

BUILDING CAREERS, NEGOTIATING CAPITALS

Emma Flynn

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2015

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Building Careers, Negotiating Capitals

Emma Flynn

2015



University of
St Andrews

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ABSTRACT

I sought to find out whether this was a tension between artistic and commercial in the career of visual artists, and if so, how this tension was managed. In attempting to uncover information which could address the research question I undertook in-depth career history interviews with artists which covered their time at art school through to their current practice. The career history method was deliberately chosen in order to address the research question at a tangent as both the literature, and my own personal experience of the field of contemporary visual art, had suggested that the topic of artistic and commercial was a sensitive one. By framing the interviews around the experiences the artists had through the time period of their training and career, I was able to approach the research questions indirectly from the perspective of the artists. Through analysis of the interview transcripts the framework of Bourdieu's capitals arose as one that would capably explain the activities which the artists were undertaken and I used this as a framing device for the empirical chapters in the thesis. In exploring ideas of cultural, social and economic capitals in relation to how artists describe the activities they undertake during their career it became apparent that the broad structures of cultural capital needed further refinement in their application to the careers of visual artists. In the thesis I chose to elaborate further on the concept of artistic capital which has, until now, been unexplored by scholars. I have developed an understanding of artistic capital as a subcategory of cultural capital with particular application to the field of contemporary visual art – with the potential for wider application beyond the thesis. The three capitals of artistic, social and economic proved a capable structure for understanding whether there was a tension between artistic and commercial and how artists managed this. Through this research I have found that artists come to believe, during their early career and training through art school, that there is a tension between artistic and commercial as this is perpetuated by institutions and art world participants through their exclusion or dismissal of commercial aspects of the visual art field. Through their careers they come to realise that this tension is less prevalent than they thought and that they are able to manage these two aspects of artistic and commercial more effectively. However, artists continue to be faced with instances where this tension is imposed upon them by other art world players who perpetuate the belief that there is an inherent, unresolvable tension between artistic and commercial. These individuals attempt to shield artists from this perceived tension later in their careers when artists are already adept at managing the competing priorities of artistic and commercial without the two creating tension.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For Andrew and Kathy

For your steadfast support and encouragement.

I could not have done this without you. Thank you.

I would like to extend thanks to my supervisors for their help and support over the course of this thesis: Barbara Townley, Shiona Chillas and Clive Gillman.

To my friends and family who rallied around me when I needed it, made me laugh, listened to my babbling and kept me sane throughout this research. Thank you for believing in me.

I would like to thank the artists who generously gave their time to speak to me about their practice, careers and lives. It is their knowledge and experiences which provided a wealth of material to work with in developing the insights I have found throughout this research.

I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Economic and Social Research Council, Institute for Capitalising on Creativity, Dundee Contemporary Arts and Creative Scotland which made this research possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THESIS DECLARATION..... 1

ABSTRACT 2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 3

TABLE OF CONTENTS..... 4

1.0 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS 9

 1.1 The Researcher, Context and Questions 9

 1.2 Artistic and Commercial 11

 1.3 The Field of Contemporary Art..... 14

 1.31 The Primary and Secondary Market for Contemporary Art..... 17

 1.32 Collective Activity and the Role of Networks 24

 1.33 Art Schools and Higher Education 26

 1.4 Conclusion and Introducing the Thesis 28

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW..... 32

 2.1 Introduction..... 32

 2.2 Application of the Careers Literature..... 32

 2.21 Approaches to the Study of Artists Careers 35

 2.22 A Dichotomy between Artistic and Commercial 40

 2.3 Theoretical Concepts: Capitals and Fields..... 46

 2.31 Pierre Bourdieu: An Introduction 46

 2.32 Theoretical Framework of Capitals 51

 2.3 Conclusion 64

3.0 METHODOLOGY 67

 3.1 Introduction..... 67

 3.2 Career Histories – A Method for Examining Careers 70

 3.21 Life Histories through History 71

 3.22 The Application of Career Histories 73

 3.3 The Artists 75

 3.4 Empirical Data 81

 3.41 Selecting the Artists 81

 3.42 Ethical Considerations and Pseudonyms 84

3.43	Desk Research: artists' CVs and the development of career history diagrams	86
3.44	Interviewing Artists: Developing the Interview Questions	89
3.45	Coding: An Introduction	92
3.46	Coding: Interpreting The Interviews	93
3.5	Conclusion	94
4.0	DEVELOPING PRACTICE: ARTISTIC CAPITAL.....	97
4.1	Introduction.....	97
4.11	Capitals, Acquiring Artistic Capital	97
4.12	Introduction to the Chapter	99
4.2	Decision To Go To Art School	100
4.21	Background.....	100
4.22	Artistic Talent	102
4.23	Imitating Artistic Life.....	103
4.3	Experience of Art School.....	105
4.31	Expectations of Art School Do Not Match Reality.....	106
4.32	Perspectives on Teaching	107
4.33	Art School as Social Club	108
4.34	Degree Shows and Assessments	109
4.35	Returning to Art School: The Artist as Postgraduate	112
4.4	Transitions From Art School To Art World.....	115
4.41	Becoming an Artist, Professional Practice in art schools	115
4.42	Pathways to Exhibiting After Art School	118
4.5	Conclusion	119
5.0	DEVELOPING SOCIAL CAPITAL: THE ROLE OF NETWORKS	125
5.1	Introduction.....	125
5.2	Support After Art School	127
5.21	Peers as Role Models	128
5.22	Critical Dialogue	131
5.23	Professional Support	134
5.3	Actively Pursuing Networks: DIY Activity and Visibility	138
5.31	Physical Visibility	139
5.32	Material Visibility: Through Artwork and Exhibitions.....	142
5.4	Conclusion	146
6.0	RELATIONSHIPS TO THE ECONOMY	151

6.1 Introduction.....	151
6.2 Attitudes To Employment.....	153
6.21 Non-Arts Related Jobs.....	154
6.22 Arts-Related Jobs: ‘Gallery Girl and Tech Boy’	156
6.3 Attitudes Towards Money In Art.....	162
6.31 Adapting Under Economic Constraints.....	163
6.32 (Re)Investing in Artistic Capital.....	166
6.33 Money as Validation.....	168
6.4 The Role Of Commercial Galleries	169
6.41 Introducing the Commercial Context.....	169
6.5 The Processes and Practices of Commercial Galleries	170
6.51 Courting Artists, ‘The Waiting Game’.....	170
6.52 What Does the Gallery Do?.....	174
6.53 Galleries are About More than Economic Capital.....	176
6.54 Commercial Galleries and Money.....	178
6.6 The Importance And Nature Of Public Support.....	192
6.61 Public Funding For the Arts.....	192
6.62 Social security benefits	197
6.7 Conclusion	199
7.0 DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS: BUILDING CAREERS, NEGOTIATING CAPITALS	204
7.1 Interplay between Capitals.....	206
7.11 Acquisition, Maintenance and Enhancement of Capitals.....	207
7.12 Artistic Capital.....	207
7.13 Artists and Economic Capital	210
7.14 Artists and Social Capital	212
7.15 Misrecognising Capitals.....	215
7.2 Discussion of Artists in Practice	216
7.21 The Role and Influence of Art Schools.....	216
7.22 Working with Arts Organisations and the Role of Gatekeepers	218
7.3 Reflecting On The Research.....	221
7.4 Future Research	222
8.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY	227
9.0 APPENDICES.....	241

CHAPTER 1

An Introduction to the Thesis

1.0 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

1.1 The Researcher, Context and Questions

Initially it is useful to explain my background and perspective. As a fine art graduate I am acutely aware of the challenges art students face after art school. During art school I decided that although I enjoyed making work, I was interested in the other side of the art world and wanted to know more about how that worked and how I could contribute to that. After an MLitt, my doctoral research spoke to an unexplored interest I had in how the art world functioned, how art students became artists and how they survived. These were all issues that I saw playing out around me in artistic communities in Glasgow and issues that seemed unresolved and confusing; not only for those on the periphery but even those embedded in those structures. There seemed to be very little financial recompense for artistic activity which raised questions of how did these artists survive? Likewise the artistic communities were strong and overlapped and I could see artists I knew working in these circles and being bolstered by their networks and wondered how those tangential aspects worked – what were the rules of entry, or rules of the game even?

In Glasgow, as with Scotland as a whole, there are art galleries, public and commercial, but the commercial scene is relatively small and much of the activity seemed to be happening outside of Glasgow in London, Berlin and New York. I wondered how the art world connected up, how these relatively small communities in Glasgow approached the art world at large and how they fared in the wider context of the art world. I read about the art market and the big players across the world, I saw the activity happening in Glasgow and the connections happening between my local context and the art world. All of these questions, to see how things worked and how people understood what was happening around them, were simmering in me when the opportunity to work on this doctoral thesis arose.

This research is a CASE Studentship and is supported by Dundee Contemporary Arts (DCA). The DCA is a centre for the development and exhibition of contemporary art and culture, a multidisciplinary arts centre in Dundee, Scotland which hosts exhibitions and events competing on an international platform with artists of local, national and international significance. It is home to a café, shop, cinema, print studio, Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and Design's Visual Research Centre, as well as a programme of events, exhibitions and festivals both on and off site. The DCA is somewhere I had visited

which hosted a great range of exhibitions by national and international artists. In addition, its position within the community in Dundee and Scotland as a publicly funded gallery was something I held great respect for and an opportunity to work with its staff and artists was something that appealed to me. Since their opening in 1999, the DCA has worked with over 350 artists and creative practitioners, including artists working across a variety of genres: visual arts, dance, theatre, film, performance and music. It received critical acclaim for their work at home and abroad and as this research began it was showcasing the return of its curated exhibition 'No Reflections,' an installation of the work of Scottish artist Martin Boyce on its return from the 53rd Venice Biennale.

DCA's interest in the project is how best it, as a publicly funded gallery, could support the artists that it works with, and is driven by an interest in better understanding the contributions and implications of public and private support in the art world. It describes its mission as primarily "the development and exhibition of contemporary art and culture through providing opportunities for artists to create, and for audiences to engage with an active, varied and high-quality cultural life" (DCA 2014) and is particularly aware of a significant lack of understanding amongst artists and cultural workers around the role of publicly funded and commercially funded entities working in the international art market. In the art market the rules are unwritten and changeable, creating uncertainty in artistic careers. Uncovering whether artists' preparations for entry into the market was thorough or lacking, and how this either prepared or hindered them, can be critical in gaining an insight into how these artists position themselves in the art market. However, providing a more transparent account of the role of publicly funded and commercial funded organisations to artists' careers will provide useful insights for both artists and cultural organisations, although this is not the central focus of the thesis.

Through conversations with the DCA's Director and Head of Arts, I came to understand their interest stemmed from a desire to better understand the role of their organisation within the broader contemporary art structure and particularly in relation to privately or commercially funded enterprises; with the intention of these insights feeding back into the organisation but also to artists and others working in the field. During the project we discussed shared concerns about arts graduates' and emerging artists' limited awareness of primary and secondary markets and in the challenges this presented them in developing a career path as a visual artist. Following these conversations with the DCA team I began to consider how artists make a living in the art market, or in spite of the art

market, and the role of commercial and not-for-profit galleries in supporting artistic endeavour and the concept of the inalienability of artistic work, “supposedly above the values of the market place” (Webb et al 2002:28). Questions began to form around developing an increased understanding of how visual artists generate income and how this might contribute to an understanding of the economic viability of artistic careers, particularly in the context of contributions from public and private sources throughout artists’ careers and how this is balanced by the artists in order to develop more sustainable careers in terms of financial reward for artistic endeavour.

From the conversations with the DCA, my own background in artistic practice and my experience of working for several publicly funded arts organisations, I began to formulate my research questions around the artist’s career and in particular around the apparent tension between the artistic and commercial imperatives in artistic careers. I wanted to approach the empirical research from a tangent as I felt that a direct approach would not offer the opportunity for the artists’ perspective to be fully understood. I began to develop a methodology that would allow me to interrogate the themes of artistic and commercial indirectly through an exploration of the artist’s career, enabling them to explain what their experiences were throughout their career and how they understood them. DCA’s interest and established connections with a number of artists provided a useful and fairly comprehensive basis with which to begin engagement with the topic, the development of the methodology is further explained in chapter three. This is preceded by an introduction to the context, the art world and art market, as well as the literature that guided me and helped to frame the research throughout the development of the thesis.

1.2 Artistic and Commercial

Initially the thesis developed from an interest in the apparent conflict that is assumed in artistic careers in the contrast between an artistic rationale, art for art’s sake, and the role of the commercial, the market. Much of the work artists do in positioning themselves reveals their consciousness of avoiding the contaminating effects of the market. Artists maintain that often they create work solely for themselves and their development as an artist: Caves (2003) describes this as *Art for Art’s Sake*, “invok[ing] the utility that the artist gains from doing creative work” (Caves 2003: 74), whilst Bourdieu labels this ‘production for producers’ or more literally ‘art for artists’ (Bourdieu 1993: 50-51). The view of artists eschewing money to create work that is untainted by the market has fed a “romanticized

image of the artist as an unappreciated, unpaid visionary" (Whitesel 1980: 40) which persists today. This is illustrated by Bain (2005) who says,

"The spirit of Romanticism was embodied in the stereotypical image of the starving artist living in a garret – an image that glamorized the precarious position of the artist and communicated a powerful new definition of the avant-garde artist as a Bohemian rebel, outsider and social critic who sacrificed status, money and material comfort for the supposed freedom this afforded the imaginative spirit to pursue individual creative expression." (Bain 2005: 5-6)

A division is assumed in much of the literature between artistic and commercial (market or economic) perspectives. Throsby (2006) argues that artists are driven by intrinsic rather than financial motivations: "non-pecuniary motives are likely to be much more important than any expectation of financial reward in propelling artists towards an artistic career" (Throsby 2006: 5), with Menger (2006) concurring that non-monetary or "'psychic income" [is] an essential dimension of [artistic] work" (Menger 2006: 13). Lingo & Tepper (2013) suggest that status in the art world is directed towards those artists who embrace 'art for art's sake,' based on Bourdieu's (1993) understanding of art that is driven by artistic imperatives: "[c]ritics, fellow artists, and the public attach the badge of authenticity to those artists who reject economic motives and embrace the bohemian ethic" (Lingo & Tepper 2013: 7). McRobbie (1998) found a similar division between artistic and commercial, adopting Bourdieu's notion of 'anti-economy', in the British fashion industry and intriguingly found that fashion designers understood their success on similar terms, in an art for art's sake mindset. The designers McRobbie interviewed "rationalise their own economic fragility by seeing their market failure as a sign of artistic success, or at least artistic integrity" (McRobbie: 6).

Velthuis (2007) studied the pricing structures of commercial galleries in Amsterdam and New York to try to understand how commercial galleries develop prices, or 'construct value' for the work of contemporary visual artists. His work is useful in providing an understanding of the important role of commercial galleries in the development of an artist's market, and subsequently their career. He found two norms in the pricing of contemporary art which revolved around size of the work and not decreasing prices. However his study also touched on the differences between the understandings of prices in economics as opposed to the "contaminating or corrosive meanings" that can be

associated with prices in the humanities (Velthuis 2003: 181). Velthuis draws on the work of Viviana Zelizer and her 'hostile worlds' perspective which, when he applies it to the art market, "dichotomizes price and value of art" (Velthuis 2003: 207; See also Zelizer 2005). He references the fear from those within the art world of art work being devalued and viewed as a commodity as well as how gallerists and dealers are able to communicate "non-economic values via the economic medium of price [... finding that] prices tell rich stories about the caring role dealers want to enact, about the identity of collectors, about the status of artists, and the artistic value of art" (Velthuis: 207-208). Velthuis offers a relevant and applicable perspective on the role of gallerists that can be held up against artists' experiences of working with galleries, the role of prices and understanding the market for their work.

In exploring the arguments behind a tension between artistic and commercial, it is possible that artists have the knowledge to negotiate the market but are challenged by terminology which is unfamiliar or problematic. For example, the term market is complex and artists might be more open to, and understanding of, markets being described more as "audiences [which] can encompass fellow artists, critics, buyers, funders and direct end-users" (Oakley et al 2008: 26). Gullidge & Townley (2013) explore similar concepts in their article on the literary field showing that the language used by publishers and book agents deliberately avoids economic references in favour of softer terminology. They state,

"books are produced in publishing houses not factories, some publishers' refer to 'bringing books out,' not as selling them; and the aversion to language and categorizations that are seen as reflecting commodities" (Gullidge & Townley 2013: 13)

Moreover the logic within which an art school functions, traditionally driven by art for art's sake, also shields future artists from a commercial, or market, logic which could help them understand the context they may be working in following graduation, should they choose to continue to practice as artists professionally.

Rather than address this head on, the thesis takes a career history account to look at the careers of artists in order to examine the nature of the relationship between art and commerce. The guiding questions of this thesis are addressed in the career history interviews through an exploration of artist's understandings of, and negotiations with, the

art market; and how they accommodate this through their careers. The career history format allows particular focus on the themes of artistic and commercial, which pervade almost all aspects of artistic practice and artistic careers, without forming these as direct questions.

This study provides an insight into how artistic and commercial issues and themes are negotiated by artists themselves, as well as artists' perceptions of the activities of the art world around them. The thesis began with a set of open questions about the artist's understandings, awareness and experiences of the market, but with an underlying interest in the interplay between artistic and commercial that I was aware of from studying and working in the field. Guided by my own interest and the general interest of the DCA, I spent time working out the most appropriate approach and developing the research methodology. I selected career histories for their depth and perspective, allowing the research to be led by the empirical data rather than through my own theoretical predispositions, although still guided by the overarching themes of art and commerce. The next part of this introduction acts as a means to familiarise the reader with the context of the field of contemporary art to enable an understanding of the concepts, discussion and findings that arise during the empirical chapters. It is an essential component in establishing the general structure of the field to readers unfamiliar with its composition, contributors and characteristics.

1.3 The Field of Contemporary Art

Borrowing from Bourdieu's terminology, this thesis considers the sub-field of restricted production (Bourdieu 1993), as opposed to the sub-field of large-scale production. In summary the sub-field of restricted production concerns what is known in the literature, and more widely, as art for art's sake, or production for producers. In this sub-field, economic capital is often shunned and the art work produced is aimed at developing artistic practice as opposed to achieving financial gain. In contrast the sub-field of large-scale production is seen as driven by market demand and aimed at more commercial activity which attracts short term economic profit. Identification of this aspect at the outset helps to provide a lens for understanding this configuration of the specific sub-field. From the literature, Bourdieu identifies that artists working in the restricted field can cross over into the field of large scale production but there are inherent risks to credibility of the artist which can negatively impact career opportunities. In contrast, artists working

in the field of large-scale production will very rarely, if ever, manage to cross over to the field of restricted production, unable to achieve the consecration that is required. This idea of restricted production in contrast with large scale production, might also be reduced to artistic versus commercial production, thus framing the debate around a very specific mode of artistic practice, 'art for art's sake', excluding artistic activity which is predominantly targeted towards large scale production. This contributes both to decisions around the selection of participants as seen in chapter three, but also to an understanding of where the tension emerges in artistic practice as artists engaged in the sub-field of restricted production strive to avoid moving into the field of large scale production, being seen to have 'sold out'. Its brief explanation here should enable the reader to begin to understand the context from which this research has begun.

One of the noted, key features of the art market is the marked secrecy and controlled circulation of information. This is one of the key structures of the market for contemporary art and it is clear that information is power (Codignola 2003; Grady 2010; Grampp 1989; Hughes 2008; Sifakakis 2007; Throsby 2007; Velthuis 2007). Information might be regarded as a commodity (Eisenhardt 1989) which the possessors wield over others and disseminate to a select few, but it is also a distinct market advantage. Information is 'imperfectly distributed' and this results in some actors in the field acquiring information before others (Shane & Venkataraman 2000). This information could pertain to opportunities that are available, key information about other players, or market changes – all of which may prove to be a competitive advantage. This relates to collectors and gallerists, referencing economic transactions, however it can also relate to artists being able to access the right opportunities that enable them to develop their career.

Secrecy is not unique to the art market; other markets, industries and fields are also characteristically strategic in managing information flows; often these are associated with circumstances which involve financial transactions and where reputation has become a key indicator. There are certain industries within which there is little that outsiders, and in some cases, insiders, know about its inner workings and insider practices. The financial markets are one of the most recent and obvious examples where we see market actors as holding information to which the majority are unable to access or understand and this gives them power and authority within and outwith their field. Consider the following from Sjöberg (2004) who is writing about financial service markets where there is a

‘view of market actors in general [...] as belonging to an exclusive club. This can partly be linked to stereotypes based on popular anecdotes ‘confirming’ notions or feelings among the public that market actors have access to information hidden to ‘ordinary’ people. This in turn invites an interpretation of them as bearers of important knowledge inaccessible to ‘outsiders’. In this sense, market actors become agenda setters as well as creators of facts’ (Sjöberg 2004: 484).

This understanding can also be applied to market actors in contemporary art. Knowledge, or even simply the pretence of knowledge, gives the gallerist a position of dominance in the field. Improved information circulation leading to greater transparency and clarity is an opportunity and threat for those on either side of the information divide (Codignola 2003).

Art works demonstrate the infinite variety that Caves (2000) speaks of in his analysis of the creative and cultural industries. This infinite variety serves artists well in some respects as they are dealing with a diversified market demand (Codignola 2003) and feeds into the core value that artists are ‘imperfect substitutes’ for one another (Benhamou 2011; Menger 2006). Whilst infinite variety can enable artists to appeal to a wide ranging audience it also means that much of the market relationships between artists, gallerists and buyers rely heavily on a set of negotiations since there is no set pricing model (Velthuis 2007).

Negotiating permeates the art world and formal contracts between artists and gallerists are relatively uncommon, in the “world of the contemporary visual arts, it may sometimes be thought that formal agreements are unnecessary because they might restrain the creative processes or indicate a lack of trust” (Jones 2005: 12). This is not wholly true for the entire market and larger organisations have both the means and desires to work to contracts – both to protect their own and the artist’s interests. The typical agreements that a commercial gallery would enter into when selling an artist’s work is akin to commission based sales agreements where the artist is considered a client of the gallery, the gallery sets the price for the work –adding commission which it deducts after each sale, before the remaining proceeds are transferred to the artist (SAU 2007). Commission based sales agreements has become the most typical sales relationship between artists and galleries. Galleries take “art works on consignment, matching sellers to buyers for a commission rather than investing in stocks of art” that was formerly the case (Thornton 2009: 5).

These exist without contracts in place between the artist and gallerist, with the deal resting on a gentleman's agreement, and trust. With this in mind it is important to uncover how these arrangements manifest and how they are handled by the artist. If, as the literature suggests, there may be a tension between art and money, then relationships formed around sales present a platform where negotiations around artistic and commercial imperatives are likely to be witnessed. In exploring artists' relationships with their gallery and negotiations around money, income and selling, it is possible to understand the perspective of the artist and their approach to, or management of, scenarios which involve the meeting of the artistic and commercial.

1.31 The Primary and Secondary Market for Contemporary Art

The global market for contemporary art reached a worth of €47.4 billion in 2013 (TEFAF 2014), more than £39.7 billion, and can be characterised as highly internationalised (Menger 1993, Codignola 2003), structurally complex, and at times monopolistic and oligopolistic in terms of control of production, and regulating rarity (Codignola 2003). The art market operates globally, but the majority of activity tends to be concentrated in a small number of cities across the world including London and New York, with artists active in "second cities or off-center art worlds, [seeking] ongoing connections with center cities (e.g., New York, Los Angeles) in order to boost their reputations and their market opportunities" (Lingo & Tepper 2013: 12). These cities and their respective market players often hold a monopoly on the artists in most demand and they are even thought to strategically regulate their work through withholding works and managing buyers (Codignola 2003). In addition to cities like London and New York where economic activity in the art world is centred, smaller centres like Glasgow and Berlin still remain significant players in terms of their artistic communities, ensuring gallerists and collectors pay attention to these locations when searching for art. Many of the artists who live in these relative hinterlands have their global interests represented by single or multiple regional galleries, maintaining interests in mainland Europe, the UK, the USA and beyond. The role and impact of galleries will be explored further in chapter six.

The art market is a "micro-economy governed by the actions of a few important collectors, dealers, critics and curators" (Stallabrass 2004: 3). It is relatively unique in its rules and regulations and often contradicts the traditional understandings of how markets should and do function. The market can be divided into two sectors, the primary and secondary markets, with each functioning differently in terms of acquisition, distributors and in how

it develops market prices and values (Codignola 2003). The primary market is that which concerns works sold either directly from the artist or through their gallerist or dealer. The secondary is concerned with sales at auction, usually with works that have been through the primary market first.

Auction sales are less common for living artists but not unheard of. Throughout history there have been notable large-scale auctions of works from the collections of Robert & Ethel Scull, Charles Saatchi and, in a highly unorthodox occurrence, directly from the artist with Damien Hirst's sale entitled *Beautiful inside my head forever* at Sotheby's in 2008, which was described by some as an "unprecedented event in the commodification of art" (Thornton 2014b). Hirst explained that his decision to take his work directly to auction was to make art more accessible since,

"It's very difficult to buy a work in a gallery, you walk into the gallery, you get put on a waiting list by an intimidating woman or something and they want to know who you are." (Hirst as cited in Sotheby's 2008: 17)

The practices of the primary market are described as "murky...and hierarchical [and buyers in the secondary market] feel reassured by the auction houses sophisticated marketing, global networks and glossy catalogues, and by the presence of an under-bidder¹ who is willing to pay a similar price" (Thornton 2009: 7). These rules of the game are reasons why particular types of buyers occupy different markets. Some enjoy rewards of being associated as a supporter of the arts and the access to the art world that involvement with gallerists in the primary market will offer them. In contrast other buyers of contemporary art may be more interested in purchasing works of art speculatively or are more familiar and comfortable with the systems and processes of the auction market. They are less interested in engaging in a courting ritual with a gallery in order to purchase a work of art and choose to purchase through auction houses.

Although the auction market is a key decider of prices according to economists (Grady 2010), it is not appropriate to this study as the majority of sales by contemporary, living

¹ In an auction where multiple people will bid for a single item, an under-bidder would be the person(s) bidding on the same item, but who loses out to the winning bidder.

artists are directly to galleries, institutions, collectors and the public and are less likely to appear on the secondary market within their lifetime. Overall contemporary artists' engagement with the auction market is limited, or non-existent, and therefore provides little basis for understanding the relationship between art and money.

The primary and secondary markets sometimes overlap or clash, but in some circumstances can prove mutually beneficial since primary and secondary market organisations are both engaged in activity around the market for contemporary visual art, to differing degrees. Crossovers in staff can occur: where organisations in both the primary and secondary markets may employ the same staff at different times. Organisations and individuals engage in both markets simultaneously: for example gallerists may purchase from the secondary market and sell to the primary market, or parties may own interests on both markets like Sotheby's and Christies, the global auction houses, both of which bought galleries in the primary market: Sotheby's bought Noortman Master Paintings, and Christies bought Haunch of Venison. These are internationally renowned galleries engaged in the exhibition and sale of artists work, as well as representing artists in the development of their career. Although these "galleries operate independently [of the auction houses ...] the relationships are close" (Thornton 2009: 6). The strategic purchase of galleries in the primary market by the two largest auction houses on the secondary market brings the two worlds uncomfortably close together.

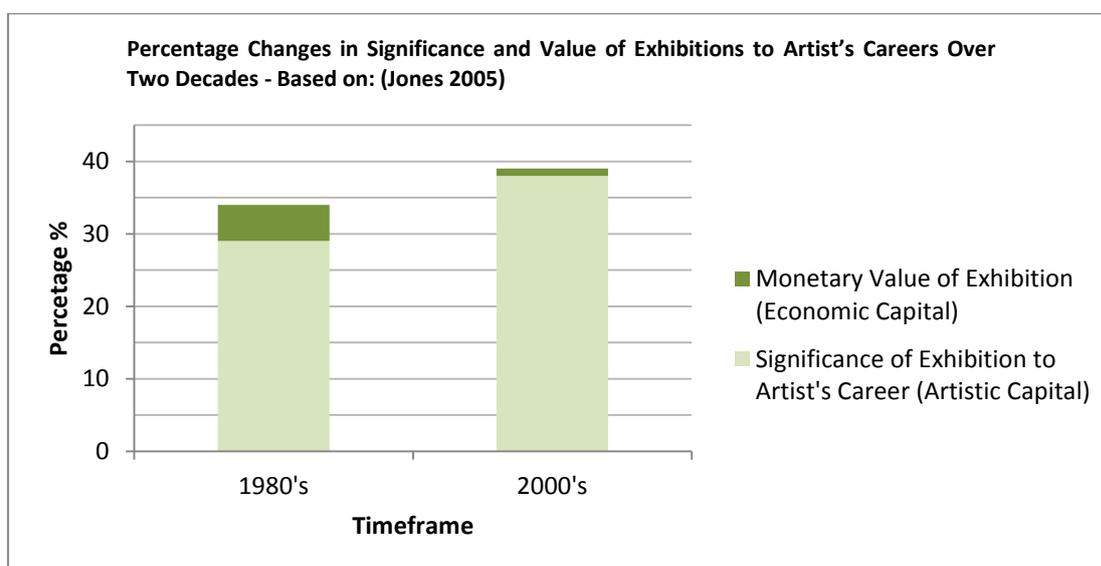
This discomfort derives from the proximity of the primary market gallery, intended to be more artistically driven owing to its relationship with artists, and the auction house, which is seen to be economically driven. This provides another example of a possible tension between artistic and commercial motivations that exists in the market for contemporary art: for those who prefer to separate the economically driven activities of auction houses with the more artistically driven activities associated with exhibiting work and representing artists. Auction houses - with their corporate identities, loyal clients and large financial resources - pose a credible competitive threat to the interests of the gallerists and dealers of the primary market (Thornton 2009) as well as to the current functioning of the primary market, since they bypass the vetting activity most galleries perform to ensure works are 'placed' with appropriate collectors who are unlikely to resell the works quickly. As "artworks are among the few commodities whose status is affected by their owners...dealers take great care in "placing" the works' (Thornton 2009: 8). Primary market galleries are more concerned with maintaining the stability of the prices

for an artist’s work while auction houses work on the basis of bidding, with the highest bidder winning and themselves taking a percentage of sale. Auction houses are less likely to be affected negatively by the resale of an artist’s work in the same way that artists and their gallerists might be. With high powered auction houses stepping into the market of private dealing it poses questions about the dynamics of the market and suggests changes in how it might function in the future; 8.7% of Christies current revenue is derived from their primary market activities and this figure is expected to rise to 20% within three years (Thornton 2009: 6).

The Role of Commercial Galleries in the Primary Market

An artist’s gallery provides a crucial role in the development of an artist’s career. The gallery provides an artist with “exhibition space, promotional assistance, a geographical “spread” of the market if selling via art fairs/internet, a client base and it deals with the public and the money” (SAU 2007: 2). They are also involved in helping to secure exhibitions for artists. Outside of art fairs, gallery exhibitions act as the “primary contexts that bring together the art world’s key insiders (directors, curators, artists, and art professionals)” (Sifakakis 2007: 207). Figure 1 below shows how exhibitions have become more significant in terms of developing an artist’s career, from 29% in the 1980’s to 38% in the 2000’s. But during this time the fees that artists secured from these exhibitions reduced significantly, averaging only £200 per exhibition in 2000’s.

FIGURE 1: (BASED ON JONES 2005) SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUE OF EXHIBITIONS TO ARTISTS’ CAREERS



In addition to their role in securing opportunities for artists to exhibit galleries have other benefits for artists ranging from pricing to prestige, through the development of a pricing structure, sales, marketing, and extending to promoting a critical dialogue around the artist's work through identifying appropriate opportunities for them to develop their practice. Galleries become adept at: selling works, maintaining an artist's prices, helping position artists on their roster for prizes, securing large commissions and presentations of their work at key industry events like the Venice Biennale. Artist-gallery relations are complex and require careful management in order for them to function successfully, "an unhappy relationship between artist and gallery tends to ricochet around the art world and does neither any good" (Jones 2005: 14). In this study further insights into the artist-gallerist relationship are explored from the artist perspective to explore the realities behind gentleman's agreements, issues that may arise through complicated relationships and the benefits of productive collaborations between artists and gallerist, amongst others.

The traditional process for the artist-gallery relationship involves the gallery inviting the artist to be part of a group show and then if they wish to proceed with the relationship they will invite them to do a solo show. If these steps prove successful and comfortable for both parties the gallery will then invite the artist to be represented by them, moving them into one of two groups which they support: a stable of commercially successful artists, or artists whose practice is not necessarily commercially sustainable but whom they are willing to support for artistic reasons. There may be crossover between the two groups of artists in their stable but the gallerist must achieve a balance between these in order to sustain themselves financially, and symbolically, in terms of how they are perceived in the art world. This process is not always a formal one and the conversations may be informal or unwritten.

Some artists are relatively aware of where they sit within a gallery's stable of artists and some are conscious of what elements of their practice are more commercially suited. This recognition extends to understanding that some aspects of their practice are not commercially viable and they might look to sustain these through public support, for example. Thus the aims of this research are to look at the artist's career from its beginnings, graduation from art school, and to understand whether artists were aware of two mind-sets or logics, the artistic and the commercial. It is to try and unpick how artists

understand this, how they acquire knowledge of the operation of the art market and how they do, or do not, accommodate themselves to it that is the purpose of this thesis.

In addition to an artist's gallery selling to public and private collections and the public directly, they also represent artists at art fairs, a primary art market activity (Thornton 2009). Art fairs are an opportunity for gallerists or dealers to gather and present the work of their stable of artists to specialist arts audiences and the public. These events happen annually across the world and draw attention from collectors and the public alike. Art fairs are important dates in gallery calendars and structurally bridge a gap between the types of activity which auction houses undertake and the types of market activity galleries typically undertake on a day to day basis. Art fairs are large events, typically over a few days, where many organisations come together to sell works and promote their stable of artists. Art fairs are heavily oversubscribed so organisations are required to apply, and if selected pay for a booth, up to £37,000 at TEFAF Maastricht or £32,000 at Frieze (Frieze 2010), with younger galleries there are discounted opportunities of around £5000 (Frieze 2014; Halperin 2012a, 2012b). The private view includes invited clientele, such as collectors, who arrive prior to the opening day for privileged access to the gallerists' booths, with the aim of securing advance sales of work. With such demand for booths, organisers have the opportunity to apply selection criteria with a panel of gallerists making the selection from applications. For Frieze Art Fair in London the panel of seven gallerists² selected just over 160 galleries from 500 applications (approximately one third) – implying the importance of reputation and even networks in enabling galleries to gain access to these events; exclusion could have consequences for a gallery's business growth, sales, and visibility if they wish to compete globally.

Art fairs are like industry trade fairs where the art market is performed, where organisations are not only selling work, promoting their artists and their organisation, but also networking with their peers, even at times competing with their peers or surveying the competition (Codignola 2003). Although art fairs are expensive they are an essential part of the business model for galleries to ensure their positioning in the market and, subsequently, the position of their stable of artists: "They are part of the business plan

² The 2014 Panel for Frieze London includes gallerists from: Berlin, Paris, London, New York and São Paulo.

now [... it] would be like not advertising or not having three phone lines. It's critical to operating a business" (Gallerist Anthony Meier cited in Halperin 2012a: 1).

Gallerists tend to be drawn predominantly from those who are trained in the arts, art history or similar disciplines. As such they are familiar with the nuances of cultural production and use their experience to gain specialised knowledge of both supply and demand in contemporary art. A gallerist's role is centred on selling work, but their criteria for accepting a sale does not rest solely on whether a buyer can afford the price. In the commercial world, in an effort to insulate their artists from their economic activities and practices, gallerists ensure "buyers are vetted for their commitment to collecting, since it can be dangerous to an artist's reputation or even to the market as a whole to have a sudden and unexpected sale of work" from a collector who changed their mind or was only interested in works of art as speculative investments to be bought and sold like stocks and shares (Stallabrass 2004: 101). In the secondary market it is the economics which drive the sales – those who are willing and able to make the top bid, win. In the primary market, other criteria, like an existing collection of similar works, an established and respected collection, those who buy in depth are all variables in the decision making process. In buying in depth, a collector "acquire[s] a lot of work by a single artist, [and] they can become integral to an artist's career" (Thornton 2009: 7). A gallerist's career and the sustainability of the gallery itself is heavily intertwined with that of their stock of artists and thus if their artist[s] suffer a loss in either earnings or reputation – they too are affected to a degree; so monitoring and screening buyers is a crucial component of a gallerist's business model.

The role of the gallerists or dealer is similar to a literary or actor's agent, in that they represent the artist and the artist's career, as well as promoting it and the distribution of works; they have a vested interest in ensuring that nothing diminishes or hinders that career. "Galleries court clients and collectors offering buyers confidence in a purchase" (SAU 2007: 2) and thus a gallery's reputation, image, size and networks are all critical to their market success. Many artists, particularly those in the mid to late stages of their career, have one or more gallerists that can enable them to unlock local markets in different parts of the world; however, there is almost always an arrangement in place which establishes a primary gallery. Although artists rarely have a written contract with galleries, galleries often negotiate contracts with one another to protect their interests and income in relation to the sale of a particular artist's work. Gallerists work on commission

and thus if an artist is not selling then they are not earning either. Galleries may use their power and dominance to manipulate prices and the market and have the potential to “control almost the entire supply and price system” (Codignola 2003: 9).

Consumers of art – in the sense of those buying art - can be included in, but not limited to, one of the following categories: collectors, speculators, brokers, purchases destined for the furnishings sector, collective consumer groups (public, museums, authorities or associations, the church). Each of these groups contains its own nuances and preferences for who, what and where they like to buy; for example, primary market collectors enjoy artist’s dinners and studio visits which act both as a tool of research for their collections as well as an incentive to buy (Thornton 2009: 6). These are all part of the rituals of this world and have been constructed and customised to meet the needs and desires of buyers, an element of market demand.

Collectors who are not directly involved in supporting artists, or are not seen to be visibly supporting artists, contribute to negative perceptions of the market as economically driven to the detriment of artistic logic, or art for art’s sake.

1.32 Collective Activity and the Role of Networks

Sociologists Howard S. Becker (1982) and Pierre Bourdieu (1993) both argue that the notion of individual artistic genius is naïve and that a better understanding of the market can be attained through understanding cultural production as a collective activity in which there are numerous support workers who act to create a work of art in addition to the artist; these can be technicians who may physically make the work, curators who devise displays of art work, to gallerists who promote the work. Bourdieu notes that the field of cultural production is unusual in its relative unconditional acceptance of the notion of a singular artistic genius arguing that,

“There are in fact very few other areas in which the glorification of ‘great individuals’, unique creators irreducible to any condition or conditioning, is more common or uncontroversial” (Bourdieu 1993: 29)

Collective activity (Becker 1982) is a characteristic of the field of contemporary art, which can include artists working with organisations who can provide project support, funding and critical framework; curators at venues helping artists develop and devise an

exhibition of work, offering critical feedback and contributing to critical dialogue around the work and the artist's practice. Becker (1978) discusses the differences between the 'artist' and 'craftsman' explaining how although at times they may perform identical tasks, that the artist remains in his position as 'artist,' whilst the craftsman is defined as supporting the artist in their endeavours. Becker's research suggests that there is more to becoming an artist than performing certain skills, or even having a particular talent, alluding to further contributing factors in developing a career as an artist.

Collective activity may also include artists working together in artists' cooperatives self-supporting and creating their own opportunities. The networks that structure activity and communication in the art market are a critical part of how the field and market function, since "artists, like other social actors, do not behave other than interdependently" (Menger 1999: 560). Artists can also "share the occupational risk by pooling their resources" in order to lessen the risks associated with lack of secure employment (Menger 2006: 33).

A discussion of collective activity must include the role of 'tastemakers' due to their significance and influence in the field of contemporary art. Tastemaker is a term used to describe those who constitute the influential elite in the world of contemporary art. Galleries and institutions, as tastemakers, have the "muscle to ratify artists" (Thornton 2009: 9). These can be individuals, institutions, or informal groups and are constantly changing (Menger 1999). Outside of these tastemakers, recognition is often achieved through peers. Advocates for the ideology of *art for art's sake* (Caves 2000) consider that it can, and should, be peer recognition that is really important in the sub-field of restricted production (Menger 1999).

Networks are also mechanisms where dominant logics, ways of thinking and understanding, are formed and perpetuated by the social relationships of market actors (Lounsbury 2007). This aspect of networks might explain the proliferation of artists' collectives who adopt and act on shared values: "The network structures characteristic of the crafts and the professions have been favoured over managerial hierarchies" (Thornton 2002: 81). Thus the role of networks has important consequences in terms of building and developing careers in the art market. In a market predominantly based on portfolio or composite careers (careers based on multiple projects with different organisations rather than one role – or successive roles progressing through the same organisation), networks often function as a mechanism through which organisations and individuals can send and

receive trustworthy information. Such information might be used to “convey reliable information about skills and talents quite rapidly, since formal screening and hiring processes would often be inefficient and too costly” (Menger 1999: 549). There is power in formal and informal networks, which is demonstrated by the process where gallerists use their networks to help guide them to decisions of which artists to add to their roster. Thornton (2009) noted that,

“when recruiting [artists], dealers often act on the recommendation of artists who are already on their roster. It helps to lend coherence to the gallery’s programme and acknowledges that other artists are important arbitrators” (Thornton 2009: 8).

Outlining the market for contemporary art has been important in understanding the context within which artists are working, as well as in identifying the roles that exist in the market. In addition it is important to identify the context of art schools and higher education in the training of artists.

1.33 Art Schools and Higher Education

In most fields further and higher education are a time for preparation for the world of work, expected to equip students with the skills and knowledge needed to progress through their personal and professional lives. Art school degrees are comparable in many ways: giving students the opportunity to learn technical skills; enabling and encouraging them to develop a community of peers; and instilling in them some idea of the outside world, artistic practice beyond art school, through projects set in the local community or, more recently, through training sessions in business skills.

Most artists’ careers begin with art school. Art schools train artists and accredit thousands of graduates every year, who are then introduced to the market which most are vaguely aware of and ill prepared for. Art schools claim to focus on the development of both creative and professional skills but few are successfully imparting the latter to their students; Lingo and Tepper (2013) drew data from the ‘*Strategic National Arts Alumni Project*’ (SNAAP) which showed that “business and management skills are the number one area that graduates of arts programs wish they had been more exposed to in college” (Lingo & Tepper 2013: 8). An artist’s time at art school is valuable in instilling an artist with an understanding of the importance of community and creative distinctiveness (Whitesel 1980), as well as acting as a site for developing and perpetuating the myths that

artists use to understand their position and identity as an artist within the field of contemporary visual art (Bain 2005). Art schools and colleges, however, do not fully prepare artists for the characteristics of an artistic career and how they can manage such distinctive careers.

The current art school system has proved to be far from an adequate preparation in terms of developing skills pertinent to a career as an artist in the field of contemporary art since “experience and reputation are much more central” (Benhamou 2011: 2), and thus artists enter the market unprepared and ill-equipped. UK Art Schools “are part of the mass education system and [the Thatcher era] saw the numbers of students rise and the numbers of staff decrease” (Harding 2001: 1), meaning that the existing studio model of teaching where tutors were intended to have close contact with students began to lessen with the demands of increased class sizes. Graduating artists often feel failed by the establishment, entering the world of work under-prepared, the product of teaching that is sometimes more focused on the idea and developing critical thinking to the detriment of technical skill or ability. This has impact for both ‘artistic aspirants,’ where Lindemann (2013) found that of the 74% of US arts graduates who have practiced as professional artists, only 53% remained when surveyed later in life³; as well as the 22% of graduates who SNAAP found “never intended to work as professional artists” (Lindemann 2013: 7). Lindemann does qualify these statistics to explain that not all graduates respond to these surveys meaning that the figures may indicate an underestimation of the numbers of aspiring artists, as well as suggesting that financial concerns (including student debt) are a major contributor to decreases in the number of practicing artists over time. Although financial concerns are a universal factor in the careers of artists, the context of the USA differs in terms of the scale of student fees in comparison to the UK system, for instance, where fees in the UK have, until recently, been capped at a very low level, or free for Scottish students.

Whether art students feel failed or enriched by the traditional art school system, their next steps are particularly crucial. Developing their practice beyond the walls of the institution and simultaneously developing their networks in order to expose themselves and their

³ Alper & Wassall (2006:6-7) referenced Stoh’s (1989; 1990; 1991; 1992) study of Art Institute of Chicago’s graduates from 1963 found that only 6% of fine art graduates were still supporting themselves in the fine arts after 18 years (‘midlife’) down from almost half in the first few years after they graduated.

practice to wider critical dialogue are essential in progressing in their career. It is in these early stages that many artists watch their peers move out of practicing art and either into support fields, working with galleries and cultural organisations, or away from the art market entirely into other fields.

Before outlining the theoretical perspective that informs this thesis, I outline some characteristics of the artistic career. The research asks whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial, but it also references the potentially taut relationship between the two within the artistic field, so I chose to approach the thesis from a tangent to avoid assuming that a tension exists. A focus on artists' careers – exploring artistic careers as the platform where artists are most likely to be found negotiating between artistic and commercial concerns, replaced a more direct approach to the question of whether artists saw a tension between artistic and commercial.

1.4 Conclusion and Introducing the Thesis

This study of artists' careers is an opportunity to contribute to knowledge about the careers of visual artists but also can provide comparisons more widely to career experiences in other creative disciplines through comparing the activities and behaviours of artists with those working outside of the field of visual art. The careers literature provides studies which can explain some of the phenomena apparent in artistic careers, and is a useful framework for understanding artists and their careers. This study addresses the notion of artists' distaste for the commercial and the possibility of a tension between artistic and commercial imperatives. Importantly the research originates from the assumptions in the literature around the existence of a tension between artistic and commercial, enquiring as to whether this does exist and if so, how it is understood and managed by the artists. I attempt to answer these questions through addressing the artist directly – allowing them to lead a conversation about how their career is progressing and any issues that have arisen during their career. This will allow me to uncover to what extent this opposition is a fixture of artists' engagement with the art market, and if so, how it is managed.

The literature on artistic careers has proved invaluable in helping to outline the context the research sits in and supplementing my existing knowledge of the field. However, I have chosen to explore literatures on institutional logics and capitals in order to develop a

theoretical framework for the thesis. The central questions of the thesis revolve around a tension between artistic and commercial and I feel that the logics and capitals literature offer an opportunity to better interrogate an apparent tension between artistic and commercial, and how this might be understood and managed by artists. The careers literature has helped to provide a foundation from which an analysis of artistic and commercial might be approached throughout the thesis, and many of the scholars who have written about artists' careers have themselves referenced the possible competing logics of artistic and commercial, as well as the relevance of Bourdieu's theories, including capitals, to the study of the creative and cultural industries.

Much of the literature on artists' career preferences has proved valuable in recognising the pattern of work that artists are involved in. However, cataloguing the patterns of work that artists undertake limits the potential insights that a more in-depth analysis of artists careers might be able to provide. The literature on collective activity also has purchase for this study since it highlights the role of other cultural workers in supporting the activity of artists, and even the complex boundary between artist and support worker. Although both these bodies of literature might prove an insightful framing mechanism, neither is able to directly address the central question of whether there is a tension between artistic and economic. Thus the knowledge gleaned from the careers literature is used here as a tool to help develop the research and provide insights to inform the development of the methodology, as well as to support an analysis of the empirical data.

This chapter has covered an introduction to the researcher and research partners as well as the context within which artists are working. It outlined the structure of the field of contemporary art and the players who make up this field, touching on the current state of the art market and the notion of collective activity in relation to artistic production. In relation to a conflict between artistic and commercial, the artist-gallerist relationship appears to be a platform where conflicts might arise. Although there are many shared goals between an artist and their gallerist, principally artists aim to enhance and develop their practice, whilst the aims of the gallerists are to support artists in order to enhance their reputation and usually to make money. During these relationships and negotiations are moments when tensions between competing commercial and artistic imperatives may be at their most heightened. However, the literature on the artistic career has not really examined how the tensions between the artistic and the commercial are played out, if these are recognised as salient issues by artists and how they are accommodated. I

therefore turn to the organisation studies literature on institutional logics as a way of trying to understand the operation of some of these tensions. While my knowledge of this literature guided my initial approach to understanding the empirical data I had collected, on reading the interviews and trying to present the findings I began to see that Bourdieu's work on capitals, some of which I was already familiar with, helped both structure the data and aided my understanding of the operation of the artistic world and the activities of artists within this. I therefore began to examine this literature in more detail and used it to structure the empirical material.

The thesis is structured as follows. The literature review examines the literature on institutional logics to give a grounding in how the theoretical framework began and how it changed in trying to make sense of the empirical material, with the chapter ending in an introduction to the work of Bourdieu and his theoretical framework of capitals. The careers literature contributes to a three pronged approach to the thesis where the literature on careers has become a foundation for the research and this is then built on using the theoretical lens of institutional logics, and then subsequently capitals. Following the literature review the methodology chapter outlines the choice of methods, looking at the selection of artists, the career history interview method, as well as the coding of the empirical data. The remainder of the thesis is structured around three empirical chapters. The empirical chapters are structured around Bourdieu's theory of capitals starting with the development of artistic capital, specifically how artists develop and maintain their artistic practice and identity; followed by a chapter dedicated to exploring the role of networks, building and maintaining networks throughout the artistic career - social capital; with the final and most substantial empirical chapter exploring the notion of economic capital in relation to artists attitudes to money and income - including discussion of jobs and employment, views on money in art, their experiences of working with commercial galleries, and the impact and importance of public support for artistic practice. This study interrogates the artistic and commercial as understood from the perspectives of artists themselves. This provides a base for potential future research across wider cultural fields and further within the field of contemporary visual art with the intention of understanding how the three capitals, cultural, social and economic, contribute to a dialogue around the artistic and commercial in artists' careers.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The introductory chapter has outlined the nature of the art market and the field as a way of introducing the factors that shape artists' careers and practice. In this chapter literature is introduced that relates to the notions of a tension between artistic and commercial, in order to frame the research questions of whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial in artists' careers, and if so how this is understood and negotiated by artists. This research aims to understand the nature of these two ways of thinking, or guiding logics; to what extent the art world's prevailing motifs are in conflict or competition with one another; and the implications this may have for artists. The literature gives the premise that there is a tension between artistic and commercial and in order to investigate this I have chosen to explore the data through lens of Pierre Bourdieu's capitals. During the coding of the empirical data the work of Pierre Bourdieu became useful since there appeared to be a dominance of three major types of capital. Bourdieu's capitals, principally cultural, social and economic, give purchase to my aims to understand if a tension between artistic and commercial exists. For example, cultural capital might be seen to be the embodiment of an artistic mind-set, celebrating the art for art's sake attitude; in contrast economic capital is directly associated with money and the market and therefore embodies a commercial mind-set; whilst social capital might offer the opportunity to see how artistic and commercial are played out on a regular basis through artists' social interactions and how they position themselves within their own networks and more widely. This chapter first outlines the literature on artistic careers, followed by an introduction to the theoretical perspective adopted to try and understand these tensions.

2.2 Application of the Careers Literature

Initially it is helpful to look at career types in the broader careers literature to help define how artists work and how the structure of their work differs from careers in other fields. Artistic careers, using Kanter's (1989) terms, could be described as entrepreneurial, i.e. workers spot and capitalise on opportunities in order to advance in their career – be that developing new ways of working within an organisation or creating opportunities in markets by capitalising on ideas or resources. Since Kanter wrote about these in 1989, some organisational fields and labour markets have experienced changes and further career types have been identified as becoming increasing prevalent, particularly in the field of cultural production. Traditional types are insufficient as artists are now considered

as having portfolio careers, i.e. rather than being associated with a single organisation, the worker takes on a number of different jobs and placements, sometimes simultaneously, commonly seen in the work of freelancers (Vitae 2010).

