



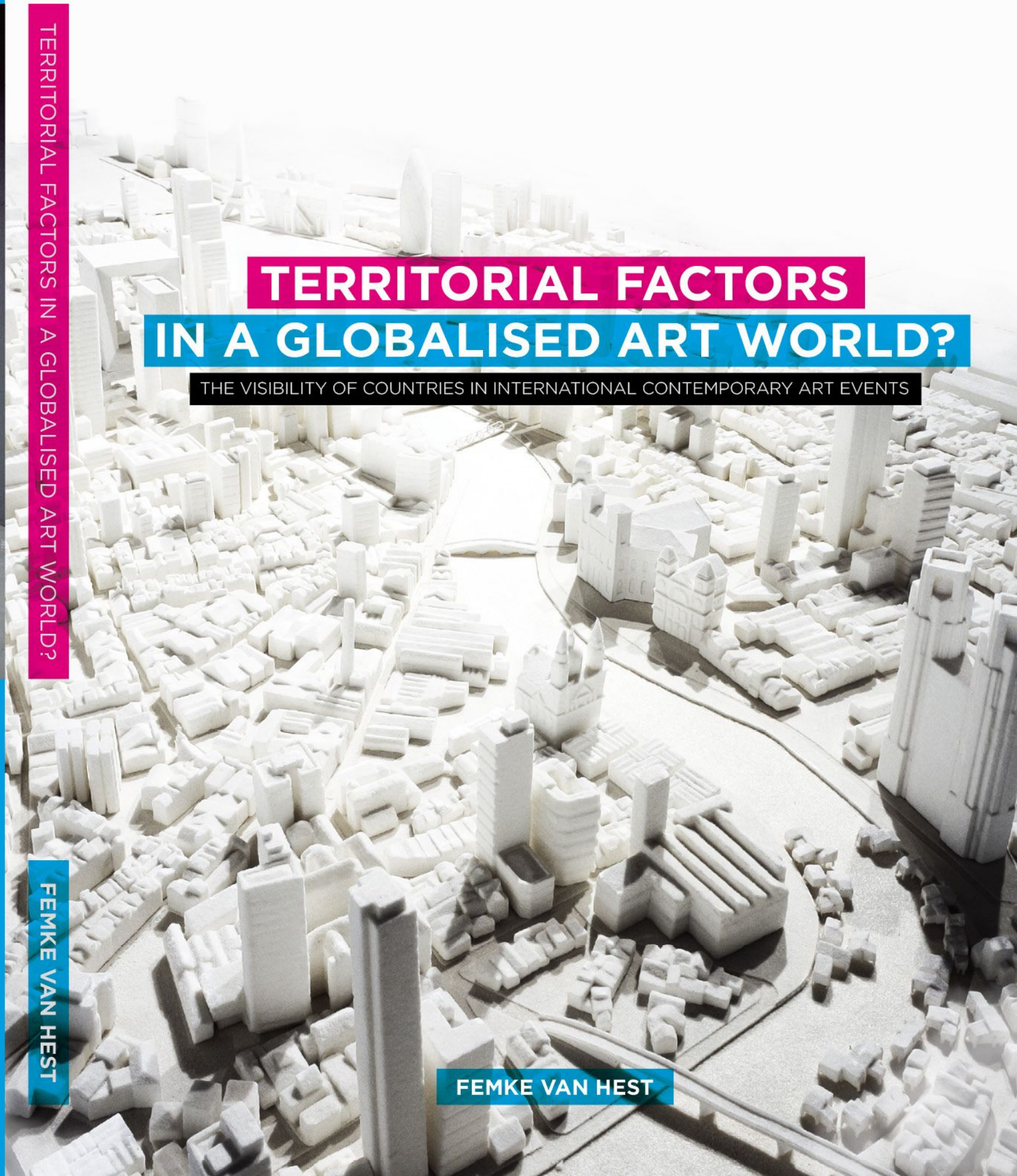
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TERRITORIAL FACTORS IN A GLOBALISED ART WORLD?

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THE VISIBILITY OF COUNTRIES IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EVENTS

FEMKE VAN HEST



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This research was conducted at the Department of Arts and Culture Studies and the Erasmus Research Centre for Media, Communication and Culture of Erasmus University Rotterdam and the Department of Sociology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

Publisher ERMeCC, Erasmus Research Centre for Media, Communication and Culture

Printer Ipskamp Drukkers, Enschede

Cover Design Marc Linderhof

ISBN 978-90-76665-23-8

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Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?

The visibility of countries in international contemporary art events

Geografische factoren in een geglobaliseerde kunstwereld?

De zichtbaarheid van landen in hedendaagse beeldende kunstevenementen

Thesis

to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam

by command of the
rector magnificus

Prof.dr. H.G. Schmidt

in joint doctorate with the
Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris

and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board

The public defence shall be held on
Thursday 1 November 2012 at 13:30 hours

by

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To the memory of my grandfather

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

What better place to look back on these past few years of research and express my gratitude to all those who have contributed in their own way than on the Thalys between Paris and Amsterdam. During this journey, leaving home to go home, an essay I had written for an Alliance Française contest when I was in my 5th year of secondary school came to mind. It was entitled “Du vin, du pain ou le Big Mac” and discussed why and how France had tried to preserve and protect French culture against an invasion of American culture in the early 90s. Little did I know that some 20 years later I would return to the subject of cultural globalisation and deliver a somewhat more extensive work on the effects of the globalisation process in the field of contemporary art. Yet, when I think of the fields of study and research I have explored in the meantime, it is not at all surprising that I have come to this dissertation. This work and my development as a researcher really reflect the synergy of the different fields I am passionate about, both personally and professionally. Several people have been important in this process and I would now like to take the opportunity to thank them.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisors Susanne Janssen and Jean-Louis Fabiani. Susanne, thank you for your confidence in my research project and for welcoming me as one of your PhD students after my return to the Netherlands. Your example and straight to the point feedback has inspired me to explore new directions while remaining focused, and to value the progress that I have made. Jean-Louis, thank you for supervising and encouraging me over the course of all of those years from the start of my DEA in Paris. I really appreciated our discussions in various European cities about my research, which helped me to critically reflect on and continue my work.

Very special thanks also go to Alain Quemin for meeting with me in the spring of 2004 and discussing my interest in internationalisation processes and the visual arts, and for pushing me to write a 10 page project proposal in just a week (in French!) to concretise my thoughts. Each of our meetings that followed was as inspirational as the first and always provided me with a boost of energy and motivation. I have fond memories of our visits abroad, especially eating ice-cream and riding the rickshaw during the New York galleries’ opening nights.

I would also like to thank Truus Gubbels for our productive discussions at the start of this research, our subsequent catch-ups over a cup of tea and for suggesting that I contact the Mondriaan Stichting, to which I am grateful for awarding me a research grant that enabled me to pursue this work and study art events in the four corners of the world. I am also grateful to the Vereniging Trustfonds Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam for the received financial support. My thanks also go to the interviewees who lent me their precious time and were willing to open up to me, and to those who were involved with the art events or were working in libraries and helped me to find the information I needed. And thanks to Sally-Ann for her help with the editing and to Marc for his fabulous cover design.

In the past few years, I have combined writing my dissertation with lecturing at the Department of Arts and Culture Studies at the Erasmus University Rotterdam, which added an extra dimension to my work. My warm thanks go to Ton Bevers, Nel van Dijk and Koen van Eijck for giving me the opportunity to discover the pleasure of teaching. I am proud to be part of an enthusiastic and inspirational team, and I am grateful to my colleagues for their support and

interest, especially Pauwke, for the coffee break chats in the hallway or on the doorstep, Filip, for his encouragement and confidence, and Annemarie, with whom it was great to share this PhD experience as colleagues and friends.

Finally, it would have been impossible to finish this project without the love and support of my family and friends. In particular, I think of the conversations about *la thèse* and so much more that I had with Luis, Thomas, Federico and especially Alexandra, thank you for that. Also thanks to Anne, my Dutch friend from my very first day of Erasmus in Paris, Frederiek for her big heart and our shared adventures abroad, Maike for her practical and spiritual insights, and Catherine and Frank, who have remained close friends despite the distance between us. And a warm thank you to Núria, whose generous and optimistic spirit I adore, to John for his thoughtfulness and contagious curiosity, and of course to my paranympths, Mariona and Renske, for their radiant personalities, infinite positive energy and enduring encouragement. I am very happy to have you by my side.

Thank you so much pap and mam for always being there for me and for teaching me that nothing is impossible. Thanks also to my brother and sister and their families for our strong connection that goes far beyond family ties, and to the Van Dams, who have welcomed me so warmly. But, most of all, I am grateful to Marnix for inspiring me to live my dreams and reminding me to hit the brakes from time to time, and for your patience and your endless love.

INTRODUCTION

In comparison to other disciplines of high culture, the visual arts seem to be the most suitable to internationalise (cf. Crane, 1992; Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008). The global diffusion of visual art works, for example, is far less complex than that of the performing arts, which entails an impressive transportation operation of both goods – instruments, sets, costumes – and the actors involved, such as orchestra musicians, theatre company actors or dancers. The global distribution of literature, meanwhile, is easier to achieve than is the case for the visual arts, yet language obstacles manifestly hinder its internationalisation (Heilbron, 1999; Janssen, 2009; Sapiro, 2010). Indeed, the only way to overcome such hurdles is when the author provides a translation of the work, or when the reader learns the foreign language in which it is written (De Swaan, 2001). This is similar in the case of theatre plays or the cinema (Hofstede, 2000). On the other hand, the visual language is deemed to be universal and is unhindered by these issues. In short, while the internationalisation of other domains demands different kinds of investment, the visual arts seem to have the best conditions for artists to conquer the world.

For centuries in the Western art world, *international art* actually meant *art from other Western countries*. The focus was inwards: the visual arts were conceived as a predominantly Western phenomenon and were valued according to the conventions shared in this geographical sphere (Becker, 1982). Art history textbooks, such as Honour and Flemming's *A World History of Art* (2005), illustrate this restrained view; the larger part of the book is dedicated to the development of Western (or European) art. The rest of the world, meanwhile, receives only limited attention in the early chapters on the rise of civilisations and religion, and later in the context of European exploration and expansion. In other words, until recently, non-Western art was largely disregarded. If it received any attention at all, it was valued as a source of inspiration for Western artists; there was little room for artistic recognition of non-Western art itself.

This vision changed with the arrival of multiculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s. In the field of the visual arts, the exhibition *Magiciens de la Terre* is generally considered to be the turning point (cf. Bydler, 2004; Erić, 2007; Moulin, 2003). In this exhibition, which was held in 1989 at the Centre Pompidou and the Grande Halle de La Villette in Paris, curator Jean-Hubert Martin and his team selected the work of 50 artists from Latin-America, Africa and Asia and confronted it with that of 50 artists from the West. Even though it received criticism for enduring the distinction between the centre and the periphery, it was the first exhibition to display non-Western art as contemporary instead of primitive. Accordingly, *Magiciens de la Terre* set the tone for redirecting the scope from an inwards orientation towards contemporary art created beyond the physical borders of the West.

These developments took place within the wider context of globalisation, which began to affect the cultural field as it had others. In concert with the idea of perceiving the world as a whole, globalisation calls into question the concept of boundaries and the role of the nation state (cf. Bartelson, 2000; Connell, 2007; Guillén, 2001; Kuipers, 2011; Sassen, 2001). It is unsurprising that the notion of the decline of the nation state was supported within the field of the visual arts,

which is deemed to be the least related to the idea of nation, if only because language – as a symbol of a nation – has no role to play in it. Moreover, the production process, as with distribution and reception mentioned earlier, is less rooted in a geographical space than is the case with other cultural domains, such as the performing arts; actors, musicians and dancers need to physically meet somewhere to create a piece of work, which is not the case for visual artists. Indeed, in conceptual art forms in particular, location has become even less important (Galenson, 2008).

Within the field of the visual arts, the notion of globalisation has strengthened the belief that territorial factors, such as nationality or residence, are no longer important (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Bydler, 2004; Quemin, 2002, 2006; Velthuis, forthcoming). In this view, the fading of boundaries and the emergence of an international or transnational contemporary art world has erased the impact of geographical embeddedness as a determining factor in the construction of an artistic career. The biennial often serves as a symbol of this development. Its global dissemination and, particularly, the transformation of the biennial model from an exhibition based on national representation into one of invited artists, represent the internationalisation of the contemporary art world (Moulin, 1997, 2003). This new configuration covers not only the West, but every part of the globe and is believed to provide artists with equal opportunities for artistic recognition, irrespective of where they were born or are based.

In other words, actors of the visual arts' world tend to perceive globalisation as world encompassing and leading to the heterogenisation, or diversification, of the field (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Bydler, 2004; Quemin, 2002, 2006; Velthuis, forthcoming). More concretely, in this view, the assumed effect of globalisation in the visual arts is a decline of the supremacy of the West in concert with the emergence of countries that previously had limited visibility, or no visibility at all. More countries have thus, allegedly, gained a presence in the contemporary art world and their visibility is held to be more equally distributed.

However, several studies have shown that the international field of the visual arts continues to be marked by a hierarchical structure (cf. Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Janssen et al., 2008; Quemin, 2002, 2006). Indeed, despite an openness to art and artists from the periphery, the field of the visual arts has transpired to be less heterogeneous than envisaged. In fact, studies have shown that the field is still fairly dominated by Western countries, in particular the United States and Germany. Moreover, the Western hegemony underlines the fact that territorial factors still play a role.

The overrepresentation of some countries, and the underrepresentation of others, is often simply explained by a nation's size. Or, and more specifically, the extent of a country's visibility in the international art scene is said to be determined by the size of its population. Indeed, it seems logical to accept that the presence of the Netherlands in this arena is far less significant than that of the USA, given that the former has 16.5 million inhabitants and the latter 307 million (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2009; United States Census Bureau, 2009). Yet, when looking, for instance, at the rankings of *Kunstkompass* (Quemin, 2006), several countries with a larger population than the Netherlands, like Russia, are less visible internationally, while some smaller nations, such as Switzerland, are often ahead of it in the rankings.

This example illustrates that a country's visibility does not depend on its size alone; it is a much more complex issue than that. Its economic power, political

system, cultural policy, presence in art history, or the infrastructure of its art institutions and art market may all affect a nation's position in the hierarchy of countries (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Heilbron, 1995; Janssen et al., 2008; Quemin, 2002, 2006; see also Hofstede, 2000). The impact of these territorial factors varies according to the country. In this dissertation, I will address the internationalisation of the contemporary art field by examining the visibility of countries and the territorial factors at play. I will do this by focusing in particular on the presence of Dutch art in this field. In what follows, I will elaborate in more detail on Dutch contemporary art.

THE DUTCH CASE

Within the field of contemporary art, the debate on globalisation mainly revolves around the emergence of peripheral countries and the decline of the dominant ones. Compared to these two extremes, little attention has been paid thus far to the rest, of which the Netherlands is just one example. However, the position of these countries in the contemporary art world is undoubtedly also affected by globalisation. The case of the Netherlands will enable me to further investigate the impact of globalisation not only on dominant or emerging countries, but also on those that are not part of these two groups. I will therefore use the Netherlands as a starting point to examine the internationalisation of the contemporary art world, the positions occupied by countries in this world, and the extent to which this is related to the specificities of national art scenes.

In the case of the Netherlands, several qualities contribute positively, or negatively, to its visibility on an international level. I have already mentioned one of these, namely its limited population size. Economically, however, the Netherlands is in a strong position. As a Western European power it is among the richest countries in the world. Moreover, the country has developed an extensive cultural policy programme that not only supports artistic creation in general, but also its promotion abroad. Apart from exporting Dutch art, this policy also aims to increase the internationalisation of the Dutch art scene by attracting foreign actors from the visual arts' world (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap [Ministerie OCW], 2007a; 2008). On an artistic level, the Netherlands is firmly embedded in Western art history, which is predominantly based on the fame and success of Dutch 17th century art and its leading position in the 17th century art world (Blotkamp, 2001). More recently, in the 20th century, Dutch art institutions and their curators were eminent in the field. In particular, the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam enjoyed an international reputation. Today, however, the country's position in the field of the visual arts is far less prominent.

Indeed, when talking about the contemporary cultural successes of the Netherlands on an international level, the visual arts is generally not the first discipline mentioned; the attention paid to the international fame of Dutch Design, Nederlands Dans Theater or DJ Armin van Buuren show that other fields have taken the lead. When it comes to the visual arts, the general assumption seems to be that international recognition of Dutch art primarily concerns classical and modern, rather than contemporary art. While the Netherlands is known for its icons from the past – the Old Masters, Van Gogh, Mondriaan – it is believed to play only a minor role in the field of the visual arts today (cf. Bevers, 1995; Blotkamp, 2001; Hurkmans, Hewison, Bemont & Barendrecht, 2005; Simons, 2002).

However, the limited impact attributed to the Netherlands seems to be predominantly based on assumptions, instead of on empirically grounded research. Indeed, until now, the position of the Netherlands in the international contemporary art world has rarely been examined. This dissertation seeks to fill that gap by providing an extensive analysis of the visibility of Dutch art in the international contemporary art arena in a comparative perspective.

AIM AND CONTRIBUTION

The purpose of the present work is to clarify and qualify the effects of globalisation on the international positions of countries, and that of the Netherlands in particular, and to assess to what extent territorial factors are still at play in the international contemporary art world. The studies by Quemin (2002, 2006) and Buchholz and Wuggenig (2005) mentioned earlier are among the few empirical works to address the internationalisation of the contemporary art world. Accordingly, they are the starting point for this current study, which aims to expand empirical research in this particular field in several ways.

First of all, this dissertation considers a broad range of art events, including exhibitions of permanent collections in museums, temporary exhibitions in art centres, biennials, gallery stables, art fairs and auction sales. Most studies concentrate on museums, whereas galleries and fairs have become subject to research only recently. Quemin (2008a, 2012), for instance, has examined the internationalisation of contemporary art fairs by looking at their global dissemination and gallery participation, while Velthuis (forthcoming) has studied contemporary art gallery composition in Amsterdam and Berlin. In this study, I will compare the degree and direction of international orientation for various types of art event as well as for an institutional and a market context. By taking into account various types and settings of art events, this research thus aims to provide an integral picture of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world.

Secondly, I will examine the international focus of art events in different, national, locations, as well as analyse the overall orientation of these events. In this dissertation, I conceive of art events as taking place in an international or transnational context, rather than a national one. Distinguishing between the two contexts does justice to the international nature attributed to today's contemporary art world and can enhance our understanding of the impact of territorial factors on an international level.

Thirdly, this dissertation aims to extend the empirical research on biennials in particular. This type of event is of specific interest when studying the effects of globalisation in the field of the visual arts, as it is generally considered to symbolise the internationalisation of the field. However, this kind of event has thus far received limited attention in empirical research. Moreover, the research that has been conducted predominantly focuses on the biennials held in the centre (see Quemin, 2002; Wu, 2009), and not on those in the non-Western zones that are deemed to benefit most from the emergence of this type of event. I will thus widen the scope of the analysis by including biennials held in the periphery. In addition, and in line with the ongoing process of globalisation, the development of this transnational art event will be analysed over time.

OUTLINE

This research on the visibility of Dutch art in the international contemporary art arena is divided into four parts, each of which has a distinct focus.

Part I provides the theoretical framework of the dissertation and contains three chapters. In Chapter 1, I will discuss the organisation of the contemporary art world and its international nature. Chapter 2 deals with different approaches to cultural globalisation, and it is there that I will present my research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 3 will then address the methodology that I will utilise.

Dutch art is central in Part II. In Chapter 4, I will analyse the presence of Dutch art in various types of art event: (i) the exhibitions of museums' permanent collections; (ii) temporary exhibitions in art centres; (iii) biennials; (iv) gallery stables; (v) art fairs; and (vi) auction sales. I will compare the visibility of the Netherlands in these six types of event, as well as in the two spheres of the contemporary art world: the art institutions and the art market (Moulin, 1997). In Chapter 5, I will explore in more detail how various background characteristics of Dutch artists, such as nationality, residence, age, gender and education, may have affected their presence at various types of event.

Part III addresses the visibility of Dutch art in an international context and examines the international orientation of museums, biennials, galleries and art fairs. In Chapter 6, I will investigate the contemporary art institutions, while in Chapter 7 the focus is on the contemporary art market. This part also provides an extensive analysis of the biennial event, including a comparative study of biennials held in the European, Latin-American and Asian regions.

Finally, Part IV deals with the influence of territorial factors on the presence of countries in the international art arena by drawing on interviews held with several actors from the contemporary art world. Chapter 8 focuses on nationality and residence, while the final chapter discusses the specificities of the Dutch national art scene and their impact on the visibility of Dutch art.

I THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

How can *globalisation* and *contemporary art* be defined? The dynamic nature of these two notions fuels the debate and offers a multitude of interpretations (cf. Bartelson, 2000; Connell, 2007; Guillén, 2001; Heinich, 1998; Moulin, 1997, 2003). The concepts of contemporary art and globalisation both reflect change and evolution: the art world and world system are not at all the same as they were half a century ago, which is partly due to their expansion towards new territories, both geographically and artistically. As a result, these relatively new concepts are subject to an ongoing discussion. Is it still possible to speak of borders and domains, or are the concepts of contemporary art and globalisation all-encompassing? Or have old boundaries simply been replaced by new ones? And what then will determine inclusion or exclusion? In this section, I will review current ideas and approaches of contemporary art and cultural globalisation. I will also provide a theoretical framework for my study of the presence of Dutch contemporary art in the global arena.

In Chapter 1, I will depict the organisation of the international contemporary art world by addressing the following questions: how is the international contemporary art world constructed? What is meant by the international character of contemporary art? How are artists and their art works valued and what are the key elements in the development of an international artistic career? The second chapter, which is centred on the globalisation of culture, seeks to answer the following: what are the leading theories on the globalisation of culture? How are they applicable to the globalisation of contemporary art? What is lacking in previous studies on the globalisation of the visual arts? Finally, Chapter 3 will address the methodology of this dissertation.

1 THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD OF CONTEMPORARY ART

The international field of contemporary art is more than the sum of national fields; it has its own dynamics (Durkheim, 1937/2004; cf. Kuipers, 2011). Like national fields, this international arena is the site of a power struggle, in which artists from different countries are in constant competition (Bourdieu, 1991; 1993). They strive for and depend on the recognition attributed to them by other actors in the field, which can be organisations (e.g. museums or art fairs) or people (e.g. curators or gallerists). These actors validate the art works from their own position, but in line with the shared conventions within the international contemporary art world (Becker, 1982). Their quality judgements thus in large part determine the positions of artists and, consequently, countries in the field. For this reason, I will use them as the starting point of my dissertation and include only those artists who have received the recognition of the leading art events in the visual arts' world.

While the following chapter addresses the leading cultural globalisation theories, this one will describe the functioning of the international contemporary art world, the role of gatekeepers and the interdependence of artistic and economic valuation (Bourdieu, 1991, 1993; Moulin, 1997, 2003; Velthuis, 2005). This will provide more insight into the context in which the events under study

take place and their position in the field. The chapter will focus in particular on the emergence of biennials and fairs, as these two types of event are considered to be symbolic of the globalisation of the visual arts' world. However, I will first conceptualise the notion of contemporary art and elaborate upon why the contemporary art world is, above all, an *international* art world.

1.1 SHIFTING BOUNDARIES

In defining *contemporary art*, it is often argued that the term represents the disappearance of both artistic and geographical boundaries (cf. Archer, 2002; Crane, 2009; Doorman, 1997; Heinich, 1998; Moulin, 1997, 2003; Moureau & Sagot-Duvaroux, 2006). Contemporary art, in the artistic sense, is believed to be characterised by a cross-over or fading of boundaries between cultural disciplines and between elite and popular culture; Marina Abramovic's performances or Banksy's graffiti are as much contemporary art as paintings by Marlene Dumas. Concurrently, contemporary art and the contemporary art world are thought to be characterised by their international nature. Geographical boundaries started to disappear from the 1960s onwards, as the contemporary art market became increasingly global. As Moulin and Quemin underline: "The 1960s mark a radical rupture in recent art history and coincide with the internationalisation of the artistic field"¹ (Moulin & Quemin, 1993: 1434). About two decades later, geographical expansion also became apparent within the contemporary art genre, which today includes not only the work of artists from the *centre*, but also that by those from what tends to be termed the *peripheral zone*, i.e. Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. These developments on a geographical level are central in this research. However, before I elaborate on this, I will first discuss how contemporary art is defined.

THE CONTEMPORARY ART LABEL

Embracing the idea of *anything goes*, contemporary art may seem to include virtually everything (Archer, 2002; Crane, 2009; Doorman, 1997; Heinich, 1998; Moulin, 1997, 2003; Moureau & Sagot-Duvaroux, 2006). To start with, the label contemporary applies to classical artistic genres like painting, sculpture and drawing, while also including disciplines that were not considered to be visual art before (e.g. photography or performance art) and newer approaches such as digital art or conceptual art. Moreover, the boundary between *high* and *low* art has also become blurred in recent decades. Today, references to popular culture in the visual arts are manifestly accepted and high art is popularised. Japanese artist Takashi Murakami is an eminent example of a contemporary artist who combines the two in his art practice. Moreover, artists are no longer bound to work within a single domain. Steve McQueen operates as both a visual artist and a filmmaker and is highly recognised in each domain; in 2009, he represented the United Kingdom at the Biennale di Venezia, while a year before he received a Camera d'Or at the Festival de Cannes for *Hunger*, his first feature film.

¹ « Les années soixante marquent une rupture radicale dans l'histoire récente de l'art et coïncident avec l'internationalisation du champ artistique. »

Despite this border crossing and openness towards new artistic forms, boundaries still seem to be at play, marking the line between artists and art works that carry the label of contemporary art and those that do not. These boundaries vary according to the application of what one could call aesthetical and chronological criteria (cf. Heinich, 1998; Moulin, 1997). On the basis of purely time based criteria, the label *contemporary* could be interpreted literally: it refers to art that is created in the present, such as Michael Raedecker's *Ins and Outs* (2000), as opposed to a Van Gogh or a Rembrandt painting. This is quite common in the field of law. In French tax legislation, for example, contemporary art is defined as art created by living artists, or art produced in the past 20 years in the case of work by deceased artists (cf. Quemin, 2002). This time based definition of contemporary art thus covers the totality of today's aesthetical production.

In this strict chronological sense, a painting made by a living artist in the impressionist style is considered to be a contemporary work of art. However, such a painting would not meet the aesthetical criteria of contemporary art that define the contemporary art *genre* (Heinich, 1998). Indeed, this genre is reserved for a specific part of art production that meets the aesthetic standards set by actors of the contemporary art world (Becker, 1982). In other words, not every contemporary art work in the chronological sense is contemporary in the aesthetical sense.

The key actors of the contemporary art world tend to combine the two criteria by relating the contemporary art label to artistic innovations. Which artistic innovations mark the precise starting point of the contemporary art era is, however, open to debate. For some actors, in particular art historians, this period started right after the Second World War. Curators, though, generally tend to use a more narrow definition and consider the 1960s to be a transitional period from modern art towards a new artistic era (Crane, 1987; Moulin, 1997, 2003). In this light, the exhibition *Live in your Head: When Attitudes Become Form*, curated by Harald Szeemann in 1969, can be regarded as a turning point, because it marked a shift in focus from physical art works to the artists, their concepts and their ideas. Moreover, it simultaneously changed the role of the curator and the exhibition format (Millet, 1997; see also Galenson, 2008).

In this dissertation, the judgement of the key actors in the field is crucial. This means that I have used sociological criteria in the selection of artists; included are the creators whose works of art have been selected by the leading museums, art centres, biennials, galleries, fairs and auctions. This approach should exclude all of today's art that is created in the classical and modern tradition, and thus only include the work that carries the label of the contemporary art *genre*. However, in practice, contemporary art events are rarely entirely contemporary. For example, at the 2007 edition of Documenta, the artistic directors Roger Buergel and Roth Noack included works from the past, going back as far as the Middle Ages (Documenta, 2007). Therefore, in this study, in line with the notion that artistic as well as geographical boundaries started to shift from the end of the 1960s onwards, I have set the year 1970 as the starting point of the contemporary art period.

THE INTERNATIONAL NATURE OF CONTEMPORARY ART

The shifting of boundaries took place not only on an artistic level, but also on a geographical one. Starting as early as the late 1960s, the globalisation of the contemporary art world fully developed from the 1980s onwards, which was in concert with globalisation developments in general. Raymonde Moulin (1997, 2003) has elaborated on several indicators that point towards a growing, and still ongoing, internationalisation of the field (see also Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Quemin, 2002). A first indicator is the rise of contemporary art exhibitions that include the work of artists from the peripheral zone, with *Magiciens de la terre* starting the trend in 1989. Secondly, in what is known as *artistic nomadism*, artists have become more migratory in the past few decades and now travel around the world continuously. As a consequence, artists' residences have been established globally, contributing to intercultural exchanges and the emergence and fortification of international networks. Moreover, from the end of the 1980s onwards, the number of biennials taking place across the world has increased significantly. Meanwhile, over the same period of time, contemporary art's own network of museums and centres began to spread to nearly every corner of the globe. Finally, as I mentioned earlier, the contemporary art market has become more global too, which is illustrated by a rise in the number of contemporary art fairs and by contemporary art galleries opening venues in different parts of the world.

Of course, many examples indicate that internationalisation or globalisation was already happening before the 1960s. Indeed, several scholars have addressed the debate on the novelty of globalisation in general, and in the cultural field in particular (cf. Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Carroll, 2007; De Swaan, 1995; Guillén, 2001; Heilbron 1995, 2001; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton, 1999; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Robertson, 1995; Tomlinson, 1999; Wallerstein, 1974). Guillén, for example, presents an overview of different periods that arguably mark the start of globalisation. These range from the early beginnings of history itself, the diffusion of capitalism, the first circumnavigation of the globe in the 16th century, social movements and the standardisation of time in the late 19th century, to the decolonisation that took place after the Second World War and the rise of information networks in more recent times. Clearly, there is no consensus on the notion that globalisation is a relatively new phenomenon. As for cultural globalisation, Carroll illustrates how international exchanges have influenced culture throughout history by referring to theatrical dance. He argues, for instance, that Diaghilev was inspired by orientalism and that Martha Graham introduced Balinese and Javanese movements in her choreographies. Alternatively, he notes, as a consequence of the migration of dancers and educational trips abroad, Western dance was influencing non-Western dance as early as the interwar period.

Similar examples can be brought to the fore in the case of the visual arts. Artists have always travelled the world and worked in places other than their own country. One might think of artists such as Peter Paul Rubens, who travelled to places like Italy, Spain and England, and whose work was commissioned by the leading courts of the time. Carroll (2007), meanwhile, mentions how artists about a century earlier were exchanged between courts in the West and the Near East. Later, in the 19th century and the first few decades of the 20th century, Paris – the art centre of the world at the time – attracted numerous artists from abroad, such as Whistler, Picasso and Mondriaan. Galenson (2008), for his part, presents

Cubism, Futurism and Dada as examples of how the conceptual orientation of art and artists facilitates the global diffusion of movements and innovations.

In addition to the international orientation of these artists and art movements, there are several other indicators. Influences from other cultures have been visible before in the work of past artists; Van Gogh's Japanism is one of the eminent examples and Gauguin's paintings are clearly inspired by his trips to the Caribbean and Polynesia. Similarly, it is hardly new to bring together artists from different parts of the world in exhibitions. These kinds of shows have already been held at World Exhibitions and in museums. Finally, the art market has also displayed an international scope, especially after its structure changed in the 19th century (White & White, 1965). Art dealers and gallerists have always sold work by artists with different nationalities. Some even had branches of their gallery in various countries, like the French art dealership Goupil & Cie, whose galleries were located in European cities such as Paris, London, The Hague, Brussels, Vienna and Berlin, as well as in New York in the second half of the 19th century (see Cohen Tervaert, forthcoming).

However, all of these internationally orientated activities have been relatively limited in comparison to the degree of globalisation of today's contemporary art world. The number of international events in art institutions and the market, and the number of artists travelling the world today, is higher than ever before. Moreover, until recently, the art world remained focused on Western art and artists, attributing limited recognition to non-Westerners (Carroll, 2007). Today, artists from different parts of the world take part in international activities and events that have become an integrated part of contemporary art. This makes the contemporary art world greatly marked by its international character.

1.2 TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION IN THE FIELD OF CONTEMPORARY ART

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, the selection of artists and art works taken into account in this research is based on their presence in the leading contemporary art events and reflects the quality judgements by key actors of the contemporary art world. These gatekeepers, who occupy different roles or positions and interact, define the aesthetic value of art and set the artistic standards within a framework commonly referred to as the *art world*, *field* or *market* (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1991, 1993; Moulin, 1997). Accordingly, quality judgements of artists and their works of art are based on shared conventions among actors of the art world (Becker, 1982; Crane, 1987). In other words, the value of art is socially constructed, rather than being based on the intrinsic value of the work.

Whereas Becker (1982) emphasises the conventions and consensus in the art world, Bourdieu's field concept (1991, 1993) stresses conflict and competition between actors. In a field, power is unequally distributed among the actors. They are engaged in a power struggle in which those that are dominant try to defend their leading positions, while the dominated, or newcomers, seek to overthrow them and take control. In the field of contemporary art, what is at stake for artists is artistic success, i.e. the recognition granted to them by other actors, such as galleries or curators. These actors, for their part, compete for the legitimising power to set the artistic standards.

Prior to the contemporary art era, these power struggles generally took place within the boundaries of national art fields. In France, the centre of modern art, subsequent avant-garde movements from Impressionism to Surrealism emerged, seized power and were defeated. As a national art field, France lost its dominant position to a newcomer, the USA, after the Second World War (Guilbaut, 1983). Such separate national contemporary art fields still exist, yet in recent years an international field has emerged as a result of cultural globalisation. Within this international field of contemporary art, struggles over artistic recognition and the power to attribute it take place between actors from different geographical backgrounds and, thus, also affect the position of countries in the field. As such, the concept of field as a power struggle is useful in studying the dynamics of contemporary art under globalisation.

Despite the differences between the concepts of world and field, what reoccurs in both of them is the social construction of artistic value that is based on the recognition granted by people or organisations that are part of the field. In this dissertation, I will therefore alternately employ the terms *world* and *field* to indicate the social system that produces art and attributes value to artists and their work.

If the value of art is not determined by an art work's intrinsic value, but instead depends on the recognition an artist receives in the field, how then does an artist become successful? Several models have been developed in recent years that reflect the construction of an artistic career. Bowness's model (1989) of the reputation of the modern artist is based on the idea of circles of recognition, starting with a small circle that gradually evolves into a large circle. The first circle is that of the artist's peers, followed by critical attention. This step will then lead to recognition by dealers and collectors. Finally, the last circle is recognition by the public at large. A modified version, as argued by Heinich (2009) for example, could be applied to contemporary art. In this field, recognition by the market precedes critical attention by curators and public art institutions (see also Galenson, 2005). Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2004), meanwhile, presents the actors involved in the path to artistic fame as the Art-Eco System Model. This model reflects the steps an artist takes, and the recognition granted to him/her, from the start of his/her career at the art academy to the crowning glory of his/her work, i.e. presence in a major public art institution by way of exhibition or by the purchase of the piece of art. Central in the web is the gallery. Functioning as an intermediary, it contributes to the artist's endorsement through sales and exhibitions in public art institutions, which, in return, increases the status of the gallery.

Models like those of Bowness and Morris Hargreaves McIntyre are useful in this dissertation as they illustrate that different actors have a share in the success of an artist and the qualification of art. Although exhibition spaces, galleries, critics or collectors each play a specific role, they are noticeably related and influence each other. In concert, the models underline the importance of distribution in this process (Becker, 1982). This level of distribution – between creation and consumption – is at the heart of this research, as it is based on the visibility of artists in the major contemporary art events, which take place in both art institutions and the art market.

AESTHETIC AND ECONOMIC VALUE

Building on Raymonde Moulin's book *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché* (1997), I conceive the field of contemporary art as consisting of two spheres: the institutional arena and the art market. I will use the terms *art institution* and *institutional arena* in a restrictive sense for non-profit (and generally public) organisations and events, such as museums, art centres and biennials, as well as for the people working there (e.g. artistic directors and curators), who are primarily concerned with exhibiting art and contribute aesthetic (or artistic or cultural) value to the artist and his work. The term *art market* refers to organisations and events (e.g. galleries, auction houses and fairs) and the people (e.g. gallerists and collectors) who are also involved in commercial activities, i.e. art trading, and thus contribute economic value (see also Abbing, 2002; DiMaggio, 2006; Greenfeld, 1989; Gubbels, 1999; Joy & Sherry, 2003; Velthuis, 2005)². Of course, museums are active in the market when they purchase a work, while galleries also function as an exhibition space. The reality of the art world is that the two spheres are not completely independent, but are instead interrelated and sometimes even overlap. A clear cut distinction is then useful as it allows me to study both differences and similarities in visibility and artistic success in these two domains. In what follows I will discuss in more detail the functioning of these two domains and how they are interrelated.

Several sociologists have stressed the importance of curators and art institutions in the careers of artists (Alexander, 2003; Becker, 1982; Crane, 1987; Moulin, 1997, 2003; Zolberg, 1990). Likewise, the art market has a prominent role in the valorisation process of works of art and their creators. According to Moulin:

"The valorisation of contemporary artists and works of art depends on the link between the international network of galleries and the international network of cultural institutions."³ (Moulin, 1997: 8)

In other words, the development of an international artistic career requires visibility in the two separate domains of the contemporary art world: the institutional sphere and the art market. This is also underlined by the gallerists and curators I interviewed. As one curator stated:

"Well, I think it is important for an artist to be seen, to have exhibitions. But there are two different things, which are the art market and the institutions. That is absolutely not the same thing (...). So I think when an artist really wants a career, the two (spheres) have to be present."⁴ (Interview, curator 9, Paris)

As for art institutions, this includes a presence in the collections of world renowned institutions or participation in exhibitions in international art centres, museums or contemporary art biennials. Visibility in the art market may be achieved through representation by an international gallery, participation in important contemporary art fairs or a purchase of a piece by an eminent collector.

² It is noted that in the social sciences, the art market and actors representing the market (such as galleries) are considered to be institutions. However, here, I will employ the term *art institutions* as used in the visual arts and common language as opposed to *art market*.

³ « La valorisation des œuvres et des artistes contemporains repose sur l'articulation entre le réseau international des galeries et le réseau international des institutions culturelles. »

⁴ « Ben, je pense que pour un artiste ce qui est important déjà c'est d'être vu, donc d'avoir des expositions. Mais il y a deux choses différentes, c'est le marché de l'art et les institutions. Ce n'est pas du tout la même chose (...). Donc je pense que si on artiste veut vraiment une carrière, il faut que les deux soient présent. »

A contemporary artist thus needs a presence in both the art market and art institutions to construct an international career. In addition, Moulin's comment indicates that the two spheres, although distinct, do not function completely independently of each other (cf. Beckert & Rössel, 2004; Bonus & Ronte, 1997; Crane, 2009; Galenson, 2005; Gubbels, 1999; Joy & Sherry, 2003; Moulin, 1997; Velthuis, 2005; Yogev, 2010). Indeed, in recent years, the aesthetic and economic values of an art work have become more and more interrelated. When an artist receives recognition in one domain it has an impact in the other. The willingness of a gallery to work with an artist and the prices set for his/her work are partly determined by his/her artistic reputation, which is based on a presence in art institutions. Collectors, too, take into account the presence of artists in art institutions and the recognition granted in this sphere when they purchase a piece of work. Alternatively, when an artist is included in the stable of a renowned gallery, or when (s)he fetches high prices at auctions, it attracts the attention of actors in the institutional domain. It may also increase the opportunity to participate in exhibitions or to be included in the permanent collection of a museum. This is underlined, for example, by Martin's study (2007) of how newly graduated artists in France access the art market. In particular, it shows that an exhibition in a Parisian gallery, which represents the second level of market entry tests, may increase both market and institutional recognition; it can lead to an acquisition by a collector, but also to an acquisition by one of the FRACs (cultural institutions for contemporary art financed by the French regional government) or to a critical review in a journal or art magazine.

This interdependence of artistic and economic values is intensified by the fact that actors do not always contribute to either the artistic or economic recognition of the artist, but may have an influence on both. For instance, museums, which are primarily positioned in the institutional domain and attribute aesthetic value to an art work through exhibitions, contribute to its economic value when they buy it. Galleries, for their part, organise exhibitions in order to increase the economic value of a piece, while a successful exhibition also contributes to its artistic value.

Moreover, individual actors may play different roles in the two spheres, like a collector who is also on the board of directors of a museum (cf. Jyrämä, 2002). Two recent examples – Samuel Keller and Jeffrey Deitch – may serve to illustrate that actors are less bound today to one specific domain. Samuel Keller was the director of Art Basel between 2000 and 2007. As such, he held one of the key positions in the contemporary art market. In 2006, the Swiss foundation Beyeler announced the appointment of Keller as its head starting from 2008 (Fondation Beyeler, 2006).⁵ Meanwhile, although he resigned as a director, Keller has remained involved with the fair in the position of chairman of the Kunstmesse AG. Hence, Keller first occupied the position of head of a commercial art fair, later becoming the head of a major Swiss art institution. Another example is Jeffrey Deitch, who is one of the key figures in the American and global art scene. He started his career as an art consultant and was the first editor of *Flash Art* magazine. Subsequently, from 1996 to 2010, he served as director of Deitch Projects, a commercial art gallery with two spaces in SoHo representing renowned artists such as Keith Haring and Mariko Mori. Recently, in 2010, Deitch was appointed director of the

⁵ The Fondation Beyeler is already an example of hybridisation, being a non-profit art institution that originated from a private collection owned by Ernst and Hildy Beyeler.

Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) in Los Angeles. His career, like that of Keller, illustrates well how an actor of the contemporary art world is not restricted to either the institutional arena or the art market, but can shift from one to the other and be active in both domains.

Additionally, on the level of art events, a number of examples suggest a connection or crossover between the institutional and the market orientated part of the contemporary art world. When a large scale art manifestation such as a biennial takes place, it provides galleries with an opportunity to put their artists' work in the commercial spotlight. Although they are not officially part of the event, galleries may organise special exhibitions with work by artists from their stable who are participating in the biennial. Sometimes, art fairs are held during the opening days of a biennial, as was the case with *Cornice* in Venice in 2007 and *Paralela* in São Paulo in 2006. Accordingly, commercial activities are coordinated with institutional ones.

In the art market, these activities are even more integrated in one event than is the case with biennials. Contemporary art fairs like Art Basel in Switzerland, or Frieze Art Fair in the United Kingdom, have moved from just being a collection of galleries presenting their artists in a booth, to fairs that offer an entire package of events organised around the sales. Of course, the booths are still the main focus, but there is also a platform for "projects that transcend the classical art-show stand – including video projections, large-scale installations, massive sculptures and live performances" (Art Basel, 2008). Examples of these projects are *Art Unlimited* in Basel, as well as panel discussions and lectures by artists, curators or gallery owners. These are the events that one would normally expect to find at a biennial rather than an art fair. So, in summary, it could be argued that by including in an art fair projects and activities that mark a biennial, and vice versa, these two types of event both seem to evolve into representing a melange of institutional and commercial activities.

The previous paragraphs show that the two parts of the contemporary art world, namely the institutional sphere and the art market, sometimes touch or even overlap. Events are increasingly similar and actors like gallerists and curators exchange positions. Evidently, artists too are part of both domains and their work is judged in art institutions as well as on the market. As such, it is plausible to accept that these cultural and economic valuations are related.

Although the cultural and economic value of art appears to have become more intertwined in the "global" era than before, success in the institutional arena is not a guarantee for commercial success or vice versa (cf. Beckert & Rössel, 2004; Bonus & Ronte, 1997; Bourdieu, 1993; Greenfeld, 1989; Gubbels, 1999; Joy & Sherry, 2003; Moulin, 1997). Artists may do very well at auctions and in private collections, but are not automatically accorded (solo) exhibitions in key art institutions. Damien Hirst, for instance, seems to have a less prominent position in the institutional sphere than in the art market. Conversely, not all artists with high artistic recognition have similar results in the market, which is most obvious in the case of installation or performance artists. Accordingly, when analysing the visibility of countries and artists in the international arena, it is preferable to distinguish between institutions and art markets and to study the two spheres of the visual arts' world separately.

To this end, the exhibitions of museums' permanent collections, exhibitions at art centres and biennial exhibitions are regrouped under the term art

institutions, representing the actors who primarily express the quality of art in terms of cultural value and attribute artistic recognition to the artist. Meanwhile, galleries' stables, art fairs and auction sales are brought together under the term art market, representing the economic side of qualifying art. Taking such an approach enables me to study similarities and differences in the visibility of countries and artists on three different levels: the international contemporary art world as a whole; the various art events; and the level in-between, i.e. in the art market and art institutions. Two of these events, biennials in the institutional domain and contemporary art fairs in the market domain, will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

MAJOR INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EVENTS: BIENNIALS AND FAIRS

In recent years, visibility at contemporary art fairs and biennials has become increasingly important (cf. De Valck, 2007 on film festivals). Like auction sales and the openings of significant exhibitions or new art institutions, they mark the agenda of the contemporary art world (Crane 2009; Quemin, 2002). Of all the events taken into account in this research, biennials and fairs are considered to be the most transnational as they seem to be the least embedded in the geographical environment in which they are located. As such, they are generally deemed to symbolise the globalisation of the contemporary art world. This makes it of interest to focus in more detail on the characteristics of these events, starting with the biennial.

Whereas other institutional events such as museums and art centres represent continuity – if only because of the physical presence of a space and an exhibition policy executed over one or more years – biennials are a more ephemeral phenomenon. They are usually organised once every two years and the work is on display for about three months. More often than not, the artistic director or team of curators changes from edition to edition, resulting in a different kind of exhibition every time the biennial takes place. Two successive editions of the Istanbul Biennale may serve to illustrate this. The 2005 edition, which was curated by Charles Esche and Vasif Kortun, was called *Istanbul* and focused, as the title indicates, on the city itself. This thematical approach was apparent in both the selection of venues and art works. Instead of the landmarks of the city, the curators opted for average, everyday locations in Istanbul as their venues, such as an apartment block or a tobacco warehouse. The exhibited art work also reflected the *Istanbul* theme. Half of it was created by artists who worked in Istanbul prior to the exhibition, while the other half, which was created abroad, was used for comparison or contradictory purposes (Istanbul Biennale, 2005). In contrast, the following edition, in 2007, curated by Hou Hanrou, was not specifically thematical. This edition, entitled *Not Only possible, But Also Necessary: Optimism in the Age of Global War* had a much larger conceptual framework and centred on the interaction between the biennial project, the artists and the venues, which underlined the dynamic and interminable character of the event. In the *nightcomers* programme, for instance, videos were selected after an open competition and were screened during the night at 25 open spaces around the city at night to take the biennial to parts of Istanbul and the people that do not belong to the cultural centre (Istanbul Biennale, 2007).

In both editions the organisation was based on the invitation of artists, which is usually the case today. In this model, the artistic director - or a team of curators - invites a group of artists to participate in the show. The origins of the biennial exhibition, however, lie in the system of national representation, where artists represent specific countries in small exhibitions, which together constitute the biennial exhibition. The first such biennial was organised in Venice in 1895. After the Second World War, more biennials followed – São Paulo in 1951, Sydney in 1973 – and were based on the system introduced at La Biennale di Venezia. To date, this biennial still hosts an exhibition based on national representation, as well as one that is based on invitation. However, La Biennale di Venezia seems to be the exception to the rule, as virtually all other biennials have now abandoned the system of national representation. The most recent example is the Bienal de São Paulo, which stopped exhibiting on this basis after the 2004 edition and has since only organised exhibitions based on invitations issued by the curator(s).

The change of the biennial model coincides, more or less, with the growth in the number of contemporary art biennials taking place in every part of the globe since the 1980s and 1990s. This rise in the number of biennials is considered to be one of the indicators of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Bydler, 2004; Moulin, 2003; Piguët, 2000; Quemin, 2002) and corresponds to the rise of large-scale international events in other cultural domains, such as film festivals (Carroll, 2005; De Valck, 2007; English, 2005; Turan, 2002). Examples are the aforementioned Istanbul Biennale (1987), the Dakar Biennale (1992), the Gwangju Biennale (1995), the Montréal Biennale (1998) and, more recently, the Moscow Biennale (2005). Today, over a hundred biennials are held all over the world (cf. Bydler, 2004; Moulin, 2003), which means that a new edition, or a new biennial, opens somewhere virtually every week.

These biennials, and in particular the openings, are frequented by the key actors of the contemporary art world, including curators, gallerists, artists, collectors and art critics. As such, biennials are both a meeting point and a place for the exchange of ideas, and undoubtedly contribute to the valorisation and recognition of the artists who participate in them:

“Major art manifestations, like the Biennale di Venezia or Documenta in Kassel, mark the periodic gathering of the cosmopolitan world of international art. These are important times of artistic sociability, as well as exclusive places of information exchange. The contents reflect the future vision of the organising committees of these biennials or quadrennials by providing an overview and setting the tone, contributing to the standardisation of the choices made by collectors and museum directors. The artists themselves are confronted with the social image of their work and other artistic trends.”

“(…) Like the Salon de Paris in the nineteenth century, these manifestations also fulfil a role of qualifying creators. Functioning like informal academies, they contribute to the production of a list of aesthetic values, and represent the necessary steps in an artistic career both when it comes to an artist’s reputation and to the prices of the works of art.”⁶ (Moulin, 2003: 48) (see also Grasskamp, 1996)

⁶ « Les grandes manifestations internationales, comme la Biennale de Venise ou la Documenta de Cassel marquent les rendez-vous périodiques du monde cosmopolite de l’art international. Elles sont de grands moments de la sociabilité artistique et des lieux privilégiés d’échanges de l’information. Les bilans et les perspectives élaborés par les comités d’organisation des biennales ou des quadriennales, en faisant le point et en donnant le ton, contribuent à la standardisation des choix des collectionneurs et des directeurs de musées. Les artistes eux-mêmes s’y trouvent confrontés à l’image sociale de leur œuvre ainsi qu’aux autres courants artistiques. »

« (...) Ces manifestations exercent aussi, comme le Salon de Paris aux XIX^e siècle, une fonction de qualification des créateurs. Agissant en tant qu’académies informelles, elles participent à l’élaboration d’un palmarès des valeurs esthétiques et constituent les étapes obligées d’une carrière artistique du double point de vue de la réputation de l’auteur et du prix des œuvres. »

Like the contemporary art biennials, the major international art fairs are events where the entire contemporary art world assembles. Moreover, and similar to biennials, the rise of contemporary art fairs is an indicator of the internationalisation of the field (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Moulin, 2003). The first such event was held in Cologne, Germany, in 1966. Art Basel, founded in 1969, was the second and remains the most important art fair in the world to date. Nowadays, about 40 international contemporary art fairs are held each year (Quemin, 2008a). At an occasion like this, which usually takes place over three to five days, the international art world gathers together, particularly on the opening day. This also turns it into a social affair, where curators, artistic directors of museums, art critics and collectors are given the opportunity to see as many galleries as they want, and meet the artists or their representatives (Barragán, 2008; Coslor & Ren, 2009; Moulin, 1997, 2003; Moureau & Sagot-Duvaurox, 2006; Quemin, 2002).

Participation in contemporary art fairs, like that in biennials, has become essential in the development of an artistic career, since it provides exposure to a wider public within only a couple of days (cf. Crane, 2009). An exhibition on display in a gallery for several weeks will never get the same number of visitors (Interview, gallerist 11, London). As a gallerist explained:

"(...) commercially [fairs] are very important, because I think people have less time; the market has become more expansive, more important, so people monitor an artist's progress, they monitor prices, they have a chance to compare, all under one roof (...)"

"(...) I think the fairs really have captured a lot of attention, I mean people invest a lot of money in them; we do. Often artists have work they made especially for the fair because they realise it is a fantastic forum to show new work, and of course to sell work, so it has become for the artist also important, because around that time they usually make a lot more sales." (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

However, unlike the case of biennials, artists are not invited directly to take part in an art fair, but instead need to be represented by a gallery that is included in the event. In fact, before an artist is selected to participate in a contemporary art fair, there are four stages to overcome, all of which are related in some way or another. The first stage is the gallery's selection of an artist to join its stable. Next, the gallery chooses the art fairs where it wants to exhibit and, subsequently, submits an exhibition project, including a selection of work by the artists in its stable. Finally, the art fair committee decides which galleries it wants to include based on their programmes and projects, i.e. the stable of artists the gallery represents and the way in which they are presented.

To summarise, biennials and art fairs have become increasingly central in today's contemporary art world. Firstly, they provide an indispensable platform for artists, enabling them to show their work to a wider public within a relatively short period of time. Secondly, they function as a meeting place for other contemporary art world actors, such as gallerists, collectors, curators and art critics, who use these events to follow artists or create new contacts. In the past three decades, the number of these events has risen all over the globe, which underlines their importance. The dissemination and impact of biennials illustrates the ongoing internationalisation of the institutional side of the art world, while that of art fairs emphasises the internationalisation of the contemporary art market.

1.3 A WORD ON TERMINOLOGY

When discussing geographical boundaries in motion it is relevant to address the terminology used in this regard. The vocabulary employed in social sciences and art history includes words like global, international, transnational, local, regional and national. Each of them represents different shades of meaning, although at times some terms are used as synonyms. Concurrently, the individual adjectives (or nouns) have various connotations.

For instance, Bartelson (2000), in his discussion of the development of the concept of globalisation in the social sciences over the years, distinguishes three different senses of the term: transference, transformation and transcendence. Globalisation as transference parts from existing nation-states or societies and underlines the increasing exchange between these units. Globalisation as transformation takes this idea a step further, suggesting that globalisation occurs at a systems level that goes beyond the units, which nonetheless remain part of the system as a whole. This system holds different sectors and dimensions and is affected by globalisation, as are the units. Finally, the concept of globalisation as transcendence presents the world as a whole by dismissing the idea of existing boundaries, units and systems. While in the transference concept globalisation takes place from the *inside out*, and in the transformation concept from the *outside in*, with transcendence there is no specific inside or outside.

The adjective *national* evokes a reference to the nation-state in the cultural field as well as in the social sciences. It is commonly understood and applied to indicate the relation to a country or a state: the national representation of an artist at the Biennale di Venezia means that the artist represents his/her country at the event. When discussing activities that surpass national art worlds, the terms *internationalisation* and *globalisation* are generally used. In sociology, the former usually refers to the exchange between (a limited group of) nations, while in the latter this connectivity of nations is worldwide, i.e. global is seen as the world as a whole (cf. Heilbron & Wilterdink, 1995).

Contemporary art world actors do not specifically distinguish between the two terms, and tend to employ them as synonyms to indicate the disappearance of national boundaries and thus the role of the nation-state. In this new *international* or *global* realm, nationality no longer plays a role; the new organisation of the art world has led to the disappearance of the formerly existing hierarchies of nations in art. As such, these terms suggest first of all that there is a sense of equality of artists, meaning that each artist in the world has similar chances to become successful, regardless of his background. Secondly, it suggests that this realm goes beyond national art worlds and is, in fact, one worldwide and all-encompassing field, in which actors of the contemporary art world are not embedded in a particular geographical setting. Sociologists may use yet another term to explain this, describing today's contemporary art world as *transnational* (cf. Carroll, 2007; English, 2005). The word *transnational* seems to underline even more the idea that national embeddedness is lacking in this new realm, and relates to the globalisation as transcendence concept (Bartelson, 2000).

These three concepts – *international*, *global*, *transnational* – are all employed in this dissertation. In line with the connotations addressed thereto in the social sciences, and as referred to previously, by *global* I understand the world as a whole, by *international* I am referring to the activities that include various nations, but are not world-encompassing, and by *transnational* I mean the activities that are detached from, or go beyond, national settings.

However, instead of determining which of the three concepts is best suited to describe the contemporary art world, the main purpose of this research is to investigate how this particular field functions and the extent to which geographical factors or national embeddedness are still of influence today. Therefore, in this dissertation, these terms are primarily understood as being distinct from *national* (or the local or regional), and only secondarily as distinct from each other. In this primal meaning, I will follow the use of the terms in the field of art and employ them alternately (particularly the words *international* and *global*) to denote what exceeds the national arena. For instance, when discussing the scope of biennials, I may use the words *international* and *global* to indicate that what I am examining goes beyond a national event. Only secondly will I explicitly distinguish between the three terms and employ them with respect to their distinctive meaning, as is common in the social sciences.

Similarly, to indicate the relation to a particular country or nation, terms such as *national*, *domestic* or *local* are used alternatively. Although *local* is commonly used to refer to cities, which will be the case from time to time in this dissertation, it will also be understood in a broader sense, indicating the attachment of an artist or an artistic event to a country. Finally, between the *national* and the *international*, the term *regional* or *region* will also be employed. Here, the word does not refer to a space within a nation, but rather to a group of nations that are close geographically or culturally.

2 GLOBALISATION OF CULTURE

In the previous chapter, I have discussed how artistic and geographical boundaries in motion have shaped today's contemporary art world. Moreover, I have elaborated on the interdependence of art institutions and the art market in the construction of an artistic career. Two events, the biennial and the fair, have been discussed more thoroughly as they are considered to be emblematic for the internationalisation of the field. However, thus far, the globalisation of the contemporary art world has not been placed in the context of current theories on the globalisation of culture. This will be the subject of this section.

In the past two decades, many scholars have addressed the impact of globalisation on the cultural field (Appadurai, 1996; Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Carroll, 2007; De Swaan, 1995, 2001; Hannerz, 1992, 1996; Heilbron, 1999; Janssen et al., 2008; Lizardo, 2007; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Quemin, 2002, 2006; Robertson, 1995; Tomlinson, 1996, 1999). Most of the globalisation theories revolve around the supremacy of the West. Some scholars argue that the field of culture is dominated by Western countries, leading to the homogenisation of culture, while others state that this dominance is successfully counterbalanced, resulting in a more heterogeneous or even hybrid global culture.

Authors use various frameworks to address globalisation. For instance, Guillén (2001: 236), in his discussion of the literature and different stances on globalisation in general, uses a framework of five questions: "Is globalization really happening? Does it produce convergence? Does it undermine the authority of nation-states? Is globality different from modernity? Is a global culture in the making?" Connell (2007: 373-375), for his part, regroups the current debates on globalisation under three themes: "global versus local"; "homogeneity versus difference"; and "dispersed versus concentrated power".

In the introduction to the book *Global culture: media, arts, policy and globalization* (2002), co-editor Diana Crane presents four current approaches that deal specifically with cultural globalisation: cultural imperialism theory, cultural flows or network theory, reception theory and cultural policy. Although Crane addresses these approaches predominantly within the context of popular culture, this framework is nevertheless suitable for this dissertation. I will use it as a model to, firstly, discuss different theories on the globalisation of the cultural field in general. Secondly, at the end of each section, I will introduce globalisation within the field of contemporary art. This enables me to lay bare the similarities and differences in the globalisation of popular and high culture, and so the possible difficulties in translating the model to the field of contemporary art. It also permits me to discuss in more detail the specificities of globalisation in this field.

2.1 CULTURAL IMPERIALISM THEORY

The first and central approach in the discussion on cultural globalisation is cultural imperialism or, to use a more recent term, media imperialism. This model is based on the idea that certain nations, in particular Western European countries and the USA, have a greater impact on the cultural field than other nations, particularly Third World countries. Or, in the words of Diana Crane (2002: 3),

“cultural imperialism is defined as a kind of cultural domination by powerful nations over weaker nations.”

The globalisation-as-cultural imperialism approach departs from the notion of a centre-periphery constellation that has its origins in world system theory (De Swaan, 1991, 1995, 2001). In world system theory, economic forces take the lead; the existence of other dimensions, such as cultural exchange, is merely a result of economic exchange on a global level (Wallerstein, 1974, 1991). However, numerous scholars contest this viewpoint (Appadurai, 1996; Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; De Swaan, 1995, 2001; Heilbron, 1999; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Tomlinson, 1996, 1999). In doing so they attribute far less power to economic forces and consider that the world system represents different, relatively autonomous spheres, such as a political, economic, linguistic and cultural constellation.

The centre-periphery model is based on the division between, on the one hand, one or a few powerful actors representing the centre or core, and, on the other, a large group of actors that are dominated by the centre and is referred to as the periphery. A third area is the semi-periphery, which is positioned in between. This centre-periphery constellation has a hierarchical and oligopolistic – or monopolistic – nature (Crane, 2002; De Swaan, 1995, 2001; Heilbron, 1999; Lizardo, 2007; Tomlinson, 1996, 1999).

The example of the language constellation may aid understanding of how this organisation works. De Swaan (2001: 5) distinguishes 12 super-central languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili) which are spoken by 60% to 80% of people worldwide⁷ (De Swaan, 1995). The English language occupies a particular position as it links all of these super-central languages and is, therefore, in De Swaan's terms, hyper-central in this constellation. The super-central languages are central to other languages, which, in their turn, are central to peripheral languages. All in all, there are about 50 to 100 languages in the world, together forming this linguistic constellation.

The dimension of interest here is the cultural dimension, which is generally called the cultural world system (De Swaan, 1995). Although it is considered to be a distinct part of the world system, scholars tend to stress that its autonomy remains relative, as the different constellations are often related and influence each other (e.g. Tomlinson, 1996, 1999). In addition, constellations such as the cultural one tend to follow the same path as the political and economic constellations and, correspondingly, reflect the centre-periphery dichotomy (De Swaan, 1991, 1995; 2001; Heilbron, 1999).

