficult to divorce interesting phenomenon from its context as the context itself is the division of the story (Myers, 2013). Therefore, the method is not similar to laboratory research in which the phenomenon is isolated from context (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). Hence, the aim of case study is to understand 'how behaviours and/or processes'

¹³ Art school also imparts particular knowledge of established artists and artistic movement and attitudes about goals, using colours with their students via lectures and practices (Caves, 2000).

have an effect by and on the context (Hartley, 2004), looking for interactions between a case and its context (Stake, 1995).

This thesis consists of three case studies. Firstly, a historical case study of Andy Warhol's *Brillo Box* will be conducted to examine the theoretical framework of this thesis. With the outcome of exploring the historical case, this thesis will investigate two emerging intermediaries, international contemporary art fairs and online art platforms that we have identified as a nascent field of research in Chapter 2. Thus, this thesis will explore a prestigious art fair and an alternative art fair with a focus on the systematic understanding of their roles in the CAM in Chapter 6. Lastly, a leading online platform of trading works of art by young and emerging artists will be studied (Chapter 7).

The following sections will represent the details of the ways in which three case studies are conducted with taking the above-described the logic of conducting case studies by Stake, such as the rationales for selecting case(s), the description of how the data is gathered (and the data itself), why the certain method in the section is selected, a particular plan to analyse the collected data, and identification of the limitations of the presented method with ways of compensating for these limitations.

4.3.1. The Type of Case Study and Case Selections

Historical Case Study selected a single work of art as a case study: *Brillo Soap Pads Box* (1964) by Andy Warhol (*Brillo Box*). Considering our philosophical position (constructivism), this thesis stresses that the principal of conducting a case study follows Stake (1994, 1995, 2005). We do not intend to identify the causal relationship between the proposition and the collected data but propose to comprehend a particular phenomenon by interpreting data. Moreover, we deem *Brillo Box* an instrumental case for providing 'insight into an issue or refinement of theory' (Stake, 1994, p.237). Moreover, our case is historical. Analysing historical elements provides insight into 'the relationship between particular individuals and the innovations that emerge from their interactions with social, economic, and technological circumstances...' (Dodgson, 2011, p.1124). In other words, the analysis of historical moments reveals how existing institutions were transformed by innovations, which leads us to comprehend 'larger systems of meaning' (Hargadon and Douglas, 2001, p.480). Our

case thus questions the prevailing standards when judging the works of art of a particular era. By exploring a work of art, therefore, we trace a transformation of aesthetic standards in artistic networks of the 1960s. By doing so, we can understand the various interactions between actors in the art world who decide the legitimacy and worth of works of art.

Our line of reasoning in selecting our case relies upon the idea of purposive sampling, that '[it] is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned' (Merriam, 1998, p.61). Put differently, *Brillo Box* facilitates our understanding of the legitimization of young and emerging artists and their works of art in the CAM. Although Warhol is one of the most successful artists of recent decades, he was also a young and emerging artist in the 1960s. In this sense, Kerrigan et al. (2011) noted the efforts made by Warhol to establish his 'artistic' credentials (legitimacy) within the art world. Moreover, *Brillo Box* was instrumental in constituting the feasibility of contemporary art; in other words, anything can now be accepted as art in the art world after the appearance of *Brillo Box*. This is due, in part, to the way Warhol's sculpture explored the boundaries of the canons of the beauty of artworks (Joy and Sherry, 2003). *Brillo Box* achieved this by questioning the ontological nature of the work of art (Danto, 2012; Fallon, 2010). The work was eventually legitimised as art and contributed to shifts in the conception of works of art; our way of appreciating works of art has changed from a focus on the appearance of the artworks to a focus on the ideas and intentions behind artworks which led to their creation (Danto, 1997a, 1964; Galenson, 2009; Freeland, 2001). Particularly, Freeland (2001, p.57) noticed that 'in our time, at least since some of Duchamp's work and Andy Warhol's the *Brillo Boxes*, almost anything goes'. Hence, by focusing on the intentions behind the works, we now accept any medium as contemporary art, from pickled sharks to depictions of Mary with dung. By tracing the historical context of Warhol in 1960s, we can thus conceptualise the mechanisms which contribute to constructing the legitimacy of young and emerging artists in the CAM.

Case Study I selected two cases: Frieze Art London and the Other Art Fair. The cases are selected in order to lead to a better understating about a particular phenomenon: the explosion of art fairs in the CAM. Based on our philosophical position (constructivism), we highlight that the logic of conducting a case study with two

different cases follows Stake's collective case study rather than Yin's multiple case study. *Case Study I* explores 'a number of cases jointly in order to inquire into the phenomenon, population, or general condition' (Stake, 1994, p.237). Therefore, we consider our cases as separate entities, and understanding each case gives us a better understanding of a particular phenomenon.

Unlike a positivists' approach to selecting cases to study, whether a case is typical or representative is not our main concern when choosing a case to focus on. Rather, the reason for selecting our case involves the fact that art fairs have not been studied widely in terms of focusing on young and emerging artists, and there is a dearth of academic research specifically on Frieze London (despite its good reputation) and the Other Art Fair (most current research on art fairs explore major international art fairs).

We select our cases based on purposeful or purposive sampling (Merriam, 1998).¹⁴As Silverman (2010) warns, purposive sampling does not mean choosing a case randomly according to the inquirer's interests, but choosing it critically and carefully. Corresponding to this warning, we select our case not only based on our interests but also because it embraces the assertion that 'the processes being studied are most likely to occur' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.202).

We then identify our cases through purposive sampling: such identification allows us to enhance the understanding of the valuation process of artwork by young and emerging artists from exploring its spaces and selection processes for young and emerging artists. As Stake (2005) mentions about the feature of collective case studies, we highlight that our selected cases are extended from the concept of an instrumental case. The collective case study does not only aim to understand the selected cases, but also deepens our understanding of the CAM. In this sense, Stake (1995, p.6) says 'balance and variety are important; opportunity to learn is of primary importance' for selection of even collective cases. In other words, the understanding of the complexity and uniqueness of each case is important; this can ultimately assist with the understanding of the valuation issue in the CAM based on exploring collective cases.

¹⁴ Silverman (2010, p. 143) remarks that the expressions of 'purposive sampling' and 'theoretical sampling' are interchangeable, and he added 'the only difference...applies when the "purpose" behind "purposive" sampling is not theoretically defined'.

In *Case Study II*, the selected case, Saatchi Art, is an online platform for trading works of art by young and emerging artists in which every artist has their own web pages to present their works of art. The empirical study does not concentrate on the individual stories of artists on the website (collective case study), but considers Saatchi Art as a singular entity. Therefore, this qualitative research investigates ‘the particularity and complexity of a single case’ (Stake, 1995, p.xi) in terms of understanding its activities within its own context.

Indeed, the weakness of generalising the outcome from a single sample tends to be the prevalent drawback. By doing so, the single case study is often misunderstood as a non-scientific method (see Flyvbjerg 2006). That is, raising the generalisation issue of studying a single case is based on an underestimation of the advantages of exploring a single case: a single case can richly describe the phenomenon under examination and is a ‘persuasive way of demonstrating why this is an important phenomenon’ (Siggelkow, 2007, p.21).

Moreover, we deem Saatchi Art to be an instrumental case. According to Stake (1995), an instrumental case is ‘research on a case to gain [an] understanding of something else’ (p. 171). Also, purposive sampling is considered to select Saatchi Art as a case (Merriam, 1998). With the method of purposive sampling, this empirical case does not represent digital media in the art market but gives an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon. That is, we explore the distinctiveness and complexity of Saatchi Art to understand the process of legitimising and branding young and emerging artists in the digital environment.

4.3.2. Details of the Data Collection

Table 5. The Methods used in the Case Studies

	Historical Case	Case Study I	Case Study II
Observation		●	●
Document Reviews	●	●	●
Interview			●

As we can see in Table 5, the collection of case study data is based on qualitative methods: direct observations, document reviews, and interviews. Although the method of document reviews was carried out across the three case studies, direct observation

was conducted for *Case Study I* and *Case Study II*, and interviews were conducted only for *Case Study II*. During observing Frieze London and the Other Art Fair (*Case Study I*), indeed the author of this thesis had various informal conversations with dealers, visitors, and artists. However, the informants were unwilling to participate in this research project as interviewees. The rich information about both art fairs are available as secondary sources, which allows us to compensate for the lack of primary data for the case study.

Observation

In *Case Study I*, direct observation was conducted to gain a better understanding of the medium of art fairs. The method of observation is fundamental for qualitative research (Silverman, 2010). The data from observations provide ‘episodes of a unique relationship to fashion a story or unique description of the case’ (Stake, 1995, p.63). The author visited Frieze London on 16 October in 2015 and TOAF in London on 8 October 2016. The observations were conducted for an average of five hours, which provided not only textual data with field notes but also visual sources for further analysis in this thesis.

In *Case Study II*, the author also observed the case of Saatchi Art; the observation of the website took six months in order to provide the distinctive narratives about the digital platform, as well as to explore the changes in the case. During observation, in doing so, this thesis incontestably did not only describe the interface of Saatchi Art but also provided contents on the website for further analysis of the case. Thus, the observer scrutinised the website carefully for items such as the price range of products, design of the website, sellers’ biographies, texts in its blog, its interface tools, and current or past events on the website.

Document Reviews

In *Historical Case Study*, data collection mainly relied on historical documents, as they offer opportunities to trace the practical record of our case, such as in the venues of exhibitions, the atmosphere surrounding the presentation of the work, and deviations between critics in terms of the work’s reception. The case study is not immune from its context or background, as the case is located in complex contexts,

including historical, cultural, and physical contexts (Hartley 2004; Stake 1995; Yin 2012). However, using historical data is often problematic as the data leaves out specific details regarding particular actions and gives ‘abstracted implications that render those actions timeless’ (Hargadon and Douglas, 2001, p.481). Moreover, we face a particular challenge in terms of the large number of historical documents. In fact, along with the academic research about Warhol in the management field (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013; Kerrigan et al., 2011; Schroeder, 2005, 1997), research on Warhol’s life and works of art have been conducted by art critics, philosophers, and sociologists. Honnef (2000, p.7) illustrates the massive number of documents about Warhol by stating that ‘the pages written about his life and work, if laid end to end, would reach half way round the world’.

Table 6. Documentary Sources and their Focus Consulted for the Case

Media type	Authors	Title	Persona I life	Artwork	Social*	Context in the 1960s
Book	Ketner (2013)	Andy Warhol		●		
	Fallon (2010)	How to Analyze the Works of Andy Warhol.		●		
	Danto (2009)	Andy Warhol	●	●	●	●
	Warhol and Hackett (2007)	Popism: The Warhol Sixties	●		●	●
	Currid (2007)	The Warhol economy: How fashion, art, and music drive New York City.			●	●
	Honnef (2004)	Pop art.			●	●
	Goldsmith (2004)	I’ll be your mirror: The selective Andy Warhol’s Interviews, 1962 -1987,		●		
	Honnef (2000)	Andy Warhol 1928-1987: commerce into art.		●		
	Madoff (1997)	Pop art: critical history		●		
	Whiting (1997)	A taste for pop: pop art, gender, and consumer culture	●		●	●
Magazine	Kornbluth (1987)	The world of Warhol		●	●	
	Swenson (1963)	What is pop art?, Part 1		●		
Catalogue	Christie’s (2010)	<i>Brillo</i> Box (3 cents off), Lot notes		●		

	Sotheby's (2012)	Contemporary art evening auction, Catalogue note		•		
	Phillips (2015)	Contemporary Art London Evening Sale		•		
	Frei and Printz (2004)	ANDY WARHOL: CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ: PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE, 1964-1969.		•	•	
	Lowery (2012)	THE WARHOL EFFECT A TIMELINE		•	•	•
Video Clip	BBC (2011)	Modern Masters: Andy Warhol	•	•		
	BBC (2015)	A Day in the Life of Andy Warhol	•		•	•
Documentary film	PBS (2006)	Andy Warhol	•	•	•	

* The relationship with other artists or the engagement with people in the Factory

This thesis selected data with the guidance of our theoretical arguments (Yin, 2009), which contributes to overcoming the difficulties of controlling immense quantities of sources for the historical study (Fillis, 2007). As seen in Table 7, this thesis collected data from multiple secondary sources such as books, magazines, catalogues, documentary films, and articles. By drawing from the reviewing literature, we identified four categories which allowed us to selectively gather data for this research: Warhol's personal life, artworks, social networks, and contextual issues in 1960s. In addition, the data in terms of a general description of *Brillo Box* was collected to deepen our understanding of the artwork, such as the physical appearance of the artwork, the artist's status, and the scene of exhibiting the artwork in 1964. By doing so, this thesis narrowed down the massive quantity data about the historical case.

In *Case Study I*, we mainly collected data by reviewing secondary sources (see Table 10). The various documents were examined in order to derive an explanation for cases' particular and common features. In particular, specific consideration was given to each case's nature (i.e., its activities and operations), historical background and development, physical setting (i.e., venue), and contextual factors such as 'economic, political, legal, and aesthetic' (Stake, 2005, p.447). The various published data about our cases were gathered from books, journals, newspaper articles, catalogues, and

annual reports. For newspaper articles, we mainly reviewed documents in *The Financial Times* and *The Guardian*, who are media partners of Frieze London and the Other Art Fair. Also, articles in renowned magazines of the art field were also reviewed, like *Artnet* and *Artsy*. The descriptions about the fair on the official homepage of Frieze London (<http://www.Frieze.com/>) and the Other Art Fair (<http://www.theotherartfair.com/>) were also gleaned in terms of its history, programmes, and participatory lists. Moreover, we reviewed direct quotations from interviews by several different media sources in which informants were previously or currently related to the cases (fair directors or curators).

In *Case Study II*, the method of document review was used for gaining three different kinds of data: (1) the general description of Saatchi Art; (2) the perspectives of Saatchi Art; and (3) the perspectives of users on our case. First of all, based on the evidence from a direct observation, *Case Study II* maintained its objectivity, supplemented with secondary data about the general description and operation about our case. The data were gathered from various sources including journal articles, magazines, newspapers, and books. Material was also gleaned from the Internet (e.g., published documents). We selectively collected 30 user comments (U) on Saatchi Art's online sub-categories in '*Features*', such as 'Inside the Studio', 'One to Watch Artists', and 'Showdown and Invest in Art'.

Moreover, this empirical research gained its perspectives of Saatchi Art based on secondary sources. Although this study initially intended to conduct an interview with a curator at Saatchi Art by sending an invitation letter to join this project, there was no reply. Alternatively, this research was able to obtain their insights from following secondary data: (1) a video clip of an interview in the form of public conversation between Forbes Magazine and the chief creative officer and chief curator at Saatchi Art in 2013, which was transcribed; (2) official publications by Saatchi Art; (3) transcripts of interviews with Rebecca Wilson (chief curator of Saatchi) by various media; and (4) the chief curator's 65 published comments on users' questions on social media.¹⁵

¹⁵ Saatchi Art annually offers opportunities for anonymous users to interact with their curator since 2014. The time for asking questions of Saatchi Art is limited to an hour on a particular date. In 2014, there were 35 tweets by Saatchi Art responding to users' various questions, and Saatchi Art's 30 replies to questions were available via Instagram and Twitter in 2015.

Lastly, with regard to collecting consumers' opinions about our case, Qu et al. (2008) points out that previous research mainly finds outcomes based on experiments with students (Sirikka, Tractinsky and Vitale, 2000; McKinney, Yoon and Zahedi, 2002) or online surveys with representative sampling (Szymanski and Hise 2000; Devaraj, Fan and Kohli 2002; Wolfinbarger and Gilly 2003). While acknowledging the limitation of such methods, Qu et al. (2008) use the data drawn by real customers from the review website Yahoo Merchant. Likewise, we obtained reviews about Saatchi Art from a consumer review community (www.trustpilot.com) on 15 December 2015. Trustpilot.com is an online community in which consumers post reviews about the services provided by several firms from different fields (Barrett, 2015).

We initially found 12 up-to-date reviews in the bottom section of the page on Saatchi Art. Clicking on the section navigates to a consumer review community in which 173 comments about Saatchi Art were available. The loaded page shows customer reviews about the services provided by our case. The page also contains brief information about the company, a pie-figure showing an overall rating, and user IDs. The comments are open to everyone to write and read. However, the page does not allow communication between consumers but the company being reviewed is able to reply to consumer comments.

In this community, users are able to share their experiences with others by rating Saatchi Art's service from one star (lowest) to five stars (highest). They can write texts about the company's service using a title. Even though the rating is considered important for gauging consumer satisfaction in previous research (Qu, Zhang and Li, 2008), the rating seems to be nebulous in our data: consumers seem to be generous in giving five stars (80%). This may reflect that consumers for fine art hardly judge the quality of their purchases (Hirsch, 1972). Moreover, the rating of five stars is not the focus of our consideration. Rather, our focus is on the actual content written by real consumers. We narrowed the data down by removing reviews that were too short (less than five words). The final data includes 141 reviews (B) about Saatchi Art; the average length of each comment is 66 words.

Interviews

Along with direct observation and document reviews, this researcher conducted interviews for *Case Study II*, which aims to enhance our understanding of social and cultural phenomenon instead of providing objective evidence and generalising a given population (Meho, 2006). To specify, the section below will cover practical issues of the research such as accessibility, the rationale of selecting interviewees, and ethical considerations.

In this study, the interviews conducted with 28 artists between June and October 2016 were either face-to-face interviews or via email. After selecting potential informants and developing interview questions, the author initiated the formal invitation of interviewees. With an invitation letter, recruiting artists were reached via either email or instant message on Facebook. The instant message was used when artists did not reveal their email addresses on their profile or if they only had a Facebook page instead of a personal website on Saatchi Art's platform.

Artists often travel for their exhibitions or go back to their hometown to focus on working. That is, they are quite elusive (Preece, 2012). In addition, some predictable participants might be reluctant or frightened to do face-to-face interviews (McCoyd and Kerson, 2006). In order to increase the rate of participation, this study decided to mix the methods of face-to-face interview and email interview. In the invitation letter, therefore, this study offered artists the options of either face-to-face interviews or email interviews according to the interviewees' preferences.

Face-to-face interviews were carried out in a place according to interviewees' preferences such as their studio or a public venue. Although the length of the interview varied from 30 minutes to an hour, each interview commonly had open-ended questions addressing the following subjects: the influence of digital media and the factors impacting the status of artists in offline markets. After conducting five face-to-face interviews, we were able to advance the set of initial interview questions in a manner of clarifying the meaning of questions. With the clarified questions, this researcher sent an email to informants who had already agreed to participate in this project. Each email interviewee had roughly two weeks to response to the interview questions. Moreover, multiple emails were exchanged between interviewer and

interviewees when interviewees misunderstood the meaning of questions or interviewers needed to clarify the meaning of what they answered.

With setting two filters—artists who were featured by Saatchi Art and were working in the UK—to identify relevant informants (N: 106), personal email addresses were manually traced.¹⁶ Then, the researcher sent an invitation letter to 89 artists as some of them did not provide their contact details. The invitation letter was sent on two separate occasions. In the first round, 26 artists responded to the invitation letter; four artists were unwilling to participate in this project. Two weeks after the first round, the invitation letter was sent to the artists who did not reply. In the second round, 18 new artists replied, and eight artists did not want to participate. Through the process of invitation, in total, this research received 44 artists’ answers out of 89 artists (50%). During carrying out the interviews with 32 artists who agreed to participate, four of them were dropped. Hence, we conducted seven face-to-face interviews and 21 email interviews. The average age of the informants was around 36 years old, and the average length of artistic career was approximately 8 years (Table 7).

Table 7. Artist Interviewed via Face to Face and Email.

Methods	Interviewee	Nationality	Edu ¹⁷	career ¹⁸	Featured in	Sex	Age
E-mail	Artist 1	British	N/A	Since 2013	One to Watch	F	45
	Artist 2	German	BA	Since 2011	Invest in Art	F	35
	Artist 3	British	BA	Since 1995	Showdown	M	48
	Artist 4	British	BA	Since 2008	Inside Studio	F	N/A
	Artist 5	British	MA	Since 2006	Showdown	M	35
	Artist 6	British	BA	Since 2006	One to Watch	F	32
	Artist 7	Hungarian	MA	Since 2000	Showdown	F	34
	Artist 8	British	BA	Since 2009	Inside Studio	F	47
	Artist 9	British	MA	Since 2006	Invest in Art	M	37

¹⁶ Young and emerging artists usually have their own homepage which is linked to their personal page on Saatchi Art. As they need to promote themselves, the majority of them publicise their personal contact information on their homepage.

¹⁷ the highest degree

¹⁸ the period of being an artist (self-defined)

	Artist 10	British	BA	Since 2012	One Watch to	F	23
	Artist 11	British	BA	Since 2011	One Watch to	F	27
	Artist 12	British	BA	Since 2013	Invest in Art	F	26
	Artist 13	British	BA	Since 2008	Invest in Art	M	41
	Artist 14	Romanian	MPhill	Since 2010	Showdown	M	36
	Artist 15	British	BA	Since 2010	Inside Studio	F	36
	Artist 16	British	MA	Since 2006	Invest in Art	M	34
	Artist 17	Swedish	MA	Since 2005	Showdown	F	47
	Artist 18	American	BA	Since 1980	Inside Studio	M	67
	Artist 19	British	MA	Since 2013	Inside Studio	F	24
	Artist 20	British	BA	Since 2011	Invest in Art	F	44
	Artist 21	British	BA	Since 2003	Showdown	M	48
Face to Face	Artist 22	British	Ph.D	Since 2009	Showdown	M	37
	Artist 23	Norwegian	BA	Since 2010	One Watch to	M	35
	Artist 24	German	MA	Since 2013	Invest in Art	F	27
	Artist 25	Chinese	MA	Since 2014	Showdown	F	25
	Artist 26	Korean	MA	Since 2010	Invest in Art	F	28
	Artist 27	British	BA	Since 1996	Inside Studio	F	43
	Artist 28	Estonian	MA	Since 2013	One Watch to	F	26

Indeed, conducting interviews requires ‘a strong advanced plan’ (Stake, 1995, p.64) as the method is likely to fail in gaining the right data, and it is difficult to manage interviewees in the cases. Acknowledging such difficulties of the method, this study rigorously identified the potential informants and developed the interview questions with the following process.

Data Sampling

The potential interviewees were selected through two filters: (1) artists who were deliberately introduced by Saatchi Art in their curatorial practices, and (2) artists who filled in their profile address on the website as from the UK. With the filtering out of such conditions, the potential interviewees were 106 artists out of a total of 50,000. The filtering is important in order to identify informative interviewees for this project, which heavily influences the quality and analysis of data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In addition, our case is an ongoing website and regularly updates their editorial practice of promoting artists. Put differently, the numbers of the potential data sample satisfied at the above conditions gradually increase. Therefore, this study set a particular period for obtaining data: December 2015.

The first filter refers to the artists introduced by Saatchi Art. Our case has selected emerged artists in their editorial practices two different ways: the art prize and its 'Features'. Hence, nominators of prizes proceeded on Saatchi Art and artists introduced by Saatchi Art are our predictable interviewees. In particular, this thesis traced the results of the past 19 contests on Saatchi Art from 2010 to 2015 in which the data includes the winners of each contest, as well as the shortlists of the contests. In addition to this, with clicking on 'Invest in Art', 'One to Watch Artists', and 'Inside Studio' under the category of 'Features', we obtained a list of 482 artists who were featured on that category before December 2015 (249 men, 222 women, and 11 n/a).

This filtering allows this thesis to accurately define the term of young/emerging artists in this study. The necessity of outlining the term of young/emerging artists originated from its ambiguity. Preece (2012) says, '[w]hile the terms emerging, mid-career, and established are widely used in the art market there are no set boundaries as to how these are defined' (p. 66). Bain (2005) also agrees that there is no certification of conferring professionalism on artists, and the boundary between professional and amateur artists is nebulous. The term of young/emerging artists in this study follows the category defined by Lehman and Wickham (2014). Therefore, interviewees are expected to be in a rather earlier stage before reaching an established fame in which artists have provided bodies of work with 'modest' prices. However, the boundary is vaguer in our case: registering on Saatchi Art does not mean that all enrolled artists (50,000) are professional artists as there is no particular limitation to uploading works

of art on the platform. Therefore, the artists introduced by Saatchi Art can guarantee their professionalism since Saatchi Art has constantly monitored artists' activities in order to feature them on their website.

Hence, the data drawn from the first tier of filtering allows this study to specify who young and emerging artists are. Also, the artists who are selected by Saatchi Art have more opinions about the influence of using online platforms. In other words, this study is able to understand their unique experiences about the exposures through a digital platform. By doing so, the process of branding young and emerging artists in an online setting is addressed.

The samples of interviews were further filtered down by artists' current locations. Indeed, artists needed to fill out the profile address on Saatchi Art's website with their current location rather than their nationality.¹⁹ Through manually investigating the profile addresses of each featured artists, this study confirmed that the featured artists are working in 56 different countries. Then, this research arranged the countries according to artists' numbers and presented a list of the top 10 countries in Table 8. Among these countries, this research considered the artists—who filled in their profile addresses on Saatchi Art's website as cities in the UK—as potential participants for this project. Therefore, the second condition of selecting the sample led to dramatically reduced numbers of potential interviewees, from 482 to 106.

Table 8. Arrangement of Data by Artists' Living Countries

	Countries	N
1	USA	118
2	UK	106
3	France	28
4	Germany	25
5	Canada	19
6	Netherland	18
7	Italy	15

¹⁹ The research for requiring artists' current addresses by Saatchi Art rather than presenting their nationality is a transaction on the website that is not only domestic, but also international. Especially, international postage of artworks has potential and extra fees for tax and delivery. For gauging the extra fee, buyers need the information about where the product is located.

8	Poland	11
9	Spain	12
10	Korea	10

The first rationale for considering the UK as a second filter is the importance of the UK in the CAM. There are approximately 40,000 artist residents in London, which is the hub of the world market for contemporary art in terms of thick layers of important galleries, museums, and collectors (Thompson, 2008). Financial records show the importance of the UK in the art market. The UK along with the US and China were referred to as the triumvirate in the secondary art market in 2015, representing 87.5 % of the market (ARTPRICE, 2016). In the CAM as such, the UK (14.7%) ranked in third place of sharing the market in 2013 (McAndrew, 2014). As much as the financial sense is concerned, the importance of the UK is drawn from its position in art history (Robertson, 2016). The practices of young British artists achieved notable outcomes that has resulted in considering London ‘the centre of the advanced art world’ (Galenson, 2009, p.313)

Moreover, selecting artists based on the UK as potential interviewees is closely relate to the origination of Saatchi Art. Indeed, the label for YBA (young British artists) was established with the commitment of several group shows promoted by Charles Saatchi based in the UK (Hatton and Walker, 2003). To discover more young and emerging artists, Saatchi found an online platform, which is the forerunner of Saatchi Art. By setting the second filter, therefore, this thesis not only obtained the unique interpretation about usages of digital platforms held by artists but also explored the relationship between online and offline intermediaries.

Data Collection

In the face-to-face interviews, semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted. Indeed, interviews can be largely divide into three types: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. While the purpose of an unstructured interview is to understand complex behaviours in society without the limitation drawn from ‘any a priori categorisation’, the structured interview aims to obtain the data of ‘a codable nature in order to explain behaviour within pre-established categories’ (Fontana and Frey, 1994,

p.366). Then, the semi-structured interview is between structured and unstructured interviews in terms of its characteristics. As such, the form of the semi-structure interview ensures ‘flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant’ within the predetermined categories (Dunn, 2005, p.80). In this research, therefore, our face-to-face interviews were conducted within ‘a conversational manner’ (Longhurst, 2016, p.143) within pre-established interview questions.

The interview questions were developed to understand the roles of digital platforms for valuation systems towards appreciating the process of enhancing artists’ careers in the market. The development of interview questions was initially drawn from the theoretical argument in the previous chapter. The questions further evolved according to the outcome identified by direct observation and reviewing the secondary sources about Saatchi Art. The interview was largely divided into three sections; the first part was designed to address demographic factors such as gender, educational background, length of the artistic career, nationality, and age (see Table 7). The second part explored interviewees’ opinions about the general art market in terms of the way of enhancing their careers and recognition of important intermediaries. In the last part of the interview, the impact of Saatchi Art on branding artists was considered. As such, this section mainly focused on the changes of interviewees’ status after they were selected by Saatchi Art. In addition to this, the set of questions mainly aimed to obtain data related to Saatchi Art, such as the artists’ reasons for using online media (especially Saatchi Art), the changes after being featured by Saatchi Art, and the artists’ awareness of the curatorship in our case, as well as the relationship between interviewees and buyers.

The method of email interviews has pros and cons. On the one hand, the method is efficient in terms of cost and time. E-mail interviews enable researchers to engage with ‘geographically dispersed samples of people’ (Meho, 2006, p.1285), and researchers spend less money on expenditures like transcribing and traveling to the location of interviewees. Within such methods, moreover, researchers take advantage of interviewing several people at a time. On the other hand, the representative disadvantage of the email interview is that the provided data by an email interview is less rich than face-to-face interviews. This is because the email interview is unable to track nonverbal cues: ‘facial expression, body posture, seating distance, eye contact, and gestures’ (Schneider et al., 2002, p.33). Moreover, collecting data by email

interviews might be constrained as interviewees may misinterpret interviewers' questions.

In order to overcome the above disadvantages of conducting an email interview, this research first carefully crafted the research questions in advance to avoid misunderstandings between the author and interviewees. Crafting questions came first from conducting five face-to-face interviews in which the interviewer was able to clarify the questions after observing the reactions of interviewees. Moreover, the interviewer exchanged multiple emails with interviewees by asking several follow-up questions when 'clarifications, illustrations, explanations, or elaborations' (Meho, 2006, p.1293) were required (e.g., clarifying the intention or meaning of what they wrote). These multiple communications contribute to providing richer data for this research.

Ethical Issues

This thesis confirms that the researcher was highly aware of its ethical considerations (particularly confidentiality and anonymity) during collecting, analysing, and presenting the primary data. As such, this study sufficiently informed interviewees to comprehend the aim of this research during recruiting in the invitation letter. The invitation letter consisted of the following information: a brief explanation of this project, the process of selecting the artists as potential contributors to the project, interview themes and processes, and the declaration of confidentiality. Before conducting interviews, the interviewer fully explained the concept of this study, along with their contributions. This research also informed that interviewees were able to decline to answer any of the questions according to their willingness. In addition, they were told that interviewees have the right of withdrawing from this research at any time if they felt unpleasant. Lastly, interviewees received information about how the collected data about them would be used, with mentioning the guarantee of anonymity.

In the case of face-to-face interviews, the researcher always asked about recording the dialogue, and the conversation was recorded with a digital voice recorder for reproducing content with accuracy once the participant approved. Occasionally, the researcher sent a copy of a major transcript to confirm the accuracy of the dialogue. In the case of participants' refusal to record, note-taking was considered. Moreover,

the interviews with Korean artists were conducted in the local language and recorded conversations were transcribed in Korean first. Then, the key transcriptions were translated into English. Despite the serious efforts to maintaining its accuracy in the translation process, some words may have changed or lost their original meaning. Various types of collected data, secondary transcriptions, published comments via social media, users' comments, and interviews were doubly stored on the Google Drive and hard drive.

4.3.3. Data Analysis

The analysis of collected data was carried out to enrich our understanding of the legitimation of young and emerging artists and their artworks in the CAM. Stake (1995) gives the definition of analysis as, 'a matter of giving meaning to first impression as well as final complication' (p. 71). That is, in our data analysis, we dissected our impression about the cases and provided meaning to the parts. In a similar vein, Merriam (1998, p. 178) considers the analysis of data as,

the process of making sense out of the data. And making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read – it is the process of making meaning

Interpreting qualitative data in a manner of 'drawing something meaningful from [it]' can lead to useful analysis (Thomas, 2016, p.204). With echoing the epistemology of this research, the inquirer was involved with the process of interpretation.

Moreover, there is no particular period to analyse collected data during qualitative research. In other words, the analysis of data is concurrently occurring with collecting the data, like other qualitative research (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Silverman, 2010). In this research, therefore, the inquirer searches for meaning about the case during and after collecting the data. Indeed, it is quintessential for the qualitative researcher to collect and analyse data simultaneously, which makes it distinct from a positivistic research epistemology (Merriam, 1998). However, the concurrent process of collecting and analysing data does not mean that our analysis of data is finished once we have collected all the data. In this line, Merriam (1998) highlights that '[a]nalysis become more intensive as the study progresses, and once all the data are in' (p. 155).

Following Merriam’s caveat, the analysis of our data is not only concurrent with collecting data, but also is intensively carried out after gathering all data.

This thesis systematically analysed the collected data by way of qualitative content analysis. In this thesis, the content analysis does not employ ‘the objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication’ (Berelson, 1952, p.18), but involves our subjective or direct interpretation (Stake, 1995) of the underlying meaning of the content (Graneheim and Lundman, 2004). Indeed, there are three perspectives on qualitative content analysis – conventional, direct, and summative – according to their ways of developing codes in research (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005).

Among these perspectives, this study follows deductive category application (Mayring, 2000) or a direct content analysis which allows us to ‘[use] existing theory or prior research to develop initial coding scheme prior to beginning to analyze the data’ (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p.1286). According to the theoretical framework of this thesis, firstly, this thesis developed the analytic categories²⁰ in the Table 9:

Table 9. Analytic categories drawn by the theoretical framework

Categories and its operational definition		
The intermediaries’ contributions to shaping the legitimacy of artists and artists	Introduction: the practice of increasing the presence of artists in existing cognitive schemas (the art world)	Instruction: the practices of rendering artists and artists more congruent with the pre-established norms and values in the art world.
	Selection: the practice of determining which/who are introduced and instructed	
The stratified structure in the art world	The influence of the accumulated symbolic capitals of each intermediary on legitimising artists	

Then, the identified categories were specified in every cases. As we addressed the issue of legitimation of young and emerging artists via the medium of art fairs, in *Case Study I* the analytic categories of ‘cultural branding in our cases’ and ‘our cases in the art world’ were identified by consulting with our theoretical framework. As such, the theoretical framework in Chapter 3 allowed *Case Study I* to specify the category of ‘cultural branding in our cases’ into introduction, instruction, and the inclusion. Moreover, the secondary data that explained the relationship between art fairs and

²⁰ Elo and Kyngäs (2008) consider this as a categorisation matrix.

other intermediaries within the hierarchical order in the art world were matched with the category of ‘our cases in the art world’ (See Table 10).

Table 10. Sorting Secondary Data according to the Analytic Categories in Case Study I

Authors	Focus	Category
Forbes (2015)	Review of Frieze London 2015	Introduce
Frieze London (n.d.)	Description of programme at Frieze London	
Frieze Press (2014)	Review of Frieze London 2014	
Frieze Foundation (n.d.)	Description of Frieze Project	
Wullschlager (2010)	Review of Frieze Project 2010	
Alexander and Bowler (2014)	Analysis of the changes in the art market	Instruct
Morgner (2014)	Networks and Framing Aesthetic	
Frieze Press (2014)	Details of Frieze Programme	
Velthuis (2014)	Globalisation via Art Fairs and Internet	
Adam (2014)	Factual data about visual art market	Include/Select
Bowley (2015)	Jury’s powers to control market	
Forrest (2015)	The interview with the fair director of TOAF	
Frieze Press (2014)	Rigorous process of selection	
The Other Art Fair (n.d.)	The profiles of previous juries	
Schultheis (2017)	Symbolic recognition of exhibitors	
Quemin (2013)	Analysis of international contemporary art fairs	Art fairs in the art world (hierarchical order)
Robertson (2005b)	Description of international contemporary art market	
Schultheis (2015)	Consecration by art fairs	
Nagesh (2014)	The ecosystem of TOAF	

The aim of *Case Study II* is to explore the role of an online platform in branding young and emerging artists as well as valuing artwork in an online setting. Taking the purpose of the case study and our theoretical orientation, the following categories were identified: cultural branding through Saatchi Art, online users and valuation in our case, and our case in the art world (the linkage between online and offline).

To some extent, we point out that the analysis of the collected data was carried out irrespective of our philosophical position. Stake (1995) insists that what he suggest for analysing data does not need to be right for all researchers and recommends that ‘[e]ach researcher needs, through experience and reflection, to find the forms of analysis that work for him or her’ (p. 77). Thus, regardless of our philosophical stance,

we systematically analysed the collected data with relying on our theoretical framework (Yin, 2009). In other words, we compared our findings with our theoretical orientation, and the analytic categories were suggested from our research problem and a review of the previous literature (Eisenhardt, 1989). We also point out that the process of analysing data was iterative in order to compare systematically between the suggested categories and data. To describe the process of analysis further, this thesis will show a selected example below:

...I know that a lot of gallerists are browsing the site and are looking for new artists, and I was contacted by some gallerists after they have seen my work on Saatchi's curation. [A7]

During the interviews, the artist revealed that exposing artists in the curatorial programme on Saatchi Art opens various opportunities for the selected artists. In other words, such offers by some galleries result from introducing the artist to other intermediaries through curatorial practice of Saatchi Art. By doing so, the medium of Saatchi Art inserts the artists and artworks 'into [the] art world's taste-making machinery' (Velthuis, 2005, p.41). This findings from a directed content analysis support the theoretical framework of this thesis: our case plays a role in shaping cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the artists by increasing the awareness of an artist's existence in the institutionalised structure (the art world).

Moreover, directed qualitative content analysis allows researchers to identify new categories, which contributes to enriching their theoretical framework (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Our theoretical framework provided an analytic theme of the cultural branding of Andy Warhol. The historical case newly identified the following categories: 1) *Brillo Box's* response to the myth of consumerism; 2) the legitimisation of Warhol by his persona and social network; and 3) the intricate relationship between Warhol and Pop Art. In the first theme, this thesis analysed our case's performance of the prevalent myth in America in the 1960s, in order to explore the role of dominant myths in society in shaping the legitimacy of artists and their artworks. In the other themes, an artist's persona and social network, as well as intermediary activities surrounding our case, and artworks by other artists at that time were compared by way of our theory conjoining the concept of the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996) with neo-institutional theory (Chaney, Ben Slimane and Humphreys, 2016; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995).

Lastly, in the process of analysing data we also considered ‘direct interpretation’ (Stake, 1995) in order to make meaning about our collected data. In direct interpretation, understanding the complexity, uniqueness, and particularity of our cases is a primary task for this research. Put differently, this way of analysing data can provide ‘what he or she has learned from the case’ (Ridder, 2016, p.135). Hence, we emphasise our subjective interpretation of the cases, while having searched for the meanings regarding the cases within our analytic categories while reviewing and analysing data.

4.3.4. Quality of Research: Trustworthiness

This dissertation assures the quality of study by strengthening the trustworthiness of the research. The argument on the process of establishing validity/trustworthiness in qualitative research is essential as ‘findings of qualitative research are especially vulnerable to incomplete and blurred perceptions of reality by the researcher’ (Knoll, 2008, p.155). The issue of validity, ‘another word for truth’ (Silverman, 2010, p.275), has been debated over time for legitimising qualitative research with criticism from quantitative researchers (Maxwell, 1992). Thus, inspired by quantitative research, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) provide four criteria for high-quality qualitative research:

(1) internal validity, the degree to which findings correctly map the phenomenon in question; (2) external validity, the degree to which findings can be generalized to other settings similar to the one in which the study occurred; (3) reliability, the extent to which findings can be replicated, or reproduced, by another inquirer; and (4) objectivity, the extent to which findings are free from bias. (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.100)

With a concern for our philosophical background, however, post-positivism-oriented criteria by Denzin and Lincoln (1994) is not applicable to this research. That is because the validity procedure in qualitative research is varied according to the paradigm assumptions of inquirers (Creswell and Miller, 2000), although some qualitative researchers attempt to apply validity and reliability irrespective of their philosophical position (notably Silverman 2010). Many qualitative (or naturalistic) inquirers²¹ prefer to use different terminology in pursuit of providing trustworthiness of their research to create distance from a positivist approach on establishing the validity of the study

²¹ The post-positivism-oriented inquirers use the terms validity and reliability for establishing validity in their qualitative research (e.g., Yin 2009; Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Maxwell 1992).