Artists seem to fit parts of multiple existing models such as: their reliance on skills development or mastery of skills (professional careers involve career development dependent on acquiring and enhancing certain skills); opportunity spotting (referring back to entrepreneurial career type); and on adapting and surviving through a portfolio model (Kanter 1989; Menger 1999). Artists are not considered to fit within a bureaucratic structure, i.e., traditional structure as seen in large corporations or government agencies where careers progress in a linear way and there are defined career stages, promotions and criteria to reach these – including length of time with company or experience and attainment of certain qualifications or training (Kanter 1989). The contexts within which artists work encourage them to display more loyalty to their peer group or community than to any particular organisation (Menger 1999).

Throsby (2006) explains how artists' careers and employment have become more 'fluid' to achieve a better balance in terms of making income and supporting their practice, "No longer are career paths of artists linear, from training through to established practice. Rather we see more fluid employment and self-employment arrangements amongst practitioners across the whole artistic spectrum." (Throsby 2006: 7)

Artists work predominantly in entrepreneurial and portfolio structures and the extent to which they occupy each type is determined by their specialism and career choices. Portfolio working is particularly common for artists and makes their careers difficult to compare since there is no existing framework or established career ladders – the majority of career enhancement is undefined, flexible and laterally mobile (Menger 1999). Taylor and Littleton (2008) believe, since artistic careers develop outside of conventional or 'established pathways,' that artists struggle to "envisage[e] the future and embrace exaggerated, polarized fantasises of success and failure [therefore] success, if and when it does come, appears inadequate and difficult to claim" (Taylor & Littleton 2008: 14).

Mousettis & Ernst (2004), in their study of graduates from The Art Institute of Chicago, draw parallels between artists and entrepreneurs. They found that those who were considered the most successful exhibited more entrepreneurial characteristics which

enabled them to better “negotiate a complicated system of career challenges” (Moussetis & Ernst 2004: 5). Moussetis & Ernst (2004) adapted a description of entrepreneurs (Timmons 1994) to describe how traits of artists and entrepreneurs might be seen to overlap explaining that,

“art is a human, creative act that builds something of value from practically nothing. It is the pursuit of opportunity regardless of the resources, or lack of resources, at hand. It requires vision and the passion to lead others in the pursuit of that vision. It also requires a willingness to take a calculated risk” (Moussetis & Ernst 2004: 4)

Mousettis & Ernst (2004) substitute the word ‘art’ for ‘entrepreneurship’ and in doing so they manage to succinctly illustrate how the core attributes of artists and entrepreneurs parallel one another: including creativity, vision, passion and risk taking. One of the most important insights they offer through their comparison of artists and entrepreneurs is the identification that artists, like entrepreneurs, are consistently driven by the next opportunity in spite of any challenges they may face, for example lack of resources like money or time perhaps. Where the comparison diverges is through entrepreneurs’ orientation toward the market and, conversely, artists’ disavowal of the market. For entrepreneurs reaching a market is the goal for whatever product or service they are developing. In order to survive entrepreneurs recognise that they need to monetise their output. In contrast, artists are described as averse to the market, avoiding the contaminating effects of the market and although some artists are aware of the importance of developing their market, they might recoil from opportunities to develop their practice which might result in economic reward since they equate these with ‘selling out’ or fear that they may be seen as producing for a market, rather than the acceptable art for art’s sake maxim (McRobbie 1998 explores ideas of ‘selling out’ through her work with British fashion designers).

By considering artists as entrepreneurial, it begins to draw a comparison to their creative output as an aesthetic product. It is at this stage that artists are said to be particularly sensitive to the business terminology which is being applied to their artistic endeavour. This terminology could be considered reductive to a work of art and other authors like Menger (2006) avoid making any correlation between works of art and products for the market. Rather Menger see’s artists as behaving like entrepreneurs, through their spreading of risk through multiple job holding (Menger 2006).

2.21 Approaches to the Study of Artists Careers

This subsection provides a summary of current literature on artistic careers. From studying the existing literature it is possible to see how a range of issues are covered, for example, developing prices for contemporary art (Velthuis 2007), life cycles of artists (Galenson 2007), employment of artists (Bain 2005; Benhamou 2011; Galloway et al 2002; Throsby 2007), or artists' mobility (Lipphardt 2012). These studies are written from a range of different perspectives too.

Filer (1986) saw the labour market for artistic activity as having: disparate incomes, from the superstar artist to the part time – multiple job holder; predominantly low incomes; a younger workforce and high labour turnover – with high level dropout in early career artists (Filer 1986: 56). Since Filer (1986) researchers have seen increasing levels of unemployment, underemployment and oversupply (Menger, 1999); high levels of voluntary (or unpaid) working (Geahigan 1981; Pollard & Hunt 2009); younger and educated to a higher degree (Menger, 1999); higher numbers of self-employed individuals (AIR 2009; Menger 1999); and geographic clustering of artistic workers 'concentrated in a few metropolitan areas' (Menger 1999).

As I had an interest in the career histories of artists, it seemed useful to examine some of the other literature on careers, both of artists and those more widely in the creative industries, in order to understand some of the challenges that those within the creative industries face; these disciplines include advertising (Gilmore et al 2011), music and dance (Thornton 1993), literature (Gulledge & Townley 2013) and theatre (Eikhof & Haunschild 2007). There are also differences in the scale of studies on artistic careers and art worlds where some look at a small sample of selected individuals (See Galenson's (2003) study of the life cycles of artists such as Picasso and Cezanne) and others look at thousands of respondents, for example Throsby & Zednik (2010) who interviewed 1030 artists for their study or similar large scale studies by Pollard & Hunt (2009) and Towse (1996). Large scale studies offer valuable contributions to our wider understanding of the variety of roles which artists undertake, the survival of artists, their varied skill set and composition of the field. However, due to the scale of the sample size, such studies cannot provide in depth analysis on the career path of individual artists.

Lingo & Tepper (2013) agree that the study of artistic careers is important, naming its unusual structure and behaviour of the artists as why,

"scholars are attracted to artistic labor markets because they present interesting economic puzzles—an oversupply of aspirants, a predominance of project-based work, widely uneven rewards, and rampant unpredictability where all hits are flukes" (Lingo & Tepper 2013: 4-5)

Although there is discussion in some of the literature around an 'artistic labour market' (Alper & Wassall 2006; Benhamou 2011; Towse 2011) there is also the issue that artists are in fact contributing to multiple labour markets (Throsby 2007). For the purposes of this study artists are seen to contribute to a number of existing labour markets in different roles, rather than their work being bounded together contributing towards a single 'artistic labour market' as such. Throsby (2007) considers that artists are contributing to three distinct types of labour markets and his studies into artists' work preferences outline these as: arts work (their artistic practice), arts related work (work within the field of art but not directly related to their artistic practice), and non-arts related work (any other activities they engage in outside their artistic practice and the field of contemporary art). Bain (2005) notes that the 'dual life' that artists need to maintain can present challenges to their artistic identity and that artists thus engage in a deliberate pattern of start/stop with the employment they undertake outside of their artistic practice. Bain stated that,

"There is a precarious line of involvement/non-involvement and engagement/disengagement that artists are expected to navigate along the borders of professions in order to keep their fine art identity intact [...] The artist resists the erosion of his identity by alternately cultivating the secondary career and then dropping it." (Bain 2005: 18)

Throsby's research has developed a model for understanding career choices of artists, the 'work preference model' (Throsby 2007). The work preference model assigns three types of jobs: (a) art work, (b) arts related work and (c) non-arts related work. The findings show that artists choose to work as much time as possible on the art work (a), with the rest of the time either in arts related work (b), or non-arts related work (c). The model shows that when an artists earnings increase from any of the three (a, b, c) then artists will

actively decrease their hours in either (b) arts or (c) non-arts related work in order to spend more time on (a) – their own art work. Artists consider their practice a vocational profession and thus they ‘live to work’, rather than ‘work to live’ - although money is required for survival this is certainly not the driver in most cases (Jones 2005; Menger 1999; Throsby 2007). Survival is an important consideration for artists, nonetheless, and finding a balance between this and maintaining artistic integrity presents a constant challenge for artists throughout their career, not just in the early stages. Throsby’s work preference model will be explored through the empirical findings in chapter six, when artists outline the types of jobs they have done to support their practice. Throsby’s ‘work preference model’ becomes one tool to help understand the development of artists careers and unpick ideas of artistic and commercial as they function within those careers.

Self-employment, Risk and Uncertainty

The art market is understood to be primarily made up of self-employed individuals, 72% of artists are self-employed – significantly more than the creative industries as a whole at 41% (AIR 2009). The high percentage of self-employment creates a particular dynamic for how the market functions and the way the field structures itself in response to this fragmentation. As self-employed individuals it can prove beneficial to have at least some knowledge of most parts of running a small business; finance, accounting, sales, marketing, and so forth; there are numerous authors who therefore describe artists as small businesses (Menger 1999, McAuley 1999, Codignola 2003, Moussetis & Ernst 2004). Being self-employed throughout a career has other implications for career development as ageing is seen to make artists more “sensitive to job insecurity, and to the steady strain of searching for jobs...and manoeuvring repeatedly to remain visible in a highly competitive labor market” (Menger 2006: 779).

One issue that defines artistic endeavour is that of constant risk. Artistic careers exist without the securities offered by more structured, hierarchical and bureaucratic careers (Kanter 1989). Many scholars describe artistic careers as a ‘gamble’ (Lindemann 2013) or ‘lottery’ where the slim possibility of high rewards acts to encourage individuals to participate (Benhamou 2011: 4). Similarly Lingo and Tepper (2013) found that the artistic career encouraged artists to underestimate the risks involved in achieving success, “the lure of autonomy and freedom, and a chronic underestimation of the risk involved and chances of success” (Lingo & Tepper 2013: 3). There are two types of uncertainty which

have been identified as critical in an artist's career, these are: uncertainty regarding the chances of individual success; and strategic uncertainty, relating to individual expectations of the behaviour of others: artists, gatekeepers, and consumers evaluations and preferences (Menger 1999).

Uncertainty needs to be managed in order for an artist to make the most of their career opportunities. Although artists may feel that their career choices are entirely individual and related only to their own practice they are usually dependant in some manner on the market and thus the existing strategic uncertainty also affects their career and work. Menger (1999) believes individuals (artists) need to have strategies in order to manage this uncertainty and risk in their career, including: support from private sources: family, partner, friends; support from public sources, government subsidies, grants, commissions, sponsorship, foundations and corporations, social security benefits; working cooperatively: pooling income, mutual insurance; holding multiple jobs (Menger 1999). Traditionally artists are known to engage in portfolio careers and this is a mechanism for them to spread their risk and uncertainty (Menger 1999). A portfolio career is the best description for most artists' career structures, it describes how artists not only manage jobs but also how they manage their career as a series of opportunities, or investments, which are accumulated as opposed to a set of vertical rungs on a ladder. Artists see each project as an investment, the type of investment varies depending on the project. For some artists there is direct acknowledgement that a particular project helps to develop their artistic practice, or to build and maintain their social networks. In terms of financial recompense artists are more hesitant to associate with making money but through investing time and sometimes finances in their art work there is further need to explore the role of money in art; these ideas are explored further in the empirical chapters, four, five and six.

Success in the art market, with its complex career development and non-hierarchical structure, is defined and achieved differently than in other labour markets (Pollard & Hunt 2009). The "composition of [the artists] portfolio also evolves as their personal position in the art world at different stages of their career solidifies or gets weaker" (Menger 1999: 563). The strength of an artist's position in the field is affected by a number of contributory factors including: strategic choices that artists, or their representatives, make on which exhibitions to do and which to turn down; composition of the field around them, who are the tastemakers, and so forth; and legacy, what reputation they have developed

and the opportunities that arise from that. An artist's position in the field is strengthened by variables like dropout rates – which are high amongst younger artists, since 'economic failures' move to other professions and leave only the more financially successful to strive for an artistic career – and legacy, in the form of royalties (financial appreciation of work) or critical appreciation of art work (Filer 1986).

In discussing the economic aspects of artists' careers, in terms of artists' often precarious financial positions, several authors refer to indirect support that artists receive through social security benefits from welfare states. Benhamou (2011), Menger (2006) and Schuster (2006) reference the role of social security benefits in relation to their contribution to sustaining artistic practice. Schuster (2006) suggests that current scholarship on the creative and cultural industries does not always address the role of 'indirect subsidy' such as seen through social security and unemployment benefits. Benhamou (2011) drew arguments both for and against the French system which has an artist specific social security scheme, known as 'intermittency status', which "compensates for unemployment periods of artists and technicians who have worked a minimum of 507 hours a year. This aims to compensate for the precarious characteristic of artistic life, and to help artists to stay free to build their careers" (Benhamou 2011: 5-6).

Additional research covers the careers of artists in a less formal way as seen in 'insider' accounts of the field including Velthuis (2007) interviews with gallerists on pricing contemporary art and Thornton (2009) who lays bare some secrets about the visual art world and the relationships and negotiations which contribute to the development of the field in her work *7 days in the art world*. Her later work *33 Artists in 3 Acts* (Thornton 2014a) is a selection of interviews which Thornton undertook, over 100 interviews were conducted and 33 were selected for the publication, Thornton asked the artists what they thought it meant to be an artist, what an artist is, who they think they are and about the myths they understand or create in being an artist. The resulting book catalogues the responses under three emerging themes of politics (e.g. artist or activist), kinship (e.g. artist or mother) and craft (e.g. artist or craftsperson). Thornton admits she was able to access some of the most renowned contemporary artists through her role as chief correspondent on contemporary art for *The Economist*.

2.22 A Dichotomy between Artistic and Commercial

The field of contemporary art provides complexities that do not always exist in other industries “because their products marry art, reputation, human welfare, culture, and commerce” (Thornton 2002: 97), whilst Bourdieu describes “[t]he art business, [as] a trade in things that have no price” (Bourdieu 1993: 74), providing challenging terrain for artists. It is the interest of this research to explore the working lives of artists and how they understand and negotiate the art world and contemporary art market. This study endeavours to explore the two recurring motifs of artistic and commercial and better represent how they are negotiated throughout the careers of artists. The existing literature on art worlds speaks of the artistic and commercial elements and repeatedly lays claim to their dichotomous nature in problematising the field (Taylor & Littleton 2008; Velthuis 2007; Eikhof & Haunschild 2007; McRobbie 1998), however very little research has addressed the issue directly in interrogating these two interlinked elements, within contemporary visual art.

Those working within the field of contemporary visual art make claims about the inherent tension between artistic and commercial and one of the most outspoken is Artist and Academic Hans Abbing. Abbing’s key contributions over the last decade have focussed on the conditions which artists work under, for example through his book *Why are artists poor?* (2002). He describes how the situation artists are faced with as a “tension between a strong dedication to art and commercial success” (Abbing 2011 : 4). Across all of his work Abbing concerns himself with the challenges artists face and in trying to understand why they would “sooner ‘forsake money’ or, more precisely, they have a stronger inclination to exchange money income for non-monetary income” (Abbing 2003: 2). Abbing emphasises on how the importance of peer recognition over monetary gain has been ‘implanted’ in artists, becoming part of the artist’s habitus (Abbing 2003). In reading Abbing’s work and in hearing him speak, audiences come to understand that his dual perspective as an artist and academic have helped to fuel his work in this domain and give him an invaluable perspective into the current state of the arts, and of artists’ positions within it. Similarly Grampp wrote, in his book *Pricing the Priceless* (1989), about the ‘anti-market mentality’ where art market participants are seen to “denounce the very idea of assigning a money value to [art]” (Grampp 1989: 24). Although Grampp’s account is centred around value and the art market, particularly from an economists perspective, he does highlight some points consistent with other writings on artistic practice in relation to art and money. He writes how artists “denied they were seeking after profit” even though that may be exactly

what they were doing (Grampp 1989: 82). Similarly he raised the discussion of how artists may be engaged in a division of labour – hinting at the role of the gallerist (or agent) in enabling an artist to maintain distance from financial concerns, which were handled by another.

The work of Olav Velthuis (2007) can also provide useful insights that are transferable to a discussion on artistic and commercial in the field of contemporary visual art. Although his work, *Talking Prices: The Symbolic Meaning of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art* (2007), was entirely focussed on exploring the contemporary art market from the perspective of commercial gallerists, his analysis still has purchase in understanding the structuring of the art market and the commercial sector which many artists are engaged with. Velthuis' work highlights parallels that might be drawn between commercial gallerists and artists with regard to their understanding of, and approach towards, artistic and commercial. He begins his book by quoting one of the gallerists he interviewed as saying "the artists he worked with would not, as he put it, "demean themselves to what is called commerce."" (Velthuis 2007: 1). In the case of dealers there is a need to manage these two 'worlds' of art and economy, as he describes them, on a daily basis. In contrast it might be argued that artists might, in some circumstances, be able to withdraw from the economic aspects of the market – given their gallerists are positioned to handle these transactions (much like in the division of labour Grampp (1989) described. Later in his analysis of the work of these gallerists, through interviews he undertook in New York and Amsterdam, Velthuis returns to a notion of 'hostile worlds' which he borrowed from Zelizer (see Zelizer's work *The Purchase of Intimacy* 2005). For Zelizer a "sharp divide exists between intimate social relations and economic transactions" and although each exists and functions simultaneously there endures a risk of contamination between each as they remain hostile to one another (Zelizer 2005: 22). Velthuis applies this framework to the market for contemporary art to point out how his research into prices is seen by some critics as further evidence that "prices have contaminated the art world profoundly" confirming their "fear that [...] art has become inseparable from monetary values" (Velthuis 2007: 172). Velthuis' work suggests the existence of this hostility between art and commerce but through analysis discovers that this perspective is 'untenable' given his findings that "prices have a constructive rather than destructive effect. In a world that is riddles with uncertainty, they provide one of the means for artists to establish self-esteem" (Velthuis 2007: 184). This provides further evidence that in the contemporary art

world, artistic and commercial co-exist where they appear, superficially, to be in conflict but through further analysis this has not been found to be entirely accurate.

Despite an array of material on artistic careers only Taylor and Littleton (2008) have looked in more depth at accommodating the tensions between the artistic and commercial in the careers of visual artists. Many of the studies touched on artists' work preferences in avoiding work that would take more time away from their practice (Bain 2005; Throsby 2007), whilst others featured discussion on changes in the market for an artist's work over time (Galenson 2007; Velthuis 2007). Many of them dealt directly with economic issues in relation to practicing as an artist, or surviving as an artist, and often hinted at a distaste which artists had for dealings with the market (Schuster 2006). Despite the work by these authors in tangential fields and topics, very few addressed the artistic and commercial in artists' careers, and none attempted to unpick this theme from the perspective of artists, usually accepting that a disavowal of the economic was a fixed part of the artist's oeuvre.

The work by Taylor & Littleton (2008) does contribute significantly to the context of this study in discussion of the research question around art versus money. Their article although not within the capitals literature, supports the premise that art and making money are "incompatible and even directly opposed [where] creative or art work (especially when referred to as 'fine art') is sometimes defined in opposition to commercial or practical activity" (Taylor & Littleton 2008: 6). From their study Taylor & Littleton propose two logics or 'repertoires' that epitomise the behaviours around the topic of art and money, these are 'art-versus-money' and 'money-as-validation'. The first assumes the established opposition between making art and making money, which artists are said to embody, whilst the other proposes income from practice as evidence of success. Taylor and Littleton frame the art-versus-money with their description of how it "implies that a choice has to be made between commercial success and doing creative work" (Taylor & Littleton 2008: 7), thus continuing the notion of a dichotomy between artistic and commercial.

In addition Gullede & Townley's (2013) research in the literary field explored notions of book publishers developing both a publishing 'habitus' and economic habitus; "[h]abitus is a set of learned dispositions which informs 'reasonable' or 'unreasonable' conduct", providing a sense of how to function within a particular field (Gullede & Townley 2013: 16). First it is important to note that this research was centred on book publishers, rather

than writers, and thus it is proposed that an "'economic' habitus needed for publishing, [is] a necessary complement to the literary" (Gulledge & Townley 2013: 17) since it is the role of book publishers to ensure authors' books are published and sold. The article focuses on the two step process of publishers in recognising and then adapting to the market, and economic aspects of their role. Gulledge & Townley observed a traditional division in labour within the literary field between authors and editors, who are seen to embody the artistic, and literary agents and publishers, who are seen to engage in the market aspect of the work. They acknowledge that this separation is driven by literary quality as opposed to commerciality is far too simplistic, much like the notion of artistic versus commercial, and that market elements inevitably bleed into the worlds of writers and editors. They said that,

"division is often handled by the separation of personnel, with authors and editors generally involved in the literary side of production; literary agents, sales and rights personnel with the marketing facets. Changes within publishing, however, are increasingly changing this rather simplistic division and authors' engagement with publishing makes them aware of, and requires them to accommodate to, the market element of their work." (Gulledge & Townley 2013: 2)

Gulledge & Townley's findings support work in the institutional logics literature by Thornton (1999) on her analysis of executive succession in higher education publishing, amongst others, which looked at the shift from an editorial logic, where publishing executives had historically been driven by the editorial value of their stable of authors, and their books, which changed to a market logic, where commerciality and sales became primary drivers for the publisher. Gulledge & Townley's example sums up how this change might be seen in the activity of literary agents, where the focus becomes "commercial orientation and 'selling' as opposed to 'career development of writers' or 'manuscript development'" (Gulledge & Townley 2013: 11). With the publishing editors, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) see the two logics of market and editorial as having been developed from and shaped by the societal-level logics of professions and markets. The study looked at a shift from an editorial to market logic in the 1970's, using interview data as well as historical analysis; the shift was found in the quantitative data they gathered.

Similarly, Eikhof & Haunschild (2007), who look at theatrical organisations in Germany, find that "economic logics are still strong enough to pose a serious threat to artistic logics

of practice” (Eikhof & Haunschild 2007: 524). Through qualitative research in German theatres, Eikhof and Haunschild used Bourdieu’s theory of practice to explore how artistic and economic logics coexist in German theatres, finding a paradox that economic logics ‘crowded out’ the artistic logic that the theatre relies on for its cultural production. They refer to the need to safeguard artistic production against the negatively viewed economic (commercial) logics and highlight how achieving a balance between artistic and economic logics becomes an individual task since no “standardised procedures or organizational routines” have been established within German theatre to deal with these (Eikhof & Haunschild 2007: 536). What is particularly relevant in their analysis is that although state support for Theatres in Germany aims to protect the theatres from the market, internal and external labour market demands on actors and directors reintroduce the pressures of the market to these actors. This may have application in terms of how the various labour markets that visual artists are said to participate in contribute to the tension between artistic and commercial for the artists.

Jones (in Thornton, Jones & Kury 2005) investigates the field of Architecture and saw a ‘dialectic tension’ between the logics of Architect as Artist-Entrepreneur and Architect as Engineer-Manager. The legacy of the two unresolved logics of ‘architecture as art’ versus ‘architecture as engineering’ mirrors the situation of artists in many ways as both professions create products that often have to compete to achieve value and acknowledgement across the artistic and commercial spheres. The difference remains that architects predominantly work within organisational structures unlike most artists who generally work with, but outside of, organisations. The authors found a tension apparent between artistic and engineering logics, acknowledging cyclical change in the architecture field, in that it continued to move between two competing logics without one becoming dominant and fixed. Unlike the accounting and publishing fields, architecture continues to function with dual logics of artist-entrepreneur and engineer-manager.

If the findings from Thornton (2002) and Lounsbury (2007) are transferable it suggests that there is a coexistence of artistic and commercial ways of thinking; and that the dominant logic can be influential in focussing attention onto activities servicing that logic (Thornton 2002). Goodrick and Reay (2011) visualise what they see as a constellation of logics in the work of Pharmacists from 1852-2011. The notion of constellation presents an innovative conceptualisation of how individuals manage multiple logics. What emerges from Goodrick and Reay’s study is the notion of ‘segmenting’ where aspects of work life

are divided up – either through segmenting on a wider scale relating to geographic location and different organisations, or on more individual level where tasks can be divided up into distinct activities. Segmenting has particular relevance to the study of artistic and commercial logics in the careers of visual artists since this may be useful in understanding how aspects of each logic, or way of thinking, coexist with one another. As the interviewed artists traditionally work alone it is probable that some aspects of each mindset are constantly in play but the concept of segmenting would provide a structure for artists and a way to explain how artistic and commercial can and is being managed.

In continuing to explore works that contribute to an understanding of artistic and commercial, but not directly linked to either capitals or logics, Bain (2005) exposes how artistic identities are created around ‘myths’ and ‘stereotypes’ which help to distinguish artists, for instance - professional versus amateur. These myths also help to achieve acknowledgment that artistic practice is ‘real’ work (Bain 2005: 2). Bain argues that these myths and stereotypes become essential in how artists position themselves in the art world. Helpfully this notion of myths supports the work on fields since myths are defined as “deeply rooted sets of beliefs that guide and yet transcend our actions” (Powell 1972: 10, quoted in Bain 2005: 5).

This study is not attempting to catalogue or confirm a change between artistic and commercial but rather to better understand how they manifest themselves throughout the career of visual artists, who appear to be working with two unresolved logics; artistic and commercial. The literature around artistic careers and artistic practice suggests that should a shift occur between the art for art’s sake motif (restricted production) toward the commercial sphere (large scale production), the artist would not be able to make the shift back. This infers that artists are actively trying to prevent a shift from an artistic to a commercial mindset to prevent the irreversible move to commercially driven large scale production. In spite of their dissociations, commercial aspects must be involved in some aspects of their lives since this includes making money to survive and involvement in the market for contemporary art. The notion of a constellation of logics (Goodrick & Reay 2011) proves most useful since it suggests that multiple logics, which might include artistic, commercial and even hybrids between these, are able to coexist in a structured fashion. It may even enable a wider view of logics that could change over time and when relationships change – when an artist has a gallery they might have a different

configuration of logics to when they do not have a gallery, and their commercial activities need to be managed by themselves again.

My existing familiarity with Bourdieu's key concepts became an opportunity to more fully interrogate the data from the empirical interviews. I felt that the notion of capitals - social, cultural and economic - provided more opportunity for the widest reading of the data and particularly in the context of the careers of these visual artists and what could be drawn out of the interviews. This led me to choose capitals as a structuring device for the material, which will be examined following an introduction to the work of Bourdieu, chapters interrogating the notions of social, cultural and economic capital.

2.3 Theoretical Concepts: Capitals and Fields

2.31 Pierre Bourdieu: An Introduction

For Bourdieu,

“The opposition between the ‘commercial’ and the ‘non-commercial’ reappears everywhere. It is the generative principle of most of the judgements which, in the theatre, cinema, painting or literature, claim to establish the frontier between what is and what is not art” (Bourdieu 1993: 82)

The work of Pierre Bourdieu and his theory of fields and particularly capitals proves valuable in the study of artists careers. A brief introduction to his history will be given before expanding on the theoretical framework of capitals, and their application in this study.

Pierre Bourdieu (b.1930 - d.2002) is a French sociologist and philosopher who came to prominence following his early work in anthropology during the Algerian war. He originally studied philosophy and the move to sociology occurred through his early ethnographic fieldwork (Robbins 2000). He subsequently turned his attention to the field of cultural production and his findings in the literary and artistic fields, particularly his development of theoretical concepts of fields and capitals, provide a useful base for the study of artistic activity.

Although Bourdieu's work was published from 1960 onwards it wasn't until over a decade later, in the mid 1970's, that they were translated into English. In *'Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives'* (1993), authors Calhoun et al discuss how, even after they became available in English, Bourdieu's research was not fully embraced in American or British academia. They believe this was owing in part to the fact that Bourdieu's works were physically dispersed across a variety of disciplines in academic libraries and bookshops, unlike French academia where his works were grouped together under the 'sciences humaines'. In Anglo-american academic tradition Bourdieu's works were separated amongst a variety of disciplines, rarely linked in a more unified manner. Anthropologists championed *Algeria 1960* and *Kabyle House*; whilst education theorists recognised his work with Jean-Claude Passeron *Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society*.

Bourdieu began to study the cultural industries in the 1960's (Bourdieu 1993). Bourdieu initially reintroduced habitus to scholars in a piece of writing in art historian Erwin Panofsky's work on Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism. Published in 1967 shortly before Panofsky died, this contribution came about as Bourdieu was in the early years of turning his attention to the field of cultural production. Bourdieu also became interested in the class system, which was particularly prevalent in France during the periods he researched, similar to the case in Britain, but in contrast to the social structure of the United States which has a shorter history of social class owing to its relatively recent historic development as opposed to the pre-existing class structures that developed over hundreds of years in Europe. This work culminated in one of his most notable works *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1979). Other notable works include *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (1993); and *Outline of Theory of Practice* (1977). In the latter Bourdieu introduces the terms habitus, field and capital. For Bourdieu, habitus is the process of internalisation which guides individuals' attitudes and actions (Robbins 2000: 16). Bourdieu sees habitus as something that may be "acquired and it is also a possession which may in certain cases, function as a form of capital" (Bourdieu 1996: 179). Johnson (in Bourdieu, 1993) believes the concept of habitus is an attempt, on Bourdieu's part, to bridge the gap between subjectivism and objectivism – both of which he felt did not adequately explain phenomena in the social world. He pointed out that,

“Subjectivism fails to grasp the social ground that shapes consciousness, while objectivism does just the opposite, failing to recognize that social reality is to some extent shaped by the conceptions and representations that individuals make of the social world” (Bourdieu 1993: 4)

He felt that contributions from each arena were important in providing a better understanding of the fields of study. Additionally Bourdieu believes that empirical and theoretical work are inextricably linked and should not be considered in isolation (Calhoun et al 1993). For the purposes of clarification, subjectivism is described as “based on the primary experience and perceptions of individuals [...] Objectivism, on the other hand, attempts to explain the social world by bracketing individual experience and subjectivity and focusing instead on the objective conditions which structure practice” (Bourdieu 1993: 3-4).

Bourdieu’s Concept of Fields, and the Cultural Field

Bourdieu’s concept of the field enables researchers to consider the wider context within which individuals are working. He stated that,

“Agents do not act in a vacuum, but rather in concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations. To account for these situations or contexts, without, again, falling into the determinism of objectivist analysis, Bourdieu developed the concept of the field (*champ*).” (Johnson, in Bourdieu 1993: 6)

For Bourdieu the field is “not simply a dead structure, a set of “empty places,” [...] but a *space of play* which exists as such only to the extent that players enter into it who believe in and actively pursue the prizes it offers.” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 19). ‘Field’ has become a useful construct, adopted by social anthropologists amongst others, and certainly applies itself well to the study of artistic endeavour, complementing work by Becker (1982). The concept of fields is useful particularly in understanding the context within which the artists in this study are practicing since artists tend to work alone for much of the time, but are part of a bigger sphere of support workers, technicians, curators, and so forth who all contribute to the field of culture production. In this study there will be discussion of the extent to which the field within which artists are working impacts their practice, career, decisions and opportunities.

In terms of field, his understanding of cultural fields moved away from a tradition of seeing the artistic genius or individual and looked rather at the wider context within which these individuals are practicing. Similarly to Becker's (1982) book *Art Worlds*, Bourdieu saw a wide array of individuals and organisations working together to support artistic practice. In his article, the *Field Of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed* (1983), Bourdieu credits Becker's theory of collective activity which aligns with his beliefs in "breaking with the naïve vision of the individual creator" (Bourdieu 1993: 34). Thus in examining the work of art and the production of its value, the role of others in the field might be considered. He said,

"it becomes clear that the 'subject' of production of the art-work – of its value but also of its meaning – is not the producer who actually creates the object in its materiality, but rather the entire set of agents engaged in the field." (Bourdieu 1993: 261)

Bourdieu's concept of field considers all activity associated with cultural production: the artist; the work(s) of art; the networks of peers, gallerists, curators and other art workers involved in making, producing, displaying, selling works of art; and even wider issues, such as social class and art history of in the case of artistic field (Bourdieu 1993). In his analysis of fields, Bourdieu includes analysis of the structure of the field in relation to these other things. Additionally certain levels of "knowledge, or skill, or 'talent' [must be exhibited in order for an individual] to be accepted as a legitimate player." (Johnson, in Bourdieu 1993: 8). Acquisition of this knowledge or talent is explained in Bourdieu's theory of capitals.

Bourdieu and Cultural Production

Bourdieu speaks about a scale of two extremes that epitomise artists' conscious positioning in terms of the market. He describes these two positions as stretching between 'total cynical subordination to demand' and 'absolute independence from the market,' explaining that despite these being established, artists never actually arrive at either of these two extremes (Bourdieu 1996: 141-142). Bourdieu argues that although artists were freed from the tradition of their dependence on patronage, or collectors, that this has since been replaced by the obligations and demands of the market, particularly the fact of supply far outweighing the demand for artistic products, which they are reminded of through "sales figures and other forms of pressure, explicit or diffuse, exercised by [...] art

dealers” (Bourdieu 1993: 114). In addition the ‘freedom’ that artists have achieved becomes “purely formal; it constitutes no more than the condition of their submission to the laws of the market of symbolic goods” (Bourdieu 1993: 114).

In investigating the “warring perspectives” of aesthetics and economics” (Schuster 2006: 1), it is important to recognise Bourdieu’s contributions to debates on the sphere of cultural production. Svendsen & Svendsen (2003) argue that some of Bourdieu’s work on the cultural field addressed the way in which the world of art “has attained a special status as a disinterested field” (Svendsen & Svendsen 2003: 249). Bourdieu described the notion of an anti-economy, pointing to the discussion in the literature of artists embodying art for art’s sake (Bourdieu 1993), or art-versus-money (Taylor & Littleton 2008). Bourdieu sees the artistic field as driven by intrinsic motivation, or ‘psychic’ reward, leading artists to behave in a ‘disinterested’ manner towards the market. He maintained that,

“Even if these struggles never clearly set the ‘commercial’ against the ‘non-commercial’, ‘disinterestedness’ against ‘cynicism’, they almost always involve recognition of the ultimate values of ‘disinterestedness’ through the denunciation of the mercenary compromises or calculating manoeuvres of the adversary, so that disavowal of the ‘economy’ is placed at the very heart of the field as the principle governing its functioning and transformation.” (Bourdieu 1993: 79)

Here too, it is important to distinguish between the positioning of two types of production in contemporary art between restricted production, sometimes described as pure production or art for art’s sake, and large scale production (Bourdieu 1996). It is the opposition between these two that Bourdieu distinguishes as “reproduc[ing] the founding rupture with the economic order” (Bourdieu 1996: 121). Bourdieu claims the two sub-fields are the, “site of the antagonistic coexistence of two modes of production and circulation obeying inverse logics” (Bourdieu 1996: 142). These two descriptions are helpful concepts in understanding the two routes to market for contemporary artistic practice. The existing literature on art worlds has not yet reconciled these two as they are not mutually exclusive – although predominantly artists will conform to one mode of production over another.

There is some discussion in the literature of the distinct challenges associated with moving between these modes of production and some mention that artists can move from

restricted production to large scale production – but that it is unheard of, or highly unlikely, for an artist to move in the opposite direction; from bourgeois to art for art's sake⁴. Bourdieu asserts that there are 'fundamental divisions' which juxtapose positions that he saw in the French cultural field: pure art / commercial art, bohemian / bourgeois, traditional / avant-garde (Bourdieu 1993: 64 & 82). To Bourdieu these were described in binary opposition as differentiation between 'left-bank' and 'right-bank' tastes, left-bank being the domain of the intellectuals, artists, academics and so forth; right-bank being the bourgeois, professionals and executives (Schwartz & Zolberg 2006).

Within the literature on artistic production, appearance, or reputation, is critical. In order to be accepted into, or consecrated within the sub-field of restricted production, artists and organisations must signal that they are legitimate players in the field of cultural production. Without the recognition within the field as a legitimate entity, artists, and arts organisations, would not gain access to opportunities or networks required for survival in the art market, ultimately signalling a crisis in confidence by the field. Bourdieu (1993: 50-51) finds three 'competing' forms of legitimacy within the field of cultural production which are achieved from three groups: other producers within the field, under the 'art for art's sake model; consecration by 'dominant factions' for example the academies etcetera and other tastemakers or gatekeepers; and consecration by the mass audience.

2.32 Theoretical Framework of Capitals

Usefully concepts of habitus and field contribute towards the discussion of artists' careers. However, Bourdieu's theory of capitals seem to provide the most applicable framework for the study of individual artists and their careers, since elements such as cultural, social and economic are central to the understanding of the structure of artistic careers. The artistic and commercial are infinitely tied to the concepts of economic capital and cultural capital; and heavily influenced in the cultural sphere by social capital in various forms. Thus cultural capital, social capital and economic capital help address the major concerns of this research – the relationship between artistic and commercial logics of individual artists. In

⁴ Bourdieu refers to an example of how one particular writer who has found great success with a commercial, mass market product is not able to alter his path to become consecrated in art for art's sake or more avant-garde production due to his reputation as a writer working in the sub-field of large scale production. (Bourdieu 1993: 104)

this section I will first introduce each of the capitals, which will be followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital “concerns forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions” (Johnson, in Bourdieu 1993: 7). Cultural resources can include language skills, artistic abilities, as well as knowledge of art, history and science, amongst others, and possession of these is described by Bourdieu as cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) explains how these can be ‘embodied’ in a person’s mind and body, ‘objectified’ through objects like books and art works, or ‘institutionalised’ through education. In terms of cultural capital Bourdieu describes “knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications” (Bourdieu 1996: 351). Bourdieu sees educational systems as reproducing the class system in how cultural and social capital obtained through family, inherited so to speak, are maintained through education (despite this being masked) giving relative advantage to those with existing cultural capital after school (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). Individuals can have varying degrees of cultural capital and it is argued that ‘newly acquired’ cultural capital gleaned through education, is held in less high esteem than ‘inherited’ cultural capital (Rupp & de Lange 1989), which relates to early exposure and appreciation of cultural activity through family. University degrees are one of the most common ways to demonstrate possession of cultural capital; however this is only valid if this is recognised and valued by the field (Webb et al 2002).

Cultural capital is the process of appreciation and understanding of cultural activity and, in the art world, is a marker of understanding and commitment to the sub-field of restricted production. Johnson describes art works as being encoded and it is through a person’s cultural capital that they are able to decode it (Bourdieu 1993). It is also posited that the education system has a pivotal role in, “cultivat[ing] a certain familiarity with legitimate culture and to inculcate a certain attitude towards works of art” (Bourdieu 1993: 23). Although each of the three capitals – cultural, social and economic – are important, it is the former which is the most visible and openly embraced form of capital – the principles of which are most widely cited throughout the literature on art worlds.

Cultural capital, in Bourdieu’s framework of capitals, is something he describes as a form of symbolic capital in that it is valued symbolically in the field of cultural production as a signal of a level of knowledge about the cultural sphere that an individual has gained from

education or experience throughout their life. Cultural capital can be learned either through informal means such as through family, first-hand experiences (participating in cultural activities, visiting galleries and so forth) becoming 'embodied' or more formally through education systems such as schools, colleges and universities (institutionalised),

“Artistic competence [...] is the result of a long process of inculcation which begins (or not) in the family, often in conformity with its level of economic, academic and cultural capital, and is reinforced by the educational system.” (Johnson, in Bourdieu 1993: 23)

In relation to Bourdieu's work on taste and the class system in France, cultural capital – like other forms of capital - is unevenly distributed and developed throughout society. Those whose families are able to instil the foundations of cultural capital in children at a young age and encourage cultural activities and appreciation are able to accumulate cultural capital earlier than those who, for example, only begin to develop cultural capital through school and university. Many forms of cultural capital can be achieved without cost, visiting museums, reading books. However, there are costs attached to visiting the theatre or studying at university. Thus it follows that certain depths of cultural capital are more easily accessible to those endowed with financial means to access these, as well as the instilled interest in seeking access to these opportunities.

Cultural capital is discussed in the literature as something which can be learned, but the degree to which individuals can acquire it varies greatly and issues of class contribute significantly to its acquisition. Bourdieu saw individuals who were raised in a household where developing cultural capital was a key component of development were able to hold an advantage over those who began to develop cultural capital later through education and socialisation. The education system acts to “reinforce, rather than diminish, social differences” (Bourdieu 1993: 23). Thus those who are in a position to develop cultural and academic capital within a family environment through “informal learning processes” are perceived to have a “natural talent” – where individuals can reap the advantages of inherited capital in some sense.

In continuing discussion of cultural capital it can be seen that, particularly in the context of artistic practice and art worlds, there is a degree of coding and decoding which is an inherent characteristic of art works, which requires players to understand the context of

the work and its positioning within the wider art world and art histories (Bourdieu 1993). Since cultural capital “tends to follow unequal patterns of accumulation” (Bourdieu 1993: 23) then it is useful to understand the life history of the artist in order to establish other contributions to cultural capital beyond the academic training through art school and socialisation with peers.

Bourdieu has undertaken several studies of capital in relation to the education system. DiMaggio (1979) describes how Bourdieu and Passeron’s work in *Reproduction* cites the educational system as the ‘locus of much of this activity’ in terms of development of capitals and symbolic exchange. He speaks about Bourdieu’s assertion that educational institutions “exacerbates and multipl[y] these initial inequalities” (DiMaggio 1979: 1464) in terms of how these educational systems employ ‘codes’ which are only accessible to those with the linguistic and cultural capital to recognise and ‘appropriate’ them. He goes on to state that the limited examples of students from working class backgrounds who possess great talent, along with the few who are able to overcome this, feed what he calls the “symbolic violence of schooling [...] by engendering the systematic misrecognition of the school’s role in social and cultural reproduction” (DiMaggio 1979 :1464).

Artistic Capital: As Sub-category of Cultural Capital

For the purposes of this study ‘artistic capital’ is employed to explore the development of cultural capital that is specific to the field of contemporary visual art. Bourdieu himself speaks of how, in addition to his three broad capitals of cultural, social and economic, there are also subcategories which are specific to each sub field: for example scholastic, academic, university, scientific, linguistic and artistic (DiMaggio 1979; Thornton 1995). Although these all might be considered under the umbrella of cultural capital, analysing them individually can help to show how these capitals illustrate specific attributes which reach beyond the broader understanding of cultural capital to support a more in depth analysis.

In current literature there has been limited use of the term artistic capital and most of this has formed around an alternate meaning to that proposed by Bourdieu. The most notable example is through the work of David Galenson in his book *Artistic Capital* (2006) which acted as a precursor to his two monographs on the lives of painters. Galenson drew the work and conclusions of several papers together to form chapters of this book which explored patterns in artistic careers of which stage an artist made their best, most

expensive and sought after, works. The work was based on a quantitative analysis of five key art history texts to analyse artists over a particular period. What developed out of this work was a two distinct patterns of career development, predominantly in painters – although Galenson did later analyse other groups including those working in the literary field such as poets. He describes these two types as ‘experimental innovators’ (artists who work more slowly, steadily progressing and are said to develop their greatest contributions later in their careers) and ‘conceptual innovators’ (who tend to be younger, move more quickly in their career development, may peak early and then decline – in terms of creative output in critical terms rather than necessarily financial). Overall Galenson’s contributions are broadly helpful in terms of understanding patterns of creativity and the ‘underlying structures’ of the creative process. However in respect to this study his use of the term ‘Artistic Capital’ is not applicable given its exclusion of any reference to the Bourdieusian use of ‘capital’.

Others still have adopted the term ‘artistic capital’ and applied it in the sense in which Bourdieu intended it, however the analyses are limited, employing the term as merely a label to apply to their existing analysis rather than engaging in any form of interrogation, or unpicking of the concept. For examples of this see work by Henry (2007) on entrepreneurship in the Scandinavian music industry where her sole reference to ‘artistic capital’ is to suggest there is a “complex relationship between economic and artistic capital” without any further or prior reference to the term (Henry 2007: 50). Thompson (1999) also references artistic capital in his article on entrepreneurship, describing the types of capital which entrepreneurs are seen to develop - in addition to economic capital. See also Mangset’s (1998) analysis of artists working in regional versus metropolis in Norway. Mangset provides a comparison of sub-fields he has come across in his analysis of the cultural field. Mangset mentions the term ‘artistic capital’ in the midst of a discussion around Norway’s welfare policies for artists and how the artists who engage in this subfield make a distinction between that work and “true artistic capital” whilst still recognising that “all actors within the field must maintain a professional level of artistic quality” (Mangset 1998: 63). Again, however, the author only utilises the terminology ‘artistic capital’ once in his article which weakens its salience in the view of the reader.

Outside of the direct use of the term ‘artistic capital’ there are others who describe similar principles but label them differently. In her study of three arts graduates training to be teachers, Rowsell (2010) explored another of Bourdieu’s notions, ‘habitus’ and her

exploration focussed around an understanding of these teacher's 'artistic habitus'. Rowsell had drawn her idea of 'artistic habitus' from her readings of Bourdieu's work on cultural capital as well as his work on aesthetics. The focus on identity and the transition from artist to teacher proves helpful in exploring the notion of some of the challenges faced by artists in their careers', however it is her application of the ideas around artistic habitus that have relevance in the discussion of expanding into a notion of artistic capital. Rowsell identifies with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, "the unconscious appropriation of rules, values and dispositions", which contributes fruitfully to the further development of the notion of artistic capital as I intend to expand it (Rowsell 2010: 234).

Authors such as Thornton (1993, 1995) have even used Bourdieu's capitals as a framework to explore subcategories beyond those which Bourdieu suggested. Thornton's doctoral thesis *Record Hops to Raves: Authenticity and Subcultural Capital in Music and Media Cultures* (1993) and subsequent book based on the findings *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (1995), explores her research into youth subcultures – using a term she has coined, following Bourdieu, of 'subcultural capital'. Thornton believes that Bourdieu's work on social class, the development of tastes and cultural capital, was too focussed on the tastes of the middle aged and thus adapted the theory in order to make it applicable to her study, "to illuminate the culture of contemporary British youth" (Thornton 1993: 19). She identifies other attributes specific to her subcultural capital which differ from cultural capital, namely: subcultural capital shows distinct differences in terms of gender but not social class; education is of critical importance in developing cultural capital, whereas the media has more influence in determining subcultural capital; and subcultural capital can be 'accumulated,' as with cultural capital, "but not over a lifetime" since subcultural capital "deteriorates with age" due to its 'built-in-obsolence' (Thornton 1993: 19). Thornton's contribution to the application of cultural capital, created to address the nuances of youth subcultures, has particular significance to this study in how artistic practice and development of cultural capital occurs in the field of contemporary visual art.

In reference to a move from cultural capital to exploring the peculiarities of artistic capital, one of the significant differences to address will be Bourdieu's theories about social class which has driven his work on development of cultural capital. In recent years, with the availability of social security benefits to subsidise income for artists (Menger 2006; Peacock 2006), issues of class might be seen as contributing less towards development of

cultural capital since those without the economic capital, or money, are able to access art school education more easily than they might have before. That is not to say that economic capital, as well as inherited cultural capital do not contribute to development of artistic capital, they do, but this levels the field in terms of access requirements to art school being around artistic ability rather than financial capability. In saying that I also acknowledge Bourdieu's argument that talent and artistic ability can be seen as investments of time and cultural capital during childhood.

Art school education in particular is seen as distinct from other higher education degrees since the emphasis is on practice, predominantly studio based work and less emphasis on written work or art historical knowledge. The acquisition of artistic capital through art school education adds to the discussion on how artists navigate their careers, how they value the intrinsic quality of their art rather than the commercial value. Artistic capital is acquired through socialisation (in the family) but can also be a project, and by attending art school the artists have committed themselves to this project.

Other authors have offered analysis of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and some have suggested that this may require a more nuanced approach. Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002), for example, believe that even within the field of cultural production, there is enough distinction between say a rock musician and a ballet dancer, to warrant more in depth analysis than some of Bourdieu's work entails. Webb et al contended,

“all aesthetic experiences [have] a single underpinning logic. But in fact, of course, the adolescent rock guitarist, the ‘cultivated’ lover of opera, and the avant garde writer are likely to have very little in common with one another in terms of either social origins or aesthetic tastes, beyond their shared membership of the field of cultural production – a field with a multitude of positions, practices, logics and values.” (Webb et al 2002: 148)

Webb et al (2002) support concerns raised in the introductory chapter around the marked differences between different sub-fields of the field of cultural production, for example visual art, craft, design, architecture, and so forth. Other peculiarities that speak to a need for a more focussed analysis include: the weak importance of qualifications in the field of contemporary visual art, in comparison to the strength of experience and particularly reputation (Bain 2005; Benhamou 2011), “diplomas have a low signalling capacity, [thus]

people enjoy ease of entry to careers, especially those of visual artists” (Benhamou 2011: 2) supporting the adaptation of cultural capital to look at artistic capital.

For the purposes of this study I believe that interrogation of artistic capital, as a subcategory of cultural capital specific to the contemporary visual arts, is more appropriate given the distinctive nature of artistic practice in this sub field. Analysis of artistic capital will contribute both to the theoretical underpinning of the thesis, but also act as a contribution to the wider literature on capitals and careers since there is little or nothing written about artistic capital beyond mention of the term in only a couple of other works. Having identified attributes that are specific to the notion of an ‘artistic capital’ diverging from Bourdieu’s original interpretation of cultural capital, these will be explored further in chapter four, on development of artistic capital.

Social Capital

As artists work outside of organisational structures, and often alone, developing social capital becomes an important component which can contribute to a number of aspects in their career; for example, social networks can give access to advice, opportunities and support – both personally and professionally. Social capital is a “totality of resources (financial capital and also information etc.) activated through a more or less extended, more or less mobilizable network of relations”, where these networks can be used for “competitive advantage” (Bourdieu 2005: 194-5). More succinctly put, Bourdieu is referring to how your networks and social ties are an essential component in developing a career, ‘not what you know but who you know’, “and who knows you” (Thornton 1995: 10). In Gilmore’s study of the careers of advertising creatives she explained that,

“participating in wider social networks is crucial for career success. Social capital, the resources available to an individual or group as a result of belonging to a network [...] is integral to the pursuit of the successful creative career.” (Gilmore et al 2011: 3)

In the field of contemporary art, artists and those working around them, gallerists, curators, technicians, colleagues, are held together through social ties. It is important that the support and development roles revolving around artists are acknowledged as an essential part of how the field is structured and that they may have a significant role to play in shaping artists’ understandings and negotiations with the field of contemporary visual art; particularly in understanding a potential for tension between artistic and

commercial. Thornton sees how Bourdieu “locates social groups in a highly complex multi-dimensional space rather than on a linear scale or ladder” (Thornton 1995: 10). It is in this complex arena that cultural producers - but also the wider collective activity of cultural agents, critics, publishers, gallery directors and so forth - create the “meaning and value of the [art] work [...] produc[ing] consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such” (Bourdieu 1993: 37).

Menger (2006) raises the issue of how social capital becomes significant if the art for art’s sake ideology “reverse[s] the meaning of success and failure, so that only recognition by the peer group matters, at least in high art worlds” (Menger 2006: 12). In addition Menger acknowledges that, “a capital of recognition may be accumulated that is eventually converted into an increasing share of demand, which may provide the most famous artists with a slowly increasing flow of earnings” (Menger 2006: 18). Grenfell & Hardy (2007) argue that “social capital acts to amplify the efficiency of both economic and cultural capital” (Grenfell & Hardy 2007: 30), recognising the weight and importance of social capital within the framework of capitals.

Economic Capital

Bourdieu describes economic capital as “material wealth in the form of money, stocks and shares, property, etc” (Bourdieu 1996: 351). Although the cultural field has high levels of cultural capital, positioning it within the field of power, it remains in a “subordinate or dominated position” (Bourdieu 1993: 15) due to the legitimacy in the field of power being driven by economic and political capital; thus the cultural field’s “relatively low degree of economic capital” (Bourdieu 1993: 15) contributes to its dominated position. In Bourdieu’s theoretical framework of capitals however, he gives equal weighting to each form of capital, rather than positioning economic capital as dominant within the framework, acknowledging that although economic capital is what drives the field of power, it is only one part of what drives the field of cultural production.