Like the linguistic constellation in the previous example, the cultural constellation has a clear centre and periphery that correspond to those of the political and economic constellations (De Swaan, 1995). This is, according to De Swaan (1995: 25), best shown in the field of popular culture:

⁷ The percentage depends upon whether one looks at mother tongues or official languages.

“[t]his concentric or hierarchic pattern of cultural movement is most apparent in the manifest commercial exploitation of popular culture addressed to a mass audience, in cinema, pop music and television programs, [cultural products] that are all disseminated through world wide networks of modern mass media.”⁸

De Swaan also mentions today's fashion brands, sports and tourism to illustrate how different cultural constellations relate to the political and economic versions. This is also visible in the domain of high arts (De Swaan, 1991), yet this correspondence seems to be most apparent in the field of media and mass culture. In her discussion of media imperialism, Crane (2002) stresses that the media are dominated by a restricted number of media conglomerates, most of which are based in the USA, Germany, France and the United Kingdom. She explains that in the global media marketplace “[d]ominance of a particular country (...) is more a function of economic than cultural factors.” (Crane, 2002: 4). For example, the massive impact of American products, such as film, television or music, is related to the fact that there is a large national public for these items. As investments have already been covered by sales in the national market, the international distribution of these products can take place at a lower price. In other words, the existence of a national market provides the USA with a huge financial advantage over other countries and, therefore, makes it easier to export their cultural goods (see also Heilbron, 1995).

De Swaan's cultural and linguistic constellations clearly resemble the world system model in terms of the centre-periphery structure, yet they are adapted in several ways. For instance, instead of one single core, they represent multiple centres and a hypercentre. Towards the end of this chapter, in section 2.5 I will discuss in more depth the modifications brought to the fore by De Swaan.

What then is the impact of such a structure on the cultural field? Cultural or media imperialism is regarded as leading to the homogenisation of culture. In different places around the world, it is possible to find similar cultural products; pop music in Brazil or South Korea is more or less similar to pop music in the USA. This phenomenon is usually labelled *Americanisation* or *Westernisation*, as in most cases the USA and a few Western European countries represent the dominant nations. Evidently, this type of homogenous global culture is not based on utopian and egalitarian principles. On the contrary, it reflects the hegemony of a restricted number of nations and can be described as the implementation of a pre-existing and dominant culture to the detriment of other pre-existing and overpowered cultures. National products originating from the more peripheral countries are likely to disappear with the invasion of those from the dominant nations (Crane, 2002; Tomlinson, 1999). Or, in the words of Lizardo (2007: 2): “[the cultural or media imperialism thesis] sees cultural globalization mainly as bringing with it the end of national cultural diversity.”

⁸ “[d]it concentrische of hiërarchische patroon van cultureel verkeer doet zich vooral voor bij de manifest commerciële exploitatie van de populaire cultuur voor een massapubliek, bij films, popmuziek en televisieshows die alle verspreid worden langs de wereldwijde netwerken van de moderne massamedia.”

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND CONTEMPORARY ART

The question here is whether the cultural or media imperialism model is suitable when it comes to discussing the global visual arts' world. There are several difficulties with regard to the translation of this model to the particular field of contemporary art. First, the term imperialism suggests the conscious intention to overtake or conquer, which seems to be less than apt when describing the contemporary art world.⁹ Second, the concept of homogenisation applies above all to the cultural *product* and its mass production. In the field of the visual arts, however, there is no mass production, unlike, for example, in the realm of television (see also De Swaan, 1991). Instead, visual art works are marked by their unique and rare character. In high art, mass production is limited to merchandise, for instance, mugs, mouse pads or key holders displaying images of Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* or Klimt's *The Kiss*, which can, undoubtedly, be found all over the world. The original works, however, are unique. Even the more mass-produced art, such as paintings by Andy Warhol or, more recently, work by Damien Hirst or Takashi Murakami, is relatively rare compared to copies of books, television programmes or films. The concept of homogeneity thus seems to be less appropriate in the field of the visual arts than in that of popular culture.

What is more, the dominant powers that control distribution structures, another driving force behind the cultural imperialism and homogenisation of culture, also seem to be lacking in the field of the visual arts. Indeed, in this field, there is no real equivalent to the media conglomerates. It is true that in recent years some contemporary art world actors have become increasingly present and powerful, especially when it comes to the art market. One could think, for instance, of collector-gallerist Larry Gagosian, whose gallery is located in several cities around the world, including New York, Los Angeles, Rome, London, Hong Kong and Paris, and who represents some of the most internationally renowned artists, such as Damien Hirst and Cy Twombly. Another example is the 2007 take-over by Christie's International of Haunch of Venison, a gallery based in London, Berlin and Zurich. This acquisition has brought together the primary and secondary markets within one company and has enforced Christie's position in the art market. However, this involvement remains far from the level of vertical integration that is seen in media conglomerates, which control different platforms, including film, television, radio and music, books, and the internet. Disney, for example, owns about 70 radio stations, several internet companies, publisher Hyperion Books and multiple TV stations and film companies, such as ABC and Pixar Studios (Arsenault & Castells, 2008: 715-716). To summarise, compared to the field of media, even the most powerful actors in the visual arts' world have limited control.

Even though the field of the visual arts does not seem to be analogous to that of mass culture and media in the sense that it is not as marked by the homogenisation of products, or by a restricted number of leading organisations in the production and distribution of art works, it is similar in terms of structure as it represents a distinct centre (USA and Western Europe) and periphery. In recent years, some scholars have studied the field of contemporary art empirically and

⁹ In this light, the work by Serge Guilbaut (1983), which deals with American cultural imperialism and the Abstract Expressionist style, is of interest. After World War II, the political and cultural dominance of the US went hand in hand. Although the American art world was clearly eager to mark its importance and overtake the leading position of France, Abstract Expressionism was, above all, used as an instrument for political imperialism to underline US supremacy. Today, strategies to use contemporary art as propaganda, like in the Cold War period with this modernist style, are uncommon. Moreover, given the diversity of contemporary art, this is far less easy to achieve.

revealed that it continues to be dominated by Western countries. Indeed, Alain Quemin has shown in different studies (2002, 2006, 2007, 2010) that the contemporary art world is still dominated by the USA and a few European countries, the most prominent of which is Germany. Larissa Buchholz and Ulf Wuggenig (2005) showed in their study on *Kunstkompass*¹⁰ that between 1970 and 2005, 82% to 95% of the artists on the list were from the USA, the European Union or Japan.¹¹ Moreover, this latter country was represented by only 0%-2% of the artists over the years, making the impact of the American and European artists on this list even more striking. These examples clearly suggest that the cultural imperialism thesis is applicable to the global field of the visual arts, at least when it comes to the centre-periphery constellation.

However, the use of the term *imperialism* poses problems within this particular field, as it denotes the explicit purpose of a restricted group to impose their cultural products or system on a larger – dependent – group of actors. While the term seems to be suitable to use in relation to the fields of popular culture or media, I question the deliberate intention of dominant countries or actors to overtake the dominated ones in the field of high culture, i.e. contemporary art. Therefore, in what follows, instead of using the term cultural imperialism when referring to the model discussed here, I will use the terms cultural dominance, cultural hegemony or cultural supremacy, understood here as indicating the unequal division of power between countries within the contemporary art world.

2.2 CULTURAL FLOWS OR NETWORK THEORY

The cultural or media imperialism approach – in which global culture is conceived as a homogenised culture as a result of the dominant West imposing its cultural products on peripheral countries – is contested by adherents to the cultural flows or network approach. This model seeks to stress the existence of other flows of cultural exchange than the one-direction running of cultural goods from the West to the rest of the world (Crane, 2002). Key concepts in the cultural imperialism thesis, such as inequality of power and the dependence of the periphery on the centre, are contrasted by cultural network concepts of interconnectedness and interdependencies between nations and institutions. Indeed, the main difference between the two models lies in the direction in which cultural products are disseminated: while the cultural imperialism model represents a single-direction movement from the centre to the periphery, in the cultural flows model cultural products may be diffused in different directions and countries, or regions may be alternately the sender and receiver of culture.

The idea of a one-way flow of Western culture to peripheral zones is challenged primarily by two other existing perspectives. The first departs from an organisational point of view and emphasises the importance of the region. In the words of Crane (2002: 7): “The influence of Western global cultures is being offset by the development of regional cultures within global culture.” Both the number of cultural producers and the market for cultural goods are growing and evolving within a regional context. The density of connections within the sub-networks in

¹⁰ *Kunstkompass* is the top-100 list of contemporary artists published annually in the German business magazine *manager magazin* (since 2008). It was originally published in *Capital*.

¹¹ In this study, the EU includes all 15 member states prior to its expansion in 2004 and Switzerland.

the regions is greater, while at the same time the regions are less intertwined with other parts of the global network (Crane, 2002). Such a regional context reflects just one of the many modes of organisation, which can be “transnational, international, marco-regional, national, micro-regional, municipal, local.” (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995: 50) These different modes are all concurrently active, without one dominating the others (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995).

While Carroll (2007) takes the example of film to illustrate this increasing influence of regional cultures, Crane (2002) refers to several studies of the field of music (e.g. Frith, 1996) and television (e.g. Sinclair et al. 1996; Straubhaar, 1991). In television, for instance, one can distinguish several different regions based on linguistic and cultural connections, for example Asia or Latin America. Each of these regions is dominated by one or two leading countries (see also Straubhaar, 2010), and they exist one next to the other. None of them seem to take a central position and go on to dominate the rest. What is more, audiences for the television programmes produced in these regions are not limited to geographical boundaries. This means that the French market for TV shows, for example, encompasses France and (parts of) neighbouring countries such as Belgium and Switzerland and, in addition, former French colonies and other French-speaking nations located further away from France. Accordingly, the French region includes countries located in different parts of the world. Similarly, audiences who used to live in one region and are now living in another may still be connected to a regional network, for instance Indian migrants who continue to watch television programmes broadcast by the satellite channel Zee TV (see Crane, 2002). Finally, as pointed out by Straubhaar (1991), audiences have become more receptive to television programmes from regions other than their own or the West, which underlines the increasing interdependence between regions that challenge the dominant position of the USA.

To summarise, social units in different parts of the world are connected to each other in several regional networks. These regions have grown to be more interdependent. As such, this regional mode of organisation of television, and the increasing impact of these regions, clearly counterbalances the idea of a one-way flow from a dominating West to the peripheral zones. Or, as stated by Appadurai (1996: 31): “(...) the United States is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes.”

In the second perspective, authors such as Tomlinson (1996) take this a step further. He questions the idea of the dominance of the West by arguing that the cultural imperialism theories do not take into account the counter-flows that go from peripheral countries to the West (see also Berkers, Janssen & Verboord, 2011; Carroll, 2007; De Swaan, 1995; Heilbron, 1995, 2001; Robertson, 1995). Indeed, as was shown in the previous paragraphs, non-Western culture seems to succeed in offering a counterweight to the influence of Western culture within a regional framework. This diffusion of cultural products does not, however, stop at the borders of the region; there is also a flow of cultural goods that originates in the peripheral zones and goes in the direction of the West. The example of world music, from which the success of Senegalese singer Youssou N'Dour is among the most illustrative, is often used to illustrate this penetration of peripheral culture into the culture of the West (cf. De Swaan, 1995; English, 2005). Another example is the dissemination of world cuisine. Nowadays in Dutch households, for instance,

foreign dishes like Italian pastas, Indian curries or Japanese sushi feature regularly on the menu instead of the traditional potatoes, vegetables and meat and gravy. In other words, the transmission of culture is a two-way flow from Western countries to peripheral zones and from the periphery to the West. Accordingly, within the cultural network, social units can take the position of both sender and receiver (Crane, 2002; De Swaan, 1995; Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005).

So how then do these cultural flows affect the production of culture? I have already referred to the reciprocal influence of the periphery and the West in the field of dance, which has led to new dance forms (Carroll, 2007). Cuisine may also serve to illustrate this, given that traditional cooking still exists despite the global dissemination of world or American (or Western) food. A McDonald's outlet – a symbol of cultural imperialism in the field of food culture – may be less than a couple of blocks away, yet people continue to prepare a wide variety of traditional dishes. In other words, new influences and old traditions appear not to be mutually exclusive.

Sometimes the two even go hand in hand. For instance, as well as the all-American hamburger, McDonald's also sells products that are adapted to the local environment, such as the *McArabia* in the Middle East or the *McKroket* in the Netherlands. Of course, these kinds of products are created and sold for economic reasons aimed at increasing the market share and consolidating the fast-food chain's position. Nevertheless, instead of simply imposing American food, a new product is developed in which American and local traditions are mixed.

This blending of cuisines also works the other way round. World cuisine has many examples of 'exotic' recipes that have been adapted to local tastes or mixed with local traditions, with new dishes being the result. In the Netherlands, for instance, one of the favourites in Indonesian cuisine is *satay*: skewered and grilled meat. Satay served in the Netherlands is adapted to Dutch tastes and, unlike in Indonesia, contains no intestines or other organs. Instead, it is typically comprised of neatly chopped pieces of either chicken or pork fillet (using pork is relatively rare in Indonesia as the majority of the country is Muslim) and is commonly served with a peanut sauce.

In summary, in the words of Crane, as a consequence of these cultural flows "national cultures will assimilate aspects of many other cultures and become more diverse" (2002: 10). This heterogenisation, or even hybridisation, takes place in both what imperialists call the centre and the periphery. This means that the arrival of Western culture in the so-called peripheral countries will not necessarily lead to the disappearance of traditional cultures, but rather to the co-existence of the two and possibly the emergence of new cultural products (Appadurai, 1996; Carroll, 2007; English, 2005; Hannerz, 1992, 1996; Lizardo, 2007; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Robertson, 1995; Tomlinson, 1996, 1999).

CULTURAL FLOWS OR NETWORK THEORY AND CONTEMPORARY ART

The examples put forward by Crane of music and television and the example of cuisine illustrate cultural flows theory and heterogenisation in the field of popular culture, yet they say little about how this theory may be applicable to the field of high culture or contemporary arts. In this particular field as well, several developments seem to support the cultural flows or network theory, notably the emergence of contemporary art activities in the regions in the past three decades.

The growing number of contemporary art biennials around the globe (cf. Bydler, 2004; Moulin, 2003), and in their slipstream the opening of art institutions focused on contemporary art, are most illustrative of this development.

Certainly, the large-scale exhibition is not a recent phenomenon and, more interestingly, has its roots not so much in the periphery, but in the centre of the art world. As mentioned earlier, the first biennial took place in 1895 in Venice, Italy.¹² This roughly coincided with the rise of major international events such as World Exhibitions (1851) or the Olympic Games, the first modern version of which was held in 1896 (Bydler, 2004; English, 2005; Lechner & Boli, 2005). After the Second World War, more temporary art manifestations showing art from all over the world emerged. In Europe, for instance, the first Documenta, which was held in Kassel, Germany, took place in 1955. This event – located in the central zone like the Biennale di Venezia – is still one of the leading art manifestations and is organised once every five years.¹³ Early biennial exhibitions also emerged in the peripheral zones: in 1951, the Italian immigrant Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho founded the Bienal de São Paulo, while the Biennale of Sydney, co-founded by Italian-born Australian Franco Belgiorno-Nettis, held its first edition in 1973. Based on the model of national representation, each of these biennials was clearly inspired by their ancestor in Venice.

In this sense, the biennial as a model is particularly Western, and its implementation in the peripheral zones may be considered to symbolise the dominance of Western countries in the visual arts' world (English, 2005; Erić, 2007). However, the image of the biennial exhibition has altered due to, first, a change of the organisational model from national representations to exhibitions of invited artists, and, second, the intensified global dissemination of the biennial exhibition. These developments have taken place gradually over the past two or three decades. As a consequence, today, the large-scale exhibition seems to be first and foremost a symbol of the heterogenisation of the contemporary art world (Erić, 2007).

Actors of the contemporary art world, also, observe changes in the field that seem to be in line with cultural flows' theory. As has been shown by authors such as Alain Quemin (2002, 2006), these actors often tend to refer to the increased visibility of artists from the peripheral zone to underline that this field is no longer centred on the West. The exhibition *Magiciens de la Terre* is commonly referred to as the one that set this process in motion (cf. Erić, 2007). A more recent example of attention paid to non-Western artists is the *Africa Remix* exhibition, which between 2004 and 2007 travelled from Düsseldorf to London, Paris, Tokyo and Johannesburg and included the work of about 80 contemporary African born artists.

Furthermore, biennials, which are already seen as a symbol of increased internationalisation, have become more open to artists from the peripheral zone in recent years. The 1999 and 2001 editions of the Biennale di Venezia, entitled *dAPERTutto* and *Plateau of Humankind*, and both directed by Harald Szeemann, are usually considered to be the starting point of this openness as they were the first to include the work of a relatively high number of Asian and Chinese artists. This

¹² Even though the city of Venice, unlike Paris or Vienna, could hardly be regarded as a central city at the end of the 19th century, it is part of the larger central zone, i.e. Western Europe, and part of Western European art history.

¹³ Prior to 1972, the programming was less regular and Documenta took place every four to five years.

trend at biennials is quite similar to developments noted by English (2005) in his study of the attribution of awards in the fields of film and literature.

The art market has also witnessed the emergence of Asian and, in particular, Chinese artists in recent years. In 2010-2011, China overtook the leading position of the United States and the United Kingdom at auctions (Artprice, 2011). To illustrate this, in this period five of the 10 artists with the highest overall revenues from contemporary art auction sales were Chinese: Zeng Fanzhi, Zhang Xiaogang, Chen Yifei, Wang Yidong and Zhou Chunya. Chen Yifei's *Wind of Mountain Village* was the third best sale in 2010-2011 (behind two works by Jeff Koons), selling at a price of € 7.8 million.¹⁴ This rise of Chinese artists has raised the question of whether China can still be seen as peripheral or if the country should now be regarded as one of the new art centres (cf. Galenson, 2008; Straubhaar 2010).

The issue concerns, however, the extent to which the idea of an increase in the visibility of artists from the peripheral zone, and a rise in the diversity of represented countries, holds true. The aforementioned *Africa Remix* exhibition did indeed show the work of mostly African born artists, yet almost half of them live in the USA or Europe, at least on a part time basis (Njami & Besnard-Bernadac, 2005). This suggests that the artists' residence in the West almost certainly contributed to their presence in this exhibition and indicates that this zone is still king in the field of the visual arts (cf. Berkers et al., 2011; English, 2005; Karttunen, 2008; Quemin, 2002, 2006).

Moreover, (other) studies by Quemin (2002, 2006, 2007, 2010) and Buchholz and Wuggenig (2005) signal that a fairly limited group of countries continues to dominate the art world. Buchholz and Wuggenig have used the *Kunstkompass* rankings in their research, which are based, among other factors, on the participation of artists in exhibitions at art institutions and art manifestations, which are themselves ranked according to their importance in the contemporary art world. Quemin, meanwhile, apart from permanent collections of museums and the *Kunstkompass*, has also studied the Biennale di Venezia and the global dissemination of fairs. Despite this broader scope, the focus in these studies has been primarily on the presence of artists and countries in institutions such as museums.

Drawing on the work by Quemin and Buchholz and Wuggenig, the present research seeks to expand the range of international events under study. To date, knowledge about the presence of artists in contemporary art galleries and art fairs is limited (cf. Velthuis, forthcoming). Moreover, little attention has been paid to participating artists and countries at biennials, in particular those located in the peripheral zone. Although Charlotte Bydler (2004) studied biennials as part of her dissertation on the globalisation of contemporary art, she examined this field from, above all, an art historian perspective. Chin-Tao Wu (2009), in her paper presented at the Landmark Conference at Tate Modern in 2008, has undertaken more empirical research and specifically focuses on the internationalisation of biennials. Wu, however, only includes data on one such event, Documenta, and

¹⁴ In 2009-2010, three out of 10 artists were Chinese, and Chen Yifei's *String Quartet*, sold at a price of €5.6 million in May 2010 at Christie's Hong Kong, was the second best sale of the year (Artprice, 2010).

does not study the artists' or countries' presence at this biennial in the wider context of other biennials around the world or other art events.

What is more, the example of the impact of Chinese artists on the global art market makes it all the more interesting to test if they are equally successful in domains other than auctions. Artists or countries do not always have a similar presence in every art event (cf. Straubhaar, 2010). Therefore, included in this research are several international art events such as permanent collections, biennials in both the centre and the periphery, art fairs and gallery stables. Studying all of these events enables me to, first of all, test the globalisation theories within the framework of each of the art events. In addition, the diversity of platforms located in different parts of the world allows for the study of the phenomenon of globalisation in the contemporary art world at large, first, by comparing the presence of artists and countries at the different events and platforms, and, second, by comparing their visibility in institutions and the art market.

2.3 RECEPTION THEORY

The first two models discussed above focus primarily on cultural production and distribution and the effects thereof. The cultural imperialism theory, which argues that today's cultural production is homogenous as a result of a strong centre dominating the periphery, is contested by the cultural flows or network perspective, in which cultural production is considered to be more diverse and distributed in a two-way flow. Apart from this latter theory, Crane (2002) also distinguishes two other models that contend the assimilating effects of globalisation, one of which is the reception theory.

Tomlinson (1996, 1999) argues that the influence of new cultural forms is not always or everywhere the same; it varies according to, firstly, the cultural product and, secondly, the receiving culture (see also Robertson, 1995). Indeed, one of his points of criticism of the idea of Westernisation and homogenisation is that it oversimplifies a rather complex phenomenon. Instead of seeing globalisation in terms of one form of Western culture that is implemented in one type of receiving culture, one should take into account the variety within Western culture – film, pop and classical music, the visual arts, literature etc. – and the range of realities in which these goods are adapted or absorbed. A receiving culture may be open to film but closed to literature, while the opposite may be true in yet another receiving culture. All together, this provides an infinite list of response possibilities to cultural products. Therefore, even if one accepts that there is an asymmetry in the flows between the West and the rest of the world in favour of the former, this variety in reception underlines the idea that globalisation leads to diversification rather than unification.

In line with this, Crane (2002) points out that the impact of cultural products from the West is counterbalanced in terms of reception by building on studies of the dissemination of American television programmes. In Japan, for instance, it is difficult for American TV shows to get a foothold in the door. Indeed, unlike European countries, Japan is much more resistant to these kinds of programmes, as shown by Iwabuchi (2002). Crane also refers to Banks (1996), who explains that the difficulties encountered by the American music video station MTV in penetrating the Japanese market, are partly related to the station showing

relatively more American artists than Japanese, while Japanese audiences prefer Japanese to American performers. Furthermore, MTV has to compete with Japanese music video shows. In other words, as noted by Crane, audiences generally give primacy to national programmes over American ones, as it is easier for them to identify with the former. This phenomenon is known as “cultural discount” (Crane, 2002: 10; Straubhaar, 1991). Like the differences in receiving global culture between audiences in different parts of the world, within the boundaries of a single country preferences may vary from one social group to another, depending on gender, race, class or age, which supports the notion of diversification.

In the reception of cultural products, as Crane (2002) rightly stresses, the role of gatekeepers is vital. They function as intermediaries between production and reception, and, when it comes to global culture, between the foreign and the national or the global and the local (Janssen et al., 2008; Kuipers, 2011; Sapiro, 2010). In other words, they can be decisive when it comes to whether or not cultural goods will succeed in attracting the attention of new audiences around the world, or to adapting a product to local tastes. To be clear, these gatekeepers operate in Western countries as they do in non-Western zones; both non-Western and Western cultural products largely depend on gatekeepers in order to reach new audiences.

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The importance of gatekeepers in what the public actually sees of the extensive offer of contemporary art is also apparent in the previously mentioned works by Quemin (2002, 2006, see also 2007) and by Buchholz and Wuggenig (2005). The *Kunstkompass* rankings used by Buchholz and Wuggenig reflects the selection made by key actors of the contemporary art world, as it is based on the visibility of artists in art institutions and large-scale art manifestations, reviews in art journals and acquisitions by renowned art institutions (Manager Magazine, 2010). As mentioned previously, the authors conclude that the rankings are hugely dominated by European and American artists. This indicates that art critics and curators or directors of contemporary art institutions primarily select artists from these zones. This is further illustrated by criticism of the *Kunstkompass* rankings. Some opponents argue that the list is flawed given the overrepresentation of German artists. This is, in turn, thought to be the result of the large presence of German institutions; in other words, the selection of particular institutions influences the ranking of artists. Whether or not German institutions are indeed overrepresented on the list, the criticism underlines the belief that domestic institutions favour domestic artists in their exhibition and acquisition policies and lays bare the impact of the role of gatekeepers.

Quemin (2002, 2006, 2007), in addition to analysing the *Kunstkompass* rankings in terms of nationality, has compared this list to the representation of countries in the collections of the most important art institutions in France and other countries around the world. As stated, he found a clear sense of hierarchy in the visibility of countries in these institutions, with the duopoly of the USA and Europe dominating. His work also shows that domestic artists are well represented in the permanent collections. One of these institutions under study was FNAC (Fonds National d’Art Contemporain), which is the main public art

collection of France and consists of about 70,000 pieces of work (Quemin, 2002, 2006). Quemin highlighted that about half to two-thirds of the acquisitions made between 1988 and 2004 were pieces by French artists. Although from 1997 onwards the share of French art has been about 50% or slightly lower, a large part of the collection is still dedicated to domestic artists. Quemin also showed that the work on display in renowned institutions such as MoMA, Centre Pompidou and Tate Modern is, to a great extent, by artists born in the same country as the location of the institution. In the USA in particular, the presence of domestic artists is impressive; 62.5% of the art on display at MoMA was created by Americans (cf. Janssen et al., 2008). At Centre Pompidou more than one third (36.5%) of the work was by French artists, while at Tate Modern, which had the lowest figure of the three institutions, almost a quarter (23.3%) of the work was still by domestic artists (Quemin, 2007).¹⁵ Again, these analyses clearly illustrate that those in charge of building and presenting permanent collections, even in the case of institutions with an international vocation, tend to promote their domestic artists.

As the present research investigates the visibility of artists and countries in international art events, reception theory will be tested by focusing on those who select the artists and offer them a platform, i.e. the gatekeepers or decision-makers, rather than the audiences. These actors know what kinds of artistic products local audiences might be interested in, how they will receive them, or how they can be introduced to products they are not yet familiar with. At the same time, by globetrotting just like artists do, these gatekeepers are part of large international networks and so keep informed about what is being created in different parts of the world (Bydler, 2004; Carroll, 2007; Erić, 2007; cf. Kuipers, 2011).

In their role of intermediaries between artists and their public, these gatekeepers or decision-makers by and large control the visibility of countries in international art events. This has certainly been shown to be the case with the permanent collections of art institutions. Quemin found similar results in a recent study on contemporary art fairs (2010), which tend to give primacy to galleries located in the same country when it comes to their selection of participants. In other words, domestic galleries are relatively overrepresented at contemporary art fairs. However, research on contemporary art galleries and the possible impact of nationality on the selection of their artists has been limited to date (cf. Quemin, 2010; Velthuis, forthcoming). Moreover, the question arises as to whether art events in the market are similarly dominated by domestic artists, as is the case with museum collections. In addition, in the institutional arena of the art world, the biennial event needs to be explored more thoroughly with regard to reception theory. Firstly, a different curator is appointed at every new biennial edition and, secondly, these large-scale exhibitions are organised in a specific part of the world where the audience is relatively unfamiliar with global contemporary art. This particular framework of the biennial event makes it all the more fascinating when it comes to studying reception theory.

¹⁵ Work on display in the years 2005, 2003 and 2006, respectively.

2.4 CULTURAL POLICY THEORY

A fourth model conceptualised by Crane completes the overview of theories on cultural globalisation in this book. This model addresses governmental interference in this field and the tools that are used to control the flows of cultural products. Local, regional or national governments may develop cultural policies to promote the dissemination of a country's cultural goods and to protect the national cultural field against influences from abroad. In the words of Crane (2002: 13): "[c]ultural policy is a political instrument that countries use in an attempt to control the types of channel and types of content that enter and leave their territory." Accordingly, the model clearly supports the notion that the authority of the nation-state is still intact (Guillén, 2001).

Cultural policy is generally accepted in a wide range of countries all over the world, although its goals and how it is implemented vary from one to another (Alexander & Rueschemeyer, 2005; Zimmer & Toepler, 1999). In terms of the international level, cultural policy has various goals that are focused on preservation of national identity, protection against cultural products from abroad, preserving and expanding a country's image elsewhere or the exportation of a country's cultural goods.

Cultural policies may thus serve to preserve and protect national and local cultures (Crane, 2002). Considering culture and cultural products in relation to national identity seems to be fairly common, as is conceiving them as part of a country's cultural or future cultural heritage. In some countries, the main objective of cultural policy is to maintain and further develop national identity, as becomes clear in the study by Lindsay (2002) on the performing arts in Southeast Asia. Performers in this region depend largely on the projects initiated and commissioned by governments. In addition, the state usually controls the venues and, as patron, regularly provides an audience, whether it be for state events or as part of an educational curriculum. Lindsay thus reveals that in Southeast-Asia, cultural policies have not been implemented to support artists in realising their artistic projects and to counterbalance possible market failure. Instead, there is a top-down system, with governments in the role of patrons that grant subsidies to the performing arts in order to create and strengthen national unity and national identity and protect indigenous cultural heritage.

Apart from preservation based on identity-related motivations, the support and promotion of national cultures by means of cultural policy tools may offer a counterweight to the influence of other cultures. A well-developed and strong national cultural scene is more likely to resist the penetration of predominantly American or other Western cultural goods. The implementation of cultural policy tools such as tax regulations or a subsidy system is aimed at contributing to a flourishing national scene and limiting the importation of foreign cultural products. This is not an exceptional approach; numerous Western and non-Western countries – Australia, Brazil, Canada, France, India and Sweden, to name just a few – protect their cultural industries by implementing import quotas or subsidising national film, television or music industries (Crane, 2002). In the Netherlands, for instance, the cultural policy with regard to film aims "to promote cinematic production in the Netherlands, focusing on quality and diversity", the implementation of which is delegated to the Dutch Film Fund, which was founded in 1993 (Ministerie OCW, 2006). Another tool introduced in the Netherlands – this

time to stimulate investment in films – was *Film-CV*, a tax exemption for private investors that ran between 1999 and 2007 (Ministerie OCW, 2006; Van der Kamp, 2009).

Examples of this kind of regulation can also be found within the framework of the European Union, such as the 1989 *Television without Frontiers* directive (Benhamou, 2004; European Parliament, 2010). In this directive, which was revised in 2007 with the adoption of the *Audiovisual Media Services* directive in order to encompass all audiovisual media activities, it is stated that at least half of the television programmes broadcast in each of the EU member states must be a European production. In this way, the directive not only promotes the production and distribution of audiovisual programmes in the European Union, but also limits the access of American audiovisual shows to European markets.

One of the objectives of the European *Television without Frontiers* directive is to safeguard cultural diversity. So, the European Union justifies the quota for European television programmes not so much in terms of preserving (national) cultural sovereignty, but above all in terms of promoting cultural diversity (Crane, 2002). Other authors, too, have referred to this kind of approach. Adams, in her article *Globalization of Culture and the Arts* (2007), cites the work by Chong (2005, 2006) on Chinese opera in Singapore. Chong shows that support for Chinese opera, with its emphasis on national identity, is legitimated in an international sphere because Chinese culture stands out from other cultures within the universal realm. Gisèle Sapiro (2010), meanwhile, discusses the French policy with regard to translations. One of the aims of the *Centre National du Livre* (CNL), funded by the Ministry of Culture in the late 1980s, is to encourage “cultural exchanges with small countries and peripheral languages.” To this end, the ministry financially supports translations from these languages into French (Sapiro, 2010: 433). Accordingly, by focusing specifically on works originating from such countries, the CNL contributes to safeguarding cultural diversity and counterbalances the influence of the dominant English language (see also Berkers et al., 2011).

Finally, cultural policies may be implemented to develop an international market for national and local cultural products. Their aim may be to contribute to a country’s image in the rest of the world or to attract foreign audiences (Crane, 2002). Examples of this include the *retooling* of historical sites and neighbourhoods in cities to suit the expectations of tourism, and *Disneyfication*, where venues are organised in specific themes to provide tourists with a theme park experience (original italics). Yet another approach is *post-modern upscaling*, in which the focus is on international elite artists who are drawn to a country by way of major artistic events.

Crane refers to two other strategies that are related to the export of cultural products. *Negotiated modification* implies that cultural goods created in one country are adapted to the tastes of audiences in another. *Global localization* or *glocalization* takes this a step further, as global cultural products are blended with local ones. In other words, it is not that the original version is adapted, but that a new, hybrid, product emerges as the global and the local are brought together. Indeed, the origins of the product are sometimes quite difficult to detect (Robertson, 1995; Crane, 2002). Although governments may be involved in this process, for instance in a direct way or indirectly through financial support, these two examples are less convincing as cultural policy instruments. However, if a wider definition of policy is applied, including not only governments, but also

institutions or companies, the mixing of global and local products can be part of the policy that contributes to conquering new markets.

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As one of the cultural domains, contemporary art may be the object of a country's cultural policy. This is the case, for instance, in Canada, as Derrick Chong and Elisabeth Bogdan set out in their study (2010) in which they discuss the public funding of different Canadian institutions, such as art schools, artist-run centres, non-collecting exhibition venues and museums. In Canada, public funding is direct and plural, which means that governmental bodies and art councils allocate money to the arts on a federal government, province and municipality level.

Relating Canada's public funding of contemporary art to the cultural policy strategies discussed previously serves, first of all, as an example of developing and preserving national cultural products. While institutions – unlike the example of the performing arts in South-East Asia – remain completely autonomous when it comes to their artistic programming, national art in Canada is also in some ways promoted through public funding. Art museums with a permanent collection, for instance, may apply for a grant from the Canada Council for the Arts for the acquisition of an original work of contemporary Canadian art (Canada Council for the Arts, 2010). The work has to be purchased from a living Canadian artist or a Canadian gallery that has the work in consignment. The grant, up to a maximum of \$30,000, must be matched by the institution. This kind of public support partly explains why in art museums a large part of the permanent collection consists of work by national artists, as has been discussed in the previous section.

Secondly, apart from a focus on national art, cultural policy in Canada illustrates how it may be used to promote Canadian contemporary art abroad. One example of the tools used to stimulate the exportation of art is the pilot programme *Assistance to Professional Canadian Contemporary Art Dealers*. With this scheme, dealers of international repute who are located in Canada, and who represent a stable of contemporary visual artists of which at least 75% are Canadian, may apply for a grant up to a maximum of \$20,000. This financial support is intended to promote the visibility of Canadian artists on a national and international level and to stimulate the art market for contemporary Canadian art (Chong and Bogdan, 2010; Canada Council for the Arts, 2010).

Another example of the exportation of culture is the *Helsinki School* (Karttunen, 2007). The International Professional Studies project (IPS) to which the *Helsinki School* belongs is well supported by public funding. The *Helsinki School* comprises a wide range of different artists who work with photography and video, and who have studied or taught at the Aalto University School of Art and Design. This is where the *Helsinki School* concept was developed in the 1990s when Timothy Persons, a Californian artist and gallery owner who settled in Finland, was appointed there. According to the website, the concept does not limit itself to nationality or specificity, yet it also states that “[t]he exhibitions radiate the spirit of co-operation, introduce the uniqueness of each artist and explain the why behind the Finnish flavour of photography.” (Helsinki School, 2010)

Also part of the IPS project is Gallery TaiK, which has played a key role in the commercial exportation of artists' work and paved the way for *Helsinki School* photographers to participate in important international art fairs such as Paris

Photo. The gallery has recently opened a second venue in Berlin, aiming to ensure the ongoing international visibility of, and an international market for, these artists (Helsinki School, 2010).

Although the *Helsinki School* artists work individually and develop their own ideas and projects, they are regularly presented as a group. The 2009 exhibition *On Top of the Iceberg: new photography from Finland* in Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg, Germany, is but one example of this. The title *Helsinki School* is often used as a label and is considered to be a brand of international repute. Indeed, today, in the international contemporary art world, Finland is above all known for its photographers and video artists, which is in large part due to the branding of the *Helsinki School*.

As already noted, the IPS project is supported by public funding. Individual artists from the *Helsinki School*, as well as the *Helsinki School* itself, have received several grants and other financial contributions from various public funding institutions, such as the Ministry of Education, the National Council for Photography, and FRAME, the Finnish Fund For Art Exchange. Indeed, in 2008, the major part of state grants was allocated to *Helsinki School* photographers (Karttunen, 2007: 39). Accordingly, through this kind of funding, Finnish cultural policy contributes to the exportation of Finnish photography as a brand.

In Canada and Finland, the promotion of visual art abroad is part of each country's cultural policy. Other Western countries have also developed special programmes dedicated to the exportation of contemporary art, or have even created a special foundation for this purpose. Examples of such organisations are the British Council, Institut Français or the Mondriaan Fund in the Netherlands.¹⁶ In the case of Finland, tools such as the visitors programme and grants attributed to the participation of artists have contributed to the relatively high presence of Finnish artists at biennials, particularly the Venice Biennial in 2001 (Van Hest, 2012). These are only two examples of how cultural policy may affect the visibility of countries in the international contemporary art world, which will be studied in more detail in the following sections.

2.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The four models presented by Crane – cultural imperialism, cultural flows or network, reception theory and cultural policy – each reflect a specific view on how globalisation has shaped the production, distribution, reception and consumption of culture since the early 1990s. Such a form of presentation brings to the fore the key elements of each approach and enables the development of globalisation theory to be discussed and better understood. It is for this reason that I will use this as a theoretical framework.

However, the schematic nature of this approach encourages the belief that the different models are contradictory or incompatible. It also seems to favour the scholars who present globalisation theories in the form of a dichotomy. In this way, the globalisation of culture seems to be black or white; there is little room for different shades of grey. Other scholars (and the work of De Swaan (1995),

¹⁶ The Mondriaan Fund is the result of a merger in 2012 between the Mondriaan Foundation and the Netherlands Foundation for Visual Arts, Design and Architecture (Fonds BKVB). As this dissertation deals with activities prior to this date, I will refer to the former organisations, Mondriaan Foundation and Fonds BKVB, in what follows.

Hannerz (1992), Heilbron (1995, 1999) and Robertson (1995) in particular will be discussed here), provide a more nuanced view on cultural globalisation and its effects. Although these authors each emphasise other aspects in the differing stances they present, of interest here is the notion that they are open to combining elements of the different theories regrouped above under the banner of cultural imperialism, cultural flows, reception theory and cultural policy. I will therefore briefly address some examples of these modifications.

For instance, these scholars offer an alternative viewpoint to the rather simple distinction of the local vs. the cosmopolitan, as these counterposed terms do little justice to the variety of forms that originate when the two poles are connected. This can be illustrated by Hannerz's (1992) discussion of the *beento*, a term used to indicate a Nigerian, or someone from the Third World, who has been to England (or another Western country) and then moved back to his original location. The *beento* thus personifies the blending of two cultures. De Swaan (1995), meanwhile, refers to the effects of urbanisation and mass communication, and stresses in particular the capacity of people today to easily switch back and forth between local, national or global orientation levels and thus their involvement in different spheres.

Similarly, Robertson (1995) questions the tendency to consider local and global culture separately and as being in conflict, stating "(...) that it makes no good sense to define the global as if the global excludes the local." (1995: 34). As underlined when discussing cultural flows theory, new cultural forms may emerge as a consequence of the mixing of global and local culture, which is usually called hybridisation or creolisation (Hannerz, 1992). In addition, the two notions may sometimes touch and overlap and represent what is commonly known as the particular in the universal. To illustrate this, Robertson refers to the nation-state, which is universal in its organisation yet clearly marked by its unique or particular features. As such, Robertson proposes considering globalisation as glocalisation, in which the global and the local are combined.

The example of the nation-state shows how scholars may bring together universalism reflected in cultural imperialism theory with diversity reflected in cultural flows or network theory, instead of presenting these notions as incompatible. They acknowledge the notion of the world-as-a-whole, but reject the idea that this necessarily leads to homogenisation. Instead, these authors attribute a place to cultural diversity within an all-encompassing world structure. Robertson (1995) argues that the compression of the world includes and stimulates cultural heterogeneity, and is even marked and influenced by this cultural diversity or locality. In his view, both concepts apply to today's world: "It is not a question of *either* homogenization or heterogenization, but rather of the ways in which both of these tendencies have become features of life across much of the late-twentieth-century world." (1995: 27). De Swaan takes this co-existence of homogenisation and heterogenisation effects a bit further by describing globalisation as "(...) the process in which the diversity in supply increases in a growing number of places, while this diversity in supply is more and more similar in the different places. In other words: globalisation implies local heterogeneity and global homogeneity"¹⁷ (1995: 28).

¹⁷ "Mondialisering kan worden omschreven als het proces waarbij in een groeiend aantal plaatsen, per saldo, de variëteit van het aanbod toeneemt, terwijl dit meer gevarieerde aanbod van plaats tot plaats steeds meer overeenkomt. Met andere woorden: mondialisering impliceert lokale heterogenisering en globale homogenisering."

The cultural world system (De Swaan, 1995) also represents this combination of elements derived from cultural imperialism theory and cultural flows or network theory. While it is based on the hierarchical world system model, it represents different cultural domains with one or multiple centres and peripheries and acknowledges the multi-directional nature of cultural exchange. This means, first of all, that it depends on the cultural domain that is known as the centre and periphery; the centre for the visual arts is different from that for music or theatre. Moreover, each of these domains is marked by the presence of multiple centres that control a part of the domain on a transnational level, but are not necessarily world-encompassing or global. The film industries of Hollywood (USA) and Bollywood (India) are commonly used to illustrate this. In addition, there is also a variety of centres in a specific domain, depending on the genre and public. In film, there are different centres for documentaries, art house movies and their commercial counterparts. Heilbron (1995) calls this polycentric concentration. Finally, within such a hierarchical constellation, both the centre and the periphery take on the role of a sender and receiver of culture. In other words, De Swaan, and for their part Hannerz (1992), Heilbron (1995) and Robertson (1995), all acknowledge the asymmetry and existence of a centre and a periphery within the cultural dimension, but also lay bare how a centre's power is impeded by the existence of other centres or by flows originating from the periphery.

2.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The four models I have discussed in the previous section reflect the most current approaches in the cultural globalisation debate. In the overview, I have briefly shed light on how they may be applied to the specific field of contemporary art, which is at the heart of this work. The aim of this dissertation is to clarify and qualify the effects of globalisation on the contemporary art world as a whole. In order to do this, I have formulated three main research questions:

1. What is the international orientation of leading contemporary art events?
2. How and to what extent has globalisation affected the positions of countries, and in particular that of the Netherlands, at these contemporary art events?
3. How and to what extent do territorial factors still play a role in the international orientation of the events and in the countries' positions?

In the following analysis of the international contemporary art world and the positions occupied by countries, I will test several hypotheses derived from the globalisation theories referred to above: cultural imperialism theory, cultural flows or network theory, reception theory and cultural policy theory. Despite the limitations discussed in the previous section, the schematic nature of these four models is very useful as a template to examine the dynamic and complex reality of the visual arts' world (see also Hitters, 1996; Hofstede, 2000). The contemporary art world will be studied here on multiple levels: the art world as a whole, the institutional and market context, the six types of event, the countries or cities that are home to the events and, finally, the different countries that are represented.

The four approaches will thus serve as a tool to unveil how the field of the visual arts in all its different respects is affected by globalisation.

Starting with the first approach, cultural dominance theory (cf. section 2.1) implies that the field is dominated by a relatively small group of countries, leaving little room for artists from outside the centre to attain visibility in internationally renowned contemporary art events. This concept and the outcomes of earlier studies have led me to formulate the following hypotheses:

- 1a. Over the years, the international art events have become less diverse in terms of the participating countries.
- 1b. Over the years, the impact of the central countries at the international art events under study has increased, while that of the (semi)peripheral countries has decreased.
- 1c. Over the years, the same countries have dominated the international art events under study.
- 1d. At each of the international art events under study, the same central countries are overrepresented.
- 1e. Taking into account the country of residence will underline the dominance of the central countries as they attract relatively more artists; (semi)peripheral countries are likely to witness a decline in visibility.
- 1f. The more central the country hosting the event, the greater the presence of domestic artists in the event.
- 1g. The centrality of a country in the global realm is reflected in its position in the ranking of countries at events in other geographical spaces; the more central it is, the higher its position.

This dominance is contested by the cultural flows or network model. This approach suggests that globalisation has led to a more heterogeneous population of artists and countries, including artists from the peripheral zone, which reflects the recognition of non-Western contemporary art. What is more, the focus on the region counterbalances the importance of central countries. The hypotheses following on from this concept are:

- 2a. Over the years, the international art events have become more diverse in terms of the participating countries.
- 2b. Over the years, the impact of the central countries at the international art events under study has lessened, whereas that of the (semi)peripheral countries has increased.
- 2c. As the rise of biennials in mainly the peripheral zones is regarded as one of the main indicators of the recognition of non-Western contemporary art, and therefore the globalisation of the contemporary art world, it is likely that biennials are more diverse and less hierarchical than other events (museums-galleries).

Both the reception theory (3) and the cultural policy approach (4) represent alternative viewpoints on how the impact of cultural products from dominant countries in today's globalised world is counterbalanced. Concurrently, these models underline that local aspects are still at play: differences in the reception of

global culture are related to the wide variety of local audiences for global cultural goods, while cultural policies affect production, distribution and the reception of culture because they are developed and implemented within particular local frameworks. Both of these aspects give reason to test these theories within the framework of international art events. Although they all have an outspoken international vocation and seem to function on a transnational level, these events are also clearly embedded within a local reality; they are dealing with both international and national audiences and are touched by cultural policies with both an international and a national orientation. The following hypotheses can be derived from the two concepts:

- 3a. The presence of artists and countries at the international art events under study is affected by the geographical embeddedness of the gatekeepers or decision-makers who are involved in the art event.
- 3b. Artists who benefit most from the presence of gatekeepers/decision-makers are likely to be those who are working within the same geographical sphere, i.e. those who were born or who are living in the same country or city.
- 3c. Artists from countries geographically or culturally close to the hosting country are likely to be overrepresented at the international art event.
- 3d. As biennials are considered to be a platform for the diversity of contemporary art, and as the team of curators tends to change with every edition, these events are likely to be particularly marked by the geographical embeddedness of the gatekeepers or decision-makers.

- 4a. The presence of artists and countries at the international art events under study is affected by the cultural policy of the country in which the event is located and that of the country in which the artist was born or resides.
- 4b. As institutions (museums-biennials) have a public function and receive public funding, they are likely to be more marked by the representation of domestic artists, and by a diversity of artists and countries, than market-orientated events (galleries-fairs).
- 4c. As biennials in the peripheral zone are more focused on representing artists with limited visibility on international platforms, these events are relatively more diverse than those in the centre.

3 RESEARCHING THE GLOBALISATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY ART WORLD

In the previous chapter, I have depicted the theoretical framework and established the hypotheses of my research. Accordingly, I will now set out how I will examine the impact of globalisation on the orientation of the field of contemporary art and on the position of countries in it, particularly that of the Netherlands.

In recent years, an international (or transnational) contemporary art field has emerged in which actors from different geographical backgrounds compete with each other. These actors operate in a very international playground and actively proclaim their growing international orientation. In particular, the top level of the contemporary art world has become internationalised in the past few decades. For this reason, I have focused specifically on the top segment of the field.

The quality judgements by key actors of the international field of contemporary art are my starting point. I have distinguished six types of art event. Representing the art institutions are the exhibitions of permanent collections in museums, temporary exhibitions in art centres and biennial exhibitions.¹⁸ Gallery stables, participation in art fairs and sales auctions represent the market.¹⁹ Each of the six platforms will be the subject of analysis to determine the visibility of Dutch art in the international contemporary art world (Part II). In order to study the presence of Dutch art in an international context (Part III), I will focus in particular on four of these platforms, namely museums, biennials, galleries and fairs. However, before I develop my argument on the selection of the events, first a word on the research method.

3.1 METHOD

This dissertation has a predominantly quantitative approach. More specifically, I have executed a quantitative content analysis of the six aforementioned types of event that together represent the main actors of distribution in the contemporary art world. I have chosen this method and this multitude of events for several reasons. First of all, it allows me to establish the international orientation of the individual events and, secondly, the position of countries there. Moreover, it enables me to make a comparison on three levels: between the different events individually, between geographically strongly embedded and transnational events, and between the institutional sphere and the art market. Finally, this permits me to analyse changes in orientation and positions over time.

The quantitative analysis of the visual arts' world and the impact of globalisation on the visibility of artists and countries is completed with interviews held with 24 different actors between 2006 and 2008. During visits to the various art events, I interviewed artistic directors and curators of biennials (7); artistic

¹⁸ By art museums I mean institutions with a permanent collection; by art centres I mean an institution devoted to temporary exhibitions.

¹⁹ In what follows, when referring to these events I will generally just use the terms museums, art centres, biennials, galleries, art fairs and auctions.

directors and curators in museums and art centres (7); gallerists and a gallery assistant (11). These interviews serve to illustrate and enable me to discuss the outcomes of the quantitative analysis. In addition, they will provide more insight into these actors' views on the internationalisation of the contemporary art world, how they select artists for events, and how they deal with issues of nationality or geographical embeddedness in times of globalisation.

OPERATIONALISATION

In order to study the position of countries and the international orientation of the events, the concepts discussed previously need to be operationalised. I will do this, first of all, by looking at the country of birth of the participating artists. This choice is justifiable, since information about an artist's origins is usually provided in the form of the place of birth, while supplementary data, like nationality, is generally lacking. It is true that in some cases the nationality of an artist does not correspond to his/her country of birth. However, the number of these kinds of cases is small and is, therefore, unlikely to affect the outcome of this research. Accordingly, I consider the country of birth to be an accurate reflection of an artist's geographical background. In what follows, I will use the words nationality and country of birth interchangeably to refer to an artist's origins.

Today, however, artists increasingly live in countries other than where they were born. As discussed in Chapter 1, the mobility of artists is one of the indicators of the growing internationalisation of the contemporary art world. Taking into account their country of residence may thus shed a different light on the international orientation of art events and the position of countries in the international art world. For this reason, in addition to country of birth, I operationalise the positions and international orientation in a second way by taking into account the artists' country of residence.

I will thus measure the attention attributed to geographical spaces by looking at two characteristics of participating artists: country of birth and country of residence. As a unit of analysis, however, the artist is of limited use for this research. First of all, some artists participated in multiple events, and sometimes more than once per event. An artist like Marlene Dumas, who was represented by several galleries at the art fairs under study, is an example. Secondly, some variables, for instance the country of residence, may change over time. Such variations are not taken into account when the artist is the unit of analysis. An alternative unit is the art work. This option, however, raises other problems in data collection. Of the works on display during my visits, it was relatively easy to collect data, yet it is more difficult to retrieve accurate information on work that was exhibited in earlier events. Catalogues do not offer much of a solution to this, as the art works included in them do not always correspond to those that were on display.

Such problems are easily resolved when the presence of the artist at the event is the unit of analysis. As each time an artist was present is counted as one, it allows me to cover the particularities of each occasion. Accordingly, multiple participations in one event (e.g. a fair) or in different years (e.g. biennial editions) may be included, while changes in the country of residence may be taken into account as well. Moreover, while catalogues usually lack detailed information on

the art works on display, they do provide ample data on the participations, and are therefore useful when it comes to collecting data for this unit of analysis.

The variables that are central in this dissertation are country of birth, country of residence, art event and year of participation. The analyses with regard to the presence of Dutch artists are more extensive: I also include age, gender and education. In the case of an artist couple, however, defining the value of these variables may lead to problems, for instance when the two artists have different countries of origin. So, to reflect the variety of artists as accurately as possible, I have included each artist separately in my dataset.

I used the display signs next to the art works, exhibition catalogues, gallery stable lists and websites to collect data. Moreover, when these events were unable to provide the information required, I used websites from other platforms (for instance, of another gallery representing an artist) and those such as *artfacts.net*, *galleries.nl* and *artnet.com*.

To express the attention paid to different geographical spaces, I will primarily employ the term *representations*. This term indicates the number of times an artists from a certain country are present at an event. In addition, and in particular in Part II, I will use the term *artist*, which refers to individual artists. Distinguishing between the two allows me to study the impact of individual artists on the visibility of a country, i.e. the Netherlands, and to study the characteristics of artists who have reached the highest level of international recognition.

3.2 TRADITIONAL ART CENTRES: BERLIN, LONDON, NEW YORK AND PARIS

As this dissertation focuses on the top segment of the international field of contemporary art, it was a logical step to select platforms located in the most important art cities in the world: Berlin, London, New York and Paris (Coslor & Ren, 2009; Crane, 2009; While, 2003). This choice is also in line with Quemin's results (2002, 2006, 2007, 2010), which highlighted that the USA and Germany, and to a lesser extent the United Kingdom and France, are the most central countries in terms of the visibility of artists.

These four world art cities, or world art centres (While, 2003), host the leading art museums and art centres, galleries and auction houses in the field of contemporary art. Their presence, in turn, draws artists to these cities (cf. Crane, 1987). Of these locations, New York and London are the most central in terms of both the institutional sphere and the art market, with institutions such as MoMA and Tate Modern and galleries such as Gagosian, White Cube or Hauser and Wirth. Moreover, the most important contemporary art auction sales are held by Christie's and Sotheby's in these two cities. Paris, for its part, was the undisputed centre of the art world until the Second World War. Even though today the international art market is not as strongly represented there as it is in the two other cities, Paris is still home to some leading galleries, such as Yvon Lambert or Emmanuel Perrotin, and to one of the most internationally renowned institutions, Centre Georges Pompidou. Berlin, meanwhile, is in a somewhat peculiar position. Although some important institutions (Hamburger Bahnhof) and galleries (e.g. Arndt & Partner) are located in the city, its rise in the contemporary art world has not eliminated the importance of locations in the Ruhr area, which was the heart of

the German art world before the fall of the Berlin Wall. However, the centrality of Berlin in the art world is primarily based on the fact that it has attracted, and continues to attract, numerous artists from all over the world, and thus functions as a hub.

So, the focus on the world art cities of Berlin, London, New York and Paris provides a useful framework upon which I have constructed my research. Within this structure of world art cities, I have further narrowed down both the selection of events and the participation of artists. In what follows, I will clarify which platforms and participations at these events have been included in this study. I will start with the two institutional types of event – museums and art centres – followed by galleries and auctions, which represent the art market.

EXHIBITIONS OF PERMANENT COLLECTIONS IN MUSEUMS

The first event under study in this dissertation is the museum. To this end, I have examined the permanent collections in each of the four key cities, i.e. the exhibitions of the collections on display at the time of my visits to five different museums. I have specifically chosen to include the artists with works on display, instead of drawing from a sample of the collection at large, for the simple reason that they have been selected by the museums themselves to reflect their vision on contemporary art. In other words, I regard the exhibition of the permanent collection as presenting the most significant works of the museum at that time.

Included in this research are the exhibitions of permanent collections from five museums. So, I visited and collected data from: the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin and the Tate Modern in London in the spring of 2007; the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (MAMVP) and the Centre Pompidou (both in Paris) in autumn 2007; and, finally, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York in the spring of 2008. I have chosen to include two institutions in Paris as they each have a slightly different scope. While both represent an international programme of modern and contemporary art, MAMVP is a Parisian museum, whereas Centre Pompidou houses the national collection.²⁰ This enables me to investigate the impact of the difference in geographical embeddedness on the orientation of the museum and the visibility of the countries therein.

Of the five museums referred to, the Hamburger Bahnhof is the only one to focus entirely on contemporary art, as its name indicates - Hamburger Bahnhof: Museum für Gegenwart.²¹ Unlike this institution, the collections of the four other museums under study contain both modern and contemporary art. Consequently, I have applied an additional time-based criterion to my selection, and have thus only included the participation of artists whose works were created from 1970 onwards. In total, I counted 298 representations in the five institutions.

²⁰ The official name of the art museum is the Musée National d'Art Moderne, which is in fact but one part of the multicultural complex Centre Pompidou. In this dissertation, however, I will use the name Centre Pompidou to refer to this museum, as this is commonplace in the international art world.

²¹ Hamburger Bahnhof is part of the National Gallery in Berlin, along with the Old National Gallery, the New National Gallery, the Museum Berggruen, the collection Scharf-Gerstenberg and the Friedrichswerder Church. The other five institutions only house art created before the 1960s.

TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS IN ART CENTRES

In the same four cities referred to above, I also visited 12 art centres with an international programme. Here, I examined the participation of Dutch artists in temporary exhibitions held between 1990 and 2007. The selected art centres have distinct backgrounds, ensuring that a wide range of institutions were covered. Some focus on contemporary art in a broad sense, while others concentrate exclusively on photography. They all cover different parts of the city (cf. Gubbels 1999; Jyrämä, 2002; Moulin, 1997) and represent institutions with either a long or a limited history, with their opening dates ranging from 1901 to 2004. The institutions under study are: the Palais de Tokyo, Jeu de Paume, Le Plateau and the Fondation Cartier pour l'art Contemporain in Paris; the Whitechapel Gallery, the Institute of Contemporary Art and the Chisenhale Gallery in London; C/O Berlin and Kunst-Werke in Berlin; and, finally, PS1, the New Museum and the White Box in New York.²²

Included in the analysis are 1,403 exhibitions that were organised between 1990 and 2007. This timeframe corresponds with the second period of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world, which began in the 1990s (see Chapter 1). Moreover, and more practically, there is very little complete data available about exhibitions and participating artists before that time. Seven of the 12 institutions were founded or reopened after 1990, so exhibitions held there were studied from this time to the present day. Data on the participating artists in these exhibitions was primarily collected from catalogues and, secondly, from the art centres' websites.

GALLERY STABLES

I have also examined the leading art galleries and the artists they represent in Berlin, London, New York and Paris. A good indicator with which to define the eminent galleries in these cities is the list of gallery participants at contemporary art fairs. To this end, I have looked at two fairs, namely Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair. While the former has, for many years, been the largest and most renowned contemporary art fair in the world, the latter was founded relatively recently, in 2003, but became a leader in the field from the start.

Included in my research are galleries that participated in at least five editions of Art Basel in the period 2000-2006 and in two or more editions of Frieze Art Fair between 2003 and 2006. At least one of their participations at each of the fairs was in 2005 or 2006. This guarantees that my selection includes the most important galleries with a strong and recent presence in internationally renowned fairs at the time that my research took place in 2007 and 2008. I also asked 26 renowned Dutch galleries to list the counterparts that they believe are the most important in the four cities under study. In total, 34 galleries were selected based on their participation at Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair. In addition, Dutch galleries listed 66 counterparts, 26 of which overlap with the art fair selection (Appendix 3). The remaining 40 did not meet the art fair criteria I set. However, they did all participate in internationally renowned art fairs. The majority were present in editions of Art Basel and/or Frieze Art fair, but not in both in the years 2005 or 2006. The Gagosian Gallery and Paula Cooper are two examples of galleries that

²² Although Fondation Cartier is a (private) museum with a permanent collection, it is included here since its programme is based on temporary exhibitions and less on permanent collections.

are part of this group. The rest participated in other fairs, such as FIAC and VOLTA, the latter of which is a supplementary cutting edge show connected to Art Basel and the Armory Show in New York. Together, the two methods resulted in the selection of 74 galleries of high standing. I then analysed their stables of artists in the years 2007-2008. The lists of represented artists were retrieved from the galleries directly.

AUCTION SALES

Finally, I also considered the presence of Dutch artists at the Contemporary Art and Photograph sales held by the two world-leading auction houses, Christie's and Sotheby's, in London and New York in 2007. Both of these auction houses organise such sales several times a year in these two cities, which are their most important and internationally orientated sales locations. Overall, 8,572 lots were placed for sale at 43 auctions.

Although the Contemporary Art sales include some photographic images, I have chosen to take the Photography sections into account as well. The reason for this is that various pieces by contemporary photographers were up for auction in these particular sales, instead of in the contemporary art sales. Including both sections in my research will thus provide a more complete image of the Dutch presence at auctions.

3.3 TRANSNATIONAL ART WORLD: BEYOND GEOGRAPHICAL EMBEDDEDNESS

The four types of event discussed in the previous section are strongly embedded in the history of modern art, as well as in a geographical space, particularly in comparison to the biennial and art fair events in their current form. These two kinds of event are far less rooted in a geographical setting and are considered to be highly transnational. As both the biennial and the art fair have become increasingly important in recent years (see Chapter 1), this calls for an extensive analysis of these two events.

BIENNIALS

The changing of the biennial model from exhibitions based on national representation to international exhibitions of invited artists is seen as one of the symbols of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world. In order to investigate if this assumption is correct, I have analysed both types of exhibition.

Starting with the most recent model, the exhibition of invited artists, I included 42 editions of seven biennials held in the past two decades. These are: the Biennale di Venezia (Italy), Documenta²³ in Kassel (Germany), the Gwangju Biennale (South Korea), the Shanghai Biennale (China), the Biennale of Sydney (Australia), the Istanbul Biennale (Turkey) and the Bienal de São Paulo (Brazil), all of which were visited between 2006 and 2008.²⁴ I have chosen them because they

²³ In what follows, the word "biennial" will also be used to refer to Documenta, as this is a similar art manifestation, the one difference being that Documenta is not held every two years, but every five.