(Shenton, 2004). Guba (1981) is a pioneer of proposing four criteria for establishing trustworthiness in naturalistic research, which are preferred along with the validity criteria by positivists (see Table 11).

Table 11. The Four Aspects of Trustworthiness
Source: Guba (1981, p. 80)

Aspect	Scientific Term	Naturalistic Term
Truth Value	Internal Validity	Credibility
Applicability	External Validity Generalizability	Transferability
Consistency	Reliability	Dependability
Neutrality	Objectivity	Confirmability

Echoing Guba’s (1981) criteria, the trustworthiness of our study is ensured with taking triangulation and naturalistic generalisation into account. By acknowledging multiple and flexible reality, credibility refers to the close linkage between researchers’ interpretation of subjects and the reality surrounding the subjects. By using a purposive sample, the interpretation data of our cases ‘would recognise it immediately and those outside the experience can understand it’ (Baxter and Eyles, 1997, p.512). That is, the selection of our cases was carried out by learning mostly about the phenomenon of understanding the process of branding young and emerging artists in art fairs and digital platforms.

Moreover, triangulation is the most powerful procedure for enhancing credibility (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). Thus, we addressed triangulation with multiple methods and data sources to enrich the credibility of our interpretations, which also contributed to strengthening the confirmability of our research. Confirmability is defined as,

the degree to which the findings of an inquiry are determined by the subjects (respondents) and conditions of the inquiry and not by the biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.290)

Triangulation does not aim to engender the same results from the different sources of data and various methods, but acknowledges both consistency and inconsistency among data. Therefore, ‘understanding inconsistencies in findings across different kinds of data can be illuminative and important’ (Patton, 2002, p.556). According to Stake (2005), in this sense, triangulation contributes to identifying different realities as a ‘qualitative researcher is interested in diversity of perception, even the multiple

realities within which people live’ (p. 454). With triangulation, therefore, this thesis seeks to find consistency between multiple data and sources from various methods whilst our understanding about cases is constructed from diverse perspectives.

Protocols of triangulation are identified by Denzin (1978) as *data source*, *investigator*, *theory*, and *methodological* triangulation. Data source triangulation—the most common technique—corroborates the construction of inquirers’ interpretations by using multiple data sources. Moreover, there are two such types of methodological triangulation (Hussein, 2009): between-method triangulation, combining qualitative and quantitative methods; and within-method, using multiple methods for collecting and analysing data within a single paradigm. Theoretical triangulation involves the usage of multiple perspectives from various literature/theory on explored data, and investigator triangulation refers to comparing interpretations about collected data among a team of investigators.

We point out that the collected data was triangulated with data source triangulation and methodological triangulation. In *Case Study I*, various documents from multiple data sources were compared for developing our comprehensive understanding about the role of art fairs in the process of branding young and emerging artists. *Case Study II* used both data source triangulation and methodological triangulation protocols to bolster the credibility and confirmability of our interpretations. Indeed, the case study attempted to reflect three different perspectives about our case in order to ensure the trustworthiness of the empirical study. Table 12, as such, shows the collected data that is designed for examining different views on the emergence of online media: artists, Saatchi Art, and buyers/ users. In this empirical study, the author uses within-method triangulation that comprises a three-pronged approach; observation, document review, and interviews. Our interpretation, resulting from the combination of such methods and multiple data, yields a higher confidence level.

Table 12. Data Sources

The Views from	Data source
Artists	28 interviews (7 Face to Face, 21 Email)
Saatchi Art	Published interviews of Chief curator Answers to users’ inquiries written by Chief curator on social media Secondary sources: experts’ opinion about Saatchi Art
Buyers	141 reviewer comments about Saatchi Art

The dependability of a qualitative study is equivalent to the reliability of quantitative research. While a positivist approach on reliability refers to the degree of which findings of research are repeatable, there is the impossibility of finding the perfect repeatability of observation or interpretation in naturalistic research (Stake, 2005). Indeed, ‘dependability includes the consistency with which the same constructs may be matched with the same phenomena over space and time’ (Baxter and Eyles, 1997, p.516). Thus, aforementioned analytical categories of collected data allow other researchers to similarly interpret the influence of art fairs and digital platforms on the differentiation/valuation of young and emerging artists/ artwork.

This study delivers the transferability of the outcome of case studies by taking a naturalistic generalisation and thick description. In this sense, we are not aiming at formulating a propositional generalisation (Yin 2009), but we rather pursue the establishment of naturalistic generalisations. Stake (1995) defines a naturalistic generalisation as a ‘conclusion arrived at through personal engagement in life’s affairs or by vicarious experience’ (p. 85). Additionally, naturalistic generalisation, corresponding to thick description (Geertz, 1994), gives vicarious experience to readers and supports readers to have their own interpretations about the research findings towards deciding the applicability of it to other context (Creswell and Miller, 2000).

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter aims to clarify how this research has addressed collecting and analysing data as well as identifying its philosophical stance. As we have already seen the issue in previous chapters, understanding the valuing system in the CAM gives valuable insights to the way in which young and emerging artists are legitimated and branded. Then, this chapter highlights that the nature of the art market, engaging with various actors, needs to be studied to understand their activities. Interpreting their activities is accomplished by taking qualitative research into account with adopting a constructivism view. The consideration of a case study as a main method allows us to explore the blurred borderline between inquiring phenomenon and the context of the inquired subject. Particularly, our identified philosophical position (a constructivist

paradigm) leads us to follow Stake's ways of conducting a case study. Aligned with Stake's arguments, therefore, our case study is holistic, biographic, ethnographic, and instrumental.

To explore the legitimization of young and emerging artists in the CAM, moreover, this thesis selected cases in a purposeful way (Merriam, 1998). Despite his fame in the present day, Warhol was one of the young and emerging artists in 1960s who made a concerted effort to be accepted by the art world. By exploring *Brillo Box*, we can deepen our understanding of the legitimization of contemporary arts, as the reproduction of mundane goods paved the way for contemporary artists to stress the concept of their works, rather than its appearance (Danto, 1997a), as well as highlighting the structure of legitimising the artworks.

In *Case Study I*, we selected a major art fair and an alternative art fair to gain holistic insights about this medium. *Frieze London* was selected because of the lack of academic research on the cultural event, as well as its designated spaces for young and emerging artists. TOAF was also selected, as the fair is only for displaying young and emerging artists' works and the art fair changes the level of participation to the fair from dealers to artists. By identifying such cases, this thesis can gain holistic insight into the role of art fairs in shaping the legitimacy of young and emerging artists, as well as the relationship between major fairs and alternative ones. By exploring the symbolic capitals of the founders of each cultural event, we can also examine the linkages between traditional intermediaries and new ones, which allows us to discuss the transformation of legitimising structures by the emergence of such new intermediaries. In this sense, *Case Study II* selected Saatchi Art – an e-commerce platform for young and emerging artists – which operates under the name of Saatchi, an individual who holds a high position in the stratified structure of the art world.

In addition, this chapter has covered

- The process of collecting data with three methods: direct observation, document reviews, and interviews;
- The sequence of gathering and analysing data (occurring concurrently);
- The analysis of gathered data by comparing analytic themes drawn from a theoretical framework and empirical data, as well as a direct interpretation; and

- The issue of improving trustworthiness in this research with taking triangulation and naturalistic generalisation into account.

Accordingly, the following chapter will present the findings of each case study and analyse the findings with the guidance of our theoretical framework. The historical case will delineate various elements influencing the legitimacy of artists and artworks. The first empirical section will mainly discuss the role of the medium of art fairs in differentiating presented young and emerging artists at cultural events. Another empirical chapter will articulate the valuation and legitimation system of contemporary art in the online setting by focusing on young and emerging artists. Moreover, this thesis will posit both the mediums of art fairs and online platforms in the stratified structure of the art world, so that both chapters will argue the close linkage between traditional intermediaries such as galleries, dealers, auctions and museums and the emerging intermediaries (our cases). Thus, we will enrich our understanding of the contribution of the mediums to the transformation of the existing system of legitimising artists in the CAM.

CHAPTER 5. HISTORICAL CASE STUDY: *BRILLO* *BOX AND ANDY WARHOL*

Until now, this thesis has provided the theoretical context for better understanding the discovered emerging trends and issues in the contemporary art market. Employing sociological and institutional approaches when examining the visual arts scene allows us to explore the function, tension, and collaboration of the layer of intermediaries in legitimising artists and their works of art. The methodological issue has also been explored to gain rich data and offer qualitative analysis. Based on this, this chapter aims to understand the process by which works of art establish value, through exploring the mechanisms of legitimacy for artist and their artworks.

To accomplish the aim, Andy Warhol's *Brillo Soap Pads Box* (1964, generally known as *Brillo Box*²²) serves as an instrumental case (Stake, 1995). *Brillo Box* seems an appropriate case for this research since the work of art is emblematic of changes in the perception of visual works of art from its appearance to its idea (Danto, 1997a). *Brillo Box*'s first appearance in 1964 challenged both of experts and its audience. The work of art, therefore, requires a complex process of legitimising it as works of art, which is an initial phase in giving works of art their worth in the art market. Through analysis of historical documents, this chapter conceptualises the elements constituting the complex valuation system of artworks, by tracing the process of establishing the cultural-cognitive and normative legitimacy for *Brillo Box* and Andy Warhol in terms of a particular myth in the society, intermediaries, Warhol's personality and persona, social connections, and other artworks of that time.

This chapter will review the historical records surrounding *Brillo Box*, such as the appearance and marking procedure of artworks, the explanation given about the artist, the description of exhibitions for the artworks, and the interpretation of our case. Then, historical documents allocated into categories drawn from the theoretical framework

²² In his article, Danto (2012) strictly distinguish the usage of terms of '*Brillo Box*' from '*Brillo Boxes*'; *Brillo Box* refers to works of art, but the *Brillo Boxes* are the cardboards in the supermarket. Moreover, although the works of art are called with a slightly different name according to its printed logo on the boxes, the conception or idea behind works of art is the same between them. In this thesis, hence, *Brillo Box* is a proper noun and embraces the whole series of the sculpture.

will mainly be examined with a focus on conceptualising the complex ecosystem legitimising our case.

5.1. Case Study of Brillo Box



Exhibit 1 Andy Warhol, Brillo Soap Pads Box, 1964
Photograph: The Andy Warhol Foundation

Sotheby's (2012) revealed that Brillo Soap Pads Box, vivid logos printed on the plywood (17 x 17 x 14 inches: See Exhibit 1), was bid on successfully for \$722,500 at a contemporary art evening auction in November 2012. This sculpture had previously been owned since mid-1972 by Galleria Sperone who acquired it from the Leo Castelli Gallery. Also, its authenticity has been proven by its presentation on the catalogue committed by Frei and Printz (2004). In fact, the huge sale price is not exceptional for this type of sculpture; other Brillo Soap Pads sold at Christie's for \$812,500 in 2012; *Brillo Box* (3 cents off) sold at Christie's for \$3,050,500. In the 1960s, interestingly, these boxes were worth a few hundred dollars (Thompson, 2014). Although it seems to be valued less than in recent years, it is still impressive that the facsimile of cardboards²³ had value.

Brillo Soap Pads Box is one of the serial works of art executed by Andy Warhol (1928–1987). Over 25 years after his death, Warhol is still leading the current CAM. In 2015, according to ARTPRICE (2016), Warhol reached a high level of achievement in both ranking (2nd) and auction turnover (\$452,253,982). Moreover, he had a talent for not only visual arts, but also for making films and writing literature (Schroeder,

²³ The Brillo Soap Pads Box was originally designed by James Harvey (Golec, 2008) and this cardboard has no value.

1997). He was obsessed with celebrities, sought fame and continuously promoted himself (Joy and Sherry, 2003). Warhol ended up becoming a celebrity, which is previously discussed extensively (see Kerrigan et al. 2011).

During mid-April and early May 1964, a hundred boxes were first shown at the Stable Gallery. Through the adoption of a mass production line, a large number of boxes (approximately 400) were produced (Frei and Printz, 2004), which were selectively installed together at the gallery. The venue for the exhibition was filled by stacking the works of art, thus looking like storage at a supermarket, and people who bought a piece of *Brillo Box* packed in plastic, got attention from the public when they left the gallery (Danto, 2013). The visual distinction between *Brillo Box* (works of art) and the Brillo boxes (cardboard boxes) is hardly captured.

A description of the procedure to make the works of art is necessary for understanding the unusual quantity thereof. Rather than using brushes by hand, Warhol created the boxes by adopting semi-mechanical skills, silk screen-printing, which allowed the artist to produce a large amount of work within a short time. Overall, the process of making *Brillo Box* was initiated by the idea for *Brillo Box* by Warhol and then produced by collaborating with carpenters and assistants. More specifically, the development of the idea of the sculpture was also accomplished with the help of Warhol's assistants and dealers. Warhol made the study of sculpture to his assistant, Edward Wallowitch, in the Factory. In 1962, Wallowitch took a picture of the stacked cardboard in the supermarket, which was discussed with a professional from Dwan Gallery as, '[y]our idea of making cardboard boxes is sensational' (Weber 1963 cited in Frei and Printz 2004, p. 53). Once the idea developed, Warhol made a prototype of *Brillo Box*.

Afterwards, the semi-mechanical line of producing a series of the sculpture was executed. As such, the wooden boxes, which were crafted from plywood by carpenters, were delivered to the *Factory*. With the silk-screen painting technology, Warhol and his assistants printed the logos of several brands on each face of the crafted boxes. As we can see in Figure 2, in the artist's studio, white-coloured plywood boxes and the two layers (screens) were prepared. Then, red and blue inks were poured onto the screen, which were to penetrate through each screen by being placed on the boxes at

different times. By moving the squeegee properly, the devised figures (logos and texts) were printed on the four sides of the boxes.



Figure 2. The Practice of Screen-Printing on the Sculptures
Source: Warhol Museum (n.d)

Brillo Box has a close relationship with Warhol's previous works of art. The concept of the boxes is '[the] appropriation of commercial products and advertising design' (Sotheby's, 2012), which originated from Warhol's previous two-dimensional oeuvres such as *200 One Dollar Bills*, *Campbell's Soup* and *Coca-Cola* in 1962. At that time, Warhol produced the three-dimensional versions of Campbell's Soup cans, which was the root of *Brillo Box*. In this sense, *Brillo Box* was specified as Warhol's attempt at transferring the previous conception of appropriating consumer culture from two to three dimensions. More importantly, Frei and Printz (2004) remark upon the transformation as,

The Stable installation vividly demonstrates the radical character of the transformation in Warhol's work at the beginning of 1964. Painted compositions cede at this time to serial accumulations of objects, whose quantity and likeness undermine conventional orders of number, composition, and visual distinction (p.55)

Therefore, *Brillo Box* questioned the ontological issue of works of art with transgressing common knowledge or perceptions of being art. This exhibition, then, resulted in varied opinions from experts ranging from the excited view of '[they] demand re-identification and re-evaluation as they assume, in the purity of their projective impact, a kind of perfect cultural abstraction' (Factor 1964 cited in Christie's 2012) to the outraged view of 'he has destroyed Art with a capital A' (Preston 1964 cited in Christie's 2012). Then, as Danto (2009) noted, the public was not ready to accept *Brillo Box* as a work of art.

5.1.1. Brillo Box's Response to the Myth of Consumerism

In the United States of America, in the 1960s, World War II and the Cold War influenced national ideology and everyday life. On the one hand, with the military success and the development of the atom bomb, American ideology praised 'scientific expertise, the power of ...bureaucracies', which caused conformity rather than individualism (Holt, 2003, p.44). Then, corporations required employees who could subsume their individuality under a corporate mission. On the other hand, the number of people living in the suburbs of cities increased (Whiteley, 1987), which shows 'the broadening of the affluent society and bourgeois mores and attitudes among the middle class' (Nugent, 1973, p.334). Moreover, Americans were increasingly exposed to advertisements for commercial goods (Mitchell, 2011). Therefore, 'increased bureaucratization of organizations, growth of the national market, and the expansion of advertising' engendered the development of consumer culture (Mamiya, 1992, p.2).

During the period of *Brillo Box*, the dominant artistic ideology is art for art's sake. Before *Pop Art* was established, *Abstract-Expressionism* was the prevalent art movement during the 1950s in America (Fröhlich, 1966). *Abstract-Expressionism* embraces paintings which have the characteristic of being abstract, intriguing, emotional, or expressive (e.g. Jackson Pollock). This artistic movement was defended by a respectable aesthetician, Greenberg. In Greenberg's (1965) seminal essay, he revealed that Kant is a real modernist by underlining two dimensional flatness of fine art, along with 'the shape of the support, the properties of the pigment' (p. 6). While the dominant style of the works of art at that time²⁴ highlight the insight of artists by reflecting 'a post-war discourse of liberalism and a re-evaluation of American cultural activity'(Morris, 2005, 425), the living experience different with the intentions of artists in *Abstract-Expressionism*.

In these circumstances, the myth of consumerism²⁵ was prevalent, depicting 'a society in which many people formulate their goals in life partly through acquiring goods that they clearly do not need for subsistence or for traditional display' (Stearns, 2006, p.vii). With economic prosperity, individual consumption soared (Honnef, 2004). As such,

²⁴ Lichtenstein, a famous pop artist, said, '[the abstract expressionist atmosphere] has had less and less to do with the world; it looks inward' in Lippard's (1970, p. 85) article.

²⁵ In this paper, consumerism does not mean the protection of consumer's rights and power (Kotler, 1972).

in the 1960s America experienced ‘American mass culture and the products of American capitalism’ (Danto, 2009, p.x), including popular culture, glossy commercials and supermarkets crammed with a variety of food, which occurred as the result of a ‘consumer revolution’ in the 1950s (BBC, 2011). In the 1960s, therefore, there were people’s anxieties about mechanisation (Lippard, 1970), or the feeling of being overwhelmed by non-individual products and the media (Livingstone, 1990).

Warhol performed the myth of consumerism through employing aspects of consumer goods to create works of art. In 1962, a critic pointed out the relationship between Warhol and prevalent myths at that time, claiming that ‘art like Warhol’s is necessarily parasitic upon the myths of its time, and indirectly therefore upon the machinery of fame and publicity that market these myths...’ (Fried, 1997, p.267). Indeed, Warhol’s artworks are seen as banal objects by the public—one of the vital characteristics of pop art. For instance, he depicted mass-produced products, such as Coca-Cola bottles and Campbell’s Soup cans, which not only produced public interest but also improved the depicted brand’s status (Schroeder 2005, 2010). Celebrated or branded subjects in his works of art aroused depersonalisation from art, which disturbed many people (Lippard, 1970). Lucie-Smith (1981, p. 232) also comments that polarisation is engendered by Warhol’s work. He states that an artist can become exclusive by aligning himself with the public (Lucie-Smith, 1981). Another example is that Warhol produced portraits of celebrities, such as Elizabeth Taylor and Elvis Presley, ‘American success [stories]’ (Honnef, 2000). Moreover, he criticised social issues through his *Electric Chair* series, which roused the public’s interest (Thompson, 2008).

In other words, Warhol selected a subject for his artworks which reflects consumerism (Holler and Klose-Ullmann, 2011). In the case of *Brillo Box*, Warhol identified consumer products – cardboard boxes filled with soap pads – as a subject for a work of art. In 1962, Edward Wallowitch, Warhol’s assistant, took a picture of stacked cardboard boxes in a supermarket, and Warhol was inspired by the picture (Frei and Printz, 2004). Following the original intention by Warhol, we consider *Brillo Box* not as a piece of works, but as an installation demonstrating the stacked cardboards in supermarket. The installation, then, is more than simply a reproduction of mundane imagery (Kerrigan et al., 2011). *Brillo Box*, rather, shows the lure of consumer goods in America in the 1960s by capturing the scene of a stack of cardboard boxes.

Secondly, the way of producing works of art for Warhol is also a reflection of consumerism. In 1962, Warhol felt that the rubber-stamp technique for executing repetitive images, which the artist had previously used, was too homemade, and Warhol said ‘I wanted something stronger that gave more of an assembly-line effect’ (Warhol and Hackett, 2007, p.28). Warhol’s intention, to synchronise himself and the machine, is reflected in his oeuvres. He once stated in an interview with ArtNews (Swenson, 1963, p.26), that ‘[t]he reason I’m painting this way is that I want to be a machine, and I feel that whatever I do and do machine-like is what I want to do’. During this period, as such, Warhol adopted silk screen-printing, a photo-mechanical procedure, in order to speed up the process of creating works of art, which enabled him to replicate images more simply and directly (Livingstone, 1990). As a result, the massive volumes of *Brillo Box* (around 400) were produced from 1963 to 1964. Warhol made the box sculptures by printing various logos of brands on the boxes and ended up presenting seven series such as ‘Brillo (3¢ off), Mott’s apple juice, Del Monte peach halves, Kellogg’s cornflakes, Heinz tomato ketchup, Brillo Soap Pads Box, [and] Campbell’s tomato juice’ (Frei and Printz, 2004, p.53). The instances of each series were contained within Warhol’s second exhibition at the Stable Gallery (See Table 13).

Table 13. The Chronology of Each Series Reported by Frei and Printz (2004)

Years		The Name of Series	N	Images	At Stable Gallery
Late 1963 ~ Early 1964		Heinz Tomato Ketchup	1		Prototype
		Brillo (3 ¢ off)	15		Smaller gallery faced street
1964	March ~ April	Brillo Soap Pads	100		Smaller gallery faced street

		Heinz Tomato Ketchup	100		North Gallery
		Campbell's Tomato Juice	100		North Gallery
		Del Monte Peach Halves	35		North Gallery
		Mott's Apple Juice	10		Installation view (Stacked) in entrance corridor
Mid of April		Kellogg's Cornflakes	20		Installation view (Stacked) in entrance corridor

This procedure enabled Warhol to reinforce the myth of consumerism in *Brillo Box* by creating a most influential innovation: repetition and serialisation (Galenson, 2009). The technique of mass production is important for Warhol to indicate ‘the theme of mass reproducibility that is definitive of contemporary American life’ (Joy and Sherry, 2003, p.172). Commenting on Warhol’s Campbell’s soup series, Marcel Duchamp supported Warhol’s repetition, as ‘If you take a Campbell’s soup can and repeat it fifty times, you are not interested in the retinal image. What interests you is the concept that wants to put fifty Campbell’s soup cans on a canvas’ (Duchamp quoted in Constable, 1964, p. 10). By incorporating a mechanical process into art, repetition of the same image led appreciators to concentrate on the concept of *Brillo Box*: the emphasis of materialism, ‘reflected in today’s affluent society by the consumer culture

and the urge to buy and possess goods' (Schroeder, 1992, p.10). In other words, by praising the 'mechanical means of reproduction' (Taylor, 2014, p.136), Warhol played with American desires for unfettered consumption (Mitchell, 2011).

The last focus comes from *Brillo Box*'s similarity to actual *Brillo* boxes. That is, the well-crafted boxes in Warhol's studio are visually indiscernible from the cardboard versions one may see in a supermarket. In 1964, a critic commented on *Brillo Box* in *Art Magazine*, as, 'a gesture of aggressive passivity...The visual emptiness of it all is the price [Warhol] seems willing to pay for an instant of sublime but compulsive negation' (Tillim cited in Danto 1997b, p. 61). *Brillo Box*, put differently, questioned the ontological issue of works of art, by transgressing common knowledge or perceptions of a work of art's status as a work of art (Danto, 1964). This attempt enables *Brillo Box* to blur the boundary between an ordinary object that is close to everyday life and works of art that are of limited access. *Brillo Box*, in other words, examines the boundary between high and low art (Joy and Sherry, 2003) by incorporating a mechanical process into art and producing a large amount of work. In doing so, *Brillo Box* increases the awareness of art as a commodity (Mamiya, 1992), thereby criticising consumerism in the art market when 'capitalist society treats works of art as ordinary commodities' (Fallon, 2010, p.73). At the same time, Warhol's work depicts 'the extreme superficiality of the prosperous society [consumerism]' in the 1960s (Phillips 2013, no pagination)

5.2. Analysis and Discussion

This study has provided an extension of the application of Holt's (2004) cultural branding theory into the field of visual arts, delineating how artists attain legitimacy in the art world. With the guidance of the theoretical frame of this thesis, we will first discuss the role of intermediaries in shaping Warhol's normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy. Additionally, we will discuss the role of artistic movements, the artist's persona and social networks, and the myths prevalent in society, in terms of legitimising artists.

5.2.1. Cultural Branding of Andy Warhol

Warhol's legitimacy could not have been accomplished without the commitments of intermediaries. Indeed, Warhol acknowledged the importance of intermediaries' role, expressing;

So you need a good gallery so the 'ruling class' will notice you and spread enough confidence in your future...No matter how good you are, if you're not promoted right, you won't be one of those remembered names (Warhol and Hackett, 2007, p.26)

Introduction

The practice of introducing works of art to existing cultural-cognitive schemas in the art world adds to the legitimacy of its artists. Two groups of intermediaries contribute to performing this practice: distributors and the media. Firstly, dealers or gallerists play the role of disseminating information about works of art by translating it into exhibitions. In our case, the Stable gallery initially introduced Warhol's *Brillo Box* to the wider audience, which strengthened the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of Andy Warhol and his works of art by engendering the awareness of their existence in the art world.

Moreover, the exposure of Andy Warhol in the media adds legitimacy to him. As articles in media contribute to increasing the accessibility of contemporary art (Crane, 1989), journalists create an atmosphere facilitating the acceptance of certain artists. For instance, in 1962, Time magazine featured Warhol's works of art, along with other pop artists, which was the first article about American Pop art (Lowery, 2012). On this occasion, people were able to recognise Warhol as one of the pop artists. In a similar vein, in 1964, Sidney Tillim reviewed the exhibition of *Brillo Box* at the gallery in Arts Magazine (Lowery, 2012). Thus, the media discourse surrounding artists simultaneously exposed people to artworks and taught audiences about art, thereby reinforcing the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of Warhol and his artworks.

Instruction

Various intermediaries grant normative legitimacy to artists through the practice of instruction. Put differently, one of the most important elements for legitimising artists is intermediaries' contributions to developing the interpretation of the works of art. That is, art experts 'provide the reasoning which makes it acceptable and worth appreciating' (Becker, 1982, p.113), thereby helping to shape the legitimacy of artist. In Warhol's case, Danto repeatedly addresses the artist's artworks (Freeland, 2001). In particular, Danto's seminal article, 'The Art World' (1964) helped to shape a legitimate standard for appreciating pop art (especially Warhol's *Brillo Box*). In the article, Danto (1964) fostered the concept of Reality Theory in art (RT) to explain *Brillo Box*. According to RT,

the artists in question were to be understood not as unsuccessfully imitating real forms but as successfully creating new ones, quite as real as the forms which the older art had been thought, in its best examples, to be creditably imitating (Danto, 1964, p.573).

Indeed, Danto exemplified this theory with a mirror. When a mirror reflects a particular object, the reflected images only become works of art according to Imitation Theory. Meanwhile, RT embraces the mirror, which is located between real objects and reflected images, as a work of art. Despite the visual indiscernibility, Warhol's boxes are artworks as they cannot be considered real cardboard. Within the frame of RT, therefore, the replicas of a real object, *Brillo Box*, was a new creation and the same as real boxes. In this sense, *Brillo Box* was ratified as an artwork with the support of Danto's (1964) Reality Theory (RT). Hence, without the history and theory of art, *Brillo Box*'s performance of consumerism is hardly captured. Joy and Sherry (2003, p. 160) note '[c]riticism performs a gatekeeping function that evaluates art against what has gone before and locates it within a specific genealogy'. Like Danto's RT theory, the critic's opinion thus contributed to examining congruence between artworks and pre-existing cultural values in the art world, thereby granting normative legitimacy to Warhol.

As we consider the critic's own interpretation about works of art as the practice of direct instruction, works of art are indirectly instructed in a form of exhibition, which underlines the dealers' and curators' roles. They do not simply display works of art,

but stresses the way of interpreting works of art. In the case of dealer, they do not simply act as order-taker, but also influence how artworks are perceived by the ways in which they exhibit them as ‘the art does not speak for itself’ (Caves, 2000, p.37). For instance, Irving Blum, a Los Angeles dealer, displayed Warhol’s *32 Campbell’s Soup Cans* (1962) in an exhibition. The dealer deliberately hung the paintings on the walls in the gallery with a shelf, replicating supermarket shelves (Ketner, 2013). In the case of *Brillo Box*, it was installed in order to give the impression of a grocery warehouse; a stack of Boxes printed with the logos of several brands were displayed, which was likely to bring to mind the warehouse of a supermarket. In this respect, the dealers or curators perform the practice of indirect instruction of appreciators regarding works of art, by displaying it effectively.

Selection

The practice of selection is relevant at every stage of the legitimation process of artists. The above-mentioned introduction by intermediaries, indeed, is premised on the activities of selection by the relevant actors. After selection by the Stable Gallery and Time magazine, amongst various artists and artworks, *Brillo Box* and Andy Warhol could attain cultural-cognitive legitimacy. In other words, filtering (Hirsch, 1972) is the initial phrase of increasing the awareness of artists and their artworks in the cultural framework. In a similar vein, the normative legitimacy of artists, contributed to by the constitution of instruction about them by intermediaries, is also premised on the practice of selection.

Through cooperation (Becker, 1982) or struggle (Bourdieu, 1996) between intermediaries in the institutionalised structure, moreover, only a few introduced and instructed artists are ultimately included in the dominant norms and values of the art world. As we have seen in Chapter 3, Becker (1982) highlights collective and cooperative actions among intermediaries while he touches upon the power issue within the networks by stating that, ‘art world officials have the power to legitimate work as art, but that power is often disputed’ (p. 163). However, Becker is unwilling to describe the way in which power is exerted in the art world, as he chooses to focus on ‘the participants themselves as being responsible for their types of interactivity’ (Maanen 2009, p.43). Indeed, the power issue firmly pertains to the art market and

Schroeder (2006, p.88) states '[a]rt remains deeply entrenched with power'. Thus, it is important to wonder to what extent artists, critics, galleries and the media shape the legitimacy of Warhol and his artworks.

Following the argument regarding power dynamics in the art world provided by Bourdieu (1996), this thesis insists that the identity of intermediaries – drawn by their economic, social and cultural capital – heavily influences the process of legitimating *Brillo Box* and Warhol. For instance, Warhol was firstly selected by Leo Castelli's gallery, where Jasper Johns's and Robert Rauschenberg's work was shown (Galenson, 2009). This established gallery was one of the most famous venues at that time (Danto, 2009). The accumulated symbolic capital of the distributor, drawn from its previous exhibitions by pop artists, helped the public and actors in the cultural framework to effectively become aware of Warhol and his artworks.

5.2.2. Legitimising Andy Warhol by his Persona and the 'Factory'

In a certain sense, Warhol himself is a myth. He has come to symbolize success and stardom in the arts, yet still somehow remains an elusive figure (Blinderman, 2004, p.291)

Warhol's persona and his social network, drawn from his studio, contribute to building Warhol's legitimacy. Firstly, the awareness of Warhol amongst the public was increased as he effectively and intentionally cultivated his public persona and, as a result, 'his idiosyncrasies can also be understood as being generic' (Whiting, 1997, p.174). Some might say that Warhol's greatest artwork is himself (Kerrigan et al., 2011) and the artist's priority was certainly the creation of persona (Kornbluth, 1987). As a creative director in a luxury brand projects their transgressive or iconic image, thereby distinguishing themselves (Dion and Arnould, 2011), Warhol's physical appearance and behaviour strengthened the acceptance of his idiosyncratic characteristic in the public. Kerrigan et al. (2011, p. 1514) echo this point of view, as '[Warhol's] vanguard style and eccentric personality became key constituents of his own brand of identity'. Warhol's physical appearance and behaviour strengthened the acceptance of his idiosyncratic characteristic in the public. For instance, Warhol became more distinctive and odd because of his physical appearance with the '*Andy Suit*', dark glasses and a white wig, and he covered his face with foundation (BBC,

2011). Warhol once commented on his physical appearance, as ‘if you wear a wig, everybody notices ... But if you then dye the wig, people notice the dye’ (Warhol n.d. cited in Kornbluth, 1987, p. 41). By deflecting attention from his unattractive face, then, Warhol progressively established his public image (Schroeder, 1997).

Moreover, Warhol enforces the meaning – performing the myth of consumerism – embedded in his artworks by barely revealing his personality to the public. Warhol once pointed out the reason for adopting mass-technique for producing his artworks, ‘[to] become noncommittal, anonymous...I definitely wanted to take away the commentary of the [hand] gesture’ (Warhol and Hackett, 2007, p.8). Then, Warhol’s intention of removing ‘artistic personality’ in from his artworks mirrors ‘[his] public identity as an artist who consisted of only a façade, lacking any internal depth of personality’ (Whiting, 1997, p.172). In this sense, Warhol’s interaction with the media shows his denial of personality. Warhol’s early interviews with the media exemplify his dissimulation in which he tended to give an uncommunicative answer of ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to every question. For instance, in the interview in 1962, Warhol answered ‘Yes’ to the question of ‘What is pop Art?’ (Art Voices, 2004, p.3). In doing so, the public hardly discerned the motivation of Warhol’s activity and separated Warhol’s individuality from his persona, which made Warhol ‘the most enigmatic’ person (Cresap, 2004, p.3). By doing so, Warhol’s self-made persona adds the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the artist.

The Factory must thus be understood as a site for the production and reproduction of [Warhol’s] mythology and [his] mystique, operating with its own system of classifications, divisions, and distinctions (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013, p.191)

As the above quotation shows, Warhol’s studio also contributes to constituting the artist’s normative and cognitive legitimacy. Indeed, Warhol’s second studio – called ‘Factory’ – was set up in New York in 1963 and decorated with silver paint and foils (McIlhenny and Ray, 2004). The Factory was far more than a space for the production of Warhol’s works of art (Danto, 2009) and became ‘the city’s ultimate freak hangout’ (Kornbluth, 1987, p.43). In other words, the spaces were not only used by Warhol’s assistants, but also attracted various types of people, such as journalists, curators, poets, artists, actress, and singers. According to Currid (2007b), these people generated the

collective environment of creativity by engaging with each other in terms of the sharing of ideas and resources. That is, the *Factory* is not only a place announcing the presence of Warhol and his artworks (cognitive legitimacy), but also a scene creating a narrative about it, which makes the artist and his artworks congruent with the aesthetic standard in the art world.

5.2.3. The Intricate Relationship between Legitimacy of Andy Warhol and Pop Art

The legitimacy of *Brillo Box* and Andy Warhol was not isolated from other works of art at that time. That is, it is interconnected not only with the theme of Warhol's previous works of art, but also other works of pop art from before and after the appearance of *Brillo Box*. The normative legitimacy of *Brillo Box* and Warhol has evolved in relation to the establishment of Pop Art as a legitimate artistic movement in art history. That is because the norm and value in new cultural framework (Pop Art) become dominant, which makes *Brillo Box* more acceptable in the art world. Velthuis (2005, p. 168) notes as, '[b]y confirming the rise and decline of artistic movements, the price system structures or provides order to the art world as a whole'. Thus, the value of artworks has evolved according to the legitimation of artists and artworks in the institutionalised social structure.

Here, then, our focus turns to artistic movements which selectively categorise or classify works of art by grouping artists. Put differently, the 'kind' or 'type' of art refers to its genre, which is defined by art historians as an artistic movement in light of shared conventions or socialised relationships among them (DiMaggio, 1987). In this respect, the pop art movement consists of representative artists who produce certain types of works of art. As such, an artistic movement consists of conventions that control the relations between artists and consumers. A convention refers to 'sociological ideas as norm, rule, shared understanding ... people hold in common...' (Becker, 1974, p.771), which carries 'the standard by which artistic beauty and effectiveness is judged' (Becker, 1974, p.773). The aesthetic standards that dominate existing conventions are attacked by the emergence of new conventions which carry a new ideology of beauty.

For instance, artists in the pop art movement explored and questioned the socially accepted value of works of art. Moreover, pop artists highlighted the change in attitudes toward 'art', 'medium of art', and 'art-worthy subjects', which changes our perspectives on comprehending society like previous innovators (Lippard, 1970, p.136). Pop art conventions are especially expressed in the subject of art; banal objects may be selected as subjects in pop art (Lippard, 1970). Fröhlich (1966, p.18) describes the pop art movement as 'serious or satiric contemplation from the banal images of advertising and newspapers to which one normally gives only fleeting attention'. Pop art has a profound distinction in terms of transforming commercial arts, such as advertisements and illustrations, into high art (Marmer, 1970). Dealing with such subjects in high art encourages an instant response in the public because exposure to common images is a shared experience of a variety of Americans. For example, intelligent people felt nostalgia when viewing the ordinary subjects of pop art, unburdening themselves of their responsibility (Marmer, 1970). In short, pop art minimises the gaps between the artistic elite and the general public which views artworks as vague and unexplained objects (Danto, 1997a).

The norms and values of pop art are constituted and established by intermediaries. Preece and Kerrigan (2015) state that dealers place (label) artists within a certain movement. Wijnberg and Gemser (2000), moreover, affirm that critics need to spot certain styles of artworks and artists earlier than others. The discovered style is categorised and promoted within the intermediaries' network, attacking current conventions. The conventions of pop art were supported by several intermediaries. For instance, when pop art became known, the *Times* published an article in 1962 stating that a group of artists was insisting that shabby and ordinary objects were suitable subjects for works of art (Danto, 2009). *Art Forum* magazine also built a mood to support the recognition of the pop art movement in society (Marmer, 1970), as did *Artnews* magazine (McCarthy, 2002).

Moreover, small galleries, such as those of Leo Castelli, Ileana Sonnabend, Ivan Karp, and Richard Bellamy, supported pop art (Honnef, 2004). Although Greenberg (1961) underestimated artistic movements and treated them as historically fashionable episodes or events, several critics supported pop art. For instance, McCarthy (2002) states that two critics, Lawrence Alloway and Reyner Banham, started to constellate similar works of arts and label them as 'pop art' and established theoretical principles

for the pop art movement by explaining works of art or substantiating historical rationales for it. By doing so, it helped appreciators to assert the validity of new subjects (banal images) and materials (ready-made objects) for artworks. McCarthy also adds that several dealers played roles in establishing the pop art movement by encouraging collectors, including parvenus, to purchase this type of art. Museums also promoted certain styles. For instance, the Museum of Modern Art held a symposium on pop art (Honnef, 2004).

5.2.4. The Legitimation of Andy Warhol and *Brillo Box*

This thesis argues that a myth in society, intermediaries, other artworks, the artist's persona and his social network were constitutive fragments in legitimising Andy Warhol and his artworks. In the art world, firstly, intermediaries play a role in shaping two different pillars of legitimacy for artists. Through the practice of introduction, on the one hand, intermediaries added cultural-cognitive legitimacy to our case. As dealers and galleries contribute to introducing artists and their artworks to the public (Crane, 1989) or the art world (Velthuis, 2005), the Stable gallery increased the awareness of Warhol's *Brillo Box* by mounting the work of art for an exhibition. Corresponding to the role of the media in research on gambling practices by Humphreys (2010b), the exposure of Andy Warhol in Time magazine determines the awareness of Warhol in the institutionalised social structure, thus affecting Warhol's cultural-cognitive legitimacy.

On the other hand, instruction about works of art made by intermediaries determines the normative legitimacy of its artists. Put differently, intermediaries' contributions for such instructions render artists and their artworks more congruent with the pre-established norms and values in the art world. *Brillo Box* is decoded by intermediaries in terms of Warhol performing the myth of consumerism resulted from American's unfettered consumption in the 1960s. Such instructions about artworks originate in experts' own interpretations, which collectively and selectively constitute 'the ability of an art world to accept [artworks] and its marker' (Becker, 1982, p.226). In our case, Danto's interpretation of *Brillo Box* and the way of displaying it in the Stable gallery contributed to making it examine existing norms and values about artworks. By so doing, it supports the accreditation of normative legitimacy to works of art and their artists.