Much of Bourdieu’s writing about economic capital in relation to the field of cultural production draws on what he sees as a ‘denied economy’ (Bourdieu 1996), where although many artists are involved in the art market they make clear distinctions that the activity they are engaged in, making art, is not an economic one – hence contributing to a denial of the economic aspects of the market. The framework of economic capital is particularly relevant to addressing the research questions, of whether there is a tension

between artistic and commercial, since the arena where economic activity happens would most likely provide instances of tensions or conflicts arising amongst logics. Bourdieu found a correlation between increases in economic profit and a shift from the 'autonomous' to the 'heteronomous' spheres, in other words when artists move from art for art's sake to commercial art they are likely to be able to make more money (Bourdieu 1996). Bourdieu also raises other important points around this shift from artistic to commercial where the commercial is 'unconsciously excluded' by art historian focusing on artistic merit (Bourdieu 1993), as well as the inability for a commercial artist to return to the 'pure' art, art for art's sake sphere. They are deemed to be working in the sub-field of large scale production.

Gulledge and Townley (2013) believe that "Bourdieu's work allows us to see how individuals learn to come to terms 'with the market' and try to ally their perspectives accordingly" (Gulledge & Townley 2013: 1). In addition a comparison can be drawn between Thornton's (1995) analysis of youth subculture's 'economic indiscipline' since the youths in her study, much like many practicing artists, do not have "adult overheads like mortgages and insurance policies" (Thornton 1995: 102-103). She sees this as the youth being "exempt from adult commitments to the accumulation of economic capital" (Thornton 1995: 103) and this can helpfully contribute to discussion around economic capital in this thesis.

Bourdieu's insights consider the economic capital of the artists but also economic capital as it pervades the wider collective of actors in the field, including gallerists and dealers who are thought to play a considerable role in the practice and careers of artists. If artists revolve around an array of networks throughout their career, as is described in the literature on artistic careers and social capital, then these networks and the economic activity that might be associated with them, are core instances when a tension between artistic and commercial might feature. Menger argues that artists will continue to practice even without financial recompense and this raises important questions about how a tension between artistic and commercial, if it exists, might contribute to the analysis of artistic careers, since "artists are committed to their art and linked to their community of fellow artists whatever degree of success in the market they may meet." (Menger 2006: 12)

Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is raised at this stage, and will again be referred to in the concluding chapter, since it is not the central focus of the thesis – rather the thesis is structured around the three forms of capital: artistic, social and economic. Within these chosen capitals there are elements of developing symbolic capital, in terms of reference to ideas of ‘honour,’ ‘prestige’ and ‘respect’ (DiMaggio 1979), however these are framed in terms of their contribution to each of the three capitals under analysis. Symbolic capital is seen to come from the interplay of the three forms of capital: cultural capital, in the context of this thesis this is explored through the sub-category of artistic capital; social capital; and economic capital.

Bourdieu argues that “[e]very kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) tends (to different degrees) to function as symbolic capital (so that it might be better to speak, in rigorous terms, of the *symbolic effects of capital*) when it obtains an explicit or practical recognition” (Bourdieu 2000: 242). Symbolic capital is something that artists might strive for through their artistic careers and in their artistic activities, however, symbolic capital is controlled by gatekeepers – in the case of the art world this might be gallerists, dealers, critics, collectors, and other industry professionals involved in sanctioning symbolic capital of artists. The notion of symbolic capital relies on how others recognise an artists’ capital and how they ‘misrecognise’ their capitals and translate them into a ‘sign of importance’ (Bourdieu 2000). How capitals are seen symbolically does not speak to the central research questions of a tension between artistic and commercial, but also requires analysis of the understandings of individuals and institutions outside of the artist themselves, those who are able to confer this symbolic capital upon them. This thesis is concerned directly with the experiences of artists themselves and not at this stage with the role of gatekeepers in developing symbolic capital, thus symbolic capital is alluded to in the data from the three empirical chapters, but not addressed directly.

Discussion of Capitals

Capitals can be seen as both ‘material’- physical or economic capital as well as ‘non-material’ - cultural, social and symbolic capitals (Svendsen & Svendsen 2003). Bourdieu believed that “[t]he objective of human activity is the accumulation and monopolization of different kinds of capital” (DiMaggio 1979: 1463). Although Bourdieu adopted economic terminology, such as capital and markets, which drew criticism from other scholars about how these might appear reductionist (Lebaron 2004), he did not suggest that all capitals

need to be economic, nor that economic capital held any dominance over other forms of capital; in fact Bourdieu was seen to argue against the use of economic models in the social sciences.

Capitals are “derived from the field as the recognised, acknowledged and attributed currency of exchange” (Grenfell & Hardy 2007: 60-61) and can prove time consuming, even costly, to accumulate which suggests individuals and group devise ‘investment strategies’ (Svendsen & Svendsen 2003). Bourdieu discusses how competitive advantage can be achieved owing to the “*volume and structure of the capital the agent possesses*” (Bourdieu 2005: 194). For Bourdieu cultural, social and economic capitals were his three central motifs in the theory of capitals, and it is these overarching themes which became apparent during the coding of the empirical data – leading to inclusion of Bourdieu’s capitals as the theoretical underpinning for this study.

In terms of capital it is possible for capitals to be converted into one another, some more easily than others; cultural and social capital can be converted into economic capital. According to Calhoun et al (1993: 5) this happens “more easily and efficiently” than the reverse, attempts to convert economic capital into other forms of capital. Johnson (in Bourdieu 1993: 7) gives the example of how “the proper kind and amount of academic capital may be converted into economic capital through advantageous placement in the job market”; for example qualifications which attest to academic prowess and knowledge can help the candidate get a good job in the field of academia. The complexities of how economic capital functions in the art world will be further discussed in chapter six, where there are issues surrounding the negative perceptions and disavowal of economic capital that are characteristic of the anti-economic structuring of the art world. Bourdieu maintained that,

“The literary and artistic world is so ordered that those who enter it have an interest in disinterestedness. [...] There are economic conditions for the indifference to economy which induces a pursuit of the riskiest positions in the intellectual and artistic avant-garde, and also for the capacity to remain there over a long period without any economic compensation.” (Bourdieu 1993: 40)

Bourdieu found that in the cultural spheres he studied, predominantly the literary and artistic spheres, artists who were able to survive the longest in circumstances with little

financial recompense were those who were able to capitalise on the cultural capital they developed during this time. They were able to build on this symbolic capital through their continued and avid disavowal of the market or economic capital, and in maintaining their aversion to the market they were perceived as legitimate players and endowed with increasing amounts of symbolic capital. The relevance of Bourdieu's interest in class to the discussion around survival as an artist relates to his reference to inherited capital. Inherited capital contributes to all three forms of capital discussed here; in early exposure to cultural activity, privileged access to elite education and resources, understanding and experience of how to function socially around other elites and professionals, as well as the typical source of inherited economic capital – monetary resources that enable them to supplement a low income and thus survive with limited or no income. In terms of the context of this thesis inherited capital may prove relevant to the discussion. However the nature of public support, in the form of social security benefits that have been available through the state have been argued to have contributed to ways in which artists without inherited economic capital have been able to circumvent the lack of this economic capital – inheriting the same benefits through the income they derive from their social security entitlement. For Bourdieu the “conditions of survival in the absence of the market” (Bourdieu 1996: 83) spoke to the origins of artists as descendants of the French Bourgeoisie, or middle classes, and did not account for an increase in artists' reliance on state financial support in the form of economic capital as a substitute for inherited economic capital.

Bourdieu recognised that artists, similar to writers, “possess all the properties of the dominant class minus one: money” (Bourdieu 1993: 165). Economic capital, or money, in the instance of artists, is said to be replaced by cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993; Bain 2005) which can, in principle, be exchanged for economic capital, but following Bourdieu's framework economic capital cannot be exchanged for cultural capital, even though it might be used to pay for educational courses or consumption of cultural goods. Thus there can exist a tension, or ‘friction’ as Thornton (1995) describes it, between “those rich in cultural capital but relatively poor in economic capital (like artists or academics) and those rich in economic capital but less affluent in cultural capital (like business executives and professional football players)” (Thornton 1995: 10). Bourdieu reminds the reader that gallerists and those working with artists, require the cultural capacity necessary to legitimise their activities in the art market, otherwise the parties who they work with closely – artists and collectors, would not accept their authority, this is supported by

Gulledge & Townley (2013) in their analysis of the role of literary agents. Without cultural capital they are unable to mobilise any economic or social capital they have. More widely the structure of the artistic field and artist's relations and careers, also encourage inclusion of social capital, "the resources that can be brought together [...] through networks of relations of various sizes and differing density" (Bourdieu 2005:2), in order to understand a fuller picture of artistic practice, careers and activities.

DiMaggio (1979) offers the reader a lengthy and considered criticism of Bourdieu's work citing the challenging nature of his writing in terms of structure and density. In addition he draws on a wider criticism of Bourdieu's work where he sees Bourdieu offering the beginnings of a theory without enough follow up or 'arrivals' as he calls them. He even suggests that the theory of capitals begins to lose some of its worth through the overuse of the term - citing the numerous forms of capital that Bourdieu mentions in his works without clarifying if these are capitals in their own right, or sub capitals. In addition their meanings tend to vary in his writing - cultural, social, economic, scholastic, academic, artistic, university, scientific, linguistic, symbolic and so forth - "[a]s the number of capitals increases, the metaphorical currency undergoes inflation and its value declines accordingly" (DiMaggio 1979: 1468-1469). This criticism was considered, however I felt the application of 'artistic capital' as a subcategory of the broader cultural capital, is better able to accommodate the particular nuances of the field of contemporary visual art.

2.3 Conclusion

This literature review considers the journey I followed in this research which began within the boundaries of the literature on artistic careers and migrated to Bourdieu's theory of capitals. Capitals offered a better reading of the empirical data, supported by Bourdieu's work in the artistic and literary fields. Artistic capital plays an important role for artists in achieving legitimacy and also in their development through the art world, whilst social capital provides an opportunity to further interrogate the role of social networks and influence of social capital in artistic careers. Lastly, economic capital plays a large role in this study and contributes fruitfully to the discussion on artists' relationships with the market, feeding into a discussion where artistic capital can be negatively affected by economic capital; where the field of cultural production demonstrates Bourdieu's (1983) title statement of *The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed*.

The central question of this thesis, is there a tension between artistic and commercial, and if so how is this tension understood and managed by artists, has been well served by the process of undertaking a literature review. In approaching two bodies of literature, on artistic careers, and capitals, I have been able to approach the empirical data from both perspectives, settling on the most appropriate as was driven by the empirical data itself. The approach of framing the data around three chapters and three capitals will allow the data to speak about artistic careers more broadly, and how these are understood within the framework of developing and maintaining capitals. The central questions around a tension will also be drawn from these chapters rather than being approached directly.

Structurally within the thesis the framework can be applied through an understanding of how artists develop artistic capital during art school, as explored in chapter four; through the role of social capital in chapter five; and ends with their negotiations with, and relationships to, economic capital, in chapter six. Before the empirical data is explored the methodology is explained in chapter three, giving the reader insight into the methods chosen as well as the sample of artists who have contributed to this study.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology and decisions around the methods and sampling chosen for this project. It introduces the socially constructed nature of the field of study followed by an outline of the principals of the career history method, explaining how this was employed in the gathering, analysis and evaluation of the empirical data; highlighting throughout the appropriateness of the methodology and methods in studying the careers of artists.

This thesis examines the premise that the art market rests on an awareness of the potentially taut relationship between artistic and commercial imperatives. Centring investigation on the experiences and career histories of visual artists provides an understanding of this relationship and how it is enacted in the art market. The field of contemporary art and the art market is complex which gives rise to the potential for conflicting logics – presenting a challenge for artists when working in the art market. The tension between commercial and artistic is further exasperated by the fear of artistic objectives being modified by the economic concerns associated with the art market (Codignola 2003) as opposed to artistic output remaining autonomous from the market, being driven by the logic of art for art’s sake. The thesis aims to understand if conflicting logics do in fact exist and to what extent these impact upon artists, their practice and career.

Understanding the research perspective and how it affects the study, helps the reader to recognise why certain decisions were made and evaluate the appropriateness of methodological choices. Hatch and Yanow (2008) put together a topical comparison between painting and research which encourages careful consideration of the methodological implications of this research with respect to the field of study, in this case visual arts.

FIGURE 2: (HATCH & YANOW 2008: 28),

‘ANALOGIES BETWEEN MODES OF PAINTING AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES’

Painting	Methodology
How the Painter sees the ‘subject’	Epistemological presuppositions
Kind of rendering (representational/abstract)	Ontological presuppositions
Techniques (chiaroscuro, underpainting)	Methods (ethnography, survey)

Hatch and Yanow (2008) provide a link between research and artistic practice that is useful for both academics and artists. In this comparison it is clear that in painting, as in research, all three aspects have critical importance in the construction and development of knowledge and understanding. From the outset it is important to outline the position that knowledge is socially constructed (O’Leary 2007). Social construction is the founding principle upon which the analysis is based. The field within which visual artists work is not only informed by their own epistemological assumptions developed from their background, but also by how that world is rendered, and re-rendered, as influenced by their social interactions and changes in their understanding of the world within which they are living and working. Understanding the actions of artists and those working in the artistic field is facilitated by acknowledging the socially constructed nature of knowledge and how “reality is constructed...reconstructed [and] based on collective/shared values, perceptions [and] assumptions” (Sjöberg 2004: 482-483).

The social constructivist stance is where the world is understood as composed through the actions and perceptions of those within these worlds (Crotty 1998). The art world functions with many sets of social rules (Greenwood 1994, in Crotty 1998), or conventions (Becker 1982), which are peculiar to each art form or to the field at large. Actors within these fields learn, recognise, understand and adopt these rules in order to be accepted into any particular art world, in this instance visual art, and function effectively inside it. Becker’s (1982) sociological analysis of art worlds and their social conventions illustrates how actors in art worlds are conscious of these conventions and they use their shared understanding of these constructs to work effectively and efficiently together, in what he describes as ‘collective activity,’ on shared tasks related to their individual fields. The role of others in supporting the artists is also adopted by Bourdieu through his analysis of the literary and artistic fields. Acknowledging the socially constructed nature of the field and its value systems (Sifakakis 2007), and adopting a consistent epistemological and methodological approach requires an understanding that the field of study is comprised of both “interactions among internal and external stakeholders and their perceptions of these interactions” (Hatch & Yanow 2008: 30).

I decided that a qualitative approach held more value in this study of artists’ careers than a quantitative approach. Several authors across the world have undertaken quantitative studies of artists’ careers, most often making use of national census data, or ‘quasi-panels’ of arts graduates surveyed over a selected time period, to compile their results (for

examples see Filer's (1986) analysis of artists' earnings based on US census data; Galenson's (2007) exploration of painters life cycles to expose patterns in when their 'best,' or at least most valuable, work was made, using auction transactions and art historical writing; and Throsby's (1994) studies of Australian artists careers through national surveys over nearly 20 years - 1983, 1988, 1993, 2002). Although census data can prove useful in identifying trends and patterns amongst artistic careers, it is also limited in its reach since the restrictive definitions within census questionnaires "result in a bias towards including only those who achieve the most success in their art form as artists" (Alper Wassall 2006: 17). In contrast Throsby et al surveys of Australian artists might be seen to provide more useful results since their surveys were specifically designed for artists, rather than the wider population and therefore these 'tailored' surveys were able to draw out specific data on artists' activities, employment preferences, experiences and earnings. In addition these multi-year surveys or panels encourage more accurate recall from participants since the time frames between them only require them to remember what happened in the last twelve months, or last five or ten years, rather than extrapolating that to include recall of their entire career. Alper & Wassall (2006) suggest that interview participants may be subject to 'recall bias' since "[r]etrospective information [...] may be influenced by events that have occurred" leading artists to "selectively telescope, suppress or embellish events that happened to them in the more distant past" (Alper & Wassall 2006: 4).

Taking account of the issues of qualitative versus quantitative, and multi-year versus one off surveys or interviews, I settled on a qualitative approach based around interviews. As my research formed around the question of whether there was in fact a tension between artistic and commercial, rather than being about charting an artists' career to identify patterns, I felt that the level of inquiry required an interview where ideas about tensions could be explored more naturally than through survey methods. In addition I accepted that where artists have had a longer career they may be subject to recall bias, however their experience of subsequent events may also be seen to contribute to their understanding of whether this tension existed and if so, how it changed or stayed the same at different stages in their career. I was also keen to ensure that the topic was broached indirectly and felt that through interviews I would be able to address the wider context as well as explore emerging themes. My aim to approach the research at a tangent led me to choose the career history method, based on the wider life histories model, which looks at the career as a whole and the activities and experiences that artists had within their

career. This is intended to provide an opportunity for the artists to speak about issues and experiences which they had and enabled me to use this narrative to understand instances where artistic and commercial have, or have not, been in tension and if they were, how the artists understood and managed these. This methodology chapter will first present an introduction to the career history method and its role in a study of artists. A detailed outline of the methods employed and the processes involved in undertaking the doctoral research will then follow.

3.2 Career Histories – A Method for Examining Careers

In this research I attempt to understand if there is a tension between artistic and commercial logics for artists and if so how artists understand and manage this tension. The approach of career histories was selected to provide an opportunity to determine whether these logics did exist and if so to what extent they were in fact in tension. Career histories present an opportunity to hear the perspective of the artists and encourage them to talk about how they see these issues being played out, or not, through their careers. March et al asserted that ,

“By listening to people’s descriptions of their [work] we learn about a variety of ways people find themselves in unexpected occupations and how they develop and settle into their new identities. By telling their own stories we have the benefit of hearing how they narrate and make sense of their past in relation to their current position” (March, Horn & Reynolds 2009: 13).

The career histories of artists is the major framework for this research and is based on the life histories method. A life history is an “account of a person’s life based on spoken conversations and interviews” (Titon 1980: 283). A life history closely resembles an autobiography since both are characterised by a first person, subjective narrative, and the life history is “a faithful rendering of the subject’s experience and interpretation of the world he lives in” (Becker 1970: 64). A life history or oral history “is not simply someone telling a story; it is someone telling a story in response to the queries of another” (Shopes 2011: 451) and therefore the role of the researcher and questions are also important in eliciting a life story. Initially, in this section, a background to wider use of life histories is given and later the career histories method and methodology will be more fully explained including exploration of the interview questions I developed.

Life histories can be complete, edited or topical; the latter is used in this context and described as 'career history'. A complete life history uses as much data as possible to put together as full a representation as possible of a person's life and life events from birth to present (or death). In an edited life history, the life history is compiled and then edited down by the researcher for clarity, focus and to avoid repetition, whilst a topical life history is seen as a 'slice' of a person's life; only including a selected timeframe in the subject's life. Although career histories are structured around artists' careers, the interview will still touch on other aspects of the interviewee's life in addition to education and work - such as family, social and political interactions and so forth, since lives are "not easily compartmentalized" (Shopes 2011: 452).

The life history method became a clear choice for this study in that the fundamental prerequisite of this method is that behaviour should be considered from the perspective of the actors involved (Herman-Kinney & Verschaeve 2003: 233), since these first hand accounts provide researchers with the opportunity to gather insights into the personal and professional lives of the subjects (Becker 1970), in this case the experiences of artists. Bertaux & Kohli (1984) point out that "[w]hile oral accounts appear to be of limited value in constructing a history of events, they provide considerable information on subcultures (e.g. life-styles, patterns of conduct, values)" (Bertaux & Kohli 1984: 231). This is relevant to the understanding of whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial and how artists understand this, in relation to what artists' values are, and how these relate to the notions of artistic and commercial.

3.21 Life Histories through History

Life histories have been widely used in a variety of fields since it was popularised in the early twentieth century in both the USA and Poland, coming to prominence at the University of Chicago in the 1920's and 1930's (Gilmore et al 2011; Roberts 2002). There was cross over with the work of Florian Znaniecki (b.1882 – d.1958) who began his career in Poland and continental Europe before moving briefly to America (1914-1920) at the invitation of William Thomas to work on the 'canonical' *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Thomas & Znaniecki 1918). Thomas & Znaniecki's work inspired the Chicago School in the 1920's (Herman-Kinney & Verschaeve 2003) who popularised the use of life histories based on Thomas & Znaniecki's (1918) use of the life history and other primary source, or personal documents (Musolf 2003). Personal documents can include letters,

diaries, interviews and autobiographies (Bertaux & Kohli 1984: 216). However, this early work in life histories in the USA and Poland was later eclipsed by a 'revival' in the 1970s and 1980s dominated by scholars in the UK, France, Italy, Germany and Latin American countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico (Bertaux & Kohli 1984).

Bertaux and Kohli (1984) provide a breakdown of the usage of life histories in Europe; and brief accounts of its usage outside continental Europe, for example: in the UK with Raphael Samuel's (1981) study of a former criminal in London and Paul Thompson's (1983) study of fishing communities in Scotland; and in America with work from the Chicago school, into deviancy and delinquents including studies of transsexuals (Garfinkel 1967; Bogdan 1974); heroin addiction (Rettig et al 1977); and study of a Madam (Heyl 1979). As with Herman-Kinney and Verschaeve (2003) they recognise the role of the symbolic interactionist movement at the Chicago School in cultivating the popularity of the life history method as seen in their studies of deviancy.

Life histories have experienced a degree of revival in the last few decades as their popularity had dwindled after researchers moved towards what they felt were more rigorous and accepted methods (Shopes 2011; Ojermark 2007); as well as a wider move in academic research towards more theoretical abstraction (Becker 1970) and with "positivism bec[oming] the reigning academic paradigm" (Shopes 2011: 453). It was felt that the level of detail that life histories offered did not accommodate the potential for more widely generalisable accounts of activity and, as such, the once broad popularity of the life history was side-lined and more commonly used in distinct disciplines such as anthropology and psychology; although the psychological use of life histories tends to focus on using life histories to understand and institute change from a therapeutic perspective (Shopes 2011).

Prior to the recent revival, Bertaux & Kohli (1984) describe researchers move away from the life history method rather than address or work to improve what were seen as failings of the method; the reasons for this remain unexplained. The idea of a lack of rigour in life histories stemmed from arguments that data may suffer from deliberate or unintended bias and participants may be selective with the information that they disclose to the researcher (Herman-Kinney & Verschaeve 2003). In describing the six characteristics of an oral history, Shopes (2011) explains how they are "both an act of memory and inherently subjective account" (Shopes 2011: 452). Additionally, prior to technological

advances which enabled researchers to more easily record interviews, the hand-written notes which were used to later transcribe accounts from were questioned for their accuracy and reliability (Shopes 2011).

3.22 The Application of Career Histories

Ojermark (2007) describes how life histories “privilege voices often excluded in other forms of research” (Ojermark 2007: 4) and thus provides the framework for artists to form their own narrative around their career where the notions of artistic and commercial can be explored as guided by the testimonials of the artist, rather than being led by the agenda of the theoretical framework. In this study I applied the principles of career history interviews to all my interactions with the artist. I asked them an initial question to begin the conversation, having initially explained the method where the onus is on the artist to dictate the narrative as they choose. The method involves a conversational oral response to a query which is put to the interviewee. The interviews then continue as a story, drawn out by the artists rather than directly to a set of semi-structured questions. The questions I have developed, as outlined later in this chapter, act only as prompts should they be needed by the artist during the interview. These questions are held in reserve and not always employed unless the interviewee comes to a natural pause in the conversation.

In addition to the practical aspects of undertaking life history interviews, researchers highlight that the interviewers themselves create their own interpretation of the story, both through the questions they ask the interviewee and also in later interpreting the life history recordings and transcripts; particularly in the sense that the oral history cannot merely be understood from the transcripts alone (Shopes 2011), but through use of data such as other supporting documents, in the case of visual artists this might include artists CVs, critical art writing, exhibition catalogues, even the art work itself. Ojermark (2007), in her literature review of use of life histories in the study of chronic poverty, observes that scholars reliance on written accounts, such as diaries, restricts the field of study to a distinct category of those who are literate. Ojermark’s findings attest to the value of oral life histories in gathering first-hand accounts of phenomena which may not be found elsewhere. In addition, engagement with commercial elements might be a sensitive topic for artists, the context of an academic study which also offers anonymity may be seen to encourage more candid responses; ethical issues and anonymity are dealt with later in this chapter when discussing the participating artists.

Supporting documents and corroborating accounts are combined to support the validity of personal accounts. To support my analysis of the career histories of artists I used artists CVs, exhibition histories and critical writing around their work, and archival research within the exhibition archive at the DCA. The desk research I undertook was also supported by my knowledge and experience of the field as well as general conversations with others working and practicing in the field, the director and head of arts at the DCA, colleagues working with art organisations and artists I knew. These sources helped to verify statements and context whilst the aim was to seek “new knowledge about and insights into the past through an individual biography [and supported by the] assumption that the narrator has been an active agent in fashioning his or her life story” (Shopes 2011: 451-452). No account of life or work can hold complete accuracy as data can be affected by memory and context, as well as the research agenda and guide questions playing a role in the development of the narrative.

Following on from an understanding of the context of life histories, this thesis draws from the career histories of artists. The framework of career histories focuses on a select timeframe in the subject’s life drawing out data on this period which can be used to explore the “subjective side of much-studied institutional processes, about which unverified assumptions are also often made” (Becker 1970: 68). Career histories provide a method for “understanding a situation, profession, condition, or institution through coming to know how individuals walk, talk, live, and work within that particular context” (Coles & Knowles 2001: 11), which is essential in understanding how artists understand and experience artistic and commercial logics within their careers.

The career histories upon which this study is based are of twenty five visual artists. These career histories provide the basis for an examination of the careers of artists and their development of artistic, social and economic capitals, helps to illustrate how such artistic and commercial demands are managed and if there are instances of tensions between them. The particular emphasis on the experience and understanding of the individual artist, the interactions with the market for their art, encourages a better understanding of how these artists developed and negotiated a variety of issues in order to develop and sustain their practice. In hearing the artist discuss these issues I am able to further uncover how artistic or commercial elements are understood in different contexts within the artist’s career.

In further exploring the limitations of the career history method the central concerns revolve around bias arising from the single interviews with the artists. In the research design I was careful to ensure that single interviews could be substantiated by additional evidence, in the use of supporting documents, but also where I established relationships with the artists and have arrangements that I could come back to them for any clarifications after the interview. In the research design I decided to ensure all the artists read their transcripts so as to address any inconsistencies or misunderstandings. Throughout the process I was also engaged in the visual art world through my previous training, the partnership with the DCA and my work in the field of contemporary art. I was able to capitalise on my social networks and the expertise of individuals, curators, artists and directors I knew, to supplement my knowledge of the contemporary art field and specifically the artists who were involved in the study. Throughout the process of research design and even in interviewing and analysis I was aware that my research question, of whether there was a tension between artistic and commercial and how this was managed, required a tangential approach that was appropriately offered by the career histories method. In addition the value drawn from the interviews was the knowledge of artists own experiences and how they felt about those experiences. These insights can only be gleaned through the words of the artists themselves. In addition my approach of addressing the entirety of the artists career as opposed to directly asking questions about artistic and commercial provide an opportunity for the artists to talk about their work and themselves and the research question is addressed by how they present themselves and are seen to position themselves in respect to artistic and commercial.

3.3 The Artists

In this section more details about the selected artists are shared, including how and why they were chosen, the breakdown of gender, educational attainment and locality. In addition the recruitment strategies are outlined as well as the limitations of the selection.

In terms of the limitations associated with the selection of the artists it is important to identify that there is no provision for inclusion of artists who have stopped practicing, opted for a career change or failed. Although this could bring to the forefront issues surrounding survivorship, this is a conscious decision which has been made for this research since it is essential for the artists to have had a range of career experiences within the field of contemporary art practice, in order for the research to explore the

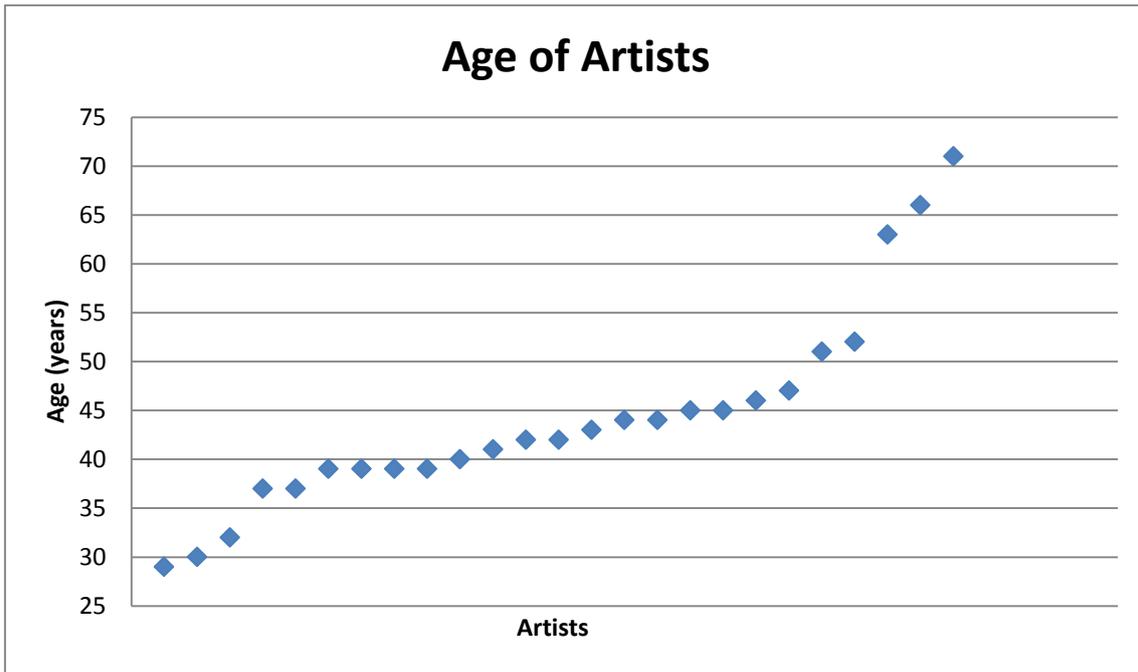
themes of artistic and commercial. Further limitations exist in the research group in the absence of any artists from a black and minority ethnic background, the existing sample are all white, western artists from middle class backgrounds for the most part, thus this sample is unable to speak to the concerns or experiences of non-western artists, black and minority ethnic artists. From the study around a quarter or less are from working class backgrounds and while there is some scope to understand the perspectives of artists from these backgrounds this is limited.

The sample of artists allows the thesis to address both national and international concerns owing to the artists' experience of working internationally in a variety of contexts both in terms of exhibiting internationally, living or undertaking artist-in-residence opportunities internationally, and fundraising for shows at home and abroad. A broader study might wish to expand beyond this national context or look comparatively at the situation outside of the UK in Europe, the USA and emerging art markets such as Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC).

Artist's Demographics

This section illustrates geographic and demographic data on the participating artists, as well as data on graduate study and degree of involvement with DCA. The artists are mostly established, whilst some might still be considered emerging artists, with careers ranging from six to forty years in length. They are all highly educated, having completed a course of study in the arts at undergraduate level, and sometimes postgraduate level. There is good representation from both genders, with 15 male artists and 10 female artists, and all of the respondents have had some engagement with the art market in terms of sales and commissions; with the majority now making their living from their artistic practice. Their experiences illustrate some of the complexities inherent in artists' career histories and experiences. It is important to this research to be speaking to artists who have had numerous experiences of negotiating in different contexts. Additionally the size of this group, in terms of the research and interviews of each artist, was considered manageable within the timescale of the project as a whole. As the artists are at different career stages, the accounts begin at the first stages of interaction with the market, often after graduating from Art School, thereafter allowing the narrative to develop.

FIGURE 2: AGE OF ARTISTS IN THE STUDY

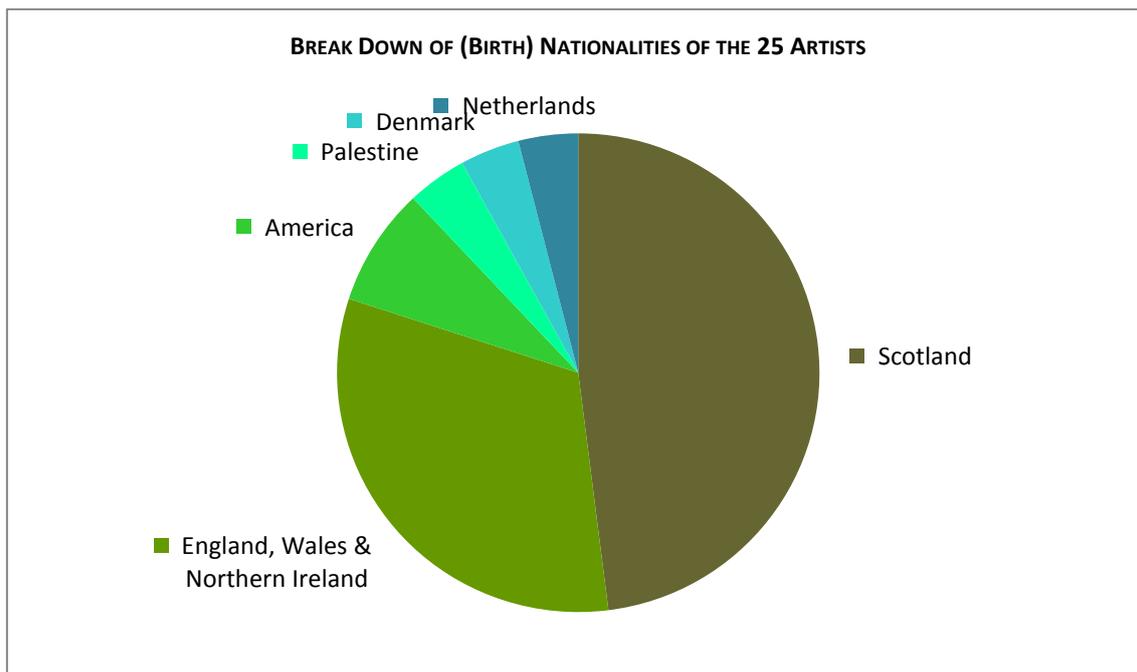


The artists' average age is approximately 40, with the oldest 71 and youngest 29. Artists are all practising and predominantly all making their living from their practice. There was also representation from artists who have been working for less than a decade as well as those working for over 40 years – this time span enabled the research to speak both to those at the outset of their career, still experiencing their first interactions with the art market and the challenges of carving out a career as an emerging artist, whilst others were able to speak more broadly about a range of experiences across their career and speak about patterns or impacts which events have had over time.

Location and the Scottish Context

All of the artists in this study have exhibited internationally, demonstrating a wide range of experience of working in different countries, for different organisations and under different funding, political and social regimes. These experiences enable them to see different ways of working and also require them to develop and adapt to different situations and means of negotiating which are appropriate in specific contexts. This breadth of experience of different cultural policy scenarios also sheds light on what affect changes in public funding and private investment have for their practice.

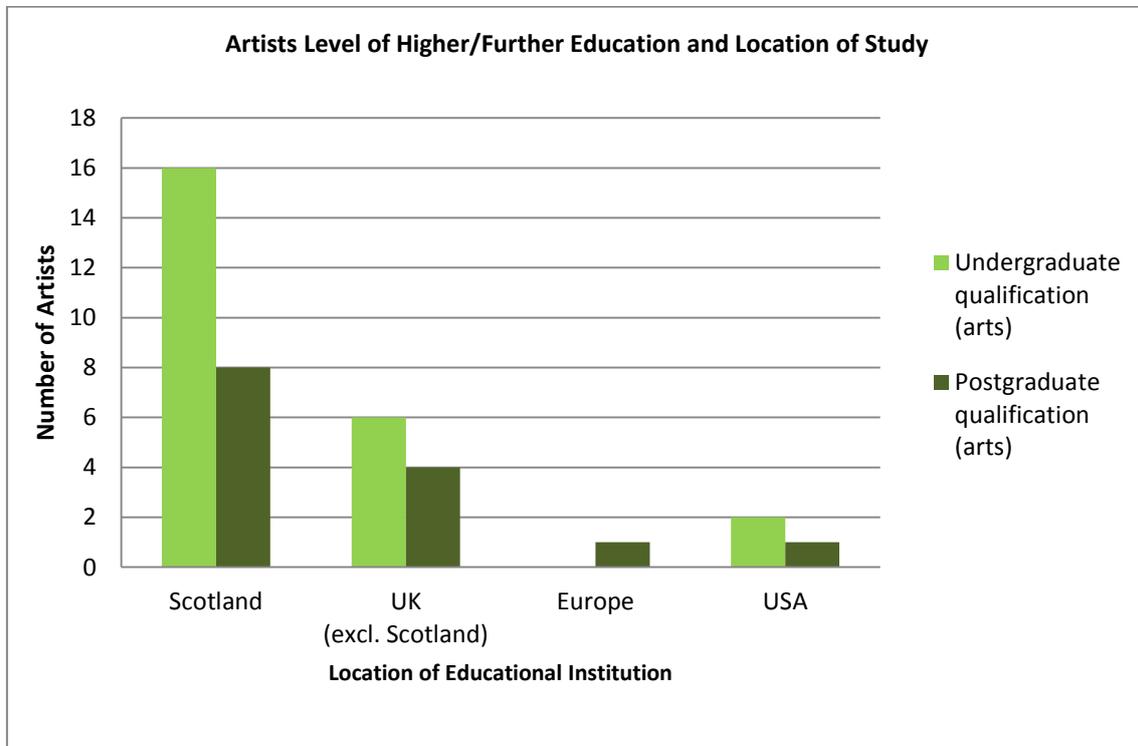
FIGURE 3: ARTISTS NATIONALITIES (DEFINED BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH)



This research project is looking outwards from the context of Scotland; from a Scottish Contemporary Art institution, DCA, which contributes to the international art scene. There is a noted lure for artists to move outside of Scotland in order to further their practice with the most immediate agglomeration can be seen in London. Large cities like London offer a high concentration of all facets of the art world; artists, dealers, critics, scholars, collectors, institutions, audiences, suppliers. However, this also implies increased competition for resources, jobs and attention. Although London and Scotland are not geographically far apart, four hours by train or one hour by plane, they are quite distinct in terms of the art market, an artist represented in London can immediately be priced out of the Scottish market (SAU 2007) which could potentially lead to them being, or at least feeling, like they are unable to return to a market that cannot support their career in the same manner, particularly following Velthuis' (2007) findings that galleries cannot decrease an artist's price. These large cities can also offer increased opportunities to develop artistic and social capital through access to larger and more internationalised networks.

Educational Attainment amongst the Artists

FIGURE 4: ARTISTS LEVEL OF HIGHER/FURTHER EDUCATION AND LOCATION OF STUDY



The chart above illustrates the artists' levels of educational attainment: 24 of the artists have an undergraduate qualification, whilst 14 also hold a postgraduate qualification in the arts. In exploring Bourdieu's notion of the development of artistic and social capital through art school and higher education it is important to identify how many of the artist participated in higher and further education and specifically in art schools, or on art courses, as opposed to courses that were not practice based. All but one of the artists who studied towards an undergraduate degree, attended either an art school or arts related course which involved an element of practice; both artists who studied for their undergraduate in America did so within the North American liberal arts framework which involves an expanded curriculum of both arts and non-arts subjects. All the postgraduate qualifications were arts, Masters of Fine Art or Masters of Art.

Medium

The artists in this study are all practicing contemporary visual artists using a variety of mediums to achieve their artistic outcomes. The artists employ a range of mediums from sculpture, installation, video, film, photography, digital media, painting, drawing,

printmaking to more socially engaged practice. Artists tend not to be limited to one mode of practice and often adapt their practice for particular contexts and develop new skills throughout their careers, the table below gives an example of the mediums the artist's work in predominantly.

FIGURE 5: MEDIUM THE ARTISTS ARE PREDOMINANTLY WORKING WITH

Medium	Artists
Collage	Malcolm
Ceramics	Ben
Design	Malcolm
Film and Video	Eleanor, Erica, Fraser, Harry, Iain, Lauren
Illustration	Adam, Angela, Ben, Michael
Installation	Caitlin, Kristen, Lewis, Mark, Michael, Olivia, Ryan, Stephen, Victoria
New Media	Eleanor, Iain
Painting	James, Kristen, Malcolm, Nicholas, Paul
Photography	Robert
Printmaking	Lauren
Public Art	Ben, Paul
Sculpture	Adam, Angela, Ben, Caitlin, Fraser, Lewis, Olivia, Ryan, Stephen, Victoria
Socially engaged practice	Chris, Sophie
Sound	Mark

The term socially engaged is used here to describe practices where the artist works with particular groups and develops work appropriate to that setting and this can encompass physical works, to coordinating performances and ephemeral works; two of the artists in this selection can be said to be working in this manner. Many of the artists have been part of education projects or community art projects which work in similar ways through social engagement, however for the purposes of this study, these educational projects and roles are considered additional to the artists core practice since the activity will not form part of the development of the artists own practice but is, rather, an activity using their artistic skills - arts-related work. Thus only those consciously embracing a socially engagement model of artistic practice are described here.

In addition, installation refers to sculptural works in situ on a site, either a gallery or a specially selected area. This can range from objects placed in a space, to manipulating the space using materials, attaching items to wall and so forth. Seven of the twenty five artists worked predominantly in sculpture or installation, whilst another eight worked using film and video or photography or other digital media. Four of the artists were working across a range of mediums in their practice and could not be identified as working predominantly with one over another and the final four were working predominantly within painting or illustration. Notably, for many, their training, although reflected in many of the artists' practices, was not always the medium they employed in their current practice. Some of the artists also were adamant that they preferred not to be labelled by medium, for example as a sculptor, and rather that medium was merely a tool in their work as an artist, one of several methods they can employ in creating works.

3.4 Empirical Data

3.41 Selecting the Artists

The artists chosen for this study have been selected from the long list of over 300 artists that the DCA have worked with since their opening in 1999. The list included 317 practicing artists working under the broad umbrella of visual arts, 26 of those artists were working collaboratively, 13 pairs, as well as one collective of 12 artists. In addition the DCA's list also included mention of an additional 3 curators, 24 writers and around 20 more that I termed miscellaneous, whose practices include music, theatre, and architecture amongst others. I counted over 100 who were Scottish or who I knew were currently living and working in Scotland, but stopped short of cataloguing all the artists who might now live in Scotland or who have lived in Scotland. A connection to Scotland, in terms of nationality, living and working, was not one of my search criteria since I felt it limited the study to a much narrower subset of artists. My research question was not specific to the Scottish context and I am also aware that Scotland has a very small commercial art world and few, if any, collectors of contemporary art, therefore this criteria might prove limiting in interrogation of the research question.

The final twenty five artists that were interviewed included two pilot interviews of artists, one of whom had not worked with the DCA, but represented distinct practices and experiences that I felt would be beneficial to the overall study. These two artists were one

with whom I had personal contact through my training and professional experience in the arts and another who was introduced to me at the very outset of my doctoral research through my contacts with the DCA. Both of these interviews were conducted, initially as pilot interviews, with the intention that they would be included in the research, and they also provided me with an opportunity to trial the method of career history interview with two practicing artists, in order to assess the appropriateness of the methodology as well as the practical elements of conducting an interview. The interviews demonstrated the value and relevance of the career history method for this study, whilst also contributing two very distinct and valuable perspectives to the study, in terms of their depth of experience within their training, practice and familiarity with the publicly funded and commercially funded market for contemporary visual art.

The selection of artists from the DCA's roster was seen as an opportunity, rather than a limitation, since the gallery has worked with numerous renowned artists who are still practising nationally and internationally. The gallery has also had three directors in its initial ten year tenure which has provided at least three different curatorial perspectives behind their selection of artists. In addition their role as a publicly funded gallery means that the pool of artists they have worked with is much wider than that of a commercially funded gallery, since publicly funded institutions are less likely to show an artist more than once, unlike the commitment of commercial galleries to show their stock of artists on an annual or biennial basis, thus the list of over 300 was considered vast, particularly in what might be reasonably achieved within the confines of a doctoral thesis.

A random selection was deemed "neither necessary, nor even preferable" since it was important that the artists represented a range of practitioners who have had a variety of experience with different aspects of the market in order to be able to speak to the elements of the art world, both artistic and commercial, to some extent (Eisenhardt 1989: 537). The list needed to consider a selection of artists who might be able to speak about a spectrum of experience, working internationally, working with commercial and public funded organisations, award nominees and so forth, to enable the greatest opportunity for the research to access a wide pool of different activity and experiences.

I decided to initially narrow the list of candidates to those who had created new work through an exhibition with the DCA as well as having been commissioned to make a print or publication with the DCA. The reason for this initial narrowing was two-fold; firstly this

shortlist reflected curatorial decisions of current and previous DCA teams through their invitation for artists to work with them to develop a print or publication, reflecting relative value judgements of the curators and artistic directors over that time period. Secondly these individuals have invested time and energy into their relationship with DCA and likewise DCA have worked with them to create opportunities for the artists to develop their practice and careers, which might make them more amenable to participate in the research project. In addition I applied my knowledge of the contemporary visual art scene, desk research, and conversations with the DCA's current director, which affirmed in me that the shortlist provided a breadth of different forms of practice, in different locations and in with a range of experience that might allow them to speak about issues of artistic and commercial.

At this stage the number of artists I was considering has shrunk from well over 300 to only 50 (25 of the exhibiting artists had made prints with the DCA's print studio whilst a further 25 had worked with the DCA to develop a publication around their work). From the shortlist of 50 artists I contacted 29, including the two pilot interviews, with 2 artists not replying, and a further 2 whom I was unable to meet due to conflicts with schedules or international travel. There remained a further 23 that I did not contact, these included artists who I excluded due to their practice being predominantly outside of the field of visual arts (music and theatre), as well as a large number for whom I was unable to find current contact information.

Recruitment Strategies

A sound plan of approaching interview participants is essential, particularly when dealing with artists working globally with very busy schedules. In constructing the methodology I considered the sensitive nature of relationships between the DCA and the artist, gatekeepers like gallerists who might wish to restrict access due to concerns about the representation of the artist, as well as artists' egos. The art world is highly secretive and its players often accept the authority of gatekeepers or tastemakers (Thornton 2008), thus an initial introductory letter from the DCA director acted as a validation to those artists that were being approached, that the research was supported by the gallery as well as the academic establishment.

The approach involved contacting the artists by letter sent through DCA, see Appendix 2, with the endorsement of their Director, signalling that I am part of a wider research

framework supported by the University of St Andrews but also DCA and Creative Scotland. These letters were then followed up by email directly to each artist referring to the initial letter. Through email contact, interview dates and times were set up directly with the artists, at a time and place most suitable to them. The interviews were held over a period of twelve months, and this allowed me to offer the artists freedom to choose a timeframe which fitted in with their busy and sporadic work schedules.

Informally I divided the group, based on my knowledge of their careers and practice, as well as from advice from the DCA director, positioning the most challenging, in terms of access, to the last round of interviews. This allowed me to have developed a level of competence in interview skills, as well as having honed the interview questions through my earlier interviews. This experience, alongside a sound knowledge of a particular artist's practice, was intended to encourage them to be more relaxed and forthcoming, particularly should circumstance arise where there was limited time or no access to re-interview. It was essential that I knew about an artist's history and practice to help guide questioning during interviews; tailoring responses to each individual artist in order to tease out information peculiar to their career that could enrich the empirical data.

3.42 Ethical Considerations and Pseudonyms

The table below shows a summary version of information from the participating artists, the full table of interviewee data can be found in Appendix 1.

FIGURE 5: PARTICIPATING ARTISTS INFORMATION

Artist's Pseudonym	Age	Lives & Works	Career Stage	Under-grad	Post-grad	Gallery Representation*
Adam	34-44	Scotland	Mid	Y	N	Y
Angela	34-44	Scotland	Mid	Y	Y	Y
Ben	34-44	Scotland	Mid	Y	Y	Y
Caitlin	45-54	Scotland	Mid/Late	Y	Y	Y
Chris	45-54	Scotland	Mid/Late	N	Y	N (Y)
Eleanor	34-44	England	Mid	Y	N	N (Y)
Erica	34-44	Italy	Mid	Y	Y	Y
Fraser	45-54	Scotland	Mid/Late	Y	Y	N (Y)

Harry	25-33	Scotland	Early	Y	Y	N
Iain	34-44	England	Mid	Y	Y	N (Y)
James	25-33	Scotland	Early	Y	Y	N (Y)
Kristen	34-44	Scotland	Early/Mid	Y	N	N
Lauren	34-44	Scotland	Early/Mid	Y	N	Y
Lewis	34-44	Scotland	Mid	Y	N	Y
Malcolm	34-44	England	Mid	Y	N	Y
Mark	34-44	England	Mid	Y	N	Y
Michael	45-54	Scotland	Mid/Late	Y	Y	Y
Nicholas	45-54	England	Early/Mid	Y	Y	Y
Olivia	34-44	USA	Mid	Y	N	N (Y)
Paul	65-74	Scotland	Late	Y	N	Y
Robert	65-74	Scotland	Late	Y	Y	Y
Ryan	34-44	Scotland	Early/Mid	Y	N	Y
Sophie	25-33	England	Early/Mid	Y	N	Y
Stephen	54-64	England	Late	Y	Y	Y
Victoria	34-44	Scotland	Mid	Y	Y	Y

*Gallery Representation N (Y) = Not currently represented, but has been in the past.

All the artists have been given pseudonyms and the table does not include data which can identify the artists directly to protect the identities of the participants. In writing up the thesis details have been removed from quotes where they may indirectly suggest the identity of the participants – these include people’s names, place names, show titles, art school names and locations. In addition some artists wished more sensitive information within their interviews to remain entirely anonymous with no reference to artist pseudonym, gender, age or location; in these instances they are referred to in the body of the text, or where quotations are necessary they are marked as anonymous.

In advance of undertaking the empirical work for this study I prepared documentation for participants that covered the ethical use of their interview data in terms of ensuring anonymity, as well as the secure storage of interview audio files and transcripts for the doctoral research. It was important to me to be able to ensure the artists’ anonymity for their participation to encourage a more open dialogue from participants – particularly with respect to more sensitive topics around personal relationships and economic

concerns. Each artist received a copy of an information sheet about the project and the contact details for both myself and my primary supervisor. The information sheet was also accompanied by a participant consent form (both can be found in Appendix 3).

3.43 Desk Research: artists' CVs and the development of career history diagrams

Prior to undertaking the interviews my research began in storage spaces at the DCA. Throughout DCA's history they had amassed an assortment of exhibition materials that supported the shows which they had done. This included photographs, posters, invite cards, invite lists, interpretation material⁵, video interviews with artists, audience responses and documents relating to the show - for example loan forms for works on loan from collections, sometimes correspondence with artists. I fully immersed myself with this material and through preliminary organisation of the material into a provisional archive. Much of the available information in the archive revolved around exhibition materials, visual and text items relating to past exhibitions. This information is helpful in giving context to the exhibition at the DCA and an insight into each artist's practice, it acted more as a stimulus for further research on the artists, whilst data enabled a fuller understanding of the artists' practice and of their career history to date.

In addition to the background research on each artist I sourced copies of their CVs from their personal or gallery websites, where unavailable I requested these from the artists themselves. Although only a selective list of exhibitions and work experience are listed in CVs - for most their artist's CV focuses on art world indicators of value such as exhibitions, residencies⁶, awards and collections that their work was part of. However, the selection of the work listed on these was able to tell a narrative of its own which included a development from group shows to solo shows, smaller spaces to more established spaces. This info helped to guide the questioning in the interviews and allowed further interrogation of key aspects of the career of each artist.