²⁴ The following editions are included: *Documenta* 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007; *Gwangju* 1995, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; *Istanbul* 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007; *Shanghai* 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; *São Paulo* 1996, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006; *Venezia* 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007; *Sydney* 1992, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008.

are among the most renowned biennials in the world, have held enough editions to enable developments to be studied over time and are located in different parts of the world.

Two of the biennials – La Biennale di Venezia and Documenta – take place in the centre and are the leading international art manifestations in the world (Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2002). The other five are all located in the peripheral zone. La Bienal de São Paulo was founded in 1951 and is the oldest biennial in the periphery; the Istanbul Biennale is on the border of Europe and the Middle East; the Gwangju Biennale was the first biennial ever organised on the Asian continent and, along with the Shanghai Biennale, is the most important Asian event of its type; and, finally, the Sydney Biennale, the first edition of which was held in 1973, is located in the Pacific region. Based on the catalogues, I have researched the editions held between 1992 and 2008 (42), which revealed the participation of 4,349 contemporary artists.

As for the national representations, I have limited the number of biennials to the two events that still organise, or did until recently, this sort of exhibition: the Biennale di Venezia and the Bienal de São Paulo. Their long history enables me to go back further in time and study the presence of countries at these events from the 1970s onwards. In total, I have included 18 editions of the Biennale di Venezia (1970-2007) and 16 of the Bienal de São Paulo (1971-2004).

FAIRS

Finally, this study also contains an assessment of the participation of Dutch galleries and artists in a recent edition of two contemporary art fairs: FIAC in Paris, which I visited in October 2007; and Art Basel, which I attended in June 2008. Although both are internationally renowned, Art Basel is the most important art fair in the world (Fournier & Roy-Valex, 2002). In comparison to other major international art fairs, Art Basel is not only the most global, but also applies the most rigorous selection criteria (cf. Quemin, 2010). FIAC, for its part, is one of a group of fairs that is some significant distance behind the one in Switzerland in terms of reputation. I have deliberately chosen to include two fairs of different standing, since this will enable me to assess whether there are differences in the presence of artists and galleries within them. The research is based on the catalogues of the two editions. Taken together, Art Basel and FIAC included 405 galleries and 8,126 artists' representations. In addition, I have assessed developments in the orientation of fairs and the presence of countries over time by analysing in greater depth the participation of galleries at Art Basel between 2000 and 2008.

II DUTCH CONTEMPORARY ART IN THE INTERNATIONAL ART WORLD

While Part III of my dissertation will deal with a cross-national comparison of the presence of countries in the international contemporary art arena, in this part I will focus on the visibility of *Dutch* art in six types of art event: exhibitions of museums' permanent collections, temporary exhibitions in art centres, biennials, gallery stables, art fairs and auction sales. The aims of this part of the study are to provide a detailed overview of the presence of Dutch art in the international art world and to unveil and analyse the characteristics of the artists who participate in the various events. Although primarily descriptive, this part of the dissertation will suggest possible explanations for the similarities and differences in the visibility of the Netherlands and will have a more analytical dimension as well.

In the first chapter, I will analyse the overall visibility of Dutch art in the various international art events by looking at the presence of Dutch artists therein. This will first provide more insight into the extent to which Dutch art has been successful in receiving recognition at the highest levels of the contemporary art world. Secondly, this approach will also uncover possible differences in visibility between the two spheres – the institutions and the market – and between the different types of art event.

In the second chapter, I will look into the background characteristics of Dutch artists, focusing on nationality, residence, age, gender and education.²⁵ This will produce a depiction of the most important artists of the Dutch contemporary art scene, as well as an assessment of the impact of these background characteristics on their presence in the various types of international art event.

Before I begin my analysis, I need to clarify my understanding of the terms 'Dutch contemporary artist' and 'Dutch contemporary art'. In this part of the dissertation, both terms are used in a broad sense. I define 'Dutch contemporary artist' as an artist born or living in the Netherlands, and 'Dutch contemporary art' as art produced by contemporary artists born or residing in the Netherlands. This enables me, on the one hand, to base my investigation of the country's presence in the international visual arts' world on the totality of art and artists affiliated to the Netherlands and, on the other, to discuss the implications of this broad definition of Dutch artists and Dutch art.

Several Dutch artists, such as Mathilde ter Heijne (who was born in France), were born abroad but are of Dutch descent. In this part of the dissertation, these individuals will be regarded as if they had been born in the Netherlands.

²⁵ The term education is understood in a broad sense and includes not only educational programmes, but also post-graduate programmes at "workshop centres" (Heilbron, 1992; Ministerie OCW, 2007a) aimed at the artistic development of artists, such as the residency programme at the Rijksakademie.

4 THE VISIBILITY OF DUTCH ART IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EVENTS

The visibility of Dutch art in the international contemporary art world will be studied on two levels. The first is that of the different types of art event: exhibitions of museums' permanent collections, temporary exhibitions in art centres, biennials, gallery stables, art fairs and auction sales. Each of them will be addressed in a separate section. Then, placed in two distinct groups, the analyses of these events will allow me to determine possible similarities and differences on the second level, that of the institutions and the art market.

The key questions in this section are: what is the presence of Dutch artists in the different types of event? Are Dutch artists more visible at one type of event or another? Are there significant differences in their presence in institutions and on the art market? And, what factors influence their involvement, or lack of, in each of the events?

4.1 THE INSTITUTIONAL ART ARENA

4.1.1 EXHIBITIONS OF MUSEUMS' PERMANENT COLLECTIONS

Cementing a place in a leading museum's permanent collection can still be viewed as a significant form of recognition, even though an artist's performance in the market-place has gained importance as an indicator of success in recent years (cf. Crane, 2009; Heinich, 2009; Moulin, 1997, 2003). In the interviews I conducted, gallerists and curators regularly referred to the museum as an essential step in an international artistic career. However, as such collections are extensive, the work of very few artists is on display on a regular basis; indeed, some are hardly ever shown. Yet, putting a particular artist's pieces on display can be seen as the next step towards recognition by a museum, with its initial acquisition of the work being the first. The artists whose work is on display reflect a museum's view of the art world and art history and the importance it attaches to particular artists at a certain point in time. Accordingly, in the context of this study, it is more relevant to consider the artists whose works are *on display* rather than all of the artists who are represented *in the collection*.

I have selected five museums for my analysis of exhibitions of permanent collections: the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (MAMVP) and the Centre Georges Pompidou (both in Paris); the Hamburger Bahnhof (Berlin); the Tate Modern (London); and, finally, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York (see Chapter 3). While most of these museums contain both modern and contemporary art, I will only consider the artists whose work was created from 1970 onwards, as the focus of my dissertation is on contemporary art. I have counted the presence of an artist in each of the museums as one representation; the number of works is set out in a separate column (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Dutch art in exhibitions of international contemporary art museums' permanent collections, 2007-2008

MUSEUM	TOTAL	WORKS ¹	DUTCH ART IN MUSEUMS	
	REPRESENTATIONS		REPRESENTATIONS	WORKS ¹
TATE MODERN	46	85	3	4
MUSEE D'ART MODERNE DE LA VILLE DE PARIS	42	65	1	1
CENTRE GEORGES POMPIDOU	89	100	2	2
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART	101	131	2	2
HAMBURGER BAHNHOF	20	106	0	0
TOTAL	298	487	8	9

¹works after 1970

In total, the five museums featured 298 representations by contemporary artists, 37 of whom were represented in two or more museums. The number of unique artists is therefore 256.

Before I proceed with my analysis of the presence of Dutch art in these five museums, I will first briefly discuss the numbers of artists and pieces of work on display. The MoMA contained both the highest number of artists and art work created after 1970. The Centre Pompidou also contained the work of a high number of artists, but rarely shows more than one piece by an individual artist at the same time; only 10% had two or more pieces of work on display. This puts these artists in the context of work carried out by others, rather than with respect to what they have produced.

In contrast, at Hamburger Bahnhof, I found that there were a large number of pieces on show, but these were created by relatively few artists. Interestingly, 60% of the artists had two or three works in the exhibition, which seems to reflect the museum's intention to focus on a selection of the key artists in art history (Interview, curator 6, Berlin). Moreover, two sections of the exhibition were dedicated to two artists: the German photographer, Thomas Struth (26 pieces), and the South African artist, William Kentridge (13 pieces). This explains the significant amount of work and the limited number of artists present in Berlin.

DUTCH ART IN PERMANENT COLLECTIONS

When considering the presence of Dutch artists in the five museums included in this study, Table 4.1 reveals that of the 298 featured representations, only eight were by Dutch artists, equating to less than 3% of the total. The work of two Dutch artists was present in two different museums, meaning that the number of unique Dutch artists was only six.

The Hamburger Bahnhof was the only museum not to have the work of any Dutch artists on display. The countries that were represented were: Germany (eight artists), USA (seven), United Kingdom (two) and Poland, South Africa and Switzerland (one artist each). The fact that the Netherlands is a neighbour of Germany's has not apparently increased the presence of its artists in this museum, which is in contrast to both what Quemin (2002, 2007) found when looking at the number of Italian artists who had work on show at the Centre Pompidou and what was anticipated in Hypothesis 3c. Nevertheless, the presence of two other neighbouring countries (Poland and Switzerland) is in line with what I expected on the basis of the findings of previous research. Moreover, only eight countries were

represented at the Hamburger Bahnhof, making the lack of Dutch artists less exceptional than it may appear at first sight, although it does indicate that Dutch artists are not among the "key creators" in the contemporary art scene according to this museum.

I did, however, find work by Dutch artists in the other four museums. At the Tate Modern, *Mystic Transportation* (1987) by René Daniëls was on display, as were the pieces *Lucy* and *Stern* (both 2004) by Marlene Dumas (in the Contemporary Painting section) and *Drumroll* (1998) by Steve McQueen. Jan Dibbets's *Shortest day at my house in Amsterdam* (1970) was on show at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (MAMVP), Ellen Gallagher's *They Could Still Serve* (2001) at the MoMA, as was *Untitled* (1985) by Willem De Kooning, whose work was also being shown at the Centre Pompidou (*Untitled XX*, 1976).

Although the definition of a Dutch artist – someone born or living in the Netherlands – is applicable to all of those named above, it is questionable whether actors of the international art world regard them as *Dutch* artists. A schematic representation is set out in the following table.

Table 4.2 Dutch artists in exhibitions of international contemporary art museums' permanent collections, 2007-2008

	LIVES NL	LIVES NL/ABROAD	LIVES ABROAD
BORN NL	RENÉ DANIËLS JAN DIBBETS	-	WILLEM DE KOONING † (2)
BORN ABROAD	MARLENE DUMAS (2) STEVE MCQUEEN	ELLEN GALLAGHER	-

Starting with the Dutch born artists, it is arguable whether Willem De Kooning qualifies as a *Dutch contemporary* artist. Firstly, is De Kooning even a *contemporary* artist? Although his two pieces mentioned above were created after 1970, De Kooning is, above all, celebrated as an Abstract Expressionist painter from the 1950s. To illustrate this, seven items from before 1970 were on display in the Painting and Sculpture section at the MoMA, compared to one piece of work from 1985. Secondly, is De Kooning a *Dutch* artist? He built his artistic career in the United States as one of the icons of Abstract Expressionism and became an American national in 1956. Consequently, he tends to be regarded as an American Abstract Expressionist painter, rather than a Dutch contemporary artist.

What is more, when it comes to artists who reside in the Netherlands, whether some of them can be regarded as Dutch is also open to debate.

On the one hand, residence is a key factor in the linking of artists to a particular local or national art scene. Ellen Gallagher (American born), Marlene Dumas (South-African born) and Steve McQueen (British born) all live in the Netherlands, if only part-time, and based on this they can indeed be regarded as Dutch. This is underlined by the financial support these artists have received from the Mondriaan Foundation to contribute to their participation in exhibitions abroad.²⁶ This not only indicates that the foundation considered them to be Dutch artists, but also that they were regarded as such by the foreign art institutions that applied for subsidies to enable their work to be included in their shows. In

²⁶ See the annual reports of the Mondriaan Foundation, 1994-2005.

addition, museums appear to connect the producers of the work contained in their collections to the art scenes of the artists' countries of residence. For instance, the biography of Marlene Dumas at the Tate Modern clearly positions her as Dutch, referring to her as "one of Holland's most widely admired artists" (Tate Modern, 2007a). What is more, several artists who are based in the Netherlands have represented the country in the Dutch pavilion at the Biennale di Venezia. Of these, Marlene Dumas flew the flag for the Netherlands in 1995, along with two others who were Dutch born and living in the country, namely Marijke van Warmerdam and Maria Roosen.

On the other hand, residence does not necessarily imply that an artist is considered to be from a particular city or country. Generally, like nationality, actors of the contemporary art world are not very interested in an artist's country of residence, claiming that they pay little attention to this characteristic. Paradoxically, artists are sometimes more marked by their country of origin than where they live. In one of the interviews I conducted, a curator said that "(...) many artists came to Berlin, and they all live in Berlin, but they are not Berliners (...), you always know where they are from." (Interview, curator 6, Berlin)

Moreover, although residence can link an artist to a new local art scene, (s)he may still remain part of his/her original art landscape. The three artists residing in the Netherlands are still referred to as *American*, *British* and *South African*, regardless of where they are living now. For instance, on its website, the MoMA refers to Ellen Gallagher as an "American painter, collagist and draughtsman" (Museum of Modern Art [MoMA], 2009). At Tate Modern, the sign next to Steve McQueen's *Drumroll* (1998) refers to the "*British* artist... winner of the Turner Prize 1999" (a prize for contemporary artists born or living in Britain), thereby putting him in the context of the British art scene (Tate Modern, 2007b). Moreover, McQueen also represented the United Kingdom at the 2009 edition of the Venice biennial, while Marlene Dumas's work was part of the travelling *Africa Remix* exhibition in 2005, which, as indicated by the name, was dedicated entirely to artists from that continent. Furthermore, while Dumas represented the Netherlands at the Biennale di Venezia in 1995, she was also included in the African Pavilion's *Check List Luanda Pop* exhibition at the 2007 edition there.

These examples highlight that an artist living in the Netherlands is not automatically considered to be Dutch or exclusively part of the Dutch art scene. Even those born in the Netherlands are not always regarded as Dutch artists. Indeed, this analysis of the presence of Dutch artists in the permanent collections applies more generally. Other examples were found when investigating the representation of Dutch artists in exhibitions in art centres, biennials, galleries, art fairs and auctions. Although I will not elaborate on this now, because this chapter is primarily focused on the visibility of Dutch art in the six types of international art event, I will expand on this subject in the following chapter, which focuses on the background characteristics of Dutch artists such as residence.

My assessment of the presence of Dutch artists in the exhibitions of the permanent collections of the five museums under consideration has shown that it is questionable whether four of the six can even be viewed as part of the Dutch contemporary art scene. Another point of interest has also surfaced: Dutch artists with work that was created *before* 1970 had far more pieces on display, i.e. they were more visible in the five museums than their contemporary colleagues. Piet

Mondriaan (15 pieces) and Willem De Kooning (seven) were on show at the MoMA; Karel Appel, Constant, Piet Mondriaan and Theo van Doesburg were present at the Tate Modern; and a piece by Kees van Dongen was on display at the MAMVP. With a total of 26 pieces, these artists were almost three times as visible as their contemporary counterparts, which seems to indicate a decline in the importance of Dutch art in the international art world (Blotkamp, 2001; Hurkmans et al., 2005; Simons, 2002). Quemin (2002) had similar results regarding the presence of modern and contemporary French artists.

A common denominator among the Dutch artists referred to above (with work from before 1970) is that they all spent at least part of their careers abroad in Paris and/or New York, which were the most important art centres at the time. In other words, the Dutch artists who have acquired a reputation in art history have all spent a major part of their working lives in the countries where the art world was flourishing (Beyers, 1995; Blotkamp, 2001). Accordingly, and as mentioned previously, in the next chapter I will analyse in more detail whether the fact that an artist resides in one of the world's leading art centres is still important today.

4.1.2 TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS IN ART CENTRES

The previous subsection was dedicated to the visibility of Dutch art in the permanent collections on display at five major art museums in Europe and the USA at the time of my research. I will now focus on the presence of Dutch art in the temporary exhibitions at 12 contemporary art centres in Paris, London, Berlin and New York. These institutions are: the Palais de Tokyo, the Jeu de Paume, Le Plateau and the Fondation Cartier pour l'art Contemporain in Paris; the Whitechapel Gallery, the Institute of Contemporary Art and the Chisenhale Gallery in London; C/O Berlin and Kunst-Werke in Berlin; and, finally, PS1, the New Museum, and the White Box in New York (see also Appendix 2).²⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 3, these institutions have different backgrounds, but all of them have an international orientation. Furthermore, between 1990 and 2007, a total of 1,403 exhibitions were held at these 12 art centres (see Table 4.3, following page).

The analysis of exhibitions at art centres addresses the presence of Dutch art in this type of event and tries to highlight the factors that contribute to the inclusion of the work of Dutch artists. Table 4.3, therefore, primarily includes data on the art centres and exhibitions there, and is ordered according to the relative share of Dutch art in the exhibitions in the individual art centres. It is completed with the number of Dutch artists present at the exhibitions.²⁸

²⁷ Although Fondation Cartier is a private foundation with a permanent collection, it is included here since its programme is based on temporary exhibitions and not so much on its permanent collection.

²⁸ Unlike museums, biennials, galleries and art fairs, this event is used to study the visibility of countries in an international context. Therefore, the table only contains information on the absolute number of Dutch artists and not on their relative share.

Table 4.3 Dutch art in temporary exhibitions in international contemporary art centres, 1990-2007²⁹

ART CENTRE	CITY	YEAR	EXHIBITIONS		EXHIBITIONS WITH DUTCH ART		DUTCH REPRESENTATIONS	
			N	N/YEAR	TOTAL	%	GROUP	SOLO
ICA	LONDON	1990-2007	151	8	21	13.9	15	6
P.S.1	NEW YORK	1998-2007	215	22	24	11.2	23	1
LE PLATEAU	PARIS	2002-2007	24	3	2	8.3	2	
WHITE BOX	NEW YORK	1998-2007	85	9	7	8.2	7	
WHITECHAPEL GALLERY	LONDON	1990-2007	122	7	9	7.4	7	2
NEW MUSEUM	NEW YORK	1990-2007	181	10	12	6.6	9	3
C/O BERLIN	BERLIN	2000-2007	48	6	3	6.3	1	2
KW BERLIN	BERLIN	1991-2007	228	13	13	5.7	11	2
PALAIS DE TOKYO	PARIS	2002-2007	124	21	6	4.8	5	1
CHISENHALE GALLERY	LONDON	1990-2007	93	5	4	4.3	1	3
FONDATION CARTIER	PARIS	1990-2007	98	5	4	4.1	4	
JEU DE PAUME	PARIS	2004-2007	34	9	1	2.9		1
TOTAL			1,403		106	7.6	85	21

So, what does the table tell us about the programming of exhibitions at the 12 art centres? When looking at the total number of exhibitions, it is clear that the Kunst-Werke in Berlin held the most, followed by P.S.1 in New York. However, this is partly because shows at the Kunst-Werke were taken into account for almost the entire period covered by this study.

As this is not the case for every institution, it is more relevant to consider the average number of exhibitions per year, which was highest at P.S.1, followed by the Palais de Tokyo. It is not a surprise to find these two institutions on top, since they usually organise several exhibitions simultaneously and independently of one another. Kunst-Werke and the New Museum have similar exhibition policies, while at the Palais de Tokyo several smaller exhibitions are often part of a larger programme, such as *The Third Mind* (2007) or *Cinq Millions d'Années* (2006). Another explanation for the relatively high average number of exhibitions per year is that the institutions often have different sites in a city, for example the Jeu de Paume's *Concorde* and the *Hôtel de Sully*.

Conversely, only a few exhibitions are organised at Le Plateau each year. Here, space is limited and is, therefore, usually dedicated to just one exhibition at a time. Additionally, the exhibitions do not tend to immediately follow on from one other, which also has an impact. At the Fondation Cartier, meanwhile, some exhibitions have been open for a relatively long period of time – three to four months – compared to the other institutions, which explains the lower number of shows per year at this art centre.

To summarise, the programming of exhibitions may differ enormously per institution. Factors such as exhibition policy, or practical reasons, like the available space, all play a part in how many events are organised in the different art centres considered herein.

²⁹ Of 59 exhibitions (4%) at six institutions, the list of participants was unavailable or incomplete, of which the majority was at the New Museum, New York (35 exhibitions).

DUTCH ART IN TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS

Table 4.3 shows the presence of Dutch artists (those born or living in the Netherlands) in the art centres' exhibitions. Dutch artists participated in 106 of 1,403 exhibitions, equating to 7.6%. In total, there were 153 representations by 79 unique Dutch artists. Approximately one fifth of them (21.5%) accounted for about 50% of all Dutch representations.

With a presence in barely 8% of the exhibitions held at these art centres, the share of Dutch art in this type of event is rather limited. When comparing its visibility in the different cities, it is clear that Dutch artists are overrepresented in exhibitions in New York (8.7%) and London (8.5%), but are underrepresented in Berlin (6.0%) and Paris (5.0%). Again, the fact that the Netherlands is a neighbour of Germany's is not reflected in greater visibility in art centres there.

So, under what conditions was Dutch art displayed? Most of the exhibitions with Dutch artists were group shows (85 exhibitions, equating to 80%), with only 21 (20%) being solo events. This is unsurprising, as the majority of exhibitions in these art centres are group shows. Even if Jeu de Paume and C/O Berlin have a significant number of solo presentations, the Chisenhale Gallery is the only art centre to explicitly focus on these.³⁰ This gallery makes five commissions a year, meaning that five young and emerging artists work closely with this space on a solo exhibition that is presented about 12 months later (Interview, curator 7, London).

When looking more specifically at group exhibitions, we can see that several of them included more than one Dutch artist. This was particularly the case at four institutions: Kunst-Werke, White Box, ICA and P.S.1 (Table 4.3).

P.S.1. hosted the most exhibitions containing the work of two or more Dutch artists. *Cities on the Move* (1998), *Loop* (2001), *Uniform: Order and Disorder* (2001), *Building Structures* (2002) and *Video Acts* (2002) featured the pieces of two Dutch artists each, while the 2006 exhibition, *Into Me/Out of Me*, showed the work of four Dutch artists.

At the ICA, two Dutch artists participated in both *Video Acts* (2003) – a smaller version of the show at P.S.1 – and *Beck's Futures* (2004), while the work of three was on display in the *Memorial to the Iraq War* exhibition in 2007.

At the KW Berlin, two or more Dutch artists participated in three of four editions of the Berlin Biennial, which has been taking place since 1998. In two of these, the work of three Dutch artists was on show, while this figure was five in the 2001 edition. Finally, the work of six Dutch artists was included in the 2007 exhibition *Into Me/Out of Me* – two more than the number of those involved in the show at P.S.1.

As far as the White Box is concerned, two Dutch artists participated in both the *Six Feet Under: Summer Noir* (2001) exhibition and the *BQE* (2003), while there were six Dutch participants in the *Prodigal Prodigy* show (2001).

These institutions were also the ones where Dutch artists were most visible. Relatively, the most exhibitions featuring Dutch artists were held at the ICA in London: 14% (28) of 151 shows included Dutch artists. Meanwhile, the highest absolute number of Dutch artists (34) participating in exhibitions was at P.S.1, the space where the average number of annual shows is also the highest (Table 4.3).

³⁰ The mission statement of the Chisenhale Gallery states that it organises five solo exhibitions each year (Chisenhale Gallery, 2008).

This was followed by KW Berlin, which held the most exhibitions and had the work of 30 Dutch artists on display.

It may seem that the greater the number of exhibitions, the more chance there is for Dutch artists to participate in them. However, it is difficult to argue that a clear relationship exists between these two factors. Indeed, to do so would require more institutions to be included in the research, and the total number of artists participating therein would also have to be taken into account. If an institution organises relatively few exhibitions per year, it does not necessarily mean that only a few artists participate; alternatively, the fact that there are numerous exhibitions does not automatically mean that work by huge numbers of artists is included. The number of Dutch artists with work on display is, therefore, not only dependent on the number of exhibitions; other factors may also be responsible for variations in the degree of their representation.

So, how should we interpret these results? When looking at the four institutions with the highest number of Dutch artist participants – P.S.1, Kunst-Werke, ICA and the White Box – several factors might help to explain their greater presence.

Firstly, the high number of Dutch artists at P.S.1 can partly be explained by the fact that this institution hosted an artist-in-residence programme for several years, which included exhibitions by participants. Indeed, about 20% of the Dutch representations at P.S.1 were part of such an exhibition between 1999 and 2004.³¹ As this artist-in-residence programme was financially supported by the Fonds BKVB (Foundation for Visual Arts, Design and Architecture), this example illustrates the alleged positive impact of this cultural policy tool on the visibility of Dutch art (Hypothesis 4a).

Secondly, for three other institutions, there was a relationship between the involvement of the curator and that of particular artists. Indeed, in several of the group exhibitions, as well as in some of the solo shows held at the White Box, Kunst-Werke Berlin and the ICA, the participation of Dutch artists was likely to be related to the curator's background.

At the ICA, for example, four Associate Directors of Exhibitions were appointed in 2000, including Martijn van Nieuwenhuyzen from the Netherlands, who was also the curator at the Stedelijk Museum Bureau Amsterdam. Within a short period of time, three exhibitions were organised around Dutch contemporary artists: two solo shows, *3 Crowds* (2001) by Aernout Mik and *De Rijke De Rooij* (2002) by De Rijke De Rooij, and a duo-presentation with LA Raeven and Swedish artist Annika Larsson (2002). At the KW Berlin, the second Berlin Biennial in 2001 was curated by Saskia Bos, curator at De Appel at the time. She included five Dutch participants: Carlos Amorales, Alicia Framis, Aernout Mik, Apolonija Sustersic and Fiona Tan. This was the highest number of Dutch artists to ever go on display at the Berlin Biennial, with only three invited to the first and fourth editions and none to the third. Finally, Dutch curator Theo Tegelaers curated the *Prodigal Prodigy* exhibition at the White Box in 2001, in which there were seven Dutch participants: Marina Abramovic, Tariq Alvi, Mathilde ter Heijne, Keiko Sato, William Speakman and the duo, LA Raeven.

³¹ In 2004, Fonds BKVB stopped financing the artist-in-residence programme at P.S.1 because it changed it from being residency linked to short-term projects only.

These examples support the idea that the curator can be an influential (f)actor when it comes to the nationality, or country of residence, of those invited to submit work to exhibitions (Hypotheses 3a and 3b). I obtained similar results when studying contemporary art biennials. For instance, at the 2005 edition of the Biennale di Venezia, which was curated by Maria De Corral and Rosa Martinez who are both from Spain, nine of the artists who had work on show were Spanish, whereas in previous exhibitions this number was never more than three.³² Although this does not explain the presence of Dutch artists in every exhibition, these examples do highlight that being part of the same cultural and geographical sphere as the curators in charge is indeed important.

Nowadays, the work field of curators is increasingly international and they are involved more and more in different projects around the world (cf. Bydler, 2004; Carroll, 2007; Eric, 2007; Griffin, 2003). This may often be because they are employed by two very different, but affiliated, art institutions, as was the case for the curators at P.S.1 and Kunst-Werke (Interview, curator 8, Berlin), who put on exhibitions in both New York and Berlin. It is also possible for curators to work at two unique institutions, as Martijn van Nieuwenhuyzen did when he was employed at the ICA in London and the Stedelijk Museum Bureau Amsterdam. Moreover, they can also be invited to take charge of temporary projects, such as biennials, where they work independently on a part-time or freelance basis.

Yet, even if curators are increasingly involved with international assignments, they still tend to work with artists with whom they are familiar. Of course, through their work, they inevitably widen the networks of the artists who are known to them, but the foundation thereof is still formed by the people they know best, namely the artists who were born, or live, in the same country as the curator. These are the individuals they come into contact with first, because both groups began their careers in the same geographical space (cf. Crane, 1987; Greenfeld, 1989; Martin, 2007; Moulin, 1997). An artist's first presentation is usually in galleries or art centres within his/her country of birth or residence, as are the initial reviews in art magazines or newspapers. The same art centres and galleries are also the first places to be frequented by the curators, and national reviews also tend to be read by them first, although international publications have become more accessible in recent years. Geographical proximity not only means that the development of an artist is easier to follow, but it is also easier to collaborate with local artists in new artistic projects.

Accordingly, when a curator takes the next step in his career, and moves from a national to an international art institution, (s)he takes with him/her the artists (s)he has worked with in the past, thus providing them with a global platform. So, the visibility of Dutch artists in the major international art centres depends, to a certain extent, on the recognition of Dutch curators on a global scale, as well as on the latter group's appreciation of the work produced by these artists. If these same curators are then invited to undertake a project in a foreign institution, whether on a temporary basis or as part of the staff, this will probably be of benefit to Dutch artists.

³² I will elaborate on biennials more thoroughly in the following subsection, as well as in section 6.2.

4.1.3 BIENNIALS

As stressed in the previous section, the rise of the biennial and its dissemination all over the globe is considered to be one of the main indicators of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world (Moulin, 2003). Unlike museums and art centres, which have a continuous presence and are physically embedded, the biennial event comes and goes, taking place for a limited period of time and generally once every two years. Moreover, while the leading museums and art centres are located in the key cities of the contemporary art world in the West, biennials are generally held in the peripheral zones, particularly in emerging countries and regions.

In this subsection, I will address the presence of Dutch visual art in both the national representation exhibitions and the shows of invited artists. Although almost no biennial uses the former model anymore, it was initially the basis of the biennial exhibition. Therefore, including both of the systems in my analysis will provide a more complete picture of Dutch participation in this type of event.

BIENNIALS: NATIONAL REPRESENTATION

Today, the organisation of biennials is mostly based on invitation, which means that the artistic director – or a team of curators – invites a group of artists to participate in the exhibition. The origins of these events do, however, lie in the system of national representation, where there is a group exhibition of the work of artists representing specific countries. La Biennale di Venezia (1895), which was a model for many other such shows, is the only biennial that continues to utilise this system. Currently, this event is comprised of two exhibitions: one based on invitation and the other on national representation. The Bienal de São Paulo (1951) also had a long history of exhibiting on this latter basis, yet abandoned the model after the 2004 edition. So, for these two examples, I have studied the presence of the Netherlands in the national representation exhibitions held between 1970 and 2007.

Table 4.4 Dutch art at La Biennale di Venezia and the Bienal de São Paulo, 1970-2007 (national representation)

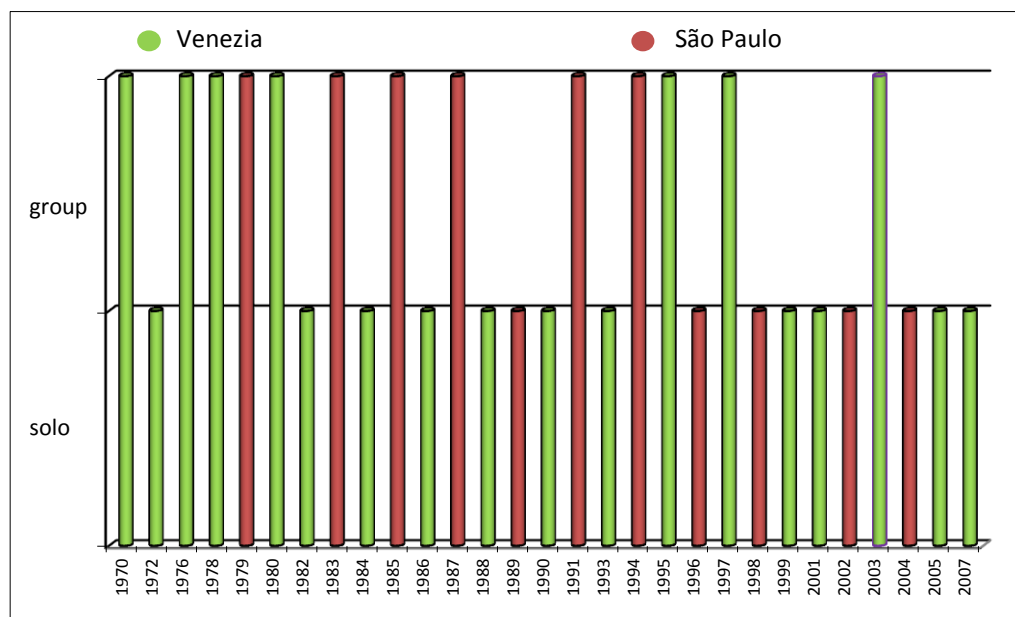
	YEARS	EDITIONS N	DUTCH NATIONAL REPRESENTATION			
			EDITIONS N	EXHIBITIONS		ARTISTS N
				GROUP	SOLO	
BIENNALE DI VENEZIA	1970-2007	18	18	7	11	33
BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO	1971-2004	16	11	6	5	30
TOTAL		34	29	13	16	63

Both biennials were, generally, held once every two years, with an occasional missing year or edition. The Netherlands did not, however, send a representative to São Paulo each time, which largely explains the difference in the number of shows in which the country was represented. Save for 1979, the Netherlands was almost completely absent from the exhibitions in Brazil throughout the 1970s and at the start of the 1980s, up to 1983.³³

³³ While at the 1981 edition there was no Dutch representation, four Dutch artists did participate in the Postal Art exhibition.

The most interesting findings concern, first of all, the types of show in the pavilions and, secondly, the additional exhibitions in Venice. As for the group and solo exhibitions, the table reveals that slightly more than half of the representations were solo shows, particularly in Venice. This is different to what I found to be the case in temporary exhibitions in art centres, where the majority of Dutch participations were in group shows. Apparently, the biennial exhibition is used to put the spotlight on a particular artist. The somewhat limited space within a pavilion might also explain why there have been, relatively, so many solo exhibitions. Moreover, since the late 1980s, the decision to produce a solo exhibition has become much more common. Figure 4.1 shows the shift in focus from group exhibitions to solo shows.

Figure 4.1 Dutch group and solo shows at La Biennale di Venezia and the Bienal de São Paulo, 1970-2007 (national representation)³⁴



Group presentations were preferred to solo exhibitions in São Paulo during the 1980s. This reflects the policy that was implemented in 1983 of showing a group of five young artists, born in the 1940s or 1950s, alongside the work of someone born around the turn of the century, like Bram Van Velde (1983), Pieter Ouborg (1985) and Domela (1987). From the end of the 1980s, however, the number of artists fell, and in the past 20 years most of the representations at the two biennials were in solo events. Indeed, only five were group shows: the 1991 and 1997 editions included two duo presentations, three artists were shown in 1995 and, finally, a group of five artists represented the Netherlands in 2003.

The second finding concerns the additional exhibitions that took place during the biennial event in Venice. Dutch artists were involved in several other presentations in the city, apart from the main exhibition at the Rietveld Pavilion in the Giardini. As in the pavilion, participation in these exhibitions was based on nationality or residence. For instance, in 1988, a group exhibition of the work of Dutch 'young sculptors' was on display at the Palazzo Sagredo. Moreover, during

³⁴ In 2005, the couple De Rijke/De Rooij represented the Netherlands. Their presence is therefore regarded as a solo exhibition.

the 1993 and 1995 editions, as well as the presentation in the Dutch pavilion, a Flemish-Dutch exhibition took place in which, respectively, four and six Dutch artists participated. Finally, in Ca' Zenobio during the 2001 edition, the so-called *Post Nature* show included the work of nine Dutch artists.

These examples indicate that along with the national representation exhibition in the pavilion, there was also a desire to organise other events that focused on Dutch art, in combination with Flemish work or otherwise. After 2001, however, no other examples were found, which coincides with the growing general criticism that there was of the system of national representation from the late 1990s onwards.

BIENNIALS: PARTICIPATION BY INVITATION

For my analysis of Dutch participation at the biennial exhibitions based on invitation, the range of these events is extended to include seven biennials held around the globe: La Biennale di Venezia and Documenta in the centre, and in the peripheral zones the Istanbul Biennale, La Bienal de São Paulo, the Gwangju Biennale, the Shanghai Biennale and, finally, the Sydney Biennale. I have researched every edition held between 1992 and 2008 (42), which revealed 4,349 representations by contemporary artists. Table 4.5 (following page) sets this out in terms of the different editions per biennial.

Overall, there were 144 representations by Dutch artists (representing 3.3% of the total number) in the 42 editions of the seven biennials under study held between 1992 and 2008. Included were 91 unique Dutch artists, 25 of whom participated in two or more editions. About a quarter (24.2 %) of the artists accounted for half of the representations.

Dutch artists were participants in almost every edition of the biennials taken into account; the only times they were not present was at the 1996 Sydney and São Paulo biennials, the Istanbul biennial in 2001 and the Gwangju biennial in 2004. The reasons for this are unclear. It may simply be that Dutch artists were not selected for these exhibitions, or it could be because there was no funding for such participation in these particular cases.

When comparing the presence of Dutch artists at the seven biennials, they were most involved in Istanbul, where 4.7% of the representations were by Dutch artists. Istanbul is relatively closer to the Netherlands than São Paulo or Sydney, which might explain this statistic. The Dutch were relatively underrepresented at the two European biennials, Documenta and La Biennale di Venezia, which is probably because it is more difficult to gain access to what are arguably the two most important international art events (cf. Heilbron, 1999; Quemin, 2002).

In further seeking to explain the greater participation of Dutch artists in Istanbul, indicators again point to geographical affiliation to the country of the artistic directors or curators. The high average of 4.7% reflects the large number of participating Dutch artists in 2005 and 2007. The 2005 edition was co-curated by Charles Esche, director of the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven from 2004 to date and former advisor to the Rijksakademie in Amsterdam, while Hou Hanru, who was also an advisor at the Rijksakademie, served as the artistic director of the 2007 event.

Table 4.5 Dutch art at international contemporary art biennials, 1992-2008 (invited artists)

BIENNIAL	YEAR	DUTCH REPRESENTATIONS		TOTAL REPRESENTATIONS N
		N	%	
BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO	1996	-	-	42
	1998	2	3.4	58
	2002	3	3.7	81
	2004	1	1.2	86
	2006	10	8.1	123
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>16</i>	<i>4,1</i>	<i>390</i>
BIENNALE DI VENEZIA	1993	1	0.8	123
	1995	2	2.5	79
	1997	4	6.0	67
	1999	1	1.0	100
	2001	5	3.2	154
	2003	9	2.1	432
	2005	2	2.1	96
	2007	4	3.9	103
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>28</i>	<i>2,4</i>	<i>1,154</i>
DOCUMENTA	1992	5	2.6	189
	1997	7	4.8	145
	2002	8	6.6	121
	2007	3	2.6	115
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>23</i>	<i>4,0</i>	<i>570</i>
GWANGJU BIENNALE	1995	1	1.1	89
	1997	4	3.6	110
	2000	1	1.1	91
	2002	3	3.3	91
	2004	-	-	91
	2006	6	6.2	97
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>15</i>	<i>2,6</i>	<i>569</i>
ISTANBUL BIENNALE	1995	6	5.1	118
	1997	4	4.2	96
	1999	2	3.4	59
	2001	-	-	74
	2003	2	2.3	88
	2005	5	8.8	57
	2007	10	8.2	122
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>29</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>614</i>
SHANGHAI BIENNALE	2000	3	4.5	67
	2002	5	6.2	80
	2004	4	3.5	113
	2006	3	3.0	101
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>15</i>	<i>4.2</i>	<i>361</i>
SYDNEY BIENNALE	1992	3	2.6	116
	1996	-	-	48
	1998	2	2.0	102
	2000	1	2.1	48
	2002	1	1.8	57
	2004	1	1.9	52
	2006	6	6.5	92
	2008	4	2.3	176
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>18</i>	<i>2,6</i>	<i>691</i>
TOTAL		144	3.3	4,349

As I have stressed earlier while analysing the presence of Dutch artists in contemporary art centres in Berlin, Paris, London and New York, such examples underline that the involvement of curators who are immersed in the Dutch art scene can be a determining factor in the selection and participation of Dutch artists in international exhibitions or biennials. The current biennial exhibition model, which is based on invitations to artists and not national representation, is considered to be one of the most important indicators of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world, wherein nationality has lost its importance. However, the examples above nevertheless indicate that the geographical factor still has a significant role to play in how artists are selected to participate (Quemin, 2002).

In three other editions of three different biennials, the 2006 Bienal de São Paulo and the Sydney Biennale, as well as the 2002 Documenta, I again found a relatively high number of Dutch participants. Here, this was probably related to the visitors programme initiated by the Mondriaan Foundation. This programme, established in 1996, is one of the cultural policy tools implemented in the Netherlands and is aimed at strengthening the position of Dutch art abroad. Actors of the international visual arts' world are invited to visit the Netherlands and are introduced to Dutch artists and institutions that correspond to their fields of interest.

In 2000, the curatorial team of Documenta 11, of which Okwui Enwezor was the artistic director, was invited to participate in the programme.³⁵ Moreover, Charles Merewether of the Sydney Biennale and Lisette Lagnado of la Bienal de São Paulo both visited the Netherlands in 2005. One of my hypotheses anticipated that cultural policy affects the presence of artists (Hypothesis 4a), and the examples of these participants do indeed support this premise.

However, such trips are not a guarantee of the greater visibility of Dutch participants at a biennial. The invitation to Huang Du (one of the curators of the 2006 Shanghai Biennale) did not have the same outcome. Moreover, several factors that are less easy to control may moderate the presence of Dutch participants, such as similar attempts by other countries to boost the number of their artists at biennials, the biennial's policy, or the interests of the curatorial team in a geographical or cultural region. In 1999, for instance, the artistic director of the Biennale di Venezia, Harald Szeemann, specifically aimed to provide a platform for Asian artists (Di Martino, 2003). In view of this, the presence of Dutch artists in an international context is of interest and will be the subject of section 6.2. Nevertheless, the aforementioned artistic directors of the Sydney, São Paulo and Documenta biennials did curate the editions with the highest number of Dutch artists, relatively. Their participation in the visitors programme did, therefore, clearly have an impact on the inclusion of Dutch artists at their particular events.

³⁵ Annual reports, Mondriaan Foundation, 1995-2007.

4.2 THE CONTEMPORARY ART MARKET

4.2.1 GALLERY STABLES

New York, London, Berlin and Paris are considered to be the most important art centres in the world, being home to not only the most important museums, but also the leading art galleries (cf. Coslor & Ren, 2009; Crane, 2009; While, 2003). So, what is the representation of Dutch artists there? And is their presence stronger in one particular city or another?

My analysis covers 74 galleries, which I selected on the basis of their presence at Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair and the ranking given to them by their renowned Dutch counterparts (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 1). Using the listings provided by Dutch galleries may lead to some bias in the selection, as it is possible that those consulted included relatively more galleries that represent Dutch artists. This would result in the overrepresentation of Dutch art in this group. Indeed, Appendix 3 confirms that more of the galleries put forward by their Dutch colleagues represent Dutch art than those selected on the basis of their presence at Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair. The differences, however, are small. When looking at this Dutch gallery list in more detail, it is possible to distinguish between the venues that are also in the selection of galleries present at Art Basel and Frieze Art fair and those that are not. In particular, Dutch galleries named about 75% of the galleries that also had a presence at Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair, suggesting that their judgement is in line with the rankings based on participation in leading art fairs. In this group, Dutch art was relatively more present than in the rest of the galleries listed by their Dutch counterparts.

Based upon this finding, the differences between the two groups in terms of the representation of Dutch art can be dismissed. Accordingly, the sample of 74 galleries used here can be regarded as an accurate representation of the leading international contemporary art galleries.

Table 4.6 Dutch art in international contemporary art galleries, 2007-2008

CITY	TOTAL		DUTCH ART IN GALLERIES			
	GALLERIES	REPRESENTATIONS	GALLERIES		DUTCH REPRESENTATIONS	
	N	N	N	%	N	%
PARIS	18	523	11	61.1	24	4.6
NEW YORK	20	613	13	65.0	22	3.6
LONDON	19	556	10	52.6	19	3.4
BERLIN	17	377	6	35.3	11	2.9
TOTAL	74	2,069	40	54.1	76	3.7

There is a small difference in the number of important galleries in the four cities. With 17 such venues, Berlin seems to be a less significant city in terms of the art market than the other three. Indeed, in contrast to the art scenes in the United States, France and the United Kingdom, which are concentrated in New York, Paris and London respectively, the contemporary art scene in Germany is more decentralised. Before the fall of the Berlin Wall, strong centres like Frankfurt, Cologne and Düsseldorf were at the heart of the German art world (cf. While, 2003) and home to the leading German galleries. However, after 1989, Berlin

became more attractive and galleries began to move or opened satellites there. This largely contributed to Berlin's reputation as an art centre. Nevertheless, this is a rather slow process; at the time of this research in 2007, some leading German galleries, like Galerie Daniel Buchholz or Sprüth Magers Gallery, were still located in the Ruhr area and have only recently opened a space in Berlin. Indeed, even within my selection of Berlin-based galleries, three still have their primary venues in Cologne. In other words, unlike the position of Paris, New York and London in their countries, Berlin is not the only important, or ultimate, art centre in Germany.

DUTCH ART IN INTERNATIONAL GALLERIES

Of the 2,069 representations in the international contemporary art galleries in Berlin, London, New York and Paris at the time of my research, 3.7% were by Dutch artists. There were 76 representations by 53 unique Dutch artists, 16 of whom were present in two or more galleries and 12 (23%) were represented in Europe and the USA. Half of these 77 representations concerned 30.2% of the artists.

Overall, and depending on the city, approximately 35% to 65% of the leading galleries in the world represented at least one Dutch artist: Berlin had the fewest, followed by London, while the Parisian and New York galleries featured about twice as many Dutch artists as their counterparts in Berlin. In London, Paris and New York, the total number of artists was also higher than in Berlin. In each of these cities, three or more major galleries had a stable of over 30 artists, with the main examples being Larry Gagosian in New York and Yvon Lambert in Paris. In comparison, only one Berlin based gallery surpassed this figure of 30, while about half of them represented fewer than 20 artists.

With just 11 Dutch artists in only 35% of the most important galleries in Berlin, their incidence seems to be particularly limited. Given that the Netherlands is a neighbour of Germany's, one might have expected a different scenario; Hypothesis 3c (section 2.6) anticipated that artists geographically close to a host country would be overrepresented at an artistic event there, in this case in galleries. Nevertheless, this result is in line with my findings for the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin, which did not feature the work of any Dutch artists at the time of my visit.

This limited presence of Dutch artists is even more surprising when considering that the Fonds BKVB, the Dutch Foundation for Visual Arts, Design and Architecture, subsidises two artist-in-residence programmes in Berlin. The Künstlerhaus Bethanien is the oldest of the subsidised programmes, while the Projectstudio Berlin was added to the list in 2000 as more Dutch artists wanted to live and work in the city in the 1990s, but did not have the resources to do so without financial support (Vinken & Van Kampen, 2006). Together, these programmes have welcomed more than 30 Dutch artists between 1995 and 2006.³⁶

So, how can this limited presence of Dutch artists in galleries in Berlin be explained? Firstly, as mentioned earlier, Germany has several important art centres, especially when it comes to markets and galleries. Although the city has

³⁶ This number is based on an analysis of the participants in artist-in-residence programmes according to the annual reports of the Netherlands Foundation for Visual Arts, Design and Architecture (Fonds BKVB) 1995-2006.

attracted increasing numbers of galleries over the years, many of the key venues are still located in the Ruhr Area, particularly Cologne and Düsseldorf. Accordingly, Dutch artists are also represented by some of these galleries, as is the case with Jan Dibbets and the Konrad Fischer Galerie in Düsseldorf. Moreover, Dutch artists who seek international representation may also opt for Belgian or, more specifically, Flemish galleries that are culturally closer and probably more accessible than their German counterparts. Belgian galleries have a relatively high visibility in art fairs, particularly compared to their Dutch colleagues (see Chapter 7). Artists such as Erik van Lieshout and Mark Manders are represented by Flemish galleries, and not by Dutch or German ones. Finally, it is possible that representation by a gallery in a neighbouring country negatively affects the presence of Dutch artists in Berlin based galleries. Galleries generally cover several countries and markets, and sometimes have exclusivity over such a region. Artists represented by both Dutch and Belgian venues are thus probably less inclined to also have a German gallery.

The other cities, in particular New York and Paris, belong to another region. Representation by Dutch or Flemish galleries does not preclude representation by galleries based in New York and Paris, unlike the position with galleries in Berlin. Indeed, having a gallery in these locations opens up alternative markets for Dutch artists, and may encourage them to seek representation in these locations rather than in Berlin.

4.2.2 ART FAIRS

In addition to the presence of Dutch art in international galleries, I have also examined the participation of Dutch artists and Dutch galleries at contemporary art fairs, which, along with biennials, are considered to be key events when it comes to the internationalisation of the contemporary art world.

The two fairs selected for this research were the 2007 edition of FIAC in Paris and Art Basel in 2008. Art Basel is considered to be the most important art fair in the world (Fournier & Roy-Valex, 2002; Quemin, 2010), has the greatest number of participating galleries and applies the most strict selection criteria. FIAC is less celebrated than Basel, but still part of the group of the most internationally renowned art fairs.

I will first compare the presence of Dutch artists and galleries at both fairs. As it is more difficult to be accepted by Art Basel, I expect to find greater Dutch participation at FIAC. In addition, I will also examine the hypotheses that Dutch galleries tend to give primacy to national artists and that Dutch artists tend to be represented by Dutch, rather than by foreign, galleries (Hypotheses 3a and 3b).

Table 4.7 (following page) sets out the presence of Dutch artists and galleries at the two fairs. It is immediately clear that Art Basel is a much bigger event, given the number of artists and galleries on show there. Compared to FIAC, it presented the work of almost twice as many galleries, more than three times the number of artists and had almost five times the number of representations.

The galleries at Art Basel also showed the work of relatively more artists in their booths than at FIAC, while a greater number of artists were represented by two or more galleries at this fair. An explanation for this could be the fact that FIAC features the work of more young and upcoming artists, who tend to be represented by only one gallery. In contrast, Art Basel presents the work of the more

established artists, who are represented by several galleries around the world. As a consequence, their pieces of art are on display in a number of different booths.

Table 4.7 Dutch art at Art Basel 2008 and FIAC 2007

	ART BASEL		FIAC		TOTAL ¹	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>OVERALL</i>						
GALLERIES						
DUTCH	3	1.0	7	4.3	9	2.2
TOTAL	306		164		405	
ARTISTS						
DUTCH	103	2.9	44	3.9	128	3.2
TOTAL	3,585		1,130		4,050	
REPRESENTATIONS						
DUTCH	189	2.8	50	3.5	239	2.9
TOTAL	6,695		1,431		8,126	
<i>DUTCH GALLERIES</i>						
ARTISTS						
DUTCH	26	54.2	22	71.0	47	60.3
TOTAL	48		31		78	
REPRESENTATIONS						
DUTCH	27	55.1	22	71.0	48	60.0
TOTAL	49		31		80	

¹ unique numbers

DUTCH ART AT CONTEMPORARY ART FAIRS

At the two fairs referred to above, there were 239 representations by Dutch artists, corresponding to 2.9% of the overall figure of 8,126. A total of 128 unique Dutch artists were counted, 50 of whom were represented twice or more at either the same or both fairs. Half of the representations were by 23.4% of the artists.

Dutch artists and galleries were visible to a lesser extent in Basel than in Paris (Table 4.7). This in line with what I expected in view of the more selective nature of Art Basel. Starting with the galleries, three (1.0%) participated at Art Basel (Paul Andriesse, Annet Gelink and Diana Stigter), as opposed to seven (4.3%) at FIAC (Juliette Jongma, Martin van Zomeren, Motive Gallery, Zinger, Diana Stigter, Ronmandos and Lumen Travo). Only one gallery, Diana Stigter, participated at both fairs, presenting a group show in its booth at FIAC and a solo exhibition by Martha Coburn in the Statements section at Art Basel.

The virtual absence of any overlap in the participation of Dutch galleries at FIAC and Art Basel on the one hand underlines the differences in the prestige of the fairs, and, on the other, the selection of galleries by the fairs. When it comes to prestige, it is likely that Annet Gelink and Paul Andriesse did not apply to FIAC because they have already been participants at more renowned events like Art Basel, the Armory Show or Frieze Art Fair for several years.³⁷

With respect to the issue of selection, FIAC has a less strict policy than Art Basel, which makes it easier for newer galleries to be accepted there. Four of the

³⁷ Mondriaan Foundation, Annual reports 2000-2007.

seven galleries that participated at FIAC were young galleries established in 2003 or later and showed the work of relatively young and upcoming artists. In contrast, it is more difficult for such new galleries with a stable of emerging artists to be accepted by Art Basel. Indeed, participating in this fair is usually achieved by first taking part in Liste. Founded in 1996, Liste represents galleries that have been open for less than five years and has a programme for artists under the age of 40. It is often seen as a stepping stone to Art Basel. For instance, the three Dutch galleries present at Art Basel in 2008 had all participated at least once at Liste.

The analysis reveals that Dutch galleries give primacy to their domestic artists (Table 4.7). In fact, if a Dutch gallery wants to apply for financial support from the Mondriaan Foundation to participate at a particular international contemporary art fair, at least half of its booth has to be dedicated to Dutch art, i.e. work created by artists born or living in the Netherlands.³⁸ As all of these galleries received a contribution towards their participation costs in 2007/2008, it does not come as a surprise to find that the percentage of the Dutch art present was above 50%. Accordingly, this cultural policy tool does indeed help to increase the visibility of Dutch art at contemporary art fairs (Hypothesis 4a).

The Dutch galleries at FIAC showed the work of relatively more Dutch artists than the Dutch galleries at Art Basel. In their booths at FIAC, more than two-thirds of the artists whose work was on display were Dutch, whereas at Art Basel, this figure was a little over 50%. It is interesting to note that the galleries at FIAC exceeded the 50% target by some distance. This was largely because two of them, Juliette Jongma and Martin van Zomeren, only presented the work of Dutch artists. Although both galleries have an international programme, their concentration on Dutch art is probably related to the fact that both are relatively young and, as a consequence, are more inclined to display the work of Dutch artists (Hypotheses 3a and 3b). On the other hand, the galleries participating at Art Basel probably stayed closer to the 50% target because this allowed them to represent a group of artists that was as international as possible (including those born in or residing outside the Netherlands) without jeopardising the financial support of the Mondriaan Foundation.

Dutch artists were relatively more visible at FIAC and had more representations there than at Art Basel. At the FIAC, the Netherlands accounted for 3.9% of the artists and 3.5% of the representations, whereas at Art Basel this was 2.9% and 2.8% respectively (Table 4.7). This is in line with the greater presence of Dutch galleries and their stronger focus on domestic artists.

At both fairs, the majority of the Dutch representations could be found in the booths of foreign galleries. At FIAC, the difference was small: 44% of the 50 representations were from Dutch galleries. In Basel, however, Dutch galleries only accounted for 14% of the 189 representations by Dutch artists. Here, these artists were, largely, represented by foreign galleries. One of the reasons for this overrepresentation is the fact that some of the foreign born Dutch artists were represented by galleries from their home country. Secondly, some Dutch born artists were represented by galleries located in their country of residence. In both cases, these artists are domestic artists to these galleries. Another reason is that

³⁸ Mondriaan Foundation, Annual report 2007.

some artists were represented by more than one gallery. These galleries are generally located in different geographical spaces and cover different markets; it is quite rare to find an artist represented by more than one Dutch gallery. For instance, Marlene Dumas's work was on display at the Dutch gallery Paul Andriessse and at six galleries from Belgium, Japan, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the USA. The expansion of gallery representation thus reduced the relative representation of Dutch artists in the booths of Dutch galleries.

Finally, this overrepresentation was probably related to the relatively limited presence of Dutch galleries, which accounted for only 1% of those taking part in Art Basel. This modest visibility further encourages Dutch artists to align themselves with the foreign galleries that are already established at the fair (Giuffrè, 1999; Karttunen, 2008). Artists who aspire to an international career will probably prefer to work with such a foreign gallery, as this could increase their chances of achieving their professional goals. The consequence may well be that such artists leave the stable of a Dutch gallery, which will, in turn, also affect the opportunities for such a gallery to participate at the art fair; when the most talented artists leave them, they are less likely to be accepted by Art Basel.

4.2.3 AUCTION SALES

In this final section, I will study the success of Dutch contemporary artists in the Post War/Contemporary Art³⁹ sales at Christie's, the Contemporary Art sales at Sotheby's, and the Photographs' sales at both auction houses in 2007 in London and New York. This analysis will be based on an overview of the auction results available on each company's website.⁴⁰

DUTCH ART AT AUCTIONS

The following table sets out the number of lots by Dutch artists sold at the auctions at Christie's and Sotheby's in 2007.

Table 4.8 Dutch lots sold (>1970) at Christie's and Sotheby's in 2007⁴¹

	DUTCH LOTS (REPRESENTATIONS) N	TOTAL PRICE (€)
<i>CHRISTIE'S</i>		
LONDON	14	546,235
NEW YORK	12	32,943,606
TOTAL	26	33,489,841
<i>SOTHEBY'S</i>		
LONDON	14	2,560,814
NEW YORK	24	2,009,107
TOTAL	38	4,569,921

³⁹ In the following, I use the term "Contemporary Art" to refer to "Post War/Contemporary Art".

⁴⁰ www.sothebys.com and www.christies.com, consulted in December 2008.

⁴¹ In the final stage of this dissertation, I discovered that one representation at an auction sale had not been taken into account and so included it in this analysis, particularly because of its impact on the price paid for Dutch art. However, I did not do this in the following chapter, as the inclusion of this one representation would not alter the results.

Whereas at Christie's the number of Dutch representations was more or less the same in both cities, at Sotheby's in New York this figure was higher than in London (Table 4.8). This difference is not, however, visible in the total sums paid: in London, the overall amount spent on 14 Dutch art works was more than 25% higher than for the 24 pieces sold in New York.

Of the two auction houses, the work of more Dutch artists was sold through Sotheby's. On the other hand, the sales at Christie's in New York were, by far, the most successful. However, before I try to explain this, I will begin by looking at the separate auctions in 2007. Table 4.9 sets out the sales in which Dutch artists with work produced after 1970 participated.

Table 4.9 Dutch art (>1970) at Christie's and Sotheby's in 2007

SALE					DUTCH ART (>1970) AT AUCTIONS			
		CITY	SEASON	TOTAL LOTS	LOTS (REPRESENTATIONS)		ARTISTS	PRICE
DEPARTMENT	N				N	%	N	(€)
CHRISTIE'S								
PW/CONTEMPORARY	5	LONDON	SPRING	989	8	0.8	6	392,675
PW/CONTEMPORARY	3	LONDON	AUTUMN	515	4	0.8	2	127,832
PW/CONTEMPORARY	4	NEW YORK	SPRING	660	6	0.9	4	14,137,556
PW/CONTEMPORARY	4	NEW YORK	AUTUMN	587	6	1.0	3	18,806,050
PHOTOGRAPHS	2	LONDON	SPRING	173	-	-	-	-
PHOTOGRAPHS	2	LONDON	AUTUMN	176	2	1.1	1	25,728
PHOTOGRAPHS	2	NEW YORK	SPRING	483	-	-	-	-
PHOTOGRAPHS	2	NEW YORK	AUTUMN	328	-	-	-	-
SOTHEBY'S								
CONTEMPORARY	6	LONDON	SPRING	1421	11	0.8	7	2,423,725
CONTEMPORARY	3	LONDON	AUTUMN	536	3	0.6	3	134,426
CONTEMPORARY	3	NEW YORK	SPRING	888	10	1.1	5	1,463,389
CONTEMPORARY	3	NEW YORK	AUTUMN	945	14	1.5	8	545,718
PHOTOGRAPHS	1	LONDON	SPRING	246	-	-	-	-
PHOTOGRAPHS	1	LONDON	AUTUMN	262	-	-	-	-
PHOTOGRAPHS	1	NEW YORK	SPRING	143	-	-	-	-
PHOTOGRAPHS	1	NEW YORK	AUTUMN	221	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	43			8,572	64	0.7	39	38,059,762

Overall, the Contemporary Art and Photographs' sections of the two houses organised 43 auctions in 2007. Dutch art dated after 1970 was sold in about half of the sales (22 sales; 51.2%). In total, 8,572 lots were put up for sale, 64 of which were by contemporary Dutch artists, amounting to 0.7% of the total. There is, however, some bias in this outcome, because the total number of lots also included art produced before 1970. A sample of two sales reveals that this presence increases somewhat to 1.0% if only art created before 1970 is taken into account.⁴²

The work of only one Dutch photographer (Ruud van Empel) was sold in a Photographs' sale in the period under study (Table 4.9). This is surprising given the reputation of Dutch photography across the world. However, this section

⁴² I have taken as a sample the Contemporary Art autumn auctions at Christie's in New York and at Sotheby's in London. At Christie's I counted 453 lots produced after 1970, and at Sotheby's 441 such lots.

primarily focuses on pieces from the first half of the 20th century, which explains the limited presence of Dutch contemporary photographers. In fact, the work of several contemporary photographers was actually part of the contemporary art sales, with pieces by Dutch artists like Rineke Dijkstra and Hellen van Meenen included in this section instead of in the Photographs' sales.