The institutionalised structure selectively grants normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy to artists and their works of art, thereby adding to the value of it. In the art world, there is an inequality in terms of intermediaries' influences upon building the legitimacy of artists and works of art according to their own identity as intermediaries. In other words, stakeholders engaged in legitimising artists have the symbolic capital – accumulated by their economic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1996) – to influence the degree to which the art world grants cultural-cognitive and normative legitimacy of a variety of artists. Before the appearance of *Brillo Box*, for instance, Warhol had already gained an artistic identity and the Stable Gallery was already recognised as a propagator of the pop art movement. Moreover, *Time* magazine, in which Warhol was introduced, possessed significant and widespread credibility. Therefore, without considering the intermediaries' status, the construction system in terms of the legitimacy of *Brillo Box* and Warhol cannot be explained; based on the differences in power, the intermediaries debate its acceptability and struggle to ensure that their logic is accepted. At the same time, the structure among intermediaries becomes highly stratified according to the degree to which the art world agrees with their opinion about artists and artworks.

This thesis also argues that the intermediaries' endorsement, introduction, instruction, and selection, are only amongst the factors that explain the legitimacy of artists and their works of art. This is because various elements collectively construct that legitimacy, such as the public image of artists, his or her social networks, and the surrounding artistic movement. Put differently, by turning our focus from intermediaries, we can trace various elements that influence the legitimacy and value of works of art. For instance, Warhol's legitimacy intertwines with other artworks by other artists at that time: with supports from other intermediaries, art critics grouped works of art and labelled them 'pop art', which helped appreciators to accept their validity by embracing new subjects (banal images) and materials (ready-made objects) in artworks.

In this sense, the legitimacy of artists, and thus the value of their artworks, is intertwined with an artistic movement (Velthuis, 2005). That is, artistic movements regulate not only the styles and subjects of works of art, but also the ways of appreciating works of art. In other words, an artistic movement categorises artworks of a similar style and suggests new aesthetic standards. As a result, artistic movements

refine the dominant aesthetic standards and control the tastes of consumers (Preece, 2014). In this research, the pop art movement gives guidelines not only for producing works of art, but also for effectively delivering their cultural meaning to consumers. At the same time, these guidelines physically or symbolically delimit the production of works of art by establishing new conventions for the artistic movement (Becker, 1982).

Moreover, this research considers an artist's personality and social connections to be a part of building the artist's legitimacy. According to Bendisch et al. (2013), there is the close relationship between a CEO's personality and behaviours and an organisation's brand. Likewise, Warhol's intention of hiding his personality and his distinctive costume had an influence upon Warhol's enigmatic status. By gathering people, in the Factory, Warhol did not only reinforce the awareness of himself in the art world (cultural-cognitive legitimacy), and the narratives regarding instructing Warhol and his artworks (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013) (normative legitimacy), but also cultivated 'economic value through its social cachet' (Currid, 2007b, p.16).

Lastly, a dominant myth in society plays an important role in legitimising the artists and their artworks. Put differently, the legitimacy of artists and their artworks is affected by the way in which artists utilise the prevalent myths in society. In terms of cultural branding, Holt (2004, p. 218) suggests that a brand 'must identify the most valuable type of myth...at a particular historical juncture...'. As such, we insist that Warhol perspicuously identified the valuable myth in America in the 1960s through *Brillo Box*. Although the ostensible goal of producing *Brillo Box* is the praise of consumer culture (Taylor, 2014), *Brillo Box* parodies the myth of consumerism. As such, Warhol's work presents playfulness through emphasising repetition, mass of quantity, and the artificiality of consumer culture. *Brillo Box* criticise the myth of consumerism by virtue of its indiscernibility from subverting commercial products (Shiner, 2017), which ends up 'subvert[ing] the Abstract Expressionist fiction that the brushstroke on the canvas represents the pre-aestheticised and direct emotion of the artist'(Whiting, 1987, p.70) in the narrow sense, and contributes to the subversion of the ontological nature of the work of art in the wider sense (Gutting, 2012). By identifying and performing the myth reflecting the everyday life of people in society,

therefore, the socio-cultural value embedded in an artist's works gains the legitimacy which contributes to shaping the legitimacy of the artists.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter examines the process by which artists and their artworks gain legitimacy in institutionalised structures (the art world). As this thesis has identified in Chapter 3, we understand the process by borrowing theoretically from the concept of the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996; Danto, 1964) and neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995). As such, the theoretical framework of this thesis indicates the mechanism mediating between artists and wider public in terms of bestowing normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy upon the artists and their works of art. With the conceptual framework as guide, *Brillo Box*, the serial work of art by Andy Warhol, was used as a historical case, with the study identifying the prevalent myth in America in the 1960s as being consumerism. The instrumental case study found that *Brillo Box* and Andy Warhol attained legitimacy through various elements, such as its identification and performance of the prevalent myth in society, intermediaries, other artworks, and the artist's persona.

The findings based on this historical case can help understand the system of constructing the legitimacy of artists and their works of art, owing to the relationship between *Brillo Box* and contemporary art. That is, *Brillo Box* paved the way for an emphasis on expressing artists' intentions, rather than the appearance of artworks, which enables contemporary art to select various kinds of subjects and materials for artworks. Therefore, 'diverse entries as blood fests, dead sharks, and plastic surgery' (Freeland, 2001, p.57) can be legitimated as art in the CAM. Given the relationship between *Brillo Box* and contemporary art, we might say that the acceptance of *Brillo Box* allows 'the autonomy of cultural production' to be grown so that the gap between supply and demand also grows (Bourdieu, 1996, p.82).

This gap contributes to building upon the thicker volume of the intermediaries' layer, as well as the growth of their importance (Heinich, 2012). As such, in the context of the CAM, conventions such as the common understanding of suitable sizes and shapes (Becker, 1974), tend to radically shift as traditional conventions are undermined by contemporary art in a way of 'transgression of the boundaries of art such as they are

commonly conceived...’ (Heinich, 2012, p.700). Therefore, the institutionalised social structure, the art world, is crucial to explain the intentions of artists behind contemporary art in which the roles of intermediaries are highlighted in a way to fill the gap between works of art and the capacity of accepting or understanding them in the public.

Considering the responses to the close relationship between *Brillo Box* and contemporary art, this thesis argues that the outcome of the historical case study gives valuable insight into the issue of the uncertain value of artworks in the CAM. That is, the value of works of art is drawn from the legitimacy of artists and their artworks, which is conceptualised by taking several elements into account, such as myth in society, intermediaries’ roles, artistic movements, and artists’ personas and social networks. By virtue of the difficulty of identifying a single prevalent myth in the present data (Lyotard, 1984), and given our research scope, this thesis will focus more on the role of intermediaries in the following chapter. That is, the medium of art fairs will be analysed by taking its influence on the legitimacy of artists and the value of their works of art into account. In addition to this, the examination of art fairs, which had not yet matured in 1960s, will shed light on understanding the transformation of the existing structures for legitimising artists with the emergence of new intermediaries.

CHAPTER 6. CASE STUDY I: ART FAIRS

The previous chapter delineated the role played by the artist's persona, social network and intermediaries in shaping the legitimacy of an artist and his artworks. In addition, the process of legitimising artists heavily depends on the social status of intermediaries. Accordingly, there is a hierarchical order in the group of intermediaries in the art world. In Chapter 2, we noticed that, while previous researchers have attempted to explain the uncertain quality of visual arts with reference to branding theory, they have overlooked the role of art fairs. Thus, this chapter aims to analyse the role of art fairs in the process of constituting the legitimacy of young and emerging artists, and thereby valuing their works of art.

In particular, the outcome of exploring collective cases—Frieze London and The Other Art Fair (TOAF)—will be delineated and analysed for developing a systematic understanding of art fairs in terms of legitimising young and emerging artists and their artworks. All the cases are international art fairs and mainly deal with contemporary art. Among the cases, the prestigious art fair, Frieze London, is one of the 'must-see' exhibitions (Thompson, 2011) which is explored with a focus on its practices for young and emerging artists. However, the case does not embrace the majority of young and emerging artists since only a small number of young and emerging artists have a chance to expose their artworks due to the small portion of available space in the prestigious art fair.

While acknowledging the limitation of the prestigious art fairs, alternative art fairs have emerged in the CAM to enable more young and emerging artists to deliver the symbolic value of their work. Alternative art fairs in addition to more established fairs and festivals are being used as tools for graduates and newly established artists to make their mark, thereby enabling them to establish their legitimacy. By including the case of TOAF, which embraces the artists isolated from the prestigious art fairs, in the collective cases, we are able to gain holistic insight into the medium of art fairs, as well as an understanding of their position in the highly stratified structure of the art world.

To do so, this chapter will begin by contextually analysing the CAM in order to elucidate a backdrop of the emergence of art fairs and the importance of the medium

in the market. Then, the secondary data gained about the case of Frieze London and TOAF will be delineated with a focus on its history, venues, operation system, and selection process. By comparing the data with our theoretical framework, the case study will mainly discuss the functions of market intermediaries in the process of legitimising artists and their works of art. As the operation of our cases is reflective of a wider social context, its influence on existing intermediaries and vice versa will also be examined. By doing so, this chapter will contribute to a re-examination of the process of legitimising contemporary art in order to extend the existing research on arts marketing.

6.1. Globalisation and Increasing commercialisation in the art market

The CAM has never flourished and been competitive in recent years. In 2013, the global art market, including art and antiques, reached €47.4 billion and the revenue for post-war and contemporary art forms was more than 10% of the total volume (TEFAF²⁶, 2014). According to an annual report based on the turnover in auction houses (ARTPRICE²⁷, 2014), the revenue for contemporary art galloped up between 2004 to mid-2008 and the price of contemporary art reached the desired point in 2007. This was because of the appearance of new collectors from ‘emerging market’, particularly China (ARTPRICE, 2014). With the financial crisis of 2008, the contemporary market fell straight down until 2010. Since then, the market has achieved the level of revenue for contemporary art in 2007 and exceeded it in 2014. Overall, in terms of its financial volume, the CAM has increased by 70% for the decade 2004 to 2014 (See Figure 3).

²⁶ The European Fine Art Foundation provides an annual report of the international art market which is published by arts economics based on auction data and survey.

²⁷ Artprice.com offers various information about the fine art market: 1) it provides insight into the art market based on an analysis of turnover in auction houses, and 2) it provides several records about artists such as ranking, exhibitions, and auction results.

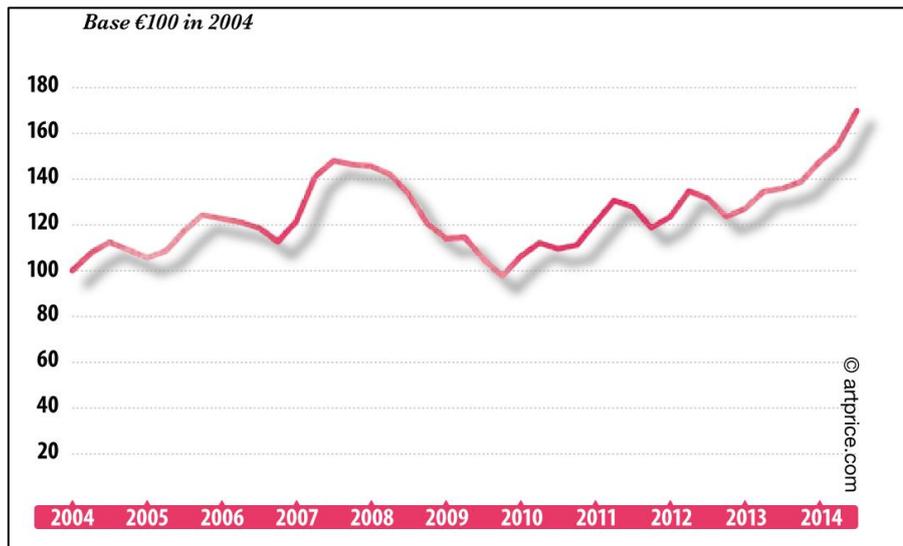


Figure 3. The Price Index of Contemporary Art

Source: *ARTPRICE* (2014)

The CAM has expanded into above-mentioned emerging market, and thereby has been globalised. The emerging market is closely related to the emerging economy in those countries, including Middle Eastern countries (Robertson and Chong 2008; Adam 2014). Until the early 21st, the art market was dominated by Western countries, mainly the USA, UK, and France. Subsequently, the domination has shifted to BRIC²⁸ countries and Asian Tigers²⁹ (Dempster, 2014). Since art is considered as ‘an object of desire, a status symbol, or potential investment’ (Velthuis, 2012, p.24), collectors who have recently accumulated their wealth in these countries consume contemporary art. The holders of new wealth from emerging countries have an interest in consuming artworks produced in the USA and Europe while Western collectors buy new works by artists from emerging countries. Robertson (2005, p. 146) states the advantage of trading new art, as ‘[i]n the non-contemporary Western markets asymmetrical information benefits both sellers and buyers and bargains can be had’.

In 2010 in particular, China took over UK’s second place³⁰ of sharing value in the art market: US (34%), China (23%), UK (22%), and others (McAndrew, 2011). The altering domination of the market has also forced a change in the flow of trading works

²⁸ Brazil, Russia, India and China

²⁹ ‘Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan’ (Dempster, 2014, p.17)

³⁰ Since 2015, the UK has recovered its 2nd place ranking in the global art market share. For instance, the top three countries to share the global art market in 2016 were listed as the US (29.5%), the UK (24%), and China (18%) (Pownall, 2017).

of art in the entire art market. For instance, with the explosion of the art market in China, contemporary art by Chinese artists were correspondingly in high demand after 2004 (Adam, 2014). ARTPRICE, which annually publishes the ranking chart of contemporary artists based on the sales of their works of art in auction houses, reported that 22 Chinese artists ranked in top 50 contemporary artists (ARTPRICE, 2015).

Also, the CAM has become increasingly commercialised. The price tag of contemporary art becomes an important aspect in deciding an artist's reputation. In this sense, auction houses which play the role of setting the price for artworks are currently more important gatekeepers in terms of the 'reception of new art styles' than critics in the 1950s (Crane, 2009, p.338). Given the circumstances, buyers consider contemporary art as a means of investment (Alexander and Bowler, 2014) and dealers pursue profit, rather than being dedicated to artistic goals (Velthuis, 2012).

Commercial interests are interpenetrated even among artists. Excluding Warhol's case, until the twentieth century, 'artists were motivated less by financial gain than by their aesthetic goals and assessments of their works by their peers' (Crane, 2009, p.333). According to Alexander and Bowler (2014, p. 6), in the current age, the increasing commercialisation of the CAM can be exemplified with Damien Hirst's engagement with economic activities as 'the artist eschews the pose of disinterestedness'. That is, the rise of commercialisation in the market is not limited to dealers and collectors, but also includes artists.

The growing commercialisation of the CAM has had an influence on the context of art, ranging from its subject to the way it is produced. On the one hand, contemporary art seeks to create publicity by being 'resisted, derided, exploited and embraced' (Degen, 2013, p.13). Lind (2012, p. 7) even goes further stating that 'entertaining and easily digestible art is becoming more and more prevalent – in the public eye, almost synonymous with 'art' itself'. On the other hand, with demands for works of art by famous artists, the industrialisation and commodification of works of art is forced by the CAM.

The idea of adopting mass-production lines for works of art again starts from Andy Warhol who had assistants and space for producing his works of art, called the Factory (Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan, 2013). Likewise, some contemporary artists have a system of production, which consists of numerous assistants and facilities, to meet

global demands. Put differently, Crane (2009, p. 347) states that '[m]any artists no longer possess the technical skills to produce the works they imagine'. In this system, artists give the idea of works of art and they are produced by artistic technicians. According to Adam (2014), for instance, Jeff Koons hires 120 assistants in this massive studio (1,500 square metres) and he does not touch his works of art.

The inequality among artist is serious in the CAM. That is, the price gap in selling artworks between unknown artists and a few established artists becomes wider by increasing the price of works of art by famous artists. For instance, Jeff Koons sold his artwork, *Balloon Dog*, for €38.8 billion at Christie's auction house (ARTPRICE, 2015). Indeed, there are approximately 40,000 artists resident in London, which is the hub of the world market for contemporary art (Chong, 2009, p.189). Among them, only about 400 artists earn their living by selling their artworks (Thompson, 2008). Further, the statistics from the Higher Education Statistics Agency show that universities have produced about 2000 'pre-artists', who have come from fine art courses (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2010). Then, we look at the objective sources of income for visual artists: the records of sales at auction houses. A list of the top 500 contemporary artists, based on financial results, was announced by ARTPRICE (2012): the total sales of the top 10 contemporary artists, of approximately £210 million, forms about 30% of the total sales of the CAM in the auction houses. The top 50 artists combined earned around £500 million, which is half of the total sales for the CAM in the major auction houses (ARTPRICE, 2012). Thus, there is a wide disparity between the earnings of contemporary artists and a few contemporary artists ('famous') who lead the field in the CAM.

A few artists, moreover, have become famous and have ended up becoming household names, celebrities, or stars. The activities by artists who reach the level of celebrity are publicised by the press and their works of art reach overgenerous prices. This phenomenon began with the trailblazer Andy Warhol who was intrigued by celebrities and ultimately achieved the status of celebrity (Kerrigan et al., 2011). With this level, Warhol's outrageous persona and private life played a role in partly constituting his art world. Thus, artists now acknowledge that their personality can be part of their art, as is well shown from the case of Tracey Emin (Adam, 2014). For instance, Emin built her identity as a bad girl after her drunken appearance on TV, which fit well with her

works of art³¹. Even some artists, particularly the Chinese artist Ai Weiwei, have had a significant influence on political arguments such as ‘freedom of expression, nationalism, economic power’ (Preece, 2015, p.618). This level of artist has started changing the traditional market structure. In auction houses, for instance, the general rule is that works of art should be dealt through dealers, but Damien Hirst sold his works of art without dealers at Sotheby’s in 2008.

6.1.1. Biennales and Art Fairs

The increase in commercialisation and globalisation in the market is closely related to the emergence of new institutional structures in the art market, namely art fairs. Before explaining the medium of art fairs, firstly, we need to look contextually at the recurrence of art biennales. Indeed, the proliferation of biennale is an important issue in the current era and we have witnessed the ‘biennialization’ (Nadarajan 2006 cited in Tang 2011) of the art world. Similar to art fairs, a biennale selectively invites international artists and presents their works according to certain themes defined by independent curators in temporary venues (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011). With the success of prestigious biennales such as the Venice Biennale, Sao Paulo Biennale, and Kassel Documenta, they have become ‘key sites of both the production of art’s discourse and where that discourse translates into practices of display and contexts of appreciation’ (Sassatelli, 2017, p.91), and, it may be added, key sites for bestowing symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993) upon presented artists (Tang, 2011). These cultural events are mainly based on nationality; some countries had previously been marginalised and thus biennales mushroomed as indigenous biennales proliferated outside of the central art market.

Despite the significance of the medium of art biennale in the art world, this thesis will mainly discuss the roles of art fair in shaping the legitimacy of young and emerging artists as it is more central to the CAM when it comes to the profit-oriented purpose of the cultural events. In the following part, nevertheless, the brief history, operation system and meaning of the biennale will be reviewed in order to deepen our understanding of the context surrounding the medium of art fairs and the CAM.

³¹ The signature work by Emin, *My Bed*, produced in 1998, shows a bed with embarrassing stuff such as an ashtray, used tissues and condoms, underwear, and bottles of alcohol.

In the last twenty years, we have witnessed the proliferation of art biennales — ‘periodic, independent and international major exhibitions surveying trends in contemporary, cutting-edge art’ (Sassatelli, 2017, p.89) — ,which are rooted in the emergence of the Venice Biennale founded in 1895 (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011). The Venice Biennale originated from the World's Fair and academic salon exhibitions (Thornton, 2008). The huge success of the Venice Biennale enabled Brazil to launch the Sao Paulo Biennale in 1951 and Germany to found Kassel Documenta, with more focus on an intellectual exhibition every five years, in 1955. By the mid-1980s, these international arts events led to the growth of a numbers of art biennales being held in various cities (20 biennales).

During the 1990s, biennales mushroomed (Tang, 2011), and thus the number of biennales was accelerated to 60, which is referred to as the phenomenon of ‘biennialization’ (Montero, 2012). The term describes the global explosion of art biennales in which

the curatorial formula seems to be creating a cumulative and representative list of all the countries/cultures one could possibly represent... it is not surprising that some of the countries that have been historically marginalized by these events would embark on ‘their own’ biennales (Nadarajan 2006 cited in Tang 2011).

That is, the willingness of a particular city or region to be an entrenched part of the artistic scene is expressed in the form of hosting such cultural events (Dumbadze and Hudson, 2013). As we can see in Figure 4, with increasing numbers of biennales being held outside the centre of the art world, biennales have become prevalent across the world. By doing so, they contribute to globalising the art world by encouraging the global exchange of culture. In this sense, an art biennale does not simply refer to a biannual exhibition, but it is a blockbuster event in which meaningful moments in the global art world are presented together in the form of an exhibition (Thornton, 2008).

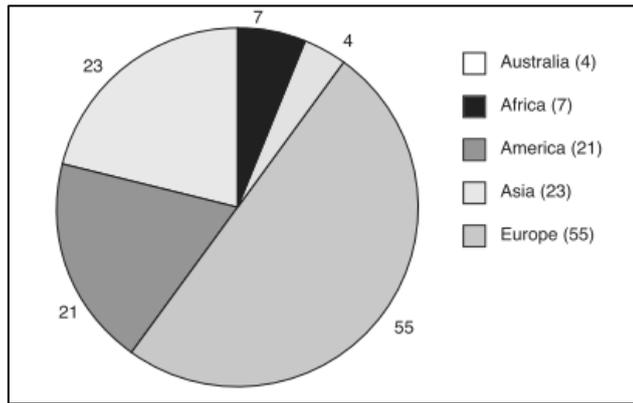


Figure 4. The Number of Biennales in 2011 by Regions
 Source: Montero (2012, p. 14)

The medium of biennales is beneficial for its participants, audience, and host city. Although the degree to which they are helpful to the reputation of artists is varied according to the accumulated symbolic capitals of the biennales, presenting works of art at the biennales inevitably helps them to develop their careers. That is because ‘[a]n artist may automatically be stamped as participating in the Biennales...’ (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011, p.326), and the discourse about their artworks can be disseminated, discussed, and shared with a wider audience during the cultural events.

Moreover, the gathered people—whether they are from the art world such as curators, museum directors, critics, galleries, artists and collectors or not (art-lovers)—exchange ideas and survey the discourse about the current movement of contemporary art ‘where that discourse translates into practices of display and contexts of appreciation’ (Sassatelli, 2017, p.89). In a similar vein, Filipovic, Van Hal and Øvstebø (2010, p. 15) insist that ‘biennials have become, in the span of just a few decades, one of the most vital and visible sites for the production, distribution, and generation of public discourse around contemporary art’. As such cultural events attract many domestic and international people, lastly, they contribute to invigorating the regional economy.

The medium of biennales is criticised as it does not contribute to developing seriously the discourse about contemporary art. In this sense, the biennale is ‘nothing more than an overblown symptom of spectacular event culture...little more than an entertaining or commercially driven showcase designed to feed an ever-expanding tourist industry’ (Filipovic, Van Hal and Øvstebø, 2010, p.13). Thus, Schjeldahl (1999) critically considers such cultural events as ‘festivalism’. More importantly, the dominance of

Western typology in biennales is problematic. Gioni (2013 p. 172) points out that it is a problem for biennales to present particular artists and certain types of artworks in a majority of cultural events in diverse locations and he states that, 'biennials would thus be responsible for stifling local diversity by simply importing works and artists ...like 'McDonald's or cultural franchises''. The Western standard of understanding contemporary art might infiltrate non-Western regions, thus discouraging indigenous artists.

The organisation and role of an art biennale is exemplified in the case of the Venice Biennale. The biennale has long history and is showing its 57th edition in 2017. The biannual event presents one of the most important and massive exhibitions of contemporary art across the whole city of Venice from May to November. Along with its reputation in the art world, the prestigious event attracted 501,000 global visitors and 8,000 journalists in 2015 (la Biennale di Venezia, n.d.). As the purpose of the non-profit event is to facilitate the interaction between artists and the public, the biennale strictly bans the sale of presented artworks. The city government of Venice supports the biennales (Montero, 2012), but the money is not sufficient to cover the whole expense of the massive volume of the event. Thus, curators for national pavilions have to find additional sponsors for their exhibitions. Apart from the exhibition, the biennale contributes to providing educational sources, workshop activities, and seminars, which result in the interaction between the curatorial practices and visitors.

The Venice Biennale offers three types of exhibitions. Firstly, the most prestigious one is held in the Central Pavilion, called the International Exhibition, in which the director of biennales is in charge of curating artworks. Every edition of the biennale invites different renowned curators to organise exhibitions. For instance, Christine Macel curated the section of the International Exhibition to which 120 artists from 51 countries were invited. Approximately eighty national pavilions are located at the Arsenale on the next level of exhibition, which indicates the power of each nation (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011). Each national pavilion has its own curators who selectively invite representative artists, usually one or two, from their countries. In 2017, the South Korea pavilion was curated by Deahyung Lee and featured two artists. Outside of the biennale, several independent artists and groups present their works across the city of Venice during the period of the biennale (Thornton, 2008). With the review of exhibitions, Golden and Silver Lion prizes—the symbol of Venice—are

bestowed upon artists or nations by a group of international juries (5–6), assigned by the Venice Biennale.

The most important contributor to the biennale is the curator (or art director) (Crane, 2009). The curator of each edition of the biennale has great power to control ‘the entire choreography of an event, from the graphics to the choice of venues, from the selection of artists and works to the educational and cultural programming that accompany the show’ (Gioni, 2013, p.173). Through organising the cultural events in such ways, the curator plays a role in creating narratives about contemporary art (Tang, 2011). In the case of curators at national pavilions, they engage with every process of the exhibition such as identifying the artistic theme of the pavilion, selecting artists, and surveying financial supports. The curator at the national pavilions is selected by each country via different procedures. For instance, the applicants for the curator of the Korea pavilion present the plan for the exhibition including concepts, budget, and artists, as selected by juries at the Korea art council.

Another temporary event is art fairs in which every type of market member is gathered together in the limited space ranging from inner members of the art world like galleries, experts, and media to collectors and the audience. The profit-oriented events rent their booths to galleries in which gallerists present works of art by their best-known artists, thereby intriguing many collectors. By growing the significance of the medium of art fairs, the majority of galleries make more than 40% of their sales through this channel. From the 1990s onwards, according to Velthuis (2014), art fairs have thus become the crucial events for exhibiting works of art, as well as generating noteworthy sales.

Art fairs have flourished and expanded in the 21st century. In Antwerp, the history of the art fair started in the mid-15th century and the Armory exhibition took place in New York in the twentieth century (Thompson, 2008). The earliest art fair for modern art was Cologne’s Kunstmarkt in 1967 (Curioni, 2014). Over the course of five days, more than 200 artists were presented at the fair by eighteen German dealers, attracting 16,000 visitors (Morel, 2014). Since then, the basic setting of art fairs has resembled general trading fairs and the number of art fairs rapidly has increased from 1970 to 2011 (Adam, 2014). As such, there were seven international art fairs in 1980, including FIAC and TEFAF and this number had doubled ten years later (Curioni, 2012). Although all the fairs did not survive, as can be seen in Figure 5, 78% of around 300

art fairs founded in various countries from 1999 to 2010 did (Morgner, 2014). Currently, the number of art fairs has stayed around 200, and they play important roles at all levels of the art field.

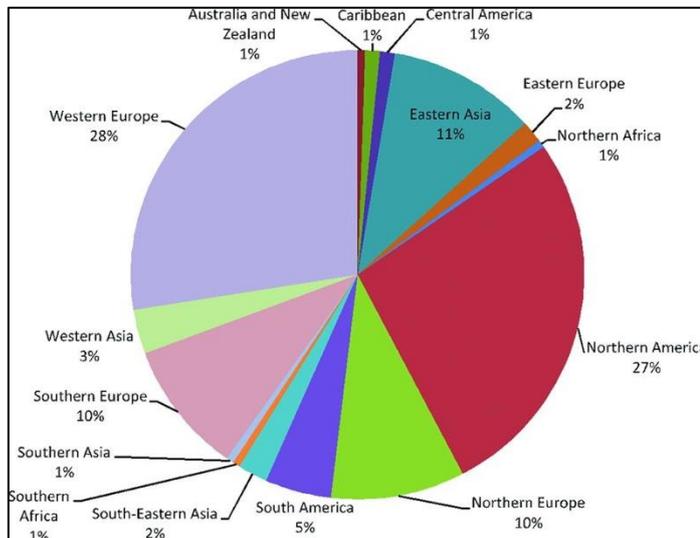


Figure 5. The Varied Regions of Holding Art Fair, Founded from 1999 to 2010
Source: Morgner (2014, p. 39)

Art Basel is representative case to explain the operation of art fairs. The show is held annually in June and takes place in Basel which is located near the border between France, Switzerland and Germany. Art Basel mainly trades contemporary artworks by established and emerging artists. The international art fair was founded by gallerists, Ernst Beyeler, Trudi Bruckner and Balz Hilt in 1970, and can be interpreted as a response to the earliest modern art fair of Kunstmarkt (Morel, 2014). After five years from its beginning, this show reached almost the same volume of exhibitors as its current stage: 300 galleries from 21 countries participated and attracted 37,000 visitors in 1975 (Art Basel 2015). They expanded their territory into the USA with the launch of Art Basel Miami Beach in 2002 and Art Basel Hong Kong in 2013.

In 2007, 900 exhibitors applied to participate in the fair; and 290 galleries ended up being shown and it attracted over 50,000 people (Thompson, 2011). In 2014, the number of visitors grew continuously and reached 92,000 (MCH, 2014); over 4,000 artists showed their works of art at the fair in 2015. Moreover, this international fair has partnerships with various companies from UBS (leading partner) to BMW (recently joined and offered an award for an artist). The international art fair takes place in ‘Messe Basel’—‘purpose-built exhibition hall’; messe means ‘going to mass’

(Thornton, 2008, p.81). The venue consists of the following sectors (Art Basel 2015): *Galleries* (223 galleries), *Statements* (16 emerging new artists), *Features* (30 curated projects), *Editions* (printed work collaborated with famous artists), *Unlimited* (74 projects of large-scale), *Parcours* (engaging with the public), and *Films* (about and by artists). Except for the ‘*Unlimited*’ sector, the rest of the booths are located at Hall 2 in Messe Basel. Hall 2 is divided into the ground floor and the 2nd floor. Bowley (2015) reports that the ground floor is dominated by established galleries³². This strategical arrangements according to the status of the galleries show the strict hierarchy among participants at the fair (Morel, 2014).

Art Basel has its own selection system which filters applicants (galleries) out and contributes to keep offering high quality works of art. The system, called the ‘selection committee’, consists of outstanding dealers (currently 6 people). Each year, 11 months before starting the fairs, they start to select applicants ‘according to the standards for excellence established by Art Basel’ (ArtBasel, n.d.). Marc Spiegler, Art Basel’s director, picks committees, balancing their artistic taste and geography; this is crucial as applicants will agree with being selected by the jurors (Bowley, 2015).

Many gallerists have applied to Art Basel to get admission to secure their booth at the fair. For instance, there were 1000 applicants for 304 booths in 2013 (Adam, 2014). In the admission, dealers provide the growth of their galleries, their exhibition’s history, and the descriptions of their registered artists (like biographies). In addition, gallerists need to submit ‘mock booths’ which explain their plans for displaying works of art at the expected booth in the form of ‘intricate sketches, miniature mode, and even virtual tours’ (Bowley, 2015). The selection process for Art Basel is incredibly competitive. Bowley (2015) reported that 900 applicants competed with each other for limited space (around 300 booths) in 2015 and it is more difficult for new applicants to get a chance based upon analysis of previous participants. Selection requires committees’ votes. For instance, the readmit of previous participants to the fair requires five votes out of six and the acceptance of new gallery needs four votes.

The mediums of biennales and art fairs both contribute to providing the discourse of contemporary art in the form of temporary exhibitions. Echoing Ferguson, Greenberg

³² Some of the renowned galleries are also located on the inner aisles of the 2nd floor, but very close to entrance.

and Nairne (2005, p. 48), in this sense, we deem both art fairs and biennales ‘[f]estival-exhibitions’, as ‘[they] are still a public model and a shifting backdrop against which the meanings of contemporary art are constructed, maintained, and sometimes irrevocably altered’. The cultural and financial significance of the artistic events not only intrigues important intermediaries in the art world, and thereby generates networks (Yogev and Grund, 2012), but also contributes to benefitting the host cities.

Table 14. Comparison between Biennale and Art Fair

	Biennale	Art Fair
Purpose	Non-for-profit	Optimising profits
Sanction of	Symbolic capital (indirectly: economic capital)	Economic capital (indirectly: symbolic capital)
Selection by	Independent curators	Selection committees
Organisers	Local, central government or non-for-profit institutions	Business firms
The level of participants	Artists or countries	Galleries or individual artists
Budget from	Public funds	Corporate’s sponsorship and participation fee
Similarity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proliferation since 1990s • Temporary, recurrent, large-scale exhibition • Yielding the trend of contemporary art • Culturally legitimising events • Attracting important intermediaries in the art world, as well as spectators, thereby benefitting its host cities 	

The significant difference between a biennale and an art fair is the aim of these cultural events. That is, a biennale ostensibly pursues not-for-profit ‘with its necessary suppression of economic capital’ (Tang, 2011, p.78), whereas the purpose of an art fair is the sale of artworks. Thus, artists can attain symbolic capital by presenting their works at a biennale. In the long term, symbolic capital transforms into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1996). Sooner or later, the exposure of some artist’s artworks from a prestigious biennale arguably has an influence on the financial value of their artworks in the international art market³³. Schultheis (2017, p. 71) insists that, ‘[p]articipation in the [prestigious] fair guarantees ‘quality’ and brings both symbolic

³³ The finding of their research indicates that mere participation at the Venice Biennale does not promise success in the international art market (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011).

and immediate economic profit'. While art fairs originally produce economic capital, its accumulated status also bestows the legitimacy to presented artists and dealers at the events (Curioni, Forti and Leone 2015).

Moreover, an art fair is organised and operated by private firms with the budget from sponsorship and participation fees while a biennale is supported by local, central governments or not-for-profit institutions. For instance, the Venice Biennale is operated by the Venetian local government (Montero, 2012). In addition, the main contributors to curating exhibition space are galleries participating in the art fair³⁴. Unlike art fairs, national identity reflects on the curated space with the selection from curators at biennales (Thornton, 2008). With regard to curated exhibitions at both events, the artworks presented at biennales are selected by independent curators with certain themes and politics, while art fairs select galleries, ignoring the proper environment—'the actual object of art, their modes of display, their ideological attachments and discursive field remain important points of engagement' (Tang, 2011, p.76)—for exhibiting artworks which is provided by biennales.

6.2. Case study: A Major Art Fair and an Alternative Art Fair

Both biennales and art fairs—closely related to increasing commercialisation and globalisation in the CAM—play a substantial role in the art world in terms of valuing artists/artworks as they engender and disseminate aesthetic discourse about contemporary art from such temporary exhibitions, as well as generating indirect/direct economic capitals. Between the medium of biennale and art fair, this thesis will focus more on art fairs as they show a closer link with the market in terms of providing direct profits.

With rising attention to the collection of contemporary works of art, the significant influence of art fairs in the market encourages the creation of more art fairs with various market segments (Chong, 2008). In this thesis, as we can see in Table 15, art fairs are largely divided into two groups: major and alternative. The first group includes major and prestigious art fairs such as ARCO, Art Basel, TEFAF, FIAC, and Frieze in which established galleries are the main participants. With high-quality

³⁴ In a wider sense, the exhibition space at art fairs is controlled by its organisers with its selection committees and its own curatorial practices. For instance, Art Basel controls 'the image of the fair and structure' (Schultheis, 2017, p.71).

portfolios, these types of fairs attract a large number of visitors and collectors. According to Curioni (2012), the fifteen most visited fairs in 2011 recorded around 50% of the total visitors. The art fairs, moreover, allow visitors to be limited-access according to their importance—largely divided into VIP and the public. Interestingly, on the VIP preview date (usually the day before commencing the event) at major art fairs, the sales on the majority of works of art finish within a few hours, which makes many collectors with a VIP pass consider devising a shortcut to access quickly their interested works from the pathway of the fair (Thornton, 2008).

With the growing presence of these events, companies that manage several fairs in different countries have emerged like MCH Group, Frieze, and the Reed Exhibition (Skate's LLC, 2014). In particular, in the case of the MCH Group, the firm started by operating Art Basel and expanded their territory towards the USA, launching Art Basel Miami Beach in 2002 and Art Basel Hong Kong in 2013. In this group, there are also art fairs in emerging markets such as India, China, Korea and Istanbul, which have imitated the operating system and volume of the fairs in the main market (Europe or America). This chapter notes that there is a middle group of art fairs that usually bench-marked the form of major art fairs and this group generates 20000~ 50000 visitors.

Alternative art fairs target a niche market by regulating the medium of the artworks presented, the price range of the artworks, and the careers of the participants. The fairs in this group usually coincide with major art fairs in the same location, which present the neglected class of artists and dealers from major art fairs. Table 15 shows the classification of alternative art fairs according to the types of participants at the events.

First one is medium-specific. Morgner (2014) points out that the medium specific fairs started in the major art market, London and New York, in the 1980s, with a focus on peripheral artworks like drawing and prints. Moreover, The Affordable Art Fair is a representative case of controlling the price of the artworks presented. With their intention being to make possessing contemporary art more accessible, the galleries at the fair offer affordable artworks (£100-£5,000). The art fair started in the UK and has expanded globally. It now operates 15 fairs in America, Asia, and Europe. Overall, there have been around 1.9 million visitors and the fair has sold £265 million worth of artworks (AffordableArtFair, n.d.). The last type of alternative art fair aims to discover

young and emerging artists. In the case of the START art fair, for instance, the platform invites young galleries at Saatchi Gallery with the purpose of inner members, as well as public, discovering new artists in the art world.

Table 15. Current Art Fairs

Source: Skate's LLC (2014)

	Major	Alternative
Main Participants	Established Galleries	Young and Emerging Galleries/Artists
Visitors	More than 60,000	Average 15,000
e.g.	Main market*) ARCO Madrid, Art Basel, TEFAF, FIAC, The Amory Show, Frieze London, Art Basel Miami Beach Emerging Market) Art Basel Hong Kong, Korea International Art Fair, Contemporary Istanbul, Art India, Shanghai Art Fair, Art Rio	Medium specific) MIA photo fair, Price specific) Affordable Art Fair Careers specific) START, The Other Art Fair, Purse New York, SUNDAY art fair, VOLTA Basel, Art Rotterdam...

6.2.1. The Importance of Art Fairs

Art fairs engage with every activity of intermediaries and, above all, this engagement hugely influences the CAM. The reason behind this impact originates from the current status of the art fair, which is confirmed by its economic and social influence on insiders in art market, as well as the public and the host city. First, when presenting works of art at major art fairs, artists take advantage of developing their careers by gaining international recognition. Next, it is crucial for dealers not to be 'lost' in terms of meeting many wealthy collectors³⁵ in a single venue within a few days.

