Markets framed by culture
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Appendix 1
Distribution of respondents per primary professional activity and city of data collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary professional activity</th>
<th>Moscow</th>
<th>St. Petersburg</th>
<th>New Delhi</th>
<th>Mumbai</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Art dealer</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collector</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneer/owner</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum/foundation director</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art journalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art fair owner</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2
Sample interview questionnaire for art dealers and artists

Art Dealers

Introductory questions

• When and why did you decide to open a gallery?
• What atmosphere do you create in the gallery for its visitors? How do you accomplish it? Is the gallery open for general visitors on the regular working days?

Work with artists

• Which services does your gallery provide for artists? (short- or long-term basis)
• Do you represent artists exclusively? Is it important for you? Is it appropriate to work with artists represented by other galleries?
• Do you work on consignment or buy art works from them?
• Is it important for you to have good (friendly?) relationships with artists? Are there any restrictions of your relationships with artists?
• How do you find new artists? Do you think artists should be active themselves in contacting galleries?
• Do you discuss with artists their work? What aspects? Do you have an influence on the final product?
• Do you think an artist should have a recognizable style?

Promotion of artists: General

• How can you help an artist to become successful in the contemporary art market?
• Do you usually have a long term plan how an artist's career should develop?
• Have you established a typical approach to promotion of artists or is it always artist/situation/context dependent? Can you provide an example of different approaches?
• Do you seek for international recognition of the artists you work with? Is it important for you? Why? How do you work on artists' recognition on the international art scene?
• What are the indicators of success in Russia and abroad? How do you understand that an artist is internationally recognized?
• What would you consider a success or important achievement for an artist on different stages of his/her career? Can you give several examples of the artists you work with?
• Do you work on the public image of an artist you collaborate with? How? What can harm an artist’s image/ market success?

**Specific questions: Media**

• Are media important for your work and why? Which?
• Do you work with media/art critics?
• What information do you provide to art critics/journalists? (about the gallery/artist/exhibition/artwork)
• Do you have a PR department or assistant in the gallery? What work do they do?
• Do you use internet in your business? How? Is it becoming more important than earlier?

**Specific questions: Art fairs**

• Is it important to participate in art fairs? Why?
• How do you choose in which art fairs to participate and which artists/artworks to bring there?
• What can be a reason for you to refuse to participate in an art fair?

**Specific questions: Exhibition policy**

• How many exhibitions do you have per year? Would you like to be able to do more or less? Why?
• Do you organize more solo or group exhibitions? Are there any differences between them? What can be the purposes to organize either one or another?
• How do you choose artworks for a particular exhibition?
• Do you take your customers into consideration when preparing a new exhibition?
• Who produces exhibitions? Do you have a curator? Do you invite guest curators? Why?
• Is gallery space changing from exhibition to exhibition (lightening/colors/temporary walls etc.)? How? What are the reasons for that? Who decides how the exhibition settings should look like?
• How are openings usually organized? (official/informal) What is your invitation policy for the openings?
• Are you interested in any particular (type of) people to come to an opening? Collectors/critics/friends? Why? How do you encourage them to come?
Work with collectors

- Who do you sell art to? Do you have a stable list of buying collectors? Or are they new all the time?
- Do you keep in touch with your customers? How?
- Do you advise to your collectors on what to buy? What is important for you?
- Do you ask artists to produce a new artwork if you know a collector interested in it?
- Do you sell to anybody who is interested in the artworks you have? Can you refuse to sell an artwork to somebody? What would be a reason?
- Are there any types of visitors that you are not happy to see in a gallery? Who are they?

General questions

- Are you a member of any dealer’s association? Or any other art related community? What are their aims? Why do you participate in them?
- Are there any informal groups that you can associate yourself with in the art world?
- How do you think, why people come to buy artworks at your gallery in particular? How is your gallery different from others in the market?
- Is it important for an art dealer to stay visible in the art world? What do you do to achieve that?
- Are there any ways of doing art commerce that you personally don’t approve?
- Do you have a model or ideal of running a gallery that you follow? Do you have a prototype?
- Are there any formal or informal rules of art business in Russia/India? (Do’s and don’ts) For example, what can harm your business or status in an art community?

Artists

Introductory questions

- When did you decide to become a professional artist?
- Do you care about your career in the art market? (if NO: but do you still sell your artworks?)
- Do you work with galleries or any other sales places?
- Do you have a studio? Do you organize vernissages there? Do you sell artworks from the studio?
- Are you represented by a gallery? By how many? In which cities/countries do you have galleries that you work with?
- How did you start working with these galleries? Do you think artists should be active in approaching galleries?
• What services do the galleries provide for you? (exhibitions/resources/fairs etc.) Are you informed about the sales of your works from the galleries?
• Do you think it is important to be represented by a commercial gallery today? Why? OR: Would you like to work with a commercial gallery? Why?
• Do you think it is good to have many galleries? Why?
• Do you think exclusive representation (in a city/country/region) is important? Why?
• What qualities should a gallery have in order for you (to want) to work with it?
• Do you exhibit regularly somewhere else? OR: Where do you usually exhibit your artworks?
• Do you sell your artworks at these exhibitions?
• Where else do you sell your artworks? How do you find/choose these places/events?