Most Dutch works of art were sold at the two autumn sales at Sotheby's in New York, and it was also in these two sales that the most Dutch artists participated. Yet these sales did not produce the highest price for Dutch art. This was attained at Christie's in New York in the autumn of 2007, closely followed by another major sale in the spring of that same year. In other words, in 2007, Dutch artists were more successful in New York than in London, and although they were more present at Sotheby's in terms of the number of artists and the number of art works, they were more successful when it came to sales at Christie's.

When looking at the prices paid for Dutch art at auctions, there was an enormous disparity (Table 4.10). Almost half of the pieces were sold for less than €25,000 and 14 (22%) for less than €10,000. Indeed, work by only four artists was sold for more than €175,000: Karel Appel, Marlene Dumas, Willem De Kooning and Michael Raedecker. Only two of these artists have sold work for more than €1,000,000: four pieces by Willem De Kooning and one by Marlene Dumas. In fact, the auctions that surpassed the one million euros mark did so largely due to the sale of only one or two items.

Table 4.10 Price of Dutch lots sold at Christie's and Sotheby's

PRICE (€)	WORKS		
	N	%	CUM %
≤ 25,000	31	48.4	48.4
25,001 - 50,000	9	14.1	62.5
50,001 - 75,000	9	14.1	76.6
75,001 - 100,000	2	3.1	79.7
100,001 - 125,000	4	6.3	85.9
125,001 - 150,000	-	-	85.9
150,001 - 175,000	-	-	85.9
175,001 - 200,000	2	3.1	89.1
≥ 200,001	7	10.9	100.0
TOTAL	64	100.0	

As already mentioned, apart from the 64 contemporary pieces, several art works by Dutch artists from before 1970 (38 pieces) were sold in the 2007 sales. These lots included one item by Jo Baer (Christie's, Feb 2007, New York), one by Jan Dibbets (Christie's, Feb 2007, London), 19 by Karel Appel and 17 by Willem De Kooning. These latter two artists also had work created after 1970 sold at the auction.⁴³

Appel and De Kooning are the most successful Dutch artists at auctions: Karel Appel when it comes to the number of pieces sold and Willem De Kooning in terms of the highest prices. In total, 43 works by Appel were put up for sale, while four of the five lots created after 1970 that sold for more than one million euros were by

⁴³ As well as the dated works by Karel Appel (36) and Willem De Kooning (24), I found, respectively, seven and two pieces that were not dated.

De Kooning; *Untitled XVII* (1977), *Untitled XXIII* (1977) and *Untitled I* (1981) were sold for, respectively, approximately €5 million, €13.5 million and €14 million. The high number of lots by Karel Appel – 17 from after 1970, 19 from before and seven undated – was probably related to the death of the artist in 2006. As the production of work comes to an end, no new pieces will become available on the market and the value of existing work is, therefore, likely to increase. Indeed, one of the key factors determining the economic value of a work of art is its scarcity (Moulin, 1995, 1997).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have studied the presence of Dutch contemporary artists in institutions (museums, art centres and biennials) and on the art market, including galleries, art fairs and auctions. Dutch contemporary art appears to be represented to a similar extent at the various art events; auctions are the exception, with only 0.7% of the lots sold there produced by contemporary Dutch artists. This outcome is, in part, influenced by the fact that the total number of lots included work from before 1970. Nevertheless, I have shown that excluding them would not drastically change my findings. The presence of Dutch contemporary art in other international events varied from between 2.7% in the permanent collections of museums to 3.7% in contemporary art galleries. At fairs, 2.9% of the representations were by Dutch artists and 3.3% at biennials. However, this does not tell us a great deal about whether the presence of Dutch contemporary artists can be defined as relatively high, low or somewhere in the middle. This can only be determined when comparing their visibility in an international context, which will be the subject-matter in Part III of this study.

In order to compare the participation of Dutch artists in institutions (art centres and biennials) and on the art market (galleries and auctions), the number of exhibitions, editions, galleries and sales should be taken into account instead of the number of representations. This is because it was not possible to calculate what the relative share of Dutch art was in temporary exhibitions at art centres, as the data on the total number of representations (whatever the nationality of the artist) was unavailable for this type of event.

I found no significant differences in the presence of Dutch artists between the institutions and the market; Dutch artists participated in 48% of the temporary exhibitions and biennials and were present in 50% of the galleries and auction sales. Consequently, there is no indication that Dutch artists are much more visible in contemporary art institutions or on the contemporary art market.

When taking each event into account separately, however, there are some differences. The presence of Dutch artists in temporary exhibitions at art centres was particularly low (7.6%), whereas it was very high (88.6%) at biennials. A reason for this difference can be found in the size of the event: the biennial exhibitions are usually larger in terms of the number of participating artists than is the case in art centres. This increases the likelihood that Dutch art will be included. Moreover, the fact that biennials were originally nationality orientated events may still influence selection policy to some extent. As a symbol of the internationalisation of the art world, biennials are a platform for diversity in art. The geographical background of the artist thus continues to, indirectly, be

important. What is more, most biennials still greatly depend on (foreign) governments or foundations like the Mondriaan Foundation when it comes to financing. As these bodies generally financially support the participation of domestic artists, it is unsurprising to see that artists from these countries tend to appear at virtually every edition of the biennial event. In section 6.2, I will study the international orientation of biennial events in more detail.

The analyses I have conducted reveal that in each of the events examined, the diversity of the Dutch artists present was limited; between 20 and 30% of the artists accounted for half of the representations. Diversity was greatest in the permanent collections, although this was influenced by the fact that only six Dutch artists were represented in museums. Galleries were next, with half of their representations being by 29.6% of Dutch artists. In art centres, biennials, fairs and auctions this figure was between 21.4% and 24.2%. This means that a small group of artists was overrepresented and was largely responsible for the Dutch presence in international contemporary art events.

In galleries, the degree of diversity was somewhat higher than in most of the other events. This could be related to the notion of exclusivity in galleries, which is not a factor in the other manifestations. Generally, an artist is only in the stable of one gallery per city, or even country. As a result, it is rare for a Dutch artist to be represented by more than one top gallery in the same location and thus appear more than once in my selection. If this does occur, it is probably because the artist is represented by two or more galleries in different cities.

The diversity of Dutch artists appears to be even more limited when we look at their presence in all of the international art events combined. In total, 222 unique artists had 684 representations in museums, art centres, biennials, galleries, fairs and auctions. Half of these were by only 12% of the artists. This indicates that the group of highly visible artists was more or less the same at each event. Indeed, save for two of them, these 27 highly visible artists were present at three or more international events. In the following chapter, I will discuss the background characteristics of the artists.

Finally, my data point towards the factors that can have an impact on the presence of Dutch artists at international art events. Firstly, and on several occasions, participation in exhibitions was related to artist-in-residence programmes; some Dutch artists were included in events as a result of such a scheme. Secondly, some of the editions of the biennials in which the presence of Dutch artists was significant were preceded by the involvement of the artistic director or curator in the Mondriaan Foundation's visitors programme. Furthermore, the employment, whether temporary or otherwise, of a Dutch curator, or someone who is familiar with the Dutch art scene, also boosted the numbers of Dutch artists on show at exhibitions in the art centres under study. Finally, the presence of Dutch galleries at fairs had a similar effect on the representation of Dutch artists at these events.

The findings set out above also highlight that the presence of Dutch artists at international events is *geographically marked*. In other words, the cultural and geographical space to which an artist belongs has an impact on his/her visibility internationally. The geographical factor is at the heart of all of the four factors referred to above, namely the application criteria when it comes to the artist-in-residence programmes, funding from national organisations, the focus of the visitors programme on art from a particular geographical space and the influence of other actors, i.e. curators and galleries of the same nationality. If the importance of nationality has frequently been questioned in recent years, this study reveals that it still plays a significant role in the visibility of artists in the international art scene. Of course, all of the matters mentioned above are external factors. Accordingly, in the following chapter, I will examine in more detail how the various background characteristics of the artists themselves may have an impact on their international visibility.

5 BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNATIONALLY SUCCESSFUL DUTCH CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS

In the previous chapter, I analysed the presence of Dutch artists as one homogenous group at six different art events. Consequently, I will now explore some of the background characteristics of the individuals who make up this group in greater detail. I will look at the following variables: country of birth, i.e. Dutch born or not; country of residence; gender; age; and educational background.⁴⁴ To what extent do these factors influence the presence of these artists at the international events studied herein? Are most artists Dutch by birth or by residence? Are they mainly young and emerging artists or are the majority of them already established? Is the work of male artists more present than that of their female counterparts? Finally, as one of the tools to stimulate the internationalisation of the Dutch art scene through educational or post-graduate programmes, it will be of interest to investigate the share of foreign born Dutch artists who have taken part in such programmes and whether they tend to stay in the Netherlands after their participation in such schemes comes to an end.

5.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH

As stated earlier in this work, Dutch contemporary art is defined herein as the product of an artist born or living in the Netherlands. Accordingly, when discussing the presence of Dutch artists in museums in the previous chapter, I highlighted that a considerable number of representations were actually created by individuals who are Dutch by residence. Since the focus at that stage was on the overall presence of Dutch artists at different international events, their background was not examined in detail. In this section, however, I will concentrate in particular on the artists' country of birth, and will also attempt to answer the following questions: what percentage of the Dutch artists who take part in international events were born in the Netherlands and what percentage were born abroad? Does this depend on the kind of event? Have some changes occurred over time?

The starting point for my analysis is the country of birth. The following table sets out the number of Dutch artists born in Netherlands and abroad and the number of representations by them.⁴⁵

Table 5.1 Country of birth: artists and representations

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	ARTISTS		REPRESENTATIONS	
	N	%	N	%
NETHERLANDS	152	68.5	423	61.8
ABROAD	70	31.5	261	38.2
TOTAL	222	100.0	684	100.0

⁴⁴ This also includes programmes focused on artistic development, such as the Rijksakademie residency programme (see note 55).

⁴⁵ In this section, Dutch artists born abroad but from Dutch descent will be regarded as if they had been born in the Netherlands.

As Table 5.1 shows, almost 70% of the artists who participated in one of the international events considered herein were born in the Netherlands. However, whether the percentage of foreign born Dutch artists is relatively large or small is difficult to clarify at this point, because a comparison with other countries is needed to answer this question. This issue will be the subject of further examination in Part III. Within the existing framework of country of birth, other observations can, however, be made. About 62% of all representations were by artists born in the Netherlands and approximately 38% were not. Accordingly, the share of Dutch born *artists* is slightly higher than the share of *representations* by this group. Alternatively, foreign born Dutch artists have relatively more representations.

On average, one Dutch born artist had 2.8 representations at the international events considered herein, while one foreign born Dutch artist had 3.7 representations. Although Dutch born artists were far more visible in terms of both the number of unique artists and the number of representations, the difference between these two elements indicates that a relatively small group of Dutch artists who were born abroad accounts for relatively more representations than their Dutch born colleagues. To put it another way, on the level of representations, foreign born Dutch artists are more successful than those born in the Netherlands.

However, as I showed in the previous chapter, the number of representations is not equally divided between the artists. In fact, half of the 423 representations by Dutch born artists were by 14.5% of this group. As far as their foreign born contemporaries are concerned, the percentage was even lower: 10.0% of this group produced 50% of the 261 representations. So, compared to their Dutch born colleagues, relatively fewer of those born outside the Netherlands were responsible for the same percentage of representations.

Table 5.2 (following page) sets out the list of the 27 Dutch artists who together produced 50% of the 684 representations. These 27 individuals represent 12% of the total of 222 artists.

The two artists with the greatest visibility in the international events under consideration, Lawrence Weiner and Marlene Dumas, are Dutch by residence only. Not only do they head this list, but their lead is even more significant when looking at the artist occupying third position, Rineke Dijkstra. Dumas had 25% more representations than Dijkstra, whereas Weiner had almost 60% more. Together, Dumas and Weiner account for 10% of all of the representations by Dutch artists in the international art arena. Apart from the fact that the two most visible Dutch artists were not born in the Netherlands, the table also reveals another rather interesting fact: the number of foreign born Dutch artists within this limited group corresponds to 45% of the representations by them.

At 45% (and accounting for 49% of the representations), the share of Dutch artists born outside the Netherlands within this top group is much higher than in the entire group of Dutch artists, where they account for 32% (and 38% of the representations). In other words, compared to the total number of Dutch artists, those born abroad are overrepresented at the top of the list, both in terms of the number of *artists* as well as the number of *representations*. In contrast, and compared to the overall group, Dutch born artists are underrepresented in the limited group of the most visible Dutch born artists, as they are responsible for only 51% of the artists and representations.

Table 5.2 Most visible Dutch artists at international contemporary art events

ARTIST		BORN		REPRESENTATIONS	
		NETHERLANDS	ABROAD	N	%
WEINER, LAWRENCE	1942		X	38	5.6
DUMAS, MARLENE	1953		X	30	4.4
DIJKSTRA, RINEKE	1959	X		24	3.5
ABRAMOVIC, MARINA	1946		X	22	3.2
APPEL, KAREL	1926-2006	X		21	3.1
KOONING, WILLEM DE	1904-1997	X		21	3.1
RAEDECKER, MICHAEL	1963	X		15	2.2
ATELIER VAN LIESHOUT	1963	X		13	1.9
MCQUEEN, STEVE	1969		X	12	1.8
WARMERDAM, MARIJKE VAN	1959	X		12	1.8
DIBBETS, JAN	1941	X		11	1.6
GALLAGHER, ELLEN	1965		X	11	1.6
MEENE, HELLEN VAN	1972	X		10	1.5
MIK, AERNOUT	1962	X		10	1.5
TAN, FIONA	1966		X	10	1.5
AMORALES, CARLOS	1970		X	8	1.2
DIAZ MORALES, SEBASTIAN	1975		X	8	1.2
GABA, MESCHAC	1961		X	8	1.2
LAMSWEERDE, INEZ VAN	1963	X		8	1.2
LANGA, MOSHEKWA	1975		X	8	1.2
BARTANA, Yael	1970		X	7	1.0
BROUWN, STANLEY	1935		X	7	1.0
LIESHOUT, ERIK VAN	1968	X		7	1.0
ROOIJ, WILLEM DE	1969	X		7	1.0
SCHNITGER, LARA	1969	X		7	1.0
BRUGGEN, COOSJE VAN	1942	X		6	0.9
KOOLHAAS, REM ^a	1944	X		6	0.9

^a Jeroen de Rijke also had six representations

5.1.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH: REPRESENTATIONS PER EVENT

In this subsection, I consider the presence of Dutch born artists and foreign born Dutch artists at the different art events to see whether their share is the same at each one, or whether it varies from one to another.

Table 5.3 (following page) gives an overview of the presence of Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists, i.e. those who are Dutch by residence, in the permanent collections of museums, temporary exhibitions in art centres, biennials, gallery stables, art fairs and auction sales.

The table highlights several points of interest. Firstly, the levels of the representations by Dutch and non-Dutch born artists seem to depend on the type of event. It is only in temporary exhibitions in art centres that this corresponds to the average; all other platforms vary. Secondly, the representations by Dutch born artists are more equally spread between the different types of event than those by their foreign born counterparts.

Table 5.3 Country of birth: representations per event

ART EVENT	NETHERLANDS		ABROAD	
	N	%	N	%
MUSEUMS ⁴⁶	4	50.0	4	50.0
ART CENTRES	94	61.4	59	38.6
BIENNIALS	64	44.4	80	55.6
GALLERIES	54	71.1	22	28.9
FAIRS	156	65.3	83	34.7
AUCTIONS	51	79.7	13	20.3
TOTAL	423	61.8	261	38.2

When comparing the visibility of Dutch and non-Dutch born artists at international art events, auctions and biennials stand out. At auctions, Dutch born artists were overrepresented, while at biennials there was an overrepresentation of foreign born Dutch artists.

An explanation for this difference can be found in the characteristics of the two types of event. The pieces sold in auctions tend to be by mid-career or deceased artists, and it is certainly possible that artists born outside the Netherlands are relatively underrepresented in these two categories. However, when looking at the list of the most represented Dutch artists (Table 5.2), it is clear that this argument is only partially supported. This is because the majority of the most visible foreign born Dutch artists were born after the 1960s, although the top three were born in the 1940s and 1950s. In section 5.4, I will elaborate on this when I discuss the representation of age categories in the different events. The list of the most visible artists reveals a second explanation, namely that it may just be that fewer foreign born Dutch artists work with mediums that are usually sold at auctions, like painting, photography and sculpture. Indeed, most of the foreign born Dutch artists in the top list are performance or conceptual artists or work with video and installations, a type of work that is less commonly available at auctions. Only one such piece, a still from a performance by Marina Abramovic and Ulay at the Venice Biennale in 1976, was sold at auction. The two other foreign born artists were painters, Marlene Dumas and Ellen Gallagher, who sold nine and three pieces respectively.

Biennials, for their part, are renowned for their international focus. This might explain the lower percentage of Dutch born artists represented therein, since this group tends to be viewed as representing 'traditional Western art'. Furthermore, foreign born artists may be invited relatively more frequently to these events because they are seen as 'representatives' of their countries of origin, which are, in most cases, located in the peripheral zone.⁴⁷

The term periphery is often used to mean not in the *centre*, with the latter including the USA and Western European countries (Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2002). The following table distinguishes between two groups of foreign born Dutch artists: those born in the centre and those from the peripheral zone.

⁴⁶ As the total number of representations at museums is limited, I will not go into detail on the division of Dutch born and foreign born artists.

⁴⁷ If the system of national representation has been abandoned at most biennials and artists are invited based on their artistic quality, this does not mean that artists cannot be seen as representatives of their country or a geographical region. I will examine this in the following part.

Table 5.4 Region of birth of foreign born Dutch artists

ART EVENT	ARTISTS				REPRESENTATIONS			
	CENTRE		PERIPHERAL ZONE		CENTRE		PERIPHERAL ZONE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
MUSEUMS	2	66.7	1	33.3	2	50.0	2	50.0
ART CENTRES	7	35.0	13	65.0	24	40.7	35	59.3
BIENNIALS	13	29.5	31	70.5	20	25.0	60	75.0
GALLERIES	8	53.3	7	46.7	14	63.6	8	36.4
FAIRS	19	52.8	17	47.2	44	53.0	39	47.0
AUCTIONS	1	33.3	2	66.7	3	23.1	10	76.9
TOTAL ¹	30	42.9	40	57.1	107	41.0	154	59.0

¹ artists: unique numbers

Table 5.4 shows that the majority of the foreign born Dutch artists participating in biennials were indeed born in the peripheral zone. In total, 31 artists from this zone took part in biennials, corresponding to 70.5% of the total of non-Dutch born artists at these events. The number of those from the peripheral zone is even more significant when taking into account the amount of representations: three quarters of the Dutch artists born outside the Netherlands were born in the peripheral zone. Furthermore, in comparison to other types of event, particularly when taking into account the number of representations, artists from the peripheral zone were overrepresented at biennials.

This was also the case for auctions, although for them this is influenced by the limited number of artists involved. In fact, only three foreign born Dutch artists took part in the sales at Christie's and Sotheby's considered in this dissertation: Ellen Gallagher (USA, three representations), Marina Abramovic (Serbia, one representation) and Marlene Dumas (South Africa, nine representations). In terms of the number of *artists*, those from the peripheral zone were still overrepresented, albeit to a lesser extent than was the case with *representations*. This highlights that the success of one artist from the peripheral zone, in this case Marlene Dumas, had a major influence on these figures.

At biennials, the number of non-Dutch born participants was much higher. Here, 44 different artists, born in 25 different countries, were involved. Based upon this, the percentages related to these types of event paint a more truthful picture than those relating to auctions.

Furthermore, the percentage of artists from the peripheral zone was higher than that of those from the centre (Table 5.4). There may be several reasons for this. Firstly, as there are more countries located in the peripheral zone than in the centre, the difference is perhaps not surprising. Secondly, artists from the centre are less likely to move to the Netherlands, as they are already embedded at the heart of the contemporary art world. Artists from the periphery, however, may improve their position by moving to a country that is closer to the centre, such as the Netherlands (Heilbron, 1995, 1999). This will be elaborated on in Part III of this study.

5.1.2 ANALYSES OVER TIME

As I stated in Chapter 1, the second wave of the internationalisation of the visual arts' world took place during the 1990s, and was characterised by the presence of an increasing number of artists from the peripheral zone at different art events. Moreover, in the same period, the Dutch government implemented a new policy of attracting foreign artists to the country by means of scholarships for post-graduate programmes, aiming to stimulate the internationalisation process in the Netherlands (Ministerie OCW, 2007a; 2008). Given these two facts, it may be expected that the number of foreign born Dutch artists participating in art events would increase from the beginning of the nineties to the present-day.

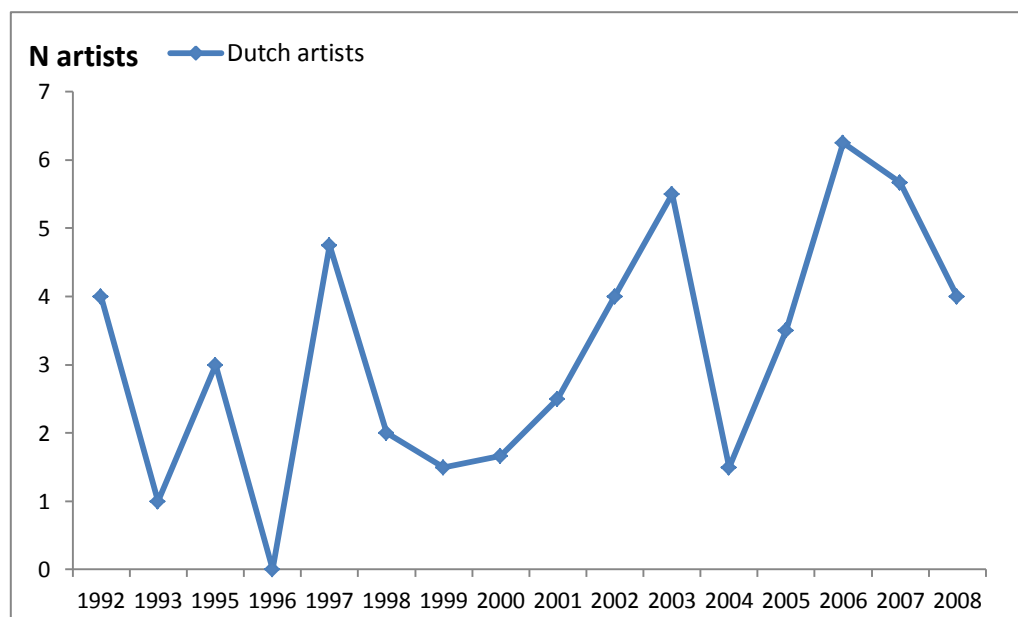
BIENNIALS

For two types of event – biennials and temporary exhibitions in art centres – I utilised data from a time period of more than 15 years, which enabled me to study changes in the visibility of Dutch artists over time at these platforms. I will begin by analysing developments in the presence of Dutch artists at biennials. Figure 5.1 sets out the visibility of the total group of Dutch artists at biennials between 1992 and 2008, while Figure 5.2 distinguishes between Dutch artists born in the Netherlands and Dutch artists born abroad (following page).

The average number of Dutch artists taking part in biennials increased slightly over the years, which are marked by many fluctuations. Moreover, between 1992 and 2000, the overall average of 3.2 artists was surpassed only twice, and in most years there were fewer Dutch participants than this. From 2001 to 2008, however, it was the other way round. The number of participations was always higher than the average of 3.2, with 2004 being the exception. Most of the peaks from 2001 onwards coincide with the years in which the artistic directors or curators had participated in the visitors programme organised by the Mondriaan Foundation, indicating that this scheme had a positive effect on the involvement of Dutch artists (Hypothesis 4a). Additionally, for the year 2003, the greater number of Dutch artists can be explained by the fact that the Biennale di Venezia invited 432 artists to this edition, which is about four times the average number of participants at a Venice biennale.

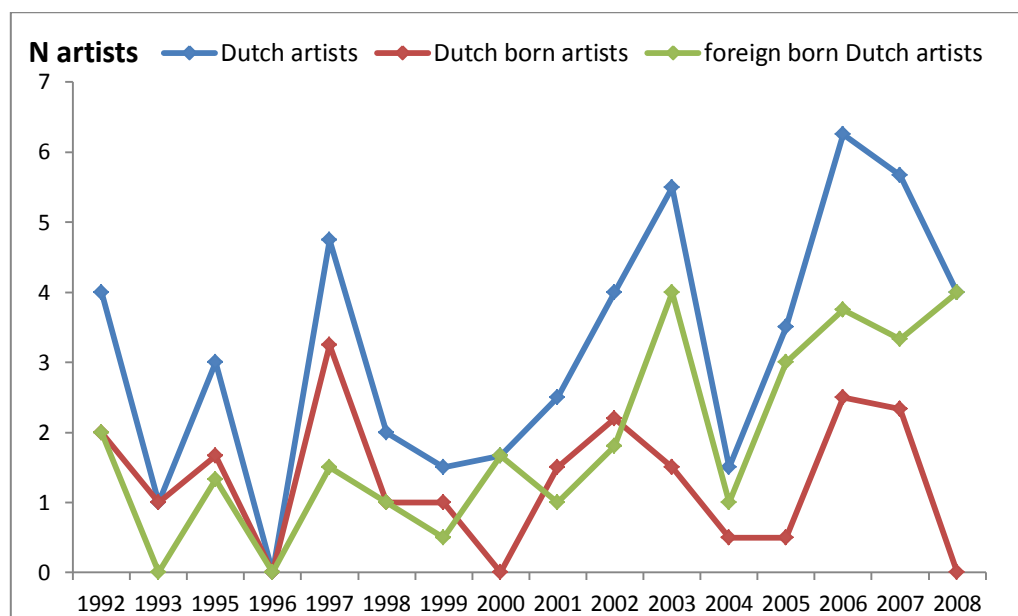
For the number of Dutch born artists, the graph shows considerable fluctuations, as well as a slight decrease between 1992 and 2008. The number of foreign born Dutch artists, however, clearly increases over time. Furthermore, from 2002 onwards, this group of artists outnumbered their Dutch born colleagues, while between 1992 and 2000 this was only the case once, in 2000. This supports the idea that in the past two decades, interest in art from the peripheral zone has risen (Fisher, 1996; Griffin, 2003).

Figure 5.1 Dutch artists at international contemporary art biennials, 1992-2008 (invited artists)⁴⁸



N=144

Figure 5.2 Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists at international contemporary art biennials, 1992-2008⁴⁹



N=144

⁴⁸ No biennial was organised in 1994, and this year has, therefore, not been taken into account.

⁴⁹ Idem.

Interviews conducted with the artistic directors and curators of biennials have revealed that even if nationality is no longer supposed to play a part in the selection of participants, in some cases curators do prefer to invite an artist from the peripheral zone instead of one from Western Europe or the United States. This openness to artists from peripheral countries probably makes it more difficult for their counterparts who were born in the Netherlands to be invited to these events.

What is more, Dutch contemporary artists are not regarded as being particularly different from their counterparts from other parts of Europe. Curators distinguish between European and Asian artists, but less so between those from the Netherlands and Switzerland, for example. To put it another way, boundaries within the European region have eroded and nationality has become less important than it used to be. Yet, the selection of an artist does still take place on a geographical basis, i.e. it is based on the region where the artist was born.⁵⁰ In section 6.2 I will discuss the importance of the issue of the so-called region in more detail. In this section, however, my emphasis is on the likelihood that a reduced interest in contemporary European artists, and a corresponding increase in those from outside Europe and the USA, is probably one of the factors behind the falling number of Dutch born artists present at biennials. Indeed, the observed rise in the number of Dutch participants between 1992 and 2008 is clearly due to the fact that those who were born abroad, but reside in the Netherlands, are included in these figures.

TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS IN ART CENTRES

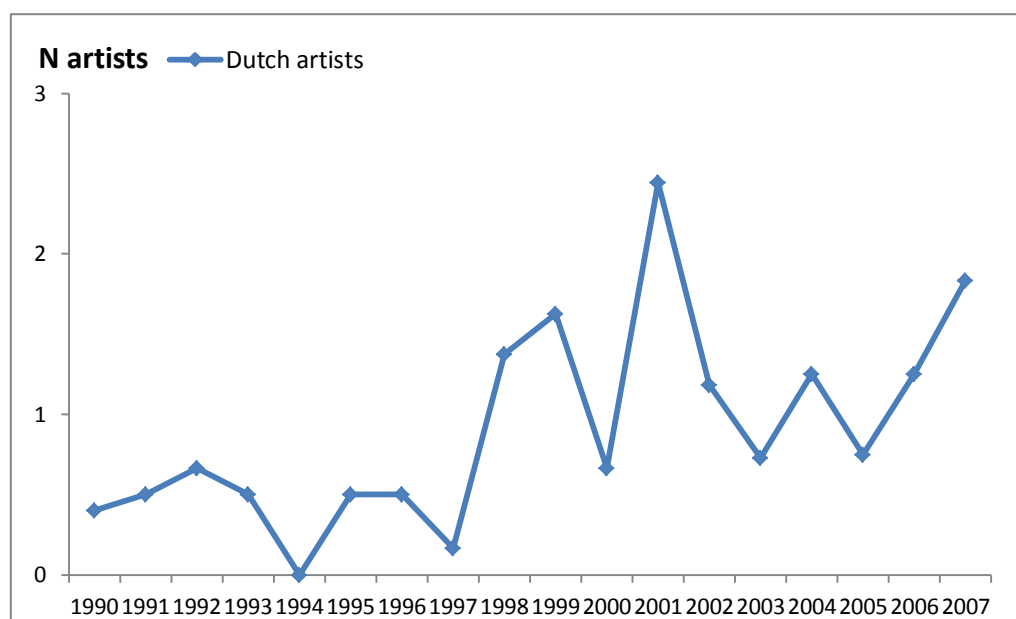
The available data on the participation of Dutch artists at exhibitions permits an over time comparison to be made of their presence at these events between 1990 and 2007. Figure 5.3 (following page) sets out the average number of Dutch artists per year at the exhibitions examined in this study.

On average, per year, Dutch artists were less visible at exhibitions (0.9) than at biennials (3.2). However, the participation of Dutch artists in exhibitions has clearly increased over time. The graph also reveals several peaks. In most cases, one or more group exhibitions involving several Dutch artists were held during these particular years, while in 1999, Dutch artists were represented in six of the seven art institutions taken into consideration.

The peak of 2001 clearly stands out. Like in the other years, several group shows were held with more than one Dutch artist. Moreover, this was the year when the Berlin Biennial was curated by Saskia Bos and the exhibition *Prodigal Prodigy* by Theo Tegelars took place. In other words, this peak coincides with some of the shows being curated by Dutch curators (see subsection 4.1.2). This again underlines the notion that the nationality of curators and artistic directors, as well as their familiarity with the Dutch art scene, can be important factors in any decision-making process about which artists to invite to participate in exhibitions in the world's most important art centres (Hypotheses 3a and 3b).

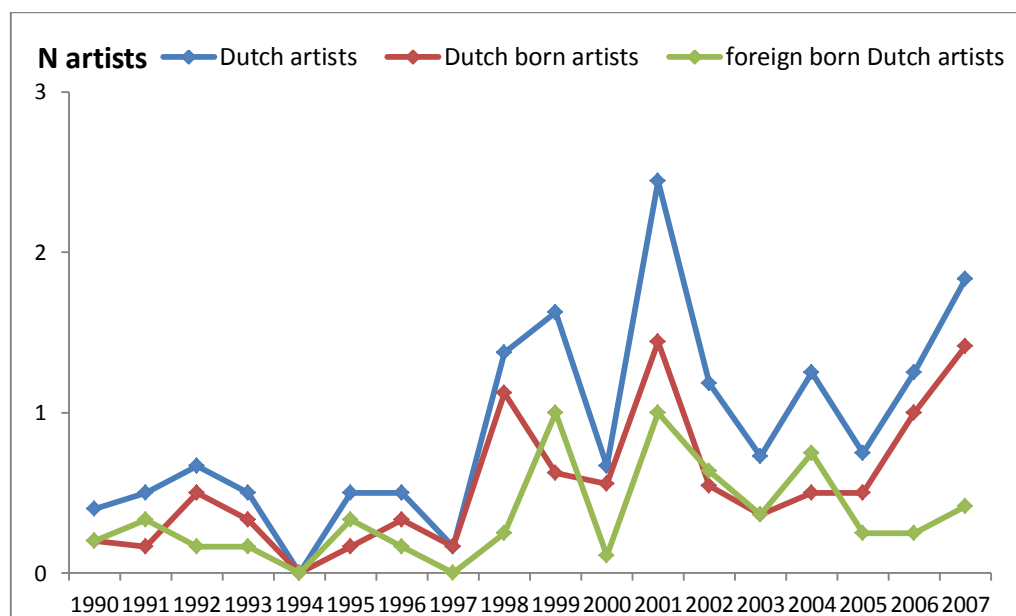
⁵⁰ By region, I refer to a group of countries that are geographically or culturally related.

Figure 5.3 Dutch artists in temporary exhibitions in international contemporary art centres, 1990-2007



N=153

Figure 5.4 Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists in temporary exhibitions in international contemporary art centres, 1990-2007



N=153

At biennials, the involvement of Dutch born artists fell somewhat over the years, while the presence of their foreign born colleagues rose (Figure 5.2). Accordingly, and as mentioned earlier, the overall increase in the participation of Dutch artists at biennials was due to the inclusion of more members of this group who were born outside the Netherlands. The analysis of temporary exhibitions in art centres reveals a rather different outcome (Figure 5.4). Here, both the number of Dutch and non-Dutch born artists rose, although the rate of increase was slightly higher for the former. Unlike the presence of Dutch artists in biennials, the participation of those born in the Netherlands did not fall at all.

Several factors could have contributed to the increase in the number of representations by Dutch artists in temporary exhibitions in art centres. Firstly, this may be related to the growing success of particular artists. As I have already shown, half of the representations by Dutch artists in the international art world were produced by a relatively small group thereof. Marlene Dumas, for example, has grown to become one of the most renowned producers of art in recent years and her success is reflected in the increasing number of representations by Dutch artists.⁵¹ Secondly, it is through the work of the cultural attachés in the four cities under study, as well as the Mondriaan Foundation's visitors programme, that the institutions that organise these events may have become more familiar with Dutch contemporary art (Hypothesis 4a). This is not, however, easy to substantiate. When it comes to the visitors programme, for example, curators are not normally invited to participate ahead of an exhibition they are planning to organise, which is unlike what happens with the international curators and the artistic directors of biennials. Accordingly, it is difficult to prove that there is a relationship between the programme and the greater number of Dutch artists present in exhibitions. Moreover, this increasing presence could spring from a better knowledge among curators of the work of Dutch artists and the institutions that provide financial support to them, such as the aforementioned Mondriaan Foundation or the Dutch Embassy. The fact that the transportation costs of the works of art or the artists' travel expenses, or both, are subsidised may well make the difference between whether an artist is included in an exhibition or not. Finally, as I discussed in section 4.1, the growing reputation of Dutch curators may also have played a role in the increasing number of representations by Dutch artists in international exhibitions (Hypotheses 3a and 3b). As these curators often invite artists they are familiar with, or have worked with in the past, to participate in their events, the presence of these curators on a global stage could well have had a positive effect on the presence of Dutch contemporary artists on this platform.

5.2 RESIDENCE

In this section, I will consider the country of residence of Dutch artists in greater detail. Included in the analyses that follow are representations at museums, biennials, galleries and auctions. Those in exhibitions in art centres and art fairs were not taken into account because data on the country of residence was unavailable or incomplete. If an artist moves, does (s)he leave the country of origin

⁵¹ Marlene Dumas is the highest ranked Dutch artist in *Kunstkompass*. Between 2007 and 2012, her highest position was 54 in 2012 (Manager Magazin, 2007-2012).

permanently or on a part-time basis? And how mobile are Dutch born artists? Do they tend to stay in the Netherlands or are they more inclined to move elsewhere? The following table shows the country of residence of Dutch artists.

Table 5.5 Residence: Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists⁵²

COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	ARTISTS		REPRESENTATIONS	
	N	%	N	%
<i>BORN NL</i>				
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	52	67.5	89	69.5
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN/ABROAD	9	11.7	10	7.8
ABROAD	16	20.8	29	22.7
<i>BORN ABROAD</i>				
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN/ABROAD	23	40.4	40	34.2
ABROAD	34	59.6	77	65.8

The majority of Dutch born artists (79%) still live in the Netherlands; for two thirds it is their only country of residence. When these artists do move abroad, most of them leave the Netherlands completely. Only a limited number of Dutch born artists choose to live in both their country of birth and elsewhere.

The majority of the Dutch born artists who live abroad move, whether on a part-time or full-time basis, to the USA (13 artists), followed by France and the United Kingdom (both three artists) and Germany (two artists). Again, of the four countries, the presence of Dutch artists is lowest in Germany. The other relevant countries are Australia, Belgium, Iran, Italy, Spain and Zimbabwe (all one Dutch artist). The draw of the USA does not come as a surprise. New York, in particular, is considered to be the most important art centre of all of the four cities under study, and attracts many artists from all over the world. This underlines the belief that artists are drawn to the places that are more central and offer them greater opportunities (Heilbron, 1995, 1999).

The share of the different countries of residence does not change significantly when comparing artists and representations, with only a small reduction in the number of artists who live abroad on a part or full-time basis. However, this does suggest that the fact that these artists live abroad (and I have already shown that the majority live in the leading countries) does not have a positive influence on their participation in international events, as might have been expected based on the success stories of Dutch artists from the first half of the 20th century (see section 4.1).

When comparing the country of residence of Dutch and foreign born Dutch artists living abroad, the results are similar.

⁵² There were 69 unique Dutch born artists; eight of them have been included in more than one category. Of 52 unique non Dutch born artists, five have been included in both categories.

Table 5.6 Residence abroad: Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists

COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	ARTISTS		REPRESENTATIONS	
	N	%	N	%
<i>BORN NL</i>				
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN/ABROAD	9	36.0	10	25.6
ABROAD	16	64.0	29	74.4
<i>BORN ABROAD</i>				
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN/ABROAD	23	40.4	40	34.2
ABROAD	34	59.6	77	65.8

About 35% to 40% of the Dutch artists living abroad – both Dutch born foreign born Dutch artists – still live in their country of origin on a part-time basis. A larger group, however, has left their country of birth permanently, and have more representations than those who divide their time between ‘home’ and elsewhere (Table 5.6). However, this does not necessarily mean that staying in their country of origin has had a negative effect on the visibility of these artists; as I have already shown, the percentage of representations by Dutch born artists living in the Netherlands was higher than the percentage for those living abroad. In Part III, I will examine the effects of residence in more detail.

5.3 GENDER

Generally, male artists are more successful in the international art world than their female counterparts (Clark, Folgo, & Pichette, 2005; Moulin, 1997; Rengers, 2002; Top, 1992; see also Nochlin, 1971/2003). Indeed, when studying the listings from *Kunstkompass* or the *Leono d'Oro* at the Biennale di Venezia, most of the renowned artists appear to be men. Does the group of Dutch artists follow this trend? Is there a difference between Dutch and non-Dutch born artists? Does the percentage of male and female artists differ from event to event or is it more or less the same whatever the forum?

Table 5.7 Gender: artists and representations⁵³

GENDER	ARTISTS		REPRESENTATIONS	
	N	%	N	%
MALE	130	58.6	388	56.7
FEMALE	90	40.5	294	43.0
N/A	2	0.9	2	0.3
TOTAL	222	100.0	684	100.0

The majority of the most successful or visible Dutch artists are male, while most of the representations also involved the work of male artists. However, female artists had relatively more representations per artist than their male colleagues, which indicates that, individually, they are relatively more successful than their Dutch male counterparts. Table 5.8 shows the presence of male and female Dutch artists at the different art events.

⁵³ N/A includes Berlage Institute and PAGES Projects.

Table 5.8 Gender: representations per event

ART EVENT	MALE		FEMALE		N/A	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
MUSEUMS	5	62.5	3	37.5	0	0.0
ART CENTRES	80	52.3	73	47.7	0	0.0
BIENNIALS	75	52.1	67	46.5	2	1.4
GALLERIES	40	52.6	36	47.4	0	0.0
FAIRS	153	64.0	86	36.0	0	0.0
AUCTIONS	35	54.7	29	45.3	0	0.0
TOTAL	388	56.7	294	43.0	2	0.3

No remarkable gender differences can be detected in the presence of Dutch artists at the six types of international art event. Consequently, based on this data, there appears to be no relationship between the gender of the artists and the type of event. It is only in museums and at fairs that female artists seem to be underrepresented. With museums, and as mentioned earlier, the limited number of Dutch representatives in their permanent collections influences the outcome a great deal. Yet, at fairs, the difference between male and female representations is substantial. This can be explained, although only partially, by the fact that at these events the men had more representations per artist than their female counterparts. To illustrate this point, the most visible male artist, Lawrence Weiner, had 18 representations, while the most represented female, Marlene Dumas, had only nine. Yet, the difference remains on the level of the artists: 59% of the Dutch artists at fairs were male and 41% were female (76 men versus 52 women). In galleries, however, the percentage share of female artists was higher at 49%. This suggests that gallerists tend to promote their male representatives at art fairs, certainly as far as Dutch artists are concerned.

Having shown that the majority of the internationally successful Dutch artists are male, I will now divide the group in terms of those born in the Netherlands and those born abroad to see if there are any differences between the two when it comes to gender.

Table 5.9 Gender: Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists

GENDER	ARTISTS		REPRESENTATIONS	
	N	%	N	%
<i>BORN NL</i>				
MALE	96	63.2	257	60.8
FEMALE	54	35.5	164	38.8
N/A	2	1.3	2	0.5
<i>BORN ABROAD</i>				
MALE	34	48.6	131	50.2
FEMALE	36	51.4	130	49.8

As revealed earlier, 56.7% of 684 representations were by men and 43.0% by women (Table 5.8). Moreover, 58.6% of 222 unique artists were male and 40.5% were female. When studying the country of origin, however, the results change.

In the group of Dutch born artists, men were overrepresented, with the percentage of representations rising to over 60% (Table 5.9). The difference between the two groups is even greater when taking into account the split of unique male and female artists. This indicates that, firstly, there are almost twice

as many Dutch born male artists visible in the international art world than there are females. Secondly, women have relatively more representations than their male counterparts.

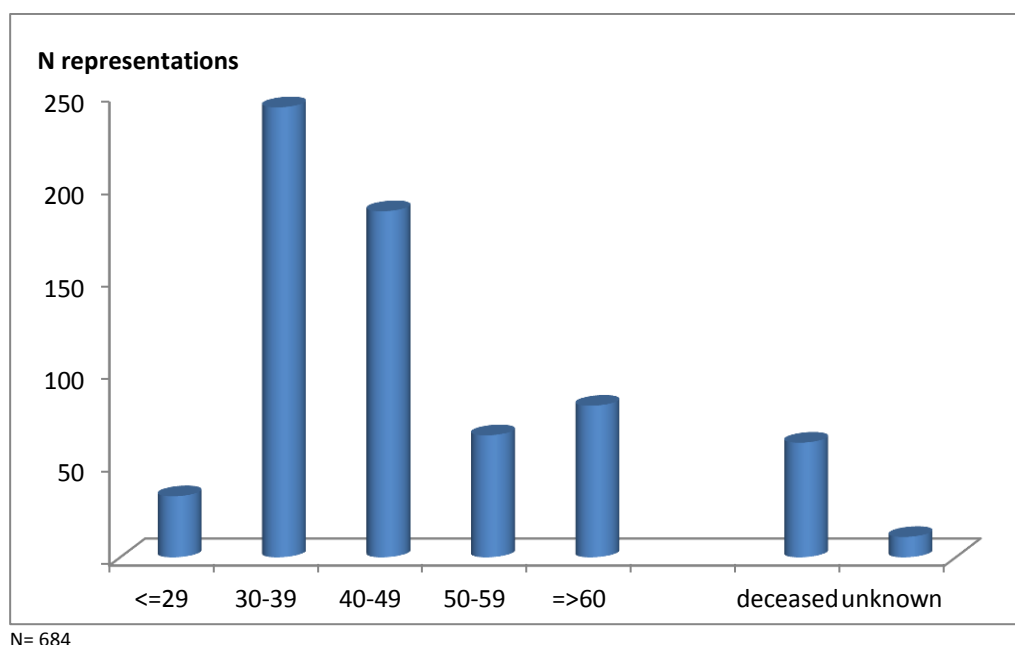
In addition, within the group of Dutch artists born abroad, the presence of men and women is more or less identical; in terms of artists, this group has slightly more women than men (Table 5.9). Compared to the overall group of Dutch artists, men are thus underrepresented within this group.

How should we interpret these results? It is possible that the Netherlands attracts more female and fewer male artists. There could be several reasons for this. First, female artists may have fewer opportunities in their country of origin and, therefore, may be more inclined to pursue an artistic career abroad. Second, female artists may be more inclined to opt for a semi-peripheral country like the Netherlands, while their male colleagues might go directly to somewhere in the centre, like the USA or Germany. Thirdly, female artists may tend to stay in the Netherlands, whereas their male counterparts consider it to be only a stepping stone and move elsewhere in due course. Sustaining these assumptions would require further research that is beyond the scope of this thesis, for example by studying the career paths of artists who have come to the Netherlands for an educational or residency programme.

5.4 AGE

In this section, I will examine the age of the artists at the time of their participation in one of the events under study. Which age category is most represented? Does this depend on the event or not? Are there differences between Dutch and non-Dutch born artists?

Figure 5.5 Age: Representations per age category



The graph clearly illustrates that most of the artists considered were aged between 30 and 39: 243 representations were by individuals in that age group,

which is more than a third of the total of 684. In half of the representations, the artist was 41 or younger. When studying age at the time of participation in the events in more detail, the majority of the group between the ages of 30 and 39 were, in fact, aged between 35 and 39. There were 160 representations from this sub-group, with 83 coming from those aged between 30 and 34. In other words, most of the Dutch contemporary artists participating in international events are between 35 and 39 years old, i.e. they are positioned between the category of 'young and emerging' artists (up to 35) and that of 'mid-career' artists (between 40 and 50). After the peak of this particular age category, the number of artists goes down. This is unsurprising: while there is an ongoing supply of new and up and coming young artists, only a few will have the opportunity to further develop their careers. Another interesting point that I do not want to leave unmentioned is the fact that the number of representations by artists who are deceased was almost 10%.

As stated before, half of the 611 representations were by artists aged 41 or younger. Table 5.10 shows the average age per event.⁵⁴

Table 5.10 Age: Artists' average age per event (median)

EVENT	AGE
MUSEUMS	54
ART CENTRES	39
BIENNALES	38
GALLERIES	44
FAIRS	45
AUCTIONS	48
TOTAL	41
N=611	

The average age ranges from 38 and 39 at biennials and exhibitions in art centres, respectively, to 48 and 54 at auctions and museums. In this latter type of event, there were only eight representations by six different artists, which has influenced the outcome. Nevertheless, these results support the notion that museums and auctions tend to focus on the more established artists. Moreover, it is unsurprising to find that the average age in international galleries is 44. Young and emerging artists often start their careers with a national gallery and move to internationally renowned establishments in their (late) thirties. This appears to also apply to Dutch contemporary artists. At biennials, exhibitions in art centres and fairs, Dutch contemporary artists are younger. Temporary events like biennials and exhibitions are often the first international platform for young artists, where they are, relatively, overrepresented. At fairs, the average age largely depends on the event; that of Dutch artists is relatively young, which is partly influenced by their presence at FIAC. In fact, at Art Basel, the average age of the participating Dutch artists was 45 – which is the same as in internationally renowned galleries – while at FIAC this was 38. This confirms the notion that more established artists take part in the event in Basel, while FIAC is more accessible for young and emerging artists.

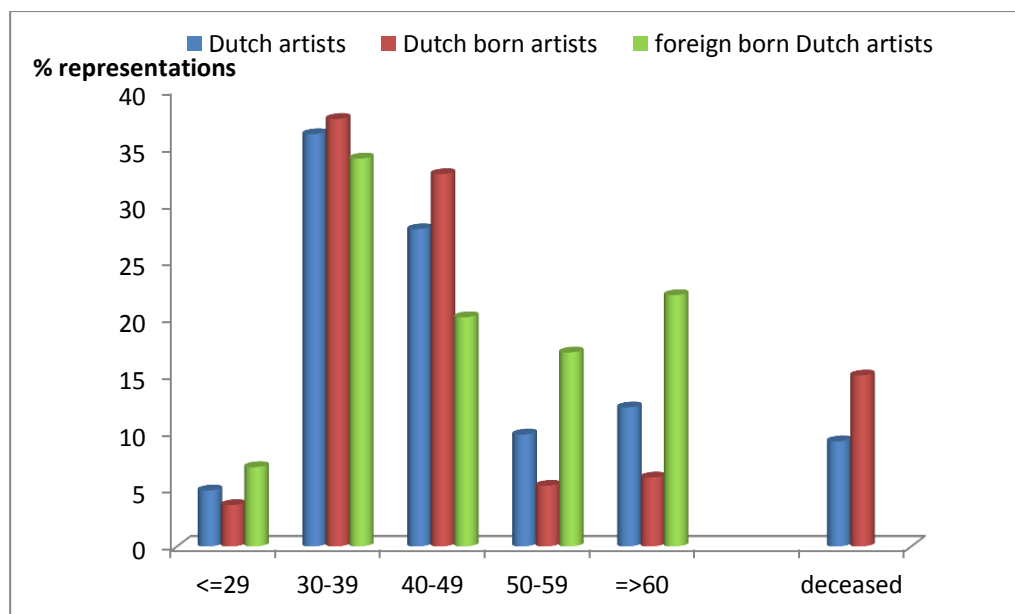
⁵⁴ Representations by deceased artists and missing values have not been taken into account.

Table 5.11 Age: representations per event

ART EVENT	<=29		30-39		40-49		50-59		=>60		DECEASED	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
MUSEUMS	0	0.0	1	12.5	1	12.5	3	37.5	1	12.5	2	25.0
ART CENTRES	8	5.4	75	50.3	36	24.2	16	10.7	11	7.4	3	2.0
BIENNIALS	15	10.9	68	49.3	35	25.4	10	7.2	8	5.8	2	1.4
GALLERIES	2	2.6	25	32.9	22	28.9	7	9.2	12	15.8	8	10.5
FAIRS	8	3.4	68	28.6	69	29.0	21	8.8	49	20.6	23	9.7
AUCTIONS	0	0.0	6	9.4	24	37.5	9	14.1	1	1.6	24	37.5
TOTAL	33	4.9	243	36.1	187	27.8	66	9.8	82	12.2	62	9.2

At two types of event – exhibitions in art centres and biennials – the age category 30-39 is overrepresented, and at the biennials artists younger than 30 are equally overrepresented (Table 5.11). This confirms that an artistic career begins with participation in temporary exhibitions. The age categories 40-49 and 50-59 are overrepresented in auctions and museums respectively, as is the category of deceased artists in both of these forums. These institutions are more focused on those who have already established a career and proven their aesthetic and, in the case of auctions, economic value.

If, overall, most representations were by those in the age group 30-39, a comparison of Dutch and foreign born Dutch artists based on age may produce different results.

Figure 5.6 Age: Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists (% per category)

N=684

Figure 5.6 enables such a comparison to be made between the different age categories of Dutch and foreign born Dutch artists, and shows that in both categories the majority were aged between 30 and 39 at the time of their participation in one of the events under study. However, the graph also highlights several interesting differences between the Dutch and non-Dutch born artists.

Firstly, the percentage of foreign born Dutch artists in the age category 20-29 is much larger than expected. This seems to indicate that these artists come to the Netherlands early in their careers, probably to follow a programme at one of the country's post-graduate institutions. It is likely that the fact that they are undertaking, or have recently undertaken, an internationally renowned post-graduate programme has been a factor in their inclusion in a global art event. Indeed, being accepted on this kind of course can be seen as the first sign of recognition internationally. Accordingly, in section 5.5, the educational background of the artists will be discussed in more detail.

Secondly, in the categories 50-59 and ≥ 60 in particular, almost twice as many foreign born Dutch artists were represented than expected. This is largely due to the success of three individuals: Marina Abramovic, Marlene Dumas and Lawrence Weiner. On the other hand, again in the categories 50-59 and ≥ 60 , Dutch born artists were underrepresented. In fact, there were about twice as many representations by artists born outside the Netherlands than by their Dutch born counterparts. Only a few Dutch born artists in these two age categories have participated in events on a regular basis, and even then not at the same level as their three foreign born colleagues referred to above. The exceptions are Coosje van Bruggen, who has built her career working in the United States with Claes Oldenburg, the architect Rem Koolhaas and Jan Dibbets (cf. Bevers, 1995). In other words, the visibility of Dutch artists in these two age categories on the international stage is, largely, due to those who were not born in the Netherlands.

5.5 EDUCATION⁵⁵

The final category of interest is the educational background of the artists, in particular those who were not born in the Netherlands. This is because there is reason to believe that the majority of them, especially the younger generation, became part of the Dutch art scene through one of the educational or residency programmes on offer in the country.

The post-graduate institutions in particular are internationally renowned and attract many artists from all over the world. In the 1990s, their residency programmes were seen as a tool with which to internationalise the Dutch art scene and were, for this reason, subsidised by the Dutch government (Ministerie OCW, 2007a; 2008). Even if the level of subsidies has fallen today, the institutions still contribute to the internationalisation of Dutch art. The impact of these programmes and post-graduate institutions on the visibility of Dutch art in the international arena will be discussed in more detail in section 9.4. Here, however, I will first look more specifically at the group of non-Dutch born artists who have participated in an educational or residency programme in the Netherlands (Table 5.12).

⁵⁵ The term education is understood in a broad sense and includes not only educational programmes, but also post-graduate programmes at "workshop centres" (Heilbron, 1992; Ministerie OCW, 2007a) that are aimed at the artistic development of artists. The residency programme at the Rijksakademie is an example.

Table 5.12 Foreign born Dutch artists with a Dutch art education

	ARTISTS		REPRESENTATIONS	
	N	%	N	%
DE ATELIER	6	8.6	38	14.6
JAN VAN EYCK	9	14.1	19	7.3
JAN VAN EYCK/RIJNSAKADEMIE	1	1.6	2	0.8
RIJNSAKADEMIE	32	45.7	87	33.3
BACHELOR DEGREE	7	10.0	9	3.4
NO DUTCH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME	15	21.4	106	40.6
TOTAL	70		261	

Most of the foreign born Dutch artists visible in the international contemporary art world came to the Netherlands to study at one of the post-graduate institutions or 'workshop centres'. Almost 70% of those born outside the Netherlands studied at either De Ateliers, the Jan van Eyck Academie or Rijnsakademie. Several other artists only obtained a bachelor's degree, with most of them graduating from the Gerrit Rietveld Academie in Amsterdam. When including the individuals in this latter group, almost 80% of foreign born artists entered the Dutch art scene through their education. On the level of representations, the share of artists who completed an educational or residency programme is more limited in comparison to the share on the level of the artists. This difference is largely due to the impact of the representations of a small group of artists who have not had a Dutch art education, including Lawrence Weiner and Marina Abramovic, who together account for 60 representations. Still, about 60% of the representations by foreign born Dutch artists were by those who did an educational or residency programme in the Netherlands.

Given these figures, the question arises as to whether these artists tended to stay in the Netherlands after finishing the programmes. In order to answer this, I have studied the country of residence of foreign born artists who participated in a Dutch programme. To minimise the impact of living in the Netherlands merely because of the programme, I have only included the artists who participated therein at least five years prior to the year of my data collection in 2009; those who completed the programme in 2004 or later have been omitted from the analysis.

Table 5.13 Country of residence in 2009 of foreign born Dutch artists with a Dutch art education

COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	ARTISTS	
	N	%
NETHERLANDS	26	55.3
NETHERLANDS/ABROAD	12	25.5
ABROAD	8	17.0
UNKNOWN	1	2.1
TOTAL	47	100.0

Five years (or more) after finishing the programme, the majority (81%) of artists who studied in the Netherlands still lived in the country, either permanently or on a part-time basis. Most of these artists were thus still affiliated to the country and continued to be part of the Dutch contemporary art scene long after completing the programme.

A significant majority of foreign born Dutch artists participated in the residency programme at The Rijksakademie. There may be several reasons for this. Firstly, this establishment may simply attract more foreign artists than other Dutch academies. This could be a consequence of the policies of the different institutions towards these artists, or even just because foreign artists prefer to study there as opposed to the other establishments. Secondly, the Rijksakademie may have relatively more alumni who stay in the Netherlands after they have completed the residency programme. Finally, the Rijksakademie may produce relatively more artists who are successful on an international level. Whether one of these reasons, or a combination thereof, is true is beyond the scope of this research. It would, however, be an interesting subject-matter for further studies. Of more importance for this thesis is the fact that the majority, about 80%, of non-Dutch born artists came to be a part of the Dutch art scene by participating in an educational or residency programme, which emphasises the significance of the art academies and, in particular, the post-graduate institutions (see also Heilbron, 1992).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have explored the possible influence of five different background variables on the presence of Dutch artists in the international art world: country of birth, residence, gender, age and educational background. The analysis was presented on three levels: the overall group of Dutch artists; the sub-level of country of birth in order to explore differences between those born in the Netherlands and those born abroad; and the sub-level of artistic platforms in order to explore the differences between six international art events.

Overall, Dutch born artists were represented far more than those born abroad, which is not a huge surprise. About 62% of all representations were by Dutch born artists and 38% were by their foreign born counterparts. When looking at the top level, however, the differences between the two groups were less striking – about 50/50. In other words, of the complete group of Dutch artists, a little more than a third were born abroad, while within the limited group of artists that corresponds to 50% of the representations, almost half of them were foreign born. This suggests that a small group of non-Dutch born artists is very successful. Alternatively, those born in the Netherlands are underrepresented in the group of major achievers, i.e. this group has lost its dominant position.

The most interesting differences between Dutch and non-Dutch born artists were to be found in biennials, particularly because of the role nationality plays in the selection of participants. Biennials have developed from temporary art manifestations based on nationality, into events based on invitations to artists regardless of where they come from. Relatively, more foreign born Dutch artists were present at this type of event. The majority were born in a country in the peripheral zone, i.e. the part of the world in which the curators and artistic directors of biennials have tended to take more interest in recent years.

This growing attraction to work from the peripheral zone, which is also noticeable in other forums, can have a negative effect on the presence of Dutch born artists in the international art world. This is simply because the range of artists that a curator can, and does, now choose to work with has expanded to include a growing group of individuals who had been excluded from contemporary art events until recently. My analysis of the participation of Dutch artists at

biennials revealed that the share of those born in the Netherlands has decreased over the past 15 years. Indeed, if the presence of the overall group of Dutch artists has grown in recent years, this is only due to the involvement of an increasing number of Dutch artists who were born elsewhere.

Most of the Dutch artists who were not born in the Netherlands became part of the Dutch art scene through their education. About 80% obtained a bachelor's degree or undertook a residency programme at the Rijksakademie, De Ateliers or the Jan van Eyck Academie. This was also noticeable when it came to the category of 'age', with foreign born Dutch artists being, relatively, more present in the group aged 20-29 than those born in the Netherlands. It is likely that their participation in an art programme in the country has positively influenced their presence in international events; being accepted onto one of the residency programmes in particular can be seen as the first sign of recognition on an international stage.

What is more, foreign born artists are also overrepresented in the age categories 50-59 and ≥ 60 , while those who are Dutch born are underrepresented. This seems to indicate that there is a gap between the group of Dutch artists who are younger than 50, including individuals like Atelier van Lieshout and Rineke Dijkstra, and the group of those who are older or deceased, like Karel Appel and Willem De Kooning. In other words, a whole generation of Dutch born artists seems to have disappeared, save for Jan Dibbets, who is the only one who is visible on a regular basis.

Finally, male Dutch artists are more noticeable in the international art world than their female Dutch colleagues. The most interesting finding is the fact that the difference in percentages between the two sexes increases when taking into account Dutch born artists, while the group of those not born in the Netherlands includes more female artists and more representations by them. Which one of the two groups is the exception can only be clarified when comparing these results in an international context.

While this part of the research has primarily been dedicated to depicting the presence of Dutch contemporary artists in the international art world as a group, and comparing the different categories within it, Part III will focus on a comparison of Dutch art to that of other countries in the international arena.

III THE VISIBILITY OF DUTCH CONTEMPORARY ART IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

In Part II of this work, I focused on the participation of Dutch artists in six types of international contemporary art event, namely the exhibitions of the permanent collections at museums, temporary exhibitions at art centres, biennials, gallery stables, art fairs and auction sales. The next step is to study the visibility of these artists in a broader context in order to explore the international orientation of the events under study and determine the place of Dutch contemporary art in the international art scene.

In what follows I will examine the visibility of countries, and that of the Netherlands in particular, in art institutions and the art market by focusing more specifically on museums and biennials, and galleries and fairs, respectively. Data was available about the countries of birth and residence of nearly all of the artists represented in the permanent collection exhibitions at museums, biennials and galleries. This enables me to, firstly, explore to what extent these spheres and types of event have comparable (or different) structures (De Swaan, 1995, 2001; Heilbron 1995, 1999; Sapiro, 2010) and to compare the position of the Netherlands to that of other countries for each sphere and its associated events. Secondly, it permits me to investigate the hypothesis that the positions of countries in the global art arena change as a result of artists choosing to live in a foreign country, which is to be expected on the basis of centrality theory (Heilbron 1995, 1999; see also Brandellero, 2011; Florida, 2002, 2005; Sassen, 2001; Scott, 2000).