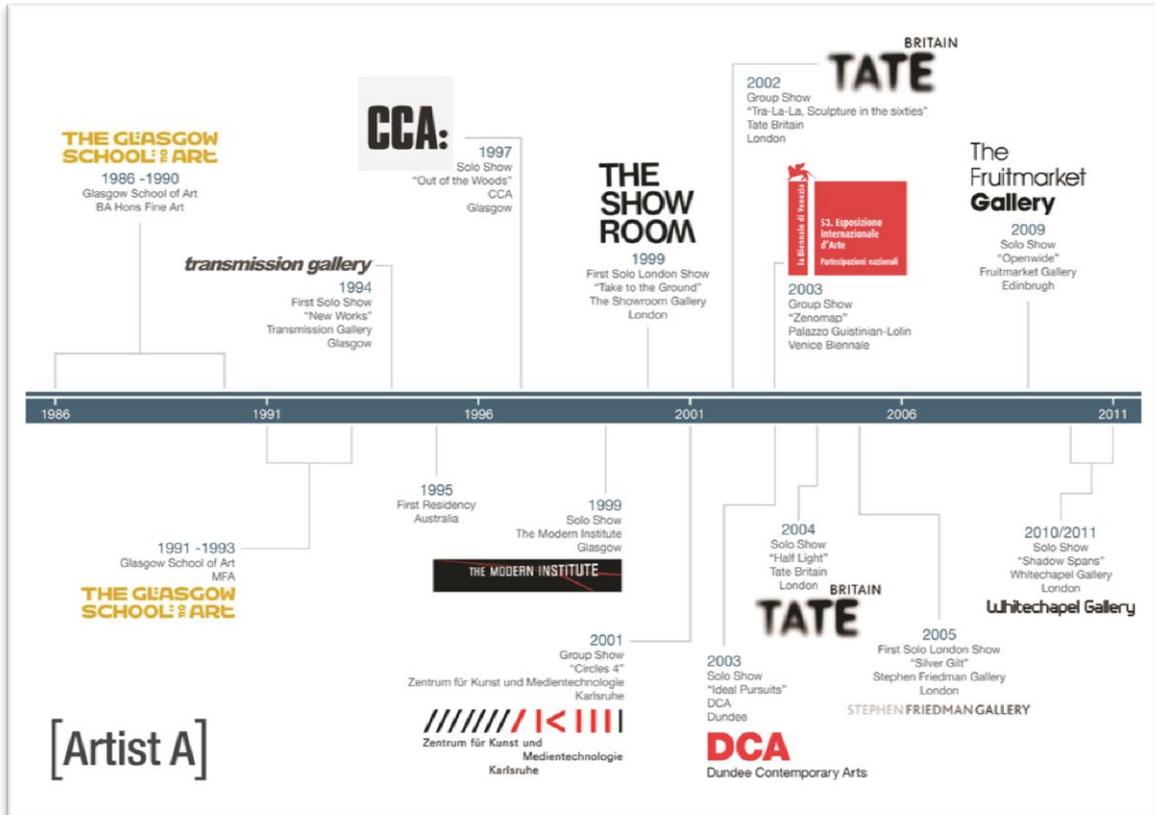
In order to visually map the artist's career paths from their CV, I developed career history diagrams that charted what I saw as key moments in the artists' careers. These were an

⁵ Interpretation material is the text that accompanies an exhibition which helps the audience to understand the context of the show and information about the artist and their practice.

⁶ An arts residency is where an artist will stay and work elsewhere in order to offer them the opportunity to develop their artist practice. Accommodation and studio space are usually included, similar to the notion of a retreat where artists are given time to develop their work.

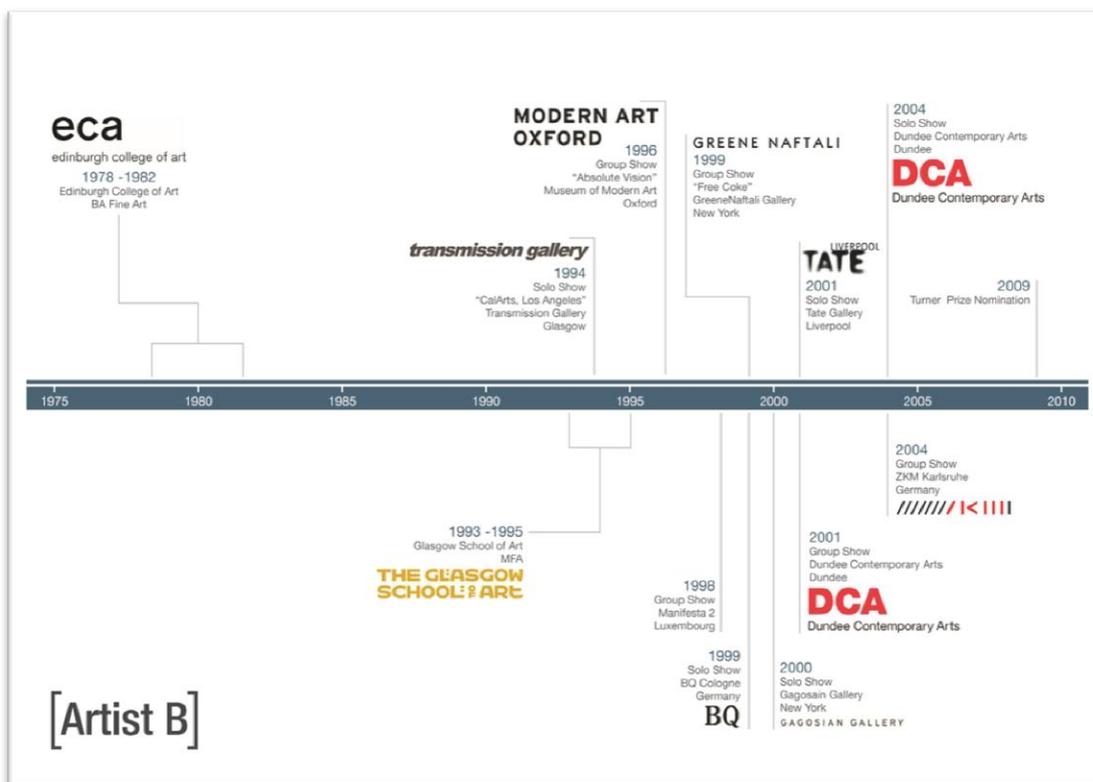
initial guide during my preparation for the interviews and acted as a visual reference tool in the later analysis. These also helped pull out critical shows and moments and cross check these against how the artists spoke about these events during their careers.

FIGURE 6: CAREER HISTORY DIAGRAM (ARTIST A)



This example illustrates a condensed career history of one of the artists, identified as Artist A, who participated in the research. The diagram illustrates particular events from the career history including when they left art school in 1990, followed by a short gap and then returning to study for an MFA the following year. As the career progresses the mix of group and solo shows progresses to more solo shows and where there are group shows these are in larger international spaces. There are exhibitions from publicly funded and commercial galleries, including one of the commercial galleries which has represented the artist as part of their stable. A further example is seen overleaf of Artist B:

FIGURE 7: CAREER HISTORY DIAGRAM (ARTIST B)



From referencing the career history diagram I knew to ask Artist B about the reasons behind a distinct gap in their career history. I was able to quickly pinpoint years with very busy activity and those without, times when they began to show a lot of work abroad, highlighting distinct moments or developments in their artistic career. This background research proved essential in arming me with the necessary guide questions to be able to prompt artists regarding certain moments in their careers and elicit further reflection from them on these issues. Further examples of these career history diagrams can be found in the appendices, see Appendices 6 to 10.

One of the most important things that it demonstrated, as part of the research process was the differences in judgement between what I, as an observer of the field, and the artists, as active participants in the field, felt was significant. For example my own knowledge of the field led me to believe that large scale, biennial exhibitions, like the Venice Biennale, or industry awards, like the Turner Prize were of huge significance in an artist's career and something that might be sought after. Some of the literature, such as Galenson's (2007) study of painters' careers, even uses art historical documents as the basis for its analysis of artists' careers; these documents would certainly include writing about such events. That is not to say these events were of no consequence but the artists sometimes struggled to

quantify what opportunities might have come from these since there was often a gap, or time lag, between an exhibition and the offer of another. It was not just the value or impact of landmark exhibitions and events that differed between my initial desk research and the career history interview, but also smaller moments that sometimes did not feature on the CV at all. These smaller moments with much greater impact for the artists included small pieces of funding (sometimes only a few hundred pounds) or a self-funded residency, small events that enabled great leaps in the development of their practice and artistic capital.

Lipphardt's (2012) study of mobility in artistic careers also drew upon the use of artists CVs, but in relation to an understanding of the impact of mobility on artistic careers. Lipphardt argues that an analysis of the CV in isolation would have led her to believe the process and prevalence of mobility is a success story for many artists. However, she found that the impact of mobility on artistic careers can only truly be understood through interviews with the artists, exploring the instability which arises from artists' project based patterns of working. She stressed that,

“What gets lost in these official narratives is an understanding of the highly ambivalent character of this lifestyle and work-mode: artists nowadays may indeed enjoy the most privileged form of mobility, but for many this also means to live permanently on the edge, financially, socially and emotionally” (Lipphardt 2012: 120)

What then arose from the interviews, following the desk based research around their careers, is what has driven this thesis and explorations of the events and activities the artists undertook is explored further throughout the next three chapters.

3.44 Interviewing Artists: Developing the Interview Questions

Atkinson (1998) highlights the importance of being aware of my own perspective or 'frame of reference'. The extent of my prior knowledge of, and experience within, the field was made clear to participants prior to the interviews and aided in developing rapport and in enabling the flow of the interview without extensive explanation of colloquialisms and industry specific shorthand.

At the core of this research, however, are the in-depth, career history interviews which are designed to allow the responding artists to discuss in their own words the course of their career and issues which arose during that time. The career history interviews which were loosely structured with a few carefully selected, generic, open questions which were intended to elicit a conversational response that it was felt would encourage more frankness (Gilmore et al 2011).

A semi-structured format allowed me to guide the process, and flow, whilst allowing me to “probe beyond the set list of questions” (Herman-Kinney & Verschaeve 2003: 231). The semi-structured interview also allowed the artist to retain control of how they wish to respond – this is particularly relevant since a career history should be led by the subject; avoiding the researcher introducing their own perspective as fact or assumption since it has yet to be confirmed. Although I describe the interviews as following a semi structured format they were all formed around the career history method which is led by the interviewee, in this case the artists. The career history method privileges the voices of the artists and how they want to tell their own story and my questions mid interview acted merely as prompts to keep the conversation going in some circumstances. In others the artists need no prompts leading me from their training through to their present circumstances with no input from the interviewer.

The interviews which this thesis draws from were sculpted around a career histories method in encouraging the artists to talk about their careers and lives from their own perspective, both personal and professional, highlighting what they felt was most relevant during this timeframe rather than arising from theoretical categories (Becker 1970). The interview questions were divided into three sub-categories, or themes, which acted as a guide to the specific questions asked. These prompts offered a base structure to the interview and functioned as a reminder during the interviews of topics to try and cover during the conversation. These themes were: education; work transition and early career; career trajectory and decisions.

The Figure 8 lists the broader questions that were used as guide questions - prompts which I could use generally to keep the narrative flowing. The second table lists a sample of some of the more specific questions that were asked during the interviews, as derived from the interview transcripts, giving insight into how I tailored the questions for

particular artists, following my desk research in developing their career history diagrams, as well as through issues which arose during the interview itself.

The topic areas were chosen as they encompass pertinent issues which I sought to address. The questions drawn from these themes allowed the participant to consider their own practice – past, present and future – as well as to consider their position in the art market and amongst their peers. The artists were guided by thematic questions when needed but these acted more to stimulate conversation rather than being an exhaustive list of questions.

FIGURE 8: CAREER HISTORY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (SEE APPENDIX 4-5 FOR FURTHER EXAMPLES DRAWN FROM ALL 25 INTERVIEWS)

CAREER HISTORY INTERVIEW PROMPTS (GENERIC)

Introduction

Education

Work Transition / Early Career

Career Trajectory / Decisions

Future Thinking

Closing

EXAMPLES OF SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

- You talked about a few residencies you have been on, can you tell me more about how you find that process, are these things you apply for regularly and do you need that space to enable you to make work?
- You have spoken quite a lot about your peers and their influence on you in terms of moving to London and your partner as well. Can you give me any particular examples of individuals or groups that have been a source of support or influence?
- You talked earlier about your decision, along with your peers, to stay in the city you graduated in with the promise that the city was on the cusp of change. Can you tell me more about that?
- Was it quite a learning curve writing funding applications to arts councils, foundations and others, did you have experience of writing them?
- What made you decide not to sell these works?

The initial questions focussed around education and experiences of higher education, usually art school. Often artists need very little prompting to talk about their time at art school and the interviews usually began with, 'why did you decide to go to art school?', and flowed from there. Sometimes the artists looked for more questions and I would ask them to tell me about their degree show (the end of undergraduate exhibition) before we moved on to discuss their early career. Only one of the artists had not studied art as an undergraduate so the interview began with asking how that artist started making art, or working as an artist.

The prompts around early career focussed on their activities, jobs and so forth, that helped them survive during this time. Specifically, 'how did you support yourself?' and 'how did you sustain your practice?' This led up to conversations about their first exhibitions, if these had not already arisen, and their first, if any, experiences of working with a commercial gallery. These conversations extended from their early career and often continued to where they are now. They tended to bleed into the next theme of career decisions and trajectory. This theme focussed on what the artists considered to be their most important decisions or key moments in their career, and if 'anything or anyone had been a major influence for them?' As this project seeks to uncover the career structures of visual artists and establish how artists understand and become aware of the art market, then the questions around their experiences of working with galleries is significant in identifying the impact of events like private views or relationships with gatekeepers.

The final part of the interview was a chance to address any comments or issues that arose during the interview, for further clarification. Likewise artists were invited to 'add anything else you felt had contributed to your practice, for example life outside work?' which gave them a prompt to think about their wider lives outside of their career - families, friends, obligations and so forth.

3.45 Coding: An Introduction

Each interview can be seen as a distinct study of the career of each artist, and as a collective they act as a plethora of experience spanning five decades, 1965 until 2013. The interview transcripts themselves comprised over 33 hours of audio, while the transcripts amounted to over 370 pages - nearly 250,000 words.

When I conducted the interviews, and wrote up the transcripts, I included physical and mental notes about the artist as they spoke; cataloguing any nuances of the conversation, or spoken word, to help aid my analysis. Ensuring the transcripts accurately captured the intention of the artists' spoken word became important. The transcripts were then returned to the artists to address any errors or misinterpretations since, "[b]est practice also dictates that transcribed interviews be returned to the narrator for correction, amplification, and emendation, to obtain the fullest, most accurate account" (Shopes 2011: 454).

The interview transcripts avoid the pitfalls, levelled at career histories, of becoming merely unsubstantiated insider descriptive studies (Harvey 1987, in Fontana & Frey 1994) since their application in this thesis draws upon themes corroborated by data from supporting documents, and reviews of the literature. The data's validity through analysis of the literature on careers topic of interest, an apparent tension between artistic and commercial, was not made explicit and required interpretation to fully develop the findings. The aim, to explore the research question of whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial and if so, how is this understood and managed throughout an artist's career, is addressed through the lens of capitals contributing to the literature on artistic careers, capitals and more generally, our understanding of the field.

3.46 Coding: Interpreting The Interviews

Whilst undertaking, and subsequently analysing the interviews I followed a systematic process of interview, transcription, initial coding and development of themes. The coding was driven by the emerging themes in the data, but also informed by my knowledge of the field and the literature. Led by the social constructivist paradigm, I used the career history interview to highlight the "categories that seemed most relevant to the people they studied" (Becker 1970: 72) rather than categories imposed by a particular theory. An iterative approach was adopted, which supported the interpretive paradigm of social construction as well as the selection of the career histories method. The initial stages of analysis involved a general reading of the transcripts to identify themes, followed by grouping these into sub-themes to provide a more manageable framework. Throughout the analysis, time was spent repeatedly moving between theory and data in order to accumulate knowledge, allowing the thesis to be led by the empirical data. This phased process of coding and then grouping coded data to form broader themes enabled the empirical data to reveal topics which led to re-evaluation of the theoretical framework to

accommodate the emerging themes. With the framework of sub-themes the material was reorganised and through reading of Bourdieu's theory of capitals the material was then divided into three major themes, or chapters which spoke to cultural, social and economic capital – as identified in the earlier literature review.

Initially within the coding, a long list was developed which included possible themes from the data. Following this, higher level themes were outlined and the long list was channelled under these higher level themes to incorporate a range of sub-themes. During the final analysis of the empirical data it was apparent that there was a considerable amount of data that spoke to the ideas of building and maintaining networks, using contacts for opportunities and information sharing, links with established networks and so forth.

A review of the literature on artistic careers and institutional logics helped to guide the coding initially. However, as I began to form the sub-themes, the framework of capitals became a helpful organising tool in the process of coding. Having identified the potential of Bourdieu's capitals I set about re-reading the transcripts in relation to the broad themes of cultural, social and economic capital. This involved focusing on each theme and looking to more fully engage with the data than in the preliminary data analysis. The introduction of the theoretical framework of capitals proved helpful as Bourdieu's work in the field of cultural production, specifically the sub-field of restricted production, particularly resonated with me in relation to the research questions around artistic and commercial. The theory of capitals acted as a guide for the selection of material for use in the write up and, with the guidance of this overarching structure, the preliminary chapters began to take shape.

3.5 Conclusion

The research is led by an interest in understanding if there is a tension between the artistic and commercial and the implications this has for artists as they negotiate their careers; questions which arose from the literature, as well as my own understanding of the field. This chapter has addressed the selection of methods and methodology for this thesis. The career history methods allowed a consistency which supported my constructivist stance, (Hatch & Yanow 2008). Life histories provided the basis for the decision to develop

career histories for the artists and contributed to the research being led by the data through an iterative approach. Career histories are essential in providing a wide range of data about careers from the perspective of artists, bringing to the fore information about their lives and careers, which contributes to a discussion of the artistic and commercial axis.

The research methodology allows for a complex analysis of artists' careers that would not be possible within the confines of quantitative analysis, or even with other qualitative methods such as surveys. The issues which arise through the career histories method are those which hold the most resonance with the artists and expand on themes addressed in the literature on artistic careers, its application in the broader careers literature as well as within capitals. The career history method informed the interviews and was driven by a perspective which holds the artist at its core. The artists are encouraged to speak freely about their life and career and choose the direction which the interview takes, with my input of some very broad guiding topics and open questions to keep the narrative flowing.

The subsequent chapters address the empirical data which has emerged through the process of undertaking this doctoral research. The chapters are structured under the theoretical framework of Bourdieu's capitals: first addressing artistic capital, then social capital and finally economic capital. In the subsequent conclusion, chapter seven, I offer a discussion of the findings and some recommendations for the future research and more practically to artists and arts organisations working in the field.

CHAPTER 4

Developing Practice: Artistic Capital

4.0 DEVELOPING PRACTICE: ARTISTIC CAPITAL

4.1 Introduction

The decision to explore artistic capital, which is mainly unexplored aside from brief mentions in lists of possible subcategories of capitals in the literature, came about through a need for a more exacting analysis of some of the more distinctive elements of artistic practice within the framework of cultural capitals. These distinctions are explored through the empirical data, in relation to acquiring artistic capital, and contrasts are drawn between their relation to identifying an 'artistic capital', as opposed to application of the broader framework of cultural capital. The subsequent introduction will offer a reminder of the theoretical framework of cultural and artistic capital, as it applies to the context of this chapter and the broader research question exploring artistic and commercial.

4.1.1 Capitals, Acquiring Artistic Capital

Within Bourdieu's theory of capitals, cultural capital is described as an understanding of, and appreciation for, cultural activity. In the field of visual art this can be adapted to explore the subcategory of artistic capital as an essential component in understanding artistic practice and in decoding works of art (Bourdieu 1993), where "[o]ne must be well informed about the history of art to understand its logic" (Bourdieu & Haacke: 105). Artistic capital is something which is developed over time. Some individuals may have already been exposed to a degree of cultural capital in childhood through friends and family (informally) or during school, further and higher education (formally). Art students develop their artistic capital both formally and informally during art school when their formal education and social activities with fellow art students are at their most heightened. Importantly, artistic capital can be seen as a symbolic competency which enables the individual to understand and encode their own artistic practice in relation to their knowledge and understanding of contemporary and historical artistic practice, as well as to decode other contemporary works. Typically artistic capital is tacitly conveyed through social interaction but predominantly seen in its objectified form through an artist's practice - the art works and their accompanied interpretation in written or verbal form, embody an individual's artistic capital (Bourdieu 1986). Artistic capital differs from cultural capital since qualifications have little or no consequence in the field of contemporary art.

The research question rests on identifying whether a tension exists between artistic and commercial. Artistic capital contributes significantly to this discussion since it is seen as the embodiment of an artistic mindset, specifically art for art's sake. Symbolically, artistic capital is posed against economic capital in asserting an artist's commitment to their practice above financial concerns. It is argued that an artist is at risk of damaging their artistic integrity, or the artistic capital they have accumulated, should they appear too interested in economic concerns (Bourdieu 1996; Taylor & Littleton 2008). The premise that artistic capital is potentially compromised by the possession of economic capital establishes importance of artistic capital as a dominating feature of the field and artistic careers.

In the context of the field of contemporary visual art, artistic capital plays a particularly important role as a signifier of cultural understanding, used by artists to demonstrate their interest in the artistic sphere. In the artist's pursuit of developing their practice through artistic activities, it is their artistic capital which they are strengthening and deepening. Progression in the art world is measured through development of artistic capital as opposed to through formal qualifications. Bourdieu contended that,

“One could thus examine the characteristics of this boundary [the boundary of the field] which may or may not be institutionalized, that is to say protected by conditions of entry that are tacitly and practically required (such as a certain cultural capital)” (Bourdieu 1993: 43)

Bourdieu speaks of the boundaries of the field and how entry to a field can be achieved tacitly or explicitly. In Bourdieu's work on cultural capital he describes how qualifications are a form of cultural capital. Yet with artistic capital, the value of qualifications is nominal and has no visible impact on development of artistic capital. What is significant, however, are the artistic skills and knowledge that are developed during artists' time at art school. This can be demonstrated through a variety of means, including through their art works and their critical understanding of contemporary and/or historical artistic practice. For those that choose to develop their practice they can be seen to be contributing the fine art agenda of art for art's sake through the sub-field of restricted production, as is seen with the artists in this study, or alternatively they can be contributing towards the sub-field of large scale production intended for the commercial market. What is uniform across both is that they may both hold a degree from the same arts institution, thus artistic capital

becomes the way to differentiate them, since their qualifications do not distinguish those working towards artistic concerns and those working towards a more commercial market.

Art schools are designed to encourage development of artistic capital, through their emphasis on studio practice, above all else. What becomes the most relevant to the artist in their transition from art student to artist is their degree of artistic capital and not broader aspects of their cultural capital like qualifications. Some scholars believe the inconsequence of qualifications, as seen in artistic capital, has led to an oversupply of artists (Menger 2006; Benhamou 2011). The removal of some of the initial barriers of entry to a field contributes to the oversupply, whereas in other fields, like architecture, entrance examinations act to provide further differentiation between candidates. Bourdieu describes the peculiarity of the cultural field as one having 'permeable frontiers' (Bourdieu 1993: 43) and offering extreme diversity; see Caves (2000) discussion of infinite variety in the cultural sphere. In these instances the field itself has to differentiate between candidates once they have already entered the field and strategies are adopted which can be interpreted through the lens of artistic, social and cultural capitals.

4.12 Introduction to the Chapter

As the empirical data is structured around the career histories method, the interrogation of the data will follow a chronology throughout the chapter, guided by the interview data. This chapter focuses on the emergence of the artist's career and the development of their practice through art school. There are two main areas within this chapter on artistic capital: decision to go to art school and experience of art school. This chapter uncovers how artists come to recognise their interest in the arts and their artistic talents, as well as how early advice and influencers, pre-art school, are understood in relation to the development of artistic capital. This is followed by an exploration of what criteria artists used to select the institution where they wanted to study and what processes they employed in selecting art schools. In addition early insights into the artists' commitment to practice become evident even at the earliest stages of preparation for studying fine art. The next section explores artists' experiences of art school, and the social side of art school education is touched upon as it relates to the development of artistic capital. The crux of the chapter is how all these elements and stages can be understood through the lens of artistic capital, although the chapter also acts to signpost overlaps between the development of artistic capital and its relation to social capital as well as its development in the absence of economic capital. The chapter briefly covers the transition period after

art school as a way of illustrating how maintenance and enhancement of artistic capital continues during these formative years at art school.

4.2 Decision To Go To Art School

The initial starting point for the career history interviews was “what made you decide to go to art school?” Thus, appropriately, this chapter begins with an introduction to the training systems that artists undertake in preparation for a career in the arts. Predominantly this takes the form of higher education in art schools. Although many of the artists showed an intense dedication to their chosen career path, some arrived at the decision by process of elimination, “when I finished my school there wasn’t really anything else that I wanted to do” (Erica: 1). Others were more circumspect in having a back-up plan, or second choice: Paul spent time in the merchant navy and it was after this short career came to an end that he returned to study; citing the two things he remembered being good at: art and gymnastics. Eleanor had planned to become a lawyer before she quickly realised it wasn’t for her and reapplied for fine art. For Olivia, the situation was influenced heavily by her family who all worked as biologists but upon starting an art foundation course, simply to fill some time, she realised she could do art full time and immediately dropped her plans to work in science.

In describing their decisions behind choosing art school, the artists gave insights from their backgrounds, parental influence and the impact of inherited cultural capital. They also spoke of their aspirations, acknowledging their artistic talents and love of art, as well as, for some, an understanding of what it meant to be an artist, the lifestyle, and even the lack of money. This section on artists’ decisions to go to art school draws from three sub-themes: background, talent and impressions of what being an artist was. These are posed against the central framework of developing artistic capital and refer to early insights into the broader research question of artistic and commercial.

4.21 Background

What is clear from the data is that the artists made choices about their future career which most of their parents, at least passively, supported. Parental support offered these school leavers the courage to follow their chosen career, and alludes to the artists’ decisions being driven by passion or desire, as opposed to immediate financial concerns. There is recognition amongst artists, and their parents or mentors who gave them advice, that development of artistic capital has value. In sanctioning the decision to go to art school

and work to develop their artistic practice there is a tacit acknowledgement that artistic capital has worth or value within their understanding of the wider world.

A number of their parents did not have direct experience of art school or even higher education. For Caitlin, whose parents were both factory workers, her experience would previously have been an understanding of more traditional career structures, hierarchical within organisations. Caitlin spoke of how her parents consciously left the decision to her as they recognised that they did not have the knowledge or experience of higher education in order to help inform their daughter's choice. She said,

"[my parents] were kind enough to leave the decision to me because they didn't really have, I suppose, the experience of other members of the family having careers or having gone through education. It was just straight into work when you leave school in their experience" (Caitlin: 1)

Similarly Robert came from a background where his own, and his family's, understandings and experience of culture were limited; men in his family traditionally became lumberjacks, fishermen or ranchers. He found that although he paid his own way through university his father struggled to understand why he didn't have a job, "my poor father was going bats that his son has failed – still in university but not full time at work" (Robert: 2).

Michael thought of being an artist as a way to escape the hum drum existence of 9 to 5. He stated that

"It seemed that part of being an artist was being able to get up when everyone else was going to bed [...] something that allowed me a sort of freedom, in inverted commas, to do what I really wanted to do; which was somewhat outside the responsibilities of Monday to Friday in a way." (Michael: 1)

However, Michael admitted that art school was not something that he was familiar with, "I didn't really know that art school even existed [...] There weren't artists in my family and it certainly wasn't something that was encouraged" (Michael: 1). In applying to and attending art school he was the first in his family to choose a path in the arts.

According to Bourdieu, artists who described limited immersion of cultural activities during their childhood, like Robert, Caitlin and Michael, would likely not have possessed as much inherited cultural capital as peers who may have come from more privileged backgrounds with greater economic resources. Without inherited cultural capital Bourdieu suggests that individuals are always more disadvantaged in developing further cultural capital, even through established routes such as education, which is held in less high esteem than inherited cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993). In the circumstances of development of artistic capital, however, the disparities associated with social class are less evident, thus when some of the artists spoke of a lack of inherited cultural capital this did not appear to hinder them in the development of artistic capital through art school and after. In contrast Sophie had a considerable degree of inherited cultural capital, since both her parents had attended art school themselves. However there was no demonstrable impact on her ability to develop artistic capital which placed her at any observable advantage over those without inherited cultural capital, in the pursuit of her artistic career or development of her artistic capital.

4.22 Artistic Talent

From an early age almost all of these artists exhibited an artistic talent highlighted by teachers at primary or secondary school, which encouraged them to pursue a career as an artist and apply to art school. Iain is now aware that at the time he was making decisions about what to do next, he was at a particularly impressionable age and, "at that age you get led in certain directions without you realising it." (Iain: 6). Some teachers advised students of the commercial potential in their abilities, making comments like: "you know graphic designers get paid a lot of money to do things like that" (Lewis: 1). By bolstering the idea that what they were able to do had a commercial capacity, teachers were introducing them, to some extent, to the concept of a market for creative work and opportunities to make a living from a creative. This introduced the concept of economic capital, the potential to leverage financial value from artistic capital. Other teachers encouraged an artistic logic, endorsing the value of artistic capital, where they saw creative practices as something to be embraced and explored rather than capitalised on in a financial sense. Caitlin spoke of an influential secondary school teacher who repeatedly advised her,

“if you want to do English, the best thing to do would be to avoid doing it at university. If you're interested in creative writing, look at Alasdair Gray⁷ and I think the best thing to do would be to go to art school” (Caitlin: 1)

This advice demonstrates an alternative perspective on approaches to careers guidance and something which contributed to Caitlin’s decision to go to art school, continuing on to a career as an artist.

4.23 Imitating Artistic Life

For some artists, “what attracts and fascinates in the occupation of artist is not so much the development of artistic talent as the artist’s lifestyle, the artist’s life” (Bourdieu 1993: 66). Michael came to art school with quite a classical idea of what art school would be, painting and life drawing, much the same as Ryan who describes how he understood the role of the artist in a particularly traditional way, “it’s a painter, making oil paintings, things on canvas or a sculptor perhaps” (Ryan: 2). For both these artists they saw art school as an opportunity to develop their skills and knowledge of art, thus developing their artistic capital through their art work. In contrast many of the other artists described being bewitched by the ‘artistic life’ which transcended their interest in improving their skills in, and knowledge of art. Many of the artists aspired to go to art school because they felt that it was a “beacon of [a] lifestyle and access to everything cool” (James: 1) or somewhere they could fit in to what they imagined to be an alternative community where people had “different coloured hair and really mad clothes” (Caitlin: 1). Some artists even spoke about the influence of films and literature on the formation of their ideas of what it was to be an artist, “I’d seen Van Gogh the film [*Lust for Life* 1956] with Kirk Douglas [...] It’s just that Hollywood perception of what it is to be an artist: where you’re tortured , you’re insane and you drink a lot. So that’s what it was... I don’t think I had a huge expectation. I don’t know what I thought it was going to be” (Eleanor: 8).

The desire to attend art school to improve their artistic practice, or to live like an artist are two different, but not divergent, forms of motivation for becoming an artist, which can both be seen as contributing to artistic capital. The latter describes the physical embodiment of an artist, how they behave like an artist; how others perceive them to be

⁷ Alasdair Gray is a Scottish artist and writer born 1934.

an artist is all part of the wider socialisation process of being an artist and can contribute to the development of increased artistic capital. This aspect of artistic capital also relates closely to the development of social capital, and even economic capital, since being seen as an artist, recognition of their artistic capital, is an important part of how they become accepted, or legitimised, by the art world.

Chris was also drawn to becoming an artist, through his aspiration to be able to live like an artist, being attracted by what he saw as the, “potential of art practice as a way of maybe having a more self-directed life” (Chris: 1). Chris came to this realisation slightly later than many of the other artists, following a brief period studying sociology, explaining that,

“I didn’t have any evidence of talent or anything like that; I wasn’t interested in drawing particularly, or other creative things. [...] I became aware of something like contemporary art when I met people who were studying art in an art college [...] I became really attracted to art with particular to being an artist.” (Chris: 1)

Chris’s situation draws on similar experiences those other artists had where his family had a limited understanding of the value of artistic capital, his parents did not necessarily understand where his interest had come from, or even what an artist was. However, Chris was attracted by the idea of being an artist and went directly into a postgraduate art course.

In spite of the magnetism of artistic life, the artists were not ignorant of the challenges it presented, namely lack of money or financial stability. As school leavers, these artists had an acute awareness that a career as a visual artist was precarious and not necessarily one which would enable them to earn a stable living. However, they were encouraged by contemporary examples of artists earning a living as an artist. These few examples were enough for the artists to rationalise their decision and support their notion of the value of artistic capital. James describes his understanding of these relatively young visual artists, “they had the success and were being talked about. And again that was quite important, for recognised living artists making a living” (James: 1). For the most part, the artists described positive influences on their view of what a career as an artist could be, and the importance of enjoying what they do without worrying about the financial soundness or stability of a career as a visual artist.

4.3 Experience of Art School

During art school art students learn some of the most vital components of what it is to be an artist; how to develop their practice, skills and networks. This is not to say that they are entirely prepared for the entry into the art world, but they spend much of their time enacting the characteristics of artistic careers learned from what they see, read and hear; including developing a community of peers, experimenting with their work, attending openings and arts events, socialising and partying, setting up their own exhibitions and living frugally. These formative years, when artists imitate what they recognise the behaviour of an artist to be, are something which is protected and nurtured, intentionally or otherwise, through the institutional framework of art school. Art school provides an environment for artistic experimentation, sheltering art students from the market and the realities of artistic practice after art school.

It is important to acknowledge that art schools, with their practical studio based emphasis, are distinct higher education institutions and have significant involvement in the development of artistic capital. Although the qualification itself is not included as an element of artistic capital, all but one of the artists (Chris) had attended some form of art school for an undergraduate degree and a further fourteen (including Chris) had undertaken a postgraduate degree within an art school. This supports the role of art school as acting as a partial gatekeeper for the field, imbuing art students with some of the necessary artistic capital which contributes to their ability to sustain a career in the sub-field of restricted production. Some artists have an early awareness of some of the limitations of developing their artistic practice in an institution. Erica said,

“originally [I] didn’t want to go to art school, because I was always doing painting and other projects and thought that it would be better not to do it within an institutional context.”(Erica: 1)

The insinuation being that creativity might be crowded out by institutional critique. Erica’s statement recalls the advice from Caitlin’s high school English teacher who encouraged her not to pursue her creative writing through university and rather to approach it at a tangent by attending art school. Erica is concerned that institutional restraints might negatively impact her artistic capital, seeking to alter or limit the development of her practice. She is demonstrating her desire to safeguard her artistic integrity. Erica also demonstrates her awareness that qualifications, which act to underpin other careers and

contribute to development up career ladders, are insignificant in the field of contemporary art. There are examples of contemporary artists who have achieved success in the art world through alternative paths⁸ and it is possible that this influenced her thinking. However, most of the artists are aware that developing artistic skills and abilities through art school is only part of the story, and that the social capital, as well as artistic capital developed through this time is difficult to replicate outside of the framework of art school.

4.31 Expectations of Art School Do Not Match Reality

Artists' earlier idealised expectations of art school met with a cold reality of the art institution, something which many of the artists were unprepared for. They had imagined a place that let them embrace an artistic lifestyle and the freedoms they associated with that, whilst others had sought traditional fine art training and were met with undirected studio practice.

The first year of art school, the foundation year, is typically a time for students to try different artistic activities, sculpture, photography, painting, ceramics and printmaking, giving them a taste for what they would want to specialise in for the remaining three years. For the younger students, freshly out of high school, the art school experience was perhaps the first time they had been away from home, even if home was only 45 minutes away, and during the subsequent three or four years they progressed through cyclical flows of discovery, experimentation and idleness to their degree show. Most of the artists had left secondary school with a level of confidence in their artistic abilities that was nurtured either by a parent or a teacher, but now they were just one of many talented people. Lewis expressed that

“it definitely seemed a lot of other people, were kind of much more prepared. And also that thing of being the best drawer in your class went out of the window pretty quickly when you are in amongst everyone, every classes best drawer - and the rest”
(Lewis: 2)

⁸ One example would be Jean-Michel Basquiat (b.1960-d.1988) a New York based artist who achieved considerable fame through his art work following his early experiences of graffiti and music scenes.

As art students they began to realise that talent was only one element of artistic capital, and they needed to enhance their artistic capital in order to compete amongst a plethora of other talented artists. They are also beginning to be exposed to different types of practice, different ideas about what might constitute talent when measuring themselves against other art students.

The artists often described how their first year at art school did not quite live up to expectations. They quickly realised their possibly naïve notions of what art school would be like did not materialise, causing some reassessment of expectations. The reality of art school as a structured environment did not match the romantic notion these artists had about art school. Lewis found that, “in the first year it was very, it was very organised, it wasn’t this wild freedom that I had kind of imagined” (Lewis: 2). In contrast Michael had expected a more classical approach to fine art teaching, in terms of working under the supervision of a professor who would run the atelier (studio), directing life drawing classes and so forth. Michael struggled with the reality of his art school experience as an alternative environment that had begun to lose those classical elements which he had understood as central to the development of artistic capital, and become more diverse, embracing new self-directed learning and creative practices more widely.

4.32 Perspectives on Teaching

Many found permanent staff unhelpful and visiting tutors became beacons of current information and advice, perhaps suggesting that art students are more interested in the art market than they might care to admit. Many spoke of their initial disappointment coupled with a frustration about the quality or quantity of teaching which they described as poor and ‘regressive’, “I had such a good experience on the foundation course, of being really pushed [...] that suddenly coming and being in an environment where the tutors weren’t really questioning what you were doing - that [was] hard. I actually found [it] a bit of a struggle to begin with” (Mark: 1). Adam saw this lack of access to, or engagement from, staff as commonplace, resulting in him and his peers feeling that they had a poor critical response to their work.

Amongst the accounts of engagement of teaching staff in art schools several artists spoke of the experiences they had talking with staff about the likelihood of having a sustainable career. Sophie found that she was derided by teaching staff when she asked ‘What happens if a gallery wants to work with me?’ In response the tutors “mock what they perceive as

arrogance” (Sophie: 6) and as students the artists are left demoralised and confused. Many of the artists explained how it is really important for a tutor to even simply say that “if they want to be, it is possible to be an artist,” something which is surprisingly rarely said (Sophie: 6).

Adam realises in retrospect that although at the time he and his peers felt the teaching staff were not addressing their needs in terms of critical development, contributing to their development of artistic capital, this actually resulted in the development of the artistic lifestyle that many of the artists had sought in the first place, including artistic freedom and do-it-yourself activity. Thus the perceived lack of quality teaching was not seen to have such a huge impact on the development of their artistic capital.

4.33 Art School as Social Club

Art school is also a time for fully immersing themselves in the world of art in every waking minute, “I just remember art school being about, you know, being in there all day most days to really late at night, and then going to the pub and talking about art. So the whole kind of social life, evolved around, around art as well” (Victoria: 2). James made a conscious decision about the way he was going to use this early time before his career started and was very proactive in staying in the studio and making the most of the art school environment to develop his work and his understanding of the context within which he was situating himself as well as his work. He said that,

“I made a point from probably the end of first year onwards trying to work 12 hours a day in the studio, there was a good number of other people who were sort of similarly inclined. It was a good experience for me.” (James: 1)

The artists had mixed approaches to their time at art school. Some used the time to socialise and experiment, or play, whilst others used the opportunity to really focus. All, however, were hugely immersed in the entire experience – capitalising on opportunities which arose or driven to create their own where no opportunities emerged. James showed an awareness of his commitment to his practice from his early undergraduate time, similar to the mature students who were looking for focus and the opportunity to really concentrate on their artistic practice. Consciously or not, James’ commitment to using his time at art school shows his attitude towards prioritising his artistic development, which contributes to a work ethic that continued in his early career when he needed to balance

competing artistic, social and economic priorities. James is aware that time at art school is privileged in the sense of having a dedicated timeframe, four years, to work solely on artistic activity, in an institution designed to support artistic development. It is not likely that this could ever be replicated at any other stage in his career, where increasing economic pressures and constraints on his resources will become more pressing.

Artists must develop a working artistic practice but also an identity with which to frame this practice. From the outset, the artists entering art school were “not trying to find [their] own voice, just trying to do things” (Lewis: 2). It took many of the artists some time to settle into the reality of art school as a structured environment, but once they had grasped that, they began to subvert it, work the system towards what they wanted it to be. Caitlin voiced

“so people were just running riot, doing amazing installations, film works. Using the school, using the place, as their inspiration really a sort of site specific context for what was going on there.” (Caitlin: 2)

The artists gave each other strength in numbers and their aim was to push the boundaries imposed by the institution and really embrace the challenge that this gave them in terms of developing their work and a working identity; first in the context of art school and later in a wider context outside the institution. The art students may not have realised at the time the value of these experiences in shaping themselves and their work, but in retrospect they recognise how this experimentation formed their ideas about life and their work (artistic capital) and helped strengthen their network of peers around these shared values (social capital). Those values, in many circumstances, became the basis of lifelong friendships, support and collaborations, leading to the artists acquiring social capital.

4.34 Degree Shows and Assessments

The end of degree exhibition is an important aspect for some art students in their journey to becoming an artist. The degree show is a culmination of a student’s course work and final year assessment, structured as an institution wide exhibition of work which is open to the public. For some, the degree show is their first experience of showing to the public and a gateway between their time in an institution and their time as an artist.

The degree show may be taken as a synthesis of an art student's work to date, and as such forms the basis of their practice as they enter the art world. Unfortunately for many the process became more of an exercise in ticking boxes (Harry) for the benefit of tutors and assessing staff, and less about a display of work that they are necessarily pleased with. Lewis was informed by his tutors that although his final work was strong, his lack of sketchbooks, as evidence of the development of his ideas, led to low assessment marks. There is some grounding in the exercise of creating sketchbooks as a way to demonstrate artistic capital, through making their knowledge and development of ideas explicit. The degree show assessment symbolises how judgements in the art world are subjective and even tutors who might have considerable artistic capital might find it difficult to determine what is good without access to supporting material. Preliminary material, or works in development, experiments which showcase the development of an idea or technique, can perform the function of making an art student's inner processes and artistic practice more accessible to others. In making these more accessible artists are opening up opportunities for critical development which can contribute to their artistic capital. An example is given by Nicholas, who found that in his early career preliminary work he had discarded was selected by a gallery during a studio visit. He stated that

“the gallery came to my studio and sort of picked up works and there are things that I might have... there was one of the paintings – was one that was lying on the floor and I'd been sort of standing on it because I thought it was rubbish and they were like ‘oh wow! this is great’ and I was like ‘oh really?’ ” (Nicholas: 5)

There were mixed feelings amongst the group about their degree shows, whether it was their first major exposure to the public (Kristen: 3) or whether it did not amount to much as the ‘publics’ that come to see these shows, particularly in more peripheral art schools, are mostly family and friends (Harry: 3) not art world insiders offering opportunities to ‘discover you’ (Sophie: 2). One artist spoke of the view of degree shows in London in comparison to other towns and cities across the country where the ‘savvy’ students are confident that discovery at this early stage is a very real possibility. Sophie pronounced,

“I think a lot of students have this idea that, especially in London actually, that they'll be kind of discovered at their degree show, I don't think there's that feeling in Scotland so much; but I guess cause occasionally it does happen, in London.” (Sophie: 2)

Very few artists sold work from their degree shows but for those that did this again reminded them that a career was possible. Robert and Chris both sold work from their master's degree shows, Chris was surprised that a large scale installation he made for his was bought by the national government collection, whilst Robert explained how his work was collected by another national collection, "The first museum that ever bought my work, [a national gallery], bought three pictures from my Masters show so I thought, shit, I can do this" (Robert: 4).

The assessment process might be compared with occasions later in an artist's career where individuals and organisations assign values to work; from economic to social values and most critically, cultural values. In some circumstances the artists may not understand or agree with these valuations but they must learn how these value judgments are calculated. It is important they have at least a basic understanding of the constructs behind the creation of these judgments so that they can further develop their capitals. The first experience which most of these artists had of assigning a value to their work was the symbolic value of degree marks. Two of the artists felt their 2:2 marks were undeserved and believed the marks were intended to knock their confidence, which left them leaving art school on a discouragingly low note, but also motivated the artists in question to continue working. Adam complained,

"we were totally incensed by...the fact that the establishment – as far as what we saw as being the establishment at that time – didn't appreciate us, so we were going to prove them wrong by hook or by crook" (Adam: 3)

Their artistic capital, in isolation, is being given a value judgement in the eyes of their tutors, the assessors. The commercial elements associated with economic capital are assumed to not be of any concern since the aim of the art school is not to cater to commercial concerns but to develop artistic capital. What should be drawn from this performance, in the context of artistic and commercial and the broader framework of capitals as employed in this thesis, is how art schools are sanctioning a one sided valuation of artistic practice based only on artistic merit; as is the premise of art for art's sake. By excluding judgements which might concern commercial aspects of the market, and also by excluding assessors drawn from the commercial side of the market, they are tacitly endorsing artistic over commercial and thus signalling the insignificance of commercial concerns to artistic practice. This is one of the artist's first, and possibly most profound

experiences of valuation, since it is ultimately addressing their development over this formative four year period, and the process of assessment is reaffirming to artists both that the power to value art must come from those with the artistic capital to do so, but also that commercial concerns are not valuable assessment criteria in their domain. This can be seen to contribute significantly to artists' aversion to the commercial side of the art world.

4.35 Returning to Art School: The Artist as Postgraduate

In the art world returning to postgraduate study is a common occurrence, with around half of the interviewed artists having done so, and a few of the remaining still considering this as an option. Postgraduate Masters of Art (MA) and Masters of Fine Art (MFA) are a recognised phase in preparing for a career as an artist, with some seeing these qualifications as a signal of the commitment of an artist to practice art. These masters' qualifications are seen to contribute toward artistic capital far more than an undergraduate degree, but again it is not the qualification or grade but rather the symbolic act of attending art school and developing your practice at a higher level. MA or MFA courses are generally one or two years in length and follow a similar structure to an undergraduate degree in fine art with a focus on studio time, tutorials, the option to take part in an exchange abroad, and they end with the all-important degree show; masters' degree shows are usually held independently of, or separately from, undergraduate degree shows at the same institution around the same time and have the same characteristics but are taken more seriously by the art establishment.

For some, the masters was a way to answer questions they were struggling with in their practice, Fraser found he left his undergraduate with some 'frustration' with certain aspects of his practice that he could not articulate, "but I was able to resolve that, or address it and resolve it through the masters" (Fraser: 3). Whilst Michael found that his experience of the masters helped him to better understand and frame his practice, "it didn't radically alter my position in the way that my first experience of art school did. It didn't make me the person...it fine-tuned some of my thinking" (Michael: 10).

Some of the artists had actively chosen to study toward an MA whilst a large number talked about being invited to join such courses by lecturers and course leaders; with offers of funding and support usually attached. Usually masters' courses have a cost implication and through the offer of free places this allows artists to circumvent economic concerns and undertake a programme of study that they might not have the economic capital to be

able to do. This practice of selection provides an interesting insight into the running of these courses and raises questions about how and why particular artists are selected for postgraduate study; what criteria the decisions are based on. The practice of creating opportunities for emerging artists could be seen to achieve a number of objectives: tutors may be consciously acting on behalf of the collective art world in advancing the opportunities available to emerging artists; likewise they might be strategically advancing the standing of their institution by association with an artist's artistic capital by selecting individuals who they feel are recognised in the art world, or have potential to make significant contributions in the future. Whether their intention is more altruistic or simply to bolster their position and reputation, such opportunities provide a welcome chance for artists to return to an environment where they can freely experiment outwith the restraints of the market. Lauren articulated that.

“the nice thing about doing a course like [a masters] is that you can take a bit of a step back from your practice and look at it maybe a bit more critically [...] when you're exhibiting in the public realm sometimes you can perceive that there is a certain expectation that people are expecting a certain thing or... And I think doing a course is quite refreshing way of breaking free of that and just kind of rethinking what it is that you're doing and what it is you are aiming to do.” (Lauren: 9)

Similar to undergraduate study the framework of the masters is around the development of artistic capital, to the exclusion of commercial concerns,. However, there are instances where the commercial might seep into the programme, for example around sales of work or surviving financially. When the artists spoke of masters programmes, they saw them more practically as an opportunity to survive financially, "I did the MFA purely to get off the dole, to keep going for another year" (Michael: 10). Harry saw the MFA as a chance to continue his practice with the added benefits of studio and workshop space. He said,

“it kind of felt like it was a good opportunity even if it is was just to have a studio for the duration of the course; and be able to use the workshops and all the stuff that, and at the end of it the qualification was just a bonus” (Harry: 2)

Like Harry, some of the artists felt they would be able to develop their artistic practice, and artistic capital without a masters but there was an element of financial support, time and resources through masters that was seen as particularly valuable. Some artists were

distinctly worried about the impact a masters might have on their artistic practice, where they might make changes that could damage their artistic capital. Ryan noticed that “a lot of people would say to me: if you do a masters it will kind of kill your practice. You can over intellectualise your work and you can end up making very dry art, theory driven art works” (Ryan: 8).

Angela believes her masters enabled her to achieve an incredible shift in her practice, through critical dialogue with her tutors during this time. In addition she demonstrated a very driven proactive nature through following leads of things that interested her, taking her from the city where she studied to an observatory in a nearby town, leading to a conversation with a geographic mapping organisation in another city, and to a telephone conversation with a notable academic in that field which has evolved into a lasting professional friendship; “that really kick started in many ways the foundation for the way that I’ve worked ever since” (Angela: 5). This speaks to a confidence in the artist around the value of their artistic capital that encourages them to follow through on their ideas; however it is important to frame this confidence as couched in a supportive pedagogical structure which owes its success to the dedicated staff who are engaged in the teaching of the MFA. These influencers help to shape the discoveries and developments of these artists’ practices through their understanding of the process of enhancing artistic capital,

Those artists in the mid to later stages of their career spoke of how there came a point where it was no longer appropriate for them to consider a masters. They had reached a point in their career when they were becoming established and as such they no longer had a need for this break, since they had come to the realisation that they were committed to a type of practice. Ryan expressed that,

“I think maybe that my kind of desire to do a masters was perhaps an attempt to try and grasp something tangible about art, which ultimately is quite intangible and maybe has taken me subsequent years to grapple with that to finally, at a stage where I’m now, where I just feel like I think it’s too late for me to do a masters.” (Ryan: 8)

Mark found himself in a similar position of being unsure about undertaking a Masters but has now come to the realisation that it is no longer something he is considering, “To do one now [...] just wouldn’t make sense – there’s no reason. I think often it’s about giving

yourself, putting yourself back into that critical environment, giving yourself that time and space away from everything else – where you are just concentrating - where if it's full time you're just concentrating on practice. For the most part that's kind of what I am doing anyway. I'd just be going backwards if I was to go do MA now" (Mark: 18).

Only one of the artists, Angela, had any experience of doctoral study during her career thus far. Initially she saw the opportunity as a way to increase her job prospects, "I will have more job prospects teaching, better salary teaching wise, if I have this piece of paper" (Angela: 16). Angela chose not to continue with her doctoral research as she saw it taking her away from her practice. The fears of other artists, around the over-intellectualising of art, and of changing their practice to become driven by academic concerns rather than the work achieving a more natural progression, came to the fore for Angela and she negotiated herself out of the Ph.D. post. She states the primary importance is her artistic practice over any desire to improve her job prospects through studying for a doctorate, epitomising her position on the axis of artistic and commercial. It is important for her to safeguard her practice above all else, against the risks she saw the Ph.D. posing to her ability to continue developing her practice as she had intended, "I just thought I don't want it [the Ph.D.], I want my work. I renounce the title because I just, I need to just do the work and if that means that I'm not going to be a doctor, then that's what it means" (Angela: 16).