Dealers also take advantage of the audience gathered at the art fair to present works of art by emerging/ young artists. Such advantages for dealers are related to the intention of devising art fair, 'Art fairs are the response dealers found to counter the increasing sway of the auction houses' (Adam, 2014, p.103). In fact, in the CAM, major art fair provides approximately same amount of works of art in terms of quality and quantity with offered by auction houses (Thompson, 2008). In an annual report in 2013, dealers reported that the 30% of sales is made through in art fairs (McAndrew, 2014); some claims 40% (Bowley, 2015) and even higher like more than 50 % (Velthuis, 2014). Also, dealers socialise by discussing their knowledge about contemporary art with

³⁵ It depends on the status of attended fair. For instance, Thompson (2011) reported that more jet-flights for heading Basel are available, which shows the high participatory rates of wealth collectors to the fair.

their colleges, consumers, and experts in which ‘art world practices are recreated, key actors positioned, newcomers allowed an entry and new art established’ (Morel, 2014, p.360). Therefore, beyond commercial profits, galleries benefit from social interaction which can occur at the event.

Art fairs have begun enticing not only people from the art worlds, but also celebrities from the entertainment industry; this has made art fairs become a festival by drawing the public and art-lovers (Velthuis, 2014). Like Frieze New York, therefore, art fairs not only have commercial value, but also entertainment value as they embrace people who have no intentions of buying works of art (Dalley, 2015). The success of art fairs has not only influenced people in the art market, but also the host cities, and beyond. Yogeve and Grund (2012, p. 24) report an anonymous gallerist’s opinion on this point as: ‘It’s like a big family trip . . . that does not only increase the attractiveness of the city but also the sales on the art market’. As such, there are, during fair season, many people staying in the city, which means that they spend their money on food, shelter, transportations, and tourism in the area. To catch their attention, the most attractive exhibitions take place in the art institution of the district before, after, and during art fairs. Moreover, art fairs further invigorate the economy in the region by affecting construction. For instance, there was a construction boom in Miami (called the Miami effect); new infrastructure for an art fair sprung up in Miami such as restaurants, museums and institutions. In Helmore's (2014, para. 5) article, Craig Robins, who brought Art Basel to Miami, said that ‘a market itself around culture was launched in Miami’.

Lastly, collectors have opportunities to buy high-quality works of art, as dealers need to present superior artworks in order to secure space in a major art fair. The fair also optimises time efficiency for collectors, as they are able to compare works of art within a small amount of space and time. Moreover, art fairs are the venues, that capture the current trend of works of art for art experts (critics, curators, directors from museums), journalists, and even for art-lovers.

Art fairs have disadvantages as well. Firstly, dealers need to participate in several fairs to enhance their artists’ careers, as well as to maintain their own status in the market. Migrating from fair to fair (participating in more than five major art fairs) costs a huge amount of money and time for dealers (Curioni, 2012). For instance, renting a booth

at the Maastricht art fair requires €50,000 and dealers can spend an extra €80,000 shipping works of art, and on accommodation for and invitations to guests. The overall expenditure of a dealer who participates in five fairs is estimated to be £200,000~300,0000 (Thompson, 2008). Dealers are also absent from their galleries while at art fairs and need to spend extra time applying for art fairs and contacting collectors. Therefore, dealers often complain about the frequency of art fairs (Velthuis, 2014).

Next, as art fairs seem to run all year round³⁶, it is difficult for artists to produce a piece of art to suit the schedule of art fairs, which may cause works of art to be of low quality. Dealers are concerned about the efficiency of artworks in terms of transporting them and whether they are a reasonable size for the booths at art fairs; this hinders artists' inspiration and they produce 'art fair art' (Velthuis, 2012, p.19). From the perspective of viewers, moreover, Searle (2003, para. 4) comments on the negative aspects of art fairs, stating that '... no art ever looks quite so vulnerable as it does at a fair, crammed onto a stand with wobbly walls in the souk'. Put differently, the limited space for such a number of artworks is not good for appreciating them.

6.2.2. Frieze London

Frieze Art Fair occurs annually in London each October and presents contemporary art by living artists. *Frieze Art Fair*, in 2003, was first organised by Matthew Slotover and Amanda Sharp, who were the founders of *Frieze* art magazine; from the beginning, the fair was a success³⁷. Slotover and Sharp played a role of director for *Frieze Fairs* and Victoria Siddall had taken the role over from the founders of this fair since 2014 as Slotover and Sharp made a decision to concentrate on the development of new event. In 2012, the art fair expanded its area in terms of ranges of presented artworks (from ancient to modern), and opened a branch in America: *Frieze Masters*, *Frieze New York* and *Frieze London* (henceforth, we strictly distinguish *Frieze Art Fair* from *Frieze London*). In a relatively short term, *Frieze* art fair has become a 'must-attended' event in art world (Reyburn, 2014). With closely looking at the figure of the outcome of *Frieze London*, The outcome of the twelfth *Frieze London* represented 162

³⁶ With regard to major art fairs only, they take place globally and all year around: TEFAF in the Netherlands (March), Art Basel in Switzerland (June), the *Frieze Art Fair* in the UK (October), and Art Basel Miami Beach in the USA (December).

³⁷ *Frieze London* presented works by 124 galleries and attracted 27,700 visitors in 2003 (Placa, n.d.).

contemporary galleries from 25 countries (Frieze Press, 2014a). Moreover, the fair attracted public attention (drawing over 60,000 visitors (*Frieze London* 2015)), as well as collector attention (sales of £26 million in 2004³⁸).

Frieze London has influenced the entire art field in London, ranging from galleries, lectures, social events, to auction houses. As such, the fair has flourished after eight years, and there is now a recognized ‘*Frieze week*’ (Sawyer, 2011, p.1). In the extension of it, October, which holds *Frieze London*, is crucial month of art field in London. Reflecting on the effects of the *Frieze* fair, several ‘big name’ exhibitions coincide with *Frieze*, such as ‘Gerhard Richter at Tate Modern, with Tacita Bean in the Turbine Hall...Tracy Emin, Jeremy Deller...have one-off works on show across London’ (Sawyer, 2011). Moreover, the major auction houses, Sotheby’s, Christie’s, and Philips, hold their mid-season sales to coincide with the date of *Frieze London* since the mid of 2000s. For example, in 2015, Sotheby’s had two auctions about contemporary art; one focused on artworks by young artists and the other one consisted of curated works of art by established artists like Roy Lichtenstein and Robert Rauschenberg (Sotheby’s, 2015).

³⁸ After the first three years, annual sales figures for the fair were not provided due to inaccuracies. This was due to sales prior to the art fair, and the gallery’s wish to hide the selling prices of certain works of art.



Figure 6. The Temporary Structure of *Frieze London* 2015

Source: Author

Unlike other art fairs, *Frieze London* takes place in Regent's park with temporary buildings and bespoke marquees (See Figure 6). According to *Frieze London* (2015), holding the fair in a natural environment allows it to be 'lively and energetic', and offers the provision of natural lighting sources. Since the fair's beginning, its temporary structures have been designed by talented architects³⁹. Similar to other leading fairs, this fair has three types of ticketing systems for accessing the fair at different times (Adam, 2014). *Frieze London*, first, is open to serious collectors, directors or curators at a museum, the press, and 'anyone well-connected enough to procure a coveted early pass' (Sulcas, 2012). Next are purchasable tickets, like premium tickets (receiving authority of first entry; £43) and normal tickets (£37).

Frieze London is largely divided into three sections; *Main* for leading galleries, *Focus* for emerging galleries and *Live*, which began in 2014 to present participatory works to 'create moments of interruption or immersion', which is the chance for galleries to display experimental artworks (Frieze Press 2014b, p.1). Moreover, the curated section, *Frieze Projects* is designed by *Frieze London*, while there are also additional

³⁹ For instance, the structure (a 'huge tent' in original description) was designed by David Adjaye in this fair's first year (Searle, 2003). The structuring short-term house for the fair had been appointed by *Universal Design Studio* since 2014.

programmes: *Frieze* Film, Sculpture Park, and *Frieze* Talks. Regarding prizing, two awards pertain to the fair; one is for artists (*Frieze* Artist awards), and one is for a gallery (*Frieze* Stand Prize). In addition to this, *Frieze London* has had main sponsor of Deutsche Bank since 2008 with other partners such as Pommery, ArtFund, BMW etc.

Selection procedure and designated spaces for young artist

The galleries have competed to participate in *Frieze London*. Each year, over 500 applicants compete for around 150 limited spaces, called Stand in their terms, and the deadline for applications is in February. The procedure for making a decision usually takes two months and the selection list is announced in April (*Frieze London*, 2015). There are six committees (7 in 2015) for selecting galleries from applicants. Even though *Frieze London* (2015) publicises that the selection committees are gallerists who have participated in the fair, there is no explanation regarding how/who appoints these committees. According to *Frieze Press* (2004), the selection procedure is rigorous, having strict criteria to guarantee and maintain the standard of the fair in light of ‘showing the most dynamic contemporary galleries working today’.

There are limited spaces for young and emerging artists in *Frieze London*. Firstly, *Frieze London* has curated works of art by offering their own programmes. *Frieze Projects*, for non-profit sectors, aims to introduce young and emerging artists to the public. *Frieze Foundation* runs the project, and two institutions⁴⁰ commission artists to install new site-specific works of art at a temporary structure in Regent’s Park (Spence, 2014). This project has been curated by Nicola Lees, senior curator, since 2013 and annually selects around seven artists. With consultation from the senior curator, the project seeks works of art to be displayed to intervene and interact with structures at the fair. Figure 7, for instance, shows the performative works of art by Darbyshire, which were located at the entrance of *Frieze London* 2010. This installation is fully functional as a ticketing office for the art fair and endeavours to imitate consumer’s behaviours in mobile shops by turning on a pink light outside and the staff being in pink uniforms⁴¹. The artist criticises a tasteless art fair as giving

⁴⁰ This project is supported by mainly LUMA foundation and additionally Art Council England.

⁴¹ Pink is the representative colour of T-Mobile retailers in the UK.

messages of, ‘selling commodities as disposable and replaceable as mobile phones’ (Wullschlager, 2010).

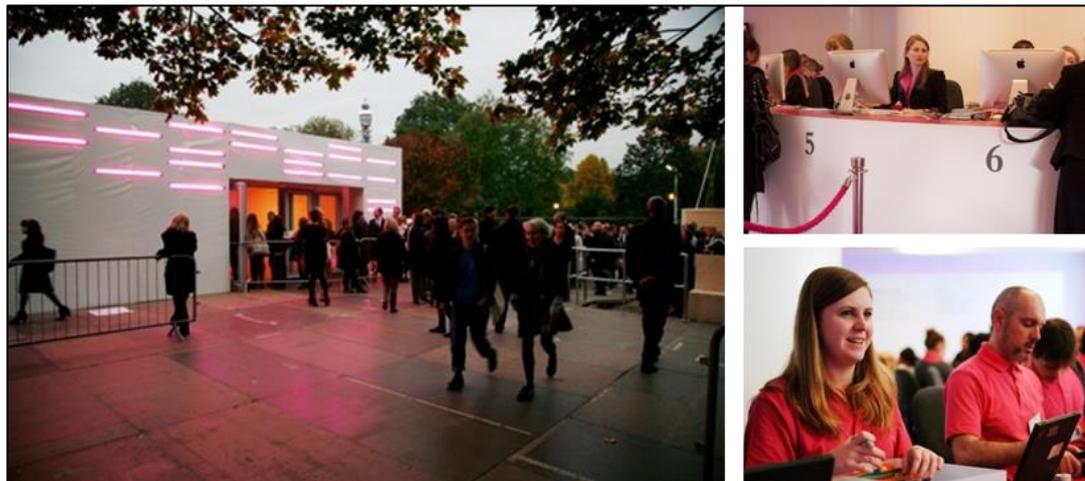


Figure 7. One of Frieze Projects 2010 by Matthew Darbyshire

Source: Frieze London homepage

Secondly, ‘Focus’ is designed for emerging galleries selected by *Frieze London*. In 2015, galleries formed after 2003 were eligible to apply for a booth in the section of *Focus*, and finished by allocating 36 booths to galleries. The right to apply for this space is based on gallery’s age: ‘Depending on the age of gallery, those formed either in or after 2003 and 2007 are eligible to apply for different stand size, proposal types, and price level’ (Frieze London, 2015). In this section, the selected galleries presented works of art by young and emerging artists in a form of group shows or solo exhibitions. ‘Focus’ is evolved version of ‘Frame’, the section for emerging galleries (8years or younger), and Frieze London decided not to continue ‘Frame’ from 2014.

Frieze London bestows the Frieze Artist Award on one of the artists participating in the sector ‘Frieze Projects’. Awarding a young artist has occurred since 2006 and has been sponsored by different firms⁴². The procedure in selecting a winner of the award is based on open competition (no application fee, open to international artists) among submitted proposals. The proposed artworks should temporarily, spatially, and conceptually respond to audiences, as well as Frieze London per se. Frieze Press annually announces the scheme of this process by inviting artists who are between 25–

⁴² LUMA foundation agreed to give sponsorship to the Frieze Award from 2015 (Previously, Cartier 2006–2010; Emdash 2011–2013).

40 years of age. All candidates for this competition needs to submit several pieces of information (Frieze Foundation, 2015).

For example, artists provide a certain proposal of bespoke artworks for the art fair in which they explain the concept of their intending works in terms of how they connect to the context of the fair, and how to allocate the budgets. In the section of uploading images, candidates need to provide their previous works of art and also include visualised details of proposed works of art like drawing or referenced images to give clear ideas. After collecting proposals by applicants, the group of juries select the winner. Juries include the artistic director of Frieze Art Fair and curators of Frieze Projects, as well as invited international juries (renowned artists or curators)⁴³. The winner of this competition is awarded an opportunity to present their works of art at Frieze London and budgets (up to £20,000) for the whole process of making the proposed works of art. For instance, half of the money is allocated to the production of artworks, £5000 is for research and development, and £5000 is allocated to the expenditure for travel or artist fees. Interestingly, even though most of these temporary works of art, supported by Frieze London, are dismantled after the fair, artist would repay the production costs to the organisation once it is sold.

6.2.3. The Other Art Fair (TOAF)

The Other Art Fair (TOAF) was launched in 2011 by Ryan Stanier, who has a degree in business and law. Ryan Stanier began his professional career in major commercial firms such as O2, Sky, and at London Fashion week and he was introduced to the field of art with launching Artbeat⁴⁴ in 2010 (Be Smart About Art, n.d.). While running the gallery, Stanier became fully aware of ‘the disparity between a London audience eager to discover the next big thing and talented artists struggling to gain recognition’ (Stanier, n.d., para.1). Combining his experience of running events and pop-up galleries to showcase works by graduate artists (The Rebel Magazine, 2011), Stanier launched TOAF in 2011.

⁴³ For instance, in 2011, over 700 global artists applied for Frieze Artists Award and there are six panels to select winner of the award (Roux, 2011).

⁴⁴ Artbeat is commercial gallery in London that is mainly focused on emerging artists to increase their status by introducing their works.

TOAF was initially a bi-annual event based in London. It has successfully grown and expanded to editions outside of London (Bristol) and abroad (Sydney) since 2015. The exhibitors at TOAF are mainly young and emerging artists with modestly priced artworks: starting from £50 and with an average price of £350 (FreshPaintMagazine, 2016). The number of artists who are willing to participate in the event has also grown and the exhibitors have become globalised. The records show that 20% of the participants in TOAF in 2013 were from abroad (Nagesh, 2014).

TOAF in London in 2016 was its 15th edition. The price of a ticket starts from £8 and in total TOAF's four editions in 2015 welcomed around 40,000 visitors, 58% of whom had never previously attended the fair (FreshPaintMagazine, 2016). As such, the spring edition in London in 2016 at Victoria house attracted 12,890 visitors, including guests from renowned institutions such as Saatchi, Gagosian, the Tate gallery and so on (The Other Art Fair, n.d.). Moreover, TOAF has partners from various field ranging from online, *Saatchi Art*, to the media, *Londonist*.



Figure 8. The Booth of Tracey Emin with Her Limited Editions for TOAF 2016

Source: Author

During the fair, TOAF offers various kinds of events such as inviting guest artists, and offering talks and workshops, which have become common practice across art fairs today in an effort to interact more with visitors. In order to support participants in the

fair, TOAF invites renowned artists like Tracey Emin and presents limited editions of artworks that are created exclusively for the fair (See Figure 8). TOAF runs talk programmes by collaborating with The Art Conference (expert talks about exploring the relationship between technology and culture) and Let's Be Brief (creative entrepreneurs' short presentation). As we can see in Figure 9, moreover, visitors can take part in artistic workshop to enjoy the event more. For instance, there were three workshops available at the 15th TOAF: making works using the technique of paper cutting, designing a terrarium, and crafting a wooden spatula (The Other Art Fair, n.d.).

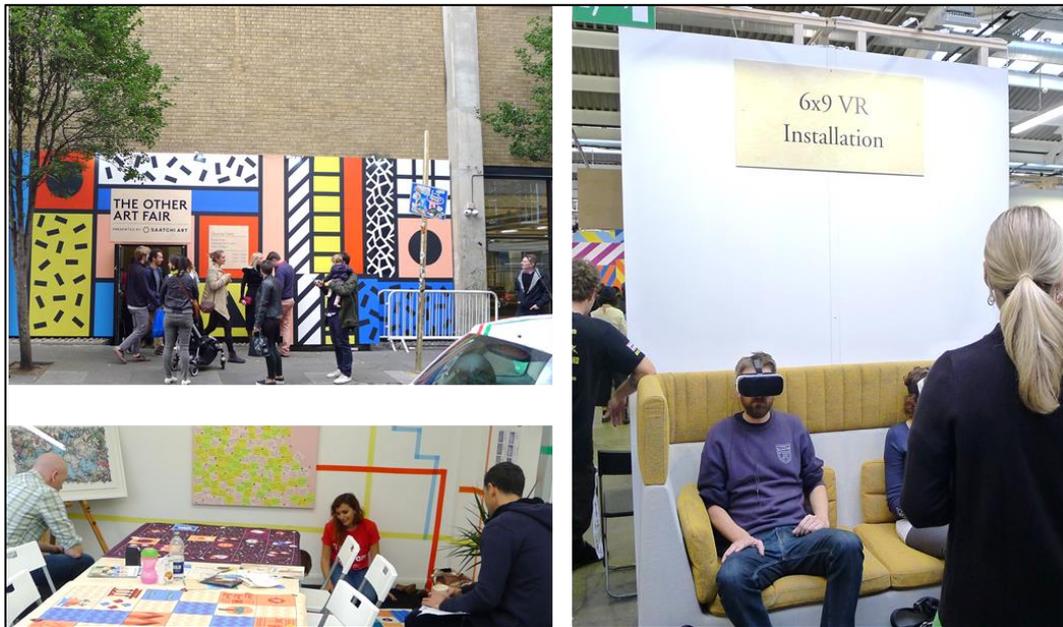


Figure 9. Various Activities at TOAF 2016

Source: Author

Selection procedure and supports for young artist

The level of participation at TOAF is not the gallery, but individual young and emerging artists. Without a preference for the medium of artworks or delimiting the artist's career, any artist can apply to the event. However, the space at the fair is limited, which generates their selection system in order to filter participants out. The selection procedure starts from the artist's application, which is made via an online application form. As such, the form requires uploading four digital images of their representative artworks with descriptions, as well as filling in the section for the artist's statement, their qualifications and their reason for applying to TOAF. Moreover, there is the

option to clarify the fact of whether this is their first exhibition in London by the section of 'London Future'. Applicants also select their stands at the fair in advance and the rent price for stands varies depending on the scale of the stands.

Then, applicants are chosen by the selection committees for TOAF. Every year, the fair invites esteemed experts in the field of arts such as Tracey Emin (artist), Rebecca Wilson (curator at Saatchi Art), Zavier Ellis (director at Charlie Smith gallery), Sam Phillips (editor of RA magazine), and so on (The Other Art Fair, n.d.) to be committee members. As there is limited space at the event, the competition is intense, and has been getting harder. For instance, at the beginning of 2012, 90 artists were able to participate in TOAF out of 500 applicants. The number of applicants has grown significantly. In 2015, there were 700 applicants and only 120 artists were able to showcase their artworks (Forrest, 2015).

TOAF supports artists in numerous ways. Firstly, the fairs give artists the opportunity to meet lots of important people in the arts industries, as well as to make profits by selling their works to buyers. At cotemporary galleries, moreover, the director of the fair provides a 'pre-workshop' to participants, advising them on displaying, pricing, and self-promotion (The Other Art Fair, n.d.). As we can see in Figure 10, in addition, the artists have a chance to present themselves and their artworks on Saatchi Art. Demand Media, which owns Saatchi Art, acquired TOAF in 2016 (Misthal, 2016). With this site, artists can even sell their works in the online environment. Lastly, a curatorial section is available at the event. In isolation from official applications, TOAF recruits artists who contributes to its curatorial areas, including 'the other project' (site-specific installation) and 'the other live' (performance at the fair).



Figure 10. TOAF on Saatchi Art

Source: *Screen with TOAF' page captured on Saatchi Art 2016*

6.3. Analysis and Discussion

The process of legitimising young and emerging artists by intermediaries is largely divided into three categories according to their function in the market; introduce, instruct, and include/select (Khaire, 2015). The following section will analyse the findings of the cases in terms of the three categories. This analysis of findings contributes to specifying the mediation system of contemporary art, thereby giving shape to the model of cultural branding. By analysing the operation of art fairs in a wider social context, this chapter is able to place art fairs in the hierarchical order of intermediaries in the art world. By doing so, we enrich the understanding of the power dynamics between existing intermediaries and art fairs.

6.3.1. Cultural Branding in Art Fairs

Introduction

The medium of art fairs adds cultural-cognitive legitimacy to the artists who exhibit their artworks at the cultural events, through the practice of introduction. The role of introducing young and emerging artists to the market is highlighted in each case. The introduction of these artists is based on either allocating space for them or giving them

a prize. For instance, there is limited space, around ten percent for young and emerging artists in Frieze London such as the 'Focus' and the 'Frieze Project'. The selected artists have opportunities to expose their art to many people from different fields who visit the event such as important private or institutional collectors, critics, journalists, dealers, other artists and art-lovers. Moreover, the artists' names, style of art, and marketability are shared not only with the visitors to the fair, but also with the entire art market via secondary exposure. For instance, Artsy reported the sales of artworks by an emerging artist, Pentti Monkkonen, at Frieze London 2015 (Forbes, 2015), an example of how the marketability of the artists can be showcased.

However, major art fairs do not initially introduce young and emerging artists. Rather, initial introduction of artists to the market relies entirely upon dealers. Put differently, dealers play the role of introducing the meaning of a work of art by an artist to other people in the intermediary layer. In this way, the dealer inserts '[their artists'] works into art world's taste-making machinery' (Velthuis, 2005, p.41). Despite the high uncertainty for early-career artists (Peterson, 1997), dealers provide a chance for potential artists to have their first exhibition and supply media coverage, thereby sharing the meaning of the artworks with others. Thus, we stress that the artists selected by dealers are efficiently introduced to the wider audience via the art fair. Indeed, in order to introduce artists, a dealer first discovers them among many artists. In other words, the discovery by dealers enables artists to introduce their work to the public. The dealers, who are close to the artistic community (Bystryn, 1978), usually deal with discovering artists.

Some prestigious art fairs, interestingly, show the role of dealers in discovering the meaning of works of art by selecting artists. As such, *Frieze London* has the project of discovering ten artists out of 700 applicants for the *Frieze Project* and introducing their works of art. While the space for presenting discovered artists is very limited (less than 1%) at Frieze London, TOAF allocates almost the whole area to new artists. In this regard, the case of TOAF is significantly distinguished from other art fairs as they play a role in discovering young and emerging artists and introducing them to a wider audience, instead of dealers. By doing so, art fairs contribute to increasing the awareness of artists participating in the art fairs in the art world, thereby supporting the constitution of the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the artists.

Instruction

Through the practice of instruction, the medium of art fairs contribute to shaping the normative legitimacy of artists. Art fairs instruct the insiders of the art world about how to interpret certain works of art by young artists. As such, art fairs directly provide consumers with the knowledge about how to understand confronted works of art: the various types of talks and lectures are available for educating the audience in both cases. For instance, *Frieze* talk is designed to deliver lectures and conversations or debates about several issues between panels. In 2014, this programme brought key speakers from different fields to *Frieze London*; for example, Bruce McLean (artists), Jon Ronson (author), a chief curator of MOCA, and Linder (musician) (Frieze Press, 2014b). Moreover, details about works of art introduced by the fairs are provided. *Frieze London* shows the instruction of each selected artists in *Frieze Project* via their website in which the information is given in the form of a transcribed conversation between the curator of the project and the artists. The provided information helps people to be attuned to the works of art.

Cultural knowledge is needed to understand the meaning of contemporary art. In our model of cultural branding, several intermediaries are in charge of instructing others in the understanding of the discovered and introduced meaning behind works of art. For instance, dealers first convince clientele of the value of works of art, which they discovered or introduced. Caves (2000, p. 37) provides the reason for such persuasion: ‘the dealer is much more than order-taker, because for many reasons the art does not speak for itself’. The dealers, in a wider sense, educate the clientele about how to appreciate contemporary art. Secondly, critics foster the instruction of art for insiders in the art world. Critics help to construct the instruction of meaning by highlighting the artists’ intentions for making contemporary art.

By doing so, the critics place the works of art or artists in a certain position in art history. The critics and dealers have a close relationship. On the one hand, dealers need critics to provide convincing instruction to their collectors. As Bystryn (1978) exemplified, the catalogue of *Women*, an exhibition, included several well-written essays about presenting works of art by critics. On the other hand, critics can increase their credentials by placing the new artist or style in art history. Albert Aurier fostered

the instruction of interpreting the works of Van Gogh and gained a high status in the field of art (Wijnberg and Gemser, 2000).

Art fairs also offer indirect instruction about works of art. An art fair is not only the collection of sellers, but also a temporary exhibition; it is not just the market of the unintended collection of works of art, but a museum for a short period (Moulin 2003, p 98 cited in Morgner, 2014). Curators with a specific theme, helping to educate the audience about works of art, generate exhibitions in a museum. Likewise, each case has curators to display works of art by emerging artists with the specific goal of generating a proper exhibition. As such, site-specified project, which aims to engage the public into the venue of art fairs, includes emerging artists; *Frieze Project* (Frieze London). Therefore, the audience is indirectly instructed about the emerging artists via appreciating the curated works of art at the art fairs.

Moreover, in the main gallery section, the presented works of art are curated by each gallery. However, the employees of the art fair allocate spaces for the galleries. Allocation of space is important, as works of art tend to be viewed 'in the context in which the next one is viewed' (Morgner, 2014, p.43). Also, the participants comprise a homogenous network, as artists share similar ages and status (Yogev and Grund, 2012). In order to acknowledge this, Frieze London places established galleries close to the entrance of the venue, and emerging galleries are positioned in the corners. Thus, visitors might appreciate works of art in certain galleries by taking the next gallery into account. By doing so, they comprise indirectly the idea of the current trend of the style of contemporary art. In other words, art fairs provide an indirect impression of the current artistic form. Such direct and indirect instruction about works of art, engendered and shaped via art fairs, make the presented artists and their artworks normatively legitimised in terms of examining it in correspondence with the dominant norms and value of art in the art world.

Selection/Inclusion

The introduced meaning of art, after being discovered by dealers, filters through art fairs. Each case has commonly a selection system for choosing exhibitors for the event. Even though the selection system is devised to maintain the good quality of the fair, the selection procedure contains the undertone of opting out the diffused meanings of

works of art. In the previous section, we looked at the discovery, introduction, and instruction of the meaning of contemporary art by intermediaries. Interestingly, not every meaning constructed via the layer of intermediaries reaches recipients (collectors/public). Rather, the meaning of art are selectively conveyed to the recipients after being filtered by intermediaries, who act as the gatekeepers of cultural production (Hirsch, 1972).

Our findings show that only selected artists are able to expose their art to the audience at TOAF because of the limited space at the event. Like the dealer's role, put differently, TOAF determines 'who will show where, and what work collectors (and what the public) will see' (Currid, 2007a, p.388). Moreover, showcasing their works at the event means that they gain recognition by esteemed experts who are members of the selection committees. By being approved as participants, therefore, young and emerging artists can attain symbolic capital⁴⁵ (prestige) to use Bourdieu's (1993) term. Moreover, important intermediaries who visit the event contribute to generating discourse and disseminating it.

Likewise, the selecting of dealers/galleries for art fairs means that the presented works of art at the fair have been filtered by the selection committees. That is because the committee requires detailed documents for each applicant to the main section ranging from description of gallery and their artist per se to plans of which works of art present. This selection procedure shows how Frieze London plays the role of gatekeeper in terms of presenting works of art at the event. Hence, only selected meanings of works of art are shared with important insiders in the art world within a short period. In this sense, Schultheis (2017, p. 71) states that, '[prestigious art fair] itself has become an authority of consecration in the global scuffle for symbolic recognition in the field of art'. Therefore, art fairs legitimise the selected artists and their works of art.

6.3.2. Art Fairs in the Art World

The structure in the art world continues to change shape as 'actors reposition themselves relative to each other' (Giuffre, 1999, p.830). In this sense, we can interpret the medium of art fairs as the outcome of the repositioning of dealers. As such, art

⁴⁵ 'degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (connaissance) and recognition (reconnaissance)' (Bourdieu, 1993, p.7).

fairs can be considered as dealers' response to the emergence of auction houses (Adam, 2014). With their reputation and status, auction houses occupied a rather dominant position in the hierarchical structure of the art market. Moreover, the transparency of transactions at auction houses helped to increase their sway in the structure, which put pressure on dealers. Given these circumstances, dealers organised art fairs and these had become one of the rituals in the art market in terms of commercial sales.

More importantly, the dealers' institutional repositioning in the art world has an intellectual influence on the legitimisation of artists. As Baumann (2001) points out, the role of film critics is the generation of the ideology about the discourse of film as arts. Likewise, art fairs contribute to yielding the ideology about how the value of artists and artworks is legitimised. Put differently, art fairs generate a buzz (Alexander and Bowler, 2014) or 'the setting of new trends within the market' (Velthuis, 2014, p.92). In this sense, Quemin (2013, p. 167) states that, 'the most attractive fairs are...best able to lend legitimacy to the contemporary nature of the participating galleries as well as to the artists and works exhibited'. That is, the medium of art fairs plays the role of legitimating dealers, as participating in prestigious art fairs for dealers is interpreted as 'the market's stamp of approval' (Robertson, 2005b, p.33). By doing so, the artists and the artworks presented by the dealers at the art fairs also attain legitimacy in the art world.

In the context of contemporary art, the role of cultural intermediaries becomes more important than in other genres. According to Heinich (2012, p. 700), contemporary art tends to transgress 'the boundaries of art such as they are commonly conceived', thereby highlighting the group of intermediaries as regards constructing solid connection between artworks and the public. In other words, contemporary art interfere with conventions in the art world by means of providing new types of artwork. Becker (1982), then, notes that the art world contributes to constructing the consensus to legitimise new artwork.

Building such a consensus is part of the process whereby new artwork is accepted. We point out that the consensus to legitimise a certain works of art is not unanimous, but involves a mutual agreement between limited members. That is, in the art world, various agents struggle against each other to support their own opinion. In this sense, Bourdieu (1996) further argues that legitimacy is bestowed according to the

asymmetrical power of inner members in the field of art. That power is driven by members' economic and social capital. For instance, new artwork supported by established dealers, who are recognised as influential members of the art world, is more likely to be accepted.

By virtue of considering a particular opinion about artworks as a consensus in the art world, some artworks can be legitimised, whereby certain actors who support that opinion are able to achieve a dominant position. In other words, the consensus 'contributes fundamentally to the reproduction of the social order' (Bourdieu, 1991, p.166). Hence, the status of members in the art world is hierarchically structured according not only to their original economic and social capital, but also to the degree of their influence on the consensus.

Likewise, the identity of the gatekeeper is important for establishing the meaning of works of art (Bourdieu 1983; Khaire 2015). Each gatekeeper is able to discover, instruct, and select the meaning of artworks to convey to the recipients. However, the gravity of such meaning is affected by the selectors' statuses, which convinces other insiders, as well as consumers, of the value of their opinions. That is, the selection of famous dealers or renowned critics is more likely to be accepted in the procedure of establishing certain meaning in art. For instance, the meaning behind a shark in pickle by Damien Hirst has the credentials by famous dealer Charles Saatchi. In this way, therefore, the meaning introduced, instructed, and selected by art fairs, with their high reputation, is more convincible. Thereby, we affirm that art fairs play focal roles in the 'appraisal and consecration' (Schultheis, 2015, p.3) of artworks.

Moreover, the esteemed reputation of art fairs in the market provides the seal of quality to dealers. Despite economic pressure, therefore, Jeffrey Deitch, art dealer, said, in the report by Bowley (2015, para. 2), that many galleries want to '[be] admitted to a club'. On the one hand, the membership allows dealers to fuel '[their] artists' last mile in the path toward the hall of fame' (Curioni, 2014, p.37). On the other hand, as we have already discussed, art fairs consolidate the understanding of the presented new/young artists' works. The advantage of acquiring the hallmark of being presented in prestigious art fairs makes dealers eager to join these art fairs. The high demands place art fairs in an important location in the market. As such, employees of art fairs, such as directors, selection committees, and curators, become powerful people in the art

world. Not surprisingly, the founders of Frieze London (49) ranked in top 100 of the most influential people in the CAM (ArtReview, 2015).

In addition, the importance of Frieze London in the visual arts field originates from the fact that it mainly deals with contemporary art. The ambiguity of contemporary art, examining the borderline between art and non-art and focusing more on the concept of an artwork rather than its appearance, enables artists to grow in terms of ‘the autonomy of cultural production’ (Bourdieu, 1996, p.82) based on the political field, as well as based on the market. By doing so, the gap between producers and recipients becomes wider, so that it requires a growing importance placed on intermediaries: ‘the thickness of mediation...grows together with the autonomy of the field, in Bourdieu’s terms’ (Heinich, 2012, p.699). Hence, along with other intermediaries, the role of art fairs becomes more important in terms of filling the gap between artists and public. In other words, their commitments of introducing, instructing, and selecting works of art and artists in the CAM become explicit.

6.3.3. Alternative Art Fairs in the Hierarchical Order in the Art World

With the growing reputation of art fairs, particularly major art fairs, this medium has more power to construct a consensus in the art world. In other words, the group of major art fairs are at a high level in the hierarchical structure of the art world: the artworks exposed at a prestigious art fair are more likely to be rendered valid. Acknowledging their influence, some art fairs are artistically highly recognised, yet such opportunities are limited to a small number of established artists and styles. Therefore, peripheral materials of artworks (Morgner, 2014) and young artists are isolated, and these are embraced by alternative art fairs. To some extent, by doing so, alternative art fairs attempt to challenge the hierarchical structure of the art market.

In this line, the case of TOAF challenges the established structure of legitimacy in the art world in two ways. Firstly, they shift the level of participation in the event; the structure of the art fair in our case shows an attempt to shift the hierarchical order in the art world. As we have seen in its application procedure, that is, the level of participation at TOAF is not galleries, but individual young and emerging artists. The aforementioned dealers’ repositioning in the art world is accomplished by organising art fairs. In this sense, the medium of art fairs was originally designed for dealers’

commercial benefit. Accordingly, art fairs delimit the participatory level at the events: galleries. Put differently, although the level of the galleries participating in the event varies depending on the level of the art fair, several art fairs commonly exhibit artworks that initially filter from each gallery. Unlike the standard of other art fairs such as Frieze London, Art Basel, and the Affordable Art Fair, the operating system of TOAF is distinctively different from other fairs. That is, although these fairs are based on selling a space to galleries to showcase their artists' works of art, artists directly rent a space at TOAF, depending on the scale of the stands from £925 (5 metres) to £1815 (9 metres). In doing so, the case of TOAF provides fresh opportunities to artists who are isolated from the process of legitimacy in the art world.

Moreover, the case of TOAF seems to interfere with the role of dealers/galleries by aiming to discover new artistic talents. That is, the goal of TOAF is primarily to offer opportunities for young and emerging artists to introduce their artworks to other intermediaries in the art world or the public/buyers. The director of TOAF said, in this sense, '[i]nitially we set up the fair with the vision of connecting artists with the art world, whether that be gallerists, curators, buyers etc.' (Forrest, 2015, para.22). Indeed, the discovery of young artists is the exclusively the role of art dealers (Peterson, 1997), which is interfered with by the prestige art fair's curatorial programmes. While prestige art fairs provide a small amount of space for the discovery of artists, our case reveals that most of the booths at TOAF are allocated to young and emerging artists. Nagesh (2014, para.2) once noted that, 'The fair, [our case] is perhaps the most flagrant flouting of convention, has cut out gallery involvement entirely'. In other words, by selecting artists to present their works at the event without dealers' involvements, TOAF seemingly challenges dealers' authority by excluding them.

While the case of TOAF challenges the hierarchy of the art world with cutting out the middleman in terms of the level of participation at the event, a close relationship between the dealers and TOAF is required at the same time. That is because the next career stage of the artists presented at TOAF depends on them signing contract with dealers. For instance, a significant outcome for the artists who participated in TOAF in 2011 was that 18 of the 87 artists could work with galleries (Artlyst, 2012). In this sense, the director of the fair notes that, 'really, the success of the fair depends on the success of the artists' (Nagesh, 2014, para.8). In the art world, therefore, TOAF is

interpreted as one of the gateways to shape legitimacy to young and emerging artists and our case locates on the level of hierarchical order, rather than challenging it.

6.4. Conclusion

Within [social] milieu, agglomerations of gatekeepers, intermediaries, consumers and producers engage in a variety of capacities, with diverse agencies and motivations. The clustering of these different, related activities makes the social the most efficient mode of exchange and valorization of art/culture... the social is not the accidental byproduct (a 'spillover') of art/culture agglomeration but the *raison d'être* of its existence. The social is the most effective way to translate, consume and legitimize cultural goods, and art/culture participants are aware and actively seek out these environs (Currid, 2007a, p.392).

The uncertain value of contemporary art yields a layer of constructing belief in legitimising the artists and their works of art. In this thesis, this layer is called cultural branding, which has been used in an attempt to extend previous research (Holt 2004; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015). The model of cultural branding in this thesis delineates the holistic contributions made in terms of rendering artists and their works of art acceptable by intermediaries in an institutionalised social structure (Scott, 1995; Greenwood et al., 2008), namely, the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996). With regards to its formation and operation, art fairs could be seen, to some extent, as trade fairs, as they last a limited time and provide spaces for exhibitors to present their product to wider audience, aiming to make sales. By attending such trade shows for general goods, exhibitors are able to improve their performance in terms of increasing sales (Gopalakrishna and Lilien, 1995), as well as engendering intangible outcomes such as gathering information, identifying market trends, building a network, and exchanging knowledge (Hansen, 1999; Maskell, Bathelt and Malmberg, 2006). Although exhibitors at art fairs can attain such benefits, shared beliefs, discourses, networks, and the reputation generated at art fairs are more important for dealers and artists, because of the uncertain value of artworks.

Echoing the above quotation by Currid (2007a), art fairs create a social milieu and we insist that the solid system of art fairs (Garutti, 2014) plays a role of intermediary based on its functionality of exchanging knowledge, building networks and reputation (Morel, 2014). Moreover, biennales, which are also temporary exhibitions with a non-commercial purpose, 'mediate between the constitution of aesthetic dispositions and

the legitimization of regimes of meaning and value' (Sassatelli, 2017, p.91). Likewise, the medium of art fairs, including alternative art fairs, plays a role in not only distributing contemporary art, but also in legitimising artists and their works of art, as it contributes to constituting the standard of evaluating contemporary art directly and indirectly.