The analysis of each type of event comprises the same elements: (i) the overall visibility of countries at the event; (ii) a comparison of their visibility in the separate locations; (iii) the impact of residence on the visibility of countries; and (iv) the visibility of the Netherlands in particular. The section on museums will introduce this framework, paying attention to all four elements, while in the sections on biennials and galleries one of these elements will be developed in more detail.

As the contemporary art world is considered to be highly transnational, with museums, biennials and galleries operating on a level that transcends local or national embeddedness, an analysis of their orientation starts with the overall visibility of countries based on the *totality* of representations in the different locations. The share of countries will be expressed as a percentage of the totality of the representations by artists born there (total %). This figure will be compared to the countries' average share (mean %), which reflects the average share per city that is home to the museums, biennials or galleries included in this study.⁵⁶ In addition, I will analyse the visibility of nations in foreign museums and galleries only, which enables me to examine more thoroughly the impact of the primacy given to domestic artists and the centrality of countries (Bever, 2005; Heilbron, 1995; Janssen et al., 2008; Quemin, 2002).

For each type of event, this analysis will be further elaborated on in a section dedicated to a comparison of the various countries' presence in each of the cities, which will provide more insight into cross-national variations and the possible relationship between the visibility of countries and the geographical

⁵⁶ These are Berlin, London, New York and Paris in the case of museums and galleries, and Gwangju, Istanbul, Venice, Documenta Kassel, São Paulo, Shanghai and Sydney in the case of biennials.

embeddedness of the museum, biennial or gallery. I will particularly examine the latter issue in the section on biennials. This type of event is considered to be the most transnational, or the least marked by local attachment, of the three into account. It is therefore the most interesting event to consider in this context.

Furthermore, I will also address the effects of affiliating foreign artists who reside in a country on the visibility thereof in each of the events. The increased mobility of artists is one of the indicators of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world (Bydler, 2004; Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Moulin, 2003). Some artists live and work in a location other than their home country, either temporarily or on a part-time or full-time basis. Such a foreign destination is generally a space that can have a positive impact on the artist's standing, which underlines the distribution or transit function of central countries (De Swaan 1995, 2001; Heilbron 1995, 1999). This subject element will be explored in more depth in the section on galleries.

Finally, the presence of the Netherlands in museums, biennials and galleries will be analysed in more detail when examining the countries' overall visibility, the impact of foreign artists residing there and cross-national variations.

Apart from museums, biennials and galleries, I will also analyse the orientation of international art fairs and the representation of countries in this type of event. This will allow me to test reception theory and the role of domestic gatekeepers in the visibility of artists more thoroughly, as the participation of artists depends on the reputation of the galleries that represent them (Bourdieu, 1993; Moulin, 1997; Velthuis, 2005).

In this part, unlike in the previous one where the group of Dutch born artists was extended to include those who are of Dutch descent but were not actually born in the Netherlands,⁵⁷ country of birth will now be used as the leading criterion to assign a particular artist to a nation. Information about an artist's origins is usually given in the form of place of birth, while additional data, like nationality, is commonly lacking. Only a few artists possess the nationality of a country other than the one in which they were born, either as a result of having lived there since birth or otherwise acquiring it later in life.⁵⁸ Given the small size of this number, this will not significantly influence the outcome of this research. Using country of birth as a criterion enables a fair comparison to be made about a country's visibility in the international contemporary art arena based on the origins of the artists. It also enables me to examine whether the visibility of countries is different if we look at an artist's place of residence as opposed to his/her origins.

⁵⁷ Mathilde ter Heijne, for instance, was born in France.

⁵⁸ Whenever the word nationality is used in this study it actually refers to the country of birth of the artist.

6 THE INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION OF ART EVENTS IN THE INSTITUTIONAL ARENA

In this chapter, I will investigate the position of countries in two types of art event in the institutional arena: the exhibitions of museums' permanent collections and international contemporary art biennials. I will also compare the visibility of Dutch artists in these events to that of their counterparts from other countries.

Before addressing the specific context of biennials, I will first analyse the visibility of artists and countries at museums. Whereas biennials are transitory and denote the international character of the contemporary art world (cf. Bydler, 2004; Moulin, 2003), museums are considered to be less dynamic and more locally embedded. Accordingly, biennials are more emerging and ephemeral events, while museums may be qualified as more traditional and stable. The museum as a legitimising body has been part of the national artistic field for decades, long before the internationalisation of art started to take shape. Moreover, the building housing the collection (fairly stable itself) represents a permanent physical presence in a city or country, while the museum's staff are generally a constant group of people who are employed there for a long period of time. I expect to find the differences between the two institutional platforms reflected in the presence of countries.

6.1 EXHIBITIONS OF MUSEUMS' PERMANENT COLLECTIONS

Although they are not considered to be as transnational as biennials, contemporary art museums (particularly those located in the four world art cities of Berlin, London, New York and Paris) nonetheless display an international vocation and belong to international networks (Moulin, 1997, 2003; Quemin, 2002). The visibility of countries at this transnational level can be examined by looking at the aggregated participations in the exhibitions of the museums' permanent collections. This will be the starting point of this subsection. Furthermore, I will also study the presence of nations in each of the museums. This will enable me to distinguish possible similarities and differences between the various art institutions and to examine how these affect the overall rankings of countries. Finally, the position of the Netherlands at this type of event will be analysed in more detail.

6.1.1 THE POSITION OF COUNTRIES ON A TRANSNATIONAL LEVEL

Table 6.1 (follwong page) sets out the overall visibility of countries in five museums – Museum of Modern art (MoMA), Centre Pompidou, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (MAMVP), Hamburger Bahnhof and Tate Modern – which are located in New York, Paris, Berlin and London, respectively. The figures in the table pertain to artists with work created after the 1960s that was on display at the time of my visits in 2007 (Paris, Berlin and London) and 2008 (New York). Included in this list are the 23 countries (of 47 in total) with two or more representations in the five museums.

Table 6.1 Represented countries in international contemporary art museums, 2007-2008 (country of birth)⁵⁹

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	OVERALL PRESENCE			PRESENCE IN FOREIGN MUSEUMS ^B		
	N=298	%TOTAL	%MEAN ^A	N=177	%TOTAL	%MEAN ^C
USA	90	30.2	26.7	33	18.6	28.7
FRANCE	52	17.4	17.1	4	2.3	3.3
GERMANY	36	12.1	15.7	28	15.8	16.4
UNITED KINGDOM	20	6.7	7.8	12	6.8	10.3
ITALY	10	3.4	3.6	10	5.6	6.8
CHINA	7	2.3	1.5	7	4.0	2.7
BELGIUM	6	2.0	2.0	6	3.4	3.1
CANADA	6	2.0	1.2	6	3.4	2.5
D.R. CONGO	6	2.0	2.4	6	3.4	3.0
SWITZERLAND	6	2.0	2.0	6	3.4	3.7
NETHERLANDS	4	1.3	1.3	4	2.3	2.2
SOUTH AFRICA	4	1.3	2.1	4	2.3	3.4
AUSTRIA	3	1.0	1.1	3	1.7	1.9
IRELAND	3	1.0	0.9	3	1.7	1.2
SPAIN	3	1.0	1.1	3	1.7	1.4
SWEDEN	3	1.0	1.1	3	1.7	1.9
ARGENTINA	2	0.7	0.7	2	1.1	0.9
BRAZIL	2	0.7	0.4	2	1.1	0.8
DENMARK	2	0.7	0.7	2	1.1	1.2
INDIA	2	0.7	0.7	2	1.1	0.9
ISRAEL	2	0.7	0.4	2	1.1	0.8
JAPAN	2	0.7	0.4	2	1.1	0.7
POLAND	2	0.7	1.4	2	1.1	2.2

Notes ^aRelative presence of the country in the five museums. ^bDomestic artists present in museums located in the same country (for example, American artists at MoMA) have not been taken into account. ^cRelative presence of the country in the three (France), four (USA, Germany, United Kingdom) or five (rest) museums.

I will first focus on the distribution of the attention paid to artists from different cultural spaces. Overall, 47 countries are represented in the five museums taken into account here, which is about a quarter of all of the countries in the world (United Nations, 2006). This means that the majority of countries have no access at all to the leading international art museums; only a limited group of nations was visible in this type of event. Accordingly, based on the number of countries, the absolute diversity in museums is limited.

Moreover, the extent to which countries are represented varies enormously. For example, within this group of 47, half of the nations were represented by a single artist. This also becomes apparent when looking at an event's relative diversity based on the share of the countries represented therein (cf. Sapiro, 2010). Relative diversity is understood here as the number (percentage) of countries that accounts for half of the representations. In the case of museum exhibitions, only three countries (6%) account for half of the representations, or five countries (11%) if domestic artists are left out. In short, the leading international art museums appear to focus on work by artists from a very limited group of countries; contrary to theories that underline the equalising effects of

⁵⁹ The table only shows the 23 most visible countries, which had two or more representations in the five museums. The other 24 countries – with one representation – are: Albania; Algeria; Croatia; Czech Republic; Ethiopia; Finland; Ghana; Greece; Haiti; Hong Kong; Hungary; Iceland; Lithuania; Mexico; Montenegro; Nigeria; Pakistan; Panama; Portugal; Russia; Serbia; Slovenia; Turkey; and Ukraine. For one representation, the artist's country of birth is unknown.

globalisation, but in line with the findings of Buchholz and Wuggenig (2005) and Quemin (2002, 2006), in this type of event globalisation has not led to a more diverse population in terms of the nationality of the artists with work on show there.

Having established this, which are the countries that have succeeded in gaining a presence in these international art museums? At the top of the rankings are countries such as the USA, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. This suggests that a large number of the artists whose work was on display were born in the country where the museum is located, which accords with the findings of Quemin (2002, 2007). Indeed, with a figure of 56.4%, American artists in particular are overrepresented in their national museum (cf. Achterberg, Heilbron, Houtman, and Aupers, 2011; Heilbron, 1999; Janssen et al., 2008). They are followed by the French (47.6% at MAMVP and 31.5% at Centre Pompidou) and the Germans (40%) in their respective institutions (see Table 6.3). These results – and in particular the overrepresentation of the supercentre of the USA – are a first indicator that Hypothesis 1f, stating that the centrality of a country is reflected in the higher share of its domestic artists, is true. More specifically, they indicate that museums tend to promote artists from the same geographical space. This suggests that artists who are originally from the country or city where the museum (and curators) is located benefit the most from the presence of such institutions of international reputation (Hypotheses 3a and 3b). This will be analysed in more detail in what follows.

The museums' domestic artists have been omitted from the right-hand columns of Table 6.1, which, consequently, only reflect the visibility of the countries in foreign museums. The absolute number of representations by the 19 nations other than the four home countries in the left and right-hand columns is the same, since all of the museums are foreign to these countries. Their relative share increases because of the omission of the domestic artists represented in the museums. The positions of the four countries that host the five museums also change due to the exclusion of national artists. The absolute number of representations by each of the four nations, obviously, falls. On a relative level, the changes vary per country.

First of all, comparing the visibility of countries in the left and right-hand columns provides more insight into the impact of the selection of national artists by museums and curators. In particular, the position of France is illustrative: with an overall presence of 52 (17.4% or 17.1%) and a presence in foreign museums of only four (2.3% or 3.3%), the difference in the visibility of the country is striking (cf. Quemin, 2002). From this we can conclude that the second position of the country in the left-hand columns is primarily related to the inclusion of two French museums and the overrepresentation of French artists therein. When these artists are excluded, countries such as Italy and Switzerland are more visible in international art museums than France.⁶⁰ In other words, the presence of France in the international art museums is clearly marked by the national orientation of the French institutions.

⁶⁰ For a fair comparison in terms of visibility in foreign museums, one should take into account here the average share (%mean) instead of the total number of representations. In the case of France, this represents the average of the country's share at MoMA, Hamburger Bahnhof and Tate Modern. In the case of the countries that are not home to one of the museums, such as Italy and Switzerland, this represents the average of the countries' share in each of the five museums.

The presence of the USA, too, is affected when domestic artists are left out (cf. Quemin, 2007; see also Achterberg et al., 2011 - popular music, and Janssen et al., 2008 - arts journalism). At 18.6%, the overall share of the USA (total %) in the foreign museums is far lower than is the case when American artists at MoMA are included (30.2%). Here, again, the influence of the home country becomes apparent.

The focus on domestic artists can be related to the centrality of a country. According to Heilbron (1995, 1999), the more central a country, the more it is orientated towards domestic products. The degree of centrality depends on the country's exemplary role for other nations. To illustrate this, Heilbron refers to the scientific world-system, in which the USA is in the most central position because it has the highest share of citations and references in foreign scientific publications. Analogously, the presence of artists in foreign museums is an indicator of a country's centrality in the international visual arts' world.

In the case of museum exhibitions, the visibility of France in foreign museums appears to be fairly limited. Based on this outcome, France is not central, but should instead be regarded as a semi-peripheral country. Accordingly, the orientation towards domestic artists in French museums should not be viewed as being a consequence of the country's current centrality; it is more likely that it reflects the nation's former central position in the art world (cf. Janssen et al., 2008; Quemin, 2002). In addition, it is possible that this outcome reflects the differences in cultural policy, which is the most protectionist in France. Alternatively, it may simply be that curators and museum directors in the Parisian museums are relatively more focused on their geographical sphere than their counterparts in New York, London and Berlin. I will address the specificities of each museum in more depth in subsection 6.1.2.

Unlike France, the USA maintained its dominant position. With a figure of 18.6%, the USA has the greatest share of artists whose work is visible in foreign museums. Moreover, the average share (28.7%) continues on more or less the same level, whether or not MoMA is included. This indicates that the country has acquired its position due to a significant degree of visibility not only in the US, but also abroad. Similarly, Germany (15.8% or 16.4%) and the United Kingdom (6.8% or 10.3%), as well as being overrepresented in their domestic museums, are highly visible in foreign institutions. Together, these three leading countries not only account for more than 40% of the representations in foreign museums, but they also continue to be a comfortable distance ahead of the countries just below the top in the visibility rankings in these museums.

These findings underline the dominance of these countries in international contemporary art museums, which is not only due to their greater presence in domestic institutions, but also their prominence in institutions abroad. The overrepresentation of a limited group of countries in the exhibitions of leading museums, particularly the USA followed at some distance by Germany and the United Kingdom, clearly underlines their central position and, thus, the asymmetry in the international contemporary art world, at least in this type of event.

THE IMPACT OF RESIDENCE

Whereas Table 6.1 was based on the countries of birth of the artists with work on display in the exhibitions of the permanent collections of the five museums, the following table also includes their countries of residence. Quemin (2002) has shown that artists from the periphery with an international reputation often live in one of the art centres of the contemporary art world (see also Florida, 2002, 2005; Heilbron, 1999; Janssen et al., 2008; Sapiro, 2010). This migration strengthens the hegemony of these nations and so supports the notion that a limited group of countries still dominates the field of the visual arts. In Chapter 5 of this study, I have established that including the artists who live in the Netherlands has a considerable impact on the overall visibility of *Dutch* contemporary art internationally. Yet, the question of whether this is particular to the Dutch case, or if other countries benefit in a similar way, remains to be seen.

Artists may be related to a country by birth or residence, which are not necessarily the same thing; about 27% of the representations in museums were by artists residing in a country other than their country of birth. Moreover, I discovered that foreign artists residing in the Netherlands largely contribute to its international visibility (see Chapter 5). This calls for an analysis of the representation of countries based on the affiliation of artists by birth and residence. Table 6.2 (following page) enables me to examine the impact of affiliating resident foreign born artists on a country's visibility. The starting point for this comparison is all of the 298 representations counted at the museums under study. What is the effect on the rankings of the nations represented in the selected museums if foreign born artists who reside in a particular country are included?

The total number of countries represented in museums does not change drastically when the country of residence of the artists is taken into account. Only Thailand is added to the list, which brings the total to 48. The absolute diversity, therefore, continues to be limited.

Including residence leads to no fundamental changes in the overall rankings or to the list of the most represented countries, apart from some shifts in position. New here are Mexico, Greece and Nigeria. Noteworthy is the jump from one to four Mexican representations, with one artist being responsible for this; the work by Belgian artist Francis Alÿs, who has lived in Mexico since the mid 1980s, was included in three different museums – MAMVP, MoMA and Tate Modern.

Relative diversity appears to be even more restricted than in the rankings based on the country of birth: no more than 4% of the countries account for half of the representations when country of residence is considered as well. This outcome underlines the exclusive nature of the group of countries with a high degree of visibility at renowned international contemporary art museums.

How does the affiliation of artists based on their residence affect the position of the countries? The majority of the 48 nations – including China (seven representations), Canada, Democratic Republic of Congo (D.R. Congo) and Switzerland (all six representations) – fall in the rankings as no foreign artists could be affiliated to them.

Only a few nations – 11 in total – benefit from the affiliation of artists based on the residence criterion. Except for those mentioned above (Mexico, Greece, Nigeria and Thailand), these countries all figure at the top of the rankings. Italy

clearly consolidates its position in the level just below the top, with 17 representations based on birth and residence, also reducing the distance to the country in 4th place, which is the United Kingdom. Belgium increases the number of its representations to seven and remains in 7th place, while with eight representations, the Netherlands climbs to 6th. Clearly, these three countries strengthen their position due to foreign artists residing there. However, the changes in the level just below the top of the rankings have not challenged the position of the USA, France, Germany and the United Kingdom; these countries also enjoy a degree of increased visibility – ranging from 1.7% in the case of the United Kingdom to 9.1% for the USA – due to the foreign artists who reside there.

Table 6.2 Represented countries in international contemporary art museums, 2007-2008 (countries of birth and residence)⁶¹

COUNTRY	REPRESENTATIONS ^B (BIRTH AND RESIDENCE) ⁶²							RESI- DENCE (TOT) ^C	MIGRA- TION
	TOTAL			BIRTH		RESIDENCE			
	N	%TOT	%MEAN ^A	N	%TOT	N	%TOT	%TOT	
USA	117	39.3	35.0	90	30.2	27	9.1	36.3	+
FRANCE	71	23.8	24.0	52	17.4	19	6.4	25.3	+
GERMANY	43	14.4	18.2	36	12.1	7	2.3	11.8	-
UNITED KINGDOM	25	8.4	10.3	20	6.7	5	1.7	8.4	-
ITALY	17	5.7	7.4	10	3.4	7	2.3	5.5	+
NETHERLANDS	8	2.7	2.6	4	1.3	4	1.3	2.5	+
BELGIUM	7	2.3	2.2	6	2.0	1	0.3	0.8	-
CHINA	7	2.3	1.5	7	2.3	0	0.0	2.1	-
CANADA	6	2.0	1.2	6	2.0	0	0.0	0.4	-
D.R. CONGO	6	2.0	2.4	6	2.0	0	0.0	1.7	=
SWITZERLAND	6	2.0	2.0	6	2.0	0	0.0	0.4	-
MEXICO	4	1.3	1.3	1	0.3	3	1.0	1.7	+
SOUTH AFRICA	4	1.3	2.1	4	1.3	0	0.0	0.4	-
AUSTRIA	3	1.0	1.1	3	1.0	0	0.0	1.3	=
IRELAND	3	1.0	0.9	3	1.0	0	0.0	0.0	-
SPAIN	3	1.0	1.1	3	1.0	0	0.0	0.8	-
SWEDEN	3	1.0	1.1	3	1.0	0	0.0	0.8	-
ARGENTINA	2	0.7	0.7	2	0.7	0	0.0	0.4	-
BRAZIL	2	0.7	0.4	2	0.7	0	0.0	0.0	=
DENMARK	2	0.7	0.7	2	0.7	0	0.0	0.8	-
GREECE	2	0.7	0.6	1	0.3	1	0.3	0.4	=
INDIA	2	0.7	0.7	2	0.7	0	0.0	0.4	-
ISRAEL	2	0.7	0.4	2	0.7	0	0.0	0.4	-
JAPAN	2	0.7	0.4	2	0.7	0	0.0	0.4	=
NIGERIA	2	0.7	0.4	1	0.3	1	0.3	0.8	+
POLAND	2	0.7	1.4	2	0.7	0	0.0	0.8	=

Notes ^ARelative presence of the country in the five museums. ^BN=298. ^CPercentage of living artists residing in the country on a part-time or full-time basis (N=237).

⁶¹ The table only shows the 26 most represented countries with more than two representations. The other 22 countries – with one representation – are: Albania; Algeria; Croatia; Czech Republic; Ethiopia; Finland; Ghana; Haiti; Hong Kong; Hungary; Iceland; Lithuania; Montenegro; Pakistan; Panama; Portugal; Russia; Serbia; Slovenia; Thailand; Turkey; and Ukraine.

⁶² Representations are divided into three sections: total, birth and residence. Birth includes all the representations by artists born in the country, while residence includes all representations by foreign born artists living in the country. Total reflects the sum of both. As for residence, I have not taken into account whether the artist lives in a country on a part-time or a full-time basis, because I consider the impact of the artist's participation on the visibility of the country to be similar in both cases. To indicate the influence of residence, the relative share of a country is based on the total of 298 representations; as a consequence, the sum is higher than 100%.

Corresponding to what I argued earlier, the greater presence of these four nations may be explained by both their centrality and the focus on domestic artists. Indeed, a considerable number of the representations by resident artists were on show in the domestic museums, i.e. the institution(s) that is (or are) located in the artists' country of residence. About 70% of the representations by foreign artists living in France are on display in French museums. For the United Kingdom and the USA, these percentages amount to 60% and about 40% respectively. This underlines the notion that museums tend to give primacy to domestic artists, as I have established earlier in this section.

However, this is not the only factor. Germany had no representations in Hamburger Bahnhof its museum by foreign artists living in the country. This means that its increased visibility was entirely due to the presence in museums abroad of the work of foreign artists residing in Germany. Moreover, the majority of the representations by foreign artists residing in the USA were found in foreign museums, but not in MoMA. As for France and the United Kingdom, it is true that, compared to the USA and Germany, their visibility is more marked by the presence in their domestic museums of foreign artists residing there. Yet, even if these artists are not taken into account, these countries still belong to the group of 11 nations that benefit from affiliating foreign artists based on their residence. This shows that the increased visibility of the USA, France, Germany and the United Kingdom is in fact twofold: in addition to the overrepresentation in their domestic art museums of foreign artists residing in the country, they also benefit from the fact that these affiliated artists are overrepresented in museums located in other parts of the world.

In short, the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom strengthen their central positions: they are not only exemplary for other countries, but they are also clearly successful in attracting artists and distributing art from other geographical spaces (Heilbron 1995, 1999; see also Brandellero, 2011; Florida, 2002, 2005; Scott, 2000). The USA emerges as the leading country whether we define US artists in terms of country of birth or residence, with the other central nations a considerable distance behind it. A few other countries, which have a less exemplary role than these three, improve their position due to the inclusion of foreign artists: this is the case for France and Italy, which rise in the rankings relatively more so than Germany and the United Kingdom. Moreover, the Netherlands and Belgium, which are semi-peripheral nations like Italy, consolidate their position and become more central, at least with respect to the peripheral and semi-peripheral countries.

These outcomes support the first part of Hypothesis 1e: taking into account the artists' residence further increases the dominance of the central countries. The second part, however, is only partially true. Most peripheral and semi-peripheral countries have indeed witnessed a decline in their visibility, but some proved to be the exception, including the Netherlands. I will elaborate on this in Chapter 7. Here, though, I will first discuss the visibility of countries in each of the five museums.

6.1.2 COMPARING THE COUNTRIES' VISIBILITY IN THE FIVE MUSEUMS

The outcomes of the previous subsection call for a more in-depth analysis of the five museums in order to further investigate the dual effect on the countries' visibility of the overrepresentation of artists affiliated to them by birth or residence in domestic and foreign museums. Table 6.3 provides an overview of the visibility of countries at each of these museums and enables me to conduct a more detailed analysis of how this affects the overall presence of the countries in this type of event.

Table 6.3 Visibility of countries per museum, 2007-2008 (country of birth)

HAMBURGER BAHNHOF	%	TATE MODERN	%	CENTRE POMPIDOU	%	MUSÉE D'ART MODERNE	%	MUSEUM OF MODERN ART	%
<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	40.0	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	17.4	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	31.5	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	47.6	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	56.4
<i>FOREIGN (TOP)</i>									
USA	35.0	USA	23.9	USA	15.7	ITALY	11.9	GERMANY	7.9
UNITED KINGD.	10.0	D.R. CONGO	10.9	GERMANY	14.6	GERMANY	9.5	UNITED KINGD.	7.9
		GERMANY	6.5						
<i>FOREIGN (≥3%)</i>									
POLAND	5.0	BELGIUM	4.3	CHINA	4.5			CANADA	4.0
SOUTH AFRICA	5.0	FRANCE	4.3					CHINA	3.0
SWITZERLAND	5.0	SPAIN	4.3					ITALY	3.0
								SWITZERLAND	3.0
<i>FOREIGN (≤3%)</i>									
		ALBANIA	2.2	BELGIUM	2.2	AUSTRIA	2.4	FRANCE	2.0
		ARGENTINA	2.2	CANADA	2.2	BELGIUM	2.4	AUSTRIA	1.0
		AUSTRIA	2.2	IRELAND	2.2	DENMARK	2.4	BELGIUM	1.0
		GREECE	2.2	JAPAN	2.2	HUNGARY	2.4	BRAZIL	1.0
		HONG KONG	2.2	SWITZERLAND	2.2	ICELAND	2.4	ETHIOPIA	1.0
		INDIA	2.2	ALGERIA	1.1	LITHUANIA	2.4	FINLAND	1.0
		IRELAND	2.2	ARGENTINA	1.1	NETHERLANDS	2.4	ISRAEL	1.0
		ITALY	2.2	BRAZIL	1.1	PORTUGAL	2.4	MEXICO	1.0
		NETHERLANDS	2.2	CROATIA	1.1	SOUTH AFRICA	2.4	NETHERLANDS	1.0
		PAKISTAN	2.2	CZECH REPUBL.	1.1	SWEDEN	2.4	NIGERIA	1.0
		POLAND	2.2	D.R. CONGO	1.1	UNITED KINGD.	2.4	PANAMA	1.0
		SOUTH AFRICA	2.2	DENMARK	1.1	USA	2.4	SERBIA	1.0
		SWEDEN	2.2	GHANA	1.1			SLOVENIA	1.0
				HAITI	1.1			SWEDEN	1.0
				INDIA	1.1				
				ISRAEL	1.1				
				ITALY	1.1				
				MONTENEGRO	1.1				
				NETHERLANDS	1.1				
				RUSSIA	1.1				
				SOUTH AFRICA	1.1				
				SPAIN	1.1				
				TURKEY	1.1				
				UKRAINE	1.1				
				UNITED KINGD.	1.1				
N=20		N=46		N=89		N=42		N=101	

The home country is indeed ranked first in nearly all museums, which underlines the dominance of domestic artists in these international contemporary art establishments. It is only in Tate Modern that they are not particularly dominant, which can be related to the museum's policy and, thus, to territorial factors. As part of the Tate family, with Tate Britain, Tate Liverpool and Tate St Ives, Tate Modern displays a distinct part of the Tate collection. In general, while "Tate Britain focuses on the acquisition of British artists", Tate Modern "deal[s] specifically with non-British acquisition[s]" (Interview, curator 12, London).⁶³ This division, explains the curator, has a historical background, since Tate Britain has been building up the British collection since the beginning of the 20th century. It is therefore likely that the relatively limited presence of British artists in Tate Modern, in comparison to national artists in other museums, is a consequence of this approach.

The interviewed curators working in museums and art centres tended to stress that they are free to make their own decisions about participants and that there are no clear rules on the allocation of budgets or exhibitions with respect to domestic artists. Yet, some curators remarked that these artists are, indeed, fairly well represented:

"(...) it is not by obligation, but one realises that about 40% of the artists are French."⁶⁴ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

This is in line with my analysis of the visibility of countries in contemporary art museums. When asked for a possible explanation, the curator replied:

"It has to do with proximity. They are right here; it is easier to know what they do and to buy them."⁶⁵ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

This suggests that this form of overrepresentation is not particularly related to the institution's policy, as is implied by cultural policy theory (Hypotheses 4a and 4b), but to the fact that artists and institutions are part of the same geographical space (cf. While, 2003). The importance of proximity was also underlined by a curator of a London-based art centre. While he began by saying that there was no particular focus on British artists in his exhibition programme, he nevertheless clearly highlighted the advantage of artists and art centres being geographically close:

"(...) I mean, by and large it is convenient of course, if you are building up a relationship with someone and you're in a big city like London anyway, to have people on your doorstep and certainly I have worked with people from, you know, from Germany, Japan, from the Netherlands, from Italy, some of whom happened to be based in London, some of whom don't. So probably yes, two thirds are people based in London, or maybe a third of the artists are based abroad. But given the amount of resources we have here it is, and the quality of the relationship you want to build up with an artist, it is good to have them relatively near. It is not like I can be popping on a plane every other week, it doesn't work like that." (Interview, curator 7, London)

This, first of all, illustrates the primacy given to domestic artists by birth or residence. As such, it confirms Hypotheses 3a and 3b, which are derived from

⁶³ The curator added that there are grey areas, such as foreign artists who live in the United Kingdom, or British artists who have spent a large part of their lives abroad.

⁶⁴ « (...) ce n'est pas une obligation, mais on se rend compte qu'il y a à peu près 40% des artistes français. »

⁶⁵ « C'est par proximité. Ils sont juste là, c'est plus facile de savoir qu'est-ce qu'ils font, et de les acheter. »

reception theory, namely that in the international art world the geographical embeddedness of gatekeepers or decision-makers affects the presence of countries and is particularly advantageous to those belonging to the same sphere. Secondly, this implies that artists who do not belong to this space based on their origins improve their chances of an international career by moving to the countries or cities that are considered to be the leading art centres (cf. Brandellero, 2011; Florida, 2002, 2005; Scott, 2000). As a result of migration, these centres are home to a larger and more heterogeneous artistic population than locations that have not been able to attract foreign artists. As this strengthens their transit function, these countries benefit from the influx of foreign artists by becoming even more central (Heilbron, 1995). This, then, supports the first part of Hypothesis 1e.

Apart from the importance of the home country, Table 6.3 also provides more insight into the diversity of the five museums in terms of the countries represented and their relative share. At Hamburger Bahnhof, the number of countries represented in this museum was limited to only six, with Switzerland, South Africa and Poland only being present by virtue of the work of a single artist. This German museum was followed by MAMVP with 15 countries, Tate Modern with 19 and MoMA with 21. Centre Pompidou had the highest number of countries, with a total of 29.

The number of countries represented in Hamburger Bahnhof and Centre Pompidou is probably related to the museums' policies. In the case of Hamburger Bahnhof, both the number of countries and representations is low, which is in line with the museum's policy to show two or more works per artist, as I established in section 4.1. The greater absolute diversity in Centre Pompidou compared to the other museums accords with the results of the comparative studies by Janssen et al. (2008) on the internationalisation of arts' journalism, and Sapiro (2010) on globalisation and cultural diversity in the book market, in which the selections of French newspapers and publishers were found to be internationally more diverse than those of their counterparts in other countries.⁶⁶

In her article, Sapiro (2010) stressed that the relatively high diversity in the market for books translated into French is supported by cultural policy and used as a tool to counterbalance the impact of English literature. Centre Pompidou's exhibition policy for its permanent collection seems to have similarities with the book market with regard to American hegemony, as the USA is less prominently visible (but nonetheless still overrepresented) here than in the other cities. It is only in the other French museum, MAMVP, that the presence of the USA is lower. However, this is probably due to the museum's orientation towards art and artists with a relationship with the city of Paris (interview, curator 11, Paris), given the overrepresentation of French artists and the limited diversity in this museum. In other words, the exhibitions of permanent collections are clearly marked by policy, which is reflected in the number of countries represented in the museums. This indicates that cultural policy – whether or not imposed by the state – influences the visibility of countries in the international contemporary art world and confirms, at least in part, Hypothesis 4a.

⁶⁶ Janssen et al. (2008) compared the cultural coverage in Dutch, French, German and American newspapers, while Sapiro (2010) compared the market of literary translation in France and the USA.

In addition to absolute diversity, the share of the countries in the different museums is also worth looking into. With 29 countries, absolute diversity may be highest at Centre Pompidou, but these nations are by no means equally visible. In fact, the majority were represented by a single artist. This was similar in the other museums; between 50% (Hamburger Bahnhof) and 80% (MAMVP) of the countries had only one representation at the respective museum.

The restricted diversity and skewed visibility become particularly apparent when looking at the relative share of countries: in each of the museums, around two thirds of the representations are by artists originating from one of the top countries.⁶⁷ Reoccurring nations at the top level are the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom, with other countries figuring occasionally, such as France in Centre Pompidou and MAMVP, Italy at MAMVP, and the Democratic Republic of Congo at Tate. As a result of the major presence of the nations at the top, the majority of countries are only visible on a fairly limited basis. At MoMA, for instance, 18 of 21 countries (86%) accounted for only 28% of the representations.

Like in the domestic museums, the visibility of particularly the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom is also relatively high in foreign institutions; they are the only nations with a presence in every establishment included here and almost always figure in the list of top countries. The USA, followed by Germany, is clearly overrepresented in each of the museums, with MAMVP being the only exception. At Tate Modern, there are even more American than British artists. The visibility of these countries, in particular that of the USA, only increases when foreign artists who live in the country are included. For instance, at Tate, 39% of the representations were by artists born or residing in the USA.

Apart from the main art centres and the countries that are home to the museums, two other nations figure at the top of the rankings. The high visibility of Italy at MAMVP in Paris corresponds with the findings of Quemin (2002, 2007) that stress the orientation of French institutions towards Southern Europe, and Italy in particular. This indicates that the international field of the visual arts is marked by regional embeddedness (Crane, 2002).⁶⁸ I should, however, add that at Centre Pompidou Italy is far less visible in this analysis than in that by Quemin (2007). In fact, the number of countries represented in this institution was twice as high in 2007 as in 2003, when the data for Quemin's study was collected. A majority of these nations are located in the peripheral zone. This suggests that the relative presence of Italy has diminished in favour of an increase in absolute diversity, in which the focus has shifted from the Southern European region to a more global outlook.

The second country is D.R. Congo, which had a relatively high degree of visibility at Tate Modern. This museum dedicated one room to the School of Kinshasa as part of the *State of Flux* section of the permanent collection, and displayed the work of five different Congolese artists. The example of Congo illustrates the willingness of art institutions to include art from regions outside the USA and Europe in their programmes, which is further underlined by the names of the other non-Western countries that figure in Table 6.3 (see also Chapter 8). This openness, however, continues to be fairly restricted to date, as is illustrated by the

⁶⁷ The top countries are those with 6.5% or more of the representations. Their total share ranges from 59% (Tate) to 85% (Hamburger Bahnhof).

⁶⁸ By *region* I mean countries that are closely related geographically or culturally to this organising country (see section 1.3).

relatively low share of these nations in each of the museums when compared to the overwhelming presence of artists from the central countries.

To conclude, the analysis of the five museums shows that these art institutions are marked by their specific national geographical embeddedness, despite the fact that they are part of the international visual arts' world. Moreover, it reveals the similarities and differences between the establishments (De Swaan, 1995; Kuipers, 2011). The museums have a similar structure in terms of the representation of countries. They all give primacy to domestic artists and those from central countries. Consequently, in each of them, nations are not equally visible, with about 50% to 85% of their representations being devoted to central and home countries and the rest to (more) peripheral ones.

The differences surface in the absolute diversity of countries and in the nations represented, in particular those from the peripheral zone. These variations reflect the orientation of the different museums, which in turn may be linked to the museum's (or the nation's) policy and the curator's orientation and preferences.

The differences in the composition of the countries represented in the individual museums result in the diversification of nations overall (see subsection 6.1.1); absolute diversity overall (47 countries) is clearly higher than when looking at the museums separately (between 15-29 countries). However, this greater absolute diversity does not translate into a higher relative diversity. As a result of the fairly stable presence of the top and subtop countries in the individual museums, the overall rankings have a strong hierarchical structure. Absolute diversity should, thus, not be interpreted as an indicator of a more equal repartition in the visibility of countries; it merely reflects the aggregation of nations with a limited degree of visibility.

The prominence of the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom in each museum points to a clear consensus between the institutions and the central position of these three countries in the international art world (Hypothesis 1g). As such, these outcomes indicate that the high visibility of these nations established in the previous subsection is not only based on an extraordinary presence in the institution(s) located in the country, but also on the fact that their overrepresentation is fairly consistent in the leading international art museums overall.

6.1.3 THE NETHERLANDS

So, what is the position of the Netherlands in museums? What is the country's overall visibility and in each of the museums individually? And what is the impact of including artists residing in the country on its visibility compared to that of other nations?

The Netherlands is one of 23 countries with more than two representations in the five museums under study (Table 6.1). Of a total of 298 representations, 1.3% were by Dutch born artists. Accordingly, the Netherlands is in 11th position in the rankings of countries, or 12th when looking at its average share over the five museums (% mean). Based on the total number of representations, the visibility of the country is similar to that of South Africa. However, in terms of average share, South Africa is in a higher position (2.1%; 7th position) than the Netherlands, in

part because it has a relatively high degree of visibility at Hamburger Bahnhof, the institution with the lowest level of diversity in terms of the number of countries.

In the overall rankings, the Netherlands lags behind the countries that are at the top – the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom. Likewise, France, with 52 representations (17.4%), is well ahead of the Netherlands when all five museums are taken into account. However, as I established earlier in subsection 6.1.1, France's visibility falls drastically when domestic artists are omitted. Indeed, although France continues to be more visible in foreign museums, with an average share of 3.3% versus 2.2% for the Netherlands, the difference between the two nations is far less impressive here.

Other countries with a greater presence than the Netherlands in the five museums include smaller nations such as Belgium and Switzerland (each with six representations or 2%). The Netherlands, for its part, is ahead of larger countries in the rankings, including Spain (three representations; 1%), India (two representations, 0.7%) and Russia (one representation, 0.3%). The size of a country's population is regularly proposed as an explanation of the hierarchy of countries and the relatively limited presence of a small nation such as the Netherlands. However, these rankings prove otherwise; even if size plays a role, it is not the only factor to determine the presence of countries (Heilbron, 1995, 1999; Janssen et al. 2008).

Ranked 11th, the Netherlands is some considerable distance behind the top countries in the contemporary art scene, but nevertheless maintains a steady position among the list of the most visible nations in international contemporary art institutions. As such, it can be regarded as a semi-peripheral country.

One way to improve a country's visibility is to attract foreign artists with a presence in international art events. As I have established in section 5.1, the visibility of the Netherlands increases when the country of residence of the artists is taken into account. The Netherlands is one of the few countries to benefit from the presence in museums of the work of foreign artists residing in the country (see Table 6.2). As a result, it is ranked in 6th position, preceded only by the main art centres (USA, France, United Kingdom and Germany) and Italy. In comparison to other countries, the impact of this factor on the visibility of the Netherlands is relatively high; it is one of the few nations to double its visibility due to the presence of artists affiliated to the country by residence. Other countries that were in higher positions in the rankings based on the country of birth are less successful (Belgium), or unsuccessful (China, Canada, D.R. Congo and Switzerland), in attracting artists with a certain degree of visibility in leading international art museums and thus find themselves behind the Netherlands.

These results suggest that, compared to other countries in the level just below the top, it is peculiar to the case of the Netherlands that taking into account the country of residence of artists improves the visibility of the nation in international art museums. At least in this type of event, the position of the Netherlands is more central due to the country's transit function (Heilbron 1995, 1999). I will investigate this issue further in the sections dedicated to the analysis of biennials and galleries.

With a presence in four of five museums, the Netherlands is one of the few countries with a nearly complete degree of coverage (Table 6.3). Only the top countries – the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom – are visible in each of the

museums. France, Italy, Belgium, South Africa and the Netherlands follow them with a presence in four of the five institutions. Switzerland, China, Canada, D.R. Congo, which outnumber the Netherlands in terms of representations, are present in only two or three museums. These nations may have more representations per relevant museum, yet Dutch art has greater global coverage as four museums display the work of a Dutch artist in the exhibition of their permanent collections.

The relative visibility of the Netherlands in the individual museums varies from 0 to 2.4% (Table 6.3). As I have already established in subsection 4.1.1, no Dutch artists featured at Hamburger Bahnhof, which is unsurprising given that work by artists from only six nations was included in the exhibition of the permanent collection. In the rest of the museums, the Netherlands had only one representation, with the highest share of Dutch art – 2.4% of 42 representations – being found at MAMVP. Differences in the country's share are thus related to its visibility compared to other countries and not to the absolute number of representations. With one representation per museum, the Netherlands had no great presence in one of the museums, as was established earlier with the case of D.R. Congo. The overall share of Dutch art (1.3% of the 298 representations) reflects the fairly stable presence of the country in the five museums. This indicates that the Netherlands can be regarded as one of the art world's semi-peripheral countries.

CONCLUSION

In this section, I investigated the representation of countries in contemporary art museums from a transnational and cross-national perspective, focusing in particular on the visibility of the Netherlands. The analysis confirms the limited diversity of the countries represented in the international art museums and substantiates the cultural dominance thesis. This is further supported by the fact that only a limited number of countries benefit from the presence in museums of artists affiliated to the country by residence, which leads to even less relative diversity.

Of the limited group of nations represented in international art museums, the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom clearly constitute the group of central countries. They are an example to other nations and also have a transit function: they are successful in attracting foreign artists and are the only ones to be represented in each of the institutions located in the most important cultural metropolises, in which they are among the most visible nations. Although the institutions display the work of artists from other countries, including those from the periphery, these three continue to be the most visible in international art museums to date.

In part, the dominant position of particularly the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom is the result of the choice of art institutions under study here, which has also influenced the high position of France in the left-hand column of Table 6.1. This is clearly in line with the notion that central countries are, above all, orientated towards national production (Heilbron, 1995, 1999). The choice of institutions, however, is legitimised because they are considered to be the leading contemporary art museums with a manifest international orientation and, accordingly, reflect what is deemed to be art of the highest quality. In each of these

institutions, a majority of the artists who meet this standard are actually revealed to be domestic artists.

This has raised the question as to whether their selection is based on quality criteria only. Proximity to the curator is an important factor in the visibility of artists and, by extension, the representation of countries in international art museums. The interviews I conducted reveal that the overrepresentation of domestic artists is often related to the fact that they are geographically close to an institution. Non-domestic artists do not have this advantage and must therefore find other ways to attract the attention of art institutions. This, then, supports reception theory in the sense that artists from all over the globe do not have an equal opportunity to receive recognition in the international art world; this is reserved to those who are included in the networks of the gatekeepers or decision-makers that operate on the highest international level.

It can be concluded from this that artists who originate from countries that are home to the leading international art museums have more opportunities to be included in the permanent collections than artists from countries lacking institutions operating on an international level. These artists could improve their chances by moving to one of the leading art centres and becoming part of the same cultural sphere as the curators of internationally renowned institutions. In this light, rather than demonstrating that the hegemony of the West is counterbalanced by the penetration of emerging nations in museums, this analysis supports the belief that the international contemporary art world, or at least the museum event, is still clearly marked by the cultural dominance of a few Western countries.

6.2 BIENNIALS

As I have briefly pointed out in section 1.2 of this dissertation, the rise of biennials in the late 1980s and the 1990s is one of the indicators of the internationalisation of the art world (Moulin, 1997, 2003; Quemin 2002). In fact, of all art events, actors refer most to biennials and their worldwide dissemination, which is seen as proof that the visual arts' world has become decisively international.

The notion of multiculturalism has contributed to the recognition and legitimisation of emerging biennials. Most of them are located in the *peripheral zone*, i.e. outside the two most important poles in the international art world, namely Europe (in particular Germany) and the USA (Quemin, 2002). Today, there are more than 100 biennials all over the world (cf. Bydler, 2004; Moulin, 2003). This means that, on average, a biennial opens a new edition almost every week somewhere in the world, and most often in the peripheral zone. Yet, despite the high number of such events in this zone, they have not yet been able to threaten the dominant position of the biennials in the *centre*, in particular the Biennale di Venezia (Italy) and Documenta (Germany), which are the most celebrated and are considered to be the most important art manifestations in the world (Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2002, see also Fournier & Roy-Valex, 2002).

As stated in section 1.2, participation in biennials has become an essential step in the development of a global artistic career, in the same way as it is important to be represented by an internationally renowned gallery or to be included in the permanent collections of key institutions. Like the leading galleries and museums, biennials tend to promote their international scope. Moreover, they

are considered to be a transnational event that symbolises the internationalisation of the contemporary art world in terms of the global dissemination of the biennial and openness towards artists from outside Western countries in biennial exhibitions. However, they have not been the subject of an extensive empirical study thus far (cf. Bydler, 2004; Quemin, 2002, 2006; Wu, 2009). These arguments make exploring the extent to which these art manifestations are truly global a matter of real interest.

This section is divided into three subsections. The first serves as an introduction and will focus on the biennial's origins and present status. In the second subsection, I will elaborate on the overall visibility of artists and countries by analysing the biennials on a transnational level. This will be based on the totality of participations in the exhibitions of invited artists in the editions held between 1992 and 2007 of the Gwangju Biennale, the Shanghai Biennale, the Biennale of Sydney, the Istanbul Biennale, the Bienal de São Paulo, the Biennale di Venezia and Documenta in Kassel. With this selection of events, my analysis includes some of the most prominent contemporary art biennials in the world and covers different regions around the globe. In total, there were 4,349 representations by artists in 42 editions.⁶⁹

The final subsection will be dedicated to an in-depth study of a selection of these biennials. Here, both the exhibitions of invited artists and those based on national representation are taken into account. This enables me to compare the presence of countries at these two types of exhibition and explore if the change of system has indeed led to a more international event. Moreover, I will carry out a comparative analysis of five biennials in three different regions – East and Southeast Asia, Latin America and Western Europe – which will enable me to investigate the extent to which biennials put on a homogeneous or heterogeneous programme in terms of the countries represented.

The key questions in this section are: how has the biennial as a cultural art manifestation developed over time? How does the biennial present itself as an international art event? What factors are at play when it comes to the selection of artists for biennials? Which countries have access to contemporary art biennials and how visible are they? What are the similarities and differences between biennials in different parts of the world in terms of participating countries? What is the position of the Netherlands at contemporary art biennials? And to what extent does the affiliation of foreign artists based on residence affect the visibility of countries, and particularly that of the Netherlands?

6.2.1 AFTER NATIONAL REPRESENTATION: THE EXHIBITION OF INVITED ARTISTS

As I pointed out in section 1.2, for decades biennials were exhibitions based on national representation, with the oldest, La Biennale di Venezia, setting the tone. This event served as a model for other biennials, such as the Bienal de São Paulo or the Istanbul Biennial, although in recent years the image of this

⁶⁹ The following editions are included: *Documenta* 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007; *Gwangju* 1995, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; *Istanbul* 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007; *São Paulo* 1996, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006; *Venezia* 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007; *Shanghai* 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; *Sydney* 1992, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008.

manifestation has been subject to criticism, with the national pavilions in Venice embodying the system of national representation.⁷⁰

During the first decade of La Biennale di Venezia, the work of artists from different participating countries was brought together in a single pavilion called *Pro Arte* (Di Martino, 2005). The success of the biennial led to the construction of individual national pavilions in the Giardini di Castello in Venice. Belgium was the first country to build its own exhibition space there in 1907, with the Dutch Pavilion opening in 1914. Many other countries followed suit over the years, with the most recent addition to the Giardini being the South Korean Pavilion in 1995 (cf. Malbert, 2006). At the 2007 edition of the biennial, about a third of the 77 countries involved participated in a pavilion in the Giardini. Clearly, even today, countries still exhibit the work of their national artists in their national pavilions, or, if they do not have one in the Giardini, somewhere else in the city.

With the arrival of the notions of globalisation and multiculturalism, this system of national representation has been the subject of discussion for two decades, although it has not led to the closing down of the pavilions in the Giardini. Exhibitions based on national representation have been called into question on several occasions in the Biennale di Venezia's catalogues. In an interview in the 1997 publication, the artistic director at the time, Germano Celant, explained why the system of national representation was in crisis:

"With the fluctuation of boundaries today, this mapping [by national configuration] is in a state of crisis, because it excludes the sorts of overlapping and spillage typical of art, which is always tending to transcend order, identity [and] separations. The artist belongs not to the nation, but to the history of art and artists, to a community that has always rebelled against all limits." (La Biennale di Venezia, 1997:xxii)

In the 2003 catalogue, the event's artistic director, Francisco Bonami, explained that while the universal character of art was the origin of the biennial, today the manifestation reveals the diversity of the world:

"The dream [of the founding of the Biennale di Venezia] was that the arts could represent a universal language. But in the national pavilions, this common language was shattered by conflict in a world still divided into nations searching for identity and domain. La Biennale thus symbolizes the modern world with its contradictions and growing fragmentation into more and more nations and identities." (La Biennale di Venezia, 2003:xxi)

The difficulty of abolishing this system of national representation in Venice is, in part, due to the specificity of the site itself. The city of Venice donated the land, but the countries themselves built the pavilions in the Giardini. To date, the relevant countries are financially responsible for the maintenance of the pavilions as well as the cost of the exhibitions organised in these spaces (Di Martino, 2005). In other words, the different countries pay a major part of the organisational costs of the event by financing the exhibition and the pavilions in which it takes place, ensuring that the Biennale has both the artistic and financial means to continue.

The countries, for their part, benefit from the existing pavilions as they serve as platforms to display work by national artists to an international audience. What is more, within this framework of national representation, the artistic choices are in the hands of the countries, which means that the visibility of artists does not

⁷⁰ In her dissertation on film festivals, De Valck (2007) discusses a comparable resistance against the selection of films based on geopolitical criteria, instead of intrinsic artistic ones.

depend on a limited group of curators, as is the case in the invited artists' exhibitions. The pavilions are thus an important tool in the promotion of art abroad and, as such, are part of the cultural policy of the countries participating in the event (Crane, 2002).

In order to resolve the problem of national representation, artistic director Germano Celant has suggested that all national curators should work together to try and create a system in which all nations are represented in a single exhibition. Impossible though it is to do away with the pavilions in the Giardini di Castello, they should be looked on from an aerial and a universal perspective, rather than focusing on their historical-political origins. This universal perspective allows the art world to work "on the plurality of cultures and the multiplicity of the offerings" (La Biennale di Venezia, 1997:xxii; cf. Robertson, 1995). In this light, apart from promotional purposes for countries individually, the pavilions' configuration in Venice could also be regarded as an instrument to preserve the diversity in culture and art and counterbalance cultural supremacy mechanisms (Crane, 2002; Sapiro, 2010).

As well as the ongoing exhibition of national representation, La Biennale di Venezia organises an exposition of the work of invited artists. This form of exhibition is not bound by territorial restrictions, such as nationality or residence, which means that any artist can participate, regardless of his/her background. Yet, questions remain as to whether all countries are equally visible at such events, or if a hierarchy of nations still exists, even at biennials. In other words, are biennials, which are the symbol of the contemporary art world's internationalisation, really more diverse in terms of the visibility of countries? If so, do these events provide a counterweight to the primacy of a handful of Western nations that have marked contemporary art to date? This will be investigated in more detail in the following subsection. First, however, I will discuss the biennial, and the invited artists' exhibition in particular, as an international art event.

BETWEEN LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL

Every biennial both sees and presents itself as an *international* art manifestation, which is commonly illustrated by the fact that it invites *international* artists to participate, *international* curators to curate and *international* speakers to speak at the concomitant conferences. This orientation is further underlined by the title of the event: La Biennale di Venezia, for instance, stresses its international character by presenting its visual arts section as *Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte*, whereas the title of the biennials in the peripheral zone explicitly do not include the word *international*, as doing so would be regarded as "*provincial*" (Interviews with curator 4, São Paulo and curator 5, São Paulo).⁷¹

Sometimes, the internationalisation of the biennial is simply set in motion, because the manifestation evolves from being merely locally or regionally⁷² orientated into an art event that can compete on a global level by presenting an international programme. The Shanghai Biennale, for instance, had two national editions before presenting an international programme for the first time in 2000.

⁷¹ The official names of the biennials are: Gwangju Biennale, Shanghai Biennale and Bienal de São Paulo.

⁷² By *local* I mean the country organising the biennale, while by *region* I mean the countries that are closely related geographically or culturally to this organising country (see section 1.3).

While the editions in 1996 and 1998 focused on traditional Chinese art forms, i.e. painting and sculpture, from 2000 onwards the event opened its doors to international influences.

The main indicator of the internationalisation of biennials, however, is the changing exhibition system. From the 1990s onwards, the majority of existing biennials abandoned the system of national representation, while newly established events no longer adopt such an approach. Indeed, today, it is fairly uncommon to see an exhibition of the work of a national artist – which is curated by a national curator – in a national pavilion; growing numbers of biennials have taken the form of an international exhibition of invited artists, organised by a curator or an artistic director (leading a team of curators or not) appointed by the event's organising committee. The selection of the artists is thus no longer in the hands of national curators, and nor does the show take place in national pavilions; today, the exhibitions are entirely organised by one, or a small group, of selected curators. As a result, the artist is no longer viewed as a *national artist* representing his/her country, but rather as an *international artist* participating in an *international exhibition*.

Indeed, the changing exhibition system has had an impact on the presence of curators and artists, as their selection no longer depends on national affiliation. It seems obvious that inviting international artists or international curators to a biennial are the main ingredients in ensuring its internationalisation. In other words, the biennial appears to become a global event when the participants come from countries other than the organising nation. But how international are biennials?

When it comes to curators, it is often stressed that they are increasingly and frequently invited to curate biennials or participate in curatorial teams all over the world (Bydler, 2004; Carroll, 2007; Erić, 2007, Griffin, 2003). However, there are also several examples that challenge the idea of intensified internationalisation. For instance, at the Biennale di Venezia (1895) and the Bienal de São Paulo (1951), which are the two oldest manifestations, appointing a foreign artistic director is a rather recent phenomenon. Indeed, until the end of the 20th century, these events had always been directed by an Italian or a Brazilian artistic director, respectively. The first time that a foreign curator led the biennial in São Paulo was in 2002, when German curator Alfons Hug, who was director of the Goethe Institute in Rio de Janeiro, was appointed. In Venice, a foreigner was assigned to curate the Biennale di Venezia for the first time in 1995, the year of the event's centenary. As the president of the biennial declared when appointing the French curator, Jean Clair, as the director of the visual arts section (and several other foreign directors as the heads of other areas of the event) this "represents a strong attempt to open up the Biennale to Europe." (Di Martino, 2005: 83) In his introduction, Jean Clair remarked that he was aware that:

"(...) as a foreigner I would be setting myself a very delicate task in trying to write the history of this important aspect of Italian cultural life when there are so many Italian scholars and historians who, in my place, could easily have done the job so much better." (La Biennale di Venezia, 1995: introduction)

This relatively late appointment of foreigners as artistic directors shows that the internationalisation of biennials does not come easily. In addition, it is important to underline that this opening up of the Biennale di Venezia, as the

quote above shows, was orientated towards Europe and did not extend beyond European borders until 2007. Since Jean Clair's appointment in 1995, La Biennale has appointed two different Italian artistic directors (Germano Celant in 1997 and Francesco Bonami in 2003), a Swiss director, Harald Szeemann (1999, 2001), and two Spanish (female) directors, Maria De Corral and Rosa Martínez in 2005. It was only in 2007 that the event was led by an American curator, Robert Storr, who, although he is still from the West, was the first non-European artistic director in the history of La Biennale. Yet, with the appointment of Swedish curator Daniel Birnbaum in 2009, and that of Swiss curator Bice Curiger in 2011, the organisation of this event was once again in the hands of a European curator.

This orientation towards Western artistic directors is not particular to the Venice Biennale; the majority of the editions taken into account here had a European or American director. The example of Nigerian-born curator Okwui Enwezor, who was director of Documenta in 2002, is often used to stress the internationalisation of curators. However, he seems to be the exception to the rule.⁷³ In fact, the pool of artistic directors has remained fairly homogeneous to date. This raises questions about the biennials' degree of internationalisation, not only in terms of the organisation, but also with respect to the participating artists invited by the artistic directors and their curatorial teams.

The programming of the work of international artists is the most obvious way to internationalise biennials. Putting on a global programme is relevant to the biennial itself, and also to the local or national public and artists. Above all, it enables the biennial to compete with similar events around the world. Moreover, the participation of foreign artists provides a biennial with an opportunity to present new developments in the global contemporary art world to its local and national public. More often than not, and especially when it comes to those in the *peripheral zones*, the biennial is the only institution to show the work of international contemporary artists because of the lack of a wide enough network of museums and galleries presenting such art. Through its international programme, the biennial plays an important role in diffusing artistic developments from all over the globe in their own regional context, i.e. in the organising and neighbouring countries. Furthermore, including foreign artists provides an international context to national or regional artists. The biennial serves as a platform for these artists and promotes them on an international level. By doing so, it contributes to the development of the local and regional art scene, which leads us on to a discussion of the local embeddedness of the biennial.

Although contemporary art biennials stress their international character, the *local* aspect of the event is seldom ignored (cf. Erić, 2007; Kuipers, 2011). On the contrary, in interviews as well as in catalogues, the artistic directors and curators of the biennials located in the peripheral zones underline the manifestation's responsibility towards its local or regional artists. Having found their legitimacy through multiculturalism, biennials provide a platform for local and regional artists and, by doing so, often provide an initial degree of visibility in the international art world for artists from countries in the peripheral zone. In an interview, one of the curators of the Bienal de São Paulo stressed the fact that the

⁷³ Other foreign artistic directors who not originate from Europe or the USA in charge of one of the editions taken into account here are Hou Hanrou and Yuko Hasegawa.

event is indeed a platform for Brazilian and South American artists in general. Although a second biennial is held in the same region, namely the Mercosur Biennale, it is not as internationally renowned as the event in São Paulo. As a consequence, the visibility of the artists on display there is far less extensive (Interview, curator 4, São Paulo).

The fact that biennials play an important role in the promotion of local artists and art from the region is also illustrated in the introduction to the 2006 catalogue of the Gwangju Biennale, which was written by the city's mayor:

"The 6th Gwangju Biennale, held under the theme of "Fever Variations", reaffirms the role of the city of Gwangju as an origin of Asian art and culture by promoting Asian spirit and culture – prevalent in both Eastern and Western contemporary art – to the world." (Gwangju Biennale, 2006:preface)

A bit further on in the catalogue, the president of the biennial underlines that this particular edition's objective was to promote Asian culture:

"This 6th Gwangju Biennale aims to find the 'roots and routes' of culture through contemporary art. To realise this, we have made efforts to illuminate the features and values of Asian spiritual cultures – which have often been distorted, hidden and marginalized by international politics and economics – and to expand a shared understanding of it through a new perspective." (Gwangju Biennale, 2006:preface)

Apart from this aspiration to serve as a window for local artists and as a space in which to facilitate the opening up of traditional local art to the international art scene, other indicators highlight biennials' ongoing attachment to the geographic space – the city, country or region – in which they are organised.

Firstly, the names of these events – Havana Biennial, Cairo Biennale, Shanghai Biennale – stress their relationship to the place and city in which they are being held. The reverse is also true: the city associates itself with the art manifestation:

"We can feel the days: Kassel has developed its own sense of time, in-step with the rhythm of the documenta. This magic slice of time, these hundred days every five years have changed the city. That's why Kassel's logo now includes the words "documenta city", like a badge of distinction – emblematic of a great location for art." (Documenta Kassel, 2007: 9)

Furthermore, the name of a biennial is often written in the language of the country, not only in the communications on a local level, but also those internationally. By doing this, the biennial intends to underline its local character. The Venice biennial presents itself as *La Biennale di Venezia*, while the event in São Paulo is the *Bienal de São Paulo*. By accentuating the original name, or by presenting itself in the language of the organising nation, the biennial stresses its *local* character in an *international* context and, consequently, underlines the strong relationship between the organising country and the event.

Another example that points to the relationship between the biennial and the organising country is provided by the lists of participants in the Bienal de São Paulo's catalogue. While in many countries, such a list is usually ordered alphabetically based on surname, in Brazil it is based on the first name of the artist. This local practice was applied, for example, in the 2006 catalogue.

What is more, in the case of thematic biennials, when an event is organised around a specific topic, it generally refers to the organising city or country. The theme often reflects what is typical or characteristic about such places, as was the case at the 2006 Shanghai Biennale, which was called *HyperDesign*. The city of

Shanghai, which is in a constant state of construction, is “the most designed city in China” stated the curator Huang Du in the catalogue for this event in 2006 (Shanghai Biennale, 2006: 44). Another example of linking the theme of the biennial to the host country can be found in the words of the Brazilian Minister of Culture at the time, Gilberto Gil, when he introduced the 2006 edition of the São Paulo biennial, entitled *Como Viver Junto (How to Live Together)*, by saying that “[n]othing is more current than to discuss *Living-together* (...) especially in such a diverse and vast nation as Brazil.” (Bienal de São Paulo, 2006:foreword)

The local attachment of the biennial is reflected in the words of one of the curators of the Bienal de São Paulo. In an interview, he stressed that when organising such an event one should always try to find a certain “side specificity” (Interview, curator 5, São Paulo). This is a factor that binds the manifestation and the place where it is being held. According to this curator, one should always be aware of the cultural context and art history of the city and the local resources that are available (or not) during the organising process. Or, as he put it:

“(...) it should not be an exhibition that could happen anywhere [but] that happens to be here in São Paulo.”
(Interview, curator 5, São Paulo)

How should the development of the biennial model from an exhibition based on national representation into an invited artists’ exhibition be understood in light of the globalisation theories presented in Chapter 2? Even if the system of national representation can be regarded as an example of the particular in the universal (La Biennale di Venezia, 1997; Robertson, 1995), it unequivocally reflects the cultural dominance model. This system dates from an era marked by Western hegemony when access was not open to all countries. Only nations with adequate financial resources (cf. Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Heilbron, 1999), which are commonly Western, are able to use this system (and the pavilions in particular) as a cultural policy tool in the promotion of their national art.