4.4 Transitions From Art School To Art World

4.41 Becoming an Artist, Professional Practice in art schools

What Michael found is that the teaching in art schools now, in contrast to when he studied at art school, encourages students to think strategically in career terms and he said,

"When I went to art school, you were encouraged to experiment. You were encouraged to find yourself in a quite fanciful way. Nowadays art school encourages you to map out something, career, trajectory. It encourages you to think of yourself as an artist; it encourages you to develop, as an artist, really quite a reference to positions. So you go to the library and you copy somebody else is essentially what you do, that's how you become an artist. That thinking just wasn't in my background at all. [...] I wasn't encouraged to have that kind of thinking, so that did probably lead to some quite weird drifting." (Michael: 6)

This relates back to the idea that art schools have a dual role to perform in instilling the necessary skills and understanding of things like how to work with particular materials - colour, composition and so forth - but they must also ensure that artists are able to develop their own practice beyond the technical application. Although what Michael is speaking of is much more career driven, and not necessarily linked to 'copying' someone style or ideas, it alludes to how there is a dual aspect in developing artistic capital and art school's role in contributing to an art student's development of artistic capital and shaping of their artistic capital.

The time spent on activities such as making exhibitions, working collaboratively and fundraising for projects were cited as the most constructive experiences in developmental terms in accessing knowledge and skills which artists would require for managing their later career and practice. The artists used these experiences as a way of building their artistic capital by learning the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu 1993; Gullledge & Townley 2013), enacting behaviours which became a rehearsal for a career in which learning through doing is a constant.

In an attempt to prepare graduates for a career in the art world, Art schools offer 'professional practice' seminars ranging from lectures on 'how to wash your brushes' and 'taxes' (Malcolm), to being advised on 'how to price your work' (Nicholas). However, many graduates are still managing to leave art schools without knowing the rules of the game, lacking some basic skills like knowing how to carry out basic labelling of their work. Image captions are the description sent to accompany an image and necessary to complete a portfolio for funding or for a residency. Typically captions include pertinent information like: an artist's name; title of the work; year the work was made or exhibited; description of the work, medium, size; followed by courtesies (this usually Courtesy of the artist, any galleries or possibly commissioning bodies); photographer's credit for who took the image, where relevant. Sophie notes how this relatively simple piece of knowledge is missing even for those who have graduated from a masters. She said,

"it's absolutely amazing that students come out of MA's and they don't know how to caption an image. Like it's just really bad practice that nobody has actually said right this bit in italics and this bit in quotations. When you get a pile of images from

people and you don't have a clue if it's an installation, a film or an image you are looking at – just don't have a clue.” (Sophie: 12)

Captioning an image is an essential part of the rules of the game and used when applying for residencies, sending images for an open submission exhibition and even for funding. Within the art market globally it is increasingly important for artists to exhibit their work nationally and internationally, and in doing so it not always possible for commissioners, curators or funders to see the work first hand. Most importantly these captions can signal important details relevant to the piece and can immediately resolve any confusion – perhaps where someone believes they are looking at a poorly executed photograph when actually it is a film still. As competition for funding and opportunities is great, if correct and accurate details are not provided it could make the difference between an opportunity offered and an opportunity missed.

In addition to some of the more technical skills associated with professional practice in art schools, artists are also assumed to have an understanding of how the art world functions, the structure of the field and how they function within it. In some postgraduate courses the advice they offer to artists about the art world can be described as more astute and even addresses commercial aspects of the art world. For example the art school where Nicholas studied for his masters has an unwritten rule advising students not to enter into a contract with a commercial gallery whilst they are still studying (Nicholas: 5). He said,

“they don't really want anyone to enter into a contract, an agreement with a commercial gallery whilst they're still there. I think there's been times people have done it and just been ripped off or whatever I think it's to protect the students more than anything. [...] he said 'okay...but don't sign anything' just see how it goes.” (Nicholas: 4)

This follows on from the earlier discussion around art schools role eschewing the commercial, they do not have official guidelines on not engaging with commercial galleries, perhaps because they understand the wider role of the commercial sector in contributing to the development of artists' careers. However, they invoke their position as independent of commercial concerns in advising students not to engage with the commercial sector until after graduation, which might suggest a distaste for the commercial.

4.42 Pathways to Exhibiting After Art School

Most of the artists spoke, very modestly, of their sense of entitlement in relation to their position as an artist and their right to practice their art. These artists did not display an arrogance in the pursuit of their practice but this idea of the entitlement permeated their view of art as something valid and worthy of their time, hard work and perseverance in developing their practice without much or any financial reward. This attitude, or confidence, holds as an important preparation for the challenges which the artists might face at all stages of their career; particularly in those first few years after art school where the struggle to continue their practice is often the most difficult. Ben explains how artists have to keep making work and doing shows, they have to make great efforts to remain visible. He stated that,

“you have to throw yourself out there. [...] I think everything goes cold immediately unless you’re sort of assertive. I think a lot of people would do things [...] and try and set up exhibitions with friends; recirculate. It’s almost like you are recirculating yourself, I don’t know. Proving you’re still alive somehow” (Ben: 5)

During art school and in the first few succeeding years, artists must find their own ways to get their work shown - either in exhibitions in their own homes, in empty retail units or by working with grassroots arts organisations. The development of an artist’s work and practice is very heavily weighted on exhibitions as they provide a new context within which to see the work, an opportunity for peers and critics to begin a dialogue around the work; and crucially the ability for gallerists and collectors to potentially see the work – which may lead to offers of future shows or fruitful discussions around their practice and future opportunities. The early shows artists participated in were rarely about selling work but in a sense the artists were trying to showcase their work and develop the skills and competencies that they would need later in their careers, the elements which contribute to their artistic capital.

Artist run spaces and galleries arise as a response to emerging artists having the drive and energy to be making work and looking for places to show it. In many cities there are usually spaces run by individuals, artist collectives and committees which offer artists opportunities to show their work, chances to network with their peers, and also to

develop skills in exhibition organising. Artist-run spaces most commonly service emerging artists in the stage after college or art school and, additionally, provide a platform for artists to become embedded in a new locale. This collective response can be seen as a solution to the challenges of establishing a career as an artist.

Artist-run spaces are often regarded as an integral part of the structure of the art world, particularly as they service a community of emerging artists and strengthen the network the artists are working in. It is a further example of how artists can develop their artistic and social capital in the early stages of their career through the expansion of the networks, within artist run collectives, through their activities engaging with other artists through their exhibition programme, through the opportunities for exhibition of their work and via critical dialogue around their own and wider contemporary artistic practice.

Many of the artists noted that even after art school many of their talented peers had shelved their creative practices, either partially or wholly, in favour of pursuing a career either elsewhere in the art world, in galleries or arts organisations, or in other fields entirely. Sophie stated,

“it's really difficult for artists leaving art school and that's the most fragile point I think. I mean that's when most people stop making work altogether and just realise that they can't. And they maybe they end up getting a job and never go back to making art and I know so many people who have done that, really good artists who just stop making work because they can't afford to.” (Sophie: 4)

The remaining artists can be said to embody an artistic logic in its entirety, whereby they pursue their artistic endeavours despite financial struggles and with an acceptance that their creative outputs may never be able to fully support them in financial terms. In these early stages, the artists were guided by a commitment to the pursuit of enhancing and developing their artistic skills and artistic capital. Thus artists' understanding of what constituted making a living was something that did not really come to the fore.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced and applied the concept of artistic capital to the research question of whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial in artistic careers,

as well as how that might be understood and managed. I have identified that artistic capital is developed from art school onwards and is seen as a subcategory of Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital. As such, elements of cultural capital are also addressed in this chapter, particularly the influence of inherited cultural capital in childhood, which can be seen to contribute to an appreciation for the arts. In spite of Bourdieu's findings that inherited cultural capital holds significant influence in terms of offering distinct personal and professional advantages to those who possess it over those with much less cultural capital before art school, this is not the case with artistic capital since it is seen as a distinct form of capital with its own rules and requirements - as identified in this chapter.

It is important to identify that at this stage, although I consistently refer to artists as building artistic capital, that this is not something they are necessarily conscious of, and not something that they explicitly reference using terms like artistic, social or economic capital. Through adopting the theoretical framework of capitals to organise the empirical data, I have been able to see their activities as aligning with artistic capital and have chosen to structure the chapter to demonstrate this. Through this chapter I have drawn several elements into the understanding of artistic capital. In summary, artistic capital is seen to have two distinct elements: the symbolic embodiment of the artistic ideal, art for art's sake, which is accompanied by artistic talent, or at least artistic skills; and knowledge of contemporary, and even historical, artistic practice. Artists can continue to develop their cultural capital more broadly but there are specific elements which contribute to the development of artistic capital and which are held as particularly valuable by the sub-field of restricted production. Therefore artists' activities are driven to develop elements which will contribute to their artistic capital.

All of the interviewed artists studied art prior to embarking on a career as an artist and thus have, in some ways, been prepared for a career - be that formally, informally or in reaction to a perceived notion of unpreparedness. The artists in this study graduated from art school as recently as seven years ago and as long as forty years ago but they share a common tale of how unprepared they were for entry into the art market. These aspiring artists have often come from backgrounds where their parents have followed more traditional career models, including electricians and factory workers and as such the artists rely upon art school as one of their main sources of knowledge and skills development for their future careers. In developing their practice artists are simultaneously developing their artistic capital. Many of the artists had been privileged to

a degree where they had found encouragement during their adolescence to pursue their interest in artistic endeavours which has led to their current career path. There was a degree to which the lifestyle of an artist became more of a draw than an interest in developing their artistic talent. Their early acceptance that being an artist would likely not lead to making very much money was a reality that they were ready to accept to pursue their dreams of being artists.

This chapter has alluded to the dominance art schools have in developing artistic and social capital whilst excluding economic capital from their training. Art schools do not exclude the commercial explicitly, rather they ensure that commercial elements are excluded from training and assessment which might be seen to contribute to how artists deeply embrace the artistic logic of art for art's sake over any association with the market. When the artists describe their role models, their interest was less on money, economic capital, and more, as Bourdieu describes (1993) on a lifestyle and on the status attached to being a living, working artist who is exhibiting work; interest is more in developing their social and artistic capital.

Despite their dependence on art school as often their sole source of information on how to understand and negotiate in the art market, many are leaving without a sound understanding of the skills or knowledge necessary to function in the art market. Of central importance in the development of an artistic career is artistic capital: which can contribute to their learning of the rules of the game, developing their artistic skills and knowledge of contemporary and historical artistic practice; as well as its important role in signalling this knowledge and understanding to others in the field. The experience of working within arts schools was important in enabling artists to develop practices in a space that was protected by the institutions. Developing their ideas around artistic practice as well as their knowledge of the processes of research and experimentation all contributed to a considerable development in their artistic capital.

Many of the interviewed artists contributed to, and some even founded, a strong tradition of organising their own exhibitions and opportunities. For some the DIY approach continues to permeate throughout their career. In the early stages of artists' careers the self-organised culture was essential in providing opportunities for emerging artists to showcase work and develop their practice. Exhibiting was highlighted as a key activity in giving artists a context to make new work, respond to audiences and continue the

processes of experimentation that they began at art school. Through these opportunities to exhibit, the artists were able to develop a body of work which they then used to leverage further opportunities through using their portfolio to apply to residencies and in funding applications. Exhibiting also acted to showcase the artist's work and sometimes this would lead to offers of opportunities and higher profile for the artist and their work.

Art school has importance in terms of how artists acquire artistic capital (in the embodied form), but the physical work (objectified artistic capital) they make is of less importance. In the future, applications for public funding will rely on work artists make after art school, as demonstrated through the artist's portfolio. It may be the case that this work is a development of existing work but it is the continued development which is important rather than the student work. For some, obviously, there is a close relationship between their student outcomes and later work but artists are still expected to be continuing to develop their artistic capital beyond their time at art school, they cannot rely on the artistic capital they have developed through art school, they are expected to continue to build this, demonstrating their developments through their artistic work. This raises the issue that artistic capital needs to be constantly enhanced and refreshed in order to increase in value, since it rests on developments in an artist's practice and knowledge, rather than the more fixed nature of degree qualifications which might be seen to maintain a relative value throughout. Artistic capital acquired at art school needs to be constantly updated, it cannot sit idle or it depreciates.

There were other important aspects about art school - in particular the role of socialisation and critical dialogue. After the 'group crit' structures of art school some artists tried to set up new structures to continue this mode of dialogue into their emerging career but they soon realised that other than socially, dialogue around their work was no longer the domain of their peers. Artists become responsible for the maintenance and enhancement of their own artistic capital during art school and this sets them up for how their careers, working predominantly alone, will require that they continue to develop artistic capital of their own volition - since the structures of art school are no longer there. The role of developing social capital, networks with peers, the significance of maintaining visibility for artists and their work and so forth, is dealt with in more detail in the next chapter. Additionally, aspects of developing artistic capital feed into the development and maintenance of other forms of capital and as such each chapter, although focussed on a distinct form of capital, speaks to one another productively.

CHAPTER 5

Developing Social Capital: The Role of Networks

5.0 DEVELOPING SOCIAL CAPITAL: THE ROLE OF NETWORKS

5.1 Introduction

Social capital is concerned with networks and connections which individuals make and how these are utilised in their personal and professional lives. Bourdieu's theory of social capital is a lens through which aspects of the lives and careers of the artist can be better understood. Bourdieu's writing on social capital expresses his awareness of the wider 'social apparatus' (Bourdieu: 1993) that exists to support, actively or passively, the career of an artist. His work in the literary field provides comparison to the field of contemporary art where this social apparatus works to create opportunities for advancement of artistic practitioners. In comparing Bourdieu's analysis of the literary field, literary agents and publishing houses would be substituted for gallerists, museums and galleries. In addition he explains how the concept of 'strategy' in the cultural field "is not based on conscious calculation but rather results from unconscious dispositions towards practice" (Bourdieu 1993: 17-18). Bourdieu recognises that creative practitioners find the idea of behaving strategically in the social domain as distasteful, ensuring they avoid being associated with concepts like 'networking'. In spite of these attitudes artists are active in developing their social capital through their engagement in social activities which can be seen to mirror the notion of networking. Bourdieu's understanding is that artists' strategic behaviour is driven by the development of artistic capital, as described in the previous chapter, and thus social capital is a domain which is aligned with the artistic as opposed to the commercial. Similarly the idea presented by Bourdieu of how "the capital they are able to accumulate defines their social trajectory" (Calhoun et al 1993: 5) is particularly relevant in bridging the initial chapter on development of artistic capital with this chapter on social capital.

Many relationships and arrangements in the art world are based on social ties and this chapter explores some of the key relationships which visual artists are engaged in throughout their career. It offers perspectives on how these networks are cultivated, sustained and diversified; and even the consequences when these relationships are mismanaged. In investigating social capital, the chapter addresses what networks artists have, how these networks function and what roles these networks play. As artists tend to work independently for the most part, working outside of organisational structures, they rely upon their networks for information about the field and for opportunities.

Throughout the interviews the reliance of artists on their networks signalled the weight of these and how social capital is a significant component in their career.

Artists' Views on Networking

In her work on how New York's creative activities drive its economy, Currid (2007) references the socially driven nature of the city's music, fashion and art scenes – where the majority of the professional relationships or partnerships are established in the social sphere. There are some parallels to the experiences of the artists since social gatherings beyond art school, “from regularly attending exhibition openings, from word-of-mouth introductions, or from habitually attending bars and cafés frequented by artists”, are all important elements of developing social capital in the field of contemporary visual art (Bain 2005: 14). In contrast, however, the artists avoided making a direct correlation between their social activities and their work and made a more direct link between socialising and visibility.

Many of the artists vocally deny networking and are loath to be associated with it even as an idea. “I think networking is a kind of dirty word for a lot of people.” (Victoria: 22). Networking resonates amongst artists as something with negative connotations, something which they are careful to deny and are adamant that they are not party to, as they allow their work to lead them rather than them leading the work. Malcolm avered,

“I think if you kind of do it, invest all of the...all of that kind willpower or whatever it is into the things that your making all the other stuff is kind of secondary - all of the kind of networking stuff and I see people doing that really well. But I think they do that to the detriment to them being in the studio, making things...” (Malcolm: 11)

In making a clear dissociation between themselves and the term ‘networking,’ artists are referring to the economic connotations of the word as widely used in business and marketing or other market driven fields. In reality, the social activities and practices of artists are strongly based on the concept of networking and however artists regard the word, the practice of networking is something which has great impact on their careers. Without proper socialisation into an art world - local, national or international - artists struggle to move forward in their career and networks are what sustain their practice, by offering opportunities to enhance their artistic and economic capital. In fact artists enact

the behaviours of networking on a regular basis with fellow artists, gallerists and other arts professionals. Almost every exhibition has an opening night or preview night where artists celebrate their latest work and accomplishments or catch up with colleagues and peers. These preview events are an ideal time for artists to socialise with those in the art market who they may not see on a regular basis.

The chapter uncovers how artists find and construct relationships with others in the field of contemporary art. Through discussion with the artists, issues of visibility, critique and community are explored to understand their impact on artists.

5.2 Support After Art School

Artists traditionally begin their careers as part of a cohort of peers leaving art school. These peers are valued by the artists as essential in contributing to their development as artists. Research into postgraduates in the creative sector has identified networking as a key driver for those applying for study and as particularly influential in their choice of institution (Pollard & Hunt, 2009). Peer groups act as support, both personal and professional, and over a third of graduates are understood to stay in the city they studied in because of the strength of the networks they established during that time, "During these formative years, they develop dense networks of teachers, classmates, and local artists; such a supportive and familiar environment may be hard to leave" (Lingo & Tepper 2013: 12).

As artists embark upon their career they are faced with feelings of isolation or loneliness, no longer supported by the infrastructure of art schools, in particular the shared studio working practices that they have trained in. Artists use their communities to find substitutes for this, for example through open studios, collaborations and socialising. In moving further into their careers, artists quickly expand their networks, nationally and internationally and are aware that who they know is critical to them moving forward in their career. Visual artists are keenly aware that they must engage across a multitude of platforms in order to gather information on their practice, current trends, market participants and opportunities which all contribute to their development of both artistic and, sometimes, economic capital. Although artists recognise how integral social capital is in their careers, they argue that it is a fundamental part of their social lives, rather than a strategic activity.

The role of friends and mentors as a source of advice and support for artists is something which is heavily relied upon in developing an artist's career, contributing to their social capital. Bain stated,

“Membership in these informal social networks is not inconsequential to the construction of an artistic identity and the creation of artwork; rather it becomes a valuable means of combating the isolation of the studio and exchanging information on employment, grants, sources of materials, housing and important new work emerging in the field.” (Bain 2005: 14)

Thoughts and comments from partners, peers and tutors were certainly considered by the artists as they weighed up decisions whether to move to new places or in choosing what opportunities to take. Additionally the prevalence and nature of this peer support changed over the career course, with all artists reporting a shift in terms of critical dialogues, whilst maintaining the elements of opportunity sharing and models of professional support that they had developed in their emerging careers.

In examining peer support this can be seen to fall into three broad categories: social, critical, and professional; which will be explored in that order. Firstly, the social aspect of artist's relationships with peers is particularly important, especially since artists themselves describe how most of their interaction with peers and colleagues happens in the social arena.

5.21 Peers as Role Models

Identification with a group of peers often starts at art school, especially where art students are united by their perceptions of a lack of support or engagement from staff. For others, it was more socially led through meeting fellow artists in bars (Nicholas, Iain, Eleanor) and through artist-run initiatives, and knowing that even after friends move long distances away, and there might only be sporadic contact, that “there's still this kind of connection between [you], you feel like you're not alone” (Malcolm: 21). The artists were motivated by their peer group, not necessarily in a direct way, but through more indirect or passive means of being part of the same social group and being inspired by their peers' ability to maintain a practice. James has a friend who runs a gallery in Germany. He said,

“she just spent five months in Denmark, where she’s from, working in an old persons home for enough money to go back and rent a studio in [Germany] – cause they’re cheaper there and she runs two galleries as well, in other spaces that she’s managed to sort of, get hold of.” (James: 13)

For James, it is reassuring to know that the cycle of working to make money – making art – and back to working to make money, is something his peers are also struggling with. Artists do not need to always be actively asking peers for support and advice on what they are doing, but simply being embedded in these networks creates a shared sense of understanding. Artists use this information to encourage themselves to continue working, particularly against financial obstacles that they may face.

Adam spoke about the sense of community he felt in the early years of his career, after leaving art school, and how important they were to his development as an artist. He stated,

“I think more important than that is the community of artists, for me in the early 1990’s, when I first left art school, being within a community of artists who were all making art. Some of whom are a little older a bit more successful than you, starting to have some success, that was quite exciting, you know. And that was inspiring, and I think that environment was the key thing to my becoming the artist that I am now, was, just being in that environment. So it’s not really a question of advice it’s just people, seeing other people doing something and being part of that as well, yourself, in a modest way, helps you.” (Adam: 10)

A sense of community for artists was critical in their development, encouraging them to create pathways that other artists could follow. This supports Bain’s (2005) understanding that, “when left to their own devices, artists for the most part inspire, encourage and support one another over the long-term from within a tight, if often spatially diffuse, circle of a few friends” (Bain 2005: 14). Ryan spoke about older peers who had moved to larger cities and were living on the dole in order to spend as much time making art as they could. Even at these early stages this was important to emerging artists as they could see a viable path to continue making work whilst surviving financially. He said,

"I suppose it was a way of being an artist as opposed to graduating and having to get a job, not as an artist, a fulltime job for example which would mean that you don't have time to do your work, to develop your practice." (Ryan: 4)

Part of the role of peers in the development of artistic practice is also an artist being able to see the work of those around them, younger or older, in order to help them understand their position and the context within which they are working. Michael describes how seeing the work of other artists, particularly younger artists, helps remind him how he is part of a community. He expressed that,

"I love seeing what... Even though I don't know them, I'm aware of the activity of younger artists. Even if I don't think it's brilliant or whatever, I'm encouraged by the fact that they are doing it and encouraged, and reminded... [...] to be reminded that actually there are things you haven't thought of or indeed positions that you didn't occupy or just like the naivety of it, even just thinking that you know something and actually not knowing, I find that quite refreshing." (Michael: 25)

Artists also spoke of how often their peer group functioned as a social support network. Some of the artists found that they derived great strength from artists supporting one another on a personal level where they might encourage them when they were struggling, providing an emotional support, or 'gossip about galleries' (Paul). Ben described how his peers offered encouragement that did relate to his practice but was less critical and more emotional. Ben felt,

"there are points along the way that you just want someone to say... just to sort of cheer you up a bit [...] More than anything it's a support thing, you need them to be there, you need people to say: I think you should keep going, or not – with some things." (Ben: 8)

Paul also spoke of the support, rather than critical, nature of his networks, in that peers would talk about the art world when they were together but it was a more general conversation as opposed to critiquing one another's work, "I think artists by and large when they're together they don't really talk much about their work; they talk about...they gossip about galleries, or the price of paint or something. By and large they don't go into each other's studios and give each other a hard time" (Paul: 4).

Each artist did also speak of changes to their network over time with the practicalities of finding time to socialise between work and family commitments. Michael used to socialise a lot and this has changed as he has gotten older. He has found that instead of attending music concerts which has a cross-over arts/music audience of peers, that he is more likely to be invited to a dinner party with his local gallerist, artist friends and their partners – something that he could not have imagined happening in his emerging career, “I’m not socialising as much as I would have been a few years ago, where the whole music scene and art scene were all interlinked for me and I would be going out every night, and that would have been part of it. That happens now, but it’s not quite to the same degree” (Michael: 25).

5.22 Critical Dialogue

In addressing the importance of critical dialogue the artists all described similar patterns of critical conversation. The artists noted that the original model developed in art school of group ‘crits,’ where students collectively critiqued their work quickly dissipated but the social aspects of friendships remained steadfast throughout. Iain described how being part of group shows often led to long term friendships and contributed to his own critical understanding of his work in relation to the work of his peers, “It’s fun to be in group shows as well because often you’ll find you’re in a group show with people repeatedly. So over the years you get to know fellow artists that are in shows that seem to somehow, there’s some relationship between your work” (Iain: 21). Lauren describes how she had recently returned from a residency abroad which reminded her of the importance of being part of a community and the critical dialogues that arise from that.

Adam described his closest friends as his ‘best tutors’ and he believed he owed elements of his critical and professional development to his peers through shared learning that occurred when he shared a studio with them. Some artists, like Adam and Paul, spoke of very close friends that were more vocal in critiquing their work. Paul described only one friend with whom he would have more ‘intense’ discussions or conversations around his work, “I have one guy that comes round and gives me pretty hard crits of my work” (Paul: 4), whilst Adam found that his closest friend offered important advice which helped him more clearly assess the direction of his work. Adam pointed out that,

“It was my friend [...] who said you should stop, stop making those kind of books, cause no one’s ever going to publish your cartoons. You might as well just do it

[be]cause you like [it] and just do it in exactly the way you want to do it and not, you know... Let the work find a place. Then I started to do that and I was like yeah, you're right. I am a failure as a cartoonist. I might as well at least enjoy myself. And then...that was really a key piece of advice." (Adam: 11)

Ryan describes himself as very 'proactive' in terms of creating structures and opportunities for himself and his friends. This included a reading group for a select number of peers in his flat, based on a postgraduate masters model he had experienced abroad, in North America. He said,

"we took turns and kind of proposing a text or group of texts, sometimes watched a film and then we would kind of discuss that, kind of talk about that. I still have, I mean I have a folder, a kind of archive of that, of the reading list. But that was again... So I suppose listening to myself talk, I can hear myself speaking about proactivity, proactivity." (Ryan: 7)

Although Ryan saw this as a means of developing his artistic capital, it was in fact a means for all of them to do so through developing their social capital, strengthening their position as artists and also strengthening the connections within the group.

Both Olivia and Robert found themselves in older peer groups where they received advice and critical feedback. Gilmore et al (2011) argues that "where careers are driven by reputation and skills rather than formal degree qualifications, access to challenging projects and the guidance of senior peers are vital for new-comers' learning" (Gilmore et al 2011: 10). Jeffrey's (2004) agrees saying that "artists develop through contact with more experienced practitioners in their field and are positive about the value of mentoring and informal learning networks" (Jeffreys 2004: 6). This was the case for Robert who found himself within a predominantly older and more established peer group who offered him critical support, "[m]y pictures started to get a little bit of notice. Some interesting people that I still...who I'm grateful to, who are long dead, took me under their wing" (Robert: 3). This was influential as these established and well-respected artists contributed to the development of his artistic and social capital through developing his understanding of his own work and the context within which he was working. In addition they lent authority to his work, and he was able to leverage opportunities through the social capital he possessed through his association with them, their reputation and the strength of their

expanded networks (social and artistic capital). Olivia's experience differed from Robert's, as she spoke of joining the committee of a fairly well established artist-run space in the city she lived in and how the committee had a reputation amongst her peers as "a real clique [that] was really impenetrable" even to other artists, insiders in the art world (Olivia: 4). Although Olivia was accepted onto the committee she felt the challenges of gaining acceptance within this predominantly older social group, "it was interesting to get their opinion back and I was quite intimidated by it when I was on the committee. I'm quite kind of shy of meeting all these cool artists and stuff." (Olivia: 4)

Only two artists mentioned obtaining critical support outside of their network of artist peers. Firstly Angela spoke of how peers who were no longer practicing artists also contributed to her critical development through conversations about ideas behind her works. So we maybe more focus on talking about ideas than we do about the market or how to survive within it" (Angela: 15). Angela demonstrates how she can attain critical development through those working within the arts as artists, as well as through others who have a similar set of critical analysis tools, from their shared art school experience, but who are no longer practicing artists. These wider social networks afforded her the opportunity for informed discussion around ideas, where the market and working with art galleries is addressed by artists with experience of these. Angela is segmenting her social network and able to address particular aspects of career, or critical concerns with distinct factions.

Paul raised the role of art critics in relation to critical dialogue around their work and practice. He indicated the value of thorough art criticism, suggesting a tacit link between art criticism through journalism, and art criticism through pedagogy in art schools. The example Paul refers to is an article by a newspaper art critic which highlighted a link between his work and that of an American artist and sculptor (b.1903). Paul said making this connection became an 'epiphany moment' which dramatically helped him to better understand his practice through exploring the work of an artist who shared similar concerns. What he was keen to highlight was twofold: firstly, that this was "brought to my attention by an art critic in a newspaper not by a teacher or anything" (Paul: 7), and secondly that opportunities for art critics to contribute to artist's understandings of their own practice is less prevalent today due to the limitations imposed on them by newspapers; lack of time and space, "in those days there was enough time for critics to say

why. This is why I like this work. This is why we think this is good, it has these kind of references” (Paul: 7).

5.23 Professional Support

Peer support is particularly important in terms of supporting artists’ careers as it can offer a supporting structure for artists. All of the artists described instances of opportunities, commissions and professional advice that they received from their network which ultimately contributed to the progression of their career. Although most of this support was often offered up, rather than solicited, there were occasions where artists sought professional advice from good friends, perhaps about negotiations around gallery representation. In addition there were instances where artists created shared opportunities as a means to support one another through the guise of DIY culture.

Professional support can range from practical, in borrowing a friend’s studio whilst they are on holiday (James), to more emotional or motivational support through encouraging an artist to submit their work into an open submission, “my old flat mate, she’d seen that artist who was selecting it [on the judging panel] and said ‘I really think they will like your work’ so she’d really twisted my arm” (Sophie: 9). Friends appear to be a key motivator for artists, as well as a source for highlighting opportunities. In Sophie’s case, she was subsequently shortlisted and won a prize; leading to her work being purchased for an art collection. Having work in public collections is an important element of the artistic career which signals quality and builds reputation. Kristen spoke of how she was chosen by a friend to take over a workshop she had run. This workshop provided Kristen with an economic capital in an arts related field, and even used the opportunity to work creatively on her practice.

Peer support can also be about developing skills and knowledge to support their future artistic endeavours. Eleanor finds that her peers are generous, particularly when it comes to specialist knowledge needed in creating an art work. She said that,

“you stay in contact with people that you like and got on with and then they’ll suggest you maybe contact someone, or if you have a problem with the work you’re trying to find out who can make something for you. Or who’s doing frames or crates or programming. You call them up and you help with each other and it’s kind of reciprocal, you get a lot of support that way” (Eleanor: 21)

This support elicits a reciprocal response where Eleanor will offer the same support to her peers in return. Each time Eleanor and her peers participate in knowledge sharing they are demonstrating the value of their social networks, in terms of breadth of knowledge and access. Simultaneously they are also developing their social capital, as they become recognised as trustworthy sources of information and support to one another.

Advice on Working with Galleries

It is important to highlight the role of peers in relation to working with galleries and providing advice and support for artists as they develop a career. Erica spoke of how a conversation around representation was instigated by a curator she had worked with, someone not working for a commercial gallery who was offering professional advice to her as a colleague. She stated,

“she even asked me when we were doing the [exhibition] ‘do you know about selling your work?’ and I said ‘I haven’t got a clue’ and she said ‘you do know how much you want to sell it for?’ I said ‘no idea’ and she said ‘well I do. So we’ll set up a meeting.’ This was nothing to do with her selling my work it was purely advice from someone who knew that world - to someone who didn’t. So she had an important role. And I guess she introduced this gallery to my work.” (Erica: 5)

This conversation, between Erica and a curator, was the only time an artist mentioned anything like this. In terms of an intervention from friends or colleagues offering advice to the artists at this critical stage, generally advice was solicited by artists, if at all. Some artists who had been approached by galleries managed to muster the courage to ask close friends, their strong ties, but most stated that they found asking artist friends difficult and too personal. Others said that even later on in their career when they had been working with a gallery for a great deal of time that they could not ask colleagues about their experience with galleries – even if, or especially when, they are both represented by the same gallery (Victoria).

Adam described asking two friends, an older artist he knew, and a close friend – both artists having already achieved gallery representation. The older artist offered him some key advice to his question ‘so and so wants to represent me what should I do?’ which he has used to structure his relationships with galleries throughout his career. He said that,

“his main advice was: ‘you don’t want to be in a position whereby they can tell you to fuck off, you want to be in a position whereby you tell them to fuck off.’ And that was his advice, which I’m sure could be more delicately put. It was quite good advice whereby it’s better to be with a gallery who really desires your presence rather than where you really desire to be present at their gallery, or at least it should be mutual.” (Adam: 7)

The professional advice around galleries does not end with the decision to be represented by a gallery and can continue into that relationship where an artist feels unhappy with something between themselves and the gallery and seeks advice on this. Adam said, “You do need advice cause you just don’t know. You are ignorant of that world, of that business and what is reasonable to expect.” (Adam: 10)

Creating Opportunities for Each Other

Wherever artists are, they often maintain a connection to the cohort with which they graduated and, on many occasions, this leads to invitations to be part of exhibitions with members of their cohort. James is not unique in adopting this cooperative or mutual working model. It is particularly prevalent in the early years of artists’ careers. Another example can be seen in how Adam believes that he was included in group shows with his wider group of peers just by ‘being around’ rather than through actively looking for opportunities. He said,

“I just think we hung about with a group of people and what goes around comes around. If you hang out with that group of people eventually you’ll be invited to be in some group show. But I wasn’t really good at the networking thing” (Adam: 3).

His last statement ‘I wasn’t really good at the networking thing’ is important because it contributes to an understanding that although he was part of this peer group, and was subsequently asked to participate in exhibitions with these artists, owing to his position in the network, as well as his artistic capital, he believes that this occurred in spite of his inability to network. It demonstrates how Adam believes that his social activities and position within the network were not achieved through networking but rather through just ‘being around’. He does not recognise the value of the social capital he has developed as well as the others’ recognition of the value of his artistic capital. His statement suggests his misrecognition of his activities in building social capital – in that he believes that

networking is an activity he finds challenging and yet he has still be able to develop sufficient amounts of social capital to ensure his artistic capital remains visible, in order for it to be recognised by others; and selected for group shows.

Harry describes how he and another artist who shared a studio, innovatively decided to invite other artists to use their studio as a residency. He stated,

“we had a sort of residency programme and exhibition programme that we ran in the studio, because it’s really massive. And one of the artists from [a show I did] came and did a show with us and a residency.” (Harry: 5)

What is striking is that artists are proactive in creating opportunities for themselves and their peers to exhibit work. Many artists described numerous instances where peers created opportunities for them whilst they were abroad, often on a residency, “while I was away, my really good friend [...] approached [a gallery] with the idea of doing a two person show and so I did that when I got back” (Olivia: 6). Ben explained that he was conscious to include peers who were working abroad or internationally in shows he was organising in the hopes that this might be reciprocated. Ben describes how initially, “[i]t sort of feels slightly artificial at first, but after a period of time that becomes [...] as a process everything becomes quite natural” (Ben: 5). The artists are displaying professional generosity in including these colleagues in their proposals, whilst also maintaining and enhancing their social capital. In addition, this mode of practice enables some artists to capitalise on their time, preventing avoidable lulls in activity.

In the previous chapter artist-run spaces and DIY initiatives were introduced in the context of developing artistic practice in the emerging part of artists’ careers. Ryan set up his own projects, sourcing sponsorship in-kind, like ‘beer and whisky’, and borrowing ‘beanbags’ from a more established artist through his extended social network. Ryan described his own, and his peers’, ‘youthful energy’ and his feeling that “there has been and there still is a lot of self-motivation to get projects off the ground and do stuff. There's enough of an art community here that can sustain that” (Ryan: 8); reminding the reader of the significance of artists’ peers in supporting one another.

Artist-run spaces became important not only externally, in showcasing the work of emerging artists to audiences, but also internally, to an artist’s sense of worth. Adam felt

that his selection for a solo exhibition, by the committee of an artist-run space was, “a real endorsement from your peers [...] my success was based on my peers taking an interest in what I did, and being supportive of what I did, and liking what I did” (Adam: 3). Adam illustrates how important these artist-run initiatives feel to artists, even looking back on them, in terms of the development of their practice and from the ratification of their artistic practice from peers.

5.3 Actively Pursuing Networks: DIY Activity and Visibility

Being visible is quite often a *modus operandi* for artists and a theme that runs throughout the career of artists is visibility, ensuring that their work (and by association themselves) is reaching audiences. These audiences are both in the traditional sense of consumers of art but also arts professionals as the providers of, or gatekeepers to, opportunities. Accessing and developing networks keeps themselves at the forefront of others' minds who, should they have an opportunity, might remember to offer it to the artists who they have heard of, seen or been in contact with. Arts professionals are also seen to use visibility as an ‘index of quality’ (Menger 1999), which highlights the socially constructed nature of such indexes as well as the significance of remaining visible to developing an artistic career.

Artists strive to remain visible, continuing to make work despite challenges both financially and in terms of time. In addition to their individual practice artists also spend much of their free time socialising with other artists and arts professionals as well as developing their cultural capital through visiting exhibitions, attending performances and other art events locally, nationally and sometimes internationally. The notion of being visible is integral to how artists approach their careers and although this strategy is not consciously market driven, it often leads to opportunities, residencies and sales as a by-product.

This subsection on visibility has been split into two categories to enable a fuller comprehension of how this functions. First, is the artist being physically visible – being seen at events, openings, through interacting with other art world players at industry events or even through other roles such as arts related jobs, which support their practice. The second is their representation through objects which can be divided in two ways: through marketing materials, monographs, invite cards and other ephemera which

surrounds the marketing of art; the other is the art work itself, through exhibitions, representation at art fairs or other events. What is apparent through the conversations with artists is that there is no uniform pattern of staying visible and each artist approaches the challenges of establishing, maintaining and developing social capital through a variety of means.

5.31 Physical Visibility

As artist Martha Rosler⁹ says “You have to be mobile, if you want to be seen” (Martha Rosler, quoted in Lipphardt 2012: 111-112), and nowhere is this mantra more accurate than in the field of contemporary visual art. Some of the artists spoke of the role of being physically visible, for example showing up at openings and being introduced to people, even if only briefly, “[You meet people] at openings and parties and things like that. I’m sure it’s done the same [now] that you’d meet people and talk and say: Oh I’m doing this thing maybe you should...and that’s how it happens” (Iain: 13). In attending events, artists are reaffirming their presence and meeting new people, possibly starting conversations about their work. Eleanor explained how being ‘there’ and being visible are important ways to increase your chances of securing opportunities. For Eleanor she drew a direct correlation between being present in a city and visible at art world events there with getting invited to be part of exhibitions there, “if you want to show in Scotland more you’ve got to be in Scotland more. Like, if you want us to show more in New York, you’ve got to go to New York more” (Eleanor: 18).

Erica spoke of an instance where she was unable to attend the opening of a show she was included in due to having children and moving abroad. This instance highlights to her how her professional life may have suffered due to her growing family and relocation. She articulated that,

“It’s had an impact on the way I worked, had a big impact on how much money I’ve made. And it’s had a big impact on my visibility in the art world. So I would say that... [...] Moving away from the UK [...] into a not particularly art capital of the world, let’s say; having another kid; not being able to do residencies; having less

⁹ Martha Rosler (b.1943) is an American artist and writer who works in video, installation and performance and has written widely about art and culture.

than half the amount of time to work; being tired. And not being able to travel when my work was in shows. I only travel when I have to install. So there's many times. Like I had a piece in a huge show in [France and] I wasn't able to go to the opening. So things like that can pretty much, can directly impact on the opportunities because you are not there and meeting people and people saying 'oh yeah, I really loved your work.' And remembering you, and asking you to do things, or even lead to galleries or selling your work; so yeah, being invisible." (Erica: 8).

She was particularly concerned that her lack of visibility at this event has contributed to a wider decrease in her visibility overall, raising concerns for her, not only about enhancing, but even maintaining her social capital. She described her genuine concern that a decrease in her physical visibility may lead to a loss of opportunities and, subsequently, income; her ability to make enough money to sustain her practice. Her experience mirrored Alper & Walsall's (2006) findings that suggested female artists with children had found their incomes and positioning had been negatively impacted, "[a]t midlife the female continuous career artists were found to have greater personal income, a higher occupational prestige and significantly fewer children than those with interrupted careers" (Alper & Walsall 2006: 7). In addition her concern illustrated that her visibility through her art work and marketing was not enough on its own and she needed to meet people in order to maintain and develop her social and economic capital.

Keeping visible extends beyond an artist's own exhibitions. It helps their understanding of the context within which they are working by seeing other work. This activity acts to simultaneously build both social and artistic capital for the artist, since they are engaging in two activities: the development of their knowledge and understanding about the artist, work, context (artistic capital) but also socially engaging with peers, new colleagues and being visible (social capital). Malcolm opted to take part in a research trip for arts professionals to visit key arts events across the UK and Europe. As part of these trips, participants spend a few days together following an itinerary of organised activities and this can also lead to friendships and collaborations. Malcolm said this allowed him to visit new cities and meet people working in the arts there, as well as meet those travelling with them, for what was a relatively nominal amount of money. In a tangential way, Fraser found that by regularly visiting a few of his favourite galleries he was able to get exhibitions in these spaces which ultimately led to longer term relationships, including representation.

Robert described a unique scenario where he met another artist, rather fortuitously, whilst visiting an exhibition of work that he enjoyed. This unexpected meeting led to a long term friendship and introduced him to a much wider network of practicing artists who were already well established within the field, as well as leading to that artist acting as a sort of 'mentor' to him over a number of years. He said,

"he became, I guess, a sort of mentor to me for 6 years. [...] I met a lot of artists through him [...] They took me under their wings. I'm [...] from nowhere, and these famous people liked me [One] wrote the letter that got me [my teaching post]. They became a sort of ancillary part of my education." (Robert: 4)

Although these scenarios cannot be planned for, what secured the artist a second meeting with the artist whom he had met, was his honesty and passion about the art work, a passion which many of the other artists share.

A particular feature of the art world is its proclivity for dinners and parties. Commercial galleries, amongst others, will often host dinners and parties which bring together a variety of groups which include artists, curators and collectors. Artists are invited to exclusive social events and dinners which can hold particular significance to developing their access to more exclusive art world participants. Invitations to these art world dinners can also signal a level of reputation which artists can capitalise on. Nicholas found that meeting other artists at dinners has proved invaluable to making new friends and contacts that he remains in touch with personally and professionally. Similarly Olivia remembers partying at the Venice Biennale where all the artists were funded to travel to Venice to attend the private views and launch parties.

Through introducing them to other specially chosen art professionals, the hosts are acting to provide a platform for interaction where artists can develop their social capital informally, as opposed to the more formally constructed interactions that occur during opening receptions. These instances where artists and art world players meet are not necessarily viewed as a strategic opportunity but that is exactly what they can become.

All of the artists have had jobs to support their practice, and these are predominantly in arts related roles like installing exhibitions or as gallery assistants. These roles provide an

ideal opportunity for them to meet and get to know arts professionals including curators and other artists who can widen their network. Arts-related jobs serve as an ideal way to both fund their artistic activities as well as remain somewhat visible to key local gallerists, curators and artists who become a core part of the network that acts to keep artists visible and connected. In a way this is another example of the unconscious strategising which artists are engaged in, as well as demonstrating how the field or network acts to support artists in indirect ways, through creating employment to support struggling artists. As such, artists engaged in these support activities are increasing their visibility as individuals, not in direct relation to their own practice, but through their interactions with colleagues and in expanding their network they are increasing their visibility and increasing the likelihood of meeting people who might be able to offer them opportunities in the future.

James met a curator whilst installing a show in one gallery and once the curator moved to a new gallery he invited James to contribute work to a group show. In part this was aided by the curator subsequently visiting an exhibition of James's work, "Although I'd known [this curator] because I did an install with him at [a gallery] in his previous job and we'd talked a lot about work there wasn't really so much of an opportunity for him to see it." (James: 9) In meeting and talking during the install this led to an opportunity later once the curator had seen examples of his work in another location. It is likely the conversation coupled with viewing the artist's work acted as an initial catalyst for the opportunity. Nicholas and Olivia spoke of being offered projects or shows whilst participating in art fairs. In similar circumstances Olivia met both her main gallerists in chance encounters. She initially met her first gallerist through visiting a colleague on a residency abroad and later whilst presenting at an art fair she met another gallerist who invited her to exhibit, leading to representation.

5.32 Material Visibility: Through Artwork and Exhibitions

In addition to aspects of physical visibility, meeting people face to face or being seen at events, an important consideration is the role or agency of the artwork itself and the marketing apparatus around it. Physical visibility and visibility through objects complement one another and an emerging theme from the interviews was how the work itself and the marketing around it contributed to their visibility. The artists often gave examples of how connections were made only after someone had seen their work on display. In their early career they were not always able to travel to shows abroad and thus

had to rely on the work and wider marketing apparatus around each show to promote themselves – making their practice visible to new audiences.

Visibility becomes increasingly important as artists begin to realise that their exhibited works can reach greater professional audiences than they themselves can achieve in person. In addition many opportunities for artists occur much later, as often a gallery's programme may be scheduled a couple of years in advance and therefore once someone has seen their work they may not come back to the artist until much later with an opportunity, "people see your work there but they don't necessarily give you an exhibition off the basis of one thing that they've seen. Things have a consequence that, the consequence could be years later" (Ben: 6). Large exhibitions, art fairs and prize nominations, amongst other events, are all opportunities for artists to be seen by curators, gallerists and collectors. It is important that artists are exhibiting and participating in the art world in a global context as often opportunities at home can arise from visibility abroad, "in order to get somebody in London to notice your work you have to show it in Venice; like they weren't ever going to come here [to Scotland] to see it" (Lauren: 6).

Malcolm reaffirmed the general feeling that being discovered at a degree show was highly unlikely but talked about how the degree show catalogue which featured his work found its way to a curator working nearby and led to a long conversation about including Malcolm's work in a show. The show took many years to materialise but gave this artist something to work towards in those early years and ended up showcasing his work beside that of established artists from across the globe in a UK touring show. Malcolm stated that

"my degree show catalogue was kind of like a life line to, to carry on making work. [...] [A curator] phoned to say that he was putting this kind this research thing, together with these two other curators in this group show that would happen maybe in a couple years time and he wanted to see more work. So I sent him a few images and things, on a slide it would have been I suppose. And this started this dialogue off, for four years I think, or something like that. And it was always kind of in the distance, this group show thing that he was, kind of, doing. But that was enough, to have any kind of interest at that point, to carry on making work." (Malcolm: 2-3)

Stephen believes inviting people to an exhibition opening is still one of the most important ways to build a network of people who are interested in his work. He particularly sees the

act of inviting as significant in achieving this goal, either through printed format with invite cards but also virtually through digital platforms such as email. He believes invite cards,

“play quite a strong role, that kind of ephemera. It's different now because it all comes, this is kind of pre-internet stuff we're talking about. It's different now the way that information gets dispersed or the way that networks build up. But it's the same strategy. That if you want things to spread, you have a... you have to build a network and you have to distribute something to that network.” (Stephen: 8)

Stephen highlights the process by which networks require to be 'fed'. Artists cannot be complacent in assuming that their activities are visible, even through a network they have established, but that their network(s) need to be reminded. Reminding them that the artist is still working, reintroducing them to works they may have forgotten or new works that are in development. Stephen was particularly deliberate in developing his network through collecting addresses of individuals he considered important in the field of contemporary art: curators, museum directors and so forth. With this list he sought to ensure these individuals were invited to all of his exhibitions and informed of his latest activities. He said,

“I was quite, I still am, quite assiduous in cultivating a mailing list and making sure that I distributed information about what I was doing to as many people as possible. [...] Peer group, professionals and non-professionals. I used to collect people's addresses, used to scour the papers, get the names of directors of museums, stick them onto my address book.” (Stephen: 7-8)

Often opportunities can arise through people's familiarity with or understandings of the artist's practice. For example, James spoke about being unexpectedly nominated for a prestigious painting prize by a former tutor. Similarly Olivia narrowly missed out on a prize but one of the judges on the panel recommended her for a residency from seeing her work. Malcolm discussed how his work was picked up by a London gallery after he sold a piece to the partner of a friend who had contacts in commercial galleries in London, Unknown to Malcolm, she showed her gallerist friend the work, “she showed this guy one of the drawings who was just about to open a gallery in the east end and he liked it and he asked to see some other work, through her.” (Malcolm: 6)

Although the person making the introduction was a friend's girlfriend it is through this secondary connection that an opportunity arose for the artist to begin working with a gallery in London with whom he did not have any other connection. Ultimately it was the strength of the work coupled with the personal endorsement which contributed to the future relationship developing. The other item of mention in regards to this is the collegial behaviour of the artist's friend who acted without direction or apparent economic motivation to share the artist's work with a gallerist. She understood the value of showing their work to someone working to develop a gallery, as this connection could prove mutually beneficial. In doing so, the artist's friend embodies the support networks through which the social capital of an artist is sustained, professional generosity.

A more cynical interpretation would be that the friend may have had an agenda which would extend from personal economic interest – in that the work they had purchased may become more valuable over time, should the artist's interests be represented by a gallerist whose role it is to develop a market for the artist's work. Having said that, research into the motivations behind those in the sub-field of restricted production would suggest she may be working under the auspices of art for art's sake. Uncovering her motives is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In his early to mid-career, Malcolm was offered an opportunity to make a monograph of his work and capitalised on this by inviting established curators, including the one who offered him his first major show, to write texts for the book. He pronounced that,

“I think having that, having something really tangible as opposed to just like ‘come and see this show, for two weeks, in so and so's back bedroom or whatever.’ Having something tangible like a book to give to someone and to live there out in the world, brought a lot more opportunities [...] So you can ask these people and you suddenly have these two things written, specifically about my work, that goes in this book. And then they've got this audience as well that kind of brings to it.”
(Malcolm: 5-6)

This is an example of an artist being aware of how to use the opportunity of a book to build his social capital and expand his networks. He used his network to create critical dialogue around his practice, which also then has the potential to draw a further audience associated with or interested in the curators whose texts were included in his monograph.

Malcolm's experience of taking advantage of the social capital of those curators who had written about his work can also extend to a wider conversation about how artists can intentionally, or otherwise, capitalise on the social capital of their own network. Mark found that he was commissioned to make a piece of work as part of a group show after he had had a tutorial with a curator's partner, who is a practicing artist. Mark said,

"The only reason I think I actually ended up being in the show was because I had a one-to-one tutorial with [an artist] who is [the curator's] partner. He came to Newcastle and did a studio visit, one-to-one visit. And it was one of the best one-to-ones I'd had, critical dialogue I'd had, with someone for a long time. And I think he kind of went away and when this exhibition came up he just suggested me to [his partner] – it would be good if you could just consider [Mark]." (Mark: 4)

It is not just offers of exhibitions that can come about from someone seeing your work but also representation from a gallery. Ryan secured representation from one commercial gallery after his work was shortlisted for a prize and exhibited in a local gallery; the representation came from one of the panel of judges who runs a commercial gallery. Another judge on the same panel invited him to participate in future exhibitions at the gallery she worked at. This raises another issue that will be addressed further in chapter six of the role of publicly funded and commercially funded galleries, with reference to how the publicly funded gallery coordinated and hosted the award selection and exhibition, and were instrumental in including commercial gallerists to be on the judging panel – both of whom subsequently provided further opportunities for the artist in their later career.