Promotion: exhibitions

• Do you participate more in solo or group exhibitions? What can be the advantages or disadvantages of participation either in one or another?
• Do you participate in the organization process of your exhibitions? How?
• Who do you invite to an exhibition of your works?
• How do you choose artworks for a particular exhibition? Do you envision potential spectators?
• How do you choose in which art events to participate? What can be a reason for you to refuse to participate in an art event you are invited to?
• Do you think that commercial and non-commercial art events and institutions are influencing each other? How?

Artworks in the market

• Do you work in one technique/style or try different ones? Art works in which techniques are selling better?
• Did you ever notice that some of your works are more attractive for collectors than others? How can you explain it?
• Do you create different works for sale and not for sale? Do you have art works that are not for sale? Why? Where do you exhibit them?
• Can you say that you have a distinctive/recognizable style? What is specific about it? Is it important for you? Why?
• Do you know of any artworks, which you or your gallery sold, that were resold afterwards? Does it happen often? Do you think it helps your market success?
Media and critics

• Are media important for you work and why? Which are?
• Do you collaborate with some media or art critics? How is your collaboration organized?
• Are you active in the internet? How does internet help you to promote your artworks?

Professional strategies

• Do you have a long-term idea of how your career should develop? What are your goals and plans? How will you attain them?
• Is it important to stay visible in the art world? Why? What do you do to accomplish that?
• Do you consider yourself a public person? Do you work on your public image? How?
• Do you think that market success is important for a contemporary artist today? What do you understand by market success?
• Do you seek for international recognition? Why? How should an artist promote him/herself abroad?

Buyers

• Do you have an image of your audience? Can you describe them?
• Who buys your artworks? Is it a particular type of people? Can you describe your typical buyer?
• Do you keep track of who has acquired your artworks? Is it important for you?
• Do you have regular buyers? Or are they new all the time?
• Do different people buy your artworks through different channels? Gallery/studio/festival/internet?
• Do you keep in touch with collectors who buy your art? How? Are you friends with them?
• Do you advise collectors what to buy? Do you convince them?
• Do you sell to everybody who is interested in the artworks you sell? Can you refuse selling an artwork? Why?
• Do you work on demand? Can a potential customer suggest you the topic/style/subject/colors?

General questions

• Are you a member of any artists’ association? Or any other art related community? What are the goals of these associations?
• Do these associations somehow support your work and sales of artworks?
• Are there any informal communities that you can associate yourself with in the art world?
• Do you have a role model or mentor in the art world? What characteristics would you like to adopt from this person?
• Who influences on your work? With whom do you discuss your artistic work? What aspects do you discuss? Aesthetic qualities/fitting the market/exhibition settings?
• Do you consider yourself a successful artist? What are the criteria?
• What can harm an artist’s image/ market success?
• How do you think, why people are interested in buying your artworks?
## Appendix 3

List of studied official art organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Chinese organizations</strong></th>
<th><strong>In local language</strong></th>
<th><strong>Official website</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China National Academy of Painting (CNAP)</td>
<td>中国国家画院</td>
<td><a href="http://www.chinanap.org/">http://www.chinanap.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing Fine Art Academy (BFAA)</td>
<td>北京画院</td>
<td><a href="http://www.bjaa.com.cn/">http://www.bjaa.com.cn/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Artists Association (CAA)</td>
<td>中国美术家协会</td>
<td><a href="http://www.caanet.org.cn/">http://www.caanet.org.cn/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing Artists Association (BAA)</td>
<td>北京市美术家协会</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Calligraphers Association (CCA)</td>
<td>中国书法家协会</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ccagov.com.cn/">http://www.ccagov.com.cn/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Russian organizations</strong></th>
<th><strong>In local language</strong></th>
<th><strong>Official website</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Russian Academy of Arts (RAA)</td>
<td>РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ ХУДОЖЕСТВ</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rah.ru/">http://www.rah.ru/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Union of Artist of Russia (UoAR)</td>
<td>СОЮЗ ХУДОЖНИКОВ РОССИИ</td>
<td><a href="http://www.shr.su/">http://www.shr.su/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Moscow Artists Union (MAU)</td>
<td>МОСКОВСКИЙ СОЮЗ ХУДОЖНИКОВ</td>
<td><a href="http://artanum.ru/">http://artanum.ru/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Creative Union of Russian Artists (CURA)</td>
<td>ТВОРЧЕСКИЙ СОЮЗ ХУДОЖНИКОВ РОССИИ</td>
<td><a href="http://tcxp.ru/">http://tcxp.ru/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bag checks of the crowds exiting the India Art Fair carrying some art with them.

New Delhi, February 2013
References


References


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References


Maines, D. R. (1993). Narrative’s Moment and Sociology’s Phenomena: Toward a Narrative Sociol-


BuksMArt.


Zitzewitz, K. (2013). The perfect frame: Presenting modern Indian art. Stories and photographs

Entrance to a contemporary art gallery.

St. Petersburg, May 2013
English summary

This dissertation is a comparative study of emerging contemporary art markets in Russia and India, in which I aimed to understand the differences between the two art markets and to theorize how local contexts affect market development. It answered the following research question: How can we explain the diversity of ways in which local contexts affect the development of new markets? I argue that there is a theoretical gap in the studies of market emergence and development, since most of the existing research takes an institutionalist stand and focuses on the increasing homogenization of organizational forms in the process of market emergence in new contexts (see, for example, Guthrie 2001; Lawrence and Phillips 2004; Jyrämä 2008). At the same time, there is a lack of conceptual tools to explain the widely observed diversity in this process (Beckert 2010). Our understanding of market emergence can be improved if we look at the local contexts not as obstacles on the way to institutional convergence, but as the available environment and resources necessary for markets to take shape. In order to understand how socio-cultural contexts matter in the process of market development, this thesis set out to identify the mechanisms that allow us to translate the elements of more general social order into particular market logics.