In contrast, the exhibitions of invited artists are considered to be far more democratic and potentially open to artists from all over the globe. For this reason, this new system is commonly referred to in order to illustrate the international nature of biennials. Compared to national representation exhibitions, these invited artists’ exhibitions are deemed to be more heterogeneous and representative of a more diverse population of artists. As such, the biennial in its current form is often referred to by critics of cultural dominance theories.

Similarly, the indicators that point towards the local attachment of biennials correspond to the globalisation theories that question homogenisation and the dominance of the West. Firstly, the vocation of biennials to link the event to its local surroundings – through the use of names or by organising a thematic exhibition that matches the city’s reality – is illustrative for cultural policy theory as it is aimed at preserving national identity and the image of a country or region abroad. This is even more apparent in the focus on the local, national or regional artists for whom the biennial serves as a platform. Here, the biennial is an instrument to be used by the organising country in the promotion of domestic art and artists to the international art world. As a result of the, alleged, primacy given to domestic artists (reception theory), the biennials are inclined to be quite different from one another and collectively counterbalance Western dominance. Accordingly, the individual biennial editions organised around the world, when taken together and considered on a transnational level, suggest diversity and

heterogeneity within the contemporary art world and reflect the globalisation-as-cultural network model.

However, the diversity and heterogeneity of biennials is refutable. The example of the artistic directors and curators illustrates the difficulties in internationalising such an event: at this level, the West is still overrepresented. This suggests that internationalisation on the level of artists may encounter similar problems, especially since the involvement of curators influences, at least in part, the presence of artists, as is underlined in reception theory. Moreover, the biennial's objective to familiarise the national public with contemporary art of international repute may lead to a more homogenous event than expected at first sight. Relatively few artists meet this standard and, in addition, they generally originate from Western countries. Their presence may thus not only have a negative impact on diversity in terms of artists and countries at the individual events, but also with respect to the diversity of the biennials considered on a transnational level.

Cultural dominance theory and cultural flows or network theory will be put to the test in the next two subsections. Moreover, I will also explore to what extent reception theory and cultural policy theories may be helpful when it comes to explaining the presence of artists and countries at international cultural art biennials. Both the emerging biennials, which are mostly located in the peripheral zone, and the renowned events like Documenta and the Biennale di Venezia, which are located in the centre, like to think of themselves as international manifestations. As a result, they present themselves as both inclusive and diverse. To see if this image holds true, in what follows I will analyse in more detail the representation of countries and their artists at 42 editions of the aforementioned seven biennials.

6.2.2 THE POSITION OF COUNTRIES ON A TRANSNATIONAL LEVEL

In this section, I will study the visibility of the participating countries, while focusing in particular on the presence of the Netherlands. As I have established in section 4.1, Dutch artists have participated in almost every edition of the biennials taken into account in this analysis. So, what other nations have also been represented? And what position does the Netherlands occupy compared to other countries in terms of its visibility at contemporary art biennials?

Table 6.4 (following page) shows the overall presence of countries at the biennials taken into account. In total, there were 4,349 representations at the 42 editions of seven biennials held between 1992 and 2008.

The artists who were responsible for the 4,349 representations at the biennials under study were born in 128 different countries. Of 192 states in the world (United Nations, 2006), two thirds were represented, which suggests that biennials are indeed a relatively heterogeneous event, although not entirely global. The diversity at biennials is far greater than that at museums, where only 47 nations were represented.

Table 6.4 Represented countries at international contemporary art biennials, 1992-2008 (country of birth)⁷⁴

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	OVERALL PRESENCE		
	N=4,349	%TOT	%MEAN ^A
USA	486	11.2	9.9
CHINA	341	7.8	10.4
GERMANY	301	6.9	6.5
ITALY	224	5.2	4.0
UNITED KINGDOM	219	5.0	4.5
FRANCE	164	3.8	3.4
JAPAN	146	3.4	3.6
SOUTH KOREA	140	3.2	3.6
AUSTRALIA	137	3.2	3.1
BRAZIL	131	3.0	3.6
TURKEY	121	2.8	2.9
SWITZERLAND	97	2.2	2.1
CANADA	85	2.0	2.0
BELGIUM	80	1.8	1.8
AUSTRIA	78	1.8	1.7
SPAIN	67	1.5	1.4
ISRAEL	64	1.5	1.4
SOUTH AFRICA	63	1.4	1.5
NETHERLANDS	62	1.4	1.5
ARGENTINA	61	1.4	1.5
RUSSIA	60	1.4	1.3
SWEDEN	54	1.2	1.1
MEXICO	50	1.1	1.1
CUBA	49	1.1	1.3
DENMARK	49	1.1	1.1

Notes ^aRelative presence of the country at the seven biennials

The significant number of countries at biennials is probably related to the selection of 42 editions held over a period of 15 years (as opposed to five permanent exhibitions in museums) and, more importantly, in different parts of the world. I will examine this further in the following subsection. In addition to greater absolute diversity, the share of the leading nations is less salient than in the case of museums. For example, even if the USA retains its first position in both types of event, it is nearly three times less visible at biennials (11.2%) than it is in museums (30.2%). Both outcomes indicate that biennials are the more heterogeneous event and support Hypothesis 2c, at least with regard to the diversity in museums and at biennials.

However, notwithstanding the more moderate share per country at biennials, relative diversity – reflecting the number of countries that have together produced 50% of the representations – continues to be limited and calls into question the

⁷⁴ The table only shows the 25 most represented countries. The other 103 are: Poland (41); Finland, India (39); New Zealand, Thailand (33); Iran, Portugal (30); Indonesia (29); Serbia (28); Taiwan (27); Norway (26); Czech Republic, Ireland (25); Chile, Colombia, Romania (23); Philippines, Ukraine (22); Venezuela (21); Hungary (20); Singapore (19); Bulgaria, Greece, Lebanon, Slovenia (18); Egypt, Hong Kong (17); Benin, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nigeria, Pakistan (14); Algeria (13); Lithuania, Malaysia (12); Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Palestine (11); Croatia (10); Côte d'Ivoire, Morocco (9); Senegal (8); Albania, Mali, Peru (7); Bolivia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Vietnam (5); Angola, Costa Rica, Kenya, Laos, Panama, Slovakia, Uganda, Uruguay, Zambia (4); Bangladesh, Estonia, Ghana, Haiti, Iceland, Jamaica, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Sierra Leone, Vanuatu (3); Afghanistan, Armenia, Bahamas, Georgia, Jordan, Kuwait, Puerto Rico, Turkmenistan (2); Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Barbados, Belarus, Bhutan, Cyprus, Ecuador, Guyana, Iraq, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Malta, Mauritania, Moldova, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, New Guinea, Nicaragua, Niue, Suriname, Syria, Tanzania, Togo and Zimbabwe (1).

validity of the heterogeneity argument. In fact, only 8% of the countries (10 countries) at biennials accounted for half of the representations, which is not much more than the figure with respect to museums (6% or three countries). This means that the other half of the representations at biennials was divided between 118 different countries. Moreover, about a fifth of the countries were represented by only one artist in one of the 42 editions included in this study; the visibility of these nations is, therefore, extremely limited. Based on this, it is plausible to argue that although the biennial event is much more diverse than the museum event, it is similarly dominated by a relatively small group of countries.

Among the 10 nations that account for half of the representations are the main art centres of the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France, and the hosting countries like South Korea, Australia, Brazil and Turkey. The presence of the first group is in line with what I found in museums and is thus an initial indicator of the dominance of each type of event by the same countries (Hypothesis 1d). Considering that of these four nations only Germany organises a biennial, the impact of hosting the event on their presence is far less significant here than in the case of museums. Their overrepresentation at biennials suggests that they are rightly considered to be the most central countries and seems to substantiate Hypothesis 1g.

On the other hand, the appearance of the second group of countries, the organising nations, indicates that artists born there do seem to benefit from the fact that the country is hosting a biennial (Hypotheses 3a and 3b). This results in greater visibility for them at this kind of event, as is the case for artists from countries hosting internationally renowned museums. Accordingly, China's high position in this event is probably the result of the overwhelming presence of Chinese artists at the Shanghai Biennale. I will verify this in subsection 6.2.3 when I elaborate on the importance of the host countries on the presence of artists at biennials. Firstly, however, I will address the impact of the issue of residence.

THE IMPACT OF RESIDENCE

In the subsection on the presence of countries in museums, I have established that taking into account the artist's country of residence increases absolute diversity somewhat, but reduces relative diversity, which continues to be limited. Further analysis revealed that only a restricted group of countries became more visible, especially the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France, which are considered to be the main contemporary art centres (Coslor & Ren, 2009; Crane, 2009; While, 2003) and home to the museums under study herein. The Netherlands is also part of this group of nations that is successful in attracting foreign artists with a presence at international museum exhibitions, and, as a result, has doubled its visibility at this type of event. In this section, I will conduct a similar analysis that will not only provide more insight into the visibility of countries at biennials, but will also enable a comparison to be made between the two types of event. So, what is the effect on the rankings of participating countries if foreign born artists are included? What is the impact of being a home or central country? Has the act of affiliating foreign artists to the Netherlands had the same effect at biennials as in museums?

Table 6.5 Represented countries at international contemporary art biennials, 1992-2008 (countries of birth and residence)⁷⁵

COUNTRY	REPRESENTATIONS ^A (BIRTH AND RESIDENCE) ⁷⁶						RANKINGS
	TOTAL N	%TOT	BIRTH N	%TOT	RESIDENCE N	%TOT	
USA	758	20.3	421	11.3	337	9.0	=
GERMANY	473	12.7	270	7.2	203	5.4	=
UNITED KINGDOM	289	7.7	192	5.1	97	2.6	+
FRANCE	266	7.1	137	3.7	129	3.5	+
CHINA	226	6.1	224	6.0	2	0.1	-
ITALY	208	5.6	185	5.0	23	0.6	-
AUSTRALIA	162	4.3	130	3.5	32	0.9	=
BRAZIL	141	3.8	127	3.4	14	0.4	=
JAPAN	128	3.4	120	3.2	8	0.2	=
NETHERLANDS	120	3.2	51	1.4	69	1.8	+
TURKEY	119	3.2	115	3.1	4	0.1	=
BELGIUM	109	2.9	74	2.0	35	0.9	+
SOUTH KOREA	101	2.7	100	2.7	1	<0.1 ^B	-
SWITZERLAND	100	2.7	84	2.3	16	0.4	-
CANADA	95	2.5	76	2.0	19	0.5	-
AUSTRIA	82	2.2	68	1.8	14	0.4	-
SPAIN	78	2.1	61	1.6	17	0.5	-
MEXICO	63	1.7	45	1.2	18	0.5	+
ISRAEL	63	1.7	54	1.4	9	0.2	-
RUSSIA	63	1.7	54	1.4	9	0.2	-
SWEDEN	60	1.6	51	1.4	9	0.2	=
SOUTH AFRICA	59	1.6	56	1.5	3	0.1	-
ARGENTINA	55	1.5	51	1.4	4	0.1	-
DENMARK	47	1.3	45	1.2	2	0.1	=
CUBA	44	1.2	44	1.2	-	-	=

Notes ^aN=3,733. ^b0.027.

The artists who participated in the 35 editions under study here accounted for 3,733 representations and originated from 124 different nations. When both the country of birth and the country of residence are taken into account, the number of represented countries increases a little to a total of 126 different nations.⁷⁷ However, relative diversity is more limited when residence is also taken into account: based on birth only, relative diversity is 8% (10 countries), while it is only 6% (eight countries) when based on birth and residence. These outcomes are similar to what I found at museums, and this again indicates that the visibility of a

⁷⁵ The table only shows the 25 most represented countries. The other 101 countries are: Finland (43); India (38); Poland (37); New Zealand, Norway (34); Portugal (33); Iran (31); Thailand (27); Serbia (26); Ireland (24); Colombia (23); Indonesia, Venezuela (22); Czech Republic (21); Egypt, Romania, Slovenia, Taiwan, Ukraine (20); Chile, Greece, Hungary, Philippines (19); Hong Kong (18); Lebanon (17); Pakistan, Singapore (16); Bulgaria, Croatia, Nigeria (15); Benin (14); Algeria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lithuania, Palestine (13); Malaysia (11); Vietnam (10); Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, Peru, Puerto Rico (9); Côte d'Ivoire, Mali (8); Albania, Kazakhstan (7); Senegal (6); Bolivia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Kenya, Latvia (5); Angola, Panama, Slovakia, Uganda, Zambia (4); Bangladesh, Costa Rica, Ghana, Haiti, Iceland, Jamaica, Laos, Macedonia, Sierra Leone, Vanuatu (3); Afghanistan, Armenia, Bahamas, Estonia, Georgia, Jordan, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Turkmenistan, Uruguay (2); Dominican Republic Zimbabwe, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Barbados, Belarus, Cyprus, Ecuador, Guyana, Iraq, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Mauritania, Moldova, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, New Guinea, Nicaragua, Niger, Suriname, Syria and Togo (1).

⁷⁶ Representations are divided into three sections: total, birth and residence. Birth includes all of the representations by artists born in a country, while residence includes all representations by foreign born artists living in a country. Total reflects the sum of both. As for residence, I have not taken into account whether the artist lives in a country on a part-time or a full-time basis, because I consider the impact of the artist's participation on the visibility of the country to be similar in both cases. To indicate the influence of residence, the relative share of a country is based on the total of 3,733 representations; as a consequence, the sum is higher than 100%.

⁷⁷ One artist, Lida Abdul (two representations), lives in Europe on a part-time basis, but there was no further information given about which country or countries are involved.

relatively small group of countries rises when the residence of artists is taken into account. This finding places further doubt on the heterogeneous nature of the biennial event. Biennials all over the world are revealed to be dominated by the presence of a handful of countries, and this group is even smaller when the country of residence is taken into account.

In addition to limited relative diversity, the analysis shows that of 126 countries, only 61 have attracted foreign artists who have settled there. Although this is relatively more than in the case of museums (11 out of 48), the migration of artists still only affects a restricted group of countries. The impact of attracting foreign artists becomes apparent in the rankings, and the respective positions of China and France are illustrative of this. Based on country of birth, China (224 representations) had about 60% more representations than France (137). However, the country attracts very few foreign artists who are visible on the international stage; only two representations were by foreign born artists based in China. The opposite is true for France, where the artists who have migrated there accounted for 129 representations.⁷⁸ This has led to a change of position in the rankings of the most represented countries: France is more visible at international contemporary art biennials because it also benefits from the presence of foreign artists who are based in the country.

The USA, Germany, France and the United Kingdom head the list of countries that benefit the most from being home to foreign artists with a certain degree of visibility in international art biennials (Table 6.5). Based on birth and residence, these four countries are the most visible in contemporary art biennials. These findings accord with the outcomes of my analyses of the leading international museums.

As stated earlier, the overrepresentation of these countries in museums was in part related to the fact that they host these institutions. Since the results are not biased in this way, the similarity between the findings in biennials and international museums (i.e. the relatively high visibility of artists residing in the four countries referred to above) underline the importance of these nations. Almost half of the 3,733 representations (47.8%) were by artists affiliated either by birth or residence to the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France. This outcome supports the first part of Hypothesis 1e, revealing that the position of central countries is consolidated by taking into account the artists' country of residence. Consequently, this clearly challenges the image of the biennial as the symbol of the contemporary art world's internationalisation and, instead, supports cultural dominance theory.

THE NETHERLANDS

With 1.4% of the representations at biennials based on the country of birth (Table 6.4), the Netherlands belongs to the group of 25 countries that are highly visible at these contemporary art events. While its share is a little higher than in museums (1.3%), the ranking of the Netherlands in 19th position is less prominent at biennials. This is unsurprising given that more of the countries participating in this type of event are likely to benefit from being the organising country or one of

⁷⁸ Of these 129 representations by artists who have migrated to France, 11% were by Chinese artists.

the countries that are considered to be at the centre of the contemporary art world: instead of four nations, 10 can claim one of these privileged positions.⁷⁹ Indeed, these 10 nations head the rankings. In short, with 62 representations, or a share of 1.4%, the Netherlands has a relatively high presence compared to the large group of nations that have not made it onto this list, although it is still a considerable distance behind those at the top. This is similar to what I found in the case of museums. Based on this finding, the Netherlands can once again be regarded as a semi-peripheral country in the institutional sphere of the contemporary art world.

When foreign artists residing in the country are taken into account, the visibility of the Netherlands at biennials increases (Table 6.5). If the ranking was based only on the country of birth, nations like Switzerland, Belgium, Austria and Israel would be ahead of the Netherlands' 19th place with 51 representations. However, when the artists who reside in the country are also taken into account, the Netherlands is in 10th position, behind five of the seven nations that host biennials (Germany, China, Italy, Australia and Brazil) and those that are known to be at the heart of the contemporary art world. Japan is the only other country ahead of the Netherlands, but its relatively high visibility is probably related to the strong presence of Japanese artists at the Gwangju and Shanghai biennials organised in the neighbouring countries of South Korea and China (Hypothesis 3c). If the country of residence is also taken into account, the Netherlands is more visible than Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and Israel; although these nations all attract artists from abroad, they do not gain as much visibility as the Netherlands.

Indeed, the Netherlands is in fifth place in the rankings of countries to which artists emigrate, just behind the four nations that are at the centre of the visual arts' world. In comparison to other countries, the Netherlands appears to attract more foreign artists who succeed in attaining a certain degree of visibility at international contemporary art biennials. As a consequence, the country finds itself among those that dominate contemporary art biennials, even more so than when only the country of birth of artists is taken into account. When translated into terms of De Swaan's constellation (1995), this indicates that the Netherlands can be regarded as a central country for artists in this event.

In addition to attracting more foreign artists with a presence at international contemporary art biennials, the impact that these artists have on a country's visibility is relatively higher in the case of the Netherlands than in other countries. In fact, within the group of Dutch artists – based on birth and residence – the share of those who were born abroad is greater than that of those born in the Netherlands. When comparing this to the other 24 most represented countries, the Netherlands is the only nation where this is the case. In other words, the position of the Netherlands is not so much based on its own production, but above all on its transit function (Heilbron 1995, 1999).

The increase in the visibility of the Netherlands at biennials as a result of including foreign artists who live in the country confirms the outcome of the analysis of international art museums. Although the ranking of the country is not as high (6th position for museums), its relative presence based on birth and residence is more salient with 3.2% of the representations (compared to 2.7% at

⁷⁹ As Germany is both an art centre and organiser of one of the biennials, the sum of these two groups is 10.

museums). The impact of including these artists also becomes apparent here, and confirms the assumption that as is the case with museums, the Netherlands depends more than other nations on the presence of foreign artists living in the country when it comes to its visibility in international art events.

To summarise, 128 countries participated in 42 editions of the seven biennials under study. Although diversity based on the number of nations seems to be high, diversity based on the share of these countries (8%) is quite limited in these events. Indeed, only a small number of countries have a significant presence at this type of manifestation, while most nations are barely visible. In the rankings, the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France are well in the lead, and their position is consolidated when the country of residence is also taken into account. These results concur with those produced when examining museums. Moreover, as these outcomes are not influenced by the selection of the events, they underline the importance of these four nations and their central position in the contemporary art world. Affiliation by birth or residence to one of the major art centres clearly increases an artist's chances of being invited to participate in one of the leading contemporary art biennials in the world. The analysis shows that the biennial as an international art event is far less heterogeneous than thought and is more marked by cultural hegemony than by diversity.

As for the Netherlands, Dutch artists accounted for 1.4% of the representations at biennials. As with my findings with respect to museums, including artists who live in the Netherlands has a positive effect on the country's visibility in the international art scene. In fact, relatively more non-Dutch born than Dutch born artists were invited to participate in at least one of the biennials under study. Based on the country of birth only, the Netherlands is already one of the 25 most represented nations at this type of event. Including foreign artists who live in the country only strengthens this position, making the Netherlands one of the most successful countries at contemporary art biennials, even if it lags well behind the leading nations.

6.2.3 COMPARING THE COUNTRIES' VISIBILITY AT FIVE BIENNIALS

In this subsection, I will analyse the level of internationalisation of contemporary art biennials in more detail. To this end, I will examine the presence of artists at five such events, namely Documenta in Kassel, the Biennale di Venezia, the Bienal de São Paulo and the biennials in Gwangju and Shanghai.⁸⁰ This selection represents both events with a long history (Venezia, Documenta, São Paulo) and newer events (Gwangju and Shanghai), as well as biennials from emerging regions (Asia and Latin America) and the central Western European region. It also includes biennials that put on, or have put on until recently, a national representation exhibition (Venezia and São Paulo). The composition of this selection enables me to compare the visibility of countries in various ways.

In this analysis, I will distinguish between the exhibitions of invited artists and those based on national representation. Of the former, I have analysed 27 editions of the five biennials held between 1992 and 2007 in which 3,044 artists

⁸⁰ The following editions are included: *Documenta* 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007; *Gwangju* 1995, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; *São Paulo* 1996, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006; *Shanghai* 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; *Venezia* 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007.

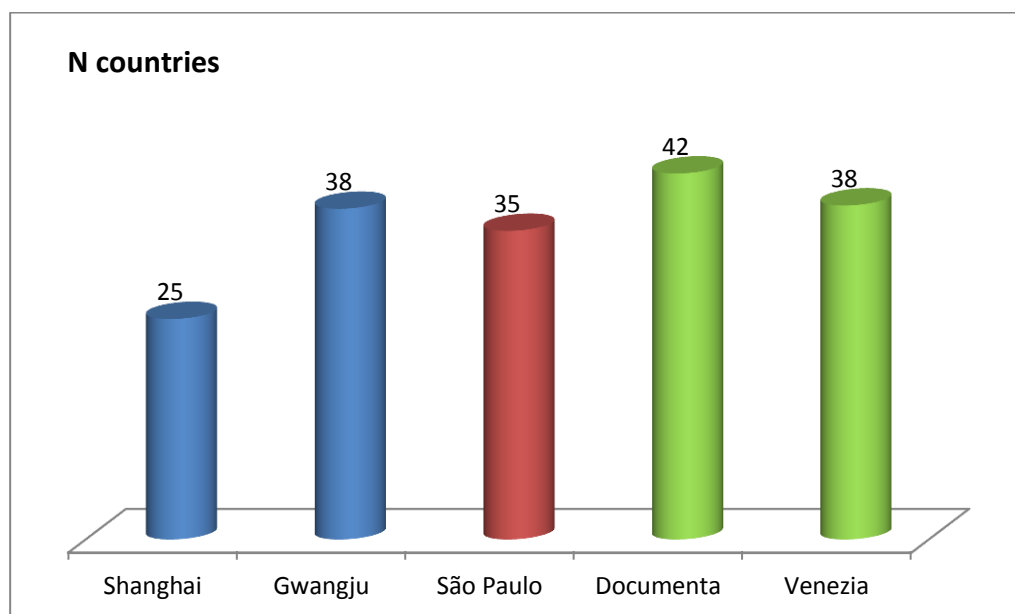
participated. As for the national representation shows, I have included 34 editions of the Bienal de São Paulo from 1970 to 2004⁸¹ and the Biennale di Venezia from 1970 to 2007. Distinguishing between expositions of national representation and those of invited artists enables me, firstly, to analyse the presence of countries at the different biennials within each of the two exhibition models. Secondly, it permits me to compare their presence in exhibitions of national representation on the one hand and those of invited artists on the other.

BIENNIALS' ABSOLUTE DIVERSITY

A first indicator that helps me to determine the degree of internationalisation of the five biennials (Shanghai, Gwangju, São Paulo, Documenta and Venice) is the issue of absolute diversity in terms of the countries present at the events, which is based here on the artists' country of birth. As a symbol of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world, it is likely that biennials are more diverse than museums and that absolute diversity increases over the years.

The diversity in terms of the countries represented at the biennials held in the periphery is somewhat less than that at those held in the centre (Figure 6.1). This means that Hypothesis 4c, which suggests that biennials in the peripheral zone are more diverse than those in the centre, must be rejected. The Shanghai Biennale has the lowest number of participating countries, with an average of 25 nations per edition taking part, while this number was 35 in São Paulo and 38 in Gwangju. Yet the diversity in Shanghai increased from 19 in 2000 to 27 in 2006.⁸² The opposite is true at the Gwangju event, with the number of countries taking part falling from 51 in 1995 to only 32 in 2006. This biennial has thus become less international over the past few years.

Figure 6.1 Diversity of countries at international contemporary art biennials (mean)



⁸¹ The Bienal de São Paulo abandoned the system of national representation after 2004.

⁸² Still, with 27 nations, it continued to be the least diverse biennial of all in between 2006 and 2007.

When looking at the number of participating artists at the biennials, this figure stayed more or less the same in Gwangju, ranging from 89 to 97 between 1995 and 2006, with a peak of 110 in 1997. As for Shanghai, this figure rises, as is the case for the number of countries. Sixty-seven artists were included in the 2000 edition, while there were 101 in 2006, a growth of 51%. The number of artists also increased in São Paulo: 42 took part in the exhibition of invited artists in 1996, while this number almost tripled in 2006 to 123.

The rise in the number of participating countries and artists at the Shanghai biennial could be explained by the fact that prior to the 2000 edition the event only included the work of domestic (Chinese) artists, whereas it later sought to present itself as international, which necessitated an expansion in the number of participating nations. As for São Paulo, an explanation for the increase in the number of artists can be found in the growing importance of the exhibition of invited artists. These 'side' shows to the main exhibition of national representation in São Paulo were not very different to the biennials held in Shanghai and Gwangju, whether with respect to the diversity of the countries involved or the number of participating artists. The event has evolved into a biennial organised by a committee of curators and has thus achieved a place alongside similar manifestations based on the invitation of artists.⁸³ This eventually resulted in the abolition of the national representation exhibition in favour of that of invited artists, which has been the main event at this biennial since 2006.

The European biennials, for their part, are not marked to the same degree by a continuous rise or fall in the number of countries involved, but are notable for fluctuations in these numbers. At Documenta, the number of participating nations has varied between 28 in 1997 and 51 in the following edition in 2002. The average at this event is 42. In Venice, the number of participating countries fluctuated between 18 and 47, except for the 2003 edition, Bonami's *Dreams and Conflicts*, which hosted the work of participants from 71 countries.

At the Biennale di Venezia, the number of artists changes just as much as the number of countries, with a peak of 432 artists in 2003. At Documenta, however, the number fell from 189 in 1992 to 115 in 2007, a fall of 39%. These fluctuations in the number of artists taking part may well be related to the appointment at virtually every edition of a new curatorial committee and, thus, differences in artistic vision. At the 2007 edition of Documenta, for example, the curators Roger Buergel and Ruth Noack decided to show at least three pieces by each artist taking part, which is probably why there were relatively few artists at this event. In the 2003 edition of the Biennale di Venezia, meanwhile, the higher number of participating artists seems to be because this particular edition contained several exhibitions instead of just one, the largest of which – *Utopia Station* curated by Molly Nesbit, Hans Ulrich Obrist and Rirkrit Tiravanija – alone included the work of 247 artists.

These outcomes are inconclusive with relation to the opposing Hypotheses 1a and 2a. Cultural flows or network theory suggest that contemporary art events, and biennials in particular, have become more diverse over the years, while cultural dominance theories indicate the opposite. However, neither of the two has been proved to be irrefutably true.

⁸³ On Brazilian art and the São Paulo biennale, see also Fialho (2006).

When comparing absolute diversity at biennials to that in museums over more or less the same period, the number of participating nations at the former was almost twice as high as anticipated in Hypothesis 2c. On average, 18 countries were represented in the five museums in Berlin, New York, London and Paris at the time of my visits in 2007-2008. In contrast, an average of 37 were represented at the biennials held in 2006 and 2007 in São Paulo, Gwangju, Shanghai, Venice and at Documenta. In this light, and by contrasting the biennial with the more traditional museum event, presenting the former as the stronger symbol of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world seems to be justified.

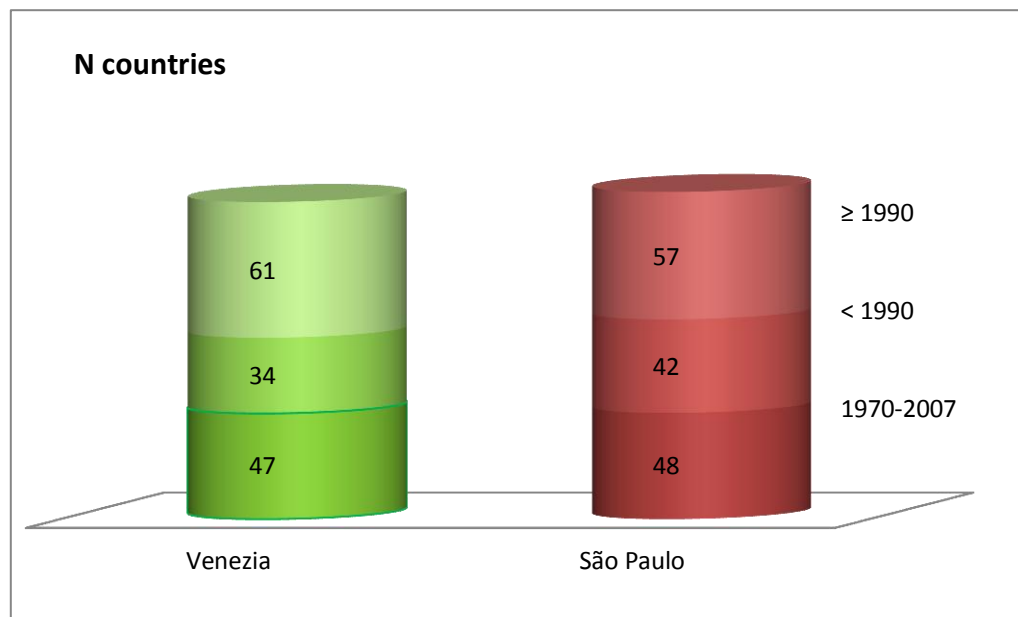
Nonetheless, even at biennials, the diversity of the participating nations continues to be fairly limited, especially in the peripheral zone. Save for the 2003 Biennale di Venezia, in the past 15 years none of the 27 editions of the five biennials taken into account in this section surpassed the number of 71 participating countries, and only two other editions achieved a presence of 51 countries. This range is still quite restricted in view of the total number of 192 countries that there are in the world (United Nations, 2006). Biennials may be more heterogeneous in terms of participating countries in comparison to museums, yet this type of event is also less diverse than anticipated. Moreover, as stated earlier, there has been no clear increase in the number of participating countries over the years, which further underlines the limitations in terms of diversity at this type of event.

NATIONAL REPRESENTATIONS

Having established the degree of diversity in the exhibitions of invited artists, it is interesting to compare this to diversity in the national representation exhibitions. This will enable me to test whether biennials have indeed become more international with the change of system. To this end, I will compare the presence of countries in the two types of exhibition at the Venice and São Paulo biennials. As mentioned earlier, while most of the other biennials have abandoned the national representation model, this type of exhibition is still organised at each Biennale di Venezia. The Bienal de São Paulo, meanwhile, was one of the last events to retain the system, with the final national representation exhibition taking place in 2004.

Between 1971 and 2004, an average of 48 nations participated in the national representation exhibition each year in São Paulo (Figure 6.2, following page). From 1990 onwards, the biennial witnessed a strong growth in the number of represented countries, rising from an average of 42 before the 1990s to an average of 57 between 1990 and 2004. At the Biennale di Venezia, I have likewise found that an increasing number of countries have participated in the event over the years. On average, 47 nations were represented at the editions held between 1970 and 2007. In the exhibitions before 1990, however, the average number of participating countries was 34, with no edition in this period presenting work from 50 or more nations. Yet, between 1990 and 2007, the average number of countries presenting their artists in the pavilions – in the Giardini di Castello or elsewhere in the city of Venice – grew to 61. The event in 2007 included work from no less than 77 different nations. This type of exhibition thus saw a clear increase in the diversity of the countries involved, which is in line with Hypothesis 2a.

Figure 6.2 Diversity of countries (national representation) at La Biennale di Venezia and the Bienal de São Paulo (mean)



The fact that the number of participating countries has grown over the years in both São Paulo and Venice can be explained, in part, by the involvement of new countries like Estonia, Lithuania, Croatia or Slovenia, which were established after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In addition, other countries with a longer history also took part in the national representation exhibition for the first time in 1993 or thereafter. Included in this latter group are Asian countries such as Singapore and Taiwan, Latin American countries like Honduras and El Salvador, and nations like Ireland or New Zealand. South Korea, which had been a participating country in the exhibition in Venice since 1986, even constructed a pavilion in the Giardini in 1995, which underlines the importance of this site.

The growing number of nations from the peripheral zone that have been represented in Venice since the 1990s can be seen as the opening up of the contemporary art world to non-Western countries, thus illustrating the internationalisation thereof (Fournier & Roy-Valex, 2002; Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2002). This development supports the globalisation-as-cultural flows model, on the basis that non-Western countries have succeeded in penetrating the contemporary art world and have thus created a contra flow from the periphery to the centre. As a consequence, this challenges the cultural dominance model.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that this is achieved by conforming to the Western model of an exhibition of national representation, which symbolises Western dominance and underlines geographical embeddedness. The rise in the number of participating countries at this type of exhibition reveals the desire – or at least the willingness – of those in charge of these events to present artists in this format, regardless of the fact that, inspired by notions of internationalisation, the system of national representation has been severely criticised and questioned, particularly since the start of the 1990s.

When comparing the results to those found with respect to the exhibitions of invited artists, and contrary to expectation, more countries were represented in the national representation exhibitions. The 2007 edition of the Biennale di

Venezia is a good example of this. In the national representation event, 77 countries participated, while there were only 34 involved in the exhibition of invited artists. In this light, it seems clear that the national representation exhibitions are much more international than the events displaying the work of invited artists. In other words, more countries obtain a certain degree of visibility in biennials through the system of national representation than they do through the invited artists' exhibitions. This shows that changing the system from national representation to invited artists has not led to more heterogeneous programmes, as is generally believed to be the case.

An explanation for this outcome can be found in the difference between the two exhibition systems, and highlights the importance of territorial factors in international contemporary art events. In the exhibitions of invited artists, participation depends on the curatorial committee, which selects a group of artists from a global pool based on artistic, thematic or budgetary factors. Participation in the national representation exhibitions, however, depends upon the countries themselves taking the steps that are necessary for them to be involved. As I pointed out earlier in subsection 6.2.1, the countries are artistically and financially responsible for their pavilions. If they are willing to curate an exhibition and pay the relevant costs, it is relatively easy to participate and, thus, generate attention for their domestic artists. In this way, the cultural policy of a country contributes to its visibility in an international art event and, also, to the diversity thereof in terms of the countries present.

Nevertheless, even if the diversity of participating countries has been greater in the national representation exhibitions than in the invited artists' events over the past 15 to 20 years, the Venice and São Paulo manifestations (with an average of about 60 participating countries) still only present work from less than a third of all existing nations. The diversity and, therefore, the level of internationalisation that is trumpeted thus appears to be relatively limited, despite the widespread belief in globalisation-as-heterogenisation and the conviction that geographical factors no longer play a role in achieving success in the contemporary art world.

THE RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES

In the previous paragraphs I focused on the issue of the diversity of the countries participating in the biennials under study, which transpired to be somewhat limited. Yet, in doing so, I have only taken into account the total number of countries and artists, with the share of the different nations being omitted from the analysis thus far. Accordingly, in what follows, I will study the presence of artists and countries at biennials in more detail in order to identify similarities and differences in the orientation of these events by examining the countries that are represented the best, i.e. those with a dominant position at these events.

Home country

Similar to the findings made when analysing international contemporary art museums, the organising country is overrepresented in these events (cf. Quemin, 2007, 2002), particularly at the three biennials located in the peripheral zone, where the organising country heads the list of the best represented nations. This underlines the hypothesis in subsection 6.2.2, namely that the dominance of the organising nations in the totality of biennials is related to their overrepresentation

in the events held there (see Table 6.7). Such dominance is greatest at the Shanghai Biennale when compared to the events in Gwangju and São Paulo (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6 Share of the home country at biennials (country of birth)

		SHANGHAI	GWANGJU	SÃO PAULO	DOCUMENTA	VENEZIA
TOTAL	HOME COUNTRY (%)	48.2	16.3	15.1	15.1	12.0
	HOME COUNTRY (N)	174	93	59	86	138
	TOTAL REPRESENTATIONS (N)	361	569	390	570	1,154
MEAN	HOME COUNTRY (%)	48.6	16.4	13.5	12.0	12.3
	HOME COUNTRY (N)	44	16	12	19	16
	TOTAL REPRESENTATIONS (N)	90	95	78	114	131
EDITION (%)	1992				16.4	
	1993					15.4
	1994					
	1995		9.0			24.1
	1996			11.9		
	1997		10.0		19.3	19.4
	1998			0.0		
	1999					13.0
	2000	55.2	13.2			
	2001					12.3
	2002	48.8	18.7	12.3	12.4	
	2003					9.0
	2004	54.0	23.1	25.6		
	2005					5.2
	2006	36.6	24.7	17.9		
	2007				10.4	10.7

Starting with the Bienal de São Paulo, an average of 15.1% of the 390 representations between 1996 and 2006 were by artists born in Brazil. This biennial is somewhat unique since the exhibition of invited artists was organised by region or city in some editions. As a consequence, the visibility of artists is more or less equally divided between these different regions or metropolises. This was certainly the case in the editions in 1996, 1998 and 2002. In 1998, a separate exhibition – in addition to the one for invited international artists – was dedicated to the country's own producers of art. This explains why there were no Brazilian artists in the 1998 figures. What is more, in 2004 and 2006, the share of Brazilian artists went up. In these two editions, the exhibition of invited artists was not organised on geographical grounds, with the event in 2006 being the first when the main show was completely based on the work of invited artists after the abolition of the system of national representation. In both years, Brazil was at the head of the list of countries, while the nation in second place was some distance behind: in 2004, this was the USA with eight artists (9.3%) and in 2006 it was the USA and Argentina (seven artists or 5.7% each). In other words, in the editions that were freed from selection criteria such as country, region or city, relatively more attention was paid to artists from Brazil, with this home country's artists being significantly more visible.

At the Gwangju Biennale, 16.3% of the 569 representations were by Korean artists, and South Korea was the best represented nation in almost every edition. The event in 1997 was the only exception, with the country in second position behind the USA, which further illustrates the dominant position of America in the

contemporary art world (Quemin, 2002). Furthermore, like in São Paulo, the share of the work on display by those from the organising country increased over time. In Gwangju, 9.0% of the artists were Korean in 1995, while this figure rose to 24.7% in 2006.

It is in Shanghai that the power of the host country is the most obvious. At the Shanghai Biennale, almost half of 361 representations were by artists born in China, and the gap between China and the country in second place ranged between about 30 and 50 percentage points of difference (see Table 6.7). As mentioned above, this is probably due to the fact that this biennial began life as a national event, presenting the work of Chinese artists only. Unlike the cases of São Paulo and Gwangju, the home country's share has been falling, with the percentage of participating Chinese artists going from 55.2% in 2000 to 36.6% in 2006. This indicates that growing numbers of foreign artists are taking part in the Shanghai Biennale, which is a sign of the growing internationalisation of this event (Heilbron, 1995; 1999). Nevertheless, despite this change, Chinese artists represented more than a third of the total of 101 artists who participated in the event in 2006, which is far more than the share of Korean artists in Gwangju and Brazilian artists in São Paulo in the same year.

These analyses clearly show that while biennials wish to be looked upon as international art events, this is not reflected in the pre-eminence that is given to artists from the organising countries. These findings are in line with the conclusion of Philippe Piguet's article on international biennials and art fairs, which stated that "[the] most recent biennials (...) are the expression of the local cultural situation, and at the same time, a sign of globalisation."⁸⁴ (Piguet, 2000:302)

Unlike the biennials in the peripheral zone, the home country is not the best represented nation at the events in the centre that are being studied here, namely Germany in the case of Documenta and Italy in the case of the Biennale di Venezia. Indeed, both countries are in second position behind the USA, which is yet another indicator of this nation's centrality in the international art world (Quemin, 2002). This is contrary to what was expected in Hypothesis 1f: although Italy and Germany are overrepresented at their respective biennials, these events in the centre are less orientated towards their national artists than those organised in the periphery. It is possible that the national orientation here has shifted towards a Western orientation, which will be considered in what follows.

At Documenta between 1992 and 2007, 15.1% of 570 representations were by artists born in Germany. German artists have almost always been in second position, except for the 1997 edition, when it changed places with the USA to lead the rankings. Yet, although the country's position has remained more or less the same over the years, the share of German artists has clearly fallen: in 1992, 16.4% were born in Germany, while in 2007 this was only 10.4%.

Italy, as the organising country of the Biennale di Venezia, is also generally in second position behind the USA. In total, there were 1,154 representations at this event, of which an average of 12.0% were by artists born in Italy. This country is always in either first or second place except at the 2005 edition, when first spot was taken by the USA and the second by Spain, which was the country of origin of the event's two artistic directors. The overrepresentation of Spanish artists at this

⁸⁴ « biennales les plus récentes, (...) sont à la fois l'expression d'une situation culturelle locale et le témoin du mondialisme ».

edition underlines the impact of territorial factors and indicates that artists from the same geographical space as the curators benefit most from the involvement of these decision-makers in an event (Hypothesis 3b). Italy was only in fifth place at this edition, but was second again at the next show. Like at Documenta, the share of artists from the organising country also decreased over time at the Biennale di Venezia. After a rise between 1993 and 1995 from 15.4% to 24.1%, the share of participating Italian artists gradually fell to 5.2% in 2005, before rising again up to 10.7% in 2007.

Even though the two European organising countries, which are in one of the two central zones of the contemporary art world, do not rank first at their own biennials, their share is not very different from that of some organising countries in the peripheral zone, such as Brazil and South Korea. All four home nations accounted for about 12% to 16% of the representations at the biennials they organised. The difference between the events in the two zones seems to lie in the fact that the share of the organising countries in each of them is moving in different directions. This illustrates, on the one hand, the intention of European countries to leave room for other nations to be included, and, on the other, the growing aspiration of Gwangju and São Paulo to present the work of domestic artists. In other words, this suggests that the European biennials have become more diverse, while those in the periphery are increasingly focused on a limited group of countries, in particular the home nation. This will be investigated further in the following subsections.

Firstly, I will compare these outcomes to those produced in the analysis of the museums. In line with the findings from studying the countries' overall visibility in the two types of event, the share of domestic countries at biennials is less impressive than is the case for museums. The Shanghai Biennale is the only one to pay attention to their domestic artists in an approach that is similar to that of most of the museums taken into account in the previous chapter. The biennials in Gwangju, São Paulo, Venice and Documenta all presented the work of fewer domestic artists than was the case with museums. This is in line with the finding that absolute diversity (the number of countries present) is twice as high at biennials than it is in museums and confirms the more heterogeneous nature of this kind of event (Hypothesis 2c).

Nevertheless, as was the case in museums, the country organising a biennial has a strong position in the rankings, being first when it comes to the events held in the peripheral zone and second for those located in the centre, after the USA. Although their visibility is not as prominent as in museums, here too domestic artists are conspicuously overrepresented. This clearly highlights the importance of geographical embeddedness in international contemporary art biennials (Hypothesis 3a and 3b). Artists originally from the same countries as those that host the leading art biennials are more likely to be included in this type of event than those born outside these spheres.⁸⁵

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the example of the overrepresentation of Spanish artists at the 2005 edition of the Venice biennial suggests that appointing

⁸⁵ Also, the artists born outside the organising country, but residing there, probably have more chance of being included in the event. I have not analysed this in depth, as the focus here is on the countries of birth.

foreign curators may lead to the greater visibility of the artistic director's home country and thus provides additional support for Hypotheses 3a and 3b. Other examples of this relationship between the geographical embeddedness of the artistic director and the major presence of a country are the Documenta editions of 1992 and 1997. Of all of the 27 editions taken into account here, Belgian artists (5.3%) were most visible at the 1992 exhibition, curated by Belgian Jan Hoet, while this was also the case for French artists (11.3%) in the 1997 exhibition, which was curated by the French curator Catherine David.

These findings thus confirm those made in the section on museums: being from the organising country has a positive impact on an artist's visibility, as does, most likely, being from the same country as the curator in charge of organising the exhibition. Consequently, countries that are home to the curator or are hosting the event are generally overrepresented at international contemporary art biennials.

These outcomes reflect reception theory in the sense that curators and the individual biennials they work for are in a key position as gatekeepers. Functioning as an intermediary between the artists and the public, and influenced by their own geographical and cultural background, these decision-makers determine what is shown to the public and the orientation of an event, thus also establishing the level of internationalisation of the biennial. Moreover, these outcomes also underline the desire of biennials, particularly those in the periphery, to promote national artists, which is in line with cultural policy theory. In order to study this more thoroughly, it is necessary to analyse the share of the representations of countries other than the ones hosting a biennial, which will be explored in what follows.

Neighbouring countries

Apart from the dominance of home nations, the analyses have enabled me to highlight the importance of neighbouring countries, particularly in the case of the East and Southeast Asian biennials, which becomes apparent in Table 6.7 (following page).

Firstly, when it comes to the Asian biennials, two of South Korea's neighbours, China and Japan, are among the five most represented countries at the Gwangju Biennale. At the Shanghai event, this is the case for three neighbouring countries; Japan is in second position, while South Korea and Taiwan share fifth place. In other words, although these two biennials present themselves as international art manifestations, they are in fact fairly noticeable for their geographical embeddedness and focus on the Asian continent. In reality, this makes them more *regional* than *international*, particularly in the case of the event in Shanghai (Crane, 2002; La Pastina & Straubhaar, 2005; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Straubhaar, 2010).

The exhibitions in the São Paulo biennial are an exception in that they are less dominated by neighbouring countries. Remarkably, at this event, China, South Africa and Australia are in the top five most represented nations. This is, to a large extent, a result of the geographical criteria upon which several editions were based. In 2002, the event focused on cities, including Beijing, Johannesburg and Sydney, which meant that a higher number of artists from the countries in which these cities are located were involved. Moreover, at the 1998 event, which was divided into regions, *Oceania* was almost entirely represented by artists of Australian origin, while one third of the region of *África* (which was itself

represented by the largest group of artists) was represented by South African creators.

Table 6.7 Visibility of countries per biennial (country of birth)

SHANGHAI	%	GWANGJU	%	SÃO PAULO	%	DOCUMENTA	%	VENEZIA	%
<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	48.2	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	16.3	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	15.1	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	15.1	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	12.0
<i>FOREIGN (TOP)</i>									
JAPAN	5.8	USA	8.8	USA	7.7	USA	15.8	USA	16.9
		CHINA	5.8	CHINA	5.1	FRANCE	5.1	GERMANY	8.7
		JAPAN	5.4	GERMANY	4.9	UNIT. KINGDOM	4.9	UNIT. KINGDOM	6.3
								CHINA	5.5
								FRANCE	4.9
<i>FOREIGN (≥2.5%)</i>									
USA	3.9	UNIT. KINGDOM	4.4	AUSTRALIA	3.3	AUSTRIA	4.2	SWITZERLAND	2.6
GERMANY	3.3	FRANCE	3.7	S. AFRICA	3.3	BELGIUM	3.7		
S. KOREA	2.8	GERMANY	3.5	ARGENTINA	2.8	ITALY	3.5		
TAIWAN	2.8	ITALY	2.6	CUBA	2.8	SWITZERLAND	3.0		
HONG KONG	2.5			JAPAN	2.8	BRAZIL	2.6		
ITALY	2.5			UNIT. KINGDOM	2.8	CANADA	2.6		
						ISRAEL	2.5		
<i>FOREIGN (1.5-2.5%)</i>									
SWITZERLAND	1.9	SWITZERLAND	2.3	CANADA	2.3	CHINA	2.1	AUSTRIA	2.3
FRANCE	1.7	DENMARK	2.1	TURKEY	2.3	NETHERLANDS	1.9	JAPAN	2.2
NETHERLANDS	1.7	ARGENTINA	1.9	ITALY	2.1	ARGENTINA	1.8	BELGIUM	1.9
UNIT. KINGDOM	1.7	INDONESIA	1.8	PORTUGAL	2.1	SPAIN	1.8	RUSSIA	1.9
		NETHERLANDS	1.8	COLOMBIA	1.8	INDIA	1.6	SPAIN	1.9
		THAILAND	1.8	RUSSIA	1.8	POLAND	1.6	BRAZIL	1.8
		TURKEY	1.8	VENEZUELA	1.8	S. AFRICA	1.6	SWEDEN	1.6
		SINGAPORE	1.6	BELGIUM	1.5			S. AFRICA	1.6
				MEXICO	1.5				
				NETHERLANDS	1.5				
				SPAIN	1.5				
<i>FOREIGN (1.0-1.4%)</i>									
CANADA	1.4	BRAZIL	1.4	AUSTRIA	1.3	JAPAN	1.4	ARGENTINA	1.3
CUBA	1.4	INDIA	1.4	FRANCE	1.3	RUSSIA	1.4	CANADA	1.3
INDIA	1.4	S. AFRICA	1.4	ISRAEL	1.3	CZECH REPUBLIC	1.2	MEXICO	1.3
ARGENTINA	1.1	AUSTRALIA	1.2	NEW ZEALAND	1.3	CHILE	1.1	ISRAEL	1.1
		CUBA	1.2	POLAND	1.3	DENMARK	1.1	NETHERLANDS	1.1
		ISRAEL	1.2	S. KOREA	1.3	IRELAND	1.1	DENMARK	1.0
		CANADA	1.1	SWITZERLAND	1.3	NIGERIA	1.1		
		MEXICO	1.1	BENIN	1.0				
		PHILIPPINES	1.1	CHILE	1.0				
		SWEDEN	1.1	MALI	1.0				
		TAIWAN	1.1						
37 COUNTRIES <1.0%		58 COUNTRIES <1.0%		38 COUNTRIES <1.0%		48 COUNTRIES <1.0%		73 COUNTRIES <1.0%	
N=361		N=569		N=390		N=570		N=1,154	

Although neighbouring countries are less prominent in the São Paulo biennial than is the case for the events in Asia, countries such as Argentina, as well as Colombia and Venezuela, are relatively highly visible there. Moreover, the first main exhibition that was dedicated entirely to invited artists – held in 2006 – revealed that more attention is paid to neighbouring countries; at this event,

Argentina was in second place and more than twice as visible at this edition than at one of the previous ones.

These analyses reveal that the nations that neighbour an organising country account for a significant share of the countries represented at these biennials, providing support for Hypothesis 3c. This outcome underlines the importance of the geographical aspect at the events located in the peripheral zone, and in particular in Asia, and is a first indicator that biennials are more regionally orientated than completely global.

As for the two most important biennials in the world, the Biennale di Venezia and Documenta in Kassel, both of which are organised in continental Europe, neighbouring countries again appear in the list of top-ranking nations. France is in third position at Documenta and sixth in Venice. The importance of being a neighbouring country is emphasised even more by the fifth position occupied by Austria at Documenta and, although less prominent, at the Biennale di Venezia. Whereas France is represented at almost every edition of all of the five biennials taken into account, and is regarded as being among the most important European art scenes, Austria does not have such a lofty reputation in the contemporary art world. Indeed, this country's visibility at the other biennials is not as significant as it is at Documenta and the Biennale di Venezia, where it is in eighth position immediately below Switzerland, which is, like Austria, a neighbour of Italy.

This shows that the mere fact of either being a neighbouring country and part of the same cultural space, or sharing the same network, has a significant influence on the presence of artists at biennials, even if the prevailing discourse in the field still underlines the notion that the nationality of an artist is no longer a factor (Quemin, 2002).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REGION

In the previous paragraphs, I have shown that the home nation is always well represented at biennials, and that neighbouring countries are overrepresented. In what follows, I will examine to what extent the biennials are *international* by focusing on the share of the *region*, meaning the group of countries that are close geographically or culturally to the one that is organising the event. The five biennials taken into account are located in three regions: East and Southeast Asia, Latin America and Western Europe.⁸⁶ My analysis focuses primarily on these three regions and addresses the presence of artists from these areas and the international orientation of the biennials located there. This means that I will mainly explore and compare activities in and the presence of these regions, and focus less on others, such as North America, Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, West Asia, North Africa and Oceania.

⁸⁶ Present in at least one of the five biennials were the following countries: *East and Southeast Asia*: China, Hong Kong, Japan, Mongolia, South Korea and Taiwan; Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. *Latin America*: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay and Venezuela; Bahamas, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haïti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Puerto Rico. *Western Europe*: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

I will begin by studying the presence of artists who were born in the region where the biennial is located, and will then proceed to analyse their involvement per region at the biennials held elsewhere.

Figure 6.3 shows the presence of artists born in the same region where the biennial is held, while Figure 6.4 presents the share of the following regions at each of the events: East and Southeast Asia, Latin America and Western Europe.

Figure 6.3 Representations by artists originating from the region (%)

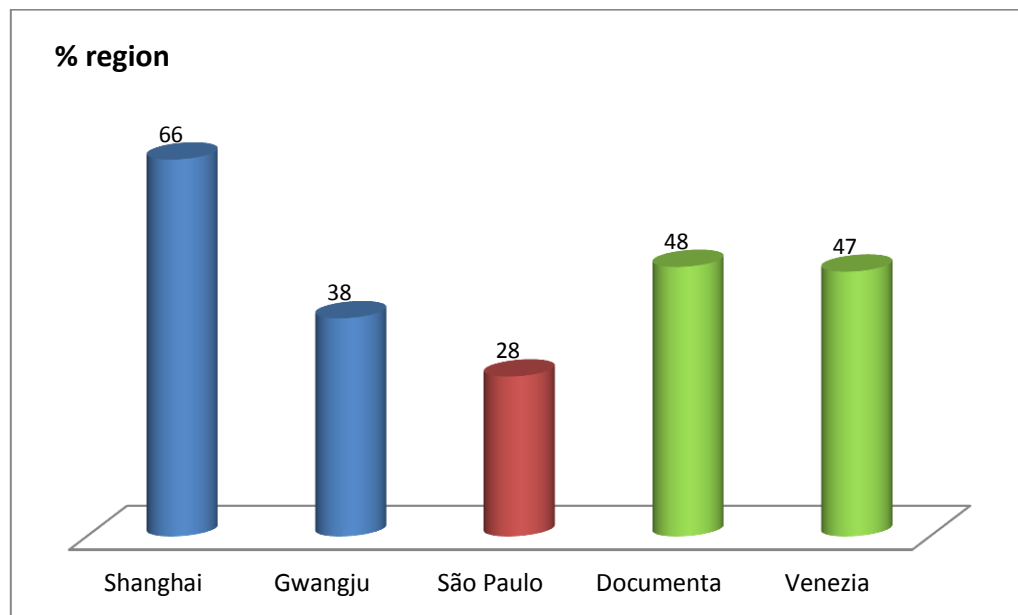
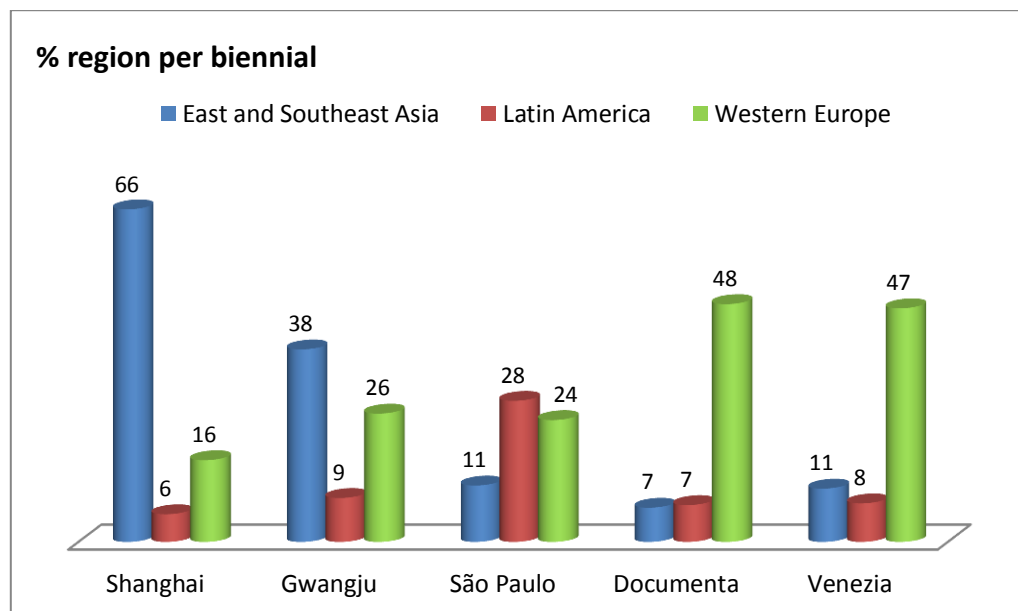


Figure 6.4 Representations per region per biennial (%)



East and Southeast Asia

At the Gwangju Biennale, between 1995 and 2006, 38% (219 representations) of a total of 569 representations were by artists originally from a country located in the East and Southeast Asian region. Upon analysing each edition separately, it can be seen that the share of artists from East and Southeast Asia increased from 24% in 1995 to 54% in 2006. This indicates that the biennial has become increasingly *regional* instead of more *international*.

In 2006, this focus was made explicit when 'Asia' was chosen as the theme of the Gwangju Biennale. In her introduction, the artistic director, Kim Hong-hee, explained why:

"Moreover, it is quite pertinent to take 'Asia' as the theme of the Gwangju Biennale, since, firstly, Asian discourses are gaining increasing relevance today; secondly, the geopolitical and economic-political role of East Asia is facing renewal and reformation; and lastly, the Gwangju Biennale is expected to act as a representative non-western biennale helping to transform the cultural sphere of East Asia. Thus, the Gwangju Biennale aspires to promote Asian discourses and aesthetics connecting Gwangju, Korea and the world, and to elucidate the Asian identity that exists between the reality and the fantasy of Asia."

"The title 'Fever Variations' reflects the cultural abundance of Asia – its multiple significances and the way it affects the world with its vibrant energy and enthusiasm for change. (...) As its main thematic title suggests, this Biennale proposes 'to see contemporary modern art with and through the eyes of Asia'." (Gwangju Biennale, 2006: 11)

As for the Shanghai Biennale, the region's share was even greater: of 361 representations between 2000 and 2006, 66% were by artists born in East or Southeast Asia. However, unlike my findings at the Gwangju Biennale, the percentage of artists born in the East and Southeast Asian region fell from 79% to 54%, which is undoubtedly related to the diminishing number of Chinese artists involved. Nevertheless, with more than half of the artists originating from East and Southeast Asia, the Shanghai Biennale, like the event in Gwangju, should more accurately be labelled as a regional instead of a truly international art event.

In part, reasons for this regional orientation can be found in the expansion of the Asian contemporary art market in recent years, as well as a growing interest on the part of Western countries in Asian, and particularly Chinese, art (Artprice, 2008-2011, see also Moureau & Sagot-Duvaurox, 2006; Zorloni, 2005). The emergence of Asia is a good example of how the cultural constellation, although predominantly autonomous, may be influenced by external factors (Heilbron, 1999; Straubhaar, 2010; Tomlinson, 1991, 1996). The materialisation of China as an economic power is translated in this field into a stronger national contemporary art market as well as a successful penetration of the international contemporary art market.

This growing interest suggests that countries from the East and Southeast Asian region, particularly China, South Korea, India and Japan, should have been increasingly visible over the years in biennials in other parts of the world. Indeed, their greater presence would indicate that these countries have taken on a more exemplary role in recent years, which would confirm their increasingly central position in the international art world as a whole (Heilbron, 1995, 1999).

However, when looking at the presence of artists from East and Southeast Asian countries at other biennials, the analysis reveals that their work is included far less at the Bienal de São Paulo or the two European events. On average over the

years, the presence of East and Southeast Asian artists is only 11% in São Paulo and Venice and 7% at Documenta (Figure 6.4).

In São Paulo, the East and Southeast Asian region was most visible in 2002, when 16% of the representations were by East and Southeast Asian artists. Yet, this result is not surprising, considering that Tokyo and Beijing were among the 12 cities upon which this edition was centred. More salient is the region's relatively limited and decreasing presence in the 2004 and 2006 editions, which were organised without a specific geographical theme. India, after China the second most emerging Asian nation, has hardly been represented at all in São Paulo, while China – the most visible Asian country in 2004 with 7% of the representations – accounted for only 2% of those at the 2006 edition. Accordingly, the rise of these nations and the region has not been translated thus far into regular overrepresentation at this event.