5.4 Conclusion

The data in this chapter speaks to the role of social networks and social capital in artistic careers. Artists' peers are often cited as some of their most important influences, support mechanisms and means of access to information and opportunities, so it is understandable that this chapter addresses the role of peers and other social networks following art school. What arose from the empirical material was just how integral social capital could be with elements of artistic capital. An example being a move towards more internalised forms of critique, following the disbanding of the crit framework established in art schools, and how artists seek to supplement this through critical dialogue with select individuals. Social capital can also be seen to contribute to economic capital since it is one of the

mechanisms by which artists expand their networks through residencies and find opportunities for exhibition, both of which can provide income through fees and opportunities for sale of the artist's work.

An ever increasing number of graduates form communities in art schools, and their understanding of the mechanisms for developing social networks and the recognition of networks' pivotal role in artistic careers are important acknowledgements that contribute to artistic career development (Whitesel 1980; Pollard & Hunt 2009; Thornton 2009). It is through artistic communities and networks that artists create and maintain a sense of solidarity, from which they may be able to leverage artistic and economic capital. The breadth of the networks can be important in ensuring the artist's visibility to a much wider audience through each individual within the network and their own networks. Ultimately the task of feeding networks, or maintaining and enhancing their social capital, is essential for artists.

Importantly, in relation to the research question of tensions between, and management of, artistic and commercial imperatives, social capital acts to showcase how the artists position themselves. Artists are careful to align themselves and their social activities within the artistic sphere, contributing to their artistic development as opposed to for financial gain. Their socialisation occurs within the confines of the sub-field of restricted production and with other participants who are seen to also align with artistic over commercial, predominantly fellow artists.

What has proved helpful in this chapter, amongst other things, is the identification of different methods of attaining visibility, as having significant influence on artists' development of social capital. Many of the activities artists engage in require their presence in physical (themselves) or material (their art work) form. The research has shown that artists notice a decrease in their social capital if they are unable to attend opening events around their work and this can cause a depreciation in their economic capital through the artist being unable to secure opportunities that might provide an income in fees, sales or future opportunities. This in turn will mean the artist is unable to enhance their artistic capital if they are offered fewer opportunities. This finding has distinct implications beyond this thesis in an analysis of the impacts of motherhood or constrained income to artistic, social and economic capitals.

This chapter has also highlighted the internationalised nature of many artists' practices which is an important consideration since artists may live and work locally but they need to exhibit nationally and internationally in order to develop both their artistic capital and their economic potential – in terms of securing income from their art work or activities. There are discernible implications for artists in terms of having enough economic capital in order to undertake these activities in the first instance and the impact of high costs of exhibiting internationally are explored further in chapter six; as are the role of other activities in providing a base income for artists through covering their costs.

Overall the importance of social capital is seen as an overarching theme throughout artistic careers. Networks are integral to establishing and sustaining the career of an artist, but each of an individual's array of networks requires careful and ongoing management. Artists have to ensure they are actively cultivating these networks to ensure their contacts are current and are fulfilling the role they were intended for: whether that be support, dissemination of information about opportunities, and so forth. Artists also have to negotiate their networks in a manner that ensures they are of some value, but not so actively that it becomes a task, 'networking.' The issue of ageing, in terms of social capital, can be inferred in how social networks develop over time and particular in how the frequency of artists' engagement with their networks depreciates over time. Artists must, in some manner, secure high enough levels of social and artistic capital, that they can convert into economic capital (or further social and artistic capital) within the time constraints imposed upon them through family and busy work schedules. The data infers that as opportunities to socialise decrease over time the number of opportunities may decrease unless the artist has secured enough social capital to sustain their career. This points to a discussion of symbolic capital, whereby degrees of the artist's artistic capital, for example, have transacted into symbolic capital (e.g. reputation). As stated earlier, however, an analysis of symbolic capital is beyond the scope of this research since symbolic capital is endowed upon artists, rather than something they can control through their own actions alone.

Overall artists' networks appear somewhat serendipitous, but they do reflect that if an artist is able to keep active in developing their profile professionally this can lead to opportunities if handled well. In addition, artists' avid rejection of the term 'networking' points to a broader misrecognition that their social activities are a form of networking. As artists begin to emerge into the more established market of commercial and public

galleries, in the early to mid-stages of their career, they find themselves increasingly relying on their networks in their efforts to maintain and enhance their artistic and economic capital. Through misrecognising their activity in developing social capital, there may be implications for their artistic career since these social networks are so integral to developing their career.

In addition to work by Bourdieu, several other authors have considered the role of social capital or social networks and their findings also provide helpful insights for this chapter. For instance Lin (2001) considers the role of social capital in contributing significantly to economic capital or increased value, in the economic sense. Again this insight is helpful in bridging between this chapter and the final empirical chapter where the role of economic capital is further explored. Although Lin's contribution to the debate is helpful in understanding how artists could consider social capital as an "investment of resources with expected return in the market place" (Lin 2001: 3), this speaks to more active use of networks, with strategies driven by market concerns which is not how the artists are consciously using their networks. The artists in this study are more akin to Bourdieu's interpretation of unconscious use of strategy driven by their practice and artistic capital, not economic capital.

There have been several instances in this chapter which have alluded to issues of economic capital. The chapter spoke to artists' activities in seeking advice and support, which contributes to the development of their social and artistic capital. However, it also addressed the importance of social networks and social capital in giving them access to opportunities for exhibition which speaks both to development of artistic and economic capital. What the chapter has not addressed is artists' engagement with the market and market actors like gallerists, collectors and so forth. As these activities and relationships are framed around economic transactions and the development of economic capital, they have been situated in the next chapter which will address artists' employment, money in art and working with public and commercial galleries.

CHAPTER 6

Relationships to the Economy

6.0 RELATIONSHIPS TO THE ECONOMY

6.1 Introduction

Economic capital, in relation to cultural production is one of the driving themes behind this research project, in trying to discover whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial in artistic careers. The disavowal of economic capital in cultural fields, and the negative implications of contamination by the market, or the economic, are pertinent issues, as highlighted by Bourdieu (1993) through his work in developing the concept of economic capital, Bourdieu argues that artists are 'torn' between artistic and commercial since "the internal demands of the field of production [...] regard commercial successes as suspect" (Bourdieu 1993: 50).

Economic capital is understood as material wealth, ranging from money to property. In investigating the circumstances of artistic careers and artistic production the term is applied predominantly to money or financial means. Economic capital does not hold a dominant position in the field of cultural production, unlike its influence in wider society and Bourdieu positions economic capital as just part of the framework of capitals since not everything is reducible to economic capital. For example, although economic capital can provide greater access to the tools and services (materials and art school education) which might grow artistic capital, there still needs to be investment of time and a degree of aptitude to learn – economic capital cannot purchase these outright. Similarly with social capital, possessors of economic capital can be said to have greater access to certain groups achieved through family connections or privileged schooling, but again social capital requires development which involves time and even possession of artistic capital as markers of legitimacy.

Although artists value their 'disinterestedness' in economic capital (Bourdieu 1993), they do not maintain a 'pure' position on the continuum between autonomous and heteronomous production since this would infer that those who never secure economic capital from their artistic practice are the most valued by the field. Webb et al stated,

"If the failure to accumulate economic capital or rejection of commercial success are markers of the possession of high levels of symbolic capital, then the true avant gardes [...] should be more valuable than the consecrated established artists" (Webb et al 2002: 161)

Yet this is not the case and artists are seen to make some concessions to economic capital, a claim that will be examined through this chapter.

Economic capital in this chapter, and in the wider analysis of artistic careers, is applied not only to money leveraged from selling art work and from artists' fees, but also the money artists derive from employment – which is most often used to subsidise their practice. In addition economic capital can also be secured through public support, public funding and social security benefits - which is another means for artists to secure economic capital outside of the structures of the art market and other labour markets which they engage in. In relation to addressing the research question of whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial in artistic careers, an analysis of economic capital proves helpful in highlighting the instances when artists are engaged in addressing economic activity, or are within the domain of economic capital. These scenarios help to uncover whether there is a tension and if so, how this tension is understood and managed by artists. Artists' relationships with the market, money and the economy are fraught with feelings of discomfort and a fear of being contaminated by money; or even of just being seen to be contaminated.

This chapter aims to gain a deeper understanding of artists' employment as well as how they understand the market for art, the processes of earning a living, their attitudes towards employment and ultimately the relationship between money and art. The chapter focuses on some of the key relationships and negotiations which artists have in relation to their art market. It uncovers an understanding of how artists make decisions about what work they do and when, and importantly how this might affect their artistic careers and artistic capital.

This chapter begins with an analysis of artists' attitudes towards employment, exploring the arts-related and non-arts related roles they undertake alongside their artistic practice. This is followed by an exploration of their attitudes towards money in art, how they are able to adapt their practice when faced with financial constraints and their tendency to reinvest their economic capital back into their practice whenever possible. This section also addresses payments they receive for artistic work outside of selling their work, artist's fees and so forth. The final two sections of this chapter address the commercial and public sector. The first explores artists' work with commercial galleries, how the

relationship is structured, what tasks commercial galleries undertake and selling art work. The second examines the importance of public support, both in terms of public funding for the arts, either through subsidy or publicly funded arts organisations, but also in terms of indirect subsidy through social security benefits which was a prevalent theme in the empirical data.

6.2 Attitudes To Employment

This subsection deals with artists' employment during their career, alongside their artistic practice. The section is divided into two parts, following Throsby's (2007) work preference model, addressing non-arts related work, followed by a discussion of the arts-related work that artists undertake in order to earn money. Throsby's third category, arts work, is not dealt with here as their arts work or artistic practice in relation to themes of economic capital is addressed throughout the remainder of the chapter.

Everyone faces a survival constraint, i.e. costs for food and shelter below which a person cannot live and thus artists must at least meet this survival constraint (Abbing 2002; 2009) be that through arts work, arts-related work, or non-arts work (Throsby 2007). This income must be able to contribute to their family and lifestyle costs but also towards the development of their artistic practice and artistic capital (Jones 2005). Artists are known to have lower incomes than equally qualified individuals working in other fields (Jones 2005; Oakley et al 2008) despite Filer's (1986)¹⁰ claims to the contrary.

For artists their portfolio, aside from its literal incarnation as a portfolio of art work, includes work in other arts-related roles and some roles outside the art world which enable them to survive financially. What appears most common amongst the artists is that despite years of working in an array of jobs and differing financial successes in terms of their artistic practice, they all remain in a constant state of uncertainty. Michael saw it this way,

¹⁰ Filer's research stated that the difference in earnings between creatives and similarly qualified people only amounted to 2.9% over a lifetime (the equivalent of \$11,855). His research results were skewed due to his use of census data and averaging of incomes between creative industries workers from visual artists, to dancers, to film directors.

“You always have to find a way to buy time, to buy time which is yours. Whether that means that you have to do a bar job so that you can go to your studio for two hours, or three hours, or whatever.” (Michael: 27)

Although each has developed different coping mechanisms, in this feast and famine model they are in a constant struggle to achieve a sense of stability which enables them to plan more than a few years ahead at any one time.

6.21 Non-Arts Related Jobs

Many of the artists sustained non-arts related jobs as a means to sustain their practice. A few artists spoke of their preference, aligned with Throsby's (2007) work preference model, to work in arts-related roles where possible; however many still had to sustain non-arts related jobs to pay their bills. Adam approached work with what he describes as 'no strategy,' simply considering "what was least painful and most lucrative" (Adam: 4). Ben preferred a role that would allow him time to think about other things, "I didn't have to think an awful lot, and I could think about other things while I was doing it" (Ben: 4).

Artists position themselves very distinctly by acknowledging that the jobs which they do outside of their artistic practice are their 'money jobs' (Sophie) enabling them to make money to support their practice, rather than to bolster a portfolio of work experiences and skills. In their employment, artists are clear that the job they are doing, however integral to their financial survival, is not at the core of who they are and what they do; their artistic practice is. At different stages, these artists tell of how they worked multiple jobs and sacrificed their lifestyles to support their practice.

Although a number of the artists are now able to support themselves from their practice, they also have an extensive array of current and previous jobs. Some of the jobs the artists have utilised a similar skill-set to those they use for their artistic practice – whilst others were manageable part time 'monkey jobs' (Harry: 3). These ranged from 'painting and decorating,' undertaken by many of the male artists; to workshops with medical humanities students (Caitlin); and Masters of art history students (James); working in a shop and bar (Harry); Student president (James); making furniture, painting and decorating (James); working in B&Q (Lewis). Stephen, Lewis and James talked through the jobs they had as emerging artists. Stephen said,

“I made roofs, some building work [...] I taught in a youth club, I taught photography in a youth club [...] I did odd delivery work [...] working for a guy who made props for theatre and for advertisements and also shop fittings [...] I made 200 plastic palm trees [...] making these plastic palm trees, was 12 hours a day, 6 days a week. It was pretty horrible.” (Stephen: 3–4)

James found that jobs which utilised his existing artistic skills were a way to fund his practice, but did not amount to a part of his artistic practice. Although he was a painter, there was a difference between painting his own works in the development of his artistic practice and painting for someone else, for money. He told that,

“I was working for this guy that makes paintings for hotels and I was painting like five paintings of Eton College a day, for fifty quid, a day. And I was doing that 9-5 and I was going to the studio before that at maybe 7[am] and working, cycling to this job and then going to do painting and decorating afterwards until 10 or 11[pm] at night; I did that for a good while to get enough money to do those shows.” (James: 9)

James makes clear that the paintings he was making of Eton College, destined for the interior décor of hotels had no connection to his artistic practice, they were the product of him applying his skill set in another field, as related to his artistic practice as house painting might be. His dissociation outlines how his own artistic practice existed within the framework of the sub-field of restricted production and the activities he did for money existed in the sub-field of large scale production for the commercial market.

The artists spoke of their struggles to earn or gather enough money to pay their bills, whilst maximising the time spent in their studio and money spent on materials. Many of the artists maintain a cost-conscious lifestyle, funnelling excess income back into their practice whenever they are able. Amongst the artists, several key themes emerged which carried through all the interviews, one of which was how they sought out part time work which was flexible and allowed them to focus time and attention on their artistic practice. The artists showed very deliberate avoidance of bureaucracy, looking for jobs where their responsibilities ended when the shift ended. Much uncertainty arose for the artists who followed this pattern of working, i.e. project based versus permanent, where they were left in an even more precarious position.

6.22 Arts-Related Jobs: 'Gallery Girl and Tech Boy'

For artists, working in arts-related fields was preferential to working in non-arts fields. As was explored in the previous chapter, this contributed heavily to the development of their social capital. Additionally many arts organisations and those working in the field of art, or art market, consciously recruit through their art networks, providing employment and income opportunities for artists. Menger (2006) argues that these employment opportunities in arts-related roles shield the artists from the risks of the market, "teaching positions and kindred activities in non-profit art organizations shelter artists from occupational risks" (Menger 2006: 19).

The majority of the artists maintained a living through work in arts related fields, mostly through working as a gallery assistant, gallery technician or members of install teams (the labourers who build the walls and hang the art work for exhibitions). The roles were visibly divided by gender in the types of roles that male and female artists undertook. In contrast to install work, which saw male artists working in the construction side of galleries, female artists tended to work as gallery assistants, closer to the sales and administration side.

Many of the male artists undertook extensive periods of manual labour as gallery technicians installing shows. These install opportunities were often an intense few weeks, and were quite sporadic. This irregular freelance work provided the opportunity for the artists to work for a condensed period of time, the time intensity of the work meant they could be "earning more in that two to three weeks than [...] I would have been earning in my part time job in two months" (Mark: 11).. Having secured enough economic capital to sustain them for a few weeks they stopped work and spent intense periods in the studio, "The way was always – try and get an intense install and then out into the studio until you couldn't afford [to]" (James: 8). Install work provided an ideal circumstance to artists where they could develop a work pattern which allowed them to secure much needed economic capital, whilst also acting to develop their social capital through these professional networks. In addition they saw an exhibition come together, learning – or at least witnessing - skills associated with exhibition display, giving them insight into the rules of the game, thus contributing in a way towards their artistic capital.

Mark saw the install work as 'releasing' time for him to work on his practice, and found it relatively easy to schedule his artistic practice (commissions and residencies) around

lucrative periods of install. This strategy allowed the artist to capitalise on the condensed working time, maximising time for his practice and by scheduling his artistic activities around this he was able to compromise less – not having to miss out on opportunities to work, but also not having to break up his studio time, commissions, or residencies with having to work in the middle of them. Mark demonstrates a way to balance making money and making art, avoiding any tension between artistic and commercial, or at least delaying this until a time when his schedule could no longer accommodate this pattern. This way of working supports Bain's (2005) findings that artists try to avoid 'eroding' their artistic identity through patterns of engagement/disengagement, or cultivating and then dropping jobs in favour of their practice.

Some of the female artists worked as gallery assistants, or 'Gallerinas' (Hoffman 2008), which allowed them to both see the inner workings of a gallery and embed themselves into their associated networks, whether they were commercial or publicly funded, whilst subsidising their practice. Most often, the roles which many of the female artists undertook as gallery assistants and arts administrators tended to be more fixed, permanent part-time positions, whereas the install work which many of the male artists undertook was full-time, fixed term and freelance. There was a trade-off for the gallery assistants in that although they were gaining valuable insight into how galleries function and experiencing first-hand the commercial methods and logics, they were also working more closely to economic capital, in their handling of sales and collectors, which most of them were clear to distance themselves from. In the roles outside of the arts and even in with those working install in galleries, the distinction between their artistic activities and their 'money jobs' were more clear, but with the hybrid roles of gallery assistants in the art world, the view could become much muddier, requiring the artists to more actively assert their position as an artist, as distinct from their activities with the gallery.

For both groups, male and female artists, their activities within galleries provided a strong role in developing their social capital with other art world players, as well as their artistic capital through gaining a broader understanding of the mechanisms of the gallery world. Although their engagement revolved around getting paid, economic capital, they did not feel any tension between artistic and commercial since they were clear to preserve their artistic capital and suppress any commercial elements through two distinctions: firstly in their role only as 'worker' and secondly by the galleries themselves being either not-for-profit, or where their symbolic capital disguises their commercial function.

Eleanor and Iain were the only two who spoke of their increased awareness that their arts-related activities began to negatively impact their artistic and social capital through them both being typecast or 'pigeon-holed' as support workers, as opposed to artists; support workers are 'devalued' in comparison to artists (Lindemann 2013; Becker 1982). Eleanor believed that when you become well known for doing something other than your artistic practice, other than being an artist, then "you are not being seen as an equal. You're seen as someone that you employ or a facilitator so, or you're not successful enough to be employing someone else I guess" (Eleanor: 11). She noted the differences,

"To be an artist and to teach didn't seem as damaging. Whereas to tech for other artists and be an artist was damaging, and to be selling art and be an artist was kind of damaging as well." (Eleanor: 10)

Iain put it like this,

"I'm quite happy to be an academic artist, whereas we weren't happy to be Gallery Girl or Tech Boy..." (Iain: 11)

Bain (2005) argues that work does not always need to imply payment in money, economic capital, but can include volunteer, exchange and even barter. Mark gives an example of how he began working with a gallery in Sweden on an exchange, or barter basis, where his physical labour and specialist knowledge in installing multimedia shows - through his own practice and local install work - was exchanged for the opportunity to develop his artistic and social capital through mentoring from the gallery's curators. He stated that,

"The agreement was I didn't get paid. They would pay my expenses to go out to the [gallery] and install the shows, which was generally about two weeks long. But kind of in return [the curators] sort of acted as a mentor. So I would show my work to [the curators] and they would kind of give me a bit of a critique and I would just talk about my practice with [one of them]. So there was kind of a bit of an exchange really." (Mark: 3)

In a sense the conventional transaction of labour in exchange for economic capital, was adapted to offer something far more valuable, which economic capital could not purchase, an exchange of the artistic and social capital of the curators. Mark was able to recognise

the value of this opportunity at the time and understood that it would prove more advantageous for him than mere economic capital.

Many of the artists found the financial struggles of their early careers continued well into their mid-career, raising questions about how artists can supplement their income during these times. Ben described being, “rusty with applications” and the process of applying for jobs being ‘exhausting’ (Ben: 13). He recognises that it is has become difficult to secure a part time job as he is no longer able to work for as little and his skills and knowledge have become more specialised, targeted towards artistic capital, with his experience being limited to his artistic practice and arts-related roles. He declared that,

“the refreshing thing about that is it’s really hard to get a job if you’ve got no experience of... I mean I’ve done jobs I’ve worked, I’ve done, along the way to sort of subsidise my income, I’ve done install work. At one point I was working doing graphic design stuff for companies - not business, not big - arts organisations. [...] But if I applied for a job in that area I wouldn’t get it. It’s difficult to get a job when there are lots of other people who are probably younger than me and more willing to be paid less, and all that stuff so. So if it came to having to get a job I’d be fucked, it’s just it. I don’t have an option.” (Ben: 12-13)

Artists Teaching / Teaching-Artists

An extension of arts-related employment is tutoring or teaching in art schools, an activity which is particularly prevalent in the careers of these artists; seen as a ‘pool profession’ or ‘host occupation’ for artists (Menger 2006). Some artists shied away from the concept of teaching as they feared they might be considered an ‘academic artist’, whilst others happily embraced the term as they understood the implication to be less damaging in terms of their reputation and standing as an artist than other roles.

Many of the interviewed artists, quite soon into their careers, began tutoring in art colleges to supplement their income since, “these positions afford greater employment security, a middle-class status, freedom from the tyranny of the art market, access to high quality facilities, and regular contact with other artists” (Bain 2005: 6). For some artists teaching was seen as complementary to their artistic activities. While other artists were keen to demarcate their two activities of employment and artistic practice, avoiding circumstances where their job takes too much time away from their work, these artists had found teaching a means to continue to sustain themselves financially whilst offering

an encouraging environment that enabled them to continue developing their artistic capital.

Chris found that teaching gave him less time to spend on projects, due to the time commitments to teaching and administration. Instead of hindering his practice, this allowed him and his collaborative partner to take more time over each project, “we take more time to do them properly, so there’s no pressure to produce a lot” (Chris: 6). Iain describes how the pressure is lifted since he is able to make a living through teaching rather than having to sustain his practice through the art market; he finds it preferable to separate out economic capital from artistic capital.

Although teaching has been a principal source of employment for artists it is simply a means to finance themselves rather than to develop permanent careers within art schools. For some, the security offered through fixed term contracts allowed them to live in a state of reasonable financial stability for some time, enabling them to commit to mortgages and so forth. Caitlin reported,

“it was still a contract that had to be renewed every, you know sort of nine months or something like that and it was only like a couple of days a week teaching, but it was enough to not have to do any other stuff or not to be chasing residencies all the time” (Caitlin: 9)

Whilst for others like Kristen, who works entirely outside of the commercial context, it enables her to support herself and to “save money and still just do what I wanted to do – [art] work wise” (Kristen: 3).

A few artists found themselves working in art schools on a more full time basis, structuring courses and running the studio (Chris, Paul, Robert, Stephen). For Robert he sees himself as a ‘teaching artist’ in that he has been able to carve out both a critically successful artistic practice, whilst also maintaining his role as a fine art tutor in an art school context. He claimed,

“I call myself a teaching artist. Artist is the noun, but teaching is the vocation [...] I always felt some kind of need [...] to be socially useful. It sounds weird but teaching is a way to do that.” (Robert: 8)

Victoria and Sophie, who have tutored part time, described the experience of teaching as 'rewarding' and something they really 'enjoyed'. However, both are keen to remain working on an ad-hoc basis without getting, 'bogged down' (Victoria) or "drawn into the whole institutional politics of art schools" (Sophie: 12). Many found that teaching posts became increasingly bureaucratised and inflexible making them difficult to accommodate alongside their artistic practice. Mark described how his teaching peers were being 'suffocated' by the levels of administration and paperwork that engulfed actual teaching time.

Challenges arose for artists when they stopped being invited to teach because of their busy schedule of exhibitions and projects during the year. This was the case for Victoria, who found herself having to turn down teaching work during busy periods, which meant the offers ceased during her less busy periods, when she needed work to support herself financially, "if you're busy doing projects, then people stop asking you" (Victoria: 14).

Teaching has benefits beyond the economic as well, contributing to development of artistic and social capital. It is important for artists to make time for their practice, to continually maintain and enhance their artistic and social capital. Being out of circulation for too long can have a detrimental impact on an artist's career through, for example: depreciation of their artistic capital through allowing their practice to stagnate; as well as a loss of visibility for both them and their art work. Sophie maintained,

"I do know of quite a few artists who have ended up taking on, 'oh I'll just do a part time teaching job like two/three days' and you suddenly realise you haven't seen their name anywhere for ages and it's because they've been completely consumed by teaching. Yeah so I don't want to do that" (Sophie: 14)

Robert described his disappointment at colleagues who allowed their practices to wane due to teaching commitments, "when teaching staff delay, or misplace, or discard with their practices" (Robert: 8). He sees art school staff, specifically, as having a responsibility to maintain their own practice in order to justify their position to their students.

6.3 Attitudes Towards Money In Art

For the artists, money is something that they need to survive, but their relationship to it is complex and challenging, “as soon as money becomes involved in your practice, especially early on, [it] kind of can skew your priorities a little bit” (Harry: 7). The artists were reconciled to living on low incomes since their peers were all in similar positions and they found a solidarity in that, “I think most people were all getting by the same way, living on very little, just odd jobs and nobody was selling work” (Lewis: 6). Importantly the artists’ attitudes toward economic capital all reflected the statement by McCall that “[a] dedicated artist intends to make art for a living, or failing that, not let earning a living interfere with making art” (McCall 1978, cited in Bain 2005: 16).

Taylor & Littleton (2008: 8) found that an arts graduate was “resigned to the reality that she will not receive [financial reward]” for her endeavours, following the art-versus-money repertoire. In this study the artists found that the money they made from their practice was less than minimum wage (James, Ryan), but they quickly rationalised that by reasserting their artistic logic through statements like, “I’m not bothered. I think as long as I’m kind of sustaining the things that I need to do, then I’m quite happy. I’m not like ravenous for thousands of pounds or anything like that” (Harry: 9). James saw the community of artists he was part of as having the drive to do work which outweighs the financial recompense, denying the notion of the ‘romantic imperative’ suggesting the current situation is a product of arts policy, and the availability of public funding.

All of the artists asserted that they were not artists for the money, or to be rewarded financially, that this was not their prime motivation (Angela, Eleanor, Iain, Michael). Some even went as far as to say that they were not interested in selling their work, “realistically we were always never that interested in selling” (Eleanor: 13). Artists sometimes associated selling work commercially with a situation where economic capital overtook artistic capital, which made them feel uncomfortable, “I was really repulsed by the depths of the New York art scene where the whole goal was to get into a big white box and sell everything, and it made me feel sick” (Angela: 10). Ryan suggests that the North American education system inadvertently encourages arts graduates to be commercially driven in order to recoup the financial costs of attending art school, “so immediately the work you are going to make is probably going to aspire to perhaps be more commercially viable or something” (Ryan: 9).

The remainder of this section on artists' attitudes towards money in art is addressed in three strands beginning with how artists adapt their practice when faced with limited funds, having little or no economic capital. This is followed by a look at the practice of artists investing in their own practice, for example channelling funds intended as fees into production. Finally the issue of not being paid is addressed in exploring Taylor and Littleton's (2008) repertoire of 'money-as-validation' where it becomes apparent that there is a more complex understanding of artistic and commercial than a dichotomy between one pole and the other.

6.31 Adapting Under Economic Constraints

Artists are often seen to be working for little money and within tight budgetary constraints. Yet under these circumstances artists still manage to produce projects and works that they are satisfied with, and which have enabled them to continue to develop their artistic capital. Importantly artists demonstrate their ability to adapt projects to fit the constraints of the budgets which they have to work with. This adaptation reflects how artists are capable of maintaining and enhancing their artistic capital even under the restrictions of limited economic capital. This method of working is a legacy of their emerging career where they had very little economic capital, but where they became adept at finding ways to continue to develop their artistic capital, in the absence of economic capital, since they recognised this was essential in sustaining their practice in the long run.

In some ways adapting artistic practice under economic constraints directly mirrors the behaviour that artists are said to be trying to avoid, where their projects are influenced by economic capital. The difference being when economic capital is plentiful it poses a more visible threat to artistic capital through its perceived dominance. Modifying practice in the absence of economic capital is not considered as damaging by the artists. They are, after all, only reflecting the accepted position where art exists without economic recompense, art-versus-money, which is deemed acceptable under the premise of art for art's sake. This subsection addresses ways in which artists adapt personally and professionally under a lack of economic capital.

What the majority of the adapting artists tend to do is reflected in their personal circumstances, rather than their professional practice. Artists have created a way of living that enables them to put as much of their income into their practice as possible,

particularly in their emerging career. Ben spoke of the ‘paradox’ of artistic practice where artists live thriftily and then spend huge sums of money making their work,

“You are surviving on a lot less money than most people are. And then you are having to make potentially quite expensive works, so the paradox is just ridiculous where you find yourself spending quite a lot, potentially a third of every penny that comes in goes on materials, or production or the rent on studios” (Ben: 14)

However, there are upsides to living frugally in that some artists found themselves less susceptible to flux in the economy, whereas friends in other fields felt the impacts of the recession. Ben realised “I don’t have a mortgage, I don’t have anything that’s of any particular value and I don’t have a job. And generally it’s always like this so what’s the difference” (Ben: 5). Other artists who did have financial obligations, however, did feel an impact on their income during the recession where opportunities began to be postponed, projects which other artists like Michael were relying on to pay their bills. Michael spoke about accepting the nomination for a prestigious art prize, due to the precariousness of his financial situation at the time, “I really only accepted the nomination for [that] prize because of the fragility of the situation at that time” (Michael: 12). Artists either become resigned to their fickle income and avoid large financial obligations, or they take the risk and hope that they are able to meet these financial obligations through a combination of employment and income from their practice.

In addition to how artists adapt their personal lives to accommodate their practice they also have innovative ways to capitalise on the opportunities available to them professionally. Victoria spoke about “designing a project to fit” (Victoria: 14). Like many of the artists, Victoria would rather accept a project with a limited budget, in order to have the opportunity to make something, rather than turn the project down or ‘put people out’ by trying to negotiate for an increased production budget. One of the major costs involved in exhibiting work is around transport of art work, with shipping and insurance sometimes costing more than the work itself. In terms of transport, an artist or small gallery may be able to carry work on a train journey with them, as Malcolm’s gallerist did, in a plastic bag – less than ideal transport conditions. Whereas for others, the scale of their works may impact how they can be transported. James made a conscious decision to work on large scale paintings but this often meant he could only afford basic, uninsured shipping to Europe and the USA, “I sent the work load freight, I didn’t art handle them

cause that would've cost £2000. I sent the work [...] as garden furniture" (James: 10). This led him to reconsider how he made his work in future so that it could travel further at less expense. For an upcoming show in Chicago, James chose to ship parts of his sculptures internationally and then the plinths for the sculptures were designed to be bought from home depot in America, so as to reduce shipping costs dramatically. This meant his work could be shipped at low cost, without him needing to travel to install it. Meanwhile Lewis had a similar view on making work with limited resources, making large wall paintings with paint and masking tape. What James and Lewis are describing is how they realised there were ways to adapt their practice to enable them to exhibit internationally without considerable financial costs and without them feeling that they were compromising their artistic integrity; perhaps by trying to make something smaller that would prove cheaper to ship. They are using their skills and expertise to develop work and ways of working under challenging circumstances and these opportunities all contribute to the development of their artistic capital.

Although artists are seen to avoid concerning themselves with financial transactions associated with the sales of their work, they often remain involved in other financial processes of exhibiting like production budgets. The artists are adept at managing budgets and even in securing funding and in-kind support to ensure they have the funds in place so they can continue to develop their artistic capital. Angela spoke about how her practice involves long periods of research and processes which can be time and resource heavy, for example creating sculptures that take over a year to make. As such she often has to seek money from multiple sources to cover the extensive costs for each project. For one such project she wished to join an expedition to a remote location that she wanted to visit as part of the development of a body of work and immediately set about securing a place on the boat, explaining her position as an artist and her desire to be part of the expedition. Her interest was met with enthusiasm and the organisers saved a spot for her and offered a 50% discount on the fee in exchange for her contribution to the 'life of the boat,' "So I became artist-in-residence aboard this ecotourism trip, and I gave a lecture aboard the boat, and I said let's do a barter, I'll give you a piece of work" (Angela: 12). The organisers of the trip saw the value of Angela's artistic capital and were able to subsidise her using their own economic capital to make her project possible.

6.32 (Re)Investing in Artistic Capital

The concept of investing or reinvesting is ubiquitous with artistic practice. Artists are seen to channel most, if not all, of their available finances into their activities for the early, mid and, sometimes, even the latter part of their career. Initially, it comes from necessity, where exhibiting and making work is a costly activity with the limited funding options, outside self-funding, and artists choose to adopt frugal lifestyles in order to cover these costs. Caitlin goes further to explain how even when she or her partner, who is also an artist, have very little money they would not hesitate to exhaust their economic capital in furthering their practice. She reported,

“even if there's been times where we don't have hardly any money, none of us would think twice about spending it all on a project or a load of materials or...and that's just what we do.” (Caitlin: 16)

Artists also spoke of the self-funding of their own projects and Victoria used this to her advantage where she was able to store up money from a number of financially successful projects and plunge this back into her practice. She remarked,

“So in a sense I was kind of quite rich that year. But I saved that money because I knew what was coming this year which was basically, the last year I have pretty much self-funded everything, on the strength of these, on the back of this money that I made the year before. [...] So that project was self-funded. And I've done a lot of things like that, because they're of interest to me despite the fact you know, it's kind of financial suicide if you kind of keep going like that. (Victoria: 10)

Victoria acknowledges that spending all her savings on funding a year without much, or any income, is a huge risk but she has calculated this risk against the gains in her artistic capital. For her, what she has been able to achieve in developing her artistic capital, justifies the investment of economic capital, her own economic capital. Stephen too had a financially successful year and chose to directly reinvest those proceeds into new and ambitious work the following year. He used the opportunity to make work he had been holding off from making due to concerns over costs and storage, taking an important risk since he might have been left with a studio full of un-exhibited works.

Angela gave two significant examples of when she had self-funded her practice, once at considerable risk to her financial stability. Her first example brought to attention the attitude that many artists have, that selling their work is unexpected and a bonus, a theme that will be explored further in this chapter in the subsection on the role of commercial galleries in selling art and making money from practice. On one particular occasion Angela sold some work and considered that 'unexpected income' which she then used to fund a research trip to a place she was keen to travel to – but which she had not had funds to do before. She told how,

“she took a whole bunch of drawings and various work and it ended up that she sold a lot the drawings to this couple who are collectors. So this was quite a shock to me because again it was income that I had never anticipated and also in relation to my work [...] So I decided, virtually when getting off the phone, that I would use half of the money for rent and half the money to buy myself a ticket to go to the Volcano to reinvest in the process of making work that I could not make otherwise. That was a decision I made then, also a decision I have maintained ever since - when certain things like that should occur part of it is to go into practical and part of it is always to go into the reinvestment of work that I could not make otherwise or experiences which would lead to making new work that I could not do otherwise, if not for the unexpected income” (Angela: 8)

Angela describes how her first thought for the money was for her practice, not for practicalities like studio rent, mortgage payments and so forth. In reality her practice and the works she makes have ties to very specific locations globally, so these research trips are an integral part of the development of her practice. The second example which Angela gave had a more personal resonance attached to it, in the form of inheritance following her father's death. She knew that the income was intended to contribute towards the sustainability of her future and realised that an investment in herself, in her practice, although risky, was the most practical way to contribute to her future She declared that,

“I ended up using part of the money that I inherited from my father, which was supposed to be for other future life things, to make these sculptures. Because I thought, also, it's an investment in my work and also I thought it was quite nice that he helped me make these things that I couldn't make otherwise. [...] They were, as it turned out, a really important development, you sort of hit milestones

within your practice. They were a real milestone [...] But financially, it was terrifying.” (Angela: 15)

Outside of the traditional forms of self-funding through her own economic capital, Olivia had established a unique way to invest in her practice which involved an informal exchange agreement between herself and a carpenter. Olivia developed a financial arrangement with one of her trusted technicians, which allowed her to develop ambitious and experimental work and share the financial rewards once the work sold. Together they have developed a method of working which enables Olivia the flexibility to experiment with her work, whilst rewarding the carpenter with a percentage of sale if, or when, the work sells. She reported,

“I did a bit of carpentry stuff for [a carpenter in the city I studied in] who now makes all of my work. [...] he’s a really talented fabricator and he basically charges me almost nothing. Not that he charges me almost nothing but he gives me a low rate and then I give him a percentage of sale. So it’s like a little cooperative thing. But it means I can make things experimentally and then when they sell it’s like a kind of windfall for him. So it’s really nice. And it’s really important to me. And it’s a kind of a link back to [the city I studied in].” (Olivia: 7-13)

This unusual agreement is an entirely unique business arrangement between two friends or colleagues. It relies on trust, in that no contract exists, and it is the only relationship of its kind that the artist has ever, or can imagine ever, entering into.

6.33 Money as Validation

Following Taylor and Littleton’s (2008) repertoire of ‘money-as-validation’, this short subsection addresses instances about artists getting paid. In the interviews the artists spoke of how the uneasiness surrounding conversations of money exists not just for artists but also curators working in galleries. Many issues arose when discussing fees for producing and exhibiting work. Many of the artists casually spoke of how they chose to channel their fee back into production of the work, reflecting their commitment to developing their artistic capital. Victoria, however, was incensed by how she sometimes found herself in situations where there was no fee at all, or where she was expected to use her fee toward the costs of production, effectively working for free. She complained,

“there’s been so many times where I’ve done things and I’m assuming I’m going to be paid a fee or something and it doesn't transpire. And then I'm kicking myself afterwards going ‘why did I not ask?! and what are they... because it basically is disrespectful to not be paid for work. [...] But what I do believe is if you do, do the work, then you should be paid properly for it, unless it's something that it’s very clear from the start - that if you participate in this, it's voluntary and then you're prepared to, you make that decision yourself.” (Victoria: 13)

Victoria felt misled by the ability or intention of producers, gallerists or curators, to pay her for her work. She felt, particularly for emerging artists, that it was difficult to broach the topic of money and payment, “when you're a young artist, you don't have the experience to just be like right, could you just tell us how much it is, you've got to be quite confident” (Victoria: 13). Instead the notion of contamination, or perceived contamination is enacted on both sides. She felt that,

“I think the problem...with money in art is that...nobody likes to kind of talk about the two in relation to one another. The amount of times I've been asked to do a show and I have to ask the curator finally ‘Is there a budget? Is there a fee? Is there going to be transport?’ And they don't offer up that information. It should be right bang on the table, right at the beginning...not because you're greedy, but because you need to know what the possibilities are. You need to know – hmmm - are they talking about a shoebox size thing here or are they talking about a room size thing here? It's unbelievable the way that curators skirt around that topic and it's just really unhelpful.” (Victoria: 12)

Victoria has found that within the art world curators can also be guilty of envisioning a tension between artistic and commercial that they do not want to engage in. But rather than considering it in much more simple terms, paying the artist for their work, they have created a system where the artist potentially loses out.

6.4 The Role Of Commercial Galleries

6.41 Introducing the Commercial Context

The extensive commercial gallery sector, in the sub-field of restricted production, is a relative newcomer in terms of the history of artistic practice. In the early part of their

careers the older artists only knew of a handful of galleries and these existed in larger cities like London. Other cities were devoid of commercial activity until even later, “In the 70’s, there was zilch activity in terms of galleries [...] In the ‘80s, the market returned [...] ‘90s there began to be, both the art fairs and the auction houses, began to be more important venues for commercial activity” (Stephen: 14).

In cities like Glasgow where there was an “absence of any commercial situation” in the 1980’s and 1990’s (Lewis: 5), other structures were able to thrive, particularly Glasgow’s artist run initiatives. Almost all of the city’s subsequent commercial galleries, which many of the artists have been engaged with, were developed out of this infrastructure. Harry described how “these spaces to an extent developed out of artist run, or emerging kind of structures that were, very much, audience based rather than commercial based at the beginning” (Harry: 7), which gave them an almost hybrid structure. These gallerists were seen to value the artistic community (Ben) and because of their beginnings the gallerists, and by association their galleries, were recognised as possessing artistic capital, justifying their involvement in the market, their engagement with economic capital.

This section investigates the role of commercial galleries since these galleries represent one of the key vehicles for an artist’s work to reach an audience and market. The following section will explore the processes and practices of commercial galleries, how they approach artists, the roles and tasks involved in working with artists. Their contribution to the development of artistic capital through critical dialogue is unpicked, followed by an analysis of the tasks they undertake specifically relating to development of economic capital. This includes a section on artists selling their own work, deriving income from sales, as well as the galleries role in cultivating a collector base for an artist and investing in artists directly through their own economic capital. This section is then concluded with comments from artists who are no longer working with a commercial gallery and how this impacts their career.

6.5 The Processes and Practices of Commercial Galleries

6.51 Courting Artists, ‘The Waiting Game’

For many artists, commercial representation remained for some time “a very distant situation and not one that really kind of occupied anyone’s minds to any great extent; not early on anyway” (Lewis: 5). Working with a gallery usually comes about through a

process of courting where a gallery is interested in representing the artist, researches their work, visits shows, talks to the artist, then perhaps invites them to be part of a survey show, a group show with a number of artists and then perhaps a solo show, before an offer of representation is made. The artists affirmed the courting ritual that occurs with Erica speaking of being 'courted' by galleries, Angela saying "it's like dating" (Angela: 17), and Chris describing how his first gallery 'seduced' him, "they seduced me into agreeing to work with them, through a lot of good food, and meals in restaurants" (Chris: 9).

Part of this courting ritual is firstly to introduce the two parties, gallery and artist, and importantly to test the waters, so that both have an understanding of what the other is doing. Caitline opined,

"I suppose big galleries [...] are waiting to see how, how it goes and what you do. And there - it takes a wee while for them [these bigger commercial galleries] to feel confident enough to offer a show." (Caitlin: 8)

There seems to be an incremental process from survey show (large group show), to group show (a few artists), to solo show (single artist). For the gallery these opportunities mean they are able to gauge the audience and even critical response to the artist's work, whilst also giving them closer contact with the artist. Bourdieu recognises this in his earlier work on the field of cultural production when he says, the art dealer, or gallerist, "literally has to 'introduce' the artist and his work into ever more select company (group exhibitions, one-man shows, prestigious collections, museums) and ever more sought-after places" (Bourdieu 1993: 77).

Almost all of the artists experienced first-hand how not to approach a gallery, or more accurately, not to approach a gallery. It is the gallery who holds the power in this ritual and artists must continually negotiate the 'waiting game' (Lewis), waiting to be picked up by a gallery. Victoria stated,

"it's not the done thing for artists to approach galleries, it's not the done thing for artists to approach curators, it's not the done thing for artists to approach anybody in terms of trying to, sort of, be proactive in creating opportunity for themselves [...] it's something that you feel quite disempowered about. I don't really know if there's any galleries out there that are looking at my work or interested or

thinking about it. I haven't got a clue if there are any or if there are none."
(Victoria: 12-17)

The artists can, of course, be proactive in their approach to exhibiting widely – as many of them are – and this will provide them with more opportunities to develop their artistic and social capital which both directly contribute to their visibility to gallerists. Both Harry and Lewis were resigned to the position where they just have to keep making the work, and exhibiting the work, “letting the work speak for you” (Harry: 6) is all you can do. Once the gallery decides to include the artist in their stable, they will offer them representation. Michael likened his reaction of being offered representation by one of the largest commercial galleries to how local team footballers might feel if they were invited to play for an internationally renowned team. Michael described how,

"[the gallery] asked me to work with them which was really weird, really unexpected. I thought it was a bit like if you're playing for your local pub team and Man United come along and say, 'you know, we'd like you to play for the first eleven on Saturday.' Are you sure? And I really was like, are you sure?" (Michael: 11)

Although in Michael's circumstances he received a pleasing offer, other artists had different experiences. Fraser found that after he exhibited with one gallery, other galleries who had been courting him were no longer interested. This was unexpected for Fraser, who had misunderstood the process, believing that he might have worked with a number of galleries – but the opportunities were no longer available to him. He reported,

“what I did realise quite quickly was if you did end up showing with one gallery, lots of other folk that you had been speaking to weren't really interested in speaking to you anymore. It kind of dawns on you: 'Are they not speaking to me because I did some work with them? Are they in a huff? Does that mean I can't work with them anymore?'" (Fraser: 7)

Fraser did not feel confident enough to reinitiate the earlier conversations and this supported a wider feeling amongst the artists of disempowerment. This feeling did not permeate their decision making around whether or not to accept an offer from a gallery which they may have felt was not a good fit. Chris spoke of choosing a younger gallery over

a more established gallery since he felt the older and more established gallery might not be the right context for him and his work at that time. Similarly Ryan turned down an offer from a European gallery who wanted to represent his work in New York, "I still think to show in New York is to show with a New York gallery, not a gallery that is more associated with a country in Europe that has a kind of outpost in, no matter how large they are" (Ryan: 15-16). Ryan potentially shows an awareness of how social capital impacted his decision, where the networks of a European gallery in New York might have less reach than a local gallery. Lewis was also engaged in conversations with galleries around representation which he subsequently decided not to proceed with. Although he still feels this was the right decision, he remembers the worry of the unknown that he was faced with afterward, that perhaps another opportunity may never arise again.

In addition to more straightforward approaches from galleries, circumstances became more complicated when multiple galleries became involved or when galleries sought to poach artists from another gallery. This happened to Lewis when he was approached by a friend who had started his own commercial gallery and wanted to become Lewis' primary gallery. Lewis revealed,

"I wanted to kind of keep working with the gallery in London; because they were in London and that felt like that was important to have a presence there. But I remember having conversations with [my gallerist] and [he] even at that point, early on saying look... He'd seen the landscape, you know, seen how really great galleries work and what can happen. I think he really saw the potential very quickly and saw that actually the gallery I was working with in London weren't really much good and sort of said: 'there's nothing they can really do for you that I can't. I want to work with you, sort of, exclusively. I don't really want to work with them.' So I think there was a slight cross over period, and then my relationship with the other gallery just sort of fizzled out; I think they closed actually, anyway." (Lewis: 10)

In these circumstances Lewis was eventually convinced that his friend had the necessary artistic, social and economic capital to be able to compete with his current gallery, particularly in securing his visibility to the networks of the art field in London.

6.52 What Does the Gallery Do?

The relationships which artists have with galleries are entirely based on trust, 'informal' (Ryan) and 'spoken' (Robert). Some of the artists are happy with this relationship, trusting that they have a shared understanding about, "how that work is packaged and put out to collectors. For me, just feeling comfortable that it's being put out in the right way" (Mark: 8). Other artists are more wary of the relationship. Robert pronounced that,

"commercial galleries are commercial first that's all they are, they are packaging organizations. I don't say that in a bad way because we need them, but they are packaging organizations for selling things. On a bad day I think of them as used car salesmen [...] Some of them are great used car salesmen." (Robert: 10)

Many of the artists remain unsure as to precisely what their commercial gallery does for them. This is compounded by the lack of written contracts, giving the artist no point of reference outlining what gallerists should be doing on an artist's behalf. After working with a gallery for some time, artists often begin to grasp some of the roles that galleries undertake for artists. Paul acknowledges that galleries are keen to 'keep your name moving' as one of their stable of artists since they recognise it is important for artists' career development. Others, like Victoria, were more unsure about what their gallery did for them. She said,

"So are galleries pulling strings for you or for other people in terms of trying to encourage people to give you shows? Or do they not do that at all? You know because some galleries clearly do, other galleries clearly don't, some galleries you, you don't really know what's going on. But you're aware, slightly aware of the fact that there are these negotiations that happen behind the scenes." (Victoria: 7)

Alongside these pervasive concerns around what galleries might be doing in terms of developing the artist's career, they are also seen to provide support that help on a very practical level with things like administration, and storage. Angela's gallery helped with international shipments, crates, customs forms and other paperwork. Others found their work had huge storage implications after exhibitions and their gallery took care of packaging and storing the work; for instance when Ben found himself unable to work in his studio after a large scale solo show in a public gallery finished and the work was returned to him. The artists' galleries saved them from the financial implications of having

to find and pay for storage, or the restrictions on their workspace of having to store things in their own studio. Victoria also found that her gallery became helpful in advising her what parts of her installations are worth keeping, in case they might be sold or re-exhibited in the future. "I'm always having to negotiate this with the galleries in terms of well what is worth keeping and what's not worth retaining – you know, what doesn't work, what does work." (Victoria: 7). Victoria's gallerist is able to advise her from a commercial and artistic perspective through their knowledge of her practice and also of her market.

Galleries were seen to provide further advice on which opportunities to take and which to leave. For some artists these opportunities included securing them a place on a sought after residency programme, which Nicholas' gallery did. The gallery was able to utilise its social capital to secure Nicholas a place on a residency that would have implications for the development of his artistic capital. The gallery understood the significance of such a residency for the artist in making time for his practice by removing daily chores like food shopping, cooking and so forth; enabling the artist to concentrate on learning and socialising; developing artistic and social capital. For others the gallery helped them consider the implications an opportunity might have in terms of the development of their artistic or economic capital. Lewis reported,

"I'm a sucker if somebody kind of emails me and says 'do you want to do a show?' I usually say 'yes' and then the gallery says, 'what are you doing – you are not doing that;' you say 'sorry – can't do it.' In weird situations now where like really quite big, like historically important commercial galleries might say we'd really like to do a show with you and you are like: 'I can't believe I'm saying no.' It just doesn't make business sense, or sense, well business or otherwise. Because well why would I show with them now at this point. It's enough work to do the shows that I have to do. I work with four different commercial galleries." (Lewis: 12)

Lewis came to realise, following the advice from his gallery that although all opportunities might seem appealing they do not all contribute to the development of his career and practice. They are also able to understand the broader pattern of the development of the artist's career and explain why this opportunity would not be beneficial.

Lewis also allowed his gallery to negotiate in the commercial world without including him, something he was comfortable with since he saw negotiations around the development of his economic capital, his market, as something distinctly separate from his artistic practice. His primary gallery, the 'mothership', are tasked with handling commercial negotiations, leaving Lewis to concentrate on developing his artistic capital while they assume responsibility for development of his economic capital, his market and career. They have devised a division of labour that separates the artistic from the commercial. This division was reflected in the arrangements other artists had with their galleries where negotiations over geographic representation and commission are solely handled directly between the galleries without the involvement of the artist.

In contrast with the situation between artists and galleries where no formal contract exists, it became clear that galleries often contract with one another to ensure that their financial interests, in terms of the commission they secure from each sale, are legally protected. The artists were not usually privy to these negotiations, partially as they do not want to engage in conversations around economic capital, but also, as these agreements are directly between galleries, artists are distanced, or protected, from commercial negotiations.

6.53 Galleries are About More than Economic Capital

Artists are keen to differentiate between artistic and commercial in their relationship with galleries and do so through their descriptions of the kinds of critical conversations they share around the artistic capital of the work. Stephen makes certain that his gallery is understood to be driven by an artistic logic, where commercial interests are not reflected in the decisions making processes of which artists are represented by the gallery. He maintained that,

"I think it's important to say that galleries don't necessarily operate solely out of commercial interest [...] Obviously the gallery has to...has to have some economic activity in order to continue to function. But their selection of artists that they're interested to work with isn't based on saleability or commercial criteria" (Stephen: 14)

The artists are aware of the possible contamination that might occur if their gallerists were seen to be solely driven by economic concerns, but the artists are also aware that there is more that can be achieved from an artist-gallerist relationship if they can develop

dialogue around the work and reassert the dominance of artistic capital by associating their gallerist with artistic not economic capital. Fraser felt that,

“The thing that’s really important to me about [my gallery] is the person that directs it [...] because he’s definitely not about art fairs and definitely not about selling, he’s about the ideas for the work.” (Fraser: 7)

Gallerist are seen to have an artistic logic, through the strength of their artistic capital which they capitalise on rather than creating a persona around economic and social capitals which enable them to work effectively in their role as a gallerist. Their artistic capital is translated into currency in their role in developing economic capital.