The thesis took the proliferation of contemporary art markets across the globe that started in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as an opportunity to study the process of market emergence that in many places has long passed or is hard to discern due to the large size or more complex structure of the developing markets (or market sectors). Empirically, the study has focused on the emerging contemporary art markets in Russia and India. In both countries the art markets barely existed prior to the 1990s, but other than that they have rather distinct histories and dynamics of development, which makes them a productive comparative case. For this research, I conducted 121 semi-structured interviews with 130 various art market participants (primarily with artists and art dealers) in Moscow, St. Petersburg, New Delhi, and Mumbai, between April 2012 and July 2013. In addition, in the period of data collection I made ethnographic observations at various art events (educational events for collectors, press conferences, artists’ studios, art fairs and the openings of exhibitions and residences). In the composition of this thesis each empirical chapter solves a puzzle related to the observed difference in the way local contexts affect the development of new markets in the two countries, and represents an analytical level at which local contexts turned out to be relevant in market development.
Chapter 2 explains why the similar organizational heritage of official art organizations, such as the Artists Unions and Art Academies, that were the main vehicles of art distribution in the communist era prior to the development of markets, ended up playing very different roles once the commerce for art began to develop (co-authored with Svetlana Kharchenkova and Olav Velthuis this chapter compares the Russian and Chinese art markets). In China, membership in these organizations became a status symbol, allowing an artist to set higher prices in the market. In Russia, membership in these organizations has very low status in the art market. Instead, they provide “welfare” support for artists whose market position is very weak. The chapter proceeds from the varieties of capitalism approach (Hall and Soskice 2001) to account for the diversity in institutional complementarity between old governmental organizations and new market infrastructure. Yet, the “varieties” observed in the two countries cannot be explained by historical differences (the original institutional structures were similar) or by differences in emergent institutional structures that official art organizations had to adapt to (commercial markets in both countries seemed to follow global patterns of development). The different roles that governmental art organizations ended up playing in the markets can be explained by the variation in the dominant interpretative frameworks that art market actors use when dealing with these organizations. Thus, in Russia, consecrated contemporary artists, their dealers and clients tend to see the participation of the state in market affairs in a negative light. They understand the state as a weakened villain that they can resist by organizing and participating in an independent private market. In China, on the contrary, for a significant group of artists and buyers, a relationship with the state in the form of official rankings equates to prestige. The role of the state and its relationship with the market is interpreted positively.

Chapter 3 analyzed the level of individual agencies of market actors to explain the paradox when the presence of social, economic and cultural resources, in case of India, and the complete absence of these, in case of Russia, both serve as mechanisms motivating actors to start commercial operations in an emerging contemporary art market. In the example of art dealers’ decisions to open a private gallery, the chapter investigates how potential entrepreneurs are motivated to become active in establishing new markets, and shows how different contexts “activate” the contemporary art markets in Russia and India. In India, family backgrounds predominantly structure the decision-making processes, among other ways, through the economic, social and cultural capital that these families provide. Art dealers see their role as providing an alternative to the lack of governmental support for art. In Russia, by contrast, art dealers explain their decision to open a gallery as creating an alternative to the strong but biased governmental support, while resources provided by family backgrounds are non-existent. It could be said that the activation mechanism here was “negative”: the situation of socio-economic turmoil in the 1990s and 2000s was an opportunity to try a new activity in the field of art and to establish oneself independently of the state during a period of its weakness. Thus, seemingly opposite situations in the socio-economic contexts of the two countries
provoked the same action, leading to the emergence of an art market. I argue that in this case we see how the idea of a market as a place for free economic exchange guides the actions of art dealers independently of available social structures. Even though the market itself was barely developed at the time when art dealers were making the decision to open a gallery, the possibility of a market served as an interpretative framework used by art dealers to solve different practical problems in the two countries. Employing an interpretative framework of an art market enabled different elements of local contexts in the two countries, reframing them into relevant resources for market development.

Chapter 4 also looked into the individual agencies of market actors, in this case early career artists, in the context of the available institutional infrastructure of the two art scenes. It aimed to show how the wider art scenes developing in the two countries can themselves be a relevant local context in which art markets develop. Empirically, I was wondering why artistic career strategies differ in the two countries, and what effect this can have on market development. In this chapter I showed how the differences between artists’ understandings of success, their relationships to various art market actors, and even the types of art they produce, are conditioned by the institutional composition of the artistic fields. In India, where non-commercial art institutions, such as museums and foundations, are scarce and art dealers are the most powerful gatekeepers, the career strategies of artists are shaped by market logic. In Russia artists are engaged in close relationships with locally strong non-commercial art institutions that provide alternative tracks for artistic recognition and promote anti-market orientations among artists. The argument is that the meaning systems of market actors reflect the institutional composition of the art worlds that art market actors are part of. Therefore, disinterestedness in economic success, often depicted as a universal organizing principle of the field of high art, is contextual, and is less relevant in art scenes where the balance of power between the commercial and non-commercial contemporary art institutions is different. Furthermore, prevalent interpretative frameworks have an effect on how the two markets develop, which types of institutions prevail, which practices are dominant, and how prominent the commercial success is. Dealing only with foundations and museums, and creating art that is hard to sell, Russian artists weaken the position of art dealers. At the same time, conforming to the dominance of commercial galleries, Indian artists support a world in which museums are obsolete.