Put differently, art fairs contribute to framing the legitimacy and value of contemporary art. Our collective cases can confirm Khaire's (2015) specification of intermediaries' functions in the art market. That is, with a focus on the spaces for emerging artists at the event, art fairs contribute to distinguishing the meaning of works of art by young and emerging from others through their discovery, introduction, instruction, and selection. In the venue of institutional theory (Chaney, Ben Slimane and Humphreys, 2016; Dolbec and Fischer, 2015; Humphreys, 2010a; 2010b; Humphreys and Latour, 2013; Scott, 1995), such intermediary practices can be interpreted as shaping the legitimacy of artists. By introducing the artists and their artworks to the institutionalised structure, art fairs add awareness of the artists, thereby influencing their cultural-cognitive legitimacy. Moreover, the direct and indirect instructions about presenting works of art generated via the cultural events normatively legitimise the artworks by rendering it to fit with existing norms and values in the art world. The two different types of legitimacy of artists are selectively reinforced through the art world. In this sense, young and emerging artists are legitimised through the help of the medium of art fairs. .

In addition to this, art fairs are not isolated from other intermediaries in the process of distinguishing certain artists from the rest. Rather, the discovered, introduced, instructed, or selected meaning of works of art by the medium of art fairs needs to be assisted by other traditional intermediaries (Curioni, Forti and Leone, 2015) such as dealers, galleries, critics, museums, the media and even auction houses. In other words, the cooperative network of all intermediaries enforces the legitimacy of presenting works of art at the fair and ends up creating its agreeable value (Becker, 1982).

In order to be presented at Frieze London, indeed, young and emerging artists should first be selected by initial gatekeepers or dealers. Although the case of TOAF does not follow this common ritual with changing its participatory levels, our findings show that the alternative art fair also requires a solid link with other intermediaries.

Therefore, as Curioni, Forti and Leone (2015) insist, the role of the traditional gatekeeper is still important. Further, the network is not a linear connection, but is like a spider web; the interactions between intermediaries are complex (Jyrämä and Äyväri, 2010) and their functionality often overlap. Acknowledging this independence, therefore, we predict that art fairs do not supplant traditional intermediaries.

Despite the coexistence of art fairs with traditional intermediaries, we also conclude that art fairs (especially prestigious fairs) influence the behaviour of traditional intermediaries considerably because of their established status in the market. In the model of cultural branding, indeed, the legitimacy of works of art is diffused and selected based on the agreement in the mediation layer, which can be conveyed to consumers. Then, the degree of its contribution to establishing the legitimacy of works of art varies according to its status and identity. The events held by other institutions are timed to coincide with *Frieze London*, and its franchised fair indirectly highlights the current status of the cultural event in the market.

By exhibiting artworks at a prestigious art fair, artists are offered ‘as a guarantee all the symbolic capital the merchant has accumulated’ (Bourdieu, 1996, p.168). As a result, the legitimacy of artists and their works of art shaped via the prestigious art fair is more likely to be accepted by other intermediaries. Acknowledging such advantages from participating in the events, the more dealers and artists want to be involved in the event, the more power the art fair has. Thus, *Frieze London* contributes to reinforcing the highly stratified structure in the art world.

TOAF tends to present young and emerging artists who are located at the lowest position in the stratified art world. By including this isolated class, our case challenges the hierarchical structure in the field of art through changing the level of participation from dealers to artists and dismissing intermediaries. However, TOAF hardly legitimises the presented artists and the value of their artworks without a close relationship with other intermediaries. In this sense, we insist that our case is not resistant to the current hierarchical structure in the field of art, but adapts to that structure.

We need to critically interpret the proliferation of art fairs. Referring to the explosion of the art market by increasing the numbers of galleries, artists, and collectors in the 1960s, Crane (1989) found that some galleries were located in dominant positions, and

thereby had a monopoly on the accepted style of artworks in the market, which limited artists' willingness to produce a drastic style of artworks. In a similar vein, Yogeve (2010, p. 530) insists that, 'the power of structure of the market does not encourage innovative and experimental activity; rather, it promotes conservative modes of action as a market outcome'. In this sense, the phenomenon of exploring art fairs in which few powerful art fairs have led aesthetics discourse, imitated by other alternative fairs shows a blind spot whereby the art world can ignore the drastic and innovative style of artworks suggested by isolated artists.

Indeed, alternative art fairs embrace young and emerging artists who are isolated from major or mid-scale art fairs, so that entails considerable changes in the art market. That is, the artists presented at the events have opportunities to develop their careers and thus continue to produce varied artworks, which fertilises the art market. However, the quality of such artworks might be questionable. The medium of alternative art fairs does not give the encouragement in terms of producing new and innovative artworks to young and emerging artists; rather it is understood as an alternative channel for disseminating a similar style of artworks to those displayed at major art fairs. That is because legitimacy is conferred on selected artists by renowned judges whose artistic taste is equated with the pre-existing style of artworks. New styles of artworks might hardly be presented at the event, which undermines innovation in the art world.

In this chapter, we have seen the role of the medium of art fairs in legitimising young and emerging artists. As this thesis noticed in Chapter 2, the medium of art fairs is one of the emerging intermediaries in the CAM. In the next chapter, this thesis will explore another emerging medium for legitimising young and emerging artists—the digital platform.

CHAPTER 7. CASE STUDY II: SAATCHI ART

The previous chapter has shown that the medium of art fairs allows for the discovery, introduction, instruction, and inclusion of young and emerging artists, so that we could argue that art fairs position themselves in the layer of cultural branding as intermediaries. By doing so, the medium of art fairs contributes to rendering unaccepted artworks by young and emerging artists accepted in terms of shaping cultural-cognitive and normative legitimacy to them, thereby adding value to their artworks. Additionally, an analysis of collected data about our collective cases could deepen our understanding of the position of art fairs in the hierarchical structure of the art world by focusing on young and emerging artists who seek legitimacy to navigate through the hierarchical structure.

Along with the research on art fairs, in Chapter 2 we also noticed that more research is required to understand the growth of trading works of art in an online setting. Despite the significant growth of the online art market, previous research in arts marketing has paid little attention to the online market for transactions of works of art with the exception of Khaire (2015). Khaire explores the online trading of art by three online firms in which the online firms mainly trade established artists' works. By focusing on young and emerging artists, and consumers, the untouched area in Khaire's research, the purpose of this chapter is to understand the ways of constructing the value and meaning of their artworks in an online setting. In order to achieve this aim, the chapter is divided into two sections—an exploration based on the views of: 1) artists and 2) consumers and users in the market.

The purpose of the first section is to explore the current practice of an online art market from a socio-cultural perspective, using the concept of the art world and institutional theory as an analytical tool. The findings of this case study of Saatchi Art will be discussed in terms of applying and developing the cultural branding model. In doing so, this study intends to contribute to the expanding 'arts marketing' discipline in an overlooked area: the art market in the digital age. In addition to this, the second section aims to conceptualise the participation of online users and consumers in creating the meaning and value of artworks. This will be achieved by borrowing from McCracken's (1986) logic of the movement of meaning. By doing so, this article

attempts to understand the current visual art market in which the adoption of e-commerce has recently matured.

In order to achieve the aims of these two subsections in this chapter, this thesis conducted an instrumental case study using Saatchi Art (<http://www.saatchiart.com/>), ‘the world’s leading online gallery, connecting people with art and artists they love’ (SAATCHIART, n.d.). There are around 500,000 artworks by 50,000 young and emerging artists from the worldwide on the website (Garton, 2015). The platform was launched in 2006 by Charles Saatchi, an influential arts dealer, to offer a virtual space for artists to share their works of art and was re-launched in 2008 as an e-commerce website. As such, the website not only enables artists to sell their artworks directly to collectors for a commission of 30% of the artworks’ original prices but also allows first-time buyers or serious collectors to meet various types of artists upon payment of a modest fee. This site is not limited by genre; any artist from various fields such as painting, drawing, sculpture, collage, photography and prints (including digital) may access the website. The rationale for selecting *Saatchi Art* for this study is that the platform is instrumental in understanding the valuation process in the online art market.

This thesis collected data based on qualitative methods. The first section will use the collected data through direct observation, document review, and 28 interviews. The focus of direct observation and document review was to delineate the history, operation, missions and curatorial practices of Saatchi Art. In the second part, the direct observation was also conducted with a focus on the interface and design of Saatchi Art. Moreover, this part collected data based on reviewing the document of users’ comments and buyers’ reviews. Indeed, Saatchi Art presents up-to-date consumer reviews that are drawn from an external source: Trustpilot. On the review website, 173 comments about Saatchi Art were available at the time of conducting this research (15th December 2015). In addition, 30 user comments were selectively gathered in the process of conducting direct observations. The collected data by such methods will be analysed with comparing it to our theoretical framework.

7.1. The Contextual Approach to the Case of Saatchi Art

In the digital age, we have witnessed significant changes to inner members within the art world (Alexander and Bowler, 2014): the conventional art world has digitalised its

output to encourage more participants. With respect to museums, firstly, many intend to use their websites to release information to prospective visitors, rather than provide a virtual experience as a substitute for a physical visiting (Chong 2009). Over the last decade, then, the role of museum information professional has evolved towards being more active in order to meet user expectations about unlimited access to museum information (Marty, 2007). Additionally, in response to the multiple needs of users, museums have been forced to digitalise their resources (Marty, 2008). However, due to time and budget constraints, museums are experiencing difficulty in transforming their large numbers of collections into high resolution digital output (Cunliffe, Kritou and Tudhope 2001; Russo and Watkins 2007).

Traditional intermediaries, like dealers and galleries, are also forced to be digitalised in order to engage with a wider audience (Adam, 2014). By doing so, intermediaries have their websites come up with devising a new business model. For instance, Gagorian Gallery sells digital prints which feature the work of its own artists, which are more related to the reputation of Gagorian and its artists than the platform *per se* (Thompson, 2014). Along with meeting potential buyers, dealers also make a profit by selling works of art via JPEG images on their website (Velthuis, 2014). In addition, producers and artists are able to avail themselves of multiple media outlets (own homepage or social media) for conducting transactions, and making direct contact with consumers.

With regard to consumers and users, the price range of artwork varies according to the reputation of the artist, dropping for works by emerging artists. From the perspective of consumers, the modest prices contribute to lowering barriers to entry into the art field. Therefore, younger and new buyers are brought on stream by online marketing (Hiscox, 2014). In addition, the features of Web 2.0, which allows users to actively generate content, and share and evaluate it with others (O'Reilly 2007), enable users of platforms in the field of art to be 'active consumers rather than passive recipients' (Arora and Vermeulen 2013, p. 197). For instance, users write reviews about a particular artwork or exhibition on their blog or virtual community, sharing it via social media networks. Echoing such evolvment, cultural institutions consider social media as a means of increasing attendance at their establishments (Kolb, 2014).

The art market is also not immune from the growth of internet usage. The online art market has grown noticeably. Despite falling total sales of the global art market by seven percent from \$68.2 billion in 2014 to \$63.8 billion in 2015 (Kinsella, 2016), we have witnessed that online sales of artworks grow sharply: with a growth rate of 24%, the sales in 2015 reached \$3.27 billion and will reach \$9.58 billion by 2020 (Hiscox, 2016).

The most notable trend of the visual art market is the usage of e-commerce. Referring to the art market in 2011, Horowitz (2012, p. 89) points out that ‘major recent strides’ are drawn from e-commerce. This has resulted from the enhanced technology in presenting images, enabling users to develop a familiarity with buying goods online. On the one hand, traditional intermediaries, like auction houses, use the Internet for selling works of art. For example, Sotheby’s Fine Art Auctioneers have increased its sales following the launch of its website and BID now platform (Hiscox, 2014).

On the other hand, new platforms have been launched by targeting either a primary or a secondary market (Hiscox, 2016), which is exemplified by the concept of converting the conventional art market into a digital environment. For instance, several online firms auction works of art via online galleries by unknown and emerging artists (Saatchi Art/Artfinder) and by renowned artists (Saffronart/Paddle8) and, similar to dealers and auctioneers, charge commissions for such transactions.

Moreover, new types of online-based platforms and business models have emerged in the art markets. These include innovative platforms not found in offline markets. For instance, in this regard, RiseArt rents works of art and users can buy artworks by owning shares in MyArtInvest. In the following section, we look at three online arts platforms in more detail, namely Artsy, Artnet and Saatchi Art. While the specification of these online platforms allows us to deepen our understanding of the characteristics of online arts platform in general, it leads us to contextually explain why Saatchi Art can be distinguished from other platforms in particular. In order to do so, we refer to the classification of business models by Wirtz and Lihotzky (2003).

7.1.1. Artsy

Artsy was founded in 2010 by Carter Cleveland who had just graduated from a computer science programme at Princeton University. The distinctive feature of Artsy

is the application of an algorithm to the field of art, called the art genome project, which is similar in concept to the algorithms in the digital music and film industry in terms of automatically recommending and suggesting music and movies according to users' music playlists and past viewed films like Pandora and Netflix (Ryzik, 2012). During Artsy's beginning, introducing computer science to the art world was not always supported by galleries (Robehmed, 2013).

Two years after launching the platform, however, the company privately tested its earlier version and secured a huge amount of funding (\$1.25 million) from renowned investors from the field of technology such as Google, PayPal, and Facebook and advice from people from the art world like Dasha Zhukova (art collector) and John Elderfield (former curator at the Museum of Modern Art) and Larry Gagosian (gallerist) (Schonfeld, 2010). With these tangible and intangible supports, many galleries were intrigued by Artsy and the founder of the platform discussed the situation in an interview as '[a]s soon as we had Gagosian and Pace Gallery on Artsy, suddenly all these galleries that wouldn't even take a phone call were coming to us' (Robehmed, 2013, para.11). Since the introduction of its public version in 2012, Artsy has aimed to help the discovery of artworks for inexperienced and experienced collectors, as well as to provide educational resources.

The goal of Artsy is to democratise the access to visual arts to everyone as they announce their ambitious vision on their homepage: 'Artsy's mission is to make all the world's art accessible to anyone with an Internet connection' (Artsy n.d). This goal is drawn from the founder's personal experience: Cleveland found it hard to find artworks to decorate his room when he was in university, which initiated the idea of establishing Artsy (Ryzik, 2012). In an interview by GIGAOM, the founder of Artsy once said,

Twenty years ago, engagement with luxury fashion was largely concentrated in New York, London and Paris but now everyone aspires to incorporate luxury brands into their lives...That same widespread appetite is now catching up to art...but before Artsy there was no easy way to access that world (Heussner, 2013, para.4).

In this way, Cleveland believes that their new digital platform not only overcomes the intimidation felt by the majority of people because of the 'clubby, rarefied, and esoteric' art market, but also helps to build relationships between experienced

collectors and galleries (Khaire, 2015, p.111). By doing so, the platform intends that users on Artsy feel encouraged to engage commercially and artistically with artworks on the website further.

Business model and Practices

We consider that Artsy has a *connection*-oriented business model. Indeed, the business model of Artsy was *commerce*-oriented on account of generating their revenue by charging considerable commissions for each transaction on their website. As such, the galleries who were in partnership with Artsy paid ten percent commission on the sale of artworks more than \$10,000 and fifteen percent commission on sales of less than (Khaire, 2015). In 2013, Artsy changed its business model from *commerce*-oriented to *connection*-oriented.

With this business model, Artsy highlights the virtual network between market intermediaries and users. As such, Artsy offers access for the gallery partners to the platform by providing individual galleries' pages on which the galleries are able to promote their profiles, artists, and current exhibitions. The platform also helps the gallery partners to build close relationship with followers by sending emails to targeted users about new shows and artworks from the galleries (Artsy n.d.). In addition, Artsy provides software to galleries in order to easily manage their profiles and artists' lists (content management system) and efficiently present their portfolio to clients (folio) (See Exhibit 2). The second business model is from charging a referral fee. For instance, Artsy has hosted an online auction on behalf of major auction houses like Sotheby's. The final way of generating money for Artsy is the production of 'sponsored content (such as their ongoing partnership with UBS)' (Hiscox, 2016, p.18). The founder said, '[t]hese content partnerships are increasingly driving revenue to Artsy as well as facilitating compelling content that will interest and engage our users' (Chayka, 2016, p.152).

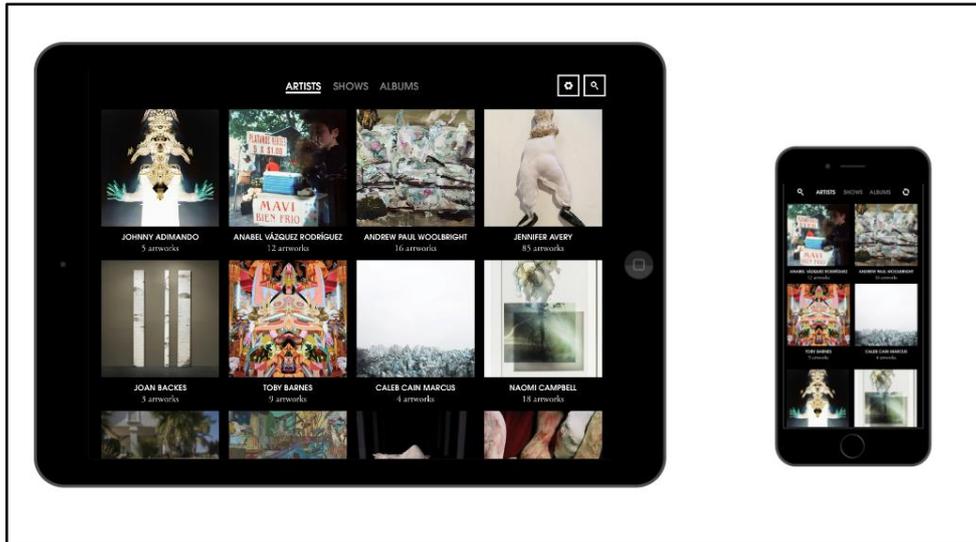


Exhibit 2. Artsy’s software for partners

Source: *Screen with Folio captured on Artsy 2017*

The distinctive feature of Artsy is its algorithm and this advanced technology allows users to not only easily search artworks, but also to get a recommendation of artworks based on similarity and to expand the knowledge about it. This mapping system of generating a connection between arts and history is called the ‘Art Genome Project’, which classifies artworks according to their characteristics, or ‘genes’ in their term, such as subject matter, artistic movements, conceptual and physical forms of arts, geographical factors, and so on. Twenty art historians involved with this ongoing project have provided the outcome of analysing over 22,000 artists, 220,000 artworks and 1,000 categories (Israel, Backus and Fagon, 2016).

This system is based on not just assigning tags to each artwork, but applying variable value to them by the members of the project; the value is gauged from evaluating each category between 0 and 100. In the category of pop art, for instance, Andy Warhol’s artworks might be assigned a high scale of value, whereas his successors in contemporary art could rate differently. As the value of each artwork is rated by the experts, Ryzik (2012, para. 11) said that ‘[s]oftware can help filter images for basic visual qualities like color, but the soul of the judgment is human’. In addition to this, Artsy has partnerships with museums and cultural institutions and provides their profile pages as is also available for gallery partners and online art fair previews.

While the advanced technology helps users to discover artworks, there is an educational resource in the section of ‘Magazine’ on Artsy. In this section, the writers

and editors from Artsy have published articles about various subjects such as art fairs, the art market, collecting, art history and artists. The founder believes that ‘[c]ollectors find the editorial platform an important resource as they think about the market and how to build their art collections’ (Chayka, 2016, p.152). By offering such accessible information more, Artsy intends to educate potential buyers, and thereby increase the size of market (Robehmed, 2013).

Business Performance and Curatorial Practice

In 2012, Artsy had partnerships with 275 galleries and 60 cultural institutions with 20,000 digitalised artworks (Ryzik, 2012). By 2016, on account of accelerating its growth, the numbers of partners had sharply grown to more than 3,000 galleries, 600 museums, and 60 art fairs (Chayka, 2016). By 2013, Artsy had 150,000 registered users and the number of visitors from over 190 countries on the website has currently reached over 12 million. Although Artsy does not reveal its revenue, Maneker (2015) estimates that Artsy generated around \$1 million monthly based on calculating the monthly subscription fees and assuming an average payment of \$400 by 2500 galleries. However, as we have been seen, there are two more business models for Artsy and thus, the revenue of the company is much more than \$12 million.

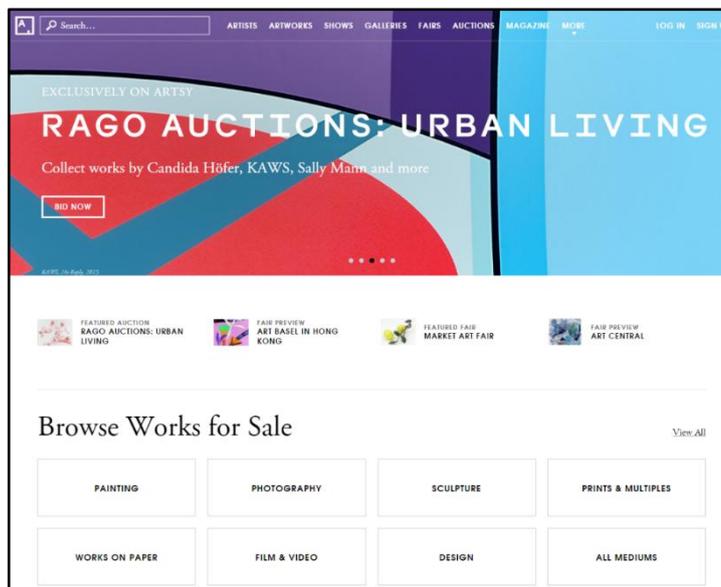


Exhibit 3. Artsy's curatorial practice

Source: *Screen with the main page of the platform captured on Artsy 2017*

The platform currently has over 500,000 digital images of artworks (300,000 for sales) by 50,000 artists. The artworks presented on Artsy are varied in terms of production periods, ranging from classic to contemporary, genres, origin and so on, but they are commonly made by relatively renowned artists or artists who are presented by galleries. On the main page on their website, in Exhibit 3, the list of genres allows users to browse artworks. The page navigated by the genres displays the collection of artworks which is basically sorted by uploading date. Also, users are able to narrow artworks down by selecting variables such as genres, styles, periods of production, colours, geographic location. When users click a certain artwork, detailed information about the work is loaded such as the explanation about the work and artist, introduction of offered gallery, and other works by artists and galleries. With their algorithm, moreover, Artsy automatically recommends related artworks. In addition, the allocated spaces for partner galleries and museums are curated by the partners. On the main page, Artsy manually curates the images of artworks in several online auctions hosted by them.

7.1.2. Artnet

In 1989, Artnet was founded by Hans Neuendorf who was a German art dealer representing established artists like Billy Al Bengston. Neuendorf and his partner, Rudolf Zwirner, made a standard model of modern art fair with the opening of Art Cologne (Artnet n.d.). The original name of the company was Centrox Corporation, which changed to its current name of Artnet in 1995. They have offered the online data for sales price of artworks at auction houses since 1996. Horowitz (2012, p. 88) comments on this practice as, ‘this watershed move vastly improved the transparency of art sales data by making auction records available at the touch of a button to professionals, researchers, and curiosity seekers from around the globe’. In other words, echoing the ambitious goal of its founder, Artnet contributes to bringing transparency to the art world by providing such data to its audience.

With the maturation of their service of providing editorial content, auction data, and listing galleries, Artnet launched a new function of online auction in 1999. The launch of the new product was based on the founder’s ambitions as Neuendorf predicted ‘[t]he art market will change more radically than any other market has changed because of the Internet...The secondary art market—fine art that is no longer in the hands of the

artists themselves—is going to move to the Internet altogether by the year after next’ (Mandell, 1999, para.18). Six months after its debut, like its founder predicted, the online auction sold a million dollars’ worth of artworks and the average price of artworks was \$3,200 (Mandell, 1999). However, the online auction only lasted eighteen months, and the discontinued online auction had a net loss of \$118,000 (Artnet, 2001) as they thought that the art market was not ready (Kennedy, 2011). While Artnet has encouraged a direct transaction between buyers and sellers by relaunching the online auction 2008, they intend to overcome the lack of transparency in the art market through offering a database of auction price and published articles.

Business model and Practices

Artnet has a *content*-oriented business model. The company has collected and archived auction house results, to create Artnet’s ‘price database’. It is considered a premium content, which is exclusively distributed to paid users. The online archive contains the auction results from over 1,700 institutions, which ‘brings price transparency to an otherwise inaccessible market’ (Artnet, 2015, p.14). Although there are several competitors providing data such as ARTPRICE and Blouin Artinfo, Artnet leads the market in providing online resources for the art market (Hiscox, 2016).

Subscribers pay from \$450 to \$1,175 yearly according to the number of searches (from 150 to 450). The expected results from searching are also different from 1000 up to 4,500. Artnet also offers a ticket to instantly access to their database such as one-day pass (\$32.50) and a month pass (\$42.50). As we can see in Exhibit 4, this product offers auction results from 1895 to the latest one with details such as description, size, title, medium of artworks, the place of sales, and estimated and sold price.

Search Results

<input type="checkbox"/>  Full details	1	<p>David Hockney Beverly Hills housewife (diptych) Beverly Hills Housewife signed, titled and dated "A Beverly Hills housewife." Los Ang More ...</p> <p>Medium acrylic on canvas 1966-1967 Height 72 in.; Width 144.1 in. / Height 183 cm.; Width 366 cm.</p> <p>Misc. Signed, Inscribed</p> <p>Sale of Christie's New York; Wednesday, May 13, 2009 [Lot 00014] Post War and Contemporary Evening Sale</p> <p>Estimate 6,000,000 - 10,000,000 USD</p> <p>Sold For 7,922,500 USD Premium</p>
<input type="checkbox"/>  Full details	2	<p>David Hockney Great Pyramid at Giza with Broken Head from Thebes Great Pyramid at Giza with Broken Head from Thebes oil on canvas 72 x 72 in. (183 x More ... oil on canvas</p> <p>Medium oil on canvas 1963 Height 72 in.; Width 72 in. / Height 183 cm.; Width 183 cm.</p> <p>Sale of Christie's London; Wednesday, February 13, 2013 [Lot 00012] Post-War and Contemporary Art (Evening Auction)</p> <p>Estimate 2,500,000 - 3,500,000 GBP (3,885,004 - 5,439,005 USD)</p> <p>Sold For 3,513,250 GBP Premium (5,459,596 USD)</p>
<input type="checkbox"/>  Full details	3	<p>David Hockney California art collector acrylic on canvas Painted in 1964 More ...</p> <p>Medium acrylic on canvas 1964 Height 60 in.; Width 72 in. / Height 152.4 cm.; Width 182.9 cm.</p> <p>Sale of Sotheby's New York; Wednesday, November 11, 2009 [Lot 00025] Contemporary Art Evening Auction</p> <p>Estimate 5,000,000 - 7,000,000 USD</p> <p>Sold For 5,458,500 USD Premium</p>

Over 9,800 more lots available

One search returns full artwork details for up to 100 lots depending on your search criteria. Clicking to view next 100 results is considered an additional search.

Exhibit 4. The sample of practicing Price Database

Source. *Screen with Price Database captured on Artnet 2017*

Similar to Artsy, Artnet provides an infrastructure enabling the interconnection between galleries and users, called Gallery Network. A gallery needs to pay a relevant amount of money to listing their gallery virtually on the website. Three types of memberships—silver, gold, and platinum—are available and the flexibility and featured numbers of images on Artnet are varied according to the level of membership. The membership allows galleries to present their artists' artworks, current exhibitions, and contact details. With a similar concept, Artnet also has a partnership with auction houses. Through the partnership, auction houses are able to promote their upcoming sales. Another subscription model based on Artnet is Market Alert, which is a by-product of Artnet's database. This product automatically sends email notifications to subscribers (around \$25 monthly) in which Artnet provides various information about subscribers' favourite artists such as upcoming auctions and exhibitions about the artists.

Artnet generate values from a commission-based model, which is called the Artnet Auction. The product brings the practice of auction houses to the online setting. With fixed periods, on Artnet Auction, buyers are able to bid on artworks which are uploaded by registered sellers. Artnet charges a commission to both sides: successful bidders are required to pay 20% of final bidding price and the commissions for sellers are specified in Table 16. As a physical auction house does, the experts on Artnet help sellers estimate the price of artworks, the reserve price, and with photographs. With taking advantage of using the Internet, the auction does not limit the time and location for users to participation in the auction, and thereby the auction is 24/7.

Table 16. Commission Rates for Sellers
Source: Artnet auctions (n.d.)

Hammer/Acquire Now Price	Commission
\$3,000 ~ 4,999	10%
\$5,000 ~ 7,499	8%
\$7,500 ~ 9,999	6%
Above \$ 10,000	0%

This editorial resource originally started as ‘Artnet Magazine’, which ceased publication in 2012; it was launched with the new name of ‘Artnet News’ in 2014. The goal of publishing news is to give to its audience instructions about understanding the art market, as they state, ‘[o]ur mission is to inform, engage, and connect you—the most avid members of the art community—with daily art world news and expert commentary’ (Artnet, n.d.). The editorial content includes a wide variety of subjects such as the trend of the market, people in art worlds, experts’ opinions and a review of exhibitions. With the addition of Ben Davis, an influential art critic, to the editorial team (Chayka, 2016), Artnet intends to expand its influence in the market. The company reported that the launch of the ‘Artnet News’ engendered the sharp growth in visitors (Artnet, 2015)

Business Performance and Curatorial Practice

Artnet leads online platforms dealing with arts when the enormous traffics to its website is taken into account. With a growth rate of 35%, the number of visitors on

the Artnet was 2.1 million users a month on average. This figure for visitors is in the first place among forty companies at Hiscox’s online art platform ranking⁴⁶ (Hiscox, 2016). As time goes by, moreover, their database has grown fruitfully, generating over 10 million results. Such qualified and quantified data attract a large number of subscribers, who generated revenue of \$7,231,242 in 2015 (Artnet, 2015). The price database, considered as a core product on Artnet, proved its importance for the platform with the highest revenue among their products.

The Gallery Network listed around 800 galleries on Artnet in 1991 (Mandell, 1999) and the members of Gallery Network reached around 1,300 from 60 countries (Artnet, 2015). Revenue from the Artnet auction was \$2,906,000. Interestingly, the Artnet auction encourages users to subscribe to their other product, price database, in order to estimate the worth of displaying artworks on the auction. Artnet also generated a revenue of \$3,618,000 by displaying a banner type of advertisement on the webpages of price database, auction, and galleries.

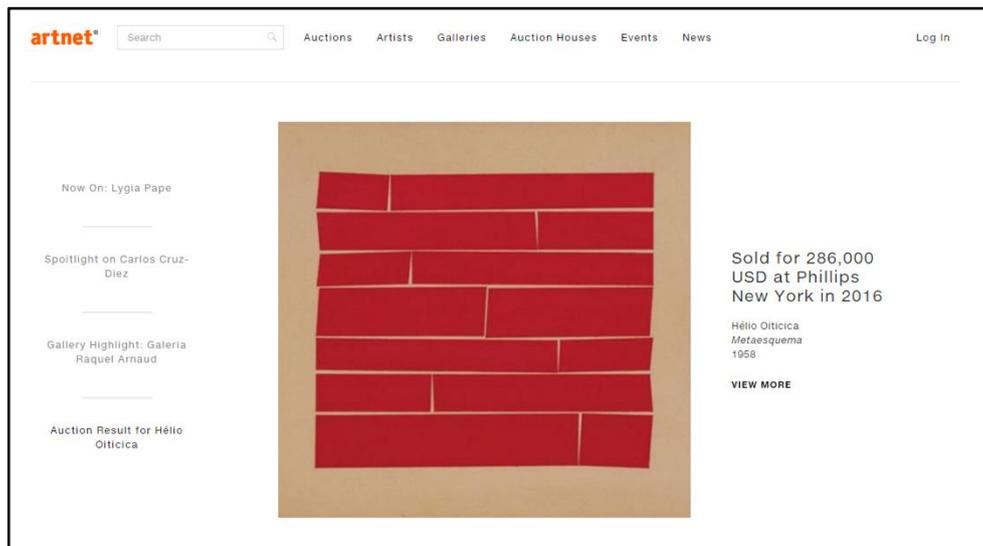


Exhibit 5. Artnet’s curatorial practice

Source: *Screen with the main page of the platform captured on Artnet 2017*

Artnet’s listed galleries display around 170,000 artworks by 35,000 artists (Artnet, 2015). As the artworks are uploaded by the galleries who sign up for a membership for the Gallery Network on the website, only artists who are renowned or are affiliated

⁴⁶ The ranking was based on a survey of 671 respondents and the categories for measuring rank were varied: visitor, purchase, visitor experience, and buyer experience rank. The average of the rank for every criterion was implied to generate the overall ranking.

with the galleries can have the chance to expose their artworks on Artnet. On their main page, four representative images from Artnet products are displayed such as an image from Artnet auction, from price database and from auction house partnership. The section for events on the website curates the selection of events according to the opening date of the event. Artnet, in the section for galleries and auction houses, selectively features artworks by partner galleries and auction houses. Although Artnet does not allow for the browsing of artworks, the category of artist allows users to navigate artworks by a certain artist. Artworks can be narrowed down by selecting object types, production periods, and the kinds of third party such as galleries, auction houses, and Artnet auction. The page of artists also provides more information about an artist's biography, auction results (subscriber only), dealers, and upcoming events.

7.1.3. Saatchi Art

Saatchi Art, founded in 2006, offers an unparalleled selection of artworks by young and emerging artists from across the globe (SAATCHIART n.d.). Saatchi Art fixes an upper limit (\$30,000) on each artwork's price⁴⁷; the website is intended for young and emerging artists (Spiritus, 2013). The mission to support artists originated from the Saatchi Gallery in London; the platform was launched in 2006 by *Charles Saatchi*, the influential art dealer and collector who owned the Saatchi Gallery. This platform was initially a form of artists' community, rather than an e-commerce venture and was established to showcase, free of charge, artists' works (Crow 2007) and was, thereby, dubbed *Your Gallery* and non-commercial. At that time, 120,000 artists presented their works of art on the website (Hatton and Walker, 2003). By allowing any artists to present their works and sell the artworks direct to buyers without commissions, Saatchi wants to 'break [offline market's] deadlock' (Saatchi 2012, p. 68) and Saatchi describes unknown artists' situation, which motivates him to initiate Saatchi gallery website;

The great majority of artists around the world don't have dealers to represent or show their work. It makes it pretty well impossible to get your efforts seen, with most dealers too busy or too lazy to visit studios... (Saatchi, 2012, p.68)

⁴⁷ The upper limit of price for sales on Saatchi Art currently discontinues.

In 2008, this platform was re-launched under a new name, *Saatchi Online*, with added commercial functions (charging a commission on each transaction) and, in 2014, was sold to *Leafgroup*⁴⁸ for \$17 million and rebranded *Saatchi Art*. Despite changing ownership, the platform continues to use the name of powerful brand, Saatchi, in the art world

Business Model and Practice

A *commerce-oriented* business model is adopted by Saatchi Art and the products that yield revenue for the company include the commissions on sales from original works and printed posters. Artists are charged 30% commission on their sales, whereas there is usually a 50% commission for sales in offline galleries. Then, Saatchi Art express that they are paying to artists ‘considerable amounts of money’ (Spiritus 2013, 3:25). In relation to sales of printed versions of digital images of artworks, artists are able to earn 70% of the net profits (excluding a fee for producing the printed poster). Saatchi Art is a collection of artists’ personal pages in which the artists provide digital images of their works with attaching descriptive details (size, material and explanation of works). Additionally, the platform provides a facility for artists to feature their biographies, ranging across their educational background, exhibition lists and inspiration for working.

The images are required to meet the standards of the platform, not only in terms of high-resolution digital images, but also with respect to the quality of the printed versions of the images. From the perspective of collectors, there are several interactive tools. In this context, the ‘favourite’ tool enables collectors to mark and show their preference for certain works of art. All users can buy works of art, either original or digitalised print versions, the purchase of is guaranteed for seven days.

The distinctive characteristic of Saatchi Art is their curatorial practices. The emphasis of such practices is drawn not only from the uncertain value of products (contemporary art), but also from the low credibility of producers (young and emerging artists) on the website. Thus, Saatchi Art selectively promotes artists via several tools such as ‘One to Watch Artists’ and ‘Inside Studio’ (weekly selection of an artist), ‘Invest in Art’

⁴⁸ Demand Media changed their name to Leafgroup in the end of 2016.

(quarterly selection of the group of artists), ‘Showdown’ (artistic contest), and ‘Collections’ (virtual group exhibitions), while it helps buyers to make purchase decisions.

Moreover, the ‘shows’ category at Saatchi Art is designed to build a relationship between online and offline galleries. Declaring herself to be ‘very conscious about the relationship between online and offline’ (Wilson, 2013), the chief curator has, by 2016, conducted 38 shows. Both the group and personal exhibitions mounted were already featured in offline galleries. The presented artists on the channel are selected by the Saatchi Art team (mostly by the chief curator). For instance, 11 emerging artists who were based in New York (SAATCHIART, 2015b), were selected for *Affordable Art Fair* in New York (the fair consists of works of art with modest prices and is held in locations all across the world). The 45 works of art are, at the same time, presented on Saatchi Art and exhibited in the Metropolitan Pavilion.

The platform also provides the instructions about works of art, artists, the procedure of investing in arts via their blog and even offers a personalised advisory service without charging. Moreover, Saatchi Art had started publishing a leaflet about selected artworks with printed and digital versions since 2015. The printed version of the catalogue was delivered to around 100,000 households in late 2015 (Misthal, 2015). In 2016, Saatchi Art produced four editions of the catalogue and each catalogue presented more than 100 artworks. The catalogue selectively includes information about artists who were previously presented on Saatchi Art’s curatorial programme and their works of art. The presented artworks in a catalogue are extracted and displayed with their price and title on the website. It seems that the catalogue is a very powerful indicator for buyers in terms of describing the value of artworks indirectly as more than 50% of artworks, for instance, in the catalogue (Fall 2016, Vol.2) are sold.

Business Performance and Curatorial Practice

Saatchi Art has led the online art market for young and emerging artists’ artworks. Saatchi Art is ranked sixth place in the online art platform ranking (Hiscox, 2016). Among online platforms listed in the top 10, interestingly, only Saatchi Art presents young and emerging artists’ artworks, as well as positioning itself in the primary art

market. The site has recorded about 800 sales a day (Thompson 2014) and the platform sells a larger number of artworks than offline galleries; a Saatchi Art curator remarked, ‘...we sell more art in a month online than most bricks-and-mortar galleries do in a year’ (Hudson, 2013, para.6). According to the annual report by the Leafgroup in 2015, the ‘Marketplaces’⁴⁹ generated the revenue of \$52.2 million for the year and the number of traction was 925,111 with average price of revenue per transaction (\$56.38). SimilarWeb's (n.d.) analysis shows that Saatchi Art has over 1.5 million visitors every month in 2016. Consumers from 80 different countries purchased the works on Saatchi Art in 2015 and around 20% of them has recurred purchase (Demand Media, 2015).