Michael acknowledges that his gallery garners a mixed reception within art circles in terms of being considered, by some, as driven purely by an economic rationality. Many see the galleries’ economic capital as a driving factor, overpowering the value of cultural capital which the value of artists’ work is based on. However Michael rationalises this through his own personal experiences with the gallery in that he describes the gallerist as someone who ‘loves art’ and that his economic capital and the negative connotations should be weighed against his work to support artists whose practices are not able to achieve financial success in the market. He related that,

“[one of my galleries] works with a lot of commercial artists, a lot of bad artists actually, in some cases. They make money, or lots of money. But it’s what he does with that money that matters. [...] and I think the same thing happens with the other galleries. They might have one or two artists [...] who make millions, turnover is millions, turnover is massive, and if the gallery uses that to make it possible to work with difficult things then that’s a good thing – for those people who make those things” (Michael: 21-22)

This concern and justification speaks directly to the central questions of the thesis: if there is an underlying tension between artistic and commercial, and how this is understood and negotiated by the artists. Michael sees the situation as more complex in his acknowledgement that his gallerist does personify the economic capital that artists are sensitive to. But additionally, Michael has experienced first-hand the ways in which the gallery supports practices that are not driven by money. Michael demonstrates an awareness that the support the gallery offers less financially successful artists potentially

contributes to the wider development of the galleries reputation, contributing to their social and cultural capital – but what concerns Michael is that the gallery strives to achieve a sense of balance in these activities. The lengths to which the gallery understands their activities as achieving a balance between generating economic capital and sustaining the cultural capital necessary to engage in the field is not explored in this thesis, however their activities and position as a successful and powerful international gallery suggest that they are aware of the need to strike a balance between activity driven by economic capital and that driven by cultural capital.

6.54 Commercial Galleries and Money

This section on commercial galleries and economic capital addresses three themes: selling work and making money from practice, galleries investment in their stable of artists, and finally the challenges that can arise when working with a gallery or losing a gallery. The first section dealing with selling work and making money from practice draws on how artists work with galleries to achieve an income, including addressing the pricing and packaging of their work in establishing and sustaining a market for their art. It also covers the demands of galleries in terms of having something to sell as well as engagement with curators and alternative means of securing an income without selling. This is followed by insights into occasions when galleries chose to offer additional support to artists beyond the established relationship of representing – by funding projects the artist is doing with public galleries, or through buying their work. The final section addresses the impacts the loss of a gallery can have to an artist’s career, as well as some examples of challenges artists have faced in their work with galleries.

Selling Work and Making Money

“Artists are only one part of the deal” (Robert: 1), with commercially funded and publicly funded galleries playing critical roles in shaping an artist’s career. James asserted,

“All those elements come together to make someone into a believable figure that can then be presented to both a public and a market. I don’t think... I can’t really divide the two. I just make the work and then what happens to it, happens to it.” (James: 12)

A large part of what galleries are seen to be doing is selling art work, 'packaging' artists, and their works, and finding ways of "getting artists work from here out into an arena whereby it could be sold" (Mark: 12). Adam explains how commercial galleries enable you to be an artist, through their role in developing the artists' career and market.

In terms of making sales many of the artists described these as: 'unexpected' (Mark), 'a bonus' (Fraser, Mark), a 'happy benefit' (Angela), or just 'something nice that happened to you' (Paul). What they share, in their belief that sales were a pleasant surprise, was a consistent attitude that continues into their mid to late careers that they do not expect their work to sell. Even for those who have been able to carve out a living from the sales of their work, they find that the fluctuating income makes it difficult to plan any further ahead than a year or two (Ben, Ryan). The impression that these artists are making is one of uncertainty and precariousness which is symbolised by Michael's description of the art market as a "fragile world" and how it all "contribut[es] to my fragile economy" (Michael: 11-12). Iain explained,

"Sometimes you make something and it's sellable and sometimes you make something that's not very sellable, but we can't really help that because it's just the work that you're making." (Iain: 16)

One of the artists spoke about their resistance to selling their work, challenging the accepted notions of how a work of art can be transacted. Harry spoke of how he turned down sales because he liked his work too much to sell it. He said,

"I've kind of had a really antagonistic relationship with selling art work. [...] people wanted to buy works off me that I didn't want to sell [...] I invest or invested a lot of time in doing it and I did actually like the end result. So it was maybe a bit selfish or something. But I'm now getting to the point where I am kind of overloaded with work." (Harry: 5)

Harry's actions raise an important question about the role of selling work in an artist's career, particularly if this then impacts on career progression or visibility. Many of the artists understood that getting their work into collections offered important visibility and helped to develop their market, thus failure to sell could cause delays in establishing a market for the artist and impact on their artistic capital.

Pricing, Packaging and Establishing a Market

Many of the artists were comfortable that their galleries were pricing and packaging their work in ways that they were satisfied with, but they also had limited involvement in these processes. Caitlin explained how she followed her gallerist's advice about how to price her work,

"I just took advice from them. And then sometimes I would just say 'that is absolutely ridiculous.' And then sometimes the people that they were trying to sell it to would say 'no, that's ridiculous.' And then they would apply a 'discount'. It was a negotiation; it was just a big negotiation." (Caitlin: 14)

Although the artists had limited input in the pricing of their work some were aware of the challenges of establishing a market for themselves in their emerging career where no market had yet been cultivated (Mark). His experience of selling work, through his gallery, is depicted as a personal journey as both himself and the gallery were young and were still figuring out how things worked. Mark related,

"we've just not actually really known where, how to price the work. And I think that's partly come out of the experience of galleries, who are relatively young galleries in terms of what I do - and also just me having experience." (Mark: 14)

Mark realised, that particularly when his work is in an edition, that selling one work in an edition can be seen to make the other works more desirable to collectors. Mark described instances where he felt conflicted about his sale price, worried that his work was priced too high which discouraged collectors from investing in him. This conflict continues through his more recent market experiences since it is difficult to reconcile the production costs involved in making the work, which are extremely high, with a price he feels is reasonable to ask for. Mark is aware that there is a link between development of artistic capital, through exhibition shows, and economic capital through sales. He reported,

"it sort of feels like the more work you are selling you are just developing more of a market for yourself and you partly have a bit more of the potential to sell more as well. [...] if you are showing within better institutions then you are potentially again increasing your, I guess your desirability within the art market." (Mark: 12)

Many of the artists deliberately withdrew from conversations around pricing and sales of their work, saying they were not interested in that side of the art market. Unlike some of her colleagues Eleanor admitted she was never that good at, or that interested in engaging in the market for contemporary art, rather it was her artistic practice that was central, “we don't pitch ourselves as being consummate professionals in selling a product. We make work for people or commissions, or we make work - we are professional at that.” (Eleanor: 25). The artists preferred to leave this aspect of their career development, economic capital through sales, to their gallerists. Victoria said “I trust that they know the market, because I certainly don't.” (Victoria: 18).

What did become apparent was the acceptance that artist felt about not selling, saying they did not blame their galleries, but rather understood that their works were probably quite challenging to sell, “I didn't feel like the gallery was letting me down, wasn't working hard enough – it felt like well, it's probably quite difficult to sell this weird stuff, so you just kind of keep going and see what happens” (Lewis: 9). This hints at the wider significance of commercial galleries to artists' careers, in the absence of economic capital.

Having 'Stuff' to Sell, Art as Product

The view of creative output as 'products' or merchandise is highly contentious since it closely resembles the trappings of the sub-field of large scale production, which symbolises work driven by the commercial market. Additionally, in accepting the title of product there is a degree of reductionism which is enacted on the work of art and reduces it to the status of merchandise or product, “By an apparent paradox, as the market began to develop, writers and artists found themselves able to affirm the irreducibility of the work of art to the status of a simple article of merchandise” (Bourdieu 1993: 113-114).

In spite of this they were aware that in order to engage in the commercial market, they needed to have something to sell (Caitlin). In a few cases, the artist themselves are the product, but more often, the works artists produce become the products. In these circumstances, the gallery's role as a boundary spanner between the artist and the market is visible, “the negative side is that they [gallerists] also have to make a living, so that there are demands of the marketplace which can enter into the discussion about what works you show” (Stephen: 13). Stephen and Lewis both point out that it is obvious that some practices are more manageable for collectors than others, for example it is easier to collect

works on paper than room-sized sculptures, which you can choose to engage or ignore (Lewis). Stephen believes that a gallery will be able to sell anything so long as there is critical support for it.

Michael spoke of consciously barring his gallerists from his studio where he develops ideas for his work to prevent commercial concerns from being inserted into his practice. He does find that there may be requests either from the gallery or from collectors or those who commission him to make works, for a particular type of work, perhaps similar to a previous piece, but he asserts his artistic authority saying,

"They might hope, or there might be discussions that I would have a work, or there would be a drawing or something like that. But what that drawing is and how it's done is something that I control. And of course it does happen, sometimes you get questions like: 'really like the drawing like that one you did two years ago,' or whatever. When that kind of thing happens, I usually, I can easily say, well, I can't do another one like that. Or I'll say, well it might happen that there is another one like that, in a year, or two years time. It's not happening right now, but it might happen. And if there is, that person might get offered the opportunity to have that thing. So I try to avoid the situation where I directly make things, within reason" (Michael: 15)

Ryan's experience is slightly different; he is younger than Michael and was picked up by a gallery whilst he was still relatively young, under 30 years old. He describes his conversations with the gallery in a more accommodating way, but that he still feels he is maintaining his artistic integrity. He respects his gallery and knows their legacy in working with renowned contemporary visual artists. He reported,

"So I'm trying to work with them, not really against them, something like that. But I don't feel like a performing monkey or anything like that. I don't feel like I'm making work for the gallery." (Ryan: 13)

Thus Ryan is conscious that he is able to develop his practice in terms of realising ambitious works for larger institutions, exactly because of the support he receives from his gallery, as well as private collectors, but is mindful of his own positioning as an artist

and the implications of being considered an artist who is influenced by his gallerist or the collectors who, financially, may make the work possible.

Adam understands the fear of fellow artists who worry about the commodification of their work. However he was more explicit in saying that he felt uninhibited by any fear of contamination by the market. He explained,

“a lot of artists have a problem with commodifying their work, which is understandable. I don’t know. I think... I suppose the way I always felt about it was, as long as I was doing whatever I wanted to do, it was fine – to be selling it to the man, as it were.” (Adam: 7)

Likewise Lewis explained how the gallery consciously avoids applying economic logic to artistic endeavour,

“I rarely have a conversation with a gallery where anyone says anything about, ‘I don’t know if we’ll be able to sell this.’ It’s always – do the exhibition you want to do and leave the rest to us, that’s our job and we know how to do that. So I’ve never felt any pressure or any inclination to, to second guess what might be commercial or what might be sellable” (Lewis: 11)

In fact some galleries consciously embrace work that might at first appear unsellable, in order to make a statement about their organisation. Mark believes that one of his galleries specifically chose to launch their European gallery with his work, knowing that they would not be able to sell it. He described how they wanted a project that “framed them in a particular way” (Mark: 6). Mark felt that this was a strange relationship, starting out a commercial gallery with non-sellable work. In saying this he was also comfortable in his relationship with the gallery in that they both had a shared understanding that the work was difficult to sell. Surprisingly to both the gallery and Mark, the ‘unsellable’ work was sold and created was he called a ‘healthy relationship’ with the gallery. He relates,

“I’m not someone who is earning their kind of bread-and-butter gallery money but I create the kinds of projects which maybe get them more media attention, or just more interest. So that’s a slightly strange relationship with the gallery.” (Mark: 6)

Stephen sums this up perfectly when he describes commercial galleries show rooms as 'loss leaders,' which may show an industrial scale installation which is beyond the reach of most individuals buyers due to its sheer scale and cost, whilst they may also hold a series of drawings or a painting by the artist which forms part of a related body of work which may prove more desirable to collectors, whilst also being more easily packaged up. He explains,

“so the gallery show itself became less important as a sales point, but more important as a establishing kind of a credibility or profile, or whatever [...]So the gallery as a physical space becomes a kind of like a loss leader or something like that. So as an artist, making a gallery show there's actually very little pressure now to make something which has a saleable product. But what is important is to have a show which has some clarity or conceptual rigour or interest or pizzazz or whatever you want, whatever way you want to call that [...]what is shown in the galleries isn't necessarily what is sold by the gallery.” (Stephen: 14)

The role of exhibitions becomes an opportunity for galleries to seek critical acclaim for work which can contribute to the development of their artistic and symbolic capitals; doing so through the gallery's visible commitment to developing artistic practice beyond the confines of the market. Some of the artists even showed awareness of how galleries 'appropriate' artists, "People see what you do and appropriate you to, your work to, what their agendas are" (Fraser: 7-8). Fraser's comments resonate more widely in the context of how an artist's artistic capital is appropriated by galleries and arts organisations and how the artist is a willing participant in this – exchanging their own artistic capital in return for the opportunity to develop this, or for economic capital and sometimes both.

Collectors

Some of the artists spoke briefly about their experience of, and understanding of art collectors. Many artists have had limited experience in dealing with collectors and leave it up to their galleries to handle these negotiations on their behalf as they often feel uncomfortable dealing with collectors who they sometimes see as symbolising money, or economic capital. Artists became aware of a new type of art buyer, one that was more concerned with owning art rather than necessarily enjoying art in the traditional sense, “[a] different kind of client came out, a client that was more interested in kind of shopping” (Stephen: 14).

Malcolm and Lauren both pointed out how keenly they felt the divide between artist and collector, symbolically they almost consider each other as existing at two opposite poles of the artistic/commercial divide; and opposite poles of in terms of levels of economic capital. Malcolm suggested that,

“people that can afford to buy it [the art work] they must live in a different...they must have different concerns to me so they must be different in terms of how they operate and how they live..” (Malcolm: 14)

These meetings between two worlds highlight the polarities of those rich in artistic capital but impoverished in economic capital (artists), as opposed to those rich in economic capital but wanting in terms of cultural capital that they can derive from association with artists' artistic and social capital (collectors). Lauren declares that,

“people are walking round in sort of designer clothes and plastic surgery [... and] they have jetted in on their private jets to buy some art for the weekend. [...] it's quite a strange thing being an artist because the opposite extreme is that you are often very skint and you're sort of juggling money to try and pay the rent and pay for the studio and anything else and then, the next minute you're mixing with these people and it's just, I think a lot of artists find that really odd, you know, those two extremes.” (Lauren: 6)

Lauren speaks about how she finds the contrast between herself and collectors as 'surreal' and yet 'fascinating'. In spanning between these two groups commercial galleries move closer towards the artistic pole through their possession of artistic capital and through their sheltering of artists from the realities of the art market – like negotiations with wealthy collectors. The galleries act as mediators between artistic and commercial but Bourdieu argues that “although dealers form a protective screen between the artists and the market, they are also what link them to the market” (Bourdieu 1993: 79).

Artists were keen to detach themselves from market processes and transactions, preferring their gallery to handle these conversations; with the artist remaining oblivious to the ways their work is discussed and sold. By distancing themselves from these transactions, they are ensuring that commercial concerns do not leak into their practice.

Some of the artists spoke of dinners and events they had attended where collectors were invited and their unease during these encounters, demonstrating their discomfort within certain social circles. Social activities are a means for galleries to engage in commercial activity in a way that is not explicitly driven by economic capital. Bourdieu explains,

“The art trader cannot serve his ‘discovery’ unless he applies all his conviction, which rules out ‘sordidly commercial’ manoeuvres, manipulation and the ‘hard sell’, in favour of the softer, more discreet forms of ‘public relations’ (which are themselves a highly euphemized form of publicity) – receptions, society gatherings, and judiciously placed confidences.” (Bourdieu 1993: 77)

For many artists, collectors are the most vivid representation of the market from which they try to consciously uncouple themselves. Social activities are seen as more likely to service the social capital of the collector who can claim they know the artist and borrow on the artistic capital of the artist; in contrast artist’s artistic capital can be negatively affected by claiming an association with an art collector. On these social occasions the artists are aware that it is not their role to sell their work, rather just to be present, “socially, occasionally you meet collectors and go out for dinner and all that, but you don’t do the hard sell thing – it’s the gallery’s job, you know. You sit around” (Lewis: 11). Victoria felt the social activity around collectors was distasteful, in terms of the outlay of economic capital employed by gallerists in wooing potential collectors and donors. She felt,

“To me, it seems like kind of misuse of funds to put on lavish dinners for patrons etcetera and the sense that you start to get a little bit of a window into how the whole kind of patron-thing works – where it’s a lot about massaging peoples egos, and allowing people to think that they have some kind of ownership over artists or their work.” (Victoria: 8)

In many ways this comment cuts straight to the heart of where this notion of contamination arises from. As with most transactions there is more being exchanged than money for art work; there is a complex negotiation of extras which collectors are asking for, explicitly or tacitly; artist’s dinners, studio visits from collectors and so forth.

Some of the artists are aware that collectors often hold a more significant role as gatekeepers to the larger museums through the influence they might wield through positions as board members. Iain states,

“trendsetting collectors do often tend to have relationships with the bigger institutions. So those collectors are gatekeepers, in a way, to the public collections; especially in the [United] States.” (Iain: 20)

Eleanor agrees with Iain that these private collectors might follow up a purchase of an artist’s work by gifting it to a museum they are on the board of,. She relates,

“the collector maybe gifts one of their works [the works they purchased from the artist’s gallery] to a Museum, and then it is in the Museum. Or they put pressure on [the museum], or they gift money towards the purchase of somebody that they’ve maybe bought quite a lot of their work” (Eleanor: 20)

The collectors are seen to be using their economic and social capital to shore up their financial investment in an artist. In undertaking these activities they appear aware of the significance of an artist’s work being included in a particular collection and they act to ensure the artist becomes endowed with increased cultural capital through this activity. The understanding of artists appears to be that collectors have used their economic capital to secure themselves positions as gatekeepers where in fact they might have originally thought gatekeepers were drawn from the ranks of curators or directors or galleries – those individuals who are seen to have achieved their positions through having minimum levels of social and artistic capital, rather than explicitly through the leverage of their economic capital. Collectors, in this sense, personify the economic capital that artists try hard to eschew and yet they make up a part of the art market food chain that artists cannot always ignore.

Making an Income from Artistic Practice Without Selling

One artist was in a unique position amongst the interviewed artists supported through a commercial gallery, through a system akin to a monthly stipend. The gallery offered to pay a sum monthly in exchange for five works a month to be consigned to them, however the artist explained the practicalities of their practice meant they were more likely to produce five works a year which the gallery agreed to on the proviso that they would just need to

increase the price of the works, with the gallery director saying, “in that case, they just need to be much more expensive” (Anon: 20). The artist spoke about how the meeting was handled, and that the conversation was not discussed directly as an exchange but rather in terms of supporting their practice, “in order for me to do it, you need this, so we’ll give you this, so that you can work. It was never like, ‘you have to give us everything you do,’ they’ve been brilliant” (Anon: 20). The artist explained,

“It was very basic, amount of money. But they tried to make sure that I got that money. They were quite practical about it. It wasn’t like we’ll give you money only when you sell something. It was like we’ll give you money, even when you don’t sell something [...] So I have an account with the gallery, which usually is in deficit, and for many years, has been in deficit. And then occasionally when I sell something, it kind of goes back up there and that sort of permits it to go on for a bit longer. It is like an overdraft really. But it’s never been expressed in those terms. There’s never been in sense in which, touch wood, they’ve never turned round and said well this just isn’t working, it’s too much money.” (Anon: 18)

In terms of seeing this transaction within the framework of Bourdieu’s capitals the gallerist is able to leverage their economic capital for artistic and subsequently social capital through their association with the artist. If the exchange of economic for artistic and social capital occurs then both parties may ultimately benefit through the gallery’s ability to capitalise on their enhanced symbolic capital to secure more support and sales for that artist.

The lingering issue around this arrangement is its sustainability over time, and the uncertainty of it. The artist must still live relatively frugally in order to ensure that if the income were suddenly to stop that they would not risk financial ruin. The nature of these financial relationships were again built on trust where the relationship continues based around good faith but no formal agreements were mentioned – there were no guarantees, no explicit contracts.

Galleries Investing Economic Capital in their Artists

An important addition to the debate on commercial galleries is gallerists’ support of artists’ careers. Michael’s two galleries each take a personal risk on him, different from the risks taken in a public institution, since the money they are risking is their own. The

gallerists use their own economic capital to support their artists' exhibitions, rather than being drawn from public funds. Michael's comments support the findings that commercial galleries are not always primarily motivated by economic concerns, selling art. Michael explains that many of the works he sells are bought personally by another of his gallerists, which could be seen as a further investment in the artist beyond the existing relationship in terms of representing the artist, "I see the economy that [he] is actually doing, that he's actually putting his hand in his pocket and paying for this to continue. That's what patronage is" (Michael: 19).

This is how Michael comprehends the risk which gallerists are sharing with their artists. Michael is making a direct comparison to the way he lives his life and funds his practice, and the way his gallerists run their business, using the monies they make from other activities to fund less financially viable practices. In terms of public and private support the commercial galleries can be seen to be supporting practices which are not commercially viable in the same fashion that public funding is argued to be supporting practices that are not commercially viable; public support for artists' work is explored in the final section in this chapter.

James developed two fruitful gallery relationships through selling his work to a gallerist and a collector, who then became a gallerist. In his first show after graduating, a local gallerist bought a single work and he kept in touch with her, informing her of changes to his practice over a few years. After a while he was invited to participate in a group show and then offered representation. Similarly, the collector opened a gallery space and invited him to produce some works for a group show. In both cases, James keeping the collectors informed of developments in his practice may have contributed to the move of both parties to invite him to make work towards an exhibition and ultimately representation. This active approach to ensuring that gallerists and collectors who have shown an interest in the works are kept up to date is something that will likely prove to have a wider impact on the career of this artist, as he develops these networks more widely. Similarly both gallerists, having collected his work, have a vested interest in ensuring that his career and the development of his artistic capital progress in order to ensure their purchases maintain or increase in value.

As well as investing in their own artists through purchase of works and directly into their own exhibition programmes, commercial galleries are often found to contribute towards

publicly funded projects in a variety of ways. A number of the artists have had occasions where their commercial galleries are asked to contribute to travel or hospitality costs, “a lot of the time, in my case, those institutions are turning to [my galleries] and saying: We want to do a show but we don’t have enough money, can you help us? Can you pay the hotel? Can you pay for travel? Can you pay...? Which they do” (Michael: 21). Victoria found that if budgets for projects she wanted to do were low she might suggest curators talk to her gallery about contributing.

In another instance Michael gave an example of a time one of his galleries sold a work of his to a large publicly funded institution for a considerable amount under the selling price since the institution could not afford the work. In this instance the gallery paid the artist the pre-agreed 50% and did not take their own commission from the sale, to cover the difference. The commercial gallery in this instance was using its economic capital to subsidise a sale – supporting the artist both in terms of immediate economic capital, income from the sale proceeds, as well as development of his economic capital in longer terms through strategic placement of his work in a public collection which would contribute to the desirability of his work. Michael demonstrated an awareness that sales can satisfy either a contribution towards the artist’s, and gallerist’s by association, artistic capital, or contribute towards their economic capital. He remarks that ideally both should be sought whether the “objective is, to heighten their profile or position or whether their objective is financial. I think that what has to happen is it has to be a bit of both” (Michael: 21).

Problems with the Gallery or Loss of a Gallery

Many of the relationships enjoyed by the interviewed artists with their gallerists seemed to be predominantly healthy, positive relationships, built out of a mutual respect in one another’s work, a shared appreciation of the nuances of artistic practice. The artists who had experienced problems in gallery relationships often cited relationships fraught with tensions and distrust. Erica, along with other artists like Angela and Fraser, experienced some of the most difficult events and behaviours from gallerists – with each of them experiencing bullying tactics, unethical behaviour and squabbling between galleries.

Caitlin found she immediately connected with the young gallery assistant at her first gallery and they ‘grew up together’ in the gallery, developing an organic way of working. Effectively the gallerist leaving meant the artist, and her gallery, lost a valuable resource of

knowledge around how to frame Caitlin's practice in commercial terms which has subsequently impacted the development of her economic capital. Caitlin had been so reliant on the gallery in developing a price for her work that she was unsure even what her prices were, or how to maintain them. Artists' sale prices are carefully managed by galleries who ensure that the price is either sustained or gradually raised (Velthuis 2007). Pricing is not something which can be easily replicated without an understanding of the process; there is no numerical formula that can calculate a price.

Eleanor and Iain lost their gallery unexpectedly when the personal and financial pressures of running a gallery proved too much for their gallerist. Eleanor spoke of how it is difficult for everyone when a gallery closes and how this had a huge impact on their market – not only since they were going to have the next exhibition in the space, which they then missed, but also because it can be difficult to recover or to replace a gallery. They continued on for a number of years without a gallery and found this a little more of a struggle, but their experiences of meeting new gallerists had been disconcerting and they decided against many of them.

In contrast, Robert spoke of a relatively civil end to the relationship with his largest, long term gallery, however it was not something that he wanted. The gallery was in a position to represent another artist who worked in a similar way, medium and style to Robert but was able to command remarkable prices, beyond the scale of what Robert was able to achieve. He reported,

"my very wonderful New York gallery, [who] I did great work with and published a beautiful book with and had an amazingly successful, financially successful, relationship, chopped me in favour of [another artist ...] who became available. [...] They said we love your work and you've done incredibly well, but we don't need two of you, it's just business" (Robert: 8)

Robert described how his last show had earned the gallery \$250,000, which Robert considered a 'serious success.' However he realised he didn't have the 'financial muscle' of his competitor and that a quarter of a million dollars every two years does not equate to millions of dollars every year. He understood that the decision was purely financial but also lamented the loss of a gallery who had the ability to make a considerable impact in terms of developing his career and his market.

Robert described how he still has another gallery in the UK but that a change in management has led to the gallerist who felt passionately about his work, and someone that Robert had an established and trusting relationship with, has left. His departure leaves Robert in the position where, although the gallery has financially supported his work, the return of economic capital, against the outlay they put down to make the project a reality, is slow since Robert does not have the “name to rehabilitate [his] debts” (Robert: 9). This leads Robert to worry that the gallery might not be willing to wait for the money to come in through sales and possibly resort to selling at reduced prices, impacting the market for Robert’s work and leaving him in a financially precarious position. Reducing the price of art works does not stimulate sales, on the contrary, it has a detrimental effect on the artist’s market since, “price acts as a signal of quality and a decrease in the pricing of a contemporary artist will promptly be interpreted negatively” (Menger 2006: 23).

6.6 The Importance And Nature Of Public Support

This final section explores public sector support which artists might receive during their careers. The artists in this study used public support as a substitute for the inherited economic capital that Bourdieu saw enabling artists to survive financially without having to have jobs. With either inherited capital or relative income security through public support, the artists are able to develop their artistic capital with fewer financial concerns.

The following analysis is divided into two sections to investigate distinct aspects of public support: the first concerns public support for the arts in terms of funding from arts councils and funding bodies, as well as working with publicly funded galleries, whilst the other considers the impact of public support in the form of social security benefits which has sustained most of the interviewed artists at some stage in their careers.

6.61 Public Funding For the Arts

Overall artists spoke positively about their experiences of public funding for the arts. They felt no concerns over the source of their funding influencing their artistic outcomes, relieving any pressure to make a certain type of work. Buying time to make work is crucial for artists and being able to achieve this through funding, rather than employment which takes time away from practice, is a preferable route. In many ways, both the context and the availability of public funding, in Scotland in particular, has given rise to artists feeling

that this allowed them to make work without the concerns or pressures of the commercial market, “you’re shielded from that commercial side of it when you are here” (James: 11).

Under certain geographical and political circumstances it is possible for artists to survive on public funding, however funding for artists is highly competitive and public sources (subsidies, grants, commissions or sponsorship) usually have a number of criteria and requirements that must be met before they are considered. In the British and European contexts, there is a long tradition of public support for the arts, supporting artistic outputs for a number of reasons (Zimmer 1999). By comparison, the USA, despite having national funding bodies such as the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), has more of a commercially driven legacy.

For artists like Chris, public funding as a means to wholly or partially fund a project is a “very clear cut economy. We get the funding in place for doing what we want to do. It’s actually realising your dreams” (Chris: 11), whilst for others, public funding is seen as untenable, creating a false economy, “the funding that is given to artists creates this false economy that’s quite unstable for... I mean I don’t think its unstable as long as it’s there, as soon as it’s not there it’s suddenly can cause major problems” (Harry: 6). Harry has a negative view of the current funding system particularly the concept of, “when an artist is invested in - to either direct or establish their career over other people” (Harry: 6). However, despite his views he spoke honestly about how he would not be likely to refuse an offer of funding. Others felt that, often, public funding was problematic in giving rise to financially unsustainable practices which manifest locally, where similar practices in other regions would not be supported. James maintained,

“I think this attitude of being staunchly anti-commercial is misguided because the success of Scottish artists has been predicated largely on the disproportionate amount of funding that has been available since the 1990’s from the Scottish Arts Council in comparison to people down south. It allows these anti-commercial, these non-saleable or relatively non-saleable practices to become, to still be financially viable through funds, through public subsidy. It’s more of the same thing, it’s exactly the same capitalists society produces both things – the funding and the private sponsorship.” (James: 7-8)

This supports Lingo & Tepper (2013) and Zimmer's (1999) argument that public support acts to "reinforce the idea that the best artists and artworks require support beyond the marketplace" (Lingo & Tepper: 2013).

In addition to direct investment of economic capital in artists, public support also has purchase in terms of validation and prestige. The investment of economic capital is thereby converted into symbolic forms, drawn from the artistic capital of the organisations awarding the funding. Observable examples can be the 'exposure' and 'stamp of approval' of having work bought by public collections (Paul, Ryan). In addition there are other key, profile raising events that are often heavily publicly subsidised, such as the Venice Biennale and the Münster Sculpture Project. The Turner Prize and touring British Council shows were all mentioned as opportunities that afforded the artists validation from public support. These events are opportunities for artists to exhibit internationally, giving opportunities for development of their artistic and social capital, with these events having considerable impact on the visibility of an artist, "the whole art world looks at what happens in Münster. So again that was a very high profile moment" (Caitlin: 10).

Funding Applications

In order to apply for funding from funding bodies such as arts councils, trusts and foundations, artists have to get to grips with the processes of applying, and even the language they need to use. There are usually particular criteria that artists must meet and even instances where funding might have to be applied for indirectly through an organisation that the artist will work with, for example a gallery. Research has even found that "funding systems can disadvantage individual artists in comparison to established organisations who are more likely to be able to devote more time and resources to applying for funding" (Jeffreys 2004: 10).

Angela found that her experience of the North American liberal arts education system helped her in terms of writing proposals and funding applications. In North America students have a focus, or major, in one subject and then have a requirement to complete a number of general classes in order to achieve their degree, achieving a breadth of knowledge across science, culture, and society (AAC&U 2014; Deresiewicz 2008), broader cultural capital. Angela found,

“That a sort of confidence or facility, that writing was not as emphasized here [UK], as it was there [USA]. So that maybe helped to not feel as freaked out by the process of applying for things, and sort of finding my way through of what kind of combination of poetic language and practical language needed to be met. ”
(Angela: 13)

For those who had been successful in funding applications, and repeatedly supported by public funds, they told of how this support was significant to their artistic practice. Most often they suggest that early, small pockets of funding were the most valuable in enabling them to realise a project, to buy materials, or buy time. James reported,

“it made a tremendous difference to everything I made. I took a month off work and I spent £200 on materials [...] I think that the first £1500 was the most valuable, for bang for buck [...] Because it allowed this amount of space outside just getting by, that. It was really important.” (James: 8)

These small amounts of economic capital are important to emerging artists in making possible considerable advancements in their practice. Even when funding increased significantly artists were able to make this influx of economic capital extend as far as possible using similar principals of living frugally in order to maximise the reach of the funds in terms of covering their time and materials. Lewis told how,

“Over a period of time I think I got, I certainly got a small one maybe once or twice and then got the big one, the big one being £8000. Which at that time you could live off that for two or three years. It felt like it was a lot of money cause you were living off nothing. So I remember that being really significant. [...] so periodically there would be these awards which would really just give you that ability to kind of live and kind of work for a bit.” (Lewis: 14)

The other element of funding applications is that inevitably, some of them require outcomes. Caitlin found this challenging since her practice involves a lot of research and different partners throughout this research process. She has come to stress in her applications for funding that these collaborations are part of what the funding contributes to and that it is “worth supporting that as well” (Caitlin: 17). Fortunately she has noticed a shift over the last decade where funders do not always ask an artist to stipulate outcomes

in advance. This freedom to develop the project as she sees fit allows projects to develop more organically, putting trust in her professional experience of developing artistic capital.

Working with Publicly Funded Galleries

Public funding is distributed amongst a range of sizes of organisation from small artist-run spaces to large national galleries and museums. Inevitably, through an artist's career, they aim to progress from the former to the latter in a number of steps, bolstered by additional presentations of their work at regular intervals with their commercial gallery, or galleries. Internationally renowned publicly funded galleries and enterprises also play a crucial role in providing opportunities for artists to reach particular audiences, and, through achieving levels of prestige, raising their profile, "the prestige involved in being in a show like that aids the profile that you have with the commercial gallery so when you do a show with the commercial gallery that may make your work more likely to sell" (James: 7). The artists recognise that respected publicly funded galleries enhance their artistic capital, and symbolic capital, which can then be converted into economic capital through developing their market.

On a practical level, an artist cannot survive on artist's fees they may get from publicly funded institutions, as these are marginal or non-existent, coupled with an artist's tendency to channel these funds back into the production of the work. However, the artists recognised the value of foregoing economic capital in order to develop their artistic capital through presentations at publicly funded galleries. Mark said that,

"Generally [with] exhibitions, I would say I work at a loss by the time I do an exhibition. But then you need those exhibitions within larger institutions really to help broaden your work in terms of the audiences it's reaching – critics knowledge of what you are doing etcetera" (Mark: 8).

In many ways, although public galleries are important in developing artists' careers in terms of artistic capital, and subsequently by association, economic capital; they are also limited in their ability to support artists throughout their career since publicly funded galleries rarely show an artist more than once during a curator's tenure, "they support you in different ways. But they can't do repeat shows" (Stephen: 14-15). The obligations of a publicly funded institution are to showcase a wide range of artistic work to audiences, and

often this means an institution rarely mounts more than one show with a particular artist. Stephen describes how “mutual respect continues but the closeness of that association doesn't”, in contrast to artists’ experiences of their relationship with their commercial gallerists (Stephen: 15).

Artists did describe their appreciation for the ‘risks’ that curators took in showcasing their work. Ben told how,

“the curators that I’ve worked with, they’ve put their neck on the line [...] it’s not just money, it’s also their reputation. And to a certain degree [you] want to thank them, pay them back - you do that for the rest of your life.” (Ben: 9)

These curators working in the public sector are investing considerable economic capital, their exhibition budget, in putting on the presentation by the artist and a show that is poorly received, critically, can impact their artistic and social capital.

The previous subsection drew attention to the role and impact of public funding for the artists, both directly in awards to artists from funding bodies, and also through the support of arts organisations in providing opportunities to artists. The next subsection addresses social security benefits and their role in supporting artistic practice indirectly.

6.62 Social security benefits

Public funding also comes in the form of indirect state support (Schuster 2006; Benhamou 2011). It is possible to see a distinct period in these artists’ career histories where artists are heavily subsidised through a reliance on social security and the benefits system. Michael explains the view he and his peers had of their position, “We were artists in our minds, but on the books you were ‘unemployed and actively seeking work’” (Michael: 4).

Artists like Caitlin and Michael articulate how many artists live for long periods of time on social security benefits. Artists had realised that you could survive on benefits, and still be an artist, “at that point, was that you could survive and be unemployed. I was unemployed for about five years or so I think. Just making. always really active, just had no money” (Ben: 4). Ryan faced a similar situation where he chose to prioritise his artistic practice over working, finding that he “didn’t have time for a real job; I was too busy making my own work. But I was signing on, and the dole were saying ‘so are you looking for work?’ And I was really busy” (Ryan: 7). Ryan mixed in both arts and music circles, as did a

number of the artists, and being unemployed and being an artist (both in the visual and musical senses) was the prevailing model. Artists like Ryan believe that the benefits system was a significant contributing factor to a vibrant arts and music scene in the UK, through subsidising artists and musicians in the way that he had been supported, giving them time to experiment and develop their practice, “It’s almost like a permit” (Ryan: 11).

Some of the artists described the initial pressures they felt about the idea of being unemployed, “I didn’t enjoy being unemployed too much that time. I got very very anxious” (Ben: 4); whilst Michael found that his family were not impressed by his lack of employment, “I come from a relatively poor family. So the idea that you would turn down the opportunity to pay the mortgage or do these things is kind of neurotic. [...] I didn’t have to think about those things [then], but at the moment I do” (Michael: 27).

For many of the artists in their late thirties and early forties, a reliance on social security benefits such as housing benefit and unemployment benefit began when they were still at art school; when it was possible to be a student and still claim housing benefit and unemployment benefit in the holidays. There is certainly a question amongst the mid-career artists - of how future generations of artists will survive and develop without the ability to rely on social security as a means of underwriting their income. This resonates with current debate around student debt from costs associated with study (fees, cost of living and student loans). Caitlin pointed out that,

“The benefits you got were, were enough to live on as long as you weren’t, didn’t need anything fancy and could go home to parents during holidays it was...You really were able to live without doing a job [...] I think that was a...something that got instilled because of those [social security] benefits that were there [...] So again, we were in a much better situation, you didn’t have to spend as much of your time raising your rent” (Caitlin: 4-7).

Caitlin recalls that during her Masters programme she became in debt due to students no longer being awarded housing benefit. The withdrawal of these benefits made Caitlin and her peers question, “how can we go on?” (Caitlin: 4). Social security benefits are an important source of economic capital for artists throughout their emerging to mid-careers, affording them the time needed to develop their artistic and social capital.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored artists' relationship with economic capital through an exploration of their experiences of employment, attitudes towards money and finally through an in-depth look at their experiences of working with a commercial gallery and in terms of funding their practice through the public sector.

The artists all understand that they are working in a field in which commercial success or even minimal financial recompense is by no means a guarantee and the consequences of this decision can impact other aspects of their lives since financial insecurity might imply limitations on wider life possibilities; mortgages, families and so forth (Taylor & Littleton 2008: 7). Almost all of the artists spoke about their financial struggles to stay afloat in their early to mid-careers. Mark and Angela both currently survive on a combination of commissions, exhibitions and residencies, and the fees associated with them. Ben still finds that he only has enough 'credit' to live for around a year, so he continues on that system working year to year. Even when the artists win an arts award with a financial prize attached to it, they often find that they spent a considerable amount in making the work and the prize money helps them to pay off those, and other debts (Mark).

During this study it became apparent that mechanisms have developed within the art world to support emerging artists at critical stages in their development. This was predominantly through arts-related employment in arts organisations. These roles allowed artists to develop their social capital within the field of contemporary art, as well as their understanding of the rules of the game, in terms of how exhibitions are put together.

Artists' attitudes towards money and employment did not demonstrate an explicit tension between artistic and commercial, however it did provide an opportunity to understand how artists made clear that the development of artistic capital held dominance over all other activity. This chapter has explored how artists approach economic and financial concerns throughout their practice. It is possible to see how the learned behaviour of working to tight budgets, coupled with a prevalent DIY culture enables artists to sustain themselves on very little during what can, for some, be a long period of time before they are able to partially or fully sustain their practice through public support and/or commercial sales.

Throughout the early career of an artist, gaps in income must be filled by other jobs in order to keep the artist financially afloat in order to pay rent, studio costs and for materials and other art-related expenses; not to mention maintaining their social activities, where they keep up to date with events and news in the art world, as well as make important connections and cement important relationships with peers. The artists all followed very similar paths in this respect, and their activities are very closely correlated across generations and locations. During art school many did not have a job at all, some relying on support from family, others working in the holidays or moving home and living on government benefits.

Artists are strongly aware of and can manage economic capital very well, as they demonstrate through their production budgets and how they manage their limited personal finances throughout their emerging and mid-career. This suggests they have a strong intuitive understanding of this economic capital but they are uncomfortable with the explicit elements which they regard as posing a credible threat to their artistic endeavour.

Part of the role of gallerists is in freeing the artist from marketing, networking and promotion so that artists can concentrate on making work. The division of artistic and commercial labour between the artist and their gallerist is thought to enable both parties to capitalise on their strengths through enabling each to specialise on distinct activities: the commercial capacity of the gallery and artistic practice for the artist; with each benefitting from the other's economic or cultural capital. An artist is "a single-handed production system [therefore] addressing energy to sales means subtracting it from production" (Codignola 2003: 4). The separation of these tasks may have some efficacy in terms of making a distinction between the artistic and commercial; in separating these activities the artist and gallerist can concentrate fully on their respective tasks with potentially less tension between these competing logics since they will each be acting under a dominant logic; either artistic or commercial.

What can clearly be read from the interviews is that although artists deliberately avoid becoming involved in financial negotiations around the sales of their work, they want this to be a choice they make – not one that is made for them. Galleries and curators should be aware that artists, particularly emerging artists, often struggle to raise these conversations and this can lead to misunderstandings, frustrations and tensions. The traditional notion

of the artist's fear of being contaminated by the market is too often used as an excuse to avoid conversations around money which would actually enable artists to make informed decisions about the work they want to make, or the work they physically can make, within the financial constraints.

Bourdieu found that in the cultural spheres he studied, predominantly the literary and artistic spheres, artists who were able to survive the longest in circumstances with little financial recompense, were those who were able to capitalise on the artistic capital they developed during this time. In contrast to what Bourdieu found, the artists in this study were not all endowed with large amounts of inherited economic capital. Instead artists substituted portfolio employment and public subsidy, alongside earned income from sales, to achieve the maximum time to spend on their practice.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion and Findings: Building Careers, Negotiating Capitals

7.0 DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS: BUILDING CAREERS, NEGOTIATING CAPITALS

At this stage in the thesis it is important to readdress the research questions in order to understand how this thesis has sought to answer these questions. In approaching this topic I wanted to understand whether there was a tension between artistic and commercial in artists' careers. If this was the case I also wanted to understand how this apparent tension was managed, day-to-day, by artists. In choosing the career histories method I was able to approach the topic of a possible tension between artistic and commercial from a tangent, avoiding any assumption that a tension did exist. The data analysis then became an opportunity to uncover whether the artists themselves found a tension between artistic and commercial, or if the notion of artistic versus commercial proved to be too dichotomous. The framework of capitals became particularly useful during the data analysis stage to explore the three broad strands of activity that artists were engaged in during their careers, artistic, social and economic. In addition the framework allowed for the broader question of whether there was a tension between artistic and commercial to be addressed within each capital – and particularly in how the relationships between capitals were formed and negotiated by artists throughout their careers.

The central research question which the thesis was formed around was: whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial in artistic careers, and if so, how do artists manage this tension (to their advantage or disadvantage)? I have found that initially artists are indirectly exposed to the idea of art for art's sake and of artistic capital as central to their artistic endeavour through art school. Through the absence of discussion around the art market, or commercial perspective, art students and young artists learn that there is an assumed tension between the two, and the demotion of commercial interests in favour of artistic development reinforces the marginalised position of economic capital in relation to artistic capital. After art school, many artists begin to realise that the art market is something they will inevitably engage in, but they are not yet equipped with the tools to manage this. A few realise that it does not always have to be in tension with their artistic concerns; rather that it is something which they can manage on a daily basis. Quickly artists learn that this idea of a tension is so ingrained in the activities of the visual art world that even if they have come to terms with how to manage aspects of it, they are constantly faced with others working in the field who try to shield or shelter them from what they perceive as the negative implications of economic capital. These behaviours have a more challenging effect where they in fact perpetuate the notion of a

tension between artistic and commercial rather than addressing it in a constructive way. In addition artists learn to manage aspects of artistic and commercial throughout their career but the legacy of a tension pervades the art world and presents challenges to the development of their practice. Many artists have learned early on to separate their activities and even for commercial galleries to handle development of their economic capital on their behalf. This allows artists to entirely detach themselves from commercial activities. However, in instances where artists cease to work with a gallery and have to reengage with these aspects of their career they struggle to reconcile artistic and commercial, given the vestiges of this tension between them.

The structuring of the research aimed to interrogate these questions through analysing the career histories of artists with the broad question of whether there is an existing tension between artistic and commercial in their careers. Through the methodology I explain how I identified a number of artists who had varying degrees of experience and lengths of careers, but all of whom had worked nationally and internationally. The career experiences of these artists also included a range of artistic activities, both commercially and publicly funded, which I believed would facilitate discussion of their experiences of working within different organisational structures and with different actors whose ways of thinking may align or differ from the artists in terms of their understandings and management of artistic and commercial. The career histories act to reveal the activities that artists undertook throughout their careers and spoke to the themes of cultural, social and economic capitals more widely, which I then use as a structuring device for the thesis. This chapter brings together some of the findings to discuss their relevance in terms of addressing the research question but also in relation to key findings which have arisen from the research more generally which can contribute to the literature more broadly.

Throughout the thesis there have been several issues raised which can now be unpicked further to uncover their contributions in addressing the research questions, the extant literature and to knowledge more broadly. I have chosen to pull these together under two broad headings: Capitals and Practice. The first part of this chapter forms around a discussion of the role of capitals in artists' careers and in particular the interplay between capitals. I wanted to explore how artistic and commercial were negotiated across the artists broad activities under the headings of artistic, social and economic. Following this a discussion is held around the contributions of the thesis for artistic practice, both for artists and those working in the field with and around artists. The latter part of the

chapter focuses on a reflection of the research and outlines future research which can be undertaken using this thesis as a starting point.

7.1 Interplay between Capitals

The application of Bourdieu's notion of capital proves particularly useful in the context of artists' careers since it provides a framework for understanding some of the key activities artists engage in. Artists' activities can be seen to come under the three broad categories of artistic, social and economic but often they do not recognise their activities under these categories, preferring to frame their behaviours as solely servicing the development of artistic capital. In many ways this focus on the single activity of developing and sustaining artistic capital is dominant but it often fails to account for the role of social and economic capital in the development of their career. Artists are reluctant to acknowledge that they are engaged in other activities around their practice, in the social and economic spheres, and how these contribute to the development of their artistic capital. Throughout the thesis there is overlap between the three capitals. It is, therefore, important to extend the discussion beyond an analysis of each individual capital and towards a broader discussion of the interplay between the three types of capital. I further unpick some of the implications which each capital has upon one another, and identify some of the key contributions to the literature through the application of capitals to the careers of visual artists.

In being able to frame their activities in terms of artistic, social and economic capitals this thesis provides an alternative way to approach the development of their career, identifying three critical aspects to sustaining an artistic career. Introduction of these concepts also helps to contribute toward recognition of their activities within the frameworks of capitals, addressing the abounding misrecognition that currently exists from artists. To begin with the process of acquisition, maintenance and enhancement of capitals is outlined to give an understanding of the framework as a tool for analysis. The discussion will then highlight the relevance of outlining artistic capital as a sub-category of cultural capital. This is followed by a section focussing on the influence and importance of social and economic capital in the development of an artist's career, and particularly in relation to the development of artistic capital.

7.11 Acquisition, Maintenance and Enhancement of Capitals

Bourdieu's framework of capitals has proved apt throughout this analysis as the three broad themes of artistic, social and economic encompass the majority of artists' activities throughout their careers. In applying this framework I have understood there to be a constant challenge to sustain capitals over time, even after the initial acquisition and development of capitals. Artists find that they cannot simply maintain their capitals but that they must enhance and refresh them throughout their professional development in order to sustain their legitimacy. This fits with Bourdieu's interpretation of capitals but additionally the extent to which artists need to be continually augmenting their capitals highlights the challenges they face in sustaining a career. In this vein it becomes important to acknowledge the difficulty artists might have at any stage in their career when they are unable to undertake activities which service this need. Likewise this recurrent need to continually build on their capitals gives rise to more occasions where unresolved issues between the capitals – particularly in the role of economic capital alongside artistic and social capitals – become heightened.

Artists are involved in a number of practices which can be seen to safeguard as well as enhance their capitals. These techniques include reinvesting their economic capital back into their practice whenever it is possible as well as ensuring visibility through the opportunities they take: exhibitions, residencies and so forth. Artists are driven to continue developing their artistic capital in particular and exhibitions are one of the key mechanisms for doing this. Although artists present themselves as though their artistic development is central to what they do, they are also active in developing their economic capital through their choice of jobs. Without economic capital they would be unable to reinvest in their practice and maintain their visibility.

7.12 Artistic Capital

As the literature review highlighted there has been very little in the way of literature which specifically addresses artistic capital, other than solitary mentions or labelling without explanation. The application of the term in this thesis, in specific relation to the careers of visual artists, therefore acts as an opportunity to further explore this form of capital in order to provide a base for future application. This expanded use of artistic capital thus provides a contribution to Bourdieu's literature on capitals, as well as the broader literature on artistic practice and artistic careers. I have identified that artistic capital is a distinct form of cultural capital and outlined how it is structured in terms of the

field of visual art. In addition the framework can be adapted and applied to other cultural fields such as music, design or literature, for example. The thesis offers a novel use of the term in application directly to the career histories of visual artists and as such can provide scholars and practitioners with a focussed tool for analysing the structures and activities of artistic careers.

This expanded use of artistic capital forms a theoretical contribution to the literature on capitals. In addition it also helps to address the research question of whether there is a tension between artistic and commercial and how this is managed in a number of ways. In chapter four, artistic capital is outlined and the process of acquiring and developing artistic capital through art school is underlined. In the first instance artists may be seen to be unconsciously developing artistic capital as they adopt the processes and attitudes that are prevalent at art school. Artists are seen to be driven to develop their artistic practice, and subsequently artistic capital, and this is nurtured by art school structures. I believe that artistic capital begins to accrue during this time at art school, to varying degrees for every student, and thus contributes to how those without as much cultural capital are given a more even footing with those who have copious amounts of cultural capital at this stage in their lives (see Bourdieu 1993 on the advantages of inherited cultural capital).

Out of all three capitals the most challenging in terms of the need for constant enhancement or refreshment is artistic capital. Without continual refresh artistic capital can be seen to depreciate, which risks the artists reputation and position in the field. This need to refresh your artistic capital might be something which can become less of a burden in the later stages of an artist's career, where an artist is able to capitalise on the symbolic capital achieved by their reputation and through the legacy of their artistic and social capital. In contrast, those who may not be in a position to have achieved enough symbolic capital by these stages find that they must continue the cycle of developing and enhancing their artistic capital for longer, even indefinitely. This process becomes a perpetual mission of maintenance to ensure that they can sustain enough artistic and social capital to ensure that they can continue to build economic capital.

The other critical issue around artistic capital is the risk of depreciation over time. There is a need to sustain capitals over time and in particular for artists to ensure they are enhancing and refreshing them. Through my analysis of artistic capital I came to understand that this form of capital is particularly susceptible to depreciating over time

and needs to be continually refreshed in order to remain current and accepted as legitimate by other art world players in particular. I came across several methods that artists employed to refresh their artistic capital and found that all of the artists were actively exhibiting and continuously developing their artistic capital.

One of the key questions that I have not addressed until now, however, is whether this was conscious, on the part of artists, or something which they were unaware of. The framework of capitals is one which I have applied to an analysis of the careers of visual artists in order to frame their activities – rather than a framework which artists described themselves. For artists, continually learning, experimenting and developing is an ingrained process that is inculcated in them from those early stages of art school. In terms of developing other forms of capital like social capital, artists are often aware that this is important to their development – to secure new opportunities to exhibit work – with a select few admitting that this is linked to the maintenance of their economic capital. The risk of depreciation of artistic capital is a risk that artists must mitigate through counteraction and activity.