Chapter 5 shifts the focus of analysis to the intra-market level in order to investigate the role of narratives in markets’ operation and elucidate why they structurally differ in Russia and India. This chapter is the theoretical core of the thesis, in which I argue that in order to understand the role that interpretative frameworks, such as narratives, play in the development of markets, we need to take into consideration both their internal dynamics and the social context of their production. Empirically, I looked at two versions of art market crisis narratives developed in Russia and India. The
chapter shows that there is a widely shared crisis narrative with a coherent structure in the Indian art market. Conversely, fragmented and contested stories that lack narrative structure dominate in the Russian art market. The analysis of the first case highlights the coherent narrative structure and shows its productive role in the Indian market – it provides a moral justification for existing market norms and produces a perspective for the future. The chapter argues that a market narrative has social functions: a coherent narrative maintains cohesion and allows smooth market operation, and therefore serves as a stabilization mechanism along with institutional structures or social networks. At the same time, fragmented stories filling the market in the Russian case send mixed signals, and fail to serve as a stabilization mechanism in the market. To understand the persistence of conflicting views of the crisis, the analysis of the second case focuses on the context of narrative production and connects the conflicting interpretations of the crisis in the Russian art market to contested hierarchies and persistent uncertainty. It shows that different versions of the crisis stories are employed by dominant groups of actors, striving to defend their legitimacy, and by actors aiming to question their domination in order to establish themselves in the market.

Finally, Chapter 6 zooms in on a single art market of India in order to question the assumptions about the homogeneity of a national market and the universal role that social contexts play in it. It investigates the differences in understandings of economic practices, by focusing on the practice of awarding a discount on a work of art, and shows how this is related to differentiation between actors within a single market. The argument is that unevenly distributed systems of norms and values affect the operation of a market. The chapter distinguishes two circuits of commerce (Zelizer 2010) in the Indian art market: internationally oriented artists and dealers, whose attitude towards discounts is shaped by the desire to defend the aesthetic value of art, and locally oriented artists and dealers, who are positive about giving discounts and embrace them as a legitimate element of their national culture. The strategy of giving (or not giving) a discount can be based on the rules of the communities of different scope and focus: international, but focused on art, in one case, local, but disregarding the specificity of a product, in the other. Explicit differences in meanings attached to market practices allow drawing symbolic boundaries in a market where all actors have to interact with one another. Thus, the two circuits not only coexist in the same market, but also are in opposition to each other. By defining the criteria of membership in a circuit and by controlling the crossing of its boundary, members of the circuit distinguish themselves from others, i.e. establish power relations between those who are in and those who are out.

In the conclusion of the dissertation I synthesize the findings and analytical observations of the empirical chapters into a coherent theoretical framework, explaining the mechanisms by which diverse local contexts affect the development of markets. I argue for the importance of interpretative frameworks used by market actors in defining which elements of local contexts matter for them and
in which ways. In other words, the main argument of this thesis is that interpretative frameworks mediate the effect of local contexts on market development by shaping the perceptions of local contexts and by enabling some, and dismissing other, strategies of action (Swidler 1986). I propose that, in order to explain this mediating effect, the studies of market development should draw on the resources of cultural sociology, focusing on the meaning-making processes in social life.

This thesis has shown that interpretative frameworks available to market actors are not a direct representation of available social structures. I have identified two reasons why they refract (rather than reflect) the impact of local contexts: first, interpretative frameworks have limited circulation within a market (and are unevenly distributed), and second, their immanent logics meaningfully enact the elements of local contexts in one or another way. Only when analyzed in conjunction, can these two dimensions sufficiently explain the mediating effect of interpretative frameworks. I argue that to perform such an analysis we need to draw from two different theoretical perspectives developed in cultural sociology. Thus, on the one hand, in order to investigate how interpretative frameworks relate to the social and material environment in which they are produced and circulated, I use the resources of the field theory developed by Bourdieu (1984; 1989). This perspective allows highlighting how the limited circulation of interpretative frameworks and the specific interests of actors belonging to different social groups lead to employing diverse elements of social contexts as active position-taking in an emerging field. On the other hand, the thesis follows the argument of the strong program in cultural sociology (Alexander and Smith 2001) advocating for the “relative autonomy of culture.” It implies that social behavior “follows codes that it does not invent” (Alexander 2003) and that these symbolic codes have their own inherent logic and dynamics that cannot be that easily reduced to external social structures. While these two perspectives are often presented as oppositional, this dissertation not only identifies their limitations, but also shows how they can productively complement each other.