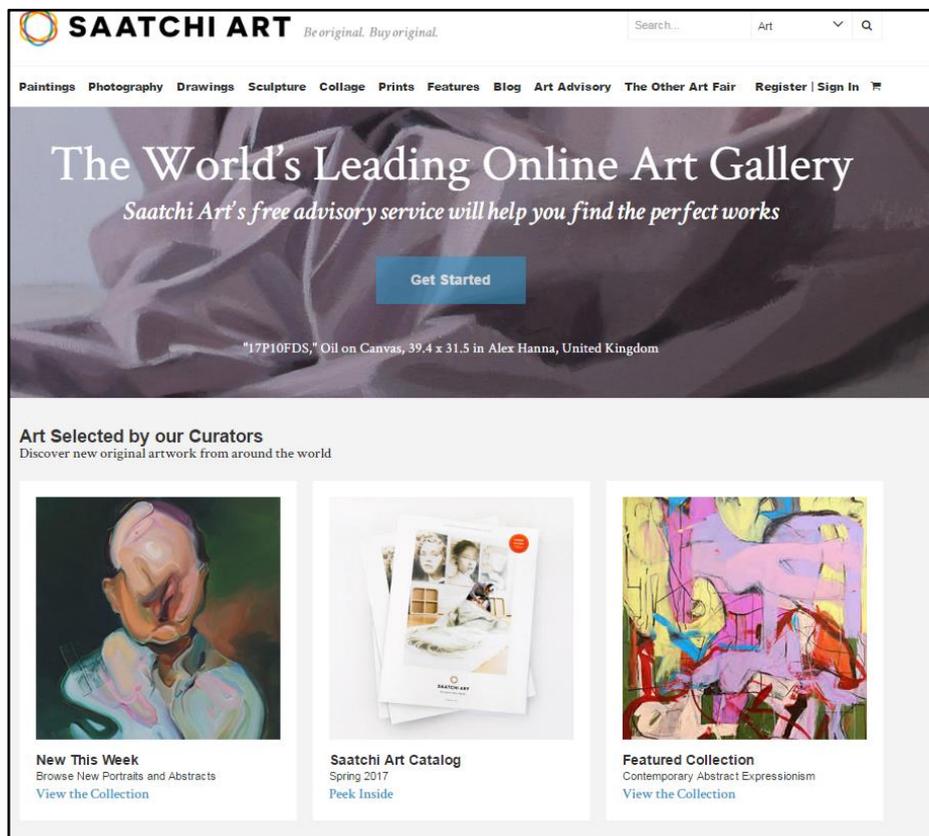


Exhibit 6. Saatchi Art’s Curatorial Practice

Source: *Screen with the main page of the platform captured on Saatchi Art 2017*

⁴⁹ The Leafgroup’s Marketplaces includes two platforms, Society6 and Saatchi Art. Society6 is also e-commerce in which artists are selling commercial goods they have designed. The Leafgroup has not released the monetary figure for each company separately, rather showing the sum of both revenues of Society6 and Saatchi Art.

Saatchi Art presents artworks without any limitations in terms of its quality and genre so as to encourage young and emerging contemporary artists. As a result, in 2015, there were over 60,000 young and emerging artists and around 500,000 original and contemporary artworks on the platform. Saatchi Art’s main page exemplifies the way in which they select artworks to display and what aspect is stressed by the company. As we can see in Exhibit 6, Saatchi Art’s curatorial team plays a role in displaying the images on their main page as ‘New This Week’, ‘Saatchi Art Catalogue’, and ‘Collection’ are selected by their curators. In addition, users are able to browse around artworks on Saatchi Art by setting up genres, styles, subjects, mediums, price ranges, geographic locations, sizes, and colours.

7.1.4. The Characteristics of Online Arts Platforms

By comparing three online arts platforms, we propose four features of online arts platform. Firstly, online arts platforms seemingly contribute to democratising the traditional art world in which there is information asymmetry between artists, intermediaries, and consumers in the traditional (offline) art market (Moulin, 2003 cited in Noël 2014). Traditionally, artists and collectors have relied heavily on intermediaries, particularly dealers, to seek information about price fluctuations, market trends, and the evaluation of artworks. With the democratic features of the web, this information is more accessible on the Internet. By echoing the similar goals of three companies in Table 17, Artsy, Artnet, and Saatchi Art have publicised free editorial resources about arts, artists, and art market, which contributes to allowing users to have more information about arts. In the wider sense, the decentralising of knowledge about arts by online platforms enables the erosion of the hierarchical order in the brick and mortar art market (Bloom, 2006).

Table 17. Comparison between Three Online Arts Platforms

	Artsy	Artnet	Saatchi Art
Found in	2010	1989	2006
Mission	Creating egalitarian platform of discovering arts	Bring transparency into the art market	To be a marketplace and transparency
Business Model	Connection oriented	Content oriented	Commerce oriented

Revenues from	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subscription Fee from partnership with galleries • Referral fee from auction houses • Sponsored content 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subscription Fee from offering accessibility to online database • Subscription Fee from partnership with galleries and auction houses • Brokerage Commission from the transaction in online auction • Advertising 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brokerage 30% commission on the sales of original artworks and printed editions of arts
Key Features of the Platforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Algorithm • Editorial resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Database • Online Auction • Editorial resources • Advertising Banners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using the powerful brand in the art world in their name • Curated environment • Editorial resources
Revenue in 2015	Not Available (estimated \$12million*)	\$ 19.1million	\$52.2 million**
Visitors	Over 12 million	Over 25 million	Over 18 million

* Artsy does not release its revenue, but Maneker (2015) is able to estimate revenue from summing the monthly subscription fees of 2,500 galleries. However, the revenue from charging a referral fee by auction house and publishing sponsored content has not been included in the figure.

**The figure was released based on the sum of revenues of both Saatchi Art and Society6.

Secondly, online arts platforms provide a new infrastructure which contributes to constructing a new network of connecting users and intermediaries, and thereby to organising a virtual community. Although we considered only the case of Artsy as a *connection-oriented* business model, all our cases have the characteristics of the business model. Each partner (e.g. galleries) in the cases of Artsy and Artnet and each individual artist in the case of Saatchi Art is able to be embraced in the networks provided by our cases. By doing so, the networks allow the partners and artists to connect efficiently and effectively with more users. The more users are available on the websites, the more partners want to join the networks to seek an increase in their visibility.

Thirdly, the identity of online arts platform in the art world is still important in the online art market. Indeed, collectors hardly judge the value of presented artworks on the website as the value of art is collectively established in the art world (Becker, 1982). Therefore, they rely on instrumental factors of the artworks for judging its value like its merchants because the artworks can be offered ‘a guarantee all the symbolic capital the merchant has accumulated’ (Bourdieu, 1996, p.168). In this sense, the displayed artworks on Artsy and Artnet are transferred the reputations from their partner galleries, whilst the virtual space executing the transaction is directly related to the social capital of Artsy and Artnet. Although, accordingly, Artsy and Artnet more or less have a reputation in the art world, there is an obvious barrier to making users purchase expensive artworks via the platforms. Thus, the platforms are hard to generate profits from, which is why Artsy changed its business model from *commerce-oriented* to *connection-oriented*.

In contrast, Saatchi Art is able to maintain a *commerce-oriented* business model as the platform is recognised in the art world. Such recognition is drawn from the accumulated social capital of Charles Saatchi, which helps collectors to make a purchase decision. The reason for the business model of Saatchi Art succeeding is also that the platform is comprised of artworks at the lower end of the expense range. The outcome of a survey by Hiscox (2016) confirms that less than \$10,000 comprises the online art market.

Unlike online platforms in other fields, lastly, online arts platforms rarely create profits via online advertising. Indeed, Artsy and Saatchi Art have relatively high web traffic by global visitors. Nevertheless, these platforms do not generate their revenue from displaying any advertisements. In contrast, Artnet creates profits from banner advertising whilst the content on the banners is rigorously controlled by Artnet. For instance, the platform only allows companies which are luxury brands like *Cartier* or which are related to visual arts such as blockbuster exhibitions or certain auctions to display their advertisement on Artnet. This feature of online arts platforms shows how they differentiate the virtual space of trading works of art with other websites trading general goods. In this sense, the chief curator of Saatchi Art mentioned about Amazon’s entrance to the online art market,

Does anyone want to buy a piece of art while they're buying an iron or a toaster? [...] there's no feeling you're buying work from a carefully thought out environment which is very particular to the "product" as Amazon would call it. Buying art and dealing with artists is a very particular thing with all kinds of subtleties, and it just doesn't sit easy with me the idea that you're going to pick up a piece of art while you're shopping for cups and saucers or cushions [...] (Wilson, 2013, 46:30).

Extending the above quotation, this thesis insists that online arts platforms carefully and strategically provide the environment of the online art market, which is reflected in the limited display of advertisements on their platforms.

Table 18. Selection and Curation of Artists/ Artworks

Categories	Artsy	Artnet*	Saatchi Art
Genres	•		•
Styles	•		•
Period of Creation	•	•	
Colours	•		•
Geographic locations	•		•
Size	•		•
Orientation			•
Mediums		•	•
Third-party sellers		•	
Principal agent of curating individual pages	Partners	Partners	Artists
The aim of curating images in main pages	Featuring Partnership	Featuring Products	Delivering curated solo or group exhibition

* Artnet provides the collection of artworks according to artists

As the majority of e-commerce allows users to reallocate the digital images of the products on the webpages, in addition, online arts platforms commonly have such information architecture in order to effectively lead users in their discovery of artworks or artists. However, the defining categories of sorting artworks are slightly different for each company (See Table 18), which is reflected in the characteristics of

the platform. For instance, Artsy's category of 'Period' connotes that the company presents the artworks ranging from old age to contemporary. The inclusion of film, video, design, and jewellery into the category of genres hints at the company's ambition to expand their territory beyond fine arts.

The curatorial practice on the main page of each platform can provide the information concerning which aspect the firms are mostly concerned. The curated images on the main pages for Artsy and Artnet play a role in featuring one of their products, and thereby intriguing users to the products. As the levels of partnership are varied for both companies depending on how much partners pay, the number of featured images might also differ. Unlike Artsy and Artnet, the curatorial practice on Saatchi Art aims to deliver the insights of experts about artworks. As Saatchi Art consistently considers them as an online art gallery, thus, the platform has placed immense emphasis on the curated collection of artworks.

By reviewing three firms contextually, we can deepen our understanding of the characteristics of online arts platforms. That is, they contribute to generating a new ecosystem with an emphasis on providing the networks for interconnecting users and market intermediaries. Rather than seeking short-term profits by fully executing online advertisements, moreover, the online arts platforms carefully provide an environment to appreciate and trade artworks. In the following section, the interesting case of Saatchi Art will be explored with a systematic account of the following issues: why Saatchi Art leads the primary online art market; how Saatchi Art differentiates some artists from the rest and the influence of such differentiation; how the prevalence of such online platforms interrupts traditional intermediaries. Moreover, the perspective of users, sellers, and buyers on such issues will be delineated by adding their opinions.

7.2. Case Study of Saatchi Art

7.2.1. Uncertain Value of Artworks on Saatchi Art

The major mission of Saatchi Art is to help both artists and users without including a third party; the direct transactions between consumers and artists is '...redefining the experience of buying and selling art' (Leafgroup, n.d.). On the one hand, the modest price of artworks curated within a proper environment, encourages collectors in the globe. Moreover, democratised access to the site attracts collectors from 80 countries

and the diversity of products is enough to meet everyone's taste: various artistic 1) categories such as paintings, photography, drawings, sculptures, and prints 2) styles such as pop arts, abstract, conceptual, cubism, street art, and etc. 3) mediums such as pencil, oils, enamel, and etc. Indeed, SAATCHIART (2015c) reports that they have sold works of art to consumers in 80 different countries. The increasing accessibility is emphasised by a curator at Saatchi:

If you're interested in finding out what's going on in different cities over the world...you can see it all...That's the kind of experience for a collector that would just never happen if you just relied on going to exhibitions in galleries. You would never, you are sitting here, find amazing artists in Dubai... (Wilson 2013: 17:57)

On the other hand, the platform aims to support emerging and young artists. In the context of brick and mortar, only a tiny percentage of artists who have a chance to present their works in galleries are able to meet their prospective buyers, as, '[b]rick and mortar galleries are great but most have a local clientele and you'd be lucky to show your work once a year' (SAATCHIART, 2015a). The situation is even worse for unknown artists:

I suppose the major constrains for emerging artists are the difficulties of finding or approaching the gallerists, and having the opportunity to sell and exhibit with the appropriate gallery and dealer. [A7]

There is so much competition out there for young artists it's definitely hard to get seen and when you are making physical work like I am as a painter. [A11]

It is harder to find spaces to exhibit that you do not have to pay for. It is also harder to be part of group shows, unless they are organised amongst peers, as galleries are more likely to show more established artists. [A12]

A painter inspired by the surrealism of science fiction, said that confronting the challenge of young and emerging artists is desirable from the perspective of both buyers and galleries:

I think that the main constraints are that there is a certain amount of speculation on emerging artists by the market, buyers may not want to take risks on emerging artists and may choose to opt to buy work by more established artists instead. Again, in terms of galleries, they may be hesitant to show and support emerging artists for those same reasons. [A9]

Given the circumstance, Saatchi Art reveals that they started their platform for these artists:

This is one of the reason we started Saatchi Art! Having a presence online introduces your work to a global audience which can bring all kinds of opportunities from people buying your work to curators discovering it and inviting you to be in exhibitions. It would be open to new opportunities, new ways to show and sell your works (SAATCHIART, 2015a).

In this way, Saatchi Art satisfies emerging and young artists' desire to gain more audiences. Reflecting Web's democratic principles, 'promise to level the playing field and give every artist a voice' (Horowitz, 2012, p.85), artists are in control of what goes up onto the site, the price at which it its sold. Moreover, the democratic entrance on Saatchi Art allows everyone to upload their works without being exposed to limitations in terms of their career-stage or the quality of artworks on the site.

Some of our respondents commented on the democratic entrance system. 'I think part of [*Saatchi Art*'s] appeal is the fact that they welcome all artists' [A8]. A painter from Staffordshire assumed that buyers are able to take advantage from this democratic concept as '...buyers all have different tastes' [A6]. In this line, a sculptor positively responded to the democratic entrance system of Saatchi Art as,

One of the best things that Saatchi Art offers is that it opens the door to anyone who has the slightest tiniest bit of creativity, without judging, without being selective and it allows you to put whatever you want to put under the name of art and make the person out there have the choice of what they want to buy. They don't promote all the 30,000 plus artists they are selective about who they promote but this doesn't stop professional or amateur artists to be on the same platform for anyone to choose. [A13]

However, despite their positive comments that anyone could upload their work on Saatchi Art, the artists also acknowledged that the art of poor quality was also displayed in our case. That is,

I may stand out on the website but that's because there is no filter for quality, anyone can post images so there's lots of very poor art on the site... It makes it democratic, so I like that but there's lots of rubbish too. The art world can be so false and pretentious that being democratic is more important to me. [A3]

It is accessible to anyone (which does mean there is a lot of bad 'art' on Saatchi Art) ... which might put some people off. [A11]

Indeed, the environment of presenting artworks is important and the combination of works displayed together is highly relevant to artists and collectors. Morgner (2014, p.43) pointed out that, '[a]rtworks are not viewed in isolation, but rather in the context in which the next one is viewed'. Without filtering the good from the bad, our case

allows every artwork is exhibited publicly. Our respondents commented the lack of a filtering system on Saatchi Art intensifies the difficulties for buyers in terms of discovery and valuation of artworks:

Unlimited upload is perfect, and good for everybody, but it also means that the site becomes so filled with so much art that the chances of finding this or that artist becomes smaller. [A7]

I think it is right that this is reflected on Saatchi Art where anyone is able to upload any type of artwork. However, this 'anything goes' attitude has the potential to undermine value judgements [A10].

It can be a bad thing as it can make it harder to find the really good stuff among the weak. It can over saturate the market and make it harder for the artist to sell. [A15]

In other words, both good and poor artworks may appear on the same screen, which discouraged an interviewee from continuing to use Saatchi Art:

I have actually stopped to use Saatchi Art. So, what happen was the end of 2014, I started to pull back. Because I don't feel like they have very strict filter system... And I want to be seen in the right group. [A25]

7.2.2. The Curatorial and Branding Practices of Saatchi Art

There is no objective standard for judging artworks in terms of their appearance. In the offline market, collectors usually require translators to measure the quality of artworks (Pettersen, 2014). In other words, contemporary art needs an explanation in order to convince the collectors. Based on the unique characteristics of contemporary art, uncertainty regarding the quality of goods on Saatchi Art is increased as the works of art are produced by young and emerging artists of unestablished reputation. This means that the discourse concerning the value of artworks on Saatchi Art is lacking, which is a challenge for potential buyers. Moreover, most of the consumers on Saatchi Art are inexperienced. Thus, it is difficult for them to make a purchasing decision with taking the characteristics of the products provided on Saatchi Art into account. To help buyers, then, Saatchi Art has established a number of curatorial programmes for recognising limited numbers of artists on its website (See Table 19)

Table 19. Curatorial and Branding Tools on Saatchi Art

Name	Content	Note
One to Watch Artists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introducing an artist every week • Presenting various images about artists • Showcasing selections of artworks • Publishing transcriptions of interview by pre-established questions 	
Inside the studio		Artist's presented images with a focus upon the artistic environment of artists' working procedure
Invest in Art	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introducing around ten artists per an edition (three editions per a year) • Showcasing three artworks by each artist. 	Recognised by Chief curator
Contest (Showdown)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Publishing the shortlists of each contests with artists' works • Awarding cash prize (USD 1000) or art materials with offering opportunities of exhibitions • 19 contests for five years 	Stopped since 2016
Collections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Virtual exhibitions by <i>Saatchi Art's</i> curators and guest curators (occasionally) • Presenting the collection of images within certain themes 	Too frequent

The feature of 'One to Watch Artists', is designed to introduce emerging artists and both showcases a selection of suitably annotated works of art and publishes transcriptions of interviews with selected artists. A similar concept is 'Inside the Studio' which introduces certain artists with a focus upon the artistic environment of the artists' working procedure (up to 140 artists presented). With regard to giving more information about artists, Saatchi Art expressed:

...an artist goes through when they're making their work and wouldn't be great to actually see that this is the idea that artist has this is working progress here is finish you can see what their environment is like when they are making the work what is the inspiration what's on their wall at their studio. I think that is the another thing that is really, very interesting for collectors... (Wilson 2013, 12:17)

Moreover, as we can see on image C in Figure 11, rising artists are presented and recommended via the channel of ‘Invest in Art’ in which 5 to 7 artists are annually recognised by the chief curator of Saatchi Art.

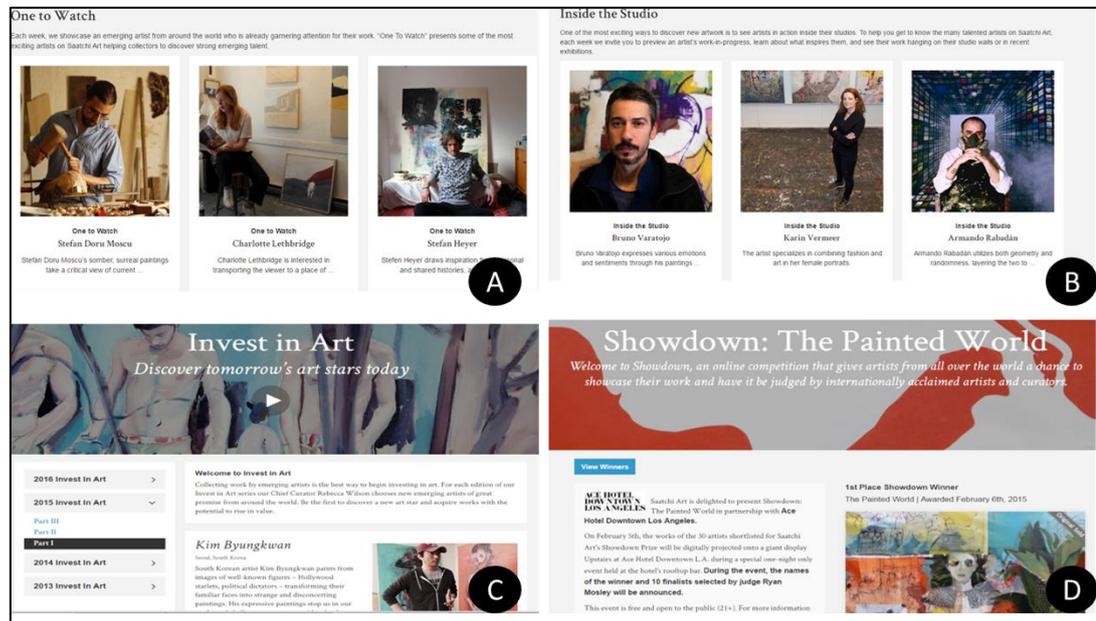


Figure 11. Introducing Artists by Features on Saatchi Art

Source: Screen with Features' pages captured on Saatchi Art 2016

‘Showdown’ is a virtual arts competition sponsored by Saatchi Art and the competition is open to artists from across the world as long as they register on the website. Without limitations with respect to genre, size or even career stage, artists may participate in the contest if the subjects of their works of art fit into the concept of the contest. Nineteen contests were run between 2010 and 2015, with the prizes on offer varying according to the particular competition being run. The competition takes place over two months and consists of three rounds: in the first round, competition entries are randomly exposed on the website and, based on voting by community members and nominated judges, 300 works are selected. Community voting is open to any person who has an account with Saatchi Art and competitors’ works are scored on a scale from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest). The top 50 highest scoring competitors pass to the next round, along with another 250 works, selected by experts. In the second round, from the 300 entries, 30 artworks are nominated by juries selected by Saatchi Art. In the third round, a finalist and runner-up are chosen by judges and given their prizes.

In addition to this, Saatchi Art’s professional team curates virtual exhibitions, ‘collections’, in which curators select and gather the digital images within diverse

themes such as locations, colours, inspirations, etc. Indeed, Saatchi Art highlights its curation, which is a distinctive feature of the website. Sean Moriarty, CEO at Saatchi Art, describes the importance of curation as, ‘the cornerstone of creating a captivating online experience in which to discover art’ (Garton, 2014).

We found that Saatchi Art highlights their experts’ curation. For example, on the very first page of Saatchi Art, users are able to view the detailed image of one of the works in the art collection entitled, ‘New this week: discover what’s new in curated art’ (See Figure 12). This particular collection is curated by the chief curator at Saatchi Art and consists of around 40 artworks selected from newly uploaded works on the website. In addition, there are also approximately 400 extant collections available on this page. Supplementing these works, there are diverse collections, organised by associated assistants and guest curators at Saatchi Art in accordance with defined concepts. For example, the collection ‘Mid-Century Living’ is curated by Katherine Henning, associate curator at Saatchi Art, featuring 53 works of art selected for fitting with the concept of her collection. Every collection on the site is accompanied by a commentary in which artists express their emotions about being part of the collection. As we can see from Figure 12, artists consider it as ‘a big honour to be part of this great collection’.

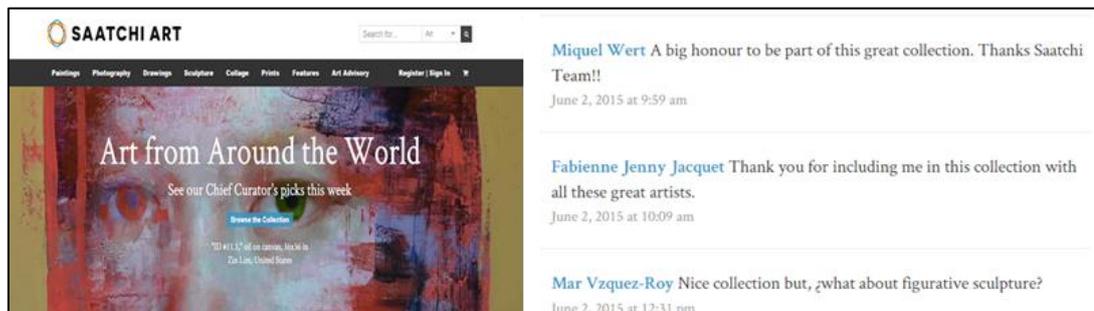


Figure 12. The First Page of Saatchi Art and Selected Comments on the ‘Collection’

Source: Screen with pages captured on Saatchi Art 2016

7.2.3. The Influence of Saatchi Art’s Curatorial Practices on Artists

Our data show that the curatorial practices by Saatchi Art have a direct or indirect influence on the valuation of selected artists’ works. Firstly, some artists who are featured in a curatorial programme on Saatchi Art noted that their sales of artworks on the website immediately increased. For instance, our informants shared their

experience of the dramatic change of his status after they were featured in an artistic competition:

Obviously a huge interest in my work on the Saatchi platform, followers and sales would follow any new feature, especially the Showdown. The impact of having myself and the work featured was nearly immediate [A9]

After being included on One to Watch Artists I noticed my amount of followers increased as did sales. Similarly, when I was awarded second prize at Saatchi Showdown with the piece; I saw an increase in followers and a rise in sales. The piece that I entered in the Showdown was purchased shortly after the competition. This piece also has the most views at over 12,000 [A10].

A lot...I mean I sold nine pieces of Saatchi after winning the prize. Nine already and it has only been two months and these are like big originals, they are not like small pieces. Privately, I sold about five; six but three were my biggest pieces. [A22]

The online competition *Showdown* on Saatchi Art plays a significant role in valuing artworks and is similar to the roles of the Turner prize, a prestigious award, in the offline art market (Pénet and Lee, 2014). In *Showdown*, influential juries and chief curators confer a symbolic value on chosen artworks; the value is disseminated to the public by displaying it on the website.

Table 20. An Example of the Sales Record of a Featured Artist on Saatchi Art

Date	Status	price
2012. July	Joined Saatchi Art	-
2013. July. 20	Sold Print 20 x 25 cm	\$40
2014. January. 20	Sold Original	\$3500
2014. February.1	Featured	-
2014. February.8	Sold Original	\$1350
2014. February.8	Sold Original	\$1300
2014. February.15	Sold Original	\$1250
2014. February.25	Sold Original	\$5500
2014. March. 2	Sold Original	\$1300

2014. March. 23	Sold Original	\$1400
2014. March. 30	Sold Original	\$4800
2014. April. 14	Sold Print 28 x 36 cm	\$75
2014. May. 16	Sold Print 41 x 51 cm	\$120
2014. May. 16	Sold Print 28 x 36 cm	\$75
2014. August. 4	Sold Original	\$2800
2015. June. 16	Sold Original	\$1800
2016. March. 6	Sold Original	\$1700

Table 20, along this line, clearly shows further clarification of the positive influence of Saatchi Art’s curatorial practices upon the value of artworks. One of our informants provided a document recording artwork sales on Saatchi Art, which is reproduced in Table 20⁵⁰. This clearly shows the positive influence of Saatchi Art’s curatorial practices upon the value of artworks; the number of sales increased considerably after the artist was featured in Invest in Art in February 2014. Before this, the artist had sold only one original artwork, whereas she had eight sales within six months after that February. The number of sales then returned to normal, which shows that Saatchi Art’s curatorial practice instantly affects the selected artist’s sales. This implies that the increased sales of artworks reflect the buyer’s acknowledgement of the role of the curatorial practices in the process of legitimising works of art:

I think these opportunities [from featured on Saatchi Art] give buyer confidence and impresses my customers. I have made sales through these on occasions. [A8]

Saatchi Art curates in the sense that they're constantly hand-picking featured artists and collections, so buyers can look at and buy things 'approved' by Saatchi Art if they prefer to have that security. [A6]

After featured in [curatorial programme] I have experienced a flow of interest in my work, both amongst a new audience but also amongst my

⁵⁰ The interviewee provides the image of screen-capturing her ‘Sales Dashboard’ in artist’s profile on Saatchi Art. Although the original document contains the title of the sold item and its price, this information was deleted due to ethical considerations.

current clients. A rubber-stamp in a large platform like Saatchi Art is extremely valuable [A4]

Gallery owners, commissioners and just recently after [Saatchi Art] selected me for Invest in Art, one of my biggest outdoor pieces has been sold to a client in Taiwan. For the last couple of years Saatchi have paid me up to £20,000. I have received more offers and recognition since curatorial events. [A13]

We see here that the system of recognising artists in our case helps buyers to make a purchase decision. In addition, our interviewees are notified that their followers on Saatchi Art might be grown⁵¹ after being introduced in 'Features'. However, the number of followers hardly affects the distinguishing of an artist from others as an interviewee said, 'more followers and interest, more sales perhaps but only over a period of time, nothing very instant'[A1]. Some artists also have great numbers of followers which are drawn from their following activities as mutual following can be observed on the site. Therefore, the number of followers plays a role in gauging how actively artists use the website, rather than influencing directly the value of their works of art:

Hardly any difference in terms of sales...Having more followers doesn't mean much more than a bunch of 'likes'. (My images sometimes go viral on Facebook with thousands of likes but it brings no sales). [A3]

Moreover, Saatchi Art's selection gives artists potential opportunities to add the value of their artworks. An artist based in London described the effects of being featured as not only an increase in sales, but also the construction of a new network:

I think very much from them kind of picking my work and highlighting my work. Then, I started selling my work more regularly and selling it to be broader because before that I was very much limited to the UK or people I knew or kind of small network... And also, I got to know other artists and kind of make links artist who are also on Saatchi Art, started following me on Twitter and commented on my works. That has been kind of obvious networking. [A27]

That is, a broadened network potentially leads an artist to exhibit her works, which can contribute to recognition of the artist from others in the offline art market. In a similar vein, an interviewee considered the considerable increase of visitors on his personal homepage to be the biggest change after winning a prize on Saatchi Art:

⁵¹ The majority of interviewees hardly specify the period of increasing their followers as they barely pay any attention to the numbers.

Featuring artists is always great to get recognition for your work. The most notable changes are the volume of traffic going to sites to look at your work because of the exposure from Saatchi Art. For example google analytics shows a hike in visitors to my website after being featured on Saatchi Art. This potentially can lead to a sale, or some other offer perhaps, for example an exhibition. [A5]

Indeed, Saatchi Art has been paid attention by various media, dealers and galleries. An interviewee reveals how a gallerist acknowledged the recognition on the online platform:

Some other things, I could see, was basically for example one gallerist she was already in contact with me and she saw 'Invested in Art'. She said like 'oh you are in featured'. And then, maybe she became more confident in me because somebody is also noticing at me. [A25]

In addition, some dealers and galleries use the platform to discover artists:

I have also had quite a few publishers/agents/buyers discover my work on Saatchi Art. It seems to be a website uses by the art industry to spot emerging talent. [A8]

A German artist said, 'I also got offers for Residencies, Press and exhibitions all from the exposure with Saatchi Art' [A2]. In this way, exposing artists in the curatorial programme on Saatchi Art opens up a variety of opportunities for selected artists:

I found that I got a lot of exposure via people's blogs, lots of other 'art selling' websites getting in touch wanting to have my work on there, also exhibition opportunities (nothing major). Also art prints sites wanting me to sign up. [A6]

I haven't done much to the Saatchi page for a while now, but there was a time when I received a fair few invitations, and many of the approaches were indirectly or directly through Saatchi Online. I know that a lot of gallerists are browsing the site and are looking for new artists, and I was contacted by some gallerists after they have seen my work on Saatchi's curation. [A7]

Again over time, but I think big features get the attention of galleries and sometimes commissions for other projects. My profile there does seem to work as a good showcase for other businesses looking for artwork for projects. These have ranged from large scale murals/ wallpaper to snowboards to clothing and prints. [A1]

After I was selected as an artist to invest in on Saatchi art I received many opportunities to exhibit my work in galleries, my work was featured on other internet blogs and I sold almost every piece I had made to private collectors. [A20]

However, there was not unanimity for the following argument among all artists who were featured in Saatchi Art; although few artists directly benefit from that featuring in the manner of selling works on the platform, the selection can yield positive influences on their career at least. One of our interviewees shared her experience about the negative influence of the selection on her career,

The benefit from featured in One to Watch Artists...I haven't sold anything. Indeed, I sold lots of stuff before that, but nothing after that. After I have been One to Watch Artists, I haven't sold single thing. I have lots of people 'like' my artworks and following me. But...Maybe people have read my interview, saying I don't like this girl. I don't know what the reason for this. I really don't. I thought it is quite funny...There is no possibility to know why...[A28]

With regard to 'Collection', the interviewees were informed that it generally helps to distinguish their works of art from the rest by exposing them more on the website as a painter from Kent said: '[i]t's always nice to be featured in a curated collection, and certainly gets more views of my artworks' [A11]. In a similar vein, one of the interviewees acknowledged the importance of the collection because of the large volume of artworks on Saatchi Art:

I believe the curators' collection is a great feature and it further exposes your work to buyers. On a site with so many users it is hard to stand out, and this gives artists an opportunity to be seen a bit easier. [A5]

However, a painter inspired by futuristic features pointed out that her works being shown in the 'Collections' was not significant compared to other curatorial programmes:

The collections are an interesting way of being promoted however they have a much smaller influence on sales as the 'invest in art' or comparable features.[A2]

This smaller influence comes from the characteristics and frequency of the 'Collections'. That is, this curatorial programme is not a focus on a single artist, but introduces a group of artists, which disperses its influence. Moreover, the 'Collections' is more frequent than other 'Features'. For instance, there are five average 'Collections' every week compared with the 'One to Watch Artists' and the 'Inside Studio' which are once every week. For these reasons, an interviewee criticised the 'Collections':

It is quite frequent. I do not think that is that random, but it's just a bit too frequent. And then, it does not do anything to me. It's basically them

telling to collectors, but themes are very general. So, you want colours and abstractions you want festivity... and then you get a collection...[A 25]

Therefore, although the 'Collections' may highlight some artworks as well as 'giving an indication of the curator's preference' [A4], thereby helping buyers, its influence on artists' status is hardly captured.

7.3. Users' Participation in the Online Art Market

Saatchi Art attracts many buyers who have never bought works of art in brick and mortar galleries. Our findings show that the reviewers believe themselves to be novice collectors. Indeed, Saatchi Art intends to be a marketplace in which buyers are directly able to connect with artists, rather than fostering a traditional relationship between artists and the gallery. In the offline art market, the artists, particularly emerging and young ones, do not solely provide their works of art to consumers. That is, artists always need to have a third party for reaching consumers in primary art markets such as dealers and galleries. In the digital age, some websites, such as 1STDIBS, ARTSY, and MASTERART, provide spaces for third party sellers by having partnerships with galleries. Unlike this, Saatchi Art is in the primary market and insists that they offer only space for the transaction between artists and collectors. The creative director of Saatchi Art specified the meaning of marketplace:

We are actually a marketplace. What that means is we have direct relationships with the artists, we're working directly with them, we're connecting consumers all around the globe to artists all around the globe (Spiritus 2013, 10:30)

Moreover, Saatchi Art stresses that transparency occurs with direct transactions between consumers and producers (artists). Saatchi Art described the transparency on Saatchi Art, as 'there's no grey area' (Spiritus 2013, 13:03). Indeed, the offline art market is characterised by the lack of transparency (Graw, 2009). For instance, financially, the price of artworks in galleries is hardly displayed. Furthermore, it is difficult to trace the sales prices of artworks in the primary art market (Velthuis, 2005). In fact, the traditional art market consists of various individuals and institutions from different fields, in which there is a high degree of interdependency. That is, there is the close linkage between members in the art world, including artists, intermediaries (critics, galleries and museums), and even serious collectors. For instance, dealers

need support from critics in order to convince an audience or place their artist in a certain artistic movement (Wijnberg and Gemser, 2000).

The complex and close relationship between them makes the art world ‘seem [an] esoteric and intimidating’ market (Khaire, 2015, p.117). Wilson (2013, 11:57) described the traditional market as, ‘very murky, not just from the financial side...’. Apart from lacking data on selling prices, the information about artworks or artists is very limited in the art market: it is hard to know young and emerging artists’ inspiration for creating art and the procedures for making it. Unlike the offline art market, Saatchi Art said that transparency is guaranteed for both coins in transactions. On the one side of coin, artists are able to set the price of artworks by themselves, which is publicised without any disruptions from third parties. On the other side, the consumer comes to be aware of how transparent the platform is by accessing the published information about artists or artworks such as the price and the descriptions of works, and biographies of artists.

An artist from China pointed out that she had become sceptical about opening the price of artworks to the public with commenting on the reason for it:

We just didn’t feel very professional like to have price [of our artworks] out there. I think that is too open and too commercial basically like I am selling the object there is the price to what I make. So by the end of 2014, maybe I have images of my works, but I had taken the price out. [A25]

Although some artist was worried about displaying the price of their artworks, Saatchi highlighted the effect of making the symmetric information about arts:

That’s all part of this mission that I feel really passionately about. That we should break down those traditional hierarchies that exist in the art world, and bring more people in, open it up and make it this much more transparent world. (Wilson 2013, 11:52)

Therefore, the interdependency between each entity, there is a high barrier to entry for fresh buyers. Unlike the traditional art market, there are three entities in our case: the artists, Saatchi Art, and the collectors. This disintermediation allows buyers to bring down the high barrier, meaning they can enter the acquisition of visual artworks:

I would very much recommend this as a way of buying art, especially if you are inexperienced and perhaps intimidated by and not terribly familiar with the process but would like to have lovely things... [B7]

Moreover, many consumers acknowledge the advantages of using Saatchi Art. Such advantages include a variety of visual artworks on offer, particularly in terms of their style, materials, and price ranges. The diversity of products on the website allows every type of buyer to embrace it. Also, users highlight the availability of discovering emerging and young artists, and artworks that they would not be able to find in a physical setting. For instance:

[I] am thrilled to have found original pieces from literally all over the globe, to which I would not otherwise have gained access [B21]

This is an equivalent outcome from a survey by Hiscox (2015), in which participants stated that discovery is a considerable benefit of trading art online.

7.3.1. Reviewers' Opinions about the Interface and Service on Saatchi Art

In the context of trading visual arts on an online platform, the similarity between looking at the works of art in person and on the computer screen is more important than in other sectors. Dissimilar to general goods, works of art are a type of non-material good (Hirsch, 1972). That is, the appreciation of works of art is the main concern, rather than their utility. As a result, in the trading of visual arts online, more emphasis is placed on the accuracy of digital images when compared to the actual goods in person. Our data shows that many buyers mentioned the similarity between them, which makes for a positive user experience. Indeed, Saatchi Art is a collection of artists' personal pages, in which the artists can provide digital images of their works. The images are required to meet the standards of the platform in terms of the high-resolution of digital images. Artists are the principal agent undertaking the process of taking and uploading digital images of the art.

Although the developed technology allows artists to provide high-resolution images, the differences between the images on the screen and the actual products being received depends on various factors. In order to narrow the gap, Saatchi Art provides a description for artists on how to photograph works of art. These include ways of controlling lighting, colour balance, and parallel angles. Despite the instruction, some images are not good enough to fill the gap between images on the screen and real works of art in person. In particular, colour is a very sensitive subject for appreciating visual artworks; digital images sometimes find it hard to match real works of art. This can be the result of either technical difficulties or mistakes by artists. On such

occasions, consumers are highly dissatisfied on receiving the product they have ordered:

Not quite what I was expecting - mostly because the art looks a bit different than the photo of it. [B14]

I think it's expected that the original colors of a painting might be slightly different to the online photo.....Painting one had a middle blue sky as background. The original painting came with a turquoise ('swimming pool blue') type of color. I decided to keep it, but I would have most likely not bought it if I had seen this color in person. [B132]

Products arriving on schedule is important to the quality of e-tail (Wolfenbarger and Gilly, 2003). In Saatchi Art, similarly, the delivery has a huge influence on the user's experience of the website. In our data, most buyers did mention the issue of delivery; in general, they are impressed by the delivery of art works within a given time. However, the following various issues occurred, surrounding the procedure of delivery. Unlike traditional and localised dealers, or galleries, Saatchi Art is not the main agent delivering the works of art from their stocklists. Rather, artists are mainly in charge of delivering their works of art, which means that the location of artists is the place of dispatch.

In Saatchi Art, the artists are worldwide, as well as the collectors. International shipping often takes place on this website, which has the potential to cause negative user experiences — such as high shipping costs, third party carriers, and taxes. More importantly, the condition of the object being delivered is a factor that affects a users' experience. Like dispatching artworks, artists are responsible for packing it. The condition of artworks that arrive is varied, depending on the care of the artists. With regard to the condition of artworks that arrive, the following buyer negatively reviewed Saatchi Art:

My one concern is that the canvas I ordered arrived with a small dent because there was basically no padding around it during shipping. It was wrapped in thin plastic & then slid into the cardboard box. I think even a layer or two of paper would have protected it better. [B98]

Website Design

In Saatchi Art, users are easily able to explore works of art through navigation. Users positively experience the navigation of the website by using frequently the word 'easy'

in their reviews. In other words, the interface tool of Saatchi Art contributes to allow users to ‘seek out product-related information’, without wasting their time (Childers et al., 2001, p.515). The interface of Saatchi Art is largely divided into three spaces: the collection of works of art, artists’ personal pages, and detailed views of each product.