At both of the the European biennials, the presence of the East and Southeast Asian region has increased over time. At Documenta, it grew from 5% of the representations in 1992 to 15% in 2007. In Venice, the degree of visibility varied more from one year to another, albeit with a slight increase on average. Remarkably, East and Southeast Asia was relatively most represented at the edition that is considered to have launched Asian art, the dAPERTutto exhibition in Venice curated by Harald Szeemann in 1999, where 20% of the representations were by artists from East and Southeast Asia, with the majority being from China. This edition clearly put Asia on the map, although this high level of visibility did not continue in the following editions; at the two most recent editions taken into consideration, East and Southeast Asia's share was less than 10%.

To summarise, East and Southeast Asian artists are manifestly overrepresented at the biennials held in their own region. At the Gwangju Biennale they accounted for 38% of the representations, while at Shanghai their share was as high as 66%. At the other biennials, the share of East and Southeast Asia is not nearly as impressive. The visibility of East and Southeast Asian artists fell in São Paulo, and although European biennials are showing more work by these artists, they are clearly not dominant there. The contrast in the visibility of East and Southeast Asian artists between the two geographical spaces - within the East and Southeast Asian region and elsewhere – is striking.

Latin America

At the Bienal de São Paulo, the region in which the home country is located is less represented than at the two Asian and the two European biennials. However, it is important to point out that – as I have stated before in this subsection – a special exhibition was dedicated to Brazil in 1998, which meant that the country was not represented in the exhibition of invited artists.⁸⁷ Moreover, in 1996, 1998 and 2002, artists were invited from a particular region, continent or city, which led to a more or less balanced distribution of the share of the different areas.

On average, between 1996 and 2006, 28% of the representations were by artists who were originally from a Latin American country. Moreover, in recent years the number of artists from the region has grown. While in 1996, 21% of those participating in the exhibition of invited artists were born in Latin America,

⁸⁷ In 2000, again, a special exhibition was dedicated to Brazil, but unlike the 1998 edition, Brazilian artists were also included in the exhibition of invited artists.

in 2004 and 2006 – the two editions that were not based on geographical criteria – 38% and 37% of the artists respectively were originally from this region. These figures point to a growing aspiration to display the work of artists from Latin America.

Interviews held with two of the curators of the 2006 São Paulo biennial underlined that the territorial factor still plays an important role in its organisation, even though the curatorial committee had freed the event from the national representation system (cf. Sapiro, 2010). Although this system had been abandoned that year, national representation was nonetheless taken into consideration in the planning of the event; during the organisation process of this edition, the curators paid a great deal of attention to national and regional representation.

Firstly, the committee of curators wished to find a balance in the presence or representation of countries in the selection process. In the first selection round, they did not explicitly take this issue into account, but in the second round no new artists from a country or region were added to the list if it already contained artists from the same geographical sphere.

Furthermore, the biennial explicitly wanted to include certain countries or regions. Inspired by the theme of the 2006 edition, *Como viver junto* (How to live together), the committee wished to invite artists who were dealing with this, or related topics, in their art in regions like the Middle East, Africa or Eastern Europe (cf. Carroll, 2007). As one of the curators explained:

“For me, Cyprus was a fundamental country, because I know that in geopolitics, Turkey and Cyprus, they are first of all American bases and they are military manoeuvres and I know that Cyprus is divided in Turkish and Greek territory. So, we have an artist here. For me, it is important that he talks about that, he talks about borders.”⁸⁸ (Interview, curator 4, São Paulo)

In addition to this, the committee had also taken into consideration the countries with which Brazil or São Paulo has strong relationships, like Portugal, of which Brazil is a former colony. Similarly, the committee specifically focused on the Korean and Japanese art scenes, because São Paulo has many immigrants of Korean and Japanese descent.

Another indicator of the importance of the territorial factor is the limited interest of the committee in artists from European countries or, more accurately, Western European nations (cf. Achterberg et al., 2011). In interviews, the curators explained that the committee wished to have more work by artists from Eastern Europe than from the West of the continent. Moreover, while it was crucial to have the work of African artists on display, it was not considered to be a problem to include, for instance, only one Swiss artist in the event. The fact that the focus moves away from Western countries to those in other zones around the world might also have an influence on the visibility of the Netherlands. It is likely that Dutch born artists will be less present in biennials as a consequence of a declining interest in Western European art in general. Yet the Netherlands is one of the few countries that benefits from attracting foreign artists. The analyses in section 5.1

⁸⁸ « Chypre pour moi était un pays fondamental parce que je sais que dans la géopolitique, la Turquie et Chypre, ce sont d'abord des bases américaines et ce sont des manœuvres militaires et je sais que Chypre est divisée entre les territoires turc et grec. Donc, on a un artiste ici. Pour moi, c'est important parce qu'il parle de ça, il parle des frontières. »

and subsection 6.2.2 showed that their visibility is higher than that of Dutch born artists. As such, their presence counters a possible continuing decline in the visibility of Dutch born artists.

Moreover, while the committee was not particularly concerned about there being a strong presence of artists from the Western European region, it was unthinkable for the Bienal de São Paulo not to fulfil its role as a promoter of Latin American artists:

“(...) but some things, especially in terms of Latin America, there were certain countries that we could not ignore, because of the role that the Bienal de São Paulo has performed in terms of the Latin American art scene. So if you see, the countries that have the most artists are Mexico and Argentina, which are the most important art scenes in Latin America. The US has a lot of artists too, but if you look at Matta-Clark, he is from (sic) Chilean descent, Ana Mendieta is Cuban born, Felix Gonzalez-Torres is Cuban born, and then you have only Dan Graham who is the sort of white US artist. And then Mark Bradford.”

“(...) we don’t have to do anything, but I am the one saying this, you have to have an artist from Costa Rica, Costa Rica is such an interesting scene (...), you can’t ignore that internationally, it is like, it’s the São Paulo Bienal, you can’t ignore that scene.” (Interview, curator 5, São Paulo)

Indeed, the editions in 2004 and 2006, which were not bound by geographical criteria, illustrate that the share of the region was much greater than in previous events. In these editions, more than one third (38% and 37% respectively) of the representations were by artists born in the Latin American region, while at previous shows this figure was never higher than 21%.

As for the visibility of Latin American artists in other regions, the analyses reveal that they were far less present in Asia and Europe than at the Bienal de São Paulo. While in São Paulo 28% of the artists were from the Latin American region, their share was less than 9% in Europe and Asia. In Gwangju, an average of 9% of the artists were Latin American, while in Venice, at Documenta and in Shanghai this figure was 8%, 7% and only 6%, respectively (see Figure 6.4).

Over the years, the visibility of Latin American artists in Asia has fluctuated considerably. At the Shanghai Biennale, the region achieved a presence of 11% in 2004, but this fell to 3% in the following edition. In Gwangju, 16% of the representations were by Latin American artists in 1995, yet in 2006 this figure was a mere 5%. It is likely that the region has seen its visibility reduced in favour of that of the East and Southeast Asian region at this biennial. In contrast, at the Shanghai Biennale, the Latin American region has not been able to benefit substantially from a decline in the presence of work by East and Southeast Asian artists.

In Europe, the presence of work from the Latin American region was limited in the 1990s, with a 5% share at the Documenta editions and, after achieving a share of 8% in 1993, no representations at the 1995 and 1997 editions in Venice. At both biennials, however, the visibility of the region increased over the years to 12% and 13%, respectively, in 2007. Like East and Southeast Asian artists, their Latin American counterparts have become more visible in Europe over the past 15 years. However, despite this, and similar to the case of East and Southeast Asia, the share of Latin American artists at biennials in the two other regions is far from attaining the level at the biennial held in the region.

Western Europe

Texts or articles written in catalogues by artistic directors, curators or other actors involved in biennials often refer to the apparent decline of the hegemony of European (or Western) art and the rise of new countries and regions, provoked by notions of multiculturalism and internationalisation at the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s. As curator Huang Du writes in the catalogue to accompany *HyperDesign*, the 2006 edition of the Shanghai Biennale:

“The rise of multiculturalism in the 1980s and post-Cold War Era globalization of the 1990s have contributed to the dispersal of the truth philosophy [that] Western cultural foundations are based upon, in addition to the overall weakening of Western dominance in discourse.”

“(…) In light of this ideological shake up, Western art is currently experiencing trauma and coming to the gradual realization that the West is not the sole global center, nor is contemporary art solely the expression of Western culture.” (Shanghai Biennale, 2006: 44)

In the catalogue of the 2005 edition of the Biennale di Venezia, Rosa Martínez, one of the artistic directors, wrote the following:

“The West’s anxiety to define the canon arises from the fear of losing the power to classify and to standardise, to assess and to define ‘quality’ in a moment when a symphony of dissonant voices has created what for some is a cacophonous concert and for others a symbol of hope indicative of a change of paradigm.” (La Biennale di Venezia, 2005: preface)

Still, when it comes to the presence of artists at Documenta and the Biennale di Venezia, the share of the Western European region is considerable. Of 570 representations at Documenta between 1992 and 2007, 271 (48%) were by artists born in Western Europe. At the Venice biennial, there were 539 representations (47%) by artists born in this region. Although not as high as the share of the East and Southeast Asian region at the Shanghai Biennale, compared to that of East and Southeast Asian artists at Gwangju and Latin American artists in São Paulo, these figures are much higher.

However, as in the case of East and Southeast Asia at the Shanghai Biennale, the share of Western Europe at these two European events has fallen over the years. While in 1992 51% of the representations at Documenta (and 69% in 1997) were by Western Europeans, at the latest edition in 2007, only 28% of the artists were born in this region. At the Biennale di Venezia in 1993, almost half of the artists (47%) were born in Western Europe. This share increased to 61% in 1997 and fell to 34% in 2007.

The falling share of representations by artists from the Western European region at the two major biennials in Europe is probably related to the fact that the artistic directors and curators there aspired to either include a wider range of participating artists or open the event up to countries from the peripheral zone, as Harald Szeemann, who explicitly wished to show the work of Asian artists (in particular those from China and Korea), did at the 1999 edition of the Biennale di Venezia (Di Martino, 2003). Indeed, I found that there was a growing presence of East and Southeast Asian and Latin American artists in both Kassel and Venice. Yet, even though the share of artists from Western European countries is going down, this does not change the fact that these two biennials are dominated by Western European artists. On average, at both major biennials located in the *centre*, almost half of the artists with work on show were born in a Western European country. Moreover, even at the 2007 editions, the Western European region was still overrepresented.

Whereas Western European artists were clearly present at Documenta and the Biennale de Venezia, in Shanghai their share was only 16%. In Gwangju and São Paulo, about a quarter of the artists were born in Western Europe (26% and 24% respectively). In other words, at the biennials outside the European region, the visibility of the continent's artists lags well behind their visibility in their own region. Yet, when comparing the presence of artists from the three regions, the share of Western European artists at biennials held in Latin America and Asia is much higher than that of Latin American artists in Europe and Asia, or of East and Southeast Asian artists at the biennials held in Europe and Latin America.

At the Gwangju biennale, the visibility of the Western European region fluctuated most, between 33% in 1997 and 20% in the following edition in 2000. Over the years, there has been a slight decrease, with the share of this region being 24% at the 2006 edition. In São Paulo, and even more so in Shanghai, the visibility of Western European artists has increased. At the Latin American biennial in 2006, their share was 25%, with Western Europe accounting for the highest share of representations, apart from Latin America, despite the curatorial board's intention to limit the number of Western European artists in favour of those from other regions. A reason for the overrepresentation of Western Europe there is the biennial's ongoing dependence on the financial support of nations, particularly in this first year after the abolition of the national representation system. Western countries are generally better equipped financially to contribute to the biennial than nations in the peripheral zone. As a part of their cultural policy, Western European countries are more likely to financially support the promotion of their artists abroad than other regions. This is another example of how the otherwise autonomous cultural sphere is related to other spheres (Heilbron, 1999; Tomlinson, 1991, 1996). In Shanghai, with 30% of the representations in 2006, the increase was even greater, and the same explanation might be applicable to this growth. Here, opening up to artists from parts of the world other than East and Southeast Asia seems to be primarily advantageous to those from the Western European region.

These outcomes clearly highlight that the demand for the work of Western European artists is significantly higher than for that by their East and Southeast Asian or Latin American counterparts. The notion of multiculturalism has not, thus far, really changed this. Indeed, although multiculturalism has led to the emergence of biennials in every part of the world, it has not been able to create a threat to the position held by two dominant poles in the international contemporary art world, the USA and Europe (Quemin, 2002).

So, what can be said about the development in the orientation of these biennials in the three different zones? Following the assumption that globalisation has led to more openness towards non-Western art, Hypothesis 2b predicted that biennials have become less marked by the presence of central countries (here: Western European and North American regions) over the years and more so by the greater visibility of artists from emerging nations (here: the rest of the world⁸⁹). This does not confirm Hypotheses 1b and 1c, derived from cultural dominance theory, which anticipated that biennials would become more marked by central

⁸⁹ In addition to East and Southeast Asia and Latin America, these regions are Eastern Europe; Sub-Saharan Africa; Middle East, West Asia, Northern Africa; Oceania.

nations and dominated by the same countries over the years. The findings in this chapter both reject and confirm these hypotheses, depending on the biennial.

In Shanghai, the presence of the central zones becomes more salient with the decline of the East and Southeast Asian region, while the visibility of the rest of the regions hardly changes. Here, the biennial has clearly not provided a platform for artists from peripheral countries other than for those from the organising nations and those located in the region. This biennial is manifestly dominated by countries located in East and Southeast Asia and the West. This is also the case at the second Asian biennial, Gwangju, although it is less obvious. Moreover, the orientation of the biennial towards the East and Southeast Asian region negatively and primarily affected the other peripheral regions, rather than leading to a decline in the visibility of those in the centre.

In São Paulo, the share of the peripheral regions outside Latin America was significantly higher than in Asia, although their overall presence fell in the 2004 and 2006 editions. The decline in the visibility of these regions is probably related to the increase in the visibility of artists from Latin America. The central regions have also witnessed a decline in visibility in the two latest editions, although less drastically so than in the peripheral regions. In other words, the implementation of the new biennial model has rarely been beneficial to the overall visibility of the peripheral zones outside Latin America. In contrast, the dominance of the organising and central regions has become stronger in recent years.

Finally, in the centre, apart from a fall in the share of the Western European countries, that of the North American region has also become less prominent over the years. Virtually all other regions have benefited from this and are increasingly visible. However, as in the case of the biennials in the periphery, Western Europe and North America remain central here.

CONCLUSION

In this section, I have focused on the presence of artists at seven contemporary art biennials located in different parts of the world in order to determine the level of internationalisation of this type of event. The rise of the new biennials, most of which are located in the peripheral zone, started at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s. This was related to the arrival of the notion of multiculturalism, and is considered to be one of the indicators of the contemporary art world's internationalisation.

Overall, based on country of birth, 128 nations participated in the biennials under study. This comparatively high number can be partially explained by the relatively wide range of biennials and editions selected for this research: I studied 4,349 representations by artists participating in 42 editions of seven biennials organised in different parts of the world. Based on this absolute diversity, the biennial event is more heterogeneous than the museum event. This is also underlined when the two are compared over the same period of time. Accordingly, the biennial seems to be rightly labelled as the most international institutional event. However, at 8%, the relative diversity observed in biennials is just a little higher than in museums and is still fairly limited. This indicates that only a few countries benefit from comparatively great visibility in this type of event. As a consequence, it is plausible to conclude that biennials are equally as marked by cultural dominance as museums.

As for the Netherlands, the country's visibility is more or less the same in contemporary art biennials (1.4%) as it is in the leading contemporary art museums (1.3%). Any slight difference is probably because diversity in the former is greater. Similar to my findings with respect to museums, including artists who live in the Netherlands has a positive effect on the country's visibility in biennials; relatively, more artists affiliated to the Netherlands by residence than by birth were invited to participate in one of the biennials under study. Based on the country of birth only, the Netherlands is the 19th most represented nation at this type of event. Including foreign artists who reside in the country clearly strengthens its position (climbing to the 10th place), and makes the Netherlands one of the most successful nations at contemporary art biennials.

Furthermore, my findings suggest that territorial factors have a considerable impact on the visibility of artists and the countries they represent. Although biennials present themselves as international art events, the local aspect is not neglected, and is sometimes even emphasised (cf. Erić, 2007; Kuipers, 2011). At the three biennials located in the peripheral zone, the home nation is the best represented, while at the two events in Europe, the organising country is in second position, behind the most central nation, the USA. In other words, artists originating in a host country have relatively more chance of taking part in this type of art manifestation.

It is not only domestic artists, but also artists from the region playing host to the biennial that are highly visible in this kind of event. All of the five biennials under study in subsection 6.2.3 appeared to be marked by their geographical and cultural embeddedness. The dominant position of the region was strongest at the Shanghai Biennale; almost two thirds of its artists were originally from East or Southeast Asia. The European biennials, where almost half of the artists were from this continent, were next, while in Gwangju, the East and Southeast Asian region was represented by more than a third of the artists taking part and in São Paulo more than a quarter of the participating artists were from Latin America.

This outcome, like the findings for museum exhibitions, supports reception theory, which stresses the importance of curators and biennials when it comes to deciding which artists and countries have access to this international platform. It also sustains the cultural policy model, as the overrepresentation of organising countries stresses the vocation of biennials to serve as a platform for domestic or regional artists.

While artists from the region playing host to this type of event are significantly present at the biennial(s) held in their area, they are far less visible at those organised in other regions. This is particularly the case for East and Southeast Asian and Latin American artists. This overrepresentation of the peripheral regions at the home biennials, and their underrepresentation abroad, corresponds to the observations made by Straubhaar (2010), who suggests that development from emerging cultural and media powers (the BRIC nations and other emerging countries like South Korea and Mexico) passes from a national, via a regional, to a global stage. From the analysis in this section, it is plausible to conclude that the East and Southeast Asian and Latin American regions have not, until now, been able to achieve complete global coverage.

The greater visibility of the peripheral regions at Documenta and in Venice than at other biennials held in the periphery indicates that the global

dissemination of work from these areas simply passes through the biennials held in the centre. This is in line with the observations of De Swaan (2001) and Heilbron (1999), who state that exchanges between peripheral zones are limited; flows from one peripheral country are generally directed towards the centre and from there to another peripheral country. The centre operates as an intermediary between different peripheral zones. This transit function in turn consolidates the central position of these events, and explains why they are more internationally orientated than those held in the periphery.

Unlike Latin American and East and Southeast Asian artists, their Western European counterparts were well represented at every biennial taken into account here, which underlines the belief that Europe is one of the two dominant poles in the international contemporary art world, with the USA being the other. Indeed, the USA above all, followed by Germany, the United Kingdom and France, benefit from a high level of visibility at biennials, both in the centre and the periphery, which highlights the centrality of these four countries in the contemporary art world of today.

To summarise, the notion of multiculturalism, which is at the heart of the rise of the new biennials and has been a source of inspiration for numerous curators, including those of biennials held in the centre, is primarily expressed in the strong presence of regional artists at biennials located in that same region.

Moreover, in addition to the level of the individual biennial, it is also important to study these events on a transnational level by taking into account the totality of these individual art manifestations. It is because of its worldwide dissemination that the biennial is presented as symbol of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world. On this transnational level, central and home (or regional) countries are dominant. This makes it plausible to argue that the overrepresentation of domestic and regional artists at each of these individual events taken together contributes to a more heterogeneous event (De Swaan, 1995; Heilbron, 1995; 1999; Kuipers, 2011). Regarded as such, the biennial unmistakably supports cultural network theory.

The question remains as to whether these multiple poles represent more diversity – in terms of equality – in the biennial event. However, the opposite appears to be true. Although the majority (128) of the world's countries are represented at least once at one of the biennials held across the globe, the overrepresentation of domestic artists at the individual events has led to the organising countries (and their region) dominating biennials on a transnational level. Along with the central countries of the visual arts' world, these nations account for the majority of representations. Their dominance leaves little room for others, making it more difficult for countries to become visible in regions other than their own. Accordingly, biennials are illustrative of cultural network theory in the sense that flows predominantly take place within the network, while there are limited exchanges with spaces in the peripheral zone outside these networks.

Of the three regions analysed here, the only one to be manifestly present in other regions is Western Europe. Comparable results, although not discussed in detail in this subsection (see p. 156), have been noted for the North American region, including the USA. Based on the above, it is possible to assert that the biennial as a transnational event is fairly homogeneous, and in this sense does not differ drastically from museums.

7 THE INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION OF ART EVENTS IN THE ART MARKET

While in the previous chapter I investigated the presence of countries in the institutional arena by focusing on museums and biennials, in this chapter the art market will be central. This allows for a comparison to be made of the visibility of countries, and in particular that of the Netherlands, in the two complementary spheres of the contemporary art world.

As established in section 1.2, the art market has become increasingly important in the past decade, which is apparent in the dissemination of contemporary art fairs all over the world (Bydler, 2004; Moulin, 2003). As such, the fair could be regarded as the equivalent of what represents the biennial in the institutional arena, particularly because they are both considered to be detached from geographical implications and to function on a transnational level. However, they are different in the sense that artists have direct access to biennials, whereas in the case of art fairs they depend on the quality of the gallery they are affiliated to.

This difference also underlines the importance of galleries in the international career of artists. If participation at art fairs has become more important, so is the affiliation to a gallery that makes this possible (cf. Karttunen, 2008). Today, the gallery is in a key position, which is reflected in Morris Hargreaves McIntyre's Art-Eco System Model (2004), which has the gallery (or dealer) at its centre (see also Jyrämä, 2002). This makes studying the representation of countries in the leading contemporary art galleries, and the extent to which the gallery and fair events are international, all the more interesting.

7.1 GALLERY STABLES

Like in the subsections on museums and biennials, I will analyse the presence of countries in contemporary art galleries transnationally and cross-nationally. I will do this by first studying the totality of representations in the galleries under consideration and, secondly, by examining separately each of the cities that are home to the galleries in order to establish the similarities and differences between them. Similarly, I will focus in these analyses on the presence of the Netherlands, and I will also elaborate in particular on the impact that residence has on the visibility of countries.

Before I proceed with my analysis, I will initially focus on the role of the gallery in the development of an artistic career. The importance of the gallery in the construction of such a career is underlined in the interviews that I conducted with different actors of the contemporary art world. Although some suggest that artists can succeed without the support of a gallery, those who have done so on an international level seem to be the exception (Becker, 1982; Karttunen, 2008). In section 7.2, as part of the section on art fairs, I will look more specifically at how a gallery contributes to turning a national career into a global one.

7.1.1 THE ROLE OF THE GALLERY

The relationship between a contemporary art gallery and an artist can be built in a number of different ways, depending on the nature of each party. This may vary according to the kind of gallery. Several scholars have distinguished different types. Bystryn (1978) for example, differentiates between those focused on invention and those that concentrate on innovation, while Moulin (1997: 196) distinguishes between entrepreneurs and negotiators (see also Greenfeld, 1989; Gubbels, 1999; Peterson, 1997; Velthuis, 2005). In an interview, a gallerist stressed how, nowadays, the focus increasingly tends to be on doing business and brief liaisons, instead of on collaboration and a long-term relationship:

“Yeah, the best dealers in the 20th century were the dealers who really had a strong collaboration with their artists, hmm...someone like Leo Castelli. Now you have someone like Larry Gagosian, who is a legendary dealer for other reasons, because he truly understands business. Better than anyone out there. But he is also, you know, not known for discovering artists. So, you know, there should be more, I think there should be more awareness and appreciation for the galleries that have worked, who have a history, that have worked for a long period of time with a certain artist, whose artists don’t constantly move around. Because if you look at some of the top artists of the 20th century they really stayed with relatively few dealers, and that is kind of lost now. I mean the whole playing field has changed....” (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

Like this gallerist, several of the others I interviewed also emphasised the importance of long-term collaboration by stressing that they have an “ongoing” or “intense” relationship with their artists (Interviews with, respectively, gallerist 1, London and gallerist 6, London). Indeed, when talking about their charges, gallerists often refer to “artists we have been representing for a long time”⁹⁰ (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris), or those who have been part of their stable from the very beginning. This indicates that although galleries and artists increasingly seem to be going their separate ways, gallerists still attach importance to an enduring collaboration (cf. Jyrämä, 2002; Karttunen, 2008).

According to some of the gallerists I interviewed, the relationship between the gallery and its artists may vary depending on the nature of the latter. Gallerists indicate that each artist within their stable is different and requires a different form of support. This can depend on the type of work an artist creates: does (s)he need the gallery in the production process or not? Is the work better suited to a public or a private collection? It can also depend on the degree to which the artist wants to deal with institutions, or on the status of the artist: is (s)he young and emerging, or has (s)he already started to develop his/her career? Consequently, as a gallerist pointed out, the work of the gallery starts with “recognising that artists have different needs” and “identifying what the needs are” (Interview, gallerist 6, London).

So, what then is the contribution of a gallery to the development of an international artistic career? The gallery may employ several instruments to this end. The most effective tool “in order to bring the artist out there internationally” (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin) is the use of the gallery’s network. One of the main advantages of having a gallery is that the artist can benefit from its connections. At the start of a career especially, such a network can be extremely helpful, since

⁹⁰ « (...) des artistes qu’on représente depuis longtemps (...) »

young and emerging artists do not tend to have a significant number of contacts (cf. Abbing, 2002; Giuffre, 1999; Karttunen, 2008; Martin, 2007; Rengers, 2002; Ridgeway, 1989; Top, 1993). As for the more established artists, the gallery opens up new avenues and helps to expand existing networks. Without a gallery that is operating in a particular market, an artist would either be deprived of these new relationships or it would take much more time to achieve the same level of visibility. To put it another way, the visibility of the artist in the international contemporary art world depends, in part, on the network of his/her gallery.

Within this network, the gallery functions as a mediator between the artist on the one hand and curators, institutions, art critics and collectors on the other (cf. Jyrämä, 2002; Karttunen, 2008). This enables the artist to concentrate solely on the creative process of art, while the gallery focuses on networking and promotional elements. As several gallerists stated:

“[Galleries] have a lot more experience in engagements with institutions, in engagements with collectors, so hopefully it takes some pressure off the artist, to open up opportunities, to open up connections with curators and writers and help the artist to establish a context that they can work within (...).” (Interview, gallerist 5, New York)

“(...) it’s a framework which means that the artist does not have to be so involved in doing all that networking and administration.” (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

Thus, on a general level, the value of the gallery lies in the fact that it provides the artist with access to a new network of actors from the contemporary art world. Moreover, having a gallery allows the artist to devote more of his/her time to artistic pursuits and spend less of it on day-to-day business activities, like administration or networking (cf. Karttunen, 2008).

Taking care of all kinds of operational aspects is one of a gallery’s main roles. In addition, the gallerist and his/her team also function as mentors and/or advisors during the entire artistic process, which often begins as early as the production of the work of art. Participation in producing new work is another way in which a gallery may contribute to the development of an artist’s career, which is something that several gallerists confirmed in interviews. Sometimes, the gallery functions simply as a sparring partner with whom the artist is able to discuss his/her work. On a more operational level, it can simply be a sponsor that finances the production of work or may provide a team to help produce it. When it comes to costly productions in particular, such as films or large installations, artists increasingly depend on the support of their gallery. Karttunen (2008) stresses that this involvement can be seen as an expression of the gallery’s commitment to the artist, although some artists see it as a threat to their autonomy.

Once a new piece of work has been created, it has to be shown to the public. Here, another aspect of a gallery’s involvement in developing an artist’s career comes into play: as an exhibition space. In this way, a gallery often provides an artist with an initial stage upon which to show his/her work to the public, sometimes even before it is included in exhibitions in art centres or museums. As with the production process, in staging an exhibition the gallery and artist usually work closely together “in partnership” (Interview, gallerist 11, London). However, here too it is the latter who is in charge. According to some gallerists, it is the gallery’s task to “show the work in, sort of, the least compromised way possible” (Interview, gallerist 6, London) and to “let the artist do exactly whatever they want

(...), trusting someone to go, ok well, you wanna dig a hole in our gallery, ok, go ahead.” (Interview, gallerist 11, London)

While the gallery is both a sounding board and a platform for artists, it also plays a role in getting other contemporary art world actors, such as curators, collectors and art critics, interested in their work. An exhibition in a gallery usually starts with a grand opening to which everyone of any importance is invited. These previews are as much about the new art works as they are about the people who come to see them. This becomes clear when observing a random evening in which several openings of new exhibitions in different galleries coincide, such as in a gallery district like *Chelsea* in New York. The galleries go out of their way to make a real occasion of the opening. While some stick to serving champagne and finger foods, others go further by, for example, having an ice cream van outside or offering a ride in a rickshaw to take visitors from one gallery site to another.⁹¹ By doing this, the galleries hope to create a buzz around the event and attract the public, including, of course, collectors, art critics, curators and other artists. Their presence at a preview draws attention to the show and generates interest in the artist and his/her new work, which is likely to inspire other people to come and see the exhibition too. By organising an exhilarating and successful opening, the gallery puts the artist in the spotlight, contributing to the construction of his/her artistic career.

Other gallery activities include documenting the steps that an artist takes on his/her career path. Exhibitions in a gallery's space are a good way of creating extra publicity in journals and art magazines. Sometimes the gallery even has its own magazine in which it can promote its artists (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin). Peres Projects, which publishes the magazine *Daddy*, and Galerie Emmanuel Perrotin, which publishes *Bing*, are examples. Other galleries produce catalogues containing images of their artists' work or financially support a publication. Finally, keeping the artist's page up-to-date on its website is also part of the gallery's role (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris).

Moreover, several gallerists underlined the fact that it is also their job to ensure continuity in exhibitions and activities. An exhibition held in the gallery – or in other spaces – should not be an isolated event, but should open up the way to other activities that will contribute to the development of the artist's career. As one of the gallerists stated:

“(...) for me, it is like a ball of wool (...) it is enough to find a bit, and then you pull and things will come and then you realise that in fact, the first thread is connected to a lot of other threads. (...) The idea is that another curator will get to know you, or that the same curator who has put you in the exhibition thinks of you again two years later, and includes you, it's like dominos. (...) It shouldn't be that we do an exhibition that it is like a stone you throw down a well and you hear *splash* and then it stops.”⁹² (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

Continuity, or an ongoing process, is essential in the development of a career, yet it is equally important to take the right steps and make the correct decisions. As in the production process, the gallery also acts as an advisor to the artist when

⁹¹ This was the case at the exhibition openings of Mark Di Suvero (Paula Cooper Gallery) and Zhang Huan (Pace Wildenstein Gallery), which I visited in May 2008.

⁹² « (...) pour moi c'est aussi comme une pelote de laine, si on trouve, il suffit de trouver un bout, et puis après, on tire et les choses viennent et puis après, on se rend compte que finalement le premier fil est relié à plein d'autres fils. (...) L'idée c'est qu'un autre curateur vient de l'apprendre, ou le même curateur qui l'a mis dans l'expo pense à vous deux ans plus tard et vous met, voilà, c'est du domino ça. (...) Il ne faut pas qu'on fasse une expo et que cela soit comme une pierre qu'on lance au fond d'un puits et qu'on attende *poc* et ça s'arrête. »

it comes to deciding when to do which show. It is the role of the gallery to “give guidance” (Interview, gallerist 6, London) to the artist. As a gallerist stated (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris), things can happen very quickly, and so a gallery should be ready to “act immediately”⁹³, while being aware that artists receive so many propositions that it is also its role “to know when to put the brakes on”.⁹⁴ Another gallerist revealed that the gallery “filter[s] a lot of things for the artist” and stressed the importance of keeping things “focused” (Interview, gallerist 6, London). Ultimately, it all comes down to timing, i.e. getting the artist heard about by the people who matter at the right time:

“(…) it is also the timing that is very important (…). See, and, indeed, at that particular moment, the gallery has to, when the moment is right and the artist is good, then, well, our role is to make sure that everything is put together at the right time.”⁹⁵ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

Interestingly enough, gallerists rarely refer to sales in a direct way, although they do talk about placing work in public or private collections. One gallerist underlined that it is their role to “shelter [the artist] from a very aggressive market, from people coming from all sides, wanting this, wanting that” (Interview, gallerist 6, London), while another was critical of what he sees as the negative practices of today’s art dealers, stating that “a lot of these newer dealers... at the moment [that] something is selling they just want more of that. In the short term, that might be good, but it can be devastating for the artist in the long term, especially when they push the prices up too fast.” (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

To summarise, the involvement of a gallery in constructing an artistic career on an international level is diverse. As a mediator between the artist and his public, the gallery functions as a sparring partner to its charge, participates in the production of new work, provides an initial platform for the artists in the form of an exhibition space, gets the public interested in the work by organising impressive openings and generating press attention, and makes sure that there is continuity in the visibility of the artists in different exhibitions. Or, in the words of a gallerist:

“(…) for him, we are everything at the same time, we are, we can be producer, we can be agent, or press agent, we are the confidante, a bit the mom and dad, we are the financier, we are the secretary, and, furthermore, we are, above all, the promotion agency that takes him to art fairs, talks about his work, creates the network, the buzz around him.”⁹⁶ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

7.1.2 THE POSITION OF COUNTRIES ON A TRANSNATIONAL LEVEL

In the previous subsection, I have focused on the role of the gallery in the development of an artistic career. In what follows, I will analyse the presence of artists in the world’s leading galleries. Both museum exhibitions and biennials were found to be dominated by a limited group of countries. The Netherlands

⁹³ « il ne faut pas traîner »

⁹⁴ « savoir freiner »

⁹⁵ « (...) il y a aussi le timing qui est très important (...). Voilà, et donc effectivement la galerie en ce moment-là, on doit, quand le moment est bon et l’artiste est bon, ben, notre rôle c’est faire de sorte que tout se combine au bon moment. »

⁹⁶ « (...) on est à la fois pour lui, on est, on peut être producteur, on peut être agent, ou agent de presse, on est le confident, un peu le papa et la maman, on est le financier, on est le secrétariat, on est, puis, surtout on est le bureau de promotion, qui l’amène sur des foires, qui parle de son travail, qui crée le réseau, le buzz autour de lui. »

appeared to occupy a moderate position compared to the top nations, yet was always part of the subgroup, particularly when the artists' country of residence was taken into account. The Netherlands benefited more from the visibility of foreign artists living there than other countries. Are these findings specific to the institutional field or is this also the case in the art market? Secondly, the analysis of Dutch contemporary art in six different kinds of art event in Chapter 4 revealed that the presence of Dutch art was greatest in contemporary art galleries. Does this translate into a relatively higher level of visibility when it comes to Dutch artists in this type of event compared to artists from other countries?

I will first analyse the overall presence of countries in contemporary art galleries in Berlin, London, New York and Paris based on the artists' country of birth. Table 7.1 (following page) shows the 25 most represented countries in 74 galleries located in these four cities. The selection of these galleries is based on both their participation in recent years at Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair, and on a list of the most important galleries in Berlin, London, New York and Paris provided by their renowned Dutch contemporary art counterparts (see Chapters 3 and 4, and Appendix 3).

Overall, 81 nations were represented in the 74 galleries under study. Compared to the absolute diversity in institutions, this measure was far more moderate than at biennials (128 countries), but was almost twice as high as in museums (47). Still, by not representing even half of the number of nations that exist in the world, the diversity in these establishments is quite limited, which is underlined by the fact that a third of the countries are represented by a single artist.

It is more fruitful to take into account and compare the share of countries. From the three types of event, relative diversity is lowest in galleries. Here, half of the 2,069 representations counted in these four cities were by artists from only three nations (4%): the USA, the United Kingdom and Germany. France follows on in fourth position. Notably, the share of American artists appears to be significant, alone signifying almost 30% of all representations (cf. Heilbron, 1999; Janssen et al., 2008). If in absolute numbers more countries are represented in galleries than in museums, the distribution of the degree of visibility is more asymmetrical here. Based on these results, the biennial emerges as the most heterogeneous and the least hierarchical event, as expected in Hypothesis 2c.

The relative diversity of galleries does not change much when the representations in domestic galleries are omitted. Here, apart from the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom, Italy is also among the four nations (5%) that account for half of the representations in galleries. This leads to the conclusion that the international contemporary art galleries, like museums and biennials, are dominated by a small, and thus homogenous, group of nations.

Table 7.1 Represented countries in international contemporary art galleries, 2007-2008 (country of birth)⁹⁷

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	OVERALL PRESENCE			PRESENCE IN FOREIGN GALLERIES ^B		
	N=2,069	%TOTAL	%MEAN ^A	N=1,412	%TOTAL	%MEAN ^C
USA	600	29.0	28.0	348	24.6	33.1
UNITED KINGDOM	327	15.8	15.3	151	10.7	14.9
GERMANY	304	14.7	16.1	181	12.8	15.8
FRANCE	133	6.4	6.5	27	1.9	2.9
ITALY	73	3.5	3.4	73	5.2	5.0
SWITZERLAND	58	2.8	2.9	58	4.1	4.2
NETHERLANDS	52	2.5	2.4	52	3.7	3.5
JAPAN	47	2.3	2.2	47	3.3	3.2
BELGIUM	45	2.2	2.2	45	3.2	3.1
CANADA	36	1.7	1.7	36	2.5	2.6
AUSTRIA	27	1.3	1.3	27	1.9	1.9
SPAIN	27	1.3	1.3	27	1.9	1.9
CHINA	19	0.9	0.9	19	1.3	1.4
BRAZIL	18	0.9	1.0	18	1.3	1.4
IRELAND	18	0.9	0.8	18	1.3	1.2
ISRAEL	16	0.8	0.8	16	1.1	1.1
DENMARK	14	0.7	0.7	14	1.0	1.1
SOUTH AFRICA	14	0.7	0.7	14	1.0	1.0
ARGENTINA	13	0.6	0.7	13	0.9	0.9
AUSTRALIA	12	0.6	0.5	12	0.8	0.8
MEXICO	12	0.6	0.6	12	0.8	0.8
SWEDEN	12	0.6	0.6	12	0.8	0.8
POLAND	11	0.5	0.6	11	0.8	0.8
FINLAND	10	0.5	0.5	10	0.7	0.8
RUSSIA	10	0.5	0.4	10	0.7	0.7

Notes ^aRelative presence of the country in the four cities. ^bDomestic artists represented by galleries located in the same country (for example American artists in New York-based galleries) have not been taken into account. ^cRelative presence of the country in three (USA, United Kingdom, Germany and France) or four (rest) cities.

When comparing this ranking to those of biennials (Table 6.4) and museums (Table 6.1), more or less the same names appear, although not always in the same order. In fact, 19 of the countries were among the 25 most visible in each of the events, while the top of the rankings was almost similar for museums, biennials and galleries. This indicates that despite existing differences – such as the overrepresentation of the organising countries of biennials in the peripheral zone – there is a limited group of nations with a relatively high presence everywhere (Hypothesis 1d).

As in the analysis of museums, the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France are at the top of the rankings. Interestingly, the share of these four countries is comparable to that in museums: about two thirds of all representations in both galleries and museums are accounted for by these nations, and the share corresponding to positions one to four is more or less similar in both events. When considering the higher absolute number of countries represented in

⁹⁷ The table only shows the 25 most represented countries. The other countries are: Lebanon (9); Cuba, Greece, South Korea (8); India, Iran, Turkey (7); Algeria, Norway (6); Hong Kong (5); Albania, Egypt, Hungary, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Serbia, Thailand, Ukraine (4); Chile, Czech Republic, Pakistan, Portugal, Romania, Zambia (3); Bahamas, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Luxembourg (2); Bangladesh, Cameroon, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Estonia, Georgia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kosovo, Laos, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, Moldavia, Morocco, New Zealand, Palestine, Philippines, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela (1).

galleries, however, this implies that the rest of the nations are relatively less visible in this type of event than in museums. This is in line with the greater absolute diversity and the lower relative diversity in galleries compared to museums.

It is unsurprising to find the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France taking the lead in international galleries, which are located in New York, Berlin, London and Paris. In fact, although the galleries operating at this high level represent an international stable, they nevertheless tend to promote artists from the same geographical or cultural space, as was the case for museums and biennials.

As a consequence, first place is usually occupied by the country where the gallery is based (Hypotheses 3a and 3b). In three of the four cities studied, the artists who were born in the same country were those who were the best represented. In Berlin, 32.6% of representations were by German born artists; 31.7% of those in London were by British artists and in New York 41.1% were by American artists (see Table 7.3). Paris was the exception to the rule; the Parisian galleries represented marginally greater numbers of American as opposed to French born artists (22.9% and 20.3% respectively). The relative share of national artists in national galleries seems to correspond to the position the country occupies in the hierarchy of the best represented nations in the international art world and confirms Hypothesis 1f (Quemin, 2002). Indeed, in this example, the greatest share of domestic artists was to be found in New York (cf. Achterberg et al., 2011; Janssen et al., 2008; Heilbron, 1999), while the proportion of French artists in Parisian galleries was more limited.

As in the subsection on international art museums, the advantages of national artists over those born elsewhere should be eliminated when the artists who are represented by galleries located in their country of birth are excluded. This enables me to examine the extent to which artists from various countries are represented in foreign galleries.

Similar to the results in the case of museums, the overall share of the USA's representations is less prominent when American artists in national galleries are not taken into account (24.6% against 29.0%), which stresses the influence of the home country (Table 7.1). However, the average share (mean %) increases, accounting for 33.1% of the 1,412 representations in foreign galleries. This confirms that these artists not only dominate their national galleries in New York, but also the international galleries based in Berlin, London and Paris.

As for the United Kingdom, Germany and France, both their total and average shares decrease when national artists represented by national galleries are omitted. This is most salient in the case of French artists. Compared to the other three countries, France is already in a weaker position, even when domestic artists are included: the country accounted for about 6.5% of the 2,069 representations, while the shares of the German, British and American artists ranged between about 15% and 30% (cf. Quemin, 2002). When leaving out the French artists represented by Paris-based galleries, the position of France changes radically: only 1.9% (total) or 2.9% (mean) of the representations in foreign galleries were by French artists, which is a first indicator that French artists are relatively less visible in the galleries located in the other three countries. In my interviews, some actors underlined the weaker position of France in comparison to the other three nations:

“For a long time in the past 20 years, people have said that French artists have encountered difficulties in exporting themselves.”⁹⁸ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

“I am talking, above all, of French artists, see, French artists, it is true when you look at it, in the end there are not a lot of French artists who have, let’s say, succeeded in making the jump, you know, to the other side, the United States. On the contrary, when taking into account American artists, there are a lot of American artists, who have penetrated the European market.”⁹⁹ (Interview, gallerist 7, Paris)

Except for this country’s inherently weaker position, excluding national artists who are represented by national galleries does not fundamentally change the list of leading countries. It is true that Germany, although only slightly, and the United Kingdom both see falls in their share and that the distance between the top three and the rest is reduced. Yet, the United Kingdom, which came in third position, continued to be three times more visible in international art galleries than the country in fourth place, which was Italy. What is more, with an average share of 33% of all representations, the USA appeared to be even more dominant in foreign contemporary art galleries. Together, the top three countries are responsible for about half of the 1,412 representations by artists in these foreign galleries. Artists born in these countries, and the Americans in particular, dominate international contemporary art galleries, not only nationally, but also abroad. These findings suggest that, similar to art institutions, cultural dominance theory is suitable when it comes to describing the international contemporary art market, at least in the case of galleries.

THE IMPACT OF RESIDENCE

Upon looking again at the group of the 25 best represented nations, it is clear that the inclusion of artists who reside in a particular country has an impact and leads to some changes in the rankings (Table 7.2, following page). This is in line with my findings for museums and biennials. Although these are only minor changes, they do highlight the effect that attracting artists from abroad with a certain presence on an international level has on a country’s visibility.

When including the artists who live in a particular country as well as those who were born there, the number of represented nations increases to 85. However, the relative diversity, reflecting the percentage of countries that account for half of the representations, has fallen. Compared to the relative diversity based on the country of birth only - when half of the representations were by 4% of the countries - this figure falls to 2% when the country of residence is also taken into account. Although the difference is small, this outcome underlines the notion that not all countries benefit from the migration of artists.

The restricted number of countries to which artists move also confirms this. In fact, this migration has been to only 28 countries, while the artists under study were born in 81 different nations. In other words, only a third of the countries represented in galleries based on birth attract artists from elsewhere. Moreover, most of these artists move to Western Europe or North America, and more specifically to one of the four major art centres of the contemporary art world. No

⁹⁸ « On a longtemps dit dans les années, dans les 20 dernières années, que les artistes français avaient du mal à s’exporter. »

⁹⁹ « Je parle plutôt vraiment d’artistes français, voilà des artistes français, c’est vrai que quand vous regardez il n’y a pas beaucoup d’artistes français qui en fin de compte ont réussi à on va dire passer au-delà, enfin de l’autre côté, les Etats-Unis. Quand vous prenez des artistes américains, à l’inverse, il y a beaucoup d’artistes américains qui sont arrivés dans le marché européen. »

less than 95% of the representations by artists residing in a country other than their country of origin were by those based in Western Europe or North America. Only 5% of the representations were by artists who had chosen to live in a country outside these areas, including places like Japan and Australia.

Table 7.2 Represented countries in international contemporary art galleries, 2007-2008 (countries of birth and residence)¹⁰⁰

COUNTRY	REPRESENTATIONS ^B (BIRTH AND RESIDENCE) ¹⁰¹			BIRTH		RESIDENCE		RESI- DENCE (TOT) ^C	MIGRA- TION
	TOTAL N	%TOT	%MEAN ^A	N	%TOT	N	%TOT		
USA	841	40.6	39.3	600	29.0	241	11.6	38.7	+
UNITED KINGDOM	433	20.9	20.3	327	15.8	106	5.1	19.1	+
GERMANY	418	20.2	22.3	304	14.7	114	5.5	18.0	+
FRANCE	223	10.8	10.8	133	6.4	90	4.3	9.6	+
ITALY	92	4.4	4.2	73	3.5	19	0.9	3.4	-
NETHERLANDS	73	3.5	3.5	52	2.5	21	1.0	2.8	+
SWITZERLAND	65	3.1	3.2	58	2.8	7	0.3	1.8	-
BELGIUM	59	2.9	2.9	45	2.2	14	0.7	2.2	-
JAPAN	49	2.4	2.3	47	2.3	2	0.1	1.4	-
CANADA	44	2.1	2.1	36	1.7	8	0.4	1.3	-
SPAIN	35	1.7	1.7	27	1.3	8	0.4	0.9	-
AUSTRIA	30	1.4	1.5	27	1.3	3	0.1	1.3	-
IRELAND	22	1.1	1.0	18	0.9	4	0.2	0.5	-
BRAZIL	21	1.0	1.1	18	0.9	3	0.1	0.8	=
SWEDEN	20	1.0	0.9	12	0.6	8	0.4	0.7	+
CHINA	19	0.9	0.9	19	0.9	0	0.0	0.5	-
DENMARK	18	0.9	1.0	14	0.7	4	0.2	0.6	-
MEXICO	18	0.9	0.8	12	0.6	6	0.3	0.9	-
AUSTRALIA	16	0.8	0.7	12	0.6	4	0.2	0.3	-
ISRAEL	16	0.8	0.8	16	0.8	0	0.0	0.3	-
SOUTH AFRICA	16	0.8	0.7	14	0.7	2	0.1	0.4	-
ARGENTINA	13	0.6	0.7	13	0.6	0	0.0	0.2	-
FINLAND	13	0.6	0.7	10	0.5	3	0.1	0.5	=
POLAND	11	0.5	0.6	11	0.5	0	0.0	0.4	-
RUSSIA	11	0.5	0.5	10	0.5	1	0.0 ¹	0.3	-

Notes ^A0.048. ^BRelative presence of the country in the four cities. ^CN=2,069. ^DPercentage of living artists residing in the country on a part-time or full-time basis (N=1,918).

These outcomes are similar to my findings for museums and biennials. For all types of event, the relative diversity – which is already fairly limited – falls even more when the country of residence is taken into account. Moreover, the analyses of each of the events reveal that artists move to a small group of countries. The central countries benefit most from attracting foreign artists; the majority of the artists residing abroad (66%) move to the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom or France. Most of the semi-peripheral and peripheral countries see their share of representations fall when the issue of residence is taken into account. However,

¹⁰⁰ The table only shows the 25 most represented countries. The other countries are: Lebanon (9); Cuba, Greece, South Korea, Trinidad (8); India, Iran, Thailand, Turkey (7); Algeria, Norway, Puerto Rico (6); Egypt, Hong Kong, Portugal (5); Albania, Hungary, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Serbia, Ukraine (4); Chile, Czech Republic, Pakistan, Romania, Zambia (3); Bahamas, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Iceland, Luxembourg, Niger (2); Bangladesh, Cameroon, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Estonia, Georgia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kosovo, Laos, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, Moldavia, Morocco, New Zealand, Palestine, Philippines, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela (1).

¹⁰¹ Representations of artists who live in two (or more) countries are counted once for each country. The relative share of a country (under %tot and %mean) is based on the total of 2,069 representations. The sum is therefore higher than 100%.

some of them, including the Netherlands, are relatively more visible. Accordingly, again, the first part of Hypothesis 1e is confirmed and the second is rejected.

These results show that the notion of globalisation – in the sense of diversification – has had no real influence on the hierarchy of countries when it comes to those that attract artists from foreign states. Only a limited group of countries benefit from the presence of foreign artists residing within their borders, and the majority of these are located in the Northwestern hemisphere (Quemin, 2002).

Only a limited group of countries had a positive migration ratio (Table 7.2, right-hand column). This means that they had more representations by artists who had moved to these places than by artists who had left them. Apart from the four main art centres, only eight other countries had a positive migration ratio, bringing the total to 12 of 85 nations. In the case of four of them, this is because no artists with a presence in internationally renowned galleries were born there. Moreover, in some cases, this is (also) due to the relatively high visibility of one particular foreign artist who had moved to the country, as I have also established in the case of museums. Examples here are Rirkrit Tiravanija, who lives in Thailand on a part-time basis, and the artist couple, Allora & Calzadilla, who reside in Puerto Rico. This is the same, although less obviously so, for Sweden's positive migration ratio, which is in part due to the fact that Carsten Höller, one of the foreign artists residing there, is represented in four of the galleries included in this analysis. The Netherlands is also among the countries with a positive migration ratio. The effects of this on the country's visibility will be discussed more thoroughly in subsection 7.1.4.

The other four nations with a positive migration ratio are the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany and France. These are the countries that have attracted the most artists (almost two thirds of the representations are by artists who have moved there) and are where most artists live. Again, the USA is a sizeable distance ahead of the other three; about 40% of all of the representations were by artists who were born or reside in America. The United Kingdom and Germany are in second and third position, respectively, accounting for about a fifth of the representations each. France lags somewhat behind the three top countries, but compared to the others in the list benefits hugely from the visibility of artists residing in the country.

Like in the case of museums, the relatively high visibility of the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany and France is partly influenced by the fact that this analysis focuses on galleries based in these nations. Indeed, a large number of the artists who moved to another country are represented by galleries based in their country of residence. When studying the gallery stables in more detail, between 30% (Paris) and 57% (New York) of the artists were either born or live in their gallery's home country. This underlines, again, that galleries give primacy to artists from the same geographical space, particularly in the case of New York (Hypotheses 3a and 3b).

Yet, the selection of galleries in these four countries only partially explains the high percentage of artists residing there. In fact, the artists who are related by residence to the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany or France are not only successful in their country of residence, but also have a relatively high level of visibility in the other three locations. This is in line with my findings regarding the presence of countries in international art museums and again emphasises the

exemplary role of these nations (Heilbron, 1999). The overrepresentation of these top nations becomes apparent when looking at the differences in visibility in foreign galleries between foreign artists who live in these four countries and those residing in the other 24. The resident artists were always responsible for 2% to 12% of the representations for the four main art centres, while this percentage was less than 2% for the other 24. To put it another way, residing in one of the top countries will not only contribute to the greater visibility of an artist in the country of residence, but will also have the same effect in the other three major centres of the contemporary art world.

Their dominance in terms of residence and migration seems to underline the notion that artists from these countries have less need to live elsewhere, given that they have a wide range of opportunities available to them in their country of birth (Janssen et al., 2008, see also De Swaan, 2001). In contrast, the chances for artists who are not from these centres to use their country as a platform upon which to develop an international reputation are limited, or even non-existent. Moving to one of the art centres is likely to improve the chances of their work being included in the stable of a renowned gallery and, as a consequence, will increase their visibility internationally.

This clearly illustrates how a central country functions as a legitimising power and, as a result of their centrality, as an intermediary to other – central or peripheral – zones; after the initial recognition of an artist in the centre, this spreads to the rest of the world (Heilbron, 1999). In its turn, the transit function of the central countries further consolidates their centrality. Accordingly, it is not only the artists, but also these central countries, as the countries of residence, that benefit from artists moving there.

In summary, the findings in this subsection subscribe, firstly, to reception theory by demonstrating that the greater visibility of the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France (as countries of residence) in galleries is influenced, like in museums and biennials, by the geographical rootedness of these gatekeepers. Secondly, the results tend to confirm cultural hegemony theory by highlighting that these countries are not only overrepresented in their domestic galleries, but also dominate in those abroad.

7.1.3 COMPARING THE COUNTRIES' VISIBILITY IN NEW YORK, LONDON, BERLIN AND PARIS

In the previous subsection I studied the overall visibility of countries in the international galleries that are located in Berlin, London, New York and Paris. In what follows, I will study in more detail possible differences in the presence of these nations in these four world art cities (cf. While, 2003). Table 7.3 shows the share of the representations of countries per city, based on an artist's country of birth.

Table 7.3 Visibility of countries in galleries per city, 2007-2008 (country of birth)

BERLIN	%	LONDON	%	NEW YORK	%	PARIS	%
<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	32.6	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	31.7	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	41.1	<i>HOME COUNTRY</i>	20.3
<i>FOREIGN (TOP)</i>							
USA	21.5	USA	26.4	GERMANY	12.4	USA	22.9
UNITED KINGDOM	10.1	GERMANY	9.0	UNITED KINGDOM	11.4	GERMANY	10.5
						UNITED KINGDOM	8.2
<i>FOREIGN (≥1%)</i>							
SWITZERLAND	3.7	ITALY	3.2	ITALY	4.7	BELGIUM	4.0
FRANCE	3.2	JAPAN	2.9	SWITZERLAND	3.1	ITALY	3.6
BELGIUM	2.1	NETHERLANDS	2.2	CANADA	2.9	NETHERLANDS	3.4
BRAZIL	1.9	IRELAND	1.6	NETHERLANDS	2.8	SWITZERLAND	3.1
CANADA	1.9	SWITZERLAND	1.6	FRANCE	2.0	JAPAN	2.7
ITALY	1.9	AUSTRALIA	1.3	JAPAN	1.8	SPAIN	2.1
AUSTRIA	1.6	BELGIUM	1.1	BELGIUM	1.6	AUSTRIA	1.7
DENMARK	1.6	CANADA	1.1	CHINA	1.3	ISRAEL	1.1
JAPAN	1.6	SPAIN	1.1	AUSTRIA	1.1	ARGENTINA	1.0
NETHERLANDS	1.3			IRELAND	1.0	CANADA	1.0
CHINA	1.1			SPAIN	1.0	CHINA	1.0
FINLAND	1.1						
SPAIN	1.1						
<i>FOREIGN (0.5-1%)</i>							
ARGENTINA	0.8	AUSTRIA	0.9	AUSTRALIA	0.8	LEBANON	0.8
IRAN	0.8	BRAZIL	0.9	SOUTH AFRICA	0.8	SOUTH AFRICA	0.8
ISRAEL	0.8	ISRAEL	0.9	SWEDEN	0.8	SWEDEN	0.8
NORWAY	0.8	MEXICO	0.9	BRAZIL	0.5	ALGERIA	0.6
POLAND	0.8	POLAND	0.9	CUBA	0.5	BRAZIL	0.6
CHILE	0.5	DENMARK	0.7	DENMARK	0.5	CUBA	0.6
KENYA	0.5	RUSSIA	0.7	HONG KONG	0.5	FINLAND	0.6
PERU	0.5	ARGENTINA	0.5	MEXICO	0.5	GREECE	0.6
SOUTH AFRICA	0.5	FRANCE	0.5	RUSSIA	0.5	INDIA	0.6
TURKEY	0.5	GREECE	0.5			MEXICO	0.6
		SOUTH AFRICA	0.5			NORWAY	0.6
						RUSSIA	0.6
						SOUTH KOREA	0.6
						TURKEY	0.6
20 COUNTRIES <0.5%		38 COUNTRIES <0.5%		29 COUNTRIES <0.5%		23 COUNTRIES <0.5%	
N=377		N=556		N=613		N=523	

As I have already noted (cf. subsection 7.1.2), artists from the home countries are overrepresented in each of the cities. Indeed, except for Paris, the home country is dominant. Compared to the leading international art museums, the art market is less marked by the presence of national artists; only in London are domestic artists less present in museums than in galleries.¹⁰² Still, in contemporary art galleries too the dominance of the home countries is overwhelming.

In particular, the underrepresentation of French artists in Paris and the overrepresentation of British artists in London stands out when comparing the

¹⁰² In the museums, 17.4% (London), 39.6% (on average in Paris), 40.0 % (Berlin) and 56.4% (New York) of the representations were by artists originally from the same country.

two types of event. With respect to Paris, this indicates that museums are probably more marked by geographical closeness and cultural policy (although it is not their explicit objective to promote French artists) than the galleries. Meanwhile, the galleries seem to be marked by less interest in French art and instead turn towards the artists from the country dominating the art market, namely the USA. In London, more or less the opposite seems to be the case, with cultural policy explaining the limited visibility of British artists in the museum (with Tate Britain orientated towards British art and Tate Modern towards non-British art), and the high interest in domestic (British) art becoming apparent in the galleries (cf. While, 2003).

The USA, Germany and the United Kingdom not only dominate their domestic galleries, but they are also overrepresented in the other art metropolises; France is the only one of the four art centres to never be included in the top four in the other spaces. In each of the cities, the three countries occupy one of the top three positions and are always more than twice as visible as the country following in fourth place. Similar to what I found in the art institutions, these countries clearly occupy central positions in the international contemporary art market.

The share of these art centres plus the home country is striking. Almost two-thirds of all representations in each of the four cities were by artists born in the USA, Germany or the United Kingdom, or in France in the case of the Parisian galleries. These outcomes confirm the analysis of contemporary art museums by revealing, once more, that the overrepresentation of the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom reflects the dual dominance of the main art centres, namely in the galleries located in the same country and in those located abroad.

How visible are artists from other countries in the international galleries in the four cities? Absolute diversity is lowest in Berlin (46 countries), while in London, where 61 countries are represented, it is at its peak. New York and Paris are in the middle, with 52 countries. However, the visibility of countries is fairly uneven. The majority account for only one third of the representations, as share of the most represented countries (top+home) ranges from 62% (in Paris) to 67% (in London). London may have the highest absolute diversity, but the share of these countries is also the lowest there. This is also the city with the greatest number of countries with a visibility of less than 1%.

Within the group of about 20 countries with a share of 1% or more in one of the four cities, half of them have some presence in virtually all of the spaces. Consequently, the relatively high presence of these nations in the four cities leads to a relatively high level of visibility overall (Table 7.1). Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Japan, Belgium, Canada and Spain are all represented, with 1% or more of the representations in each of the four metropolises. This list reflects the seven most visible countries in international contemporary art galleries, not including the four where the galleries are located. This suggests that after the three dominant nations – the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom – there is a fairly steady group of countries with a certain degree of visibility in each of the four cities, even if this varies from one to another. Based on this, these nations can be regarded as semi-peripheral countries with respect to the international art galleries.

Again, France is somewhat unusual, as the country's presence reached the level of 1% of the representations in only three of the four cities. In London, only 0.5% of the representations were by French artists, yet in Berlin, at 3.2%, the

country was among those that are the most visible within the sub-group. Whereas the other countries had a more or less constant presence in each of the cities, which explains their high level of visibility in the four metropolises overall, the conspicuousness of French artists largely depends on their visibility in their home country and Berlin.

RESIDENT ARTISTS

As I showed in the previous section, taking into account the residence of artists increases the overall visibility of some nations, in particular the central countries. In this subsection, I will address this issue from another angle by looking at the relationship between the place of residence, or the migration of artists, and the visibility of a country's artists in the four cities.

Apart from the countries where the galleries are located, some nations seem to be overrepresented in certain cities. One reason for this is that their artists are affiliated by residence to (one of) the countries that are (is) home to the gallery. As has been stressed earlier, despite their international vocation, galleries tend to promote the artists who were born or reside in the same country

Table 7.4 (following page) shows for each city the visibility of the countries of birth and how this may be affected by the number of artists residing in the four nations under study. As the focus here is on the representations of foreign born artists, domestic artists are not taken into account. Furthermore, the number of countries is increased to 35, including all of the nations with five or more representations.

So, what does Table 7.4 tell us? Taking the Netherlands as an example, on the left side the first four columns reveal its overall visibility: 52 of 1,412 representations were by Dutch born artists, which is an average of 3.5% in the four cities. This corresponds to the two right-hand columns in Table 7.1. Furthermore, eight representations (13.6%) were by Dutch born artists living in the country where the gallery is located. The right side of the table shows the presence of countries per city. In New York, the Netherlands accounted for 17 representations (4.7%), 29.4% of which were by Dutch born artists residing in the USA. The figures in bold type indicate the cases in which the country's greatest visibility coincides with the highest number of representations by artists residing in the gallery's home nation. As for the Netherlands, this applies to the country's presence in New York.

This correlation is also applicable to 16 other countries in this list; almost half of the 35 most represented nations are most visible in the city with the highest number of representations by artists residing in the same country as the gallery.