The developed theoretical framework that refocuses the analysis of market development towards the meaning-making processes allows us to explain the diversity in the process of market emergence, and therefore contributes to the field of economic sociology. This dissertation shows that the idea of a market as a place for free economic exchange can have different symbolic meanings for market actors that go beyond maximizing individual profits. This means that markets can emerge and develop for a variety of reasons. Furthermore, by looking at the processes of meaning-making, we are able to better understand the early stages of market emergence, when the market has not yet established its own rules and routines, and market actors have to rely on the non-economic interpretative frameworks available in broader society. Uneven distribution of these frameworks feeds into the diversity behind the process of market emergence and affects the shapes markets take.
While this thesis has focused on the development of art markets, the ambition to apply cultural analysis to understand the process of market emergence is by no means restricted to the market for symbolic goods. Looking at the development of the infrastructure for trading contemporary art and the increasing commodification of art consumption in Russia and India can help us to understand a more diverse range of social issues in contemporary society. First, scholars have already shown that stock markets (Zuckerman 1999), financial markets (Abolafia 2010; Tognato 2012), medical markets (Almeling 2011; Healy and Kraviec 2012), and labor markets (Bauder 2001), are no less cultural and can be analyzed as such. Furthermore, new markets and market sectors still emerge in close proximity to our daily lives (Burawoy 2007). Such topics as the marketization of education (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Bartlett et al. 2002), the commodification of the body (Sharp 2000), nature or tourism (Johnston and Edwards 1994; Lawrence and Phillips 2004) receive a lot of public attention. The theoretical framework for studying the cultural mechanisms of market development can also be helpful for understanding the dynamics of these phenomena.
Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit proefschrift is een vergelijkende studie naar opkomende markten voor hedendaagse kunst in Rusland en India, met als doel de verschillen tussen de twee kunstmarkten te begrijpen en te theoretiseren hoe lokale contexten marktontwikkelingen beïnvloeden. Het beantwoordt de volgende onderzoeksvraag: Hoe kunnen we de diversiteit verklaren in de manieren waarop lokale contexten de ontwikkeling van nieuwe markten beïnvloeden? Ik betoog dat er een theoretische kloof bestaat in studies naar het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling van markten, aangezien het meeste bestaande onderzoek vanuit een institutioneel perspectief wordt verricht en focust op de toenemende homogenisering van organisatievormen bij het ontstaansproces van markten in nieuwe contexten (zie bijvoorbeeld Guthrie 2001; Lawrence and Phillips 2004; Jyrämä 2008). Tegelijkertijd is er een gebrek aan conceptuele handvatten om de veelvuldig waargenomen diversiteit in dit proces te kunnen verklaren (Beckert 2010). We kunnen de opkomst van markten beter begrijpen als we lokale contexten niet beschouwen als obstakels op de weg richting institutionele convergentie, maar als hulpbronnen die markten nodig hebben om vorm te krijgen. Om de rol te begrijpen die sociaal-culturele contexten spelen in het proces van marktontwikkeling, tracht dit proefschrift de mechanismes te identificeren die de elementen van sociale orde in het algemeen kunnen vertalen naar specifieke marktlogica’s.

Het proefschrift nam de sterke wereldwijde toename van hedendaagse kunstmarkten sinds eind jaren tachtig en begin negentig als een gelegenheid om het proces van marktvorming te bestuderen. Deze processen hebben immers op veel plaatsen al lang geleden plaatsgevonden of zijn moeilijk waarneembaar door de grotere schaal en complexere structuur van andere opkomende markten (of marktsectoren). Empirisch richt de studie zich op de opkomende hedendaagse kunstmarkten in Rusland en India. In beide landen was vóór de jaren negentig nog nauwelijks sprake van een kunstmarkt. Er zijn grote verschillen tussen beide landen in de manieren waarop de kunstmarkten zich sindsdien ontwikkeld hebben. Daardoor kunnen deze casussen een vruchtbare vergelijking opleveren. Voor dit onderzoek heb ik, tussen april 2012 en juli 2013, 121 semi-gestructureerde interviews gehouden met 130 uiteenlopende actoren in de kunstmarkt (vooral kunstenaars en kunsthandelaren) in Moskou, Sint-Petersburg, New Delhi en Mumbai. Verder heb ik in dezelfde periode etnografische observaties verricht bij verschillende kunstevenementen (cursussen en lezingen voor verzamelaars, persconferenties, ateliers, kunstbeurzen en openingen van exposities en artist in residence programma’s). Het proefschrift is zodanig opgebouwd dat elk empirisch hoofdstuk een puzzel oplost met betrekking tot de waargenomen verschillen tussen de twee landen in de manieren waarop lokale contexten de ontwikkeling van nieuwe markten beïnvloeden. Ook vertegenwoordigt elk hoofdstuk een analytisch niveau waarop lokale contexten relevant bleken te zijn voor marktontwikkeling.
Hoofdstuk 2 verklaart waarom vergelijkbare organisatorische uitgangsposities van officiële kunstorganisaties zoals kunstenaarsbonden en kunstacademies, die tijdens het communisme nog de belangrijkste vehikels van kunstdistributie waren, uiteindelijk heel verschillende rollen speelden toen de kunsthandel eenmaal van de grond kwam (dit samen met Svetlana Kharchenkova en Olav Velthuis geschreven hoofdstuk vergelijkt de Russische en Chinese kunstmarkten). In China werd lidmaatschap van deze organisaties een statussymbool, wat hogere marktprijzen mogelijk maakte. In Rusland had lidmaatschap juist een lage status voor de kunstmarkt, maar zorgden de organisaties voor “bijstand” aan kunstenaars met een zeer zwakke marktpositie. Het hoofdstuk gebruikt het zogeheten Varieties of Capitalism perspectief (Hall and Soskice 2001) om de diversiteit te verklaren in de manieren waarop oude overheidsorganisaties en nieuwe marktnetwerken elkaar institutioneel aanvullen. Toch kunnen de waargenomen “variëteiten” tussen de twee landen niet verklaard worden door historische verschillen (want de oorspronkelijke institutionele structuren waren vergelijkbaar), noch door verschillen in opkomende institutionele structuren waaraan officiële kunstorganisaties zich moesten aanpassen (want commerciële markten lijken in beide landen mondiale ontwikkelingspatronen te volgen). De verschillende rollen die overheidsorganisaties in de kunst uiteindelijk speelden, kunnen verklaard worden door de variatie in het dominante interpretatieve kader dat actoren in de kunstmarkt gebruiken als ze met die organisaties te maken hebben. In Rusland zien betrokkenen (geconsecreerde hedendaagse kunstenaars, hun handelaren en klanten) deelname van de staat in marktzaken eerder in een negatief licht. Ze zien de staat als een verzwakte boosdoener, die ze kunnen weerstaan door zich te organiseren in en deel te nemen aan een onafhankelijke particuliere markt. In China daarentegen ziet een grote groep kunstenaars en kunstkopers de relatie met de staat als een kans op officiële posities en dus prestige. Zij interpreteren de rol van de staat en diens relatie tot de markt positief.