Firstly, users are able to compare works of art by different artists. The layout focus is on gathering artworks within various genres, such as paintings, photography, drawing, sculpture, collage, and prints. Each genre has a brief explanation about it and presents works of art within the genres. In this space, users can narrow the numbers of artworks down through selecting various and basic options, such as style, subjects, mediums, price ranges, and colours. Moreover, advanced options are provided when ‘see more filters’ is clicked (location, size, orientation, and original). Similar to other online shopping websites, the outcome of searching can be rearranged according to popularity, price, and newest. The consumers have an advantage when using such tools:

The site makes selection easier by providing filters that allow the user to select size, orientation and the dominant colors desired [B6]

I especially like that there are filters for art type, size, media and pricing [B125]

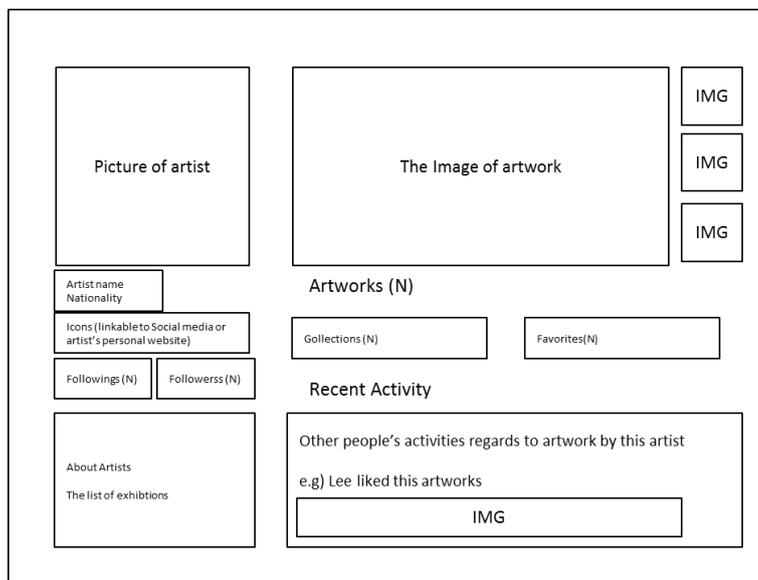


Figure 13. The Layout of Artists’ Personal Page

Secondly, an artist’s personal page is informative. The platform provides a facility for artists to feature their biographies, including their educational background, exhibition lists, and inspiration for their work. In our data, details about artworks and artists

contribute to making a positive experience for buyers. Users can be navigated to artists' personal pages by either clicking the name of the artist below the digital image from the screen of collection, or searching for the name of artists. In Figure 13, after clicking 'Artworks' users are able to find the list of artworks by a certain artist, but there is no filter to rearrange the artworks. One buyer points out this issue:

...items within an artist are mixed as far as what is sold, available for sale, not available. should be in groupings; should also be sortable within an artist, i.e., by price. [B110]

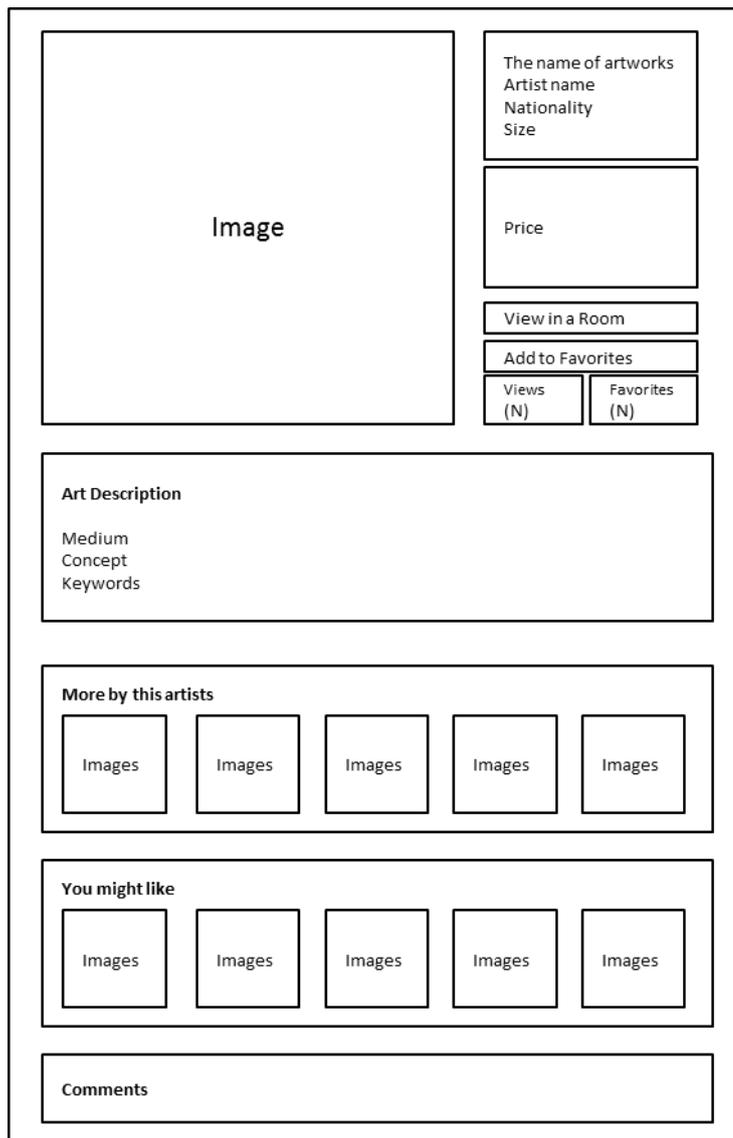


Figure 14. The Layout about an Artwork

In every layout, users can navigate to the page of a particular artwork by clicking the digital image or the title of artwork. As we can see in Figure 14, this page provides a large image of a selected artwork. It is also very informative, as users confirm not only

the description of works of art, such as its concept, medium, and keywords, but also how many other users are interested in the works of art. This can be done by checking the number of ‘views’ and ‘favourites’. Moreover, in ‘You might like’, using a concept similar to Amazon’s system, the page recommends works of art that might potentially attract buyers.

Personalisation

In addition, buyers have their personalised page. The layout of the space is almost the same as the artists’ personal pages, without the space for uploading artworks (see Figure 13). In the personal space, according to their preferences, users are able to gather digital images in the forms of ‘Collections’ or ‘Favourites’. In the ‘Collections’ tab, users are able to make their own virtual gallery by gathering digital images on Saatchi Art. That is, users can create collections in which they can describe the theme of their collection.

Fitting to the theme, users can then add images to the collection by clicking the plus sign on the top right side of every image. Next to the plus sign, there is a heart symbol. This enables one to add images to one’s favourites. As such, the ‘Favourites’ tool enables collectors to mark and show their preference for certain works of art. Items marked as favourite are stored in a users’ personal space; users are able to retrace the images they favourite later on. Lastly, the ‘following’ and ‘followed’ tools — as with Twitter and Facebook — allow users to automatically receive up-to-date information with respect to selected artists. For instance, if the artist they were following added a new art, they would automatically be presented with images on the user’s personal page.

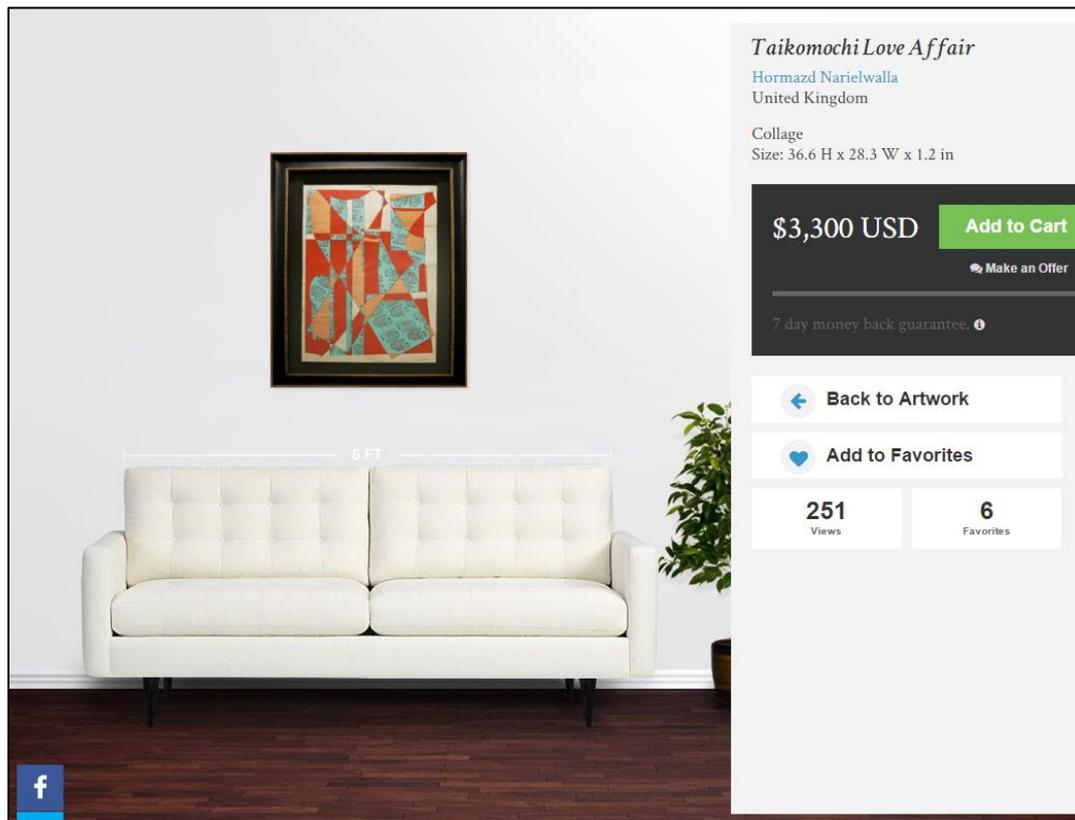


Figure 15. ‘View in the Room’ in Practices

Source: *Screen with artwork by Hormazd Narielwalla captured on Saatchi Art 2015*

On Saatchi Art, another interactive feature is the ‘View in the room’ tool. Indeed, the dimensions of products on the website are varied. Even though information about the size of artworks is available on the platform, it is a bit difficult for users to measure the dimension of artworks. The technique of ‘View in the room’ helps users to virtually measure the dimensions of works of art. As can be seen in Figure 15, the image size of selected works of art is automatically adjusted, which is comparable to other fixed images of ordinary objects. Therefore, users can instantly capture the dimension of their selected item by virtually comparing the selected artwork with a sofa and pot. With further advanced technology, Saatchi Art has been able to launch a mobile ‘app’ in which consumers are able to locate virtual artwork in their current location via smartphone cameras (O’Sullivan 2015).

The interactive tools contribute to the personalisation of content on the platform, which enables users to have positive experiences on the website:

The ‘following’ functionality helps me develop a knowledge and understanding akin to a relationship with the artists and their works, and

it's fun to get a perspective of my tastes and curiosities via the 'favorites' section [B106]

7.3.2. Users' Responses to Curatorial Practices on Saatchi Art

As this thesis previously showed, on the website, the uncertainty of artworks increases because of the producers' status at an early stage of their career (with a low reputation) — and there is a massive volume of products on the platform (Hiscox, 2016). To help buyers make a decision, Saatchi Art provides various types of curations, called 'Feature' through their curatorial team. Among them, 'One to Watch Artists', 'Inside Studio', and 'Collections' commonly have a section for comments, which allows users to write comments on the content.

Users rarely leave comments on the content, focusing more on the singular artist. Although there are some comments on the content of 'One to Watch' and 'Inside Studio', the majority are diplomatic. That is, user comments are usually positive, complimenting artists and their work. For instance, one user left a comment stating, 'Extraordinary artworks.....very beautiful' [U30] or, more briefly, 'Beautiful Works!!'[U2] and 'Wow!' [U25]. Some users expressed their emotion as, 'Hey [the name of artist], Congratulation, always loved your work, great stuff' [U10] and 'Very excited to have this emerging artist on our site!' [U5]. In addition, there were some critical opinions about the artworks. For example, one user said that '[this artist] has a beautiful studio, unfortunately her artwork is subpar!!!' [U27].

More comments about 'Collections' are presented than those from 'One to Watch' and 'Inside Studio'. As such, on average there are 30 comments available on each collection. Similar to the comments on the content about singular artists, most users write positive comments by using flowery words for the collection, such as 'good', 'nice', 'superb', 'beautiful', and 'great'. Indeed, many users on Saatchi Art are not only consumers, but also artists. As there is no limitation on the number of comments that can be left, artists selected for the collections express their appreciation to the curators for the recognition of their works. They do this in the comments section. For instance:

Dear Rebecca [chief curator], thank you so much to select my work for this fantastic collection and to bring me the opportunity to show my work with such talented artists. Thanks a million!!!! [U7]

One artist goes even further stating, ‘Beautiful collection, I feel honoured to be part of it! Thank you Rebecca!’ [U14]. Likewise, artists show gratefulness to Saatchi Art, as it gives them more of an opportunity to show their works to a wider audience.

Although most of the users advocate ‘Collections’ by leaving positive and complimentary comments, some users criticise the collections because of its repetition. As such, some artworks or artists are repetitively presented in the editorial practice. Around three comments point out this issue. For instance, one user criticises, not only other user comments, but also the collection itself, as ‘the regular diplomatic comments, even if there are five to six repeat artists, over and over again every week in two or more collections’ [U23]. User 9 also agrees it is repetitious, complaining that their opinion is ignored. In a similar vein, ‘I wonder why it's almost [sic] the same painters' paintings displayed most of the time, i [sic] have seen many beautiful pieces of art, and they are never advertised or promoted’ [U4]. However, some users are more understanding about recurrences in the ‘Collection’: ‘See again that some complain that some are selected more than others... Understandable complaint, but curationism is not the battery what make art tick [sic]...’ [U11].

7.4. Analysis and Discussion

The change in original stakeholders’ status in the conventional art world pertains to Saatchi Art, as it results from the simplification of the procedure of delivering cultural goods from artists to consumers. As such, artwork needs to have dealers or gallerists in order to be presented or sold to collectors or audiences whereas an online gallery does not require these; instead, Saatchi Art consists of artists, a platform and consumers (audiences). This simplified procedure results in altering their original status. Indeed, artists’ authority, especially emerging artists, has been limited as they are unable to diffuse their works of art without the aid of gallerists or dealers. On Saatchi Art, however, unlike offline markets, artists have more authority in presenting their works selectively via the website by adding descriptions and setting their own prices.

Through adopting e-commerce in the context of the visual arts, put differently, artists have more of a chance to expose themselves to the public, thereby communicating with consumers and intermediaries. With regard to online consumers, moreover, the

case of Saatchi Art obviously contributes to the yielding of a new layer of consumers in the art market. That is, the layer consists of novice collectors of visual artworks publicising information about artworks and artists on Saatchi Art, away from the intimidating offline art market environment. With the concept of Web 2.0 (O' Reilly, 2007), according to our findings, the mutual communication on Saatchi Art allows users and consumers to participate more freely in the online art market.

7.4.1. Cultural Branding in Saatchi Art

The value of contemporary art, the product in Saatchi Art, is uncertain. This argument is originated from fine arts' characteristic; visual arts are hardly judged its value based on its appearance only (Bonus and Ronte 1997; Velthuis 2005; Yogev 2010; Alexander and Bowler 2014). Regarding contemporary art, this uncertainty increases because contemporary artists may intentionally stress the idea of the work, rather than its beauty (Danto, 1964). The artwork then requires interpreters to explain its value which is legitimised by consensus of the members of the art world (Becker, 1982) or as the outcome of struggles between members in the field of art (Bourdieu, 1996). Moreover, we insist that this uncertainty is even higher in the online art market, which relates to the mission of Saatchi Art.

Echoing the objective of Saatchi Art of giving support to young and emerging artists by introducing more artworks to the publics, it is obvious that the artists have more chance of exposing their works as participants pointed out. However, paradoxically, there are too many artworks on the website without limiting the quality of artworks, which results in the weighting uncertainty of artworks. Therefore, the lack of regulation for sellers in terms of the quality of their products on Saatchi Art, allows too many artworks on the website; their democratic filtering system increases the uncertainty of the value of the artworks displayed. Put differently, while such a volume and diversity of work can give user autonomy, most buyers – who are non-experts- have difficulty in judging their value.

Hence, this environment of Saatchi Art highlights the necessity of intermediaries to legitimise artworks and artists on the website. That is, the platform is not simply located between artists and audiences, but should be understood within the concept of legitimacy (cultural branding).

Introduction

Saatchi Art introduces artists to a wider audience and the institutionalised social structure. We point out that there are two levels of introduction in our case. Firstly, Saatchi Art contributes to ‘generating awareness of the existence of the entire range of works available in the market; not having vested interests’ (Khaire, 2015, p.118). Along this line, the role of Saatchi Art is just the provision of a digital platform or marketplace on their terms. In this level of introduction to Saatchi Art, we need to focus on who introduces artworks. In the offline art market, artist needs to be discovered and introduced by dealers or gallerists while artists can independently introduce their artworks in an online art market. Thus, Saatchi Art’s role in the process of introducing artists on this level is ancillary and limited.

Saatchi Art adds to the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of selected artists and works of art through another level of introduction; referred to as re-introduction in this thesis. That is, Saatchi Art selectively introduces artists who already introduce themselves on the platform. Through its curatorial practice, the reintroduction on Saatchi Art plays a similar role to that of dealers who discover and introduce artists in the offline art market. Reintroducing young and emerging artists not only contributes to helping potential buyers’ choice, but also to inserting the selected works ‘into [the] art world’s taste-making machinery’ (Velthuis, 2005, p.41). In our data, interviewees revealed that they had various and new opportunities after being introduced by Saatchi Art such as offers for residency, exhibitions, collaboration, etc. This shows that Saatchi Art plays a role in cognitively legitimising artists by bolstering the awareness of an artist’s existence in the art world .

Instruction

Saatchi Art shapes the normative legitimacy of selected artists and artworks through their practice of instruction. That is, our case instructs consumers on how to interpret the meaning of presented artworks. The process of constructing such instruction contributes to rendering selected artists and artworks more suitable for pre-established norm and value in the art world. In the offline art market, the direct instruction about an artwork is mainly offered by critics to confer the rationales for positing it in art history on the artwork. The instruction in a manner of sharing knowledge about

artworks (Khaire, 2015) occurs via the curatorial practices in this case. For instance, the selected artists' interviews can make users understand more about artists and artworks. Also, instructive discourse is generated by various editorial sources on Saatchi Art.

By exhibiting a group of artworks virtually, our case also delivers indirect instructions about artworks to a wider audience. In a group exhibition in a brick and mortar gallery, there is a close linkage among displayed artworks as '[a]rtworks are not viewed in isolation, but rather in the context in which the next one is viewed' (Morgner 2014, p. 43). Thus, it is important for artists to display their works in the right place as it indirectly instructs the aesthetic discourse about artworks. By uploading an image of artworks, artists can be randomly displayed with other artworks by other artists within the same screen, which might yield indirect instruction. In this sense, Saatchi Art's democratic entrance system—allowing everyone to upload artworks without limitation—can be problematic for artists. That is, our interviewees worried about the indirect instruction drawn from the coexistence of their works and poor-quality artworks.

Saatchi Art offers another indirect instruction via the 'Collection' based on selecting artworks. As this virtual group exhibition occurs with a certain principal of curators, a compilation of artworks indirectly shares its aesthetic discourse with audience. However, gathering digital images of artworks in the 'Collection' provides less knowledge about the artworks than offline exhibitions. Indeed, curators for a group exhibition in brick-and-mortar galleries consider a variety of physical factors engaging artworks and visitors such as the flow of visitors' traffic, the controls of light, and arrangement of works. By doing so, curators contribute to reconstructing, highlighting, and interpreting the meaning of artworks (Acord, 2010). The digital environment delimits such activities of curators, and thereby delivers less aesthetic instruction to users. As one of our interviewees pointed out, in addition, the themes of the 'Collection', such as gathering artworks according to its materials, prices, styles, and so on are too general. Without defining the persuasive principal of gathering digital images, the virtual group exhibitions do not deliver the collective storyline which occurs in offline group exhibitions. As a result, the indirect instruction via the group exhibition is not significantly influential on distinguishing selected artists.

Selection/ Inclusion

While Saatchi Art offers the opportunity for every artist to introduce their works of art to a wider audience without limitation in terms of careers and genres, the platform selectively introduces few artists by instructing users how to interpret the meaning of artworks by few artists. As Becker (1982) insists that the distinction among artworks is drawn from accepting artists and artworks in the art world, the practice of inclusion or selection of artists by Saatchi Art contributes to shaping the legitimacy of their artworks. Extending Bourdieu's (1996) logic, in other words, selected artists are presented in a different space, namely Saatchi Art's curatorial practice, and the accumulated symbolic capital of Saatchi Art is bestowed on the artists.

In our case, the conferred symbolic capital on the selected artists translates into economic capital (Rodner and Kerrigan, 2014). The increase in sales for some interviewees after being included in Saatchi Art's curatorial programme shows the instant translation from Saatchi Art's recognition to economic value in the market. Moreover, the recognition by Saatchi Art potentially translates to economic capital as the respondents acknowledged the potential benefit from being selected by the digital platform despite barely generating instant economic profit.

In a similar vein, the artists' career trajectory of exhibiting works of art at the prestigious biennale does not guarantee economic success to all of the presented artists (Rodner, Omar and Thomson, 2011). Rather, the accumulated symbolic capital of the cultural event is conferred on the presented artists. In other words, it can give the artists opportunities to be opted by dealers or collectors and to transfer the symbolic capital to economic capital. Likewise, all the artists selected on Saatchi Art do not succeed economically. For instance, an artist who took her inspiration from nature, birds, insects and flowers to create collages replied to the question about the noteworthy changes to her career after her selection by Saatchi Art: 'I got into the finals for the Saatchi's 'Showdown', it looks good on the CV, but it did not bring any sales, and made no difference to my practice' [A21]. This response of 'looks good on the CV' shows that the artist agrees on the benefits of the accumulated symbolic capital of the Saatchi Art on her future career.

In this line, the researcher suggests that the selected artists and artworks are legitimised via the curatorial programme on Saatchi Art. This argument supports Khaire's (2015

p. 116) view on online platforms in art markets, that ‘...discourse on novel work and unfamiliar artists’ is generated by online firms. In our case, the curators, who are in charge of selecting artists and artworks for display on the ‘One to Watch Artists’ or the ‘Inside the Studio’, mainly generate discourses about artists and artworks; these discourses help to construct standards by which to judge works of art and, ultimately, to shape consumers’ tastes.

With regard to the ‘Showdown’, artists’ records of shortlisting on the ‘Showdown’ on Saatchi Art are reliable indicators for consumers in judging works of art. Interestingly, in art competitions on the platform, Saatchi Art’s chief curator is always involved in awarding prizes to the artists. Despite having a guest judge, also selected by Saatchi Art, the chief curator’s opinion is strongly reflected in the last stage of the procedure of announcing the winner. Moreover, the ‘Invest in Art’ entirely relies on the recommendation of the chief curator to select artists. Therefore, this study reveals that the curators in the platform play the role of taste-maker in Saatchi Art, similar to the way in which offline art market legitimises works of art (cultural branding).

7.4.2. Online Users and Valuation on Saatchi Art

Consumers are rather passive in the offline art market; in contrast, they take an active part in legitimising artwork on Saatchi Art. Users’ practices on Saatchi Art embrace the concept of collective intelligence (Lévy, 1997). For instance, competitions on Saatchi Art include voting by anonymous users to select a possible winner of the competition; thus, the public are able to contribute to constructing the yardstick (i.e., knowledge) by which to select a winner for the competition. Although users’ endorsements do not comprise a major part of the nomination procedure, their participation is still noteworthy in comparison with the offline art market. The conventional art market’s structure excludes consumers in building specialised knowledge for legitimising art, whereas the new media have started to include the public in such knowledge construction.

Although, due to the acceptance of the digital medium, consumers have more of a chance to participate in the visual art market (mainly via the Internet), their influence on the valuation of contemporary art is still limited. Firstly, our findings show that buyer reviews only focus on the service being provided and experiences about the

process of purchasing artworks on Saatchi Art. These include delivery procedure, the interface of the website, and functionality of the interface — rather than reviewing the value or meaning of acquired artworks. In addition, interface tools, such as ‘add to Favourite’ and ‘Following’ allow users to reveal their preferences, thereby increasing the number of ‘Favourites’ for artworks or ‘Followers’ for artists. This numeric value does not help to co-create the meanings that reside in artworks. Moreover, although limited reviews on acquired artworks are available, the reviews are usually drawn from technological failures, like the colour difference between an image on the screen and paintings in person. Thus, this type of consumer participation rarely displays any knowledge about the meaning and value of artworks.

In addition, while consumers for the visual arts in the digital-mediated environment are more active than ones in the offline art market, our findings display that they still conform to consumer behaviour that is seen in the offline art market. As such, users do not participate in the process of constituting the value of artworks or artists, but they actively behave towards evaluating the curatorial practice per se, not the content within. Moreover, in our case, user comments are trite and highly diplomatic. Of course, the partial reason for such diplomatic comments is that our case does not guarantee anonymity — it requires one to be logged-in in order to leave comments. However, this thesis believes that user avoidance of mentioning artists and artworks in their comments indicate their reliance on intermediaries who have privileged knowledge about contemporary art.

In this sense, in the online art market, the selection of products is unavoidably highlighted: curation. The first reason for highlighting curation is that online consumers are usually novice and inexperienced about collecting artworks. Moreover, one of the characteristics of artworks — their uncertain value (Hirsch, 1972) — contributes to the strengthening of the importance of the layer of intermediaries (Danto 1964; Becker 1982; Currid 2007a), namely the selection by Saatchi Art in our study. In this platform, as such, the uncertainty is intensified as producers (artists) have a low reputation and there is no boundary for qualifying artists. The instructions about artists and works of art on Saatchi Art’s ‘Features’ tab helps buyers to judge the quality of the products on the platform. Moreover, we point out the large quantity of products on Saatchi Art as the grounds for stressing Saatchi Art’s curation. Although presenting many products is an advantage in online shopping, buyers show the difficulties they

have in making a buying decision. For these reasons, works of art included in certain collections or instructions by curators might be one potential factor to convince potential buyers.

7.4.3. Offline and Online

Offline art market and online art markets interact with each other in a complex way. On the one hand, the new medium has an influence upon the offline art market. More artists are made financially stable by producing artworks from the sales in an online gallery; many more emerging artists have the chance to sell their works online than in the conventional art market. Our findings show that the amount of artwork sold on Saatchi Art is considerably larger than in an off-line gallery. Even though the total turnover in the offline market may be much higher than online, it is still noteworthy that emerging artists' works have been sold in such quantity.

According to the experiences recounted by our interviewees, Saatchi Art also has a direct or indirect influence upon the career development of some artists in the offline market. Its curator states, '[m] any Saatchi Art artists get offered shows by galleries who find their work on Saatchi Art' (SAATCHIART, 2014). Consequently, helped by selling their work on Saatchi Art, more artists are able to continue their work, contributing to building fruitful online and offline art market.

On the other hand, digital media have been influenced by the traditional market system. Khaire (2015, p. 122) declares that 'galleries and dealers with existing strong reputations would be more successful online than new-to-the world startups'. Echoing this view, this study suggests that the influence of a leading dealer's name obviously relevant to the digital art market, Rebecca Wilson, who worked for Charles Saatchi and is currently chief curator at Saatchi Art, commented on the brand of 'Saatchi'.

... the very powerful brand in the art world. I mean that the Saatchi name... is also completely synonymous with emerging art of a very high standard, so it has this very, very kind of powerful resonance amongst artists (Wilson 2013, 5:11).

Artists are also well aware of the influence of Saatchi's name. One of the interviewees said, 'Saatchi Art is a great platform for showing your work which is attached to a big brand name in the art world' [A5]. In this line, a painter commented on the reason of joining the website, as '[i]t's run by a company represented by a respected gallery'

[A11]. In other words, Saatchi's name carries 'a lot of credit' [A15] and gives artists the possibility of enhancing their career. In a similar vein, an interviewee revealed that she joined this website in the first place because of Saatchi's name:

Saatchi Art may give the impression [to artist's CV]...One big advantage is the name, Saatchi still means something even though you could post any terrible art you want on the site. [A3]

The name behind the website certainly had appeal because of the viewer attraction it could draw. [A12]

Moreover, according to a survey by Hiscox (2015) the website's reputation offers credibility whereby consumers can confidently buy works of art; as works of art are displayed by unestablished or emerging artists on the platform, purchase decisions are generated based on Saatchi's name. Acknowledging the name's effects, the current owner of Saatchi Art maintains the name regardless of Charles Saatchi's absence in the business; the dealer influencing the offline art market valuation system continues to show the effects of his name on transactions in the online art market.

7.5. Conclusion

The concept of cultural branding can explain online sales of artworks by highlighting the role of curators in the digital platform. We have attempted to extend the research in arts marketing into new field of study, that of the digital commerce of visual artwork. By borrowing the conceptual lens of neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Dolbec and Fischer, 2015; Humphreys, 2010a; Humphreys, 2010b; Scott, 1995) and the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996), we systematically understand the online art market by exploring the mechanism of legitimation within. In this chapter, the concept of cultural branding refers to the process of shaping normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy of artists and their artworks by intermediaries' endorsement; we have analysed our findings within this concept.

In particular, the curators of the website are the key actors in the process of valuing artwork. According to their mission, Saatchi Art does not filter the uploaded images of artwork on the website in terms of its quality; we suggest this policy yields too great a quantity of artwork for sales. With regard to the uncertain value of contemporary artworks, this volume of work generates even more uncertainty in the online market, which requires the system of identifying valuable work.

Our findings show that the few artists and artworks selected by curators can enhance the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of them through introducing the artists and artworks to the institutionalised structure (the art world). The practice of direct and indirect instruction engendered via curatorial practice by Saatchi Art contributes to constructing the fit of the interpretation about selected artists and works of art in relation to existing norms and values in the art world, thereby shaping the normative legitimacy of the artists and artworks. Moreover, the inclusion of artworks in their curatorial programme gives the opportunity for artists to develop two different pillars of legitimacy. Thus, this chapter asserts that Saatchi Art's recognition of artists and artworks plays a role in shaping the legitimacy of some artists, thereby distinguishing the value of their works of art from others on the online platform. This argument is supported by the analysis of our interviewees' experiences about direct or indirect influences on their career after being featured on curatorial programmes on Saatchi Art. Hence, our case contributes to rendering the artworks by selected artists valid, and thereby legitimising them in the market.

Moreover, Saatchi Art undoubtedly eliminates the other middlemen between seller and consumers. By doing so, the disintermediation reduces transaction costs and improves the purchasing procedure for users, making it highly convenient (Mahadevan, 2000). Indeed, e-commerce firms for general goods and services takes advantage of the disintermediation. With the growth of e-commerce, for instance, consumers contribute to the creation of information about goods, which has an influence on other users (Lee, Park and Han, 2011). In addition, in a similar vein, eWOM on online communities or social media collectively affect products or brands — in both good and bad ways (Muñiz and Schau 2005; Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006; Närvänen and Goulding 2016).

In terms of the transference of cultural meaning from the world to consumers, in general, users' participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006) in the e-commerce and online community play an active role in co-creating, refining, and recreating the meaning that resides in consumer goods. This shows the reciprocating flows of cultural meanings between products and consumers (Thompson and Haytko 1997; Fournier 1998; Holt 2002; O'Reilly 2005a; McKechnie and Tynan 2006). Through our findings from Saatchi Art, however, we show that the online art market does not appear to exhibit a

reversal flow of cultural meaning being moved from goods to consumers in the general market.

For instance, we found that the participatory tool of public voting in the ‘Showdown’ in our case helps to partially constitute the knowledge used when evaluating artwork. One can then argue that specialised knowledge of valuing works of art starts to emerge within all members, artists, Saatchi Art and consumers. Put differently, the collective intelligence by the participatory culture of the digital medium contributes to democratising and decentralising knowledge in the art market. As we discussed, however, such knowledge is still limited by certain players, such as the curators of Saatchi Art, and in the market.

Lastly, we agree with Khaire's (2015) prediction that disturbing the art market by means of the digital platform is possible, but difficult. On the one hand, the identity of key actors in Saatchi Art, drawn from their accumulated symbolic capital in the art world, heavily influences the credibility of their curatorial practice and the reason for users and artists using the digital platform. On the other hand, online platforms for art sales certainly contribute to fertilising the art market by incubating selected young and emerging artists, as well as by facilitating interactions with art buyers.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the process of differentiating a few young and emerging contemporary artists from rest. The literature on arts marketing, the area of research in which this study intends to lie, has evolved from simply applying the findings of marketing and branding theory to the field of arts, to discovering unique insights for advancing marketing and branding literature by exploring artistic contexts and practices. However, the complex and fluid valuation structure in the contemporary art market, driven by the uncertain value of contemporary art and the repositioning of inner members in the art world, should be explored at the societal level.

By conjoining the concept of the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996; Danto, 1964) and neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995), thus, we aim to conceptualise the complex ecosystem which renders works of art by young and emerging artists valid within the stratified structure of the art market. Following previous research (Preece and Kerrigan, 2015; Rodner and Preece, 2015), we consider the process of endorsement by intermediaries in the art world as a form of cultural branding, in which the intermediaries contribute to shaping the legitimacy of contemporary artists and their works of art in the institutionalised social structure via their collective activities (Becker, 1982) or competitive struggles (Bourdieu, 1996). Along with examining the intermediaries within the conceptual arguments, this thesis has explored other elements – a myth in society, the artist’s persona, social networks, and artistic movements – in the legitimation process of artists and artworks, by exploring the historical case of Andy Warhol and *Brillo Box*.

Moreover, this thesis has identified newly emergent mediums in the CAM which have yet to be studied in spite of becoming crucial elements in the market, namely art fairs and online platforms. Thus, we have explored these mediums with a focus on:

- The ways that art fairs and an online platform contribute to the construction of the legitimacy of artworks by young and emerging artists, thereby legitimising them.

- Their inclusion of isolated young and emerging artists excluded from the hierarchical order in the art world, and whether the stratified legitimation structure becomes eroded as a result.
- The intricate relationship between these mediums and the other intermediaries.

This chapter shows the summary of the key findings of this thesis. By responding to our original research questions, moreover, we can examine solid linkages between our empirical findings and theoretical arguments, which can also provide a review of key arguments in this thesis. Lastly, in addition to discussing our theoretical and empirical contributions, we present the limitations of this research, as well as suggesting further research directions.

8.1. Key Findings and Arguments

The legitimacy of Andy Warhol and *Brillo Box* is shaped by the intermediaries, an artistic movement, a myth in society, the artist's persona and social networks. Firstly, the historical case shows the process by which the cultural-cognitive legitimacy is achieved for the artist and his works of art. Indeed, the research inspired by institutional theory defines cultural-cognitive legitimacy as 'the degree of fit with existing cognitive and cultural schemas' (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2012, p.1236). The introduction by the media and dealers for Warhol and his artworks contributed to increasing the awareness of them in the art world, thereby affecting their cultural-cognitive legitimacy. Moreover, the appearance of Andy Warhol and his artistic studio, gathering various people including key players in the art world, contributed to reinforcing the existence of the artists, thereby playing the role in adding cultural-cognitive legitimacy to the artist.

Secondly, this thesis uncovers that the multiple stakeholders involved in constructing another pillar of legitimacy for an artist and his artworks – normative legitimacy – such as critics, curators, the media, the artist himself, peers, and his social network. Following theoretical insight about normative legitimacy, as argued by Humphreys and Latour (2013), the thesis examines the process of rendering artists and their artworks acceptable within the dominant norms and values about works of art in the art world. The findings of this thesis show that the practice of instruction by intermediaries contributes to shaping the normative legitimacy of the artist and works

of art. While experts' interpretations about *Brillo Box* – the appropriation of consumerism in America – explain the incongruence between pre-established norms and values and *Brillo Box*, at the same time, it legitimised new types of norm and value embedded, in our case, in the institutionalised structure.

The normative legitimacy of artists and their artworks is intertwined with other artworks by different artists of the same age. Critics contribute to classifying an artistic movement by gathering similar works of art in terms of style, norm, and value (DiMaggio, 1987), which constructs a convention (Becker, 1982). Such classification can add normative legitimacy to an artist who shares the style of the artistic movement. By becoming the new norm and value embedded in Pop art in the art world, *Brillo Box* and Andy Warhol were normatively legitimised. Moreover, the findings show that Andy Warhol made his works of art more acceptable to the institutional social structure by hiding his personality (Whiting, 1997), in terms of the extension of performing the myth of consumerism in *Brillo Box*. This normative legitimacy is also achieved for Warhol by the narratives about him and his works of art in Warhol's studio, which shows the importance of an artist's social networks in terms of legitimising the artists.

The medium of art fairs contributes to shaping the legitimacy of young and emerging artists. The presence of selected artists in the art world has increased through the art fairs' practices of discovery and introduction, which adds cultural-cognitive legitimacy to the artists and their artworks. Our case studies show that some art fairs discover young and emerging artists. Although the majority of artists at Frieze London are presented after first being discovered by dealers, the selection process of the Frieze Project entails a considerable possibility of discovering artists. By shifting the participants at the event from dealers to artists, moreover, the case of The Other Art Fair plays the role of initial discovery of artists. By presenting young and emerging artists' artworks at the events, the medium of art fairs also introduces them to the inner members of the art world such as other dealers, critics, peers, media, institution/personal collectors and the public.

Furthermore, the artists displaying contemporary artworks at the art fairs can achieve normative legitimacy as the cultural events shape the discourse of contemporary art both directly and indirectly. Sassatelli (2017, p. 91) points out that, '[b]iennials have

become...key sites of both the production of art's discourse and where that discourse translates into practices of display and contexts of appreciation'. Likewise, art fairs disseminate the discursive constructions of value and meaning directly, through talks, programmes and lectures, or through information provided about each artist. By considering art fairs as temporary exhibitions, their own curatorial practices at the event provide indirect instruction about the current trends in contemporary art in a form of exhibitions. By doing so, art fairs contribute to aligning instructed artworks with pre-existing norms and value in the art world. Through the direct or indirect instruction, therefore, the medium of art fairs grant normative legitimacy to the selected artists.

Lastly, the practice of art fairs' selection is a preliminary to the artists being legitimised by the art fairs' introduction and instruction. Each case studied has its own selection system for filtering the participants at its events, showing that the medium of art fairs determines which artists are introduced and instructed. After selection by the art fairs, put differently, the selected artists and artworks can attain normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy, thereby differentiating the value of their artworks from those of other artists.

An online platform contributes to shaping the legitimacy of young and emerging artists. Saatchi Art plays a role in introducing artists at two levels, which plays the role of determining the cultural cognitive legitimacy of the artists and their artworks. At the first level, introduction, any artists are able to generate awareness of their works among a wider audience through Saatchi Art's democratic entrance system (allowing anyone to upload works of art, without limitations placed on its quality). Echoing their mission, at this level, the medium of Saatchi Art only offers a virtual space for connecting between artists and consumers, and thereby minimising Saatchi Art's involvements on the website. Unlike the offline art market, such an online system can be interpreted as empowering the artists by enabling them to introduce their works themselves, and empowering the consumers in terms of discovering artists according to their preference.

Another introductory function performed by the platform is that artists selected by Saatchi Art are introduced in a specific area, namely their curatorial programmes. This function is similar to the role played by gallerists in introducing artists by mounting

exhibitions in their gallery; they insert ‘[the exhibited] works into art world’s taste-making machinery’ (Velthuis, 2005, p.41). Likewise, re-introduced artists by Saatchi Art meaningfully propose to other intermediaries in the art market. In other words, Saatchi Art contributes to increasing the awareness of the presence of its selected artists and artworks in the institutionalised structure, thereby granting them additional cultural-cognitive legitimacy. Our interviewees’ experience of receiving various offers by other intermediaries after selection by Saatchi Art can support this view of its role in terms of introductory functions. Through Saatchi Art’s practice of re-introduction, the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of the selected artists is cumulatively shaped.