Artistic capital, as discussed in this thesis, is not only limited to artists. This attribute is shared in the art world amongst others operating in the field, curators and gallerists for example. In this regard the framework of artistic capital lends itself to not only how artists gain legitimacy in the field but also in how they recognise and legitimise others working around them. In essence as artists value the characteristics of artistic capital, so too must those around them in order to engage with artists. Gallerists and curators must convey to artists that they understand their values, and they can do this through developing their artistic capital. For gallerists and curators, artistic capital contributes to their ability to appreciate the perspective of artists who recognise and value the attributes of artistic capital. Often they are drawn from a similar pool, being trained at art school, or similarly in art history courses at universities, which contributes to the development of their artistic capital. Possession of artistic capital, and the ability to understand the perspective of artists, proves useful both in gallerists' dealings with artists but also with others who value artistic capital but do not possess it, for example collectors. It is certainly in the interest of gallerists, in particular, to maintain their artistic capital as it is not only something they possess but also something that they hold in high esteem. The attributes of artistic capital are part of the package which gallerists trade in when they are selling contemporary art. Although artistic capital cannot be transmitted or exchanged with

economic capital, it remains a crucial component in signalling to art world insiders, audiences and collectors, of the legitimacy of the artist and their work.

In speaking about their galleries some artists acknowledged that in fact their galleries were particularly interested by economic capital but that they continued to work with them because this concern did not impact upon them directly. One artist described how they were able to reconcile their gallerists more ruthless financial dealings and drive to develop economic capital with the level of support they received from them. Although the gallery was able to command vast sums of money for sold art works they were then able to use that economic capital to support other artists. So although morally, in the sense of the art worlds preference to shield the economic in favour of the artistic, the artist felt that some of the gallery's activities in supporting artists compensate for their interest in economic capital. In this interest the artist likened them to renaissance era patrons who used their wealth to offer patronage to artists.

7.13 Artists and Economic Capital

Artists manage economic capital well and can be described as having a strong intuitive understanding of it – but they are uncomfortable with the explicit elements of economic capital. Throughout the last chapter the artists are found to be quite adept in their understanding and engagement in the development of economic capital. They engage in multiple job holding and portfolio careers, and are competent at securing and managing opportunities which enable them to continue to make work – often working low paid jobs and living frugally. Artists are also skilled at managing budgets both personally and professionally. They manage their own budgets – in making working in their homes and studios – as well as production budgets attached to projects they are leading on with arts organisations. Although they may not have always had high levels of economic capital, in the literal sense of money, they have a keen awareness of how to continue their practice in the absence of any substantial economic capital. In many ways the artist's survival in the absence of much economic capital owes much to their commitment to artistic capital. For them it has never been about making money, but about making art. They have watched peers stop practicing and have made an active choice to prioritise their artistic practice and artistic capital over economic capital to prevent this from happening. In many ways artists' lack of economic capital might be said to influence their position in terms of artistic and commercial. The artists themselves have struggled to find financial recompense and this, combined with their art school training which promotes the notion of artistic over

commercial, contributes to an attitude of artistic capital over – or even against – economic capital.

In returning to the discussion of artists art-related and non-arts related work, I am interested in the notion of engagement and disengagement raised by Bain (2005). Namely how this can be measured. In this thesis, as my central question was around artistic and commercial and how this was managed, this idea that artists deliberately stop working in arts-related or non-arts roles so that they can return to making art work is particularly pertinent. I found that many of the artists did display this pattern of working and were aware that they engaged in this practice – which they saw as led by the need, not desire, to develop economic capital in order to support their artistic practice. The findings contained in this thesis, therefore have purchase in contributing to Bain (2005) work on the process of engagement and disengagement, but also onto the extensive work by Throsby in his work preference model. Throsby's (2007) work preference model has identified three categories which can be applied to the work patterns of artists: art work, arts-related work and non-arts work. Throsby's (2007) work in cataloguing artists work patterns over the last few decades, and his work in the creative and cultural field more broadly has certainly been of use in giving context to the types of work artists engage in. My findings have added to this through their support for the model as relevant and useful in application to the career histories of visual artists.

There is a tendency for arts organisations to employ from within small pools of artists for arts-related jobs as gallery technicians and assistants. Both these routes offer access to opportunities to develop social and artistic capital which can prove critical in artists' career development however the access to these opportunities is unclear and not available to all. The opportunities, for the most part, seem driven by social capital and this ensures that artists may only get these opportunities when they have achieved enough social capital. This support system is a new factor to consider in identifying why so many artists are engaged in arts-related work. Throsby's work to date has been focussed on cataloguing and labelling this behaviour through large scale studies rather than investigating the facets involved in driving individual artists behaviour and the role of the field in supporting artistic endeavour through employment and labour.

An important feature of capitals, in relation to their application to the career histories of visual artists is the ways in which they are found to change at different stages in an artist's

career. For instance the need to cover the costs of bills leads artists to seek employment in arts-related roles or through accepting nominations for arts awards with financial prizes. The work by Goodrick & Reay (2011) provided useful ideas around constellations of logics and how these shift over time. This might be applied to the situation where artists would have one configuration of artistic and commercial when they had a gallery representing their interests, and a different configuration when they no longer had a gallery; requiring the artists to adapt to their changing professional needs. Artists without galleries face challenges in negotiating the field without these mediators.

I visualise these as different configurations of capitals and one of the clearest examples is the circumstances around artists having gallery representation or not. Almost all of the artists I spoke to have had some relationship with a commercial gallery at some stage in their career – with some giving examples of when they stopped working with a gallery and how that had negatively impacted their practice. In considering how these events impact artists' capitals in particular it becomes apparent that artists come to rely on their galleries to contribute to the development of aspects of their capital. Traditionally people might assume that this was purely in the sense of financial recompense for their work – contributing to their economic capital. Increasingly, however, galleries contribute more widely to each artist's artistic and social capital as well as economic capital. This goes some way towards explaining why the impact of loss of a gallery is felt so deeply by artists, and why its effects can be difficult to overcome.

In addition to this literal loss of representation the artists also have to come to terms with their role as solely responsible for developing their capitals. They needed to re-learn, sometimes, the ways in which they need to safeguard, enhance and develop aspects of their capitals which the gallery had been effectively contributing to and, in some cases, managing on behalf of the artist. In relation to the question of artistic and commercial it appears these events can have a significant effect on whether a tension did in fact exist and how artists managed this. I found that in the wake of these disbanded partnerships artists struggled with many aspects of developing their practice and became acutely aware that they had very little experience or knowledge of how gallerists 'packaged' or sold their work and how they would continue to do that.

7.14 Artists and Social Capital

Artists' social activities are entirely embedded in the world of art locally and internationally, however these networks can be seen to be serendipitous. Artists are

careful, however, to ensure that their socialising is not mistaken for networking and seek to maintain their position as artists working under the guise of art for art's sake. As they started to work with galleries and their work was promoted for sale they were invited to art world events that still resembled the social activities of their emerging careers, but began to include different players in the art world – gallerists, curators and collectors. More visibly than ever social engagements in the art world became important places to spot opportunities and ensure that the artist was made visible to those parties who might be able to help further the artist's development of artistic capital through wider opportunities to exhibit, or contribute to their economic capital through sales of their work.

Artists are conscious to frame the development of social capital as aligned with the principles of artistic capital – it is essential that their activities are framed in that way so as not to be negatively associated with economic capital. Lin (2001) for example, talks about how conscious networking can increase economic capital, however this view does not account for how artists are acting on different agendas where economic capital is not the goal – artistic capital is the goal. Artists must, therefore, be active enough in developing social capital that they are able to leverage this towards the development of their artistic and economic capital, whilst not being seen as *too* active where their activities are perceived as networking. Artists tend to misrecognise that their activities are in fact networking and perhaps a framework like social capital can achieve better perception that does not implicate the artists in a negative fashion.

One of the issues that arose in my thinking around the topics in the thesis was whether social capital can be built and developed deliberately, either by individuals or through collective schemes like artists' studio complexes. In other careers, networking and the development of social capital can be seen as a vital component and a legitimate process to develop careers. However, in the case of artists this issue returns to the central research question around artistic and commercial and a possible tension between them. Artists quite clearly outlined how they behaved socially and were clear to define their conduct as outside of the activities which exploit social capital for career development. Artists want to be perceived to not be using their social connections for personal gain but in fact they are doing so on a more informal level. The structure of the art world, around exhibition openings and events, provides numerous opportunities to develop social connections

informally as they meet peers and mix amongst other art world insiders at these regular local, national and international gatherings.

Some of the artists seemed to recognise the importance of social activities as opportunities to secure exhibitions or commissions but this occurred through an indirect process of being visible, or present, which increases their chances of being offered opportunities. The majority of the artists were more focussed on the social element of these encounters in terms of their wider peer group, rather than acknowledging that their presence heightened the likelihood of them securing exhibitions, residencies or commissions. This common attitude towards misrecognising their activities as *not* networking, suggests that artists perceive aspects of developing social capital as having a negative impact on them – particularly in reference to their artistic capital. Through my analysis I uncovered an aversion to developing social capital actively for fear that this activity might have an inverse effect on their artistic capital. The artists were keen to extricate themselves from the damaging effects of networking that they felt would be implied on their artistic capital. However they position it, their social activities - within and around the art world - actively contribute to the development of their social capital. Although the artists tried to avoid occasions where they felt that their social activities were directly targeted towards networking, they did recognise in some fashion, the value of the principles of social capital.

Others were more candid in identifying peers who they felt were effectively managing to develop social capital in a less passive manner. In some instances they felt this was acceptable given the position of the artist and they described this less as networking and more as a confidence to approach other art world players for the development of their own artistic practice – artistic capital. In a sense the conscious and active development of their social capital was deemed tolerable and categorised as a confidence or drive when it was positioned in line with their artistic capital, rather than economic capital. In these instances the peer network already recognises a level of artistic capital in these individuals to afford them leeway to actively develop social capital. The recognition and awareness of artistic capital by their peers appears to enable them, at least superficially, to circumvent the negative implications of actively developing social capital due to their strong association with significant levels of artistic capital. When artists perceived others as developing social capital to realise financial gains, or develop their economic capital over artistic capital, these individuals were considered to be selling out. Those artists were on the wrong side of the artistic / commercial divide and as such were risking their artistic

capital through these activities. Artists are sensitive to the bridging role that social capital can play in developing their artistic as well as economic capital. Artists appear to weight activities positively or negatively according to whether they are more closely associated with artistic capital or with economic capital.

I positioned social capital as the middle of the three empirical chapters deliberately in that it appears to be a conduit between artistic and economic capital, playing a crucial role in developing both artistic and economic capital. More literally with economic capital the social networks an artist possess can leverage opportunities for exhibitions, residencies, work, sales, or gallery representation. In some instances it could be argued that there needs to be a dual validation between artistic capital and social capital, in order for artists to be perceived as legitimate. Although this strays into a discussion of symbolic capital, I want to raise this as a point to take from the thesis as it draws on the ideas around having enough social capital, particularly with a dense concentration of art world figures and peers, who then perceive the artist as legitimate through their recognition of the artist's artistic capital. The other way to approach this question is through considering whether an artist can have artistic capital without social capital? As discussed earlier in the thesis, aspects of social capital are tightly bound to the development of artistic capital – from those early stages in art school and all through their careers. In applying this question to the artists who were interviewed for this thesis there is an inextricable link between artistic and social. It is important to highlight that the flow between capitals is not always one way but more a complex weave of activity that changes over time.

7.15 Misrecognising Capitals

Another of the contributions of this thesis is the identification that artists are involved in a wider misrecognition of their activities and how they might service the development of artistic, social and economic capitals. The research helps to identify three important types of capital to artists but one of the key findings in the thesis is the artist's misrecognition of these capitals. The artists fail to recognise that what they are involved in is the maintenance and enhancement of capital. They speak of their social activities but deny that they are networking. Similarly they discuss elements of economic capital - through employment, payment, investments in practice and how they make a living – but they do not talk explicitly about making money. This misrecognition means that artists are missing an opportunity to use the framework, offered by Bourdieu's capitals, to provide insights

into their careers and their activities – particularly where they can gain understanding of the value of different aspects of capital or in how the capitals can each contribute to the development of other capitals.

In relation to artists' denial of the economic, and their disinterest in it, it draws questions on why artists frame it in this way. As the study has shown there are several elements involved in the development of economic capital and many of these methods are things which artists are engaged in on a regular basis. A particular example is how artists' careers have a particular resemblance to entrepreneurial careers - through the way they are seen as chasing capital, or driven by the next opportunity. In spite of their entrepreneurialism artists do not recognise their activities as such because of their denial of the economic. However, the study pulls out insights into their entrepreneurial behaviour in terms of artistic and economic. Artists eschew the entrepreneurial but show similarities with regard to the focus for their career; therefore without recognising it they are building capitals.

7.2 Discussion of Artists in Practice

In addition to a discussion of capitals and contributions the thesis has made to the literature, this chapter includes a section on the findings which have arisen from analysis of artistic practice. This section forms around three key areas drawn out of the thesis: the role of art schools, working with arts organisations and the role of gatekeepers. These insights contribute to the body of literature on artistic careers, providing insights to how artists structure their careers and how they understand and rationalise what it is that they do. This study offers insight into how artists work with galleries, the benefits and challenges, which may help them to better understand the pathways that are open to them and their own career journey so far. This chapter will help to pull these out findings and the crucial role that these activities have in artists' careers.

7.21 The Role and Influence of Art Schools

The thesis found that art schools, for the most part, have become the dominant means by which art students become inculcated with artistic capital. As the principal means of training for artists entering the sub-field of restricted production, art schools become important influencers for art students preparing to enter the field of contemporary art. Qualifications were found to be of limited, or no value, in developing artistic and social capital, thus implying that practical teaching and socialisation during this time was critical

in instilling the skills and knowledge that contribute to the acquisition and enhancement of artistic capital.

Art schools are centred on development of artistic capital as opposed to addressing commercial concerns. Through the omission of training relating to commercial aspects of artistic practice, art students are prepared for developing aspects of their artistic capital but not necessarily for how to secure enough economic capital to enable them to sustain their practice. Although the focus of the discussion has centred around the art market, the art world is more complex than that – with the art market being only one part. Art schools can then be said to be focussing on this wider remit of creative and cultural skills that have application and value, aside from those imparted by the market for contemporary art. In the literature there are arguments for support of artistic practice beyond the marketplace, usually formed around the motif of *art for art's sake* (see Eikhof & Haunschild 2007). This thesis focuses on the development of three forms of capital throughout the artist's career and the focus on artistic and commercial proves useful in understanding this art for art's sake mind-set, part of artistic capital, and how art schools contribute to the development of that. Although the art market is only one part of the art world, it is important to acknowledge that it is a crucial component which many artists engage with throughout their careers. Almost all of the artists in this study have been involved in the art market in some form in their careers and thus there is an onus on art schools to impart to students at least some tools or knowledge in order for them to effectively understand and engage with this aspect of the art world.

I have argued through the empirical chapters that art schools are complicit in sheltering or shielding artists from the commercial market but I did not explore whether this was a deliberate and overt act. In fact the case seems to be that this activity is predominantly accidental or cultural and driven by those working in art schools who, by their experience as teaching-artists, are possibly less familiar with the commercial market than their extra-institutional counterparts. I found that artists who were teaching in art schools had often chosen that path as a means to continue practicing without the challenges and constraints of the marketplace. Thus in their work with art students they may be less familiar with the commercial market or place less value in understanding the commercial market, and therefore less able to or interested in imparting this understanding on students. I do believe there are elements of conscious choice around the avoidance of engaging in informed discussion around the commercial market in art schools. Art schools may be

worried about the impacts on artistic practice that a focus on the commercial market and development of economic capital might have. However I would argue that there are numerous artists globally who are sustaining a practice driven by artistic capital whilst also engaging with the commercial art market and thus it is possible to engage without become tainted by the economic side of the market. As I have found, commercial galleries are often key places for artists to develop their practice through the support they receive from commercial galleries. Although art schools may not always be conscious of their exclusion of the economic they have an obligation, as the principal route for art students to become artists, to offer these artists insight into the commercial aspect of the market which a number of them will be engaged in, in their future careers.

7.22 Working with Arts Organisations and the Role of Gatekeepers

The art world has thus far been framed around a concern for shielding artists from aspects of economic capital which can be thought to threaten their artistic capital. This act of sheltering begins at art school and continues through to their relationships with commercial galleries in their mid to late careers, and has even seeped into the publicly funded sector where curators avoid mention of economic capital.

It is not only art schools, but the wider art world which is complicit in the shielding of artists in terms of commercial elements and the market. I have been able to uncover instances where tensions were not present in the minds of artists but were assumed by others in the artistic field, like curators and gallerists, who act to shield artists from potential contamination; for example curators who will not talk about money with artists, leaving them confused. The apparatus of the art world supports the presumption of the contaminating effects of the market where artists are actively shielded from market issues. The assumed contamination – where artistic integrity is at risk from economic capital – has placed artists at a distinct disadvantage in terms of sustaining a career. A tension is imposed on artists and used as an excuse to avoid, or not engage in those conversations around practicalities of the proposed project. By excluding economic capital from the conversation, these curators and gallerists are perpetuating a tension where it does not necessarily exist. Although artists tend to actively separate themselves from the commercial activity of the art market, there is inevitable cross over at times. Artists cannot fully escape the commercial aspects of their work as they may need their work to reach a market in order to survive financially and they must contribute somewhat to this process beyond supply of their artwork – although the degree to which artists are involved varies

depending on their relationships with gallerists amongst other things. Galleries and institutions have a responsibility to recognise the challenges artists are faced with financially and their role in clarifying the financial position so that artists are able to make an informed and supported choice about their activities in terms of budgets and fees.

The artist-gallery relationship proved crucial in the debate of artistic and commercial through breaking down myths that all galleries are only interested in economic and financial gains. Work by Velthuis (2007) is particularly useful in this context given his in-depth analysis of pricing structures in contemporary art galleries in New York and Amsterdam. His work provides insight into how commercial galleries work and how they develop a market for an artist's work. This study adds to that with the perspective of artists on the role of a commercial gallery in their career development. Commercial galleries tend to have longer and closer relationships with artists owing to their role in representing the artist, building their career, getting them access to opportunities both public and private – through residencies, awards and sales. In spite of the positive aspects of the artist-gallerist relationship, the role of galleries in disempowering the artist became apparent, in that artists often did not know what their galleries did for them and were not always confident enough to be able to ask, or even negotiate. The lack of contracts also fed into this disempowerment, but the artists suggested that their ignorance of contracts would mean that should one be presented to them they are not necessarily going to feel any more secure in their relationship with galleries.

Artists reconciled that they needed publicly funded galleries for their prestige and access to audiences and opportunities to develop their practice; however, they struggled with how they could not afford to do public gallery shows alone. Public galleries, however, provide important platforms for visibility and consecration of works of art and artists' careers. The operating model of public spaces involves showing many artists so as to satisfy obligations to funders and audiences, public institutions cannot usually exhibit an artist more than once within a small time frame. Thus the closer relationship between commercial gallerists and artists can occur since they work together more often. Throughout the interviews the artists have recognised the support they have received beyond exhibition opportunities and through things like residencies but also just through production space, and workshop space given to them – often by publicly funded galleries. This raises interesting questions about how commissions, residencies and exhibition are not always driven by a market, but are supposed to service the development of artistic

capital. However, as I argued earlier in this chapter there are challenges in how you uncouple those activities from one another – given the extensive cross over between artistic, social and economic. It cannot be argued that anything is truly without a market given that opportunities like exhibitions and residencies provide spaces for artists to make work that they may then intend to sell. I do not believe that the two can be separated in the context of the work of artists interviewed for this thesis – particularly given the overlap between artistic, social and economic capitals. Even publicly funded galleries and institutions are involved in the wider activities of the market and thus cannot be exempted from that activity even through conscious uncoupling.

There is also crossover in this study around the role of publicly and commercially funded institutions in terms of supporting one another; typically the commercial gallery would support the public institution directly with economic capital and the publicly funded institution supports the commercial indirectly through support of the artists, in terms of prestige but also through arts-related employment that they often provide to artists. The artists spoke about occasions where their commercial galleries were approached to contribute financially to an exhibition or a launch party and sometimes the commercial gallery would heavily discount the sale price of a work to ensure the publicly funded gallery would be able to afford the work as part of their collection. Although this activity appears commonplace it is less well signalled and contributes to the apparent tension between artistic and commercial when commercial activity is not explicitly acknowledged in its support role of the public sector.

This role and impact of gatekeepers is important in the context of the art world. Gatekeepers proliferate in the art world from the beginning of an artist's career right up to the later stages. It has become important to address the role of gatekeepers as highlighted in this thesis as this provides some context for moving the research forward but also for addressing the research question of how artists manage artistic and commercial in their careers. Art schools can be argued to be gatekeepers in the sense that they control the major gateway into becoming an artist, and later curators and gallerists hold positions within arts organisations and institutions that can offer artists consecration and access to opportunities which will ultimately prove essential in developing their career. Art schools are complicit in restricting success in the art market – they need several hundred students in order to survive, but they know only a small number can make it. Questions therefore arise firstly around the access to this pathway and those who choose an alternative route,

but then also around those who are accepted into art school and what their chances are in terms of surviving as an artist in a market which is argued to be oversupplied (Menger 2006). Art schools are even found to be selectively inviting candidates to join MFA courses in addition to traditional application processes. This raises the question about access and reaffirms their role as gatekeepers.

One of the artists raised an issue around the role of arts organisations as intermediaries between artists and funders. Artists want to bypass conventional gatekeepers and go straight to funders. But public funding requires these gatekeepers in order to manage the relationships with artists more effectively. One of the artists felt more direct contact between funding bodies and artists on a more regular basis may help artists to feel more empowered by giving them access to the decision-makers, while providing an opportunity for funding bodies to demystify the processes of application and acceptance. One of the artists even mentioned the need for an alternate model for artists to be able to engage with the commercial sector, other than representation by a commercial gallery, for example the model of an individual agent. This avenue could be something that publicly funded institutions might be able to address or support, however it is also possible that this may require more hybrid input from commercially funded institutions as well.

7.3 Reflecting On The Research

One of the greatest strengths of the research exists in the substantial empirical data gathered directly from artists about their careers and the activities they undertook, employment and projects, which explores how they understand the development of their career and the field within which they are working. In trying to best investigate the existence of a tension between artistic and commercial the study does not assume there is a tension nor that this tension can only be understood in a dichotomised manner. Rather the research question is addressed at a tangent and the career histories of artists allow the data not to be driven by a hypothesis that a tension does already exist. The career histories approach provides the opportunity to continue developing the research either through adding to the sample group with career histories from more artists, or through returning to these artists to further explore their understanding of their career over a period of time. A further strength of the research exists in the application of three capitals within one thesis. Artistic, social and economic capitals could each have formed a single analysis;

however, I felt that each was inextricably linked in terms of addressing the research question.

I identified in the literature review that an analysis of symbolic capital was beyond the scope of this research, since this would rely on further accounts from gatekeepers in the field. Although I feel that the exclusion of this presents a limitation to the study I am also aware that this is something which can be explored in greater detail in future research in response to this thesis.

A drawback of the research exists in the limitations of the research methodology - single interviews might introduce the possibility of recall bias amongst the participants and although supporting documents were used, there is always the possibility of deliberate bias where the artists present an account of themselves which highlights particular aspects that help them to position themselves in a way that they see as appealing. However, I am confident (having conducted the study and through my familiarity of the supporting documents, anonymity and having spent time with these artists) that they were all comfortable with their understanding of the value of honesty and candidness that would enable me to make the most of the research. I am confident, however - having conducted the study, through use of supporting data, guarantees of anonymity, and having spent time with these artists - that they were all comfortable with their understanding of the value of honesty and candidness that would enable me to make the most of the research. I also acknowledge an element of survivor bias may enter into the conversation around these artists. These artists have managed to survive and made particular choices around sacrificing economic capital which they were able to do. Therefore the study does not account for individuals who may not have been able to sustain the level of frugal lifestyle which these artists have all spoken about. I believe this may be something worth investigating in the future beyond the framework of this thesis.

7.4 Future Research

The research itself provides several avenues to continue developing both through academic channels but also through practical outcomes. Although an understanding of artistic and commercial is the crux of the study, the data gathered reaches far beyond a single thesis and has potential to continue to develop the work begun during this time for

audiences; both academics and practitioners. There are several avenues which have potential for future development beyond the contributions within the thesis, including extending the discussion further in the disciplines of management, careers, art history, and higher education.

The career history approach allows for the research to be supplemented in the future with the possibility of widening the collection of artists interviewed and also expanding knowledge of the current selection of artists through revisiting the participants at a later stage to readdress these topics or to undertake full life histories, to look at other aspects - perhaps outside of their career. As a whole the methodological choices allowed the research necessary breadth to be able to follow the data, whilst providing opportunity to develop the research further at later stages.

A dimension reaching out from the thesis is examination of symbolic capital, speaking to ideas of status, reputation and the role of gatekeepers in the artistic field. An in-depth analysis of the role of gatekeepers was beyond the scope of this study since the aims were to explore the careers of artists from their perspective. The interviews that formed the basis for this thesis could be supplemented at a later stage with interviews from curators, collectors and gallerists exploring the notion of symbolic capital. An exploration of symbolic capital would help to bring into focus the role of gatekeepers much more clearly. In addition the consecration of an artist and their works has only been mentioned in this last chapter, and this is a deliberate choice. Much of the interpretation of consecration forms around a discussion of symbolic capital and in the role of others in recognising this consecration of the artist. I raise it at the end as a way of signalling the possibilities for future research which can be developed out of this thesis.

More broadly the empirical data has also alluded to further potential research topics such as a more in depth analysis of the artist-gallerist relationship, contributing to work by Velthuis (2007) on pricing structures, and qualitative interview material from authors such as Thornton (2008, 2014a) and de Coppet & Jones (1985, 2002). Another possibility for future research arises from the emphasis on art school as the space where artists develop artistic capital. This does not account for alternative narratives in developing artistic capital outside of the formal education route. Although the literature identifies that the art school pathway is the most prevalent there may be opportunity to understand why

this is the case, and how artists develop the necessary artistic and social capital if not through these formal means.

Gender issues in the field of contemporary art may be another aspect that could contribute to discussions around differences in incomes and prestige in male and female artists' careers, or perhaps to further interrogate the impact of having children on the careers of female artists; or other barriers to entry (Alper & Walsall 2006; Lindemann 2013). The data implied a divide between the types of employment male and female artists undertake to supplement the income from their practice. Further exploration of this could provide useful insights as to the extent these different activities contribute to or hinder artists' careers, possibly within the framework of Bourdieu's notions of social and economic capital.

Although the study briefly addressed some aspects of collaborative practice through the activities of the artists there is scope in the empirical data to explore this further by following the examples and further interrogating the three artists involved who were engaged in permanent collaborations as their main mode of practice. The discussion around collaborative practice was predominantly positive and further investigation into the challenges and impacts of collaborative practice would need to be uncovered.

There were further issues entirely unexplored in the career histories which speak to support mechanisms discussed in the literature around emotional, professional and financial support from partners and families (Alper & Wassall 2006). A broader life history of the artists may be helpful in contributing to an analysis of the degree of reliance which artists have on partners and family, and their role in supporting the artist's career aspirations, as well as the influence where both partners are artists, or work in the artistic field. A full life history could also uncover aspects of class in terms of the artists themselves, exploring the role of inherited cultural capital in relation to the development of talent and cultural appreciation during school years as a precursor for the development of artistic capital. Although I uncovered how class has less purchase in artists' development of artistic capital, there was inference in the study to the role of gatekeepers and class. The artists themselves alluded to the power of collectors and other gatekeepers, as well as highlighting the challenges of a lack of economic capital in sustaining a commercial art gallery. An analysis of capitals in relation to gatekeepers in the field of artistic production such as curators, museum directors, collectors, and so forth, may hold

significance in a discussion of the progression of artists' careers. Extending the investigation of class and capitals to this aspect of the sub-field of restricted production could prove enlightening for understanding the development of artistic careers and the wider structures of the field.

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APPENDICES

9.0 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interviewee Key.....	264
Appendix 2: Research Request Letter	265
Appendix 3: Ethics Documentation.....	266
Appendix 4: Career Questions (Generic)	269
Appendix 5: Career Questions (Specific)	270
Appendix 6: Timeline A.....	272
Appendix 7: Timeline B.....	273
Appendix 8: Timeline C	274
Appendix 9: Timeline D.....	275
Appendix 10: Timeline E.....	276

Key:

Age	Gender	Country of Origin	Lives & Works	Career Stage	Under-grad	Post-grad	Gallery Representation*	Career Length	Medium
34-44	M	England	Scotland	Mid	Y	N	Y	20	Sculpture, Illustration
34-44	F	USA	Scotland	Mid	Y	Y	Y	16	Sculpture, Illustration
34-44	M	England	Scotland	Mid	Y	Y	Y	15	Public Art, Ceramics, Illustration
45-54	F	Scotland	Scotland	Mid/Late	Y	Y	Y	24	Sculpture, Installation
45-54	M	Netherlands	Scotland	Mid/Late	N	Y	N (Y)	25	Socially engaged practice
34-44	F	Scotland	England	Mid	Y	N	N (Y)	18	Film, Video, New Media
34-44	F	England	Italy	Mid	Y	Y	Y	16	Film
45-54	M	Scotland	Scotland	Mid/Late	Y	Y	N (Y)	23	Mixed: Film, Sculpture
25-33	M	Scotland	Scotland	Early	Y	Y	N	6	Video
34-44	M	England	England	Mid	Y	Y	N (Y)	20	Film, Video, New Media
25-33	M	N. Ireland	Scotland	Early	Y	Y	N (Y)	7	Painting
34-44	F	Denmark	Scotland	Early/Mid	Y	N	N	13	Installation, Painting
34-44	F	England	Scotland	Early/Mid	Y	N	Y	12	Video Printmaking
34-44	M	Scotland	Scotland	Mid	Y	N	Y	21	Sculpture, Installation
34-44	M	England	England	Mid	Y	N	Y	17	Collage, Design, Painting
34-44	M	England	England	Mid	Y	N	Y	14	Sound, Installation
45-54	M	Scotland	Scotland	Mid/Late	Y	Y	Y	29	Illustration, Installation
45-54	M	Scotland	England	Early/Mid	Y	Y	Y	11	Painting
34-44	F	England	USA	Mid	Y	N	N (Y)	14	Mixed, Installation
65-74	M	Scotland	Scotland	Late	Y	N	Y	46	Painting, Public Art
65-74	M	USA	Scotland	Late	Y	Y	Y	42	Photography
34-44	M	Scotland	Scotland	Early/Mid	Y	N	Y	14	Mixed, Sculpture
25-33	F	Scotland	England	Early/Mid	Y	N	Y	9	Socially engaged practice
54-64	M	Wales	England	Late	Y	Y	Y	39	Sculpture, Installation
34-44	F	Scotland	Scotland	Mid	Y	Y	Y	21	Sculpture, Installation

*Gallery Representation N (Y) = Not currently represented, but has been in the past.



Dundee Contemporary Arts

Dear

DCA is currently undertaking a research project in partnership with the University of St Andrews which is looking at the ways in which the careers of key artists in Scotland have developed.

We would very much like to work with you on this project which is focused on increasing understanding around the support mechanisms for artists in Scotland. The project is led by PhD student Emma Flynn and is being supported by Creative Scotland and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

The research is gathering career histories of a selected number of artists who have worked with DCA over the last 10 years and the findings will feed into Emma's PhD thesis but also into the DCA archive, and the work of Creative Scotland and the wider sector.

Emma has been working on the development of this project over the past year and will soon begin interviewing the selected artists about their careers and experiences using a method known as topical life history method, which is used to learn about a slice of someone's life through their own words – similar to a biography and often used in sociology and anthropology. The interviews will be very open and although some general questions may be asked to guide both the artist and researcher, the career history should be told in the words of the artist.

We believe that your career history is one of those that could provide useful insights and we would therefore like to invite you to participate in this study.

Thank you for taking the time to consider this proposal and we hope that you will be able to assist Emma as she progresses with her research. Emma will be in touch directly to confirm whether or not you will be willing to participate and if you have any questions you can direct these to myself, Emma or the University – details attached.

Best wishes,

Clive Gillman
Director

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Dear Participant, Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. This *information sheet* outlines the research project and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant. It should be read in conjunction with the *Participant Consent Form*, which details how the research will be used and stored.

Project Title

Building Capital, Negotiating Careers

Project Context and Outline

Scotland has indications of a significant and growing market for contemporary art, but it remains small in comparison to London or Berlin. There are clear discrepancies in terms of degrees of knowledge in the art market and despite Scotland having four art schools, only a small percentage of graduates go on to practice as artists. The project explores artists' understandings and negotiations with the market for contemporary art through in-depth interviews. It seeks to understand the extent to which artists are aware of any differences between artistic and commercial logics and how they manage these issues during their careers. It will look at the career histories of artists who have worked with the DCA since 1999, and these narratives will be used to explore the career trajectories and support mechanisms of contemporary visual artists with the hope that they can provide greater clarity for market participants and observers.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The researcher will guarantee anonymity in the write-up and publication of the final study as well as in any future publication (see Output), being mindful to eliminate job titles and/or details of work that may reveal identities indirectly. If it is essential to give a sense of context to the script you will be given a pseudonym and any details will be obscured for use in verbal and written records and reports. Data collected will be treated with full confidentiality, handled only by the researcher and supervisors, and will be stored securely. The collected data will be destroyed after the completion of the researcher's Ph.D. Programme. It is ensured that the primary material is available to be checked.

Output

This research is part of the researcher's doctoral studies at the University of St. Andrews School of Management. Aside from the thesis the collected knowledge will be used for conference papers, journal articles and a report to the sponsor organisations, Dundee Contemporary Arts and Creative Scotland.



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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET Continued

Withdrawal

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and should you wish to withdraw at any time then you may do so without explanation. All existing data which you have provided will remain confidential and be treated as described in the original participant consent form, a copy of which is attached.

Questions

If you have any questions before, during or after the interview please ask. My contact details can be found below.

Further Information

Further information can be found through the following web sources:

www.st-andrews.ac.uk/icc; www.dca.org

www.esrc.ac.uk; www.st-andrews.ac.uk;

www.st-andrews.ac.uk/management/aboutus/people/researchstudents/emmaflyn

Contact Details	
Emma Flynn (Researcher) School of Management University of St Andrews The Gateway, North Haugh St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9SS T: 07909 970470 E: eef7@st-andrews.ac.uk	Professor Barbara Townley (Supervisor) School of Management University of St Andrews The Gateway, North Haugh St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9SS T: 01334 461974 E: bt11@st-andrews.ac.uk



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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM for INTERVIEWS

Project Title

Building Careers, Negotiating Capital

Please Return Form To:

Emma Flynn (Researcher), School of Management, University of St Andrews
The Gateway, North Haugh, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9SS
T: 07909 970470 E: eef7@st-andrews.ac.uk

Consent

The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do and you are free to withdraw at any stage. Material gathered during this research will be treated as confidential and securely stored. All data quoted will remain anonymous in order to protect the identity of the participant.

Interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed.

You have the option of omitting questions you do not want to answer.

A copy of your interview transcript will be provided.

Please indicate your consent by completing the following:

I have read and understood the information sheet.

Yes No

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions.

Yes No

I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.

Yes No

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give an explanation.

Yes No

I agree to the interview(s) being audio taped and transcribed and to its contents being used for research purposes as specified in the Participant Information Sheet.

Yes No

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Name (Block Capitals) _____

CAREER HISTORY INTERVIEW PROMPTS (GENERIC)

Introduction

- Tell me about what you are working on just now.

Education

- When you decided to go to art school why did you choose [that art school]?
- Tell me about your time at art school.

Work Transition / Early Career

- After you left art school how did you support yourself?
- Can you remember your first gallery show, what was your experience of it?
- What about your second gallery show, how did that go, were you better prepared for the experience?
- What was your first experience of a commercial gallery?
- How did this differ from your current experience of working with a commercial gallery?
- What types of work have you undertaken in your career so far?

Career Trajectory / Decisions

- What do you consider to be your breakthrough?
- Tell me about any shows you feel made a difference in terms of sustaining your practice or career?
- What were the crucial decisions in your career?

Future Thinking

- What time in your career would you like to repeat?
- Where do you see your career going/ What are your plans for the future?

Closing

- Is there anything else that you would like to add? (e.g. how life outside work impacted your career)

CAREER HISTORY QUESTIONS (SPECIFIC)

Below is a selection of questions drawn from the interview transcripts which demonstrate the more specific questions used as prompts during the interviews. For some artists they only needed the initial question as a starting point and entirely led the interview, as was the case for Robert. For others, however, there was more need to use arising topics from their conversation to encourage them to continue speaking. The onus remained on the interview leading the conversation, as defined by the career history method.

I have divided these broadly under the sub-themes of artistic, social and economic, as they are addressed in the thesis; including a few broader ones that spanned across these sub-themes.

Artistic

- Other than being invited did you have a sense that you wanted to do an MFA?
- You talked about that time when you stopped making work and got a job, played in a band, doodled drawings. Did you have a sense that this wasn't enough, or that you didn't want to become a musician perhaps?
- You talked about a few residencies you have been on, can you tell me more about how you find that process, are these things you apply for regularly and do you need that space to enable you to make work?
- You said early on that you chose to go down the university art school route rather than the independent art school route, why was that?

Social

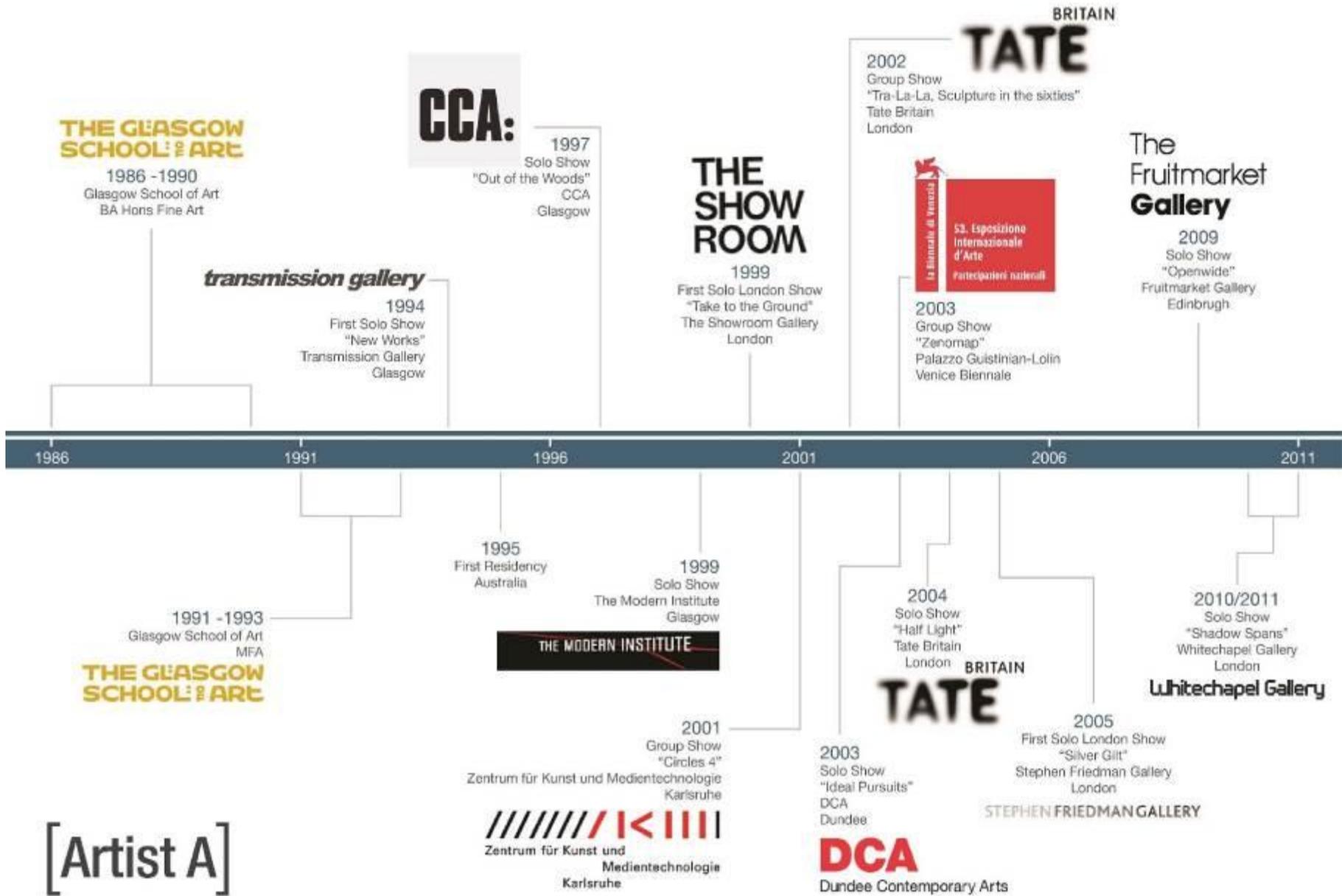
- How did you find that experience of working with your peers in an artist run environment as opposed to other things you had done, like Art School?
- You said that as an artist you really have to dig to find out how a gallery system works. So when you were talking with the galleries, were you talking to your peers who were already working with commercial galleries to get a better idea of how it all works?
- You have spoken quite a lot about your peers and their influence on you in terms of moving to London and your partner as well. Can you give me any particular examples of individuals or groups that have been a source of support or influence?
- We haven't spoken much about your peers, do you still meet and talk about work or is it more social?
- You talked earlier about your decision, along with your peers, to stay in the city you graduated in with the promise that the city was on the cusp of change. Can you tell me more about that?
- Did you feel it was important to keep the network of your peers active?
- These fancy dinners that you mentioned, what was it like to be exposed to this new side of the art world?

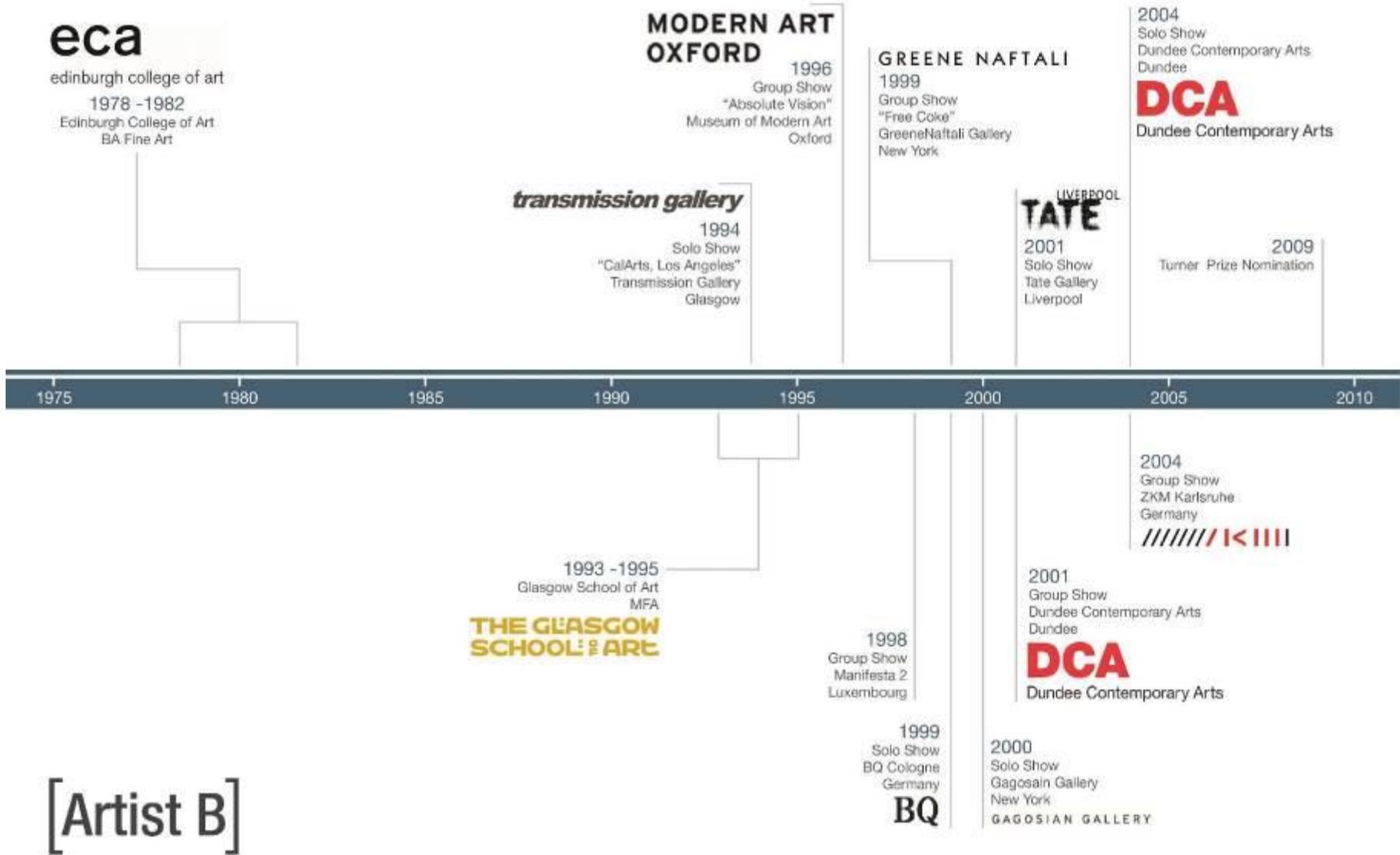
Economic

- Did the galleries deal with sales or did you deal with them yourself?
- Are you still applying for funding and residencies?
- Was it quite a learning curve writing funding applications to arts councils, foundations and others, did you have experience of writing them?
- Your time working for the funding body, how did that affect your practice and did that change the way you approached people about your work?
- So these conversations around budgets and the reluctance to lay out the practicalities – is this something that you have found across the board or does it differ, perhaps when you are working with museums whose budgets may be set years in advance?
- What made you decide not to sell these works?
- Is that something that you are quite decided on, that you don't want to meet the collectors?
- Do you think that has helped them, having these ideas of how the gallery system works or could that hinder them and it's perhaps better to be more naïve?
- The process of applying for funding, is that a skill you have learnt over the years, is it something you always do in collaboration with an organisation?
- Most of your work is publicly funded but you mentioned an instance where your gallery funded production, is there any difference in how those projects function depending on how it's commissioned?
- Did you find you were still able to make work while you were employed full-time?
- Did you feel it really was quite a struggle to stay in Scotland as a practicing artist at that time?
- After winning that arts prize did you find that it opened up a lot of opportunities or did you experience a lull?

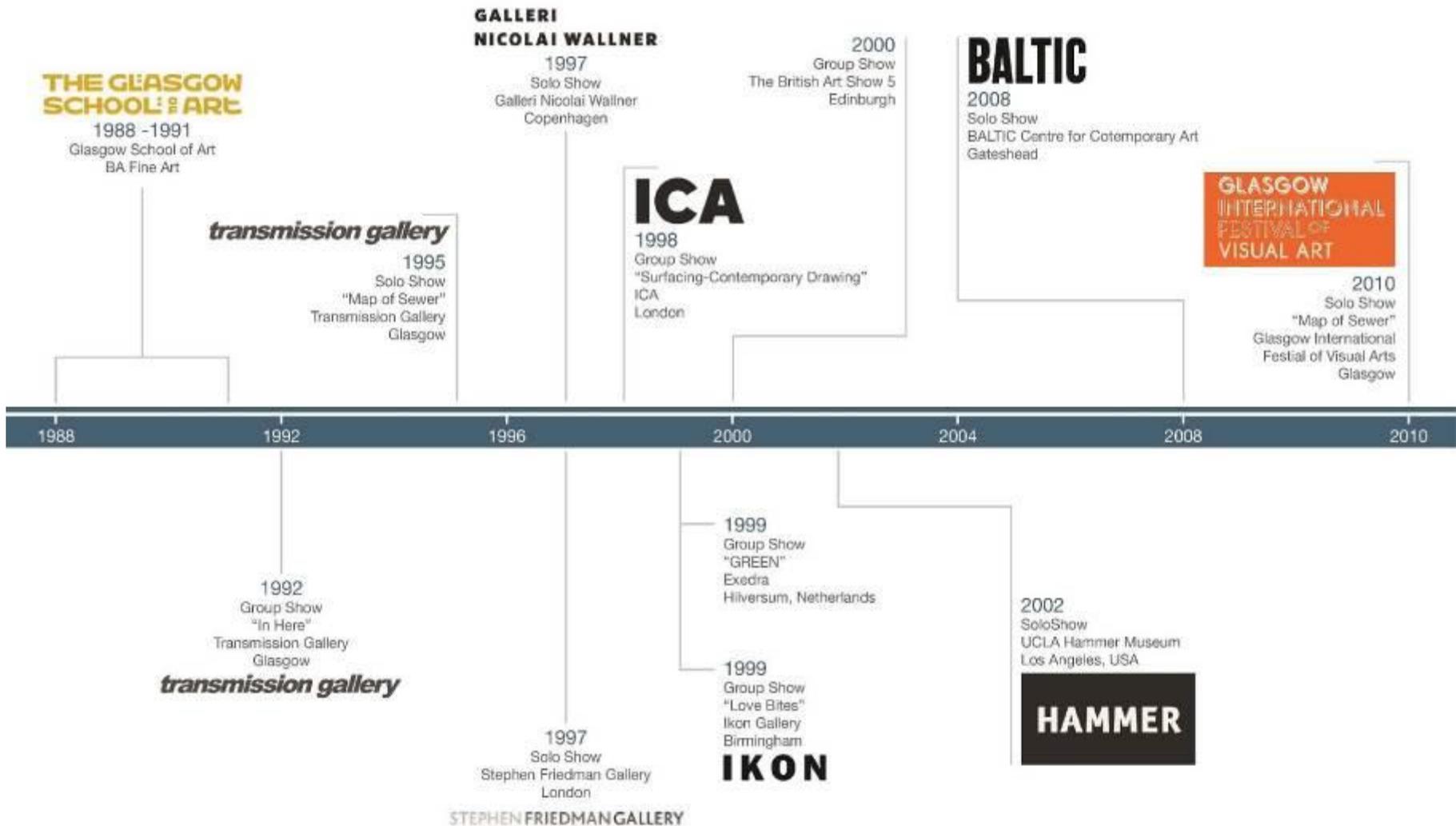
General

- Can you think of any important decisions in your career so far, either to do something or perhaps turn something down?
- In terms of working with public galleries how does that compare to working with the private/commercial sector
- I notice you have quite a lot of files around, is it quite important for you to catalogue everything you do?
- You mentioned your how having a child impacts on your time, could you speak more about that?





[Artist B]



[Artist C]



1993 - 1997
Duncan of Jordanstone
BA Fine Art

2003
Solo Show
Galeria Sonia Rosso
Turin, Italy

THE MODERN INSTITUTE

2001
Solo Show
The Modern Institute
Glasgow

2005
Solo Show
The Breeder
Athens

JERWOOD SPACE

2011
Solo Show
Jerwood Space
London

1993

1996

1999

2002

2005

2008

2011

1999
Group Show
"Fields and Rays and Green Numbers"
Transmission Gallery
Glasgow
transmission gallery

2002
Group Show
Or Gallery
Vancouver

2007
Group Show
Tate Britain
London
TATE
BRITAIN

2009
Group Show
Dundee Contemporary Arts
Dundee
DCA
Dundee Contemporary Arts

2000
Group Show
The Modern Institute
Glasgow

THE MODERN INSTITUTE

2011
Group Show
Layr Wuestenhagen Contemporary
Vienna

[Artist D]