Hoofdstuk 3 analyseert het niveau van de individuele handelingsvrijheid van marktactoren. Het verklaart de paradox dat zowel de aanwezigheid (in India) als de complete afwezigheid (in Rusland) van sociale, economische en culturele hulpbronnen, actoren kon bewegen om commerciële activiteiten te beginnen in een opkomende markt voor hedendaagse kunst. Het hoofdstuk gebruikt het voorbeeld van de beslissing van kunsthandelaars om een particuliere galerie te openen, om te onderzoeken wat potentiële ondernemers motiveert om actief nieuwe markten op te zetten. Het laat zien hoe verschillende contexten de hedendaagse kunstmarkt in Rusland en India “activeren”. In India zijn het voornamelijk familieachtergronden die zulke beslissingsprocessen structureren, onder andere door het economisch, sociaal en cultureel kapitaal dat die families verschaffen. Indiase kunsthandelaars zien hun rol als een alternatief voor de ontbrekende overheidssteun voor kunst. In Rusland daarentegen leggen kunsthandelaars hun beslissing om een galerie te openen uit als alternatief voor de juist sterke maar inhoudelijk te sterk sturende overheidssteun, terwijl ze géén hulpbronnen vanuit de familie hebben. Het activatiemechanisme was hier “negatief”: de situatie van
sociaal-economische onrust in de jaren 1990 en 2000 vormde een kans om een nieuwe activiteit uit te proberen in het veld van de kunst en om zich te vestigen, onafhankelijk van de op dat moment zwakke staat. De schijnbaar tegengestelde sociaal-economische contexten van de twee landen lokten dus dezelfde handelingen uit, die leidden tot de opkomst van een kunstmarkt. Ik betoog dat we in dit geval zien hoe de idee van een markt als een plaats voor vrije economische uitwisseling de handelingen van kunsthandelaars stuurt, onafhankelijk van aanwezige sociale structuren. Hoewel de markt zelf nog nauwelijks ontwikkeld was toen kunsthandelaren besloten een galerie te openen, gebruikten ze in beide landen wel het interpretatieve kader van een mogelijke markt, om verschillende praktische problemen op te lossen. Het inzetten van een interpretatief kader van een kunstmarkt zorgde er in beide landen voor dat verschillende elementen van lokale contexten in stelling werden gebracht. Die werden daardoor omgevormd in relevante hulpbronnen voor marktontwikkeling.