Another pillar of artists’ legitimacy, namely normative legitimacy, is framed by the practice of instruction by Saatchi Art. The online platform provides direct instruction about selected works of art to the public, through their editorial content and through brief descriptions of artists and artworks in their curatorial programmes. This direct instruction helps a wider audience understand the selected artworks by decoding the symbolism of contemporary art (Khaire, 2015).

Indirect instruction about artworks is also available on the website. As we divide Saatchi Art’s introductory function into two levels, their role in indirect instruction also consists of two types. Indeed, the aesthetic experience of the group of artworks can be an indirect form of instruction for appreciators. As ‘[a]rtworks are not viewed in isolation, but rather in the context in which the next one is viewed’ (Morgner, 2014, p.43), it is important for the artists to present their artworks alongside other good quality artworks. In this sense, Saatchi Art’s democratic entrance process is often problematic, as the first type of indirect instruction is drawn from randomly and automatically gathered images of artworks without any filter on low quality works.

Another type of indirect instruction comes from the group exhibitions, the ‘Collection’, curated by Saatchi Art. Through the exhibitions, Saatchi Art indirectly delivers the discourse of selected artworks, which can help consumers enrich their understanding of the artworks. However, the indirect instruction by the ‘Collection’ is less influential to appreciators than the one in the offline setting, due to its high frequency, simplified themes, and collection of digital images (unlike the equivalent offline function, which facilitates interaction between artworks and appreciators). Such instructions by

Saatchi Art (especially its editorial content and descriptions regarding artists and artworks) contribute to examining the congruence between pre-established norms and values for artworks in the art world and the norms and values of the artworks created by the selected artists.

Saatchi Art selects a relatively limited number of works of art. Saatchi Art's democratic entrance system generates even more uncertainty in the online market. Thus, this environment requires a system for identifying valuable work. The function of selection by Saatchi Art is at the centre of this system as the selection process is prior to the activities of introductory and instruction. Via their curatorial programmes, Saatchi Art selectively introduces viewers to new works and instructs them in their embedded meanings, and as such these programmes play an important role in differentiating the selected artists from rest. The practice of such a selection by the online platform is relevant at every stage of the legitimation of artists. This is because the normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy of artists drawn from the introduction and instruction by Saatchi Art is predicted on the activities of selection.

Our findings that the mediums of art fairs and an online platform both performs the functions of discovery, introduction, instruction and inclusion for artists—i.e. they play the role of intermediaries—leads us to make a conclusion: that through such activities both mediums contribute to the process of shaping the normative and cultural cognitive legitimacy of the selected young and emerging artists and their artworks. Thus, young and emerging artists are selectively legitimised via the mediums of art fairs and online platforms.

The legitimation structure of contemporary art and artists has rarely been transformed by the emergence of new intermediaries. Within the sociological perspective, contemporary artists produce artworks by continually challenging current conventions in the art world, which generates the uncertain value of artworks. In order to give the legitimacy to the new artists, the role of intermediary is highlighted. Becker (1982, p. 227) once said that, 'the distinction [of good art] must lie not in the work but in the ability of an art world to accept it and its maker'. This ability is not independent of who/ which institution insists that it is good art (Bourdieu, 1996).

In considering art fairs as a solid part of the art world (Garutti, 2014), the fairs thereby take on contributory role in constituting the awareness of presence and consensus in

regard to the artists or artworks presented at the events in which inner members of the art world participate (Becker, 1982), thereby framing the legitimacy of contemporary art. From the perspective of Bourdieu (1996), the ideology generated at major art fairs that have high economic, cultural and social capital in the society is more likely to be accepted, and the institutions and insiders in the field of art are hierarchically organised depending on the extent of their contribution to the consensus.

Within the structure of hierarchy in the CAM, Frieze London occupies a relatively high position. There are various facts that indicate the elevated status of this fair, such as the numbers of visitors, the reputation of participants (renowned dealers in the main section), and Frieze Week (artistic events which coincide with the fair). We note that the capital possessed by our case's founders, Slotover and Sharp, may have initiated the current position of Frieze London; their cultural reputation and economic resources have helped to navigate Frieze London to its current state, along with the launch of their own media channel (Frieze Magazine). By building on the success of the fair for more than decade, Frieze London has consolidated its position in the contemporary art field. Thus, its established identity contributes to strengthening the artistic discourse generated by our case.

In this sense, the works of art presented at prestigious art fairs are more acceptable to the layer of intermediaries, because of the reputation of the art fairs. The more traditional intermediaries want to present their works in the fair, the more power art fairs gain to control them via the rigorous selection system. This rigorous process, particularly in the cases of prestigious art fairs, disseminates the idea of its exceptionality, and thereby attracts many people, as well as contributing to generating 'a nest for insider communities... which can protect and yet discretely show their presence...that influences the artists' trail of legitimation' (Curioni, 2014, p.37). Therefore, the membership of selection committees is a focal point for increasing the art fair's importance as a gatekeeper (Velthuis 2014), and their aesthetic taste has a profound impact on the marketplace. In the wider context, therefore, prestigious art fairs play the role of gatekeeping other traditional gatekeepers, as well as taste-makers (Bowley, 2015).

In this way, Frieze London reinforces the hierarchical structure in the field of visual arts. Moulin (1995, p. 56) has said that 'the market and the museum contribute

inextricably to the definition and establishment of a hierarchy of artistic values'. We can add prestigious art fairs to Moulin's previous sentence. By situating our cases in a high position within the structure, Frieze London contributes to the enhancement of the artistic value of artworks, in effect consecrating them. Although TOAF also contributes to such process, the degree of their contributions is much lower because of their status in the art world. Moreover, our cases contribute to an understanding of the mechanisms by which the commercial value of artworks is generated. As commercial and artistic values do not always coincide, art fairs have a rather ambivalent position in relation to the artwork, by virtue of their dual contributions in terms of consecrating artists and selling their works.

The alternative art fair embraces young and emerging artists who are isolated from major art fairs. By shifting participatory levels from dealers to artists, our case disturbs the role of dealers in discovering and introducing artists, which seemingly challenges the hierarchical order in the valuation structure of the art world. Having considered the close linkage between the case of TOAF and traditional intermediaries, however, we conclude that the alternative art fair does not challenge the stratified art world, but make a new entry point for young and emerging artists.

Online platforms and other intermediaries in the offline art market affect each other. On the one hand, it is difficult to insist that the construction of artworks' value in Saatchi Art is independent of the hierarchical order in the group of intermediaries in the art world. This argument can be confirmed by the influence of Saatchi's name on artists, the platform, and users. Indeed, the identities of intermediaries play an important role in rendering artworks or artists valid (Bourdieu, 1996). Charles Saatchi has accumulated his symbolic capital based on his wealth and social networks, and has contributed to consecrating some contemporary artists (YBA) successfully, thereby positing himself in a dominant position in the art world (Rodner and Kerrigan, 2014). The influence of Saatchi's name leads some of our interviewees and users to use the platform. Moreover, the online gallery has kept its original name of 'Saatchi' in their brand despite the change of ownership.

In a similar vein, we point out that the identity of the chief curator on the platform contributes to strengthening the legitimacy of the artworks' value. Rebecca Wilson's social status, accumulated mainly by her working experience in the art world (at

ArtReview and the Saatchi Gallery, for example) helps to convince users or other intermediaries of the quality of selected works of art. Therefore, the stratified structure in the offline art market continues to influence the online art market.

On the other hand, horizontal usage of Saatchi Art is flourishing in the CAM. That is to say, online platforms for art sales certainly contribute to fertilising the art market by incubating selected young and emerging artists, as well as attracting a new group of buyers. By discovering, instructing and selecting young and emerging artists via online platforms, the emergence of new types of intermediaries might threaten the practice of small galleries and dealers. In this sense, we point out that the construction of the new networks, by absorbing existing intermediaries into the virtual spaces, might give online arts platforms the power to control the art market.

To some extent, the current practice by online arts platforms, such as Artsy and Artnet, of accepting cultural institutions into their network is similar to the process of selecting participants in art fairs. Indeed, the cultural events have gained more authority by consolidating art fairs, especially prestigious ones, within the art market, as such art fairs have become the key site from which a new trend or discourse about arts is generated (Curioni 2012; Yogev and Grund 2012; Morel 2014; Velthuis 2014). As the medium of art fairs takes on the role of intermediary (Curioni et al., 2015; Schultheis, 2017), Artsy and Artnet must also become market intermediaries sooner or later. Furthermore, Saatchi Art already plays a role in controlling the online art market through their curatorial programmes, which may expand along with the development of the careers of artists presented on the website. Thus, as Samdanis (2016) claims, we also predict that online arts platform will gain more power across both online and offline art markets. In other words, although the online arts platforms commonly aim to blur the highly stratified structure of the art market, they will themselves become powerful intermediaries who makes the hierarchical order of the market explicit.

Moreover, we critically address online arts platforms' practices of constructing an egalitarian art market. Indeed, Artsy, Artnet, and Saatchi Art unambiguously contribute to reducing inequities of knowledge about arts. That is, the widening accessibility of information on the web partly results in disintermediation, by weakening the role of the middleman between artists and consumers (Belk, 2014), as well as bring transparency into the market. Yet Chayka (2016, p. 153) critically point

out, with reference to the performance of Artsy, '[i]t's worth remembering, however, that Artsy controls this new ecosystem as a private company rather than museum or non-profit'. In this way, the free editorial resources of online arts platforms could be problematic as the content might be written to help their clients, which might lead the readers to have biased views on some subjects.

Although both companies intend to give the equal opportunities for sharing, promoting, and accessing content to various stakeholders in the market, it is questionable whether the platforms are actually democratic. For instance, some people cannot afford the fees for accessing the auction data provided by Artnet, and galleries without healthy finances hardly ever join the networks on the platforms. More importantly, the artworks presented on Artsy and Artnet are made by renowned or established artists and both platforms are positioned in the secondary market. Put differently, artists who are not already presented by galleries have little chance of displaying their works on the platform. In this sense, Saatchi Art is apparently more democratic as they allow anyone to upload their works of art. As more artworks are available, however, this widening democratic ecosystem actually adds more weight to their curators' role in selecting particular artworks.

We also insist that the online art market follows the valuation system of the offline art market, wherein intermediaries co-construct the cultural meaning and value of artworks (Becker 1982; Velthuis 2005; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Preece, Kerrigan and O'Reilly 2016) — not consumers. Although the adoption of online technology by the art market 'theoretically opens doors for new voices' (Arora and Vermeulen, 2013, p.195), Saatchi Art — a digitally-mediated platform — is still led by a limited number of employees who have professional knowledge about artworks. Consumers remain passive recipients. Therefore, we should consider the efflorescence of trade in artworks in the online setting not as challenging the stratified structure in the traditional art world, but as establishing a new ecosystem for the art market whereby the layer of young and emerging artists is thicker, and the consumer group is expanding.

This thesis concludes that the legitimation structure in the CAM has rarely been transformed by the emergence of new mediums. The analysis of our findings shows that the mediums of art fairs and online platforms contribute to shaping the legitimacy

of young and emerging artists and their artworks, such that these mediums attain power to control the market by absorbing existing intermediaries. Although agents in these mediums hold varying positions in the hierarchical order of legitimising artists and artworks in the art world (depending on the extent of their accumulated symbolic capitals), it is noteworthy that such mediums, which did not exist in the hierarchical structure before the twentieth-century, have become among the most important insiders in the structure.

However, this research concludes that this change does not substantially reconstitute the stratified structure of the art world that has existed prior to the emergence of art fairs and online arts platforms. We point out that the majority of prestigious biennales and art fairs, which occupy high positions in the structure, are organised by people who already hold powerful positions. The cases of the Other Art Fair and Saatchi Art have both derived their accumulated symbolic capital from renowned experts. In this sense, cultural events and online platform are fields for the reproduction of the power and the institutional status of a few people who hold high positions in the art world and use new mediums to sustain their hegemony.

The proliferation of art fairs and online platforms are contentious in terms of the global dissemination of artistic innovation. The mediums of art fairs and online platforms for trading visual arts seem to constitute the system for fertilising global exchanges of culture known as globalisation. However, we assert that both institutions rarely guarantee the bilateral flows of exchanging the cultural meaning and value about works of art between Western countries (the central location of art market) and the rest. This is because the pivotal role of giving opportunities for approved exhibitors to share the meaning and value of their artworks is held by a very limited number of experts: selection committees (Art Fairs) and curators (Saatchi Art) who have Western-oriented standards for judging the value of artworks. Without deepening historical and socio-cultural understanding of indigenous artworks, the experts might misjudge the suitability of the works for inclusion in the events or for presentation on curatorial programmes. Accordingly, such mediums play a role in the colonising process by which Westernised aesthetic standards are reproduced.

Against this, it may be argued that by hosting art fairs in countries that are outside of the centre of the art market, a globalising effect is indeed produced. However, this

attempt reflects the willingness of marginalised agents to move closer to the centre of art market as ‘it is hard to deny that for many founders and organizers of [art fairs], these periodic shows are just an opportunities to tap into an entirely Western fashion phenomenon’ (Gioni, 2013, p.172). Accordingly, the success of cultural events in marginal areas of the art market will depend on how many Western star artists, galleries, critics, and collectors participate in them. Therefore, Western-originated understandings of the meaning of contemporary art dominate these cultural event, which means that artworks by indigenous artists remain marginalised.

Thus, the proliferation of both art fairs and online platforms are contentious in terms of the global dissemination of artistic innovation. While in the nineteen century the commitment of artists or members in the art world contributed to spreading artistic innovations globally (in terms of subject, technique, and conception) (Galenson, 2009), the temporary exhibition spaces in art fairs and virtual space in online platforms seemingly offer suitable environments for dispersing and sharing new artistic innovations easily. However, we observe that the discourse about artworks which is shared in the spaces is hardly of an innovatory nature. Put differently, genuinely innovative artworks are difficult to include in the systems of such mediums. That is because the artworks presenting at events is the outcome of the filtering process performed primarily by galleries (and secondarily by selection committees in the case of art fairs). Even though the online platform is not a restriction on artists’ liberties to expose their works, only those artworks selected by experts receive increased attention from a wider audience.

Thus, artworks which do not correspond with the gatekeepers’ tastes, but which may be more innovative than those selected by these emerging intermediaries, might be excluded. To some extent, the current situation of art fairs becoming entrenched in the art world is similar to the one which dominated academic salons and patrons in the nineteen-century art world which also discouraged innovative artworks. Thus, the establishment of art fairs and online platform in the art market might generate a blind spot, due to which genuinely innovative artworks are institutionally limited.

8.2. Theoretical and Empirical Contributions

The evaluation of the intrinsic value of works of art, as coming purely from its beauty, is problematic (Danto 1964; Dickie 1984; Kieran 2005). It is also not possible to value works of art in terms of production costs (either the worth of the materials or the workforce) (Crane 1989; Peterson 1997). As a result, the engagement of branded artists and stakeholders in the contemporary art market becomes an important facet of judging the value of the artworks, which inspires previous research on the art market by taking branding theory into account. By acknowledging the limitations of applying branding theory – devised for general goods – to the field of visual arts, the group of scholars adopts a socio-cultural perspective on branding to explore the visual arts: the value of artworks is ‘dynamic, subjective, and context-dependent’ (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014, p.124) and, as such, conceptualising the value of artworks requires a socio-cultural approach (Preece, Kerrigan and O’Reilly, 2016).

Through exploring the process of legitimising artists and artworks, the first theoretical contribution of this thesis lies in the arts marketing literature, amplifying the application of Holt’s (2004) cultural branding to the contemporary art market. Conceptual issues arising from conjoining the theory of cultural branding with the art world context have been explored in previous research (Kerrigan et al. 2011; Hewer, Brownlie and Kerrigan 2013; Muñiz, Norris and Fine 2014; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015). In extending these studies, the theoretical framework of this thesis draws from two important concepts: the art world (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996) and neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 1995).

On the one hand, neo-institutional theory allows this thesis to systematically analyse the process of differentiating a few artists from the rest in the CAM, by exploring the occurrence of legitimacy for the artists and their artworks. Echoing Scott (1995), two different pillars of legitimacy have been examined: cultural-cognitive and normative legitimacy. Our historical case study shows that intermediaries contribute to cultural-cognitive legitimacy for Andy Warhol and *Brillo Box* through introducing it, as well as normatively legitimising the artists and artworks by providing the rationales for understanding it (instruction). This thesis also points out that the legitimacy of our historical case is achieved by myth in society, the artistic movement, artists’ persona and social networks. Although Warhol’s case indicates that myth in society plays a

role in legitimising *Brillo Box*, a single prevalent myth in the current age is hardly captured adequately, as contemporary society has broken grand narratives into ‘little narrative [petits récits]’ and myths have also fragmented into multiple forms (Lyotard, 1984, p.60). By virtue of the difficulty of identifying a single prevalent myth in the current age, this thesis turns its focus towards the role of intermediaries in shaping artists’ legitimacy. The persona and social networks of an artist are also excluded, in accordance with our research scope.

The analysis of our empirical cases shows the way in which the medium of art fairs and online platforms contribute to legitimising young and emerging artists and their works of art. The increased presence of selected artists and their artworks in the institutionalised social structure (the art world) is captured by the practice of displaying artworks at cultural events and posting digital images of artworks for curatorial programmes on Saatchi Art. Such practices contribute to adding to the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of a few artists and their artworks. In addition, we argue that the direct and indirect instruction about contemporary art provided by our empirical cases makes the artists and their artworks more acceptable to the art world, by offering the reasons for its congruence with the pre-established norms and values in the institutionalised structure. Thus, art fairs and online platforms contribute to shaping normative legitimacy for the selected artists and their artworks.

On the other hand, the concept of the art world allows us to identify the group of intermediaries who commit to constituting a consensus about the meaning of artworks, through an intricate network of relationships among them (Becker, 1982), which plays the role of legitimising artists. We also acknowledge that the extent of each intermediary’s contribution to building such consensus differs according to the identity of contributors (i.e. their economic, cultural and social capital) (Bourdieu, 1996). At the same time, the hierarchical structure of the art field becomes explicit through the accumulation of unbalanced acceptances to the other intermediaries in such a process.

Our cultural branding model, incorporating such sociological arguments, contributes to the theoretical development of arts marketing literature. While we position our thesis in the group of research highlighting social mechanisms for yielding symbolic meaning in the arts (Kerrigan et al. 2011; Muñiz, Norris and Fine 2014; Rodner and

Kerrigan 2014; Preece and Kerrigan 2015; Rodner and Preece 2015), we extend these studies by adding a sociological perspective. This thesis provides a systemic account of the reasons for and influence of the powers held by particular intermediaries: how art fairs and online platform change the hierarchical structure of the art world, and the intricate relationship between new intermediaries and others. Such understanding of the role of these new intermediaries in the process of legitimising young and emerging artists at a societal level provides a fruitful and conceptually-driven research direction for arts marketing.

The second theoretical contribution of this thesis lies in extending studies about legitimation of consumer practice in marketing, by analysing the power dynamics among intermediaries who mediate between consumers and artists in the art market. The concept of legitimacy at the heart of institutional theory has allowed previous scholars to insightfully analyse the process of attaining the legitimacy of consumer practice (Dolbec and Fischer, 2015; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2012; Humphreys, 2010a). For instance, Humphreys (2010b) highlights the role of one type of intermediary – journalists – in framing the legitimacy of consumer practice. In line with this, the present study explores the role of art fairs and online platforms in shaping the legitimacy of artists which then contributes to the legitimation of consumption practice of the arts. Certifying the legitimacy of artists and artworks rests with the art world, which has a rule-like status (Greenwood et al., 2008) among artists and consumers (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996).

While our cases contribute to shaping the legitimacy of young and emerging artists, the finding shows that the legitimation of artists is not independent of which institution or intermediary insists that it is good art and their status (Bourdieu, 1996). The institutionalised structure of the art market, in which the structure is highly stratified according to accumulated symbolic capitals (Bourdieu, 1996), suggests the extension of applying neo-institutional theory to the consumer market. In other words, the emphasis on the influence of each intermediary's social status upon the legitimation of artists implies that marketing scholars need to analyse intermediaries at a societal level when inquirers include the intermediaries for legitimising consumer practice.

In comparison to other types of markets, digitalisation has barely transformed the CAM in terms of the mechanisms of legitimacy. The growth of digital art platforms

such as Saatchi Art provides efficiency and accessibility of information to users, attracting novice collectors, while users' involvement in the process of legitimising artworks is limited and largely guided by curatorial direction, hinging on the symbolic capital of information providers. This confirms the re-intermediation, rather than disintermediation (Mahadevan, 2000), of marketing relationships, highlighting the role of new intermediaries such as digital platforms. Such new intermediaries impinge on the power and strategy of other intermediaries, thereby seemingly contributing to dispersing power among intermediaries in the institutionalised structure. However, this study shows that the legitimation of artists and their artworks rests on the symbolic capital of a few actors in the new platforms who already hold a high position in the stratified structure of the art world. Hence, the hierarchical structure of legitimation in the CAM is hardly subverted by digitalisation and the new intermediaries can be interpreted as a medium of reproducing the power of the established legitimating actors.

With its focus on young and emerging artists featured in a major art fair and an alternative art fair, this thesis contributes to the empirical record of the socio-cultural branding process for artists and the proliferation of the medium of art fairs. Indeed, art fairs have become one of most important mediums, in terms of economic and symbolic power, in the CAM. Accordingly, previous research has paid attention to such cultural events, especially Art Basel. Unlike them, this thesis provides empirical data for Frieze London, which has been collected in the centre of the art market with a focus on its practices regarding young and emerging artists.

The empirical contribution of this thesis is also drawn from studying an alternative art fair. Although prestigious art fairs present a handful of contemporary artists, the majority of previous empirical research on art fairs has only studied the major art fairs. Despite being lead by major art fairs, the explosion of art fairs should be explained by taking all of major art fairs, (including middle-scale ones and alternative ones) together. In this sense, our empirical records of alternative art fairs are able to engender a holistic understanding of the medium of art fairs. As alternative art fairs embrace the artists who are isolated from major art fairs, research on such a medium contributes to enriching the process of distinguishing young and emerging artists.

Moreover, by focusing on the online platform for trading artworks in the primary art market, this thesis contributes to the empirical record of the branding of contemporary artists online. With advanced technology and the growing familiarity of e-commerce, the market for trading artworks online has recently soared. Although previous scholars have explored several issues resulting from the application of digital technology to the artistic field, they have paid little attention to the relatively new area of trading artworks online. Khaire's (2014, 2015) empirical record of online platforms for trading artworks is insightful, but her study is only focused on the online market for artworks by established artists. Unlike her research, our empirical data focuses on online trading in artworks by young and emerging artists. More importantly, with interviews and document reviews, this thesis explores all types of agents engaged with the online platform: producers (artists), intermediaries (Saatchi Art), and consumers (buyers or users). The analysis of these three different perspectives contributes to the body of empirical evidence, deepening our holistic understanding of how the meaning and value of artworks are constituted in the online setting.

8.3. Limitations and Implications for Future Research

The first limitation of this thesis is due to limited access to primary data. By gathering the voices from gallerists who participated at prestigious art fairs, we could deepen our understanding of the influence of the medium of art fairs on their status and the constitution of the value of their presenting artists' works. Interviewing a director, Matthew Slotover and Amanda Sharp (Frieze London), Ryan Stanier (the Other Art Fair) or members of the selection committees would also allow us to examine more systematically the extent to which their taste is reflected in the process of selecting exhibitors. With regard to the case of Saatchi Art, the primary data from interviewing one of the members of their curatorial team, particularly Rebecca Wilson, could enrich our understanding of their reasons for selecting limited numbers of artists. Although we attempt to overcome such limitations through the use of secondary sources, such as their interview data in various media, the primary data from their voices could deepen our understanding of our cases.

The second limitation of this thesis is that we have not explored the impact of the personality and social network of each young and emerging artist on the process of branding them. Indeed, the construction of brand identity is essential for the process

of branding. Brand identity is closely related to the associations through which the company wants to be perceived by consumers (Aaker, 1996). Accordingly, the owner of the brand controls their brand identity, which is at the core of the theory of strategic brand management. In contrast, this thesis is oriented by the socio-cultural perspective—brand identity is socially constructed—and primarily seeks to elucidate the process of constructing the brand identity of artists by highlighting the role of intermediaries and the dynamics within groups of intermediaries.

However, the stage of articulating brand identity by individual artists clearly exists prior to the positioning of the brand identity in the art world. Preece and Kerrigan (2015) convincingly address the construction of brand identity at the level of each individual, asserting that the identity of the contemporary artist is reflective in their works of art, and thereby requires coherence between artist (personality) and artworks. As we have identified in our historical case, Andy Warhol's persona is one of the elements in the construction of his myth which constitutes the value of Warhol's artworks. In this regard, 'Warhol's life has become his defining work of art' (Kerrigan et al., 2011, p.1519). Therefore, we should be able to explore the way in which young and emerging artists articulate and develop their own brand identity by comparing each artist's artworks and the elements drawing upon their identities such as personalities, clothes, ways of speaking and self-presentation. In this sense, the fine-grained analysis of tracing such empirical evidence could have offered a more holistic perspective for understanding the process of branding young and emerging artists.

The issue of fabricating a brand identity for an individual artist could be expanded into the research area of the occupational identity of the artist. The identification of professional artists in society is challengeable (Becker, 1982; Alexander, 2003) as 'there are no official prerequisites or credentials to distinguish artists from non-artists, professionals from amateurs' (Bain, 2005, p.34). Currently, the opportunity for anyone to upload artworks on the platform of Saatchi Art might make the vague boundary between professional artists and amateurs worse. Thus, it becomes more important for young and emerging artists to claim their professional status. During interviews, interestingly, each informant defined the beginning of their professional careers differently: after the first solo exhibition, the first sales of artworks, acquiring a master's degree, and so on. In further research, it would be interesting to explore the way in which the artistic or professional identity in the field is articulated, or which

factors influence the credibility of definitions as ‘an artist’, such as market place, education and affiliation, or self and peers (Jeffri, Hosie and Greenblatt, 1987).

Other limitation of this thesis results from the selection of cases as it may have impacted the outcomes of this research. In the historical case study, although this thesis analysed the historical moment when Warhol was also one of the young and emerging artists seeking legitimacy in institutionalised structure, we acknowledge that the result of studying Warhol has a limitation in the light of the influence of survivor bias (Aldrich and Wiedenmayer, 1993). The historical case outlines the value of *Brillo Box* that ends up being successfully legitimised, but does not embrace the many cases of artists and works of art which were unsuccessful. In further research, we need to focus more on unsuccessful artists in terms of understanding the way in which the artists fail to gain legitimacy in the art world. However, it is not easy to explore such artists by virtue of the dearth of historical data for unsuccessful artists. By shifting our attention from individual artists to groups of artists (artistic movements), then, we can conceptualise the delegitimation of an artistic movement by the emergence of a new group of artists. For instance, when the legitimacy of Pop artists was achieved, the value of works of art by Abstract Expressionists deteriorated simultaneously. By investigating a historical moment such as this, further research could examine the process by which an artistic movement was delegitimised, thereby cumulatively diminishing the value of artworks therein.

The first implication for future research results from the finding that process of claiming legitimacy by emerging intermediaries is via the hierarchical order in the art world. In other words, it is interesting to trace the way in which new intermediaries are entrenched in the art market. Indeed, the reputation or symbolic capital of art fairs depends on the extent to which the discourse generated at the event is considered as a consensus to legitimise artworks. In the case of fresh art fairs, their status mainly originates from the economic, cultural and social capital of the directors of the event. For instance, Art Basel was founded by renowned gallerists, and after five years based on the social status of its founders, this show introduced almost same volume of exhibitors with current ages (ArtBasel, n.d.). Unlike Art Basel, the director of TOAF is not from the art world, and therefore has limited social capital. Therefore, TOAF needs to legitimise its position in the art world. Our findings show that TOAF seeks the legitimacy in the art world by soliciting participation by agents who already have

high symbolic capital, for example, through selection committees, presenting limited editions by famous artists, and coinciding with a prestigious art fair. In this sense, further research could explore the way in which the new cultural institutions attain legitimacy in the art world.

The second implication for future research is drawn from the emphasis in our argument on the role of curators in the digital age, in particular the alteration of the curator's role in the online art market. In their role as authors, offline curators offer exhibitions by interpreting the artists' original intention to deliver them effectively to an audience and articulate the meaning of the work. Online curators, in their role as gatekeepers, select artists and their work in order to legitimate them and indirectly communicate their values to users through the digital platform. Apart from their knowledge of art, while offline curators should have the ability to plan physical spaces to display works of art effectively in an exhibition, online curators have considerable knowledge of participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006). In this sense, online curators should be well aware of the functions of interactive tools on digital platforms. In further research, therefore, a systemic study of professional curators should be explored based on the existing curatorship literature.

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APPENDIX

1. Invitation Letter

Dear, the name of artists

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my PhD Research in Kent Business School at University of Kent under the supervision of Professor Soo Hee Lee. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

Title of Research

“Cultural Branding of Young and Emerging Contemporary Artists: The Role of Art Fairs and Online Platforms”

Purpose of Research

The aim of this project is to further the understanding of contemporary art market by seeking to answer the following research question; How does digital arts market and platform influence the branding of young/emerging artists? This project mainly utilises and explores SaatchiArt.com, considering the platform is a representative exemplar of an online medium that enhances the careers of young/emerging artists while ensuring open and transparent atmosphere in the art market. Rather than investigating its business model or strategy, this study focuses more on the way how Saatchi Art helps young/ emerging artists.

The process of selecting you as potential contributors to the project

This project obtained data from Saatchi Art on Dec. 2015. Clicking on ‘Contests’, ‘Invest in Art’, ‘One to Watch artists’, and ‘Inside studio’ under the category of ‘Features’, we obtained a list of 482 artists who are featured on that category. Featured artists are living in 56 different countries and we arrange the countries according to artists’ numbers. U.K (N 106) is ranked on the second place, which are the potential participants for this project.

From your experience about featured in ‘invest in art 2015’ on Saatchi Art, you have comprehensive insights on the usages of digital medium, (e.g. website, e-commerce of art sales), for artists and arts market. Moreover, you are currently emerging artists and then, I believe that you can give me invaluable views on current arts market, the way of branding/promoting you and your works.

Interview Questions

If you agree to participate in this research, our interview mainly will revolve around these questions:

- In your opinion what is the most important factor for distinguishing yourself from other artists in the market?
- What do you regard as major constraints for young and emerging artists as opposed to established artists in entering the art market?
- Why did you join Saatchi Art 1) among various online platforms and 2) what is the advantage of selling your works there instead of using offline dealers?
- After you have been selected by Saatchi Art's curatorial events such as *One to Watch Artist*, *Inside studio*, *Invests in Art*, and *Showdown*, what kind of changes have you experienced in terms of your interaction with buyers?

Declaration of Confidentiality and Interview Process

The success of this research is contingent upon your cooperation, so thus, I would like to request an interview, but participation in this study is voluntary. There are two ways of involving this project:

- Email interview: In this case, you can show your intention to join this project first with short reply. Then, you would have a month to answer above questions.
- Face to Face interview: It will involve an interview of approximately 30 minutes in length to take place in a location at your convenience.

In both cases, you may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, in the case of face to face interview, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the key transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. All information you provide is considered completely confidential and anonymity will be ensured by using pseudonyms in my thesis. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 07429397821 or by e-mail at jl524@kent.ac.uk. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Soo Hee Lee at 01227827895 or by e-mail s.h.lee@kent.ac.uk. I would like to assure you that this study has received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Review Board at Kent Business School. I am looking forward to receiving your positive response and please let me know your preference for participation either email interview or Face to Face interview. Thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Faithfully,

JINWOO LEE

2. The Sample of Face-to-Face Interview Material

This face-to-face interview took place in a public place, London, on Saturday 20th of February 2016

Jinwoo Lee: How long have you been working as an artist?

Artist 25: Maybe I should calculate after I graduated. Then, it is professional, right? From 2014... Before graduating master, I also sold artworks. Because in the UK, we can sell our work within the show. So, if you count that, then, that will be 2012. But I want to say that my career is started from when I graduated.

J.L: You are emerging artists. How can you reach the status of established artists?

A25: Tenacity, hard work and probably a bit of luck.

J.L: What do you regard as major constrains for young and emerging artists as opposed to established artists in entering the art market?

A25: Competition perhaps, finding a niche and an audience amongst the hundreds of thousands of contemporaries.

J.L: Who is most important person/ institutions/ for distinguishing you from other in the market? (e.g. education background, networking, dealers, displaying your works in famous gallery, prize...)

A25: Yeah. All those things. Anything can go into CV. I think that what you are trying to distinguish you from others and also maybe...When you do a postgraduate course you realise how different people they have different roles to work. So, you get into different exhibitions and you get into different award and different residencies. And you think that what can I say that is not the same as what other people are saying because a lot of other people if they say same thing as you. I feel like they are saying better. So, if I can say something unique that is very important me It has to be important to me cannot be fake. And then, if I can say better than them, then, maybe that's the point.

J.L: What is the most important factor?

A25: I would say school because everything came from school. So, networking from school and curators, galleries, museums. They would

see your school as kind of validation, but that maybe the starting point., but It's not the most important thing at least anymore. Also, if I always keep mentioning school, then, it feels like I am still student...Just starting point. Because when you are in a good school, you have people who are very good. And then you want to be as good as them. You want to compete with them...teachers.

J.L: Are you in a certain artistic group or working with a dealer?

A25: There is society called 'contemporary art society in London'. I have a profile with them. I am like one of members invited, but I do not know if... its natural constructive membership. They invited lots of events, but to show with them is different That's one and I work with just because of the HK show. Now we are going to work together for one year in Asia. So that's gonna be my represented gallery in Asia. But in London, I work with two galleries sometimes and one in Berlin

J.L: Why do you join to Saatchi Art rather than selling your work via offline dealers?

A25: I have actually stopped. So, what happen was the end of 2014, I started to pull back. Because a lot of the online platforms I don't feel like they have very strict filter system. So, everybody is online, but in the beginning, is very good, I think. In the beginning, for example, Saatchi was introduced to everyone in our undergraduate course. So, a lot of people registered. And then I think that maybe because you are young you can try a lot of things. So, the director, she is very hands on herself, Rebecca Wilson. She likes to take all the thing herself. So then, she picked some of my works, for example artists of week, and then some small interviews. And also, 2014, there was very important competition, the Saatchi new sensation, Then, I think that has stopped, which is a shame. Because I think to us that is one of the more attractive things about the online platform. So, you have profile. You can sell to people who are not just in the UK or you don't meet. And also, because it's affiliated with another competition, which is very competitive like, you know, all of the art schools. that was very attractive form. Once it stopped and then, there are a lot of other activities. It's kind of more people are getting online. It feels like it is not as exclusive or they are not as strict with who they want to show who will under help so. Then, you feel like maybe even their energy to help individual artist is diluted.

J.L: There are many websites intriguing visual artists for trading their works of art. Why did you decide to join Saatchi Art among various websites? (e.g. the name of Saatchi, the interactive interface, the well curated environment, plenty of spaces for describing yourself and your works, 30% commissions, large audience...)

A25: Maybe there are also a lot of others. I get so many emails about online. So, my friend starting to. They always say that are unique and they do this, but those are very similar [with Saatchi Art]. There weren't many back then. Back into 2008. There weren't many online platforms. Just because there were very few online that's why I joined.

J.L: Maybe because of the name of Saatchi?

A25: Yeah maybe also that. Also, I think their partnership between Saatchi Gallery [and Saatchi Art] was different back then as well. I think they have changed. I am not entirely sure as I am not following a lot of news.

J.L: On Saatchi Art, everyone can upload works of art without limitation. What do you think about that?

A25: I think partly. And you want to be seen in the right group. You asked me if I worked with the gallery. When an artist works with the gallery, they look at who else in the gallery. But there were definitely a lot of advantages like everybody was really appreciate what 'New sensation' and everything ... Then, I think for a lot of people to notice me like my Berlin gallery she first got in touch because of Saatchi. She saw something that, I cannot remember what are the post... Because maybe it was new. So, people were still interested in. But now also the galleries and the directors they don't look at it anymore.

J.L: When you upload your artworks, are there any difficulties? (e.g taking picture), and How do you decide the price of it?

I think the whole system and the whole process is very good. The only thing I would comment on right now is just there are so many artists. Like interface is easy to use. They do like weekly things and curated, but maybe it is too frequent or a lot of this small things which are online not enough also physical. So, you feel like it's distance it's not really real. But The profiles and everything are very easy [to upload]. They have a lot of guides as well to tell you what kinds of pictures upload, how to wrap your painting if you get sold. These things are very professionally done

That's basically undergraduate degree shows. your tutors help you to decide. So, everybody started kind of same level. The tutor would know what everybody should be at the similar level. There wasn't like big differences. And then, he would advise you actually based on size. We negotiate with tutors, talked with him.

J.L: After you have been selected by Saatchi Art's curatorial events such as One to Watch Artist, Inside studio, Invests in Art, and Showdown, what kind of changes have you experienced?

For instance,

- In Saatchi art; Influence on sales of works of art or increase the numbers of followers on the platforms.
- Out of Saatchi art; getting opportunities for exhibiting your works of art, increasing the numbers of exhibitions, selling works of art to private collectors without using the website, and visitors on your homepages.

A25: It's all positive. For example, 'invested in arts' and all this sort of featured, I was just invited and they emailed me. Some other things, I could see, was basically for example one gallerist she was already in contact with me and she saw 'invested in arts'. She said like 'oh you are in featured' And then, maybe she became more confident in me because somebody is also noticing at me.

Saatchi Showdown was very new and there was a lot of exposure and also you have group of good people who are judges. So, I wanted them to see the work. Even if I do not get it, I want to expose my work basically. Yeah. Saatchi is good platform for that. So, I did not think I would get 2nd place, I just entered and We got the show and actually it was really good space in London. The best thing was the materials they gave award for buying materials.

I sold that work before the show via Saatchi. They sold that to somebody I do not know who. So, I had to ship work after show. But again, I think because whole staff and system, so in the beginning was really good to use, even for shipping. It prints out the form which is very easy to fill and you can have arranged DHL.

J.L: Out of Saatchi?

A25: Not directly, but I think people would look at you. So, I met very good collector, friend now, through Saatchi Art. He bought two of my works. One is from Saatchi Art and one is from my degree show. And then, he got in contact like 'it's great to have your work' Maybe there was email. He emailed me and then eventually we met he came to

London. Basically, after new sensation, a lot of us felt uncomfortable selling online. Also, then, because your prices are there for everyone to see. So, all of my friends who were in new sensation we stopped put the price up Saatchi Online.

J.L: Why?

A25: We just didn't feel very professional like to have price (of our artworks) out there. I think that is too open and too commercial basically like I am selling the object there is the price to what I make. So, by the end of 2014, maybe I have images of my works, but I had taken the price out.

J.L: How do you assess the contribution of curators' collections on Saatchi Art in promoting your works to buyers?

A25: Very Random. It is quite frequent. I do not think that is that random, but it's just a bit too frequent. And then, it does not do anything to me. It's basically them telling collectors, but themes are very general. So, you want colours and abstractions you want festivity... and then you get a collection. It's very good for collectors. It does not do anything for us (artists), unless you actively. that's the source of your sales or that's the source of your exhibitions. I feel like ...I just don't...When I think about my art, I don't think of them in themes. So, I feel strange should be categorised in those kinds of very general themes based on the look of the work. Not what the works about. Maybe my works work with, for example, motives or repetitions and then, usually the themes are more for the audience to easy to understand like spring colours extra.