Ook hoofdstuk 4 gaat over de individuele handelingsvrijheid van marktactoren, in dit geval kunstenaars aan het begin van hun carrière, in de context van de beschikbare institutionele infrastructuur in de twee kunstscenes. Het doel was te laten zien hoe de bredere kunstscenes die zich in de twee landen ontwikkelden, zelf een relevante lokale context kunnen zijn waarin kunstmarkten zich ontwikkelen. Ik stelde de empirische vraag waarom artistieke carrièrestrategieën tussen de twee landen verschillen en welk effect dit kan hebben op marktontwikkeling. Ik laat in dit hoofdstuk zien hoe de verschillen tussen de landen in hoe kunstenaars succes begrijpen, welke relaties ze hebben met verschillende actoren op de kunstmarkt en zelfs welke soorten kunst ze maken, bepaald worden door de institutionele samenstelling van de artistieke velden. In India, waar non-commerciële kunstinstellingen zoals musea en stichtingen schaars zijn en waar kunsthandelaren de machtigste poortwachters zijn, worden carrièrestrategieën van kunstenaars gevormd door de marktlogica. In Rusland hebben kunstenaars juist hechte banden met lokaal sterke non-commerciële kunstinstellingen, die alternatieve paden voor artistieke erkenning verschaffen en die bij kunstenaars een anti-markt oriëntatie aankweken. Mijn redenering is dat de betekenissystemen van marktactoren de institutionele samenstelling van kunstwerelden waar zij deel van uitmaken weerspiegelen. Daardoor is onverschilligheid tegenover economisch succes, wat vaak weergegeven wordt als een universeel organiserend principe binnen het veld van de hoge kunst, afhankelijk van de context. Dit principe is minder relevant in kunstscenes waarin de balans tussen commerciële en non-commerciële hedendaagsekunstinstellingen anders ligt. Verder hebben heersende interpretatieve kaders een effect op hoe de twee markten zich ontwikkelen, welke types instellingen de overhand hebben, welke praktijken domineren en hoe prominent het commerciële succes is. Door alleen met stichtingen en musea te werken en kunst te maken die slecht verkoopbaar is, verzwakken Russische kunstenaars de positie van kunsthandelaren. En door zich juist te conformeren aan de dominante van commerciële galerijen, steunen Indiase kunstenaars een wereld waarin musea overbodig zijn.
Hoofdstuk 5 verlegt de focus van de analyse naar het intra-marktniveau om de rol van narratieven in het opereren van markten te onderzoeken en om uit te zoeken waarom Rusland en India hierin structureel van elkaar verschillen. Dit hoofdstuk vormt het theoretische hart van het proefschrift. Ik betoog dat we de rol die interpretatieve kaders, zoals narratieven, spelen in de ontwikkeling van markten kunnen begrijpen door zowel hun interne dynamieken als de sociale context van de productie ervan in overweging te nemen. Empirisch vertaalt dit zich in het bestuderen van narratieven rond een crisis in de kunstmarkt, die zich in Rusland en India verschillend ontwikkelden. Het hoofdstuk laat zien dat er in de Indiase kunstmarkt sprake is van een breed gedeeld crisisnarratief met een coherente structuur. De Russische kunstmarkt daarentegen wordt gedomineerd door gefragmenteerde en betwiste verhalen zonder narratieve structuur. De analyse van de eerste casus belicht de cohereente narratieve structuur en laat zien hoe productief die is in de Indiase markt – het verschaf een morele rechtvaardiging van bestaande marktnormen en levert een perspectief voor de toekomst op. Het hoofdstuk betoogt dat een marktnarratief sociale functies heeft: een coherent narratief houdt cohesie in stand en maakt soepele marktoperaties mogelijk. Daardoor dient het als een stabiliseringsmechanisme, net als institutionele structuren of sociale netwerken. Tegelijkertijd verzenden de gefragmenteerde verhalen in de Russische markt juist gemengde signalen, waardoor die niet slagen als stabiliseringsmechanisme. Om het voortbestaan van tegenstrijdige visies op de crisis te begrijpen, richt de analyse van de tweede casus zich op de context van narratieve productie en verbindt ze de tegenstrijdige interpretaties van de crisis in de Russische kunstmarkt met betwiste hiërarchieën en voortdurende onzekerheid. De analyse laat zien dat verschillende versies van de crisisverhalen worden aangewend door enerzijds dominerende groepen actoren, die hun legitimiteit willen verdedigen, en anderzijds door actoren die deze dominantie juist bevragen om voor zichzelf in de markt een naam te maken.

Tot slot zoomt hoofdstuk 6 in op de kunstmarkt in India, om vraagtekens te plaatsen bij de aanname dat de nationale markt homogeen is en dat sociale contexten hierin een universele rol spelen. Het onderzoek de verschillende manieren waarop economische praktijken begrepen worden, door te focussen op de praktijk van een kunstwerk met korting te verkopen, en het laat zien hoe dit zich verhoudt tot differentiatie tussen actoren binnen één markt. Het argument is dat (verschillen in) systemen van normen en waarden de werking van een markt beïnvloeden. Het hoofdstuk onderscheidt twee handelscircuits (Zelizer 2010) in de Indiase kunstmarkt: internationaal georiënteerde kunstenaars en handelaars, wier kritische houding tegenover het geven van kortingen voortkomt uit de wens om de esthetische waarde van kunst te verdedigen, en lokaal georiënteerde kunstenaars en handelaars, die kortingen omarmen als een legitiem onderdeel van hun nationale cultuur. De strategie om al dan niet korting te geven is gebaseerd op de regels in werelden van verschillende reikwijdte en focus: in het ene geval internationaal, maar gericht op kunst, en in het andere geval lokaal, maar het specifieke van een bepaald product negerend. Expliciete verschillen tussen
In de conclusie van het proefschrift breng ik de bevindingen en analytische observaties uit de empirische hoofdstukken samen in een coherent theoretisch kader. Het verklaart de mechanismes waardoor diverse lokale contexten de ontwikkeling van markten beïnvloeden. Ik pleit voor het belang van interpretatieve kaders die marktactoren gebruiken, om vast te stellen welke elementen van lokale contexten er voor hen toe doen en op welke manieren. Met andere woorden, het belangrijkste argument van dit proefschrift is dat interpretatieve kaders een mediërende rol spelen bij het effect van lokale contexten op marktontwikkelingen. Dit doen zij door de percepties van lokale contexten vorm te geven en door sommige handelingsstrategieën mogelijk te maken en andere af te wijzen (Swidler 1986). Ik stel dat, om dit mediërende effect te kunnen verklaren, studies naar marktontwikkeling gebruik moeten maken van inzichten uit de cultuursociologie rond processen van betekenisgeving in het sociale leven.

Het proefschrift liet zien dat de interpretatieve kaders waarvan marktactoren zich bedienen, geen directe weerspiegeling zijn van de beschikbare sociale structuren. Ik heb twee redenen vastgesteld waarom die kaders de invloed van lokale contexten vervormen (in plaats van weerspiegelen): ten eerste zijn ze niet wijdverspreid binnen een markt (en zijn ze ongelijk verdeeld), en ten tweede hebben ze hun eigen innerlijke logica’s die aspecten van lokale contexten verschillend in stelling brengen. Alleen wanneer die twee dimensies in hun samenhang geanalyseerd worden, kunnen ze een voldoende verklaring bieden voor het mediërende effect van de interpretatieve kaders. Ik betoog dat we, om zo’n analyse te kunnen uitvoeren, van twee verschillende theoretische perspectieven uit de cultuursociologie gebruik moeten maken. Aan de ene kant kunnen we onderzoeken hoe interpretatieve kaders zich verhouden tot de sociale en materiële omgeving waarin ze zijn gevormd en verspreid, door gebruik te maken van de door Bourdieu (1984; 1989) ontwikkelde veldtheorie. Dit perspectief kan de beperkte verspreiding van interpretatieve kaders en de specifieke belangen van actoren uit verschillende sociale groepen benadrukken, die leiden tot het aanwenden van diverse elementen van sociale contexten als actieve positie-innames in een opkomend veld. Aan de andere kant volgt het proefschrift het argument van het zogeheten Strong Program in de cultuursociologie (Alexander en Smith 2001), die de “relatieve autonomie van cultuur” bepleit. Dit programma houdt in dat sociaal gedrag “codes volgt die het niet uitvindt” (Alexander 2003) en dat die symbolische codes hun eigen inherente logica en dynamiek hebben die niet eenvoudig kan worden gereduceerd.
Hoewel deze twee perspectieven vaak worden neergezet als tegenstrijdig, laat dit proefschrift niet alleen hun beperkingen zien, maar ook hoe ze elkaar vruchtbaar kunnen aanvullen.

Het ontwikkelde theoretisch kader, dat de aandacht van de analyse van marktontwikkelingen opnieuw richt op processen van betekenisgeving, maakt het mogelijk om diversiteit in het proces van marktvorming te verklaren en draagt daardoor bij aan het veld van de economische sociologie. Het proefschrift laat zien dat de idee van een markt als een plaats voor vrije economische uitwisseling voor marktactoren verschillende symbolische betekenissen kan hebben, los van louter het maximaliseren van individueel profijt. Dit betekent dat markten om verschillende redenen kunnen opkomen en zich ontwikkelen. Bovendien kunnen we, door te kijken naar processen van betekenisgeving, de vroege stadia in het ontstaan van markten beter begrijpen, als de markt nog geen eigen regels en gebruiken heeft vastgesteld en als marktactoren nog moeten bouwen op niet-economische interpretatieve kaders die in de bredere samenleving beschikbaar zijn. Het feit dat deze kaders niet voor iedereen hetzelfde zijn leidt tot diversiteit in het ontstaansproces van markten en beïnvloedt de vormen die ze aannemen.

Hoewel dit proefschrift zich richtte op de ontwikkeling van kunstmarkten, is de ambitie om culturele analyse te gebruiken om het ontstaansproces van markten te begrijpen geenszins beperkt tot de markt van symbolische goederen. Door te kijken naar de ontwikkeling van de infrastructuur voor het handelen in hedendaagse kunst en de toenemende commodificatie van kunstconsumptie in Rusland en India, kunnen we ook andere sociale vraagstukken in de hedendaagse samenleving begrijpen. Ten eerste hebben wetenschappers al laten zien dat aandelenmarkten (Zuckerman 1999), financiële markten (Abolafia 2010; Tognato 2012), medische markten (Almeling 2011; Healy and Kraviec 2012) of arbeidsmarkten (Bauder 2001) niet minder cultureel zijn en als zodanig geanalyseerd kunnen worden. Verder ontstaan er nog steeds nieuwe markten en marktsectoren die dichtbij ons dagelijks leven staan (Burawoy 2007). Onderwerpen als de vermarkting van onderwijs (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Bartlett et al. 2002), commodificatie van het lichaam (Sharp 2000) of natuur en toerisme (Johnston and Edwards 1994; Lawrence and Phillips 2004) staan volop in de publieke belangstelling. Het theoretisch kader om culturele mechanismes van marktontwikkelingen te be studeren, kan behulpzaam zijn bij het begrijpen van de dynamiek van deze verschijnselen.
Night of exhibitions openings at Lado Sarai art district. New Delhi, February 2013

Entrance to a contemporary art gallery located in an elite residential building. Mumbai, March 2013

Opening night at a contemporary art gallery. New Delhi, February 2013

Entrance to an art shop. Mumbai, March 2013

Opening evening at an established contemporary art gallery. New Delhi, February 2013

Exhibition and a mini-library at a novice contemporary art gallery. St. Petersburg, June 2013

Storage space of a contemporary art gallery. Moscow, October 2012

Exhibition in a private art gallery. St. Petersburg, May 2013

Back room of a contemporary art gallery. Moscow, November 2012

Opening night at a contemporary art gallery. New Delhi, February 2013

Bag checks of the crowds exiting the India Art Fair carrying some art with them. New Delhi, February 2013

Entrance to a consecrated contemporary art gallery. Mumbai, March 2013

Exhibition space of a governmental art gallery. New Delhi, February 2013

Entrance to a contemporary art gallery. Moscow, November 2012

Artist showing his work at the India Art Fair. New Delhi, January 2013

Street stalls selling art on the bank of the Moscow river next to the Central House of Artists. Moscow, October 2012

Colaba Art District in Mumbai.

Open day at an artists’ residency. Mumbai, April 2013

Educational event for art collectors. Mumbai, April 2013

Exhibition layout at the India Art Fair. New Delhi, January 2013

Entrance to a contemporary art gallery. New Delhi, February 2013

Exhibition art shop. New Delhi, January 2013

Back room of a contemporary art gallery. Moscow, November 2012

Street stalls selling art on the bank of the Moscow river next to the Central House of Artists. Moscow, October 2012

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