Table 7.4 Representations in galleries by artists residing in one of the four art centres, 2007-2008

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	TOTALITY GALLERIES				GALLERIES PER CITY											
	REPRESENT.		RESIDING IN COUNTRY GALLERY		BERLIN (DE)			LONDON (UK)			NEW YORK (US)			PARIS (FR)		
					REPRESENTED (%RESIDING ^b)			REPRESENTED (%RESIDING ^b)			REPRESENTED (%RESIDING ^b)			REPRESENTED (%RESIDING ^b)		
	N	% ^a	N	% ^a	N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%	
USA	348	33.1	15	4.8	81	31.9	(7.4)	147	38.7	(2.0)	-	-		120	28.8	(5.0)
GERMANY	181	15.8	32	17.9	-	-	-	50	13.2	(22.0)	76	21.1	(17.1)	55	13.2	(14.5)
UNITED KINGDOM	151	14.9	17	9.0	38	15.0	(0.0)	-	-	-	70	19.4	(20.0)	43	10.3	(7.0)
ITALY	73	5.0	12	13.4	7	2.8	(0.0)	18	4.7	(22.2)	29	8.0	(20.7)	19	4.6	(10.5)
SWITZERLAND	58	4.2	18	28.4	14	5.5	(57.1)	9	2.4	(0.0)	19	5.3	(31.6)	16	3.8	(25.0)
NETHERLANDS	52	3.5	8	13.6	5	2.0	(0.0)	12	3.2	(25.0)	17	4.7	(29.4)	18	4.3	(0.0)
JAPAN	47	3.2	12	28.2	6	2.4	(33.3)	16	4.2	(25.0)	11	3.0	(54.5)	14	3.4	(0.0)
BELGIUM	45	3.1	5	6.0	8	3.1	(0.0)	6	1.6	(0.0)	10	2.8	(0.0)	21	5.0	(23.8)
FRANCE	27	2.9	7	27.8	12	4.7	(33.3)	3	0.8	(33.3)	12	3.3	(16.7)	-	-	-
CANADA	36	2.6	13	31.6	7	2.8	(28.6)	6	1.6	(33.3)	18	5.0	(44.4)	5	1.2	(20.0)
AUSTRIA	27	1.9	2	7.8	6	2.4	(0.0)	5	1.3	(20.0)	7	1.9	(0.0)	9	2.2	(11.1)
SPAIN	27	1.9	6	21.4	4	1.6	(25.0)	6	1.6	(16.7)	6	1.7	(16.7)	11	2.6	(27.3)
BRAZIL	18	1.4	2	13.3	7	1.4	(0.0)	5	1.3	(20.0)	3	0.8	(0.0)	3	0.7	(33.3)
CHINA	19	1.4	4	14.4	4	1.6	(0.0)	2	0.5	(0.0)	8	2.2	(37.5)	5	1.2	(20.0)
IRELAND	18	1.2	6	18.1	1	0.4	(0.0)	9	2.4	(55.6)	6	1.7	(16.7)	2	0.5	(0.0)
ISRAEL	16	1.1	7	51.7	3	1.2	(33.3)	5	1.3	(40.0)	2	0.6	(100.0)	6	1.4	(33.3)
DENMARK	14	1.1	7	35.4	6	2.4	(83.3)	4	1.1	(25.0)	3	0.8	(33.3)	1	0.2	(0.0)
SOUTH AFRICA	14	1.0	2	17.5	2	0.8	(50.0)	3	0.8	(0.0)	5	1.4	(20.0)	4	1.0	(0.0)
ARGENTINA	13	0.9	5	42.5	3	1.2	(33.3)	3	0.8	(66.7)	2	0.6	(50.0)	5	1.2	(20.0)
POLAND	11	0.8	1	12.5	3	1.2	(0.0)	5	1.3	(0.0)	2	0.6	(50.0)	1	0.2	(0.0)
SWEDEN	12	0.8	2	10.0	1	0.4	(0.0)	2	0.5	(0.0)	5	1.4	(40.0)	4	4.0	(0.0)
MEXICO	12	0.8	4	33.3	1	0.4	(0.0)	5	1.3	(0.0)	3	0.8	(66.7)	3	0.7	(66.7)
AUSTRALIA	12	0.8	6	25.7				7	1.8	(42.9)	5	1.4	(60.0)			
FINLAND	10	0.8	3	25.0	4	1.6	(50.0)	2	0.5	(50.0)	1	0.3	(0.0)	3	0.7	(0.0)
RUSSIA	10	0.7	0	0.0				4	1.1	(0.0)	3	0.8	(0.0)	3	0.7	(0.0)
LEBANON	9	0.6	4	62.5	1	0.4	(100.0)	2	0.5	(50.0)	2	0.6	(100.0)	4	1.0	(0.0)
IRAN	7	0.6	6	62.5	3	1.2	(100.0)	2	0.5	(50.0)	2	0.6	(100.0)			
CUBA	8	0.6	1	8.3	1	0.4	(0.0)	1	0.3	(0.0)	3	0.8	(33.3)	3	0.7	(0.0)
SOUTH KOREA	8	0.5	3	29.2	1	0.4	(0.0)	2	0.5	(0.0)	2	0.6	(50.0)	3	0.7	(66.7)
GREECE	8	0.5	2	25.0				3	0.8	(0.0)	2	0.6	(100.0)	3	0.7	(0.0)
TURKEY	7	0.5	4	70.8	2	0.8	(50.0)	1	0.3	(100.0)	1	0.3	(100.0)	3	0.7	(33.3)
INDIA	7	0.5	2	37.5	1	0.4	(100.0)	2	0.5	(50.0)	1	0.3	(0.0)	3	0.7	(0.0)
NORWAY	6	0.5	2	16.7	3	1.2	(33.3)							3	0.7	(33.3)
ALGERIA	6	0.4	3	25.0	1	0.4	(0.0)				2	0.6	(0.0)	3	0.7	(100.0)
HONG KONG	5	0.3	3	41.7				1	0.3	(100.0)	3	0.8	(66.7)	1	0.2	(0.0)
SUBTOTAL (35)	1,322		17.3	236	92.9	(16.9)		348	91.6	(14.4)	341	94.5	(26.1)	397	95.2	(11.8)
TOTAL REST (46)	90		33.4	18	7.1	(55.6)		32	8.4	(28.1)	20	5.5	(35.0)	20	4.8	(15.0)
TOTAL (81)	1,412		18.4	254	18.0	(19.7)		380	26.9	(15.5)	361	25.6	(26.6)	417	29.5	(12.0)

Notes ^aRelative presence of the country in the four cities. ^{103 b} The total number of representations includes representations by deceased artists in the relevant cases. This might affect the outcome of the share of representations by artists residing in the country where the gallery is located (in parentheses).

¹⁰³ In this table, the average share (mean %) is preferred, as the aim here is to study and compare the particularities in the different cities, instead of analysing the share of a country in the totality of representations, in which case the overall share (total %) would be better suited.

Moreover, when looking in more detail at the rankings, there seems to be an inverse relationship between the share of the country of birth and that of the artists residing in the country that is home to their gallery. On average, 18% of all of the 1,412 representations by artists included in foreign galleries in the four key cities were by those residing in the same country as the gallery (Table 7.4). However, differences become apparent when looking at specific groups of countries. Within the group of 46 nations with limited visibility (total rest), 33% of the representations were by artists who live in the country where the gallery is located. As for the 35 most visible nations, this was the situation for only 17% of the representations. Moreover, in the case of the three top countries, the USA, the United Kingdom and Germany, this only applied to about 9% of the representations. This supports the notion that artists from a country with limited visibility are more or less required to move to one of the major art metropolises to enhance their reputation (Brandellero, 2011; Crane, 1987; De Swaan, 2001; Florida, 2002, 2005; Hannerz, 1992; Galenson, 2008; Scott, 2000).

Studying the presence of countries in internationally renowned galleries in relation to the country of residence of their artists further underlines the importance of territorial factors. Firstly, the overrepresentation of the top three countries – USA, United Kingdom and Germany – is principally related to their artists' origins, i.e. their country of birth.¹⁰⁴ Only 9% of the representations from these countries were by artists who are residing in the same country as their foreign gallery. Their visibility, therefore, seems to be determined, above all, by their country of birth rather than their country of residence. When moving down the list, however, the country of residence becomes increasingly important. Relatively more artists from countries with limited visibility in international galleries move to live in one of the contemporary art world's centres. In their case it is probable that the artists' country of residence affects the visibility of their country of birth in the international contemporary art world.

7.1.4 THE NETHERLANDS

In the findings discussed in the previous two subsections, the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom appeared to be overrepresented in contemporary art galleries, just as they are in international contemporary art museums. The dominance of these three countries leaves little room for the others. How visible then is Dutch art when compared to that of other countries?

When examining the overall presence of countries in international contemporary art galleries (Table 7.1), the Netherlands comes in seventh position, with 2.5% (total) or 2.4% (mean) of the representations. It is thus behind the four main countries, the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany and France, as well as Italy and Switzerland. Conversely, the country is ahead of other small nations like Belgium (45 representations; 2.2%) and Israel (16 representations; 0.8%), as well as larger countries like Canada (36 representations; 1.7%) and Spain (27 representations; 1.3%), which precede the Netherlands in the rankings for museums or biennials. Again, this shows that size is not the only factor

¹⁰⁴ The majority of artists from these nations also reside there: between 80-90% of the American, British and German representations were by artists who were still living in the country where they were born, at least on a part-time basis.

determining the visibility of a country (cf. Janssen et al., 2008). When only representations in foreign galleries are taken into account, the relative visibility of Dutch artists increases to 3.7% (total) or 3.5% (mean). The Netherlands benefits from the decline in the visibility of the United Kingdom, Germany and, in particular, France. Together with Italy, Switzerland, Japan, Belgium and Canada, the country moves up one position when the visibility of domestic artists is not considered.

With its seventh position, the Netherlands has a higher ranking with respect to galleries than museums and biennials, which is in line with what I established in Chapter 4. In museums and at biennials, the Netherlands accounted for 1.3% and 1.4% of the representations respectively, while in galleries this figure was 2.5%.

Within the group of 19 countries that were among the most visible in the three types of event, the Netherlands is one of the few that is affected in this way; Germany, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Belgium also have a greater presence in galleries than in the art institutions. In museums, three countries are overrepresented, while the majority (12) are represented the most at biennials. This is in line with the higher diversity in the biennial event.¹⁰⁵

In contemporary art galleries, the Netherlands is among the group of nations with the greatest visibility, although it continues to be a significant distance behind the leading countries. With 2.5% of the representations, the visibility of Dutch born artists seems to be quite limited compared to their counterparts in the three best represented countries. However, the Netherlands is in a dominant position within the subgroup of nations that are best represented in international contemporary art galleries.

When looking at the visibility of the Netherlands in galleries in Berlin, London, New York and Paris individually, the country is represented in each of the four cities (Table 7.3). Just as I have established in the section dedicated to museums, the Netherlands' share in galleries (2.5% of the 2,069 representations) reflects a fairly consistent presence in each of the metropolises, ranging from 1.3% to 3.4%. Within the group of nations following on behind the most visible countries, the Netherlands is among the three or four best represented in the galleries in London (2.2%), New York (2.8%) and Paris (3.4%). It is only in Berlin (1.3%) that the country's presence is somewhat weaker, with five others in the subgroup being ahead of the Netherlands.

In subsection 4.2.1, I have already argued that this limited visibility in Berlin might be related to the fact that the Netherlands is a neighbour of Germany and part of the same region; Dutch and German galleries operate in more or less the same market. Yet, the relatively high presence of other neighbouring countries, like Switzerland or Denmark, weakens this argument. Accordingly, this proximity cannot be the sole reason for the more limited presence of Dutch artists in Berlin. Another explanation may be the preferences of both galleries and artists, in that Dutch artists generally fit in less well with the programmes of the Berlin galleries than Swiss artists, for instance, do. The work of Dutch artists is possibly less well received in the German market than that by those from other neighbouring countries, perhaps because of the tastes of collectors. This may, of course, also be

¹⁰⁵ Canada's share is highest in museums and biennials (2.0%), meaning that the country is counted twice here.

the case for artists from other nations. For example, a gallerist explained in an interview that she believes that Italian collectors are less interested in the work of Swiss artists, especially the German speaking ones, because of the social engagement that is often the theme of their pieces. The backgrounds of artists and collectors influence what they create and what they like respectively:

“(...) we are individuals, everyone has his own little sparkles, but regardless of this, I think that language, image etcetera, is important in what we do.”¹⁰⁶ (Interview, gallerist 10, Paris)

In this study, however, I will not be able to verify whether this is indeed the case. Further research into the genre, material and themes of art works created by artists on the one hand, and bought by collectors on the other, is required, but is beyond the scope of this dissertation. This also applies to another argument that might explain the reduced visibility of Dutch artists in Berlin, namely the orientation of this group towards certain art centres; it is possible that Dutch artists are less inclined towards Berlin when it comes to seeking representation by a renowned gallery.

THE NETHERLANDS AS COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE

The number of representations by artists from the Netherlands increases when those who reside there are taken into account (Table 7.2). The country benefits relatively more than other nations in the subgroup from the visibility in international galleries of resident foreign artists. This becomes clear when comparing the positions occupied by Switzerland and the Netherlands, which swap over on the list of the most represented nations. While Switzerland is ahead of the Netherlands in the rankings of countries based on birth, the latter has more artists when taking residence in the country into account. Relatively few representations are by foreign artists who have settled in Switzerland, while there are three times more of them by artists residing in the Netherlands. Due to migration to the country, the visibility of Dutch art in international galleries increases by about 40%, while that of Swiss art does so by only 12%. As a consequence, with 73 representations, the Netherlands has overtaken Switzerland (65 representations) in the rankings based on the artists' country of birth or residence.

Moreover, apart from the top four countries, the Netherlands has the highest number of representations by foreign artists (Table 7.2). With 21 representations by these artists, the country is ahead of nations like Italy (19), Belgium (14), Spain (8) and Switzerland (7). This indicates that the Netherlands, when compared to the other countries that do not host the leading galleries in the world, attracts more foreign artists with a presence in international galleries, and shows that the country has a transit function for artists from other nations.

These outcomes are similar to my findings concerning the presence of the Netherlands in museums and biennials. Here, too, apart from the main art centres, the Netherlands is one of the few countries with increased visibility when foreign artists residing there are taken into account. As this advantage reoccurs at each event, this shows that the outcomes are not particular to a single domain of the art world. Although more countries become more visible, they do not so to the same

¹⁰⁶ « on est des individualités, chacun a ses petites étincelles, mais quand-même, je pense que la langue, l'image, etcetera, cela insiste beaucoup sur ce qu'on fait. »

extent as the Netherlands. Along with the main art centres, and Italy in museums, the Netherlands belongs to the group of countries that benefits the most from taking into account the visibility of foreign artists living there. Accordingly, the country is one of the most successful nations in attracting foreign artists, which is reflected in the relatively higher increase in its visibility and thus its more central position in each of the art events under study in comparison to most other nations.

What is more, the analysis of international contemporary art galleries suggests that the Netherlands is one of the most attractive countries in terms of residence. Not only does it seem to attract more foreign artists who are visible in this type of event than other countries, but the percentage of Dutch born artists who migrate to other nations is limited. This is illustrated by the last two columns in Table 7.2, which show the share of countries in terms of country of residence only (residence) and the effects of migration from and to the country (migration).

As mentioned in subsection 7.1.2, the Netherlands is one of the 12 countries with a positive migration ratio, six of which are included in Table 7.2. The number of representations by foreign artists who are residing in the country is greater than those by national artists who moved abroad. In the list of the most represented countries apart from the organising nations, the only other (Western) one with a positive migration ratio is Sweden. In both countries, the migration ratio is positively influenced by the fact that some of the foreign artists residing there are highly visible. Yet, the countries differ on various points. While only one foreign artist with a major presence lives in Sweden¹⁰⁷, the Netherlands is home to three highly visible artists (Lawrence Weiner, Marlene Dumas and Ellen Gallagher). In addition, the group of foreign born artists is more diverse in the Netherlands than in Sweden, while the number of representations is two and a half times higher. Upon considering this finding, it is clear that the positive migration ratio in the Netherlands is not just the result of the visibility of one famous artist who decides to live there; the country also appears to attract a wider range of artists in a way that is comparable (although not to the same degree) to what happens in places like the USA or the United Kingdom.

As well as the influx of foreign artists to a country, a second factor that determines the migration ratio is the emigration of national artists. With relatively limited emigration, the Netherlands again resembles the four major art centres in the world. As I have already shown in section 5.2, most Dutch artists still reside in the Netherlands. When looking at the totality of representations by living artists present in the galleries under study, 73.7% of them are by those who still live in their country of birth, whether on a part or a full-time basis. Within the top 25 countries, the Netherlands is one of eight that surpass this percentage of national artists still residing in the country where they were born. The others are the four nations where the galleries are located, as well as Austria, Mexico and Brazil. Yet, when it comes to the latter three countries, it is uncertain whether this relatively major share does actually reflect their success as a country of residence. These places may be attractive enough for national artists to remain, but they do not have the appeal with which to ensure that many foreign artists settle there. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, not only does a significant group of Dutch born artists reside there, but a relatively large number of foreign artists do as well.

¹⁰⁷ As I established earlier, Sweden is the country of residence to Carsten Höller, who is represented in four of the galleries.

Apart from the four major art centres – the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany and France – the Netherlands has the highest number of representations by artists who have moved abroad. As such, it is one of the most successful countries and can be regarded as a semi-peripheral nation in the gallery event.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have analysed the presence of artists in contemporary art galleries located in Berlin, London, New York and Paris. Overall, based on the country of birth, 81 nations were represented in galleries, while the relative diversity (the share of countries that together produced 50% of the representations) in these institutions was 4%. This is the lowest relative diversity of the three types of art event under study. The art market is revealed to be even more skewed in terms of the presence of countries; only a minority benefit from relatively significant levels of visibility. This underlines once again that the field of the visual arts, including galleries, is marked by cultural hegemony and dominated by just a few countries.

The analyses have revealed that the home country is overrepresented in three of the four cities, which clearly highlights the importance of territorial factors. This is underlined by the fact that the USA, the United Kingdom and Germany are also highly visible in other art centres in comparison to other nations. Moreover, their visibility increases even more when the artists residing in these countries are included.

Unquestionably, the selection of galleries and their focus on national artists has influenced the outcome of my analysis. Yet, it is precisely in these four countries, with the cities of Berlin, New York, London and Paris as their epicentres, that the most renowned galleries are located.¹⁰⁸ In this light, discovering that these countries head the list of the most represented nations in the most prominent international galleries merely underlines the importance of territorial factors in the international contemporary art world; artists who were born in one of these centres have more chance of their work being included in the leading galleries than those born elsewhere. These conclusions also followed on from the analysis of international contemporary art museums and biennials. This indicates that reception theory is applicable in the two spheres of the contemporary art world. Both the art institutions and the art market are manifestly affected by the geographical embeddedness of the gatekeepers, which results in the overrepresentation of the nations that are home to these decision-makers.

Moreover, when it comes to the visibility of these countries abroad, the analysis of galleries corresponds to my findings about museums. When taking the example of American artists into consideration, they are in second position in terms of visibility in Berlin and London, after Germany and the United Kingdom respectively, whereas they are in first place in Paris. In other words, the US born artists clearly dominate the art market when it comes to the galleries located in the most influential art centres around the world (cf. Quemin, 2006, 2010). Likewise,

¹⁰⁸ Berlin could be regarded as the exception to the rule. As I have mentioned in the previous section, the Ruhr area (Cologne, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt) has long been the heart of the German art scene, including the art market, and still houses the most important galleries in the country. However, in recent years, Berlin has become more important. Some German galleries are now based only in Berlin, while others (usually the older ones) have opened a second venue there. Some foreign galleries also have a satellite in Berlin.

although less prominent, Germany and the United Kingdom are overrepresented abroad. The high visibility of their artists is, therefore, not only related to the inclusion of New York, Berlin or London based galleries in this analysis, but also reflects the dominant position of the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom. Again, this underlines the fact that the international contemporary art world, i.e. the institutions and the market, can be described by cultural dominance theory.

The Netherlands is one of the 25 most represented nations in the galleries under study herein. With a share of 2.5%, the country is relatively most present in this type of event, which corresponds to what was established in Chapter 4. This overall presence of the Netherlands reflects the country's presence in each of the cities, which ranges between 1.3% in Berlin and 3.4% in Paris. Given that the Netherlands has a share of more than 1% in each city, it can be regarded as a semi-peripheral country, along with six other nations.

When artists who live in the Netherlands are included, the country becomes more visible. Apart from the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany and France, the Netherlands has the highest number of representations by foreign artists with a presence in internationally renowned galleries. Notwithstanding that the country is a fair distance behind these leading nations, and remains behind Italy, including foreign artists who reside there also has a positive effect on its position in the rankings of the most visible countries. Clearly, the Netherlands is one of the most successful nations when it comes to its transit function, which strengthens its semi-peripheral position.

7.2 ART FAIRS

In the previous sections, I have analysed the visibility of countries based on the affiliation of artists to them by birth and residence. Here, I will examine this issue by taking into account the home country of the galleries that participate in art fairs. As discussed in section 1.2, artists and galleries are mutually dependent when it comes to gaining access to international contemporary art fairs. The selection of artists to take part in art fairs is dependent upon galleries. In turn, the quality of the galleries, which is the main criterion in the selections made by art fairs, is the sum of the quality of the artists it represents. Accordingly, galleries not only decide which artists – and the countries they represent – have a certain degree of visibility within their own space, but also play a key role in the presence of these artists and countries at international contemporary art fairs, which are, allegedly, highly transnational events.

7.2.1 INTERNATIONALISATION OF ART GALLERIES: ART FAIRS AS A PLATFORM

In the first section of the previous chapter, I discussed the role of the gallery, which functions as a mediator between the artist and the public. My focus was primarily on the development of an artistic career. In this section, before I proceed with my analysis of art fairs, I will look in more detail at how the gallery contributes to turning an artistic career into a global one.

In interviews, gallerists explained how they present their space on an international stage, referring to the different ways that underline that their gallery

is indeed international. A first indicator is the gallery's stable, which includes artists born and based in every corner of the globe:

"(...) the gallery became international through that, through taking on different artists who come from different backgrounds." (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

"70% or 80% of the artists we are working with are spread out all over the world. The one thing is connected with the other, so... It is just our daily business, around the globe." (Interview, gallerist 3, Berlin)

Secondly, it is not only the diversity of the artists' backgrounds, but also their presence in international institutions or private collections that reflects on the gallery:

"(...) we are as international as our artists are, so in the sense that if, you know, Marlene has a, you know, retrospective in LA or, you know, or in Johannesburg or, you know, Fiona Tan showing in Australia, we cover a lot of parts of the world, you know, where these exhibitions take place." (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

"Well, I would say that our artists are also our ambassadors. An artist who is doing well, is definitely, especially when we are representing him exclusively as his primary gallery, it is definitely a perfect way to make the gallery known among curators, collectors, the press etc."¹⁰⁹ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

The international gallery does more than work with artists of different nationalities who produce art and exhibit it all over the world. As a mediator between their artists and the public, the gallery also deals with consumers who are, likewise, from diverse backgrounds: "(...) our clients are all over the world, are spread out all over the world." (Interview, gallerist 3, Berlin) If a gallery has an international clientele, it reinforces its international image.

Moreover, the gallery can achieve an international status by being physically present in different parts of the world:

"I mean obviously the gallery *is* international and that, there's the Zurich gallery, and there's the London gallery, two galleries in London, and further to that, we also have a kind of satellite in America. And we have a sales person who works for us, called X., on the West Coast (...). Additionally, we're also looking for a New York space." (Interview, gallerist 11, London)

As well as opening galleries or satellites in various cities, another way to achieve a global presence is to take part in renowned contemporary art fairs. Ever since the late 1960s, international contemporary art fairs have grown to become an essential platform for artists and galleries seeking international recognition (Moulin, 2003). When it comes to how the gallery positions itself in the international art world, the interviewees all referred to their participation in different art fairs throughout the year:

"Well, obviously [there are] art fairs, so we take part and in Europe we do Frieze, which is very recent. (...) We do FIAC in France and then we do Art Basel. And then we do, in the States, we do The Armory, we do Miami Basel, and also actually in Europe, we do TEFAF, which is in Maastricht and it's kind of this big, more secondary market older art fair." (Interview, gallerist 11, London)

"Well, the most obvious thing that I would say is the fairs. This is probably the most spectacular event, there where the galleries go."¹¹⁰ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

¹⁰⁹ « Voilà, je dirai que, vous voyez, nos ambassadeurs ce sont aussi nos artistes. Un artiste qui marche, forcément, surtout quand on le représente en exclusivité ou en tant que première galerie, forcément c'est une excellente façon de se faire connaître aux curateurs, aux collectionneurs à la presse etcetera. »

“By participating in art fairs, I think that that is the most important thing.”¹¹¹ (Interview, gallerist 7, Paris)

“Well, we attempt to kind of be all over the place, so of course we do the art fairs, they are both in the States and here in different places in Europe, and now even in Asia, for the first year we are going to do it.” (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin)

Participating in contemporary art fairs appears to have become a common practice for internationally orientated galleries, which is underlined by the use of words like “obviously” or “of course”. It seems almost impossible for galleries with an international vocation to not take part in this kind of art event. Accordingly, the art fair has become an obligatory *lieu de passage* (cf. De Valck, 2007, on film festivals).

Yet, even though the interviewees all stressed the importance of being present at these events, the negative aspects of such manifestations did not go unmentioned. Several interviewees underlined that an exhibition in a booth will never be of the same quality as an exhibition in a gallery space. For some forms of contemporary art – like installations – most art fairs provide little or no room. Furthermore, participation in fairs is expensive, and puts a lot of pressure on the artists to produce work and on the galleries to organise their participation.

Still, despite all of this, the advantages of taking part in international contemporary art fairs prevail. This type of event is a meeting point for the entire contemporary art world and only lasts for a couple of days. Hence, participation in such an event generates a lot of exposure within a short period of time for both the gallery and its artists:

“(...) in one day in the vernissage you can have a really disproportionate effect in one small booth, and suddenly it can make a big impact for an artist. (Interview, gallerist 11, London)

“When you bring them to art fairs, you have the chance that there are different people from different parts of the world who can get to know your artists.” (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin)

As a consequence of the increasing importance of contemporary art fairs in the development of an international career, it is imperative for artists to be represented by a gallery that has access to these art manifestations. As I have previously shown in subsection 7.1.2, galleries tend to promote domestic artists, and a fair share of the representations in the most renowned galleries in Berlin, London, New York and Paris are by those born in the country where the gallery is located. Hence, galleries’ participation in international fairs is likely to increase the visibility of their national artists. When looking at the 6,695 representations by contemporary artists who participated in the 2008 edition of Art Basel, about 40% of them were present in the booths of galleries located in their home nation (see Appendix 4). In this light, it would be interesting to study in more detail the presence of countries, and the Netherlands in particular, based on the participation of their national galleries in international art fairs. This will be central in the following subsection.

¹¹⁰ « Ben, la chose la plus évidente que je répondrais c’est les foires. C’est peut-être la manifestation la plus spectaculaire, là où vont les galeries »

¹¹¹ « Déjà par la participation aux foires, je pense que c’est la chose la plus importante. »

7.2.2 THE COUNTRIES' VISIBILITY AT ART BASEL 2000-2008

The analysis presented here is based on the countries' involvement between 2000 and 2008 in Art Basel, which is the most celebrated contemporary art fair in the world today. In what follows, I will attempt to answer these questions: which countries have access to the most significant contemporary art fairs and how visible are they? What position does the Netherlands occupy? What developments have taken place over the course of the years under study?

Unsurprisingly, the same countries that I identified when analysing the positions of nations in the most renowned galleries – and those in museums and biennials – appear at the top of the rankings of the most visible countries taking part at Art Basel (Hypothesis 1d). Again, these findings confirm the dominant position of these art centres, in particular the USA and Germany (Quemin, 2002). These two countries were the leading nations at Art Basel between 2000 and 2008, followed by Switzerland, France, the United Kingdom and Italy (Table 7.5, following page).

The importance of territorial factors is again underlined by the reduced number of countries represented at this *international* contemporary art fair: the galleries that participated between 2000 and 2008 came from no more than 40 different countries in total. Diversity at this most prominent fair thus appears to be fairly limited. It is somewhat greater, although still not significantly so, when taking into account the country of birth of the artists represented in the galleries' booths. For instance, in the 2008 edition, the participating galleries were based in 35 different nations, representing artists born in 108 different countries. Yet, these numbers are somewhat misleading; the 35 countries that had one or more galleries participating in this particular edition were greatly overrepresented, whereas the other 63 were extremely underrepresented: of 6,695 representations, only 6.3% were by artists born in one of the countries without any gallery present at Art Basel.

Furthermore, Switzerland's third position in this list also illustrates the importance of geographical or territorial factors in the international art world. It is true that Switzerland is one of the most successful countries in the international art arena, yet this outcome is undoubtedly influenced by the fact that Art Basel is located there. This result supports reception theory, as gatekeepers appear to be particularly orientated towards domestic actors of the contemporary art world, in this case domestic galleries. As such, Hypotheses 3a and 3b, suggesting that the visibility of countries is marked by the geographical embeddedness of gatekeepers, are confirmed not only for museums, biennials and galleries, but also in the case of art fairs.

Table 7.5 Represented countries at Art Basel, 2000-2008 (galleries)¹¹²

COUNTRY	ART BASEL EDITION									N YEARS PARTICIPATING
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	
USA	53	54	55	51	64	69	75	79	80	9
GERMANY	63	60	58	61	60	54	62	60	57	9
SWITZERLAND	45	43	42	42	41	41	43	42	39	9
FRANCE	43	33	31	28	25	29	30	27	28	9
UNITED KINGDOM	24	22	22	24	24	29	32	32	34	9
ITALY	21	18	17	17	19	17	19	23	21	9
SPAIN	9	8	9	10	9	10	11	10	11	9
AUSTRIA	9	10	8	9	8	8	9	8	10	9
BELGIUM	9	7	7	9	7	8	7	8	10	9
JAPAN	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	6	9
NETHERLANDS	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	4	3	9
BRAZIL	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	4	9
CHINA	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	5	7	9
CANADA	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	2	3	9
SWEDEN	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	9
DENMARK	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	5	4	9
SOUTH KOREA	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	9
MEXICO		1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	8
AUSTRALIA	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	9
POLAND				2	1	2	2	3	2	6
GREECE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	9
IRELAND	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	9
NORWAY	2			1	1	1	1	3	1	7
PORTUGAL		1	1		1	1	1	2	2	7
LUXEMBOURG	2	2	2	1	1					5
MONACO		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	7
ISRAEL				1			2	2	1	4
SOUTH AFRICA				1	1	1	1	1	1	6
FINLAND						1	1	1	1	4
INDIA							1	1	2	3
RUSSIA						1	1	1	1	4
ARGENTINA	1	1							1	3
CHILE		1		1	1					3
CZECH REPUBLIC	1	1		1						3
SLOVENIA							1	1	1	3
TURKEY							1	1	1	3
ICELAND					1					1
LEBANON								1		1
NEW ZEALAND									1	1
ROMANIA									1	1
TOT. GALLERIES ^A	309	289	280	285	295	303	329	342	347	
TOT. COUNTRIES	24	27	23	29	29	28	32	33	35	

Note ^AGalleries located in two or more countries are counted once for each country.

¹¹² In this table, all galleries are taken into account, including those that are dedicated to modern art. As this number is restricted, excluding them will not profoundly change the outcome.

THE NETHERLANDS

When studying the position of the Netherlands in more detail, Table 7.5 highlights that of 40 countries with galleries that have participated at Art Basel between 2000 and 2008, the Netherlands is among the 20 with a constant presence. Every year, three or four Dutch galleries were included in this event, although only one of them, Galerie Paul Andriessse, participated in each of the editions. The others are Ellen de Bruijne, Galerie van Gelder and Gallery Torch, which all took part in the early 2000 editions, while Galerie Diana Stigter (three participations), Annet Gelink Gallery (five participations) and Galerie Fons Welters (eight participations) have also been present in recent events.

With three or four of its galleries participating per edition, the Netherlands is in eleventh place in the rankings of countries present at Art Basel. Compared to the nations that have not been represented by any galleries over the past nine years, the Netherlands is doing rather well. Yet, in contrast to the list of the most visible countries in international galleries, the Netherlands is preceded in these rankings by Spain, Austria, Belgium and Japan. Similar results were obtained when analysing the presence of artists based on their country of birth at Art Basel's 2008 edition. With 117 representations (1.7%) by Dutch artists, the Netherlands is behind the same countries, including one of the most prominent emerging nations, namely China.¹¹³

The relative visibility of Dutch artists at contemporary art fairs is thus less than their presence in the leading contemporary art galleries in Berlin, London, New York and Paris. Unlike the Netherlands, artists from countries like Spain, Japan or Belgium are more visible at Art Basel than they are in the most renowned contemporary art galleries. An important factor in the restricted presence of Dutch artists at contemporary art fairs is the weaker position of Dutch galleries compared to their counterparts from other countries, such as those mentioned above (cf. Gubbels, 1999; Steenbergen, 2002; Velthuis 2005). When comparing the presence of the Netherlands to that of a neighbouring country like Belgium over the years, twice as many Belgian galleries as Dutch ones attended these events. Some of the interviewees highlighted this difference:

"Honestly, when looking at the eight to 10 international fairs that matter, five or six Dutch galleries go there. Very few. In fact, there are more Belgian galleries."¹¹⁴ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

Likewise, interviewees also refer to the weaker position of Dutch galleries in general and to the fact that there seems to be only a limited number of Dutch collectors of contemporary art:

"In the Netherlands, you don't have many collectors either, not a lot, and not a lot of big galleries either, compared to Belgium, for example, which is a smaller country, and which has more galleries capable of launching [their artists] on an international level. It is surprising that there are not more good galleries in the Netherlands."¹¹⁵ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

¹¹³ Rankings: USA (24.4%); Germany (13.9%); United Kingdom (9.6%); Italy (5.4%); Switzerland (4.8%); France (4.6%); Spain (3.2%); Japan (2.7%); Austria (2.2%); China (2.1%); Belgium (1.9%); Netherlands (1.7%).

¹¹⁴ « Franchement, si on compte les 8 à 10 foires internationales qui comptent, elles sont faites par 5 à 6 galeries des Pays-Bas qui y vont. Extrêmement peu. Il y a plus de galeries belges en fait. »

¹¹⁵ « Aux Pays-Bas, vous n'avez pas beaucoup de collectionneurs non plus, pas énormément, et il n'y a pas énormément de grandes galeries non plus, comparé à la Belgique, par exemple, qui est un pays plus petit, qui a plus de galeries qui ont une capacité de projection à l'internationale. C'est étonnant, qu'il n'y ait pas plus de bonnes galeries aux Pays-Bas. »

"I think that the art collecting community is a little more conservative in Holland, a little more bourgeois in a way, a little more quiet, a little more quiet in their obsessions, whereas a Belgian collector, in contrast, is, you know, more modest in appearance, but they can just be totally crazy when it comes to following certain artists and they are very [well] informed. They typically buy work by artists earlier on in their careers, they don't like to overpay. And then there is some, you know, in Belgium, in Brussels especially, and in parts of Flanders, some very wealthy newer collectors (...). But [there are] many more collectors in Belgium than in Holland, it seems, to me, at least." (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

The lack of a large pool of collectors, in turn, has an influence on the presence of Dutch galleries at contemporary art fairs. In their selection criteria, these events not only take into consideration the quality of a gallery's programme, i.e. the artists they show, but also the collectors with whom the gallery does business. As one gallerist explained:

"That is a strategy of every art fair, when they invite galleries from a certain country, the collectors of the country follow."¹¹⁶ (Interview, gallerist 10, Paris)

To summarise, the presence of national galleries at contemporary art fairs has an influence on the visibility of national artists. This first becomes apparent in the primacy that galleries tend to give to domestic artists. Secondly, artists from countries with participating galleries in these fairs are far more visible than their counterparts from nations that are not represented by any gallery. Finally, the gallery's clientele, which is largely national, affects whether or not the gallery is accepted to take part in contemporary art fairs. In other words, even in such events, which are considered to be highly market driven and essentially transnational, territorial factors still have a noticeable impact on the visibility of artists.

ANALYSES OVER TIME

In addition to the overall presence of countries and galleries at Art Basel, I have also studied their participation in different years (Table 7.5). At this event, both the total number of galleries and the countries increased between 2000 and 2008. Relatively more countries (+46%) than galleries (+12%) have come to participate over the years. The increase in the number of countries confirms Hypothesis 2a, as the art fair event has become more diverse over time.

Several new countries have started to take part in Art Basel, including emerging nations like India, Poland and South Africa. In most cases, these countries are represented by only one, or sometimes two, galleries. Still, this growth points towards the ongoing internationalisation of the contemporary art world and supports the cultural flows theory that stresses the counterflow from the periphery to the centre.

The inclusion of new countries, most of which are located in the peripheral zone, can be viewed as a correction of the hegemony of Western nations. It is true that the overall visibility of the group of six leading countries – USA, Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, France and Italy – has fallen a little over the years, from 80% in 2000 to 75% in 2008. This is, above all, related to changes in the visibility of Germany, France and Switzerland. The number of galleries from these countries at Art Basel fell between 2000 and 2008, and as a consequence their relative visibility has declined over the years.

¹¹⁶ « Cela est une stratégie de toute foire quand on invite des galeries d'un pays, les collectionneurs du pays suivent. »

The USA and the United Kingdom, however, have benefited from the growth in the number of galleries included. The increase of British galleries (from 24 to 34) illustrates the growing importance of this country in the international contemporary art world, while the rise in the number of American galleries (from 53 to 80) shows that USA has clearly strengthened its central position in recent years.¹¹⁷

The dominance of the top countries is underlined when looking at the relative diversity (expressed in the share of countries responsible for half of the representations) of art fairs over the years, which also provides more insight into the degree of internationalisation of the event. Despite a growing number of participating countries, only three – the USA, Germany and Switzerland¹¹⁸ – accounted for 50% of the representations each year. Between 2000 and 2008, relative diversity fell from 12.5% to 8.6%. In other words, relatively, the art fair has become less diverse over the years, which supports Hypothesis 1a.

To summarise, until now, the participation of new countries has not provoked any significant shifts in the ranking of nations at contemporary art fairs; the same ones – in particular the USA and Germany – are still in the lead (cf. Quemin, 2002, 2006). Accordingly, the international art fair is characterised by the increasing diversity of the countries taking part, yet their visibility remains manifestly very uneven.

The growing participation of new countries does seem to affect the presence of artists. An analysis of the stables of the galleries at the 2008 edition reveals that those from the peripheral zone are less internationally orientated than those from Western countries. In this edition, for example, about 80% of the representations in the galleries from the three previously mentioned emerging nations (India, Poland and South Africa) were by national artists. To put it another way, galleries from the peripheral zone represent relatively more domestic artists than the galleries from the centre (Western Europe and the USA) generally do. This is similar to the findings in the section on biennials and, likewise, causes me to reject Hypothesis 1f, which suggested that the share of domestic artists is related to the centrality of the country.¹¹⁹ While contemporary art fairs do seem to increasingly internationalise themselves by inviting galleries from a wider range of countries to participate, the stables represented by these galleries continue to be fairly national.

The Netherlands is one of the countries to have become less visible over the years. Between 2000 and 2008, the presence of Dutch galleries fell from 1.3% to 0.9%. This decline is related to the drop in the number of Dutch galleries participating at Art Basel, which has gone from four in the early years of the last decade to three more recently. Secondly, like other nations, the relative visibility of the Netherlands has fallen as new countries have come onto the scene.

¹¹⁷ The relative share of the United Kingdom and the USA grew from 7.8% to 9.8% and from 17.2% to 23.1% respectively.

¹¹⁸ The share of these countries in 2000 and 2008 was: 17.2%/23.1% (USA); 20.4%/16.4% (Germany); and 14.6%/11.2% (Switzerland).

¹¹⁹ This should be nuanced, as the USA displays the work of a relatively high share of domestic artists (44%) compared to the other (Western) countries, which is in line with its central role. However, this does not change the position that peripheral countries are more domestically orientated than those that are more central.

What is more, the overrepresentation of domestic artists in the galleries from both emerging countries and some of the nations that have witnessed a growth in the number of their galleries participating at the event, influences the presence of Dutch artists, as they become relatively less visible. In other words, the growing interest in art from the peripheral zone, which is translated into an increasing number of galleries that mainly represent their national artists, has a negative effect on the position of Dutch contemporary art at international contemporary art fairs.

CONCLUSION

In this subsection I have analysed the presence of countries at the most important contemporary art fair, Art Basel. These analyses have underlined the importance of territorial factors, not least due to the high visibility of the home country, Switzerland, at this event. The overrepresentation of Switzerland at this fair is yet another example of a reoccurring phenomenon in the international contemporary art world, namely that decision-makers or gatekeepers give primacy to those who are active in the same geographical or cultural sphere. This underlines reception theory in the sense that the presence of countries, even in this, allegedly, highly transnational event, is manifestly marked by the event's geographical location.

What is more, the visibility of national artists at contemporary art fairs depends on the presence of national galleries. At contemporary art fairs, too, galleries tend to promote their national artists. In addition, artists from countries with galleries that participate in these fairs are far more visible than their counterparts from nations that are not represented by any gallery. Another indicator of the importance of territorial factors is the observation that the participation of galleries in contemporary art fairs depends on the gallery's clientele, which is largely nationally based.

Furthermore, the USA above all, but also Germany, the United Kingdom and France, remain in the top positions, which illustrates their centrality. This, like their overrepresentation at biennials, subscribes even more clearly to cultural hegemony theory, particularly when considering that none of these countries is home to the event.

The Netherlands is one of the 20 countries that have participated at Art Basel in every edition between 2000 and 2008, although its visibility has diminished over the years. While the total number of participating galleries has increased, the number of Dutch galleries has fallen. In addition, the number of countries taking part has also risen, resulting in the country becoming relatively less visible. Moreover, particularly the galleries located in the emerging nations are more orientated towards domestic artists than their Western European counterparts, making it more difficult for Dutch artists to be included in this art fair. It would be of interest to study the focus of these galleries on national art and artists qualitatively.

The emergence of nations has increased the diversity at international art fairs. As a consequence, several Western countries have seen their visibility fall, but this has not resulted in the more balanced visibility of countries or a shift in the leading nations. The top of the rankings continues to include the same limited

number of countries and the USA has even strengthened its position. In fact, changes primarily occur in the lower levels of the rankings: the list becomes longer and countries are replaced or change positions. Accordingly, it is more likely that globalisation-as-diversification negatively influences the position of semi-peripheral Western-European countries like the Netherlands more than it does that of the central nations.

IV TERRITORIAL FACTORS AND THE VISIBILITY OF ARTISTS AND COUNTRIES

The quantitative analysis in the previous part of this study has shown that countries are unequally represented in the international art world. Factors such as centrality and the location of an art event affect visibility. Home countries (nations hosting leading international contemporary art events) and the central countries of the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent France, dominate the rankings. The overrepresentation of these nations is notable throughout the different types of event in the contemporary art world, whether it concerns those in institutions or the market, traditional events originally embedded in a national art scene, or relatively new events in a transnational context. In other words, the international contemporary art world is marked by the asymmetrical visibility of countries.

This final part of my dissertation readdresses the importance of place related factors based on interviews held with several gallerists and curators working in the art institutions or galleries located in Berlin, London, New York and Paris that have been examined herein. In Chapter 8, I will elaborate on the impact of residence and nationality. How does the affiliation by birth and residence of artists to a geographical space influence their visibility and that of countries in the international field of the visual arts? The final chapter will deal with the specificities of the Netherlands as a local – or national – art scene in more detail: how does this affect the visibility of Dutch art on an international stage? And how familiar are actors of the contemporary art world with this scene?

8 GEOGRAPHICAL EMBEDDEDNESS OF ARTISTS

When studying in Chapter 5 the characteristics of Dutch artists with a degree of visibility in the international visual arts' world, I distinguished between artists affiliated to the Netherlands by birth and those affiliated by residence. Indeed, these two factors were the basis upon which the selection of Dutch artists was made. I also used these criteria to assign artists to other countries, which enabled me to study the international orientation of various types of art event and the visibility of countries in an international context.

In interviews, actors of the contemporary art world expressed their views on the internationalisation thereof. Although the diversity of the interviewees was too limited to generalise, they illustrate and qualify the discussion on how the affiliation of artists to a local or national scene may affect their presence or the visibility of countries in the international art world.

8.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH

The analyses in Part III revealed an overrepresentation of artists from host countries in contemporary art events in both institutions and the market. In the museums and galleries located in the world art cities (cf. While, 2003) of Berlin, London, New York and Paris, many of the artists included were either born or living in the country where the gallery or museum is located. Likewise, in the case

of biennials, which are often located in the periphery, artists born in the organising country are also overrepresented. Based on this, I have argued that international art events still display a degree of national orientation, despite the fact that they are operating on an international level.

Rather like how gallerists talk about the internationalisation of their galleries (see section 7.2), in interviews several curators of the museums included in my study emphasised the international scope of their institution. As I pointed out in section 6.1, within the Tate Gallery, Tate Modern is the institution that focuses in particular on non-British art. Other museums may not have such a specific form of division, but nevertheless underline their international nature:

“Centre Pompidou is not a museum of French art; it is above all an internationally orientated national museum of modern art.”¹²⁰ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

“We are a national gallery and usually from the history, from the 19th century, you could think that the national gallery was mainly collecting German art. But this was from the very beginning not that way. Because there were always directors who were looking around (...). And so the National Gallery was always an international gallery, it was never dedicated to the German artists. (...) so, we [at the Hamburger Bahnhof] as well do not look for nations or nationalities.” (Interview, curator 6, Berlin)

Every museum or art centre in my study is focused on international modern and contemporary art. Yet, despite this global scope, curators are aware of the overrepresentation of national artists in their institutions. As shown in section 6.1, they tend to explain this first and foremost as being due to proximity and stress that they are not bound by rules that oblige them to focus on the national art scene. At the same time, when discussing the exhibition or acquisition policy of a particular art centre or museum in interviews, it becomes apparent that the national or local art scene is far from being completely ignored; sometimes, an exhibition programme is put in place that is dedicated to artists born or living in the host country.

The Palais de Tokyo in Paris, for example, has created a programme known as *Modules*, which is dedicated to “young French artists or artists living in France.”¹²¹ In an interview, one of the curators of the institution indicated that the Dutch artist couple, Lonnie van Brummelen and Siebrand de Haan, when they were residing at Cité des Arts in Paris, were invited to do an exhibition within the *Modules* programme in the spring of 2007. To this she added: “so, being French does not mean anything.”¹²² (Interview, curator 9, Paris) Yet, the very example of this artist couple underlines the importance of territorial factors, since the exhibition at Palais de Tokyo was a direct result of their – relatively short – stay in a Parisian residence and the institution’s implementation of an exhibition programme of the work of artists born or based in France.

In other cases, institutions put on exhibitions that are related to a prize for artists who were born or are living in the country in question. The most eminent of these is the Turner Prize, which is dedicated to British artists under the age of 50, with an exhibition of the work of those who are shortlisted being held at Tate Modern every autumn. Other examples of nationality or residence related prizes

¹²⁰ « (...) le Centre Pompidou ce n’est pas un musée d’art français, c’est un musée national d’art moderne à vocation internationale avant tout. »

¹²¹ « (...) les jeunes artistes français ou qui vivent en France. »

¹²² « Donc être un artiste français, cela ne veut rien dire (...). »

are Beck's Futures, shown at the ICA (also in London), or the Prix Ricard, at Centre Pompidou, which results in an acquisition (Interview, curator 10, Paris). To put it another way, although contemporary art museums and centres are quite focused on presenting an international collection or exhibition programme, at the same time they tend to engage with the local and national art scene. Both of these elements can be considered to be part of the institutions' policy and each of them, in their own way, affects the visibility of artists and countries.

This dual stance is not only apparent when discussing the orientation of institutions or galleries, but also when examining the development of an international artistic career and the role of nationality. In fact, it is not uncommon to hear actors of the contemporary art world initially say:

"(...) this globalisation phenomenon is noticeable in society in general, not only in the art world. Society is global, so art is global."¹²³ (Interview, curator 9, Paris)

"I think nationality definitely goes against the spirit of things, of what artists do." (Interview, curator 7, London)

"I don't care. I mean, I don't mind where the artist is coming from." (Interview, gallerist 3, Berlin)

In other words, art and nationality are generally considered to be unrelated, particularly in a contemporary society that is marked by globalisation, which is understood here as stimulating heterogeneity. Yet earlier studies, such as the ones by Quemin (2002, 2006) and Buchholz and Wuggenig (2005), clearly highlighted that the contemporary art world is still extremely hierarchical and dominated by the USA and Europe, and Germany in particular. Part III of this work, which focused on the visibility of the Netherlands in an international context, concurs with the outcomes of these studies by highlighting the enduring centrality and dominance of the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom in the art market and art institutions. American, followed by German and British artists, are very visible in the international art world, regardless of whether a particular art event takes place within their country of origin or in another geographical or cultural space. In interviews, some of the contemporary art world actors acknowledged the existence of such a hierarchy:

"Let's say that there are first of all dominant nationalities, which are all dominant, which are the American, German, British nationalities (...)." ¹²⁴ (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris)

"Nationality may be important for some. I think of certain artists who have had a career that might have been better if they weren't of this nationality and others who have a career that wouldn't have been that good if they had that other nationality."¹²⁵ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

Accordingly, although in the first instance nationality is not really an issue, the impact of territorial factors is nevertheless underlined as some artists may

¹²³ « (...) c'est un phénomène de globalisation qu'on retrouve dans la société en général, ne pas seulement dans le monde de l'art. La société est globale donc l'art est global. »

¹²⁴ « Disons qu'il y a d'abord des nationalités dominantes, qui sont toutes dominantes, qui sont les américaines, allemandes, anglo-saxonnes (...). »

¹²⁵ « La nationalité peut-être importante pour certains. Je pense à certains artistes qui ont eu une carrière qui aurait pu être meilleure s'ils n'avaient pas été de telle nationalité, et d'autres qui ont fait une carrière qui n'aurait peut-être pas été si bonne s'ils étaient de telle autre nationalité. »

become more visible because they are from the centre of the contemporary art world, so reflecting the dominant position of Western countries.

Moreover, the impact of affiliation to a specific space becomes apparent in the way an artist develops artistically (cf. Fabiani, 2002). In interviews, some actors emphasised that the country of origin determines the context in which an artist works and how (s)he sees things. In other words, an artist's nationality may have an influence on the art that is produced:

"It is just that, well, there are countries that, that...determine you as an artist in a completely different manner. When you are a Chinese, Lebanese or Mexican artist, you do not have the same context, so....it is obviously determined by your context."¹²⁶ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

As a consequence, the work that an artist creates reflects the context within which (s)he is active. This may be helpful in the further development of the artist's career. Although the interviewees stressed that this does apply to everyone, artists may distinguish themselves from their colleagues as a consequence of this variety in their background that is translated into their work; they may catch the eye of the key players in the contemporary art world because of this specificity:

"It always means much when you say they are from India, or they are from Egypt, or they are from Africa. This is something special, you know." (Interview, curator 6, Berlin)

"I think people *are* looking for that more. They do want to see more of that specificity come through, you know, so you don't end up with this blended kind of little lot of work we have all seen, that just seems perfectly international art, it makes equal sense kind of anywhere, it doesn't seem to be connected to anything, it free floats in a really unintriguing way sometimes, and I do think, yeah, increasingly people, we don't want to see endless Starbucks and the rest kind of blending everything out, you know. The same kind of thing happens in a more sophisticated way in the art world." (Interview, curator 7, London)

Interestingly enough, while nationality as a selection criterion is usually denied, curators of contemporary art museums and art centres see the diversity in an artist's geographical background as something that counterbalances an art world that is too homogeneous and dominated by the West, and as a way to stand out from art that is not particularly marked by locality. These actors admit that nationality is of significance when it comes to artists from the peripheral zone, even though they may have been living in one of the major art centres for a long time:

"Rirkrit Tiravanija, he is from Thailand but he has been living for so, so long abroad you know. And he lives in Berlin, but he is always a Thailand artist. You know, when they are not from the old Western art scene, then it is important (...)." (Interview, curator 6, Berlin)

In contemporary art museums and art centres, the growing interest in artists from the peripheral zone is translated into their policies, as becomes apparent when discussing the collections, acquisitions and exhibition programmes:

"You know, for a long, long time, until the early 90s, you only looked at the Western world. Now, you look as well in India, China and so on." (Interview, curator 6, Berlin)

¹²⁶ « C'est juste bon, il y a des pays peut-être qui, qui...vous déterminent de manière complètement différente en tant qu'artiste. Si vous êtes Chinois, Libanais, ou Mexicain vous n'avez pas le même contexte donc... c'est forcément déterminé par votre contexte. »

The scope of museums today goes far beyond Western countries, with the focus increasingly being on art from the periphery (cf. Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Carroll, 2007, Moulin, 2003). By taking nationality into account in the case of artists from peripheral nations, contemporary art museums aim to establish a balance in their collections or exhibition programmes between both Western and non-Western art, and between art from the different – peripheral – regions:

“So when I exhibit three Mexicans in a row, they will tell me that there are too many Mexicans and why not a Korean, see? In any case, I make sure I have a balance.”¹²⁷ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

“Sometimes I also realise that (...) I never exhibited somebody from Africa up until now. I am not for such a long time (sic) a curator, but somehow it happens. I have never realised, which maybe I should. But...now we go to Africa next year, or this year. For me it was never, it is always the work itself.” (Interview, curator 8, Berlin)

“In recent years, it’s been a real sort of a desire to take the collection more global, rather than just looking at America or Europe. So we have had a Latin American strategy in place for some time and that has really enabled us to build the contemporary collection of Latin American artists.” (Interview, curator 12, London)

What is more, this same curator added that the focus on Latin America was not just because the museum had implemented a strategy to broaden its collection to include different nationalities and regions; it was “in parts enabled because we had financial support in that area and so... nationality suddenly, you know, [is] taken into huge consideration (...).” In contrast, the museum does not have special funding for European art “and therefore it is... in some way, it’s harder for us to acquire European artists.” (Interview, curator 12, London) This shows that the broader international scope of institutions, or at least this particular one, not only stems from the artistic motivations of the curators and the institutions’ artistic policy, but is supported or even encouraged by financial means.

One of the interviewees maintained that artists from the periphery even have an advantage over those from other nations due to the search for specificity and a more balanced representation of countries:

“I would say that it is almost easier when you, it is almost easier, with comparable work, it is easier to be Mexican or Vietnamese than to be French. The biennials need, the curators need, the biennials, the exhibitions, the museums need the young Chinese art scene...eh...Mexico etcetera, need to open up to globalisation, for good or bad reasons. So it is certain that with comparable work, a French artist is ‘yet another French artist’.”¹²⁸ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

The growing interest in artists from the peripheral zone will not only affect the visibility of artists from this region, but also that of those from other countries. The example of Art Basel (cf. section 7.2.2) has highlighted that the number of countries represented by galleries at fairs has increased. It also showed that, overall, galleries from the emerging nations tend to represent a greater share of domestic artists than their counterparts from countries with a longer history of participating in contemporary art fairs. The analyses of biennials (cf. section 6.2.3)

¹²⁷ « Donc si je montre 3 Mexicains de suite, on va me dire que cela fait trop de Mexicains et pourquoi pas un Coréen, vous voyez ? De toutes façons, moi, je fais attention à ce qu’il y ait un équilibre. »

¹²⁸ « (...) je dirais que c’est presque plus facile quand on, c’est presque plus facile, à travail égal, c’est plus facile d’être Mexicain ou Vietnamien que d’être Français. (...) Les biennales ont besoin, les curateurs ont besoin de, les biennales, les expos, les musées ont un besoin de la jeune scène chinoise,...eh...Mexico etcetera, de s’ouvrir, bon, à la mondialisation, à tort ou à raison (...). Donc c’est sûr qu’à travail égal, un artiste français c’est ‘yet another French artist’. »

revealed that these events are particularly focused on the region where the biennial is located, especially in Asia. My examination of biennials and fairs showed that this rise of new countries and regions does affect the visibility of other nations, in particular those that are not part of the leading group. Although the position of this latter group seems to have become less strong in recent years, these countries – and the USA and Germany in particular – still clearly dominate the contemporary art world. It is, therefore, likely that although the globalisation of the field has not particularly changed the positions of these leading nations, it does threaten the visibility of those lower down the rankings, like the Netherlands.

8.2 COUNTRY AND CITY OF RESIDENCE

Despite the acknowledgement of a hierarchy in the field of the visual arts and a manifest interest in artists from non-Western countries, contemporary art world actors remain reluctant to accept the role that nationality plays in the development of an artistic career. However, some do signal the importance of another territorial factor, an artist's city of residence. If artists are connected to a specific geographical space, it seems that today this is more so to cities than it is to countries:

"(...) people seem to be more identifiable by their city than by their country, I think." (Interview, gallerist 11, London)

"(...) no, I mean, I can, of course maybe like British or American artists there is more, you hear of them more, you know, and yes there is more attention [paid] to them. But, that is because it is British, it is London in a way, and American, that is, well, Los Angeles and New York and there is where things happen and so they all tend to be there." (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin)

While the country of birth is predetermined, artists are generally free to choose where they live. Like the country of origin, the country or city of residence constitutes the context in which the artists work and may, therefore, influence the art created by them:

"(...) art for me is somehow always a way to, to look at the world around you. (...) it is really different to live in Berlin than in Dakar. There is another day life, an everyday life. (...) I think there are certain developments which are...also linked somehow to the why you learn to think or to see something or to reflect something." (Interview, curator 8, Berlin)

"But I am sure that where artists live does affect their work, the kind of work they make. Because there are so many cultures... that doesn't mean that because you are a nationality that you make a certain kind of work, but wherever you, within the fact that wherever you make it as an individual, you can sense some sort of difference, sometimes between American artists and London based artists. I think sometimes that has to do with just the sensibility." (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

Moreover, for artists, living in a foreign country may bring them new perspectives as they are taken out of their own context and placed in one that they are not initially familiar with:

"I don't think it's essential, but for a lot of artists it is interesting to have a period of time in another country to rid themselves from their normal life and have different experiences." (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

Like the country of birth, the country of residence is important in creating a network. In particular, for artists who were not born in one of the major art

centres, moving to another country is likely to increase their international visibility, because by doing so they add a new network to their already existing contacts. Artists from the peripheral zone who have reached the highest levels of recognition have usually moved to one of the contemporary art world's major art centres (Quemin, 2002). This also holds true for Western artists who were not born in one of these leading nations. Along with the country of birth, the country of residence often provides the initial platform for artists:

"The place where we live must be important, because it is the platform from which we will diffuse the work."¹²⁹ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

The analyses of museums and galleries in Part III revealed that the home countries are overrepresented both in domestic museums and galleries and in those abroad. This is not only the case when artists born there are taken into account, but also when artists living there are included. For artists, moving to these countries is likely to contribute to broadening their networks and increasing their visibility (cf. Brandellero, 2011; Florida, 2005; Simpson, 1981):

"I mean, in one way it is like for an artist it helps to be in a social context, it helps to be able to bump into people, and to see people's art. You know the contemporary art world is such an interpersonal situation, it is very, it is structured but very unstructured (...). But I think it is clear that it is a social dynamism, yes of course. Yes, if you can engage with people, it is going to make a difference." (Interview, gallerist 5, New York)

"Generally, there are a lot of artists who have other residencies. Ok, there are some by snobbism, because that looks good, but there are others who like to have two feet, two spaces, different places, for example, when you live in Berlin and in New York, it is great, because you have the US and Europe. It's, is a bit the ideal [scenario]."¹³⁰ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

In some interviews, the actors referred to a hierarchy of cities, of which New York, London, Berlin and Paris are generally considered to be the most important. As one of the interviewees stated when referring to these cities:

"(...) there are places, where, indeed, although we have always said that there is no centre, as we live in a global world, this is not true, in spite of this there are still two or three cities, or four, that are important gateways (...)."¹³¹ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

Yet, as is the case for the country of birth, the notion of the influence of the country or city of residence on the development of an artistic career is sometimes rejected. Different arguments are used to illustrate that these territorial factors, i.e. the country of birth or residence, are less influential today. One of these arguments relates to the role of the gallery in the development of an artistic career, and, more specifically, to the fact that the gallery itself is usually already very active internationally:

"Less, I think it is less important today, than it was in the past, or has been, because you know, I mean we work very internationally. That means we work as a gallery in different countries through fairs, we collaborate with different galleries in different countries (...)." (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

¹²⁹ « Le lieu où on réside doit être important, parce que c'est la plateforme de laquelle on va diffuser l'œuvre. »

¹³⁰ « (...) en règle générale, il y a beaucoup d'artistes qui ont d'autres résidences. Bon, il y en a par snobisme, parce que cela fait bien, mais il y en a d'autres qui surtout aiment avoir deux pieds, deux endroits, plusieurs lieux de, par exemple quand on habite à Berlin et à New York, c'est un peu parfait quoi, parce qu'on a les Etats-Unis et l'Europe. C'est un peu l'idéal. »

¹³¹ (...) il y a des lieux où quand même, bien qu'on ait toujours dit qu'il n'y a pas de centre, maintenant comme on vit dans un monde global, ce n'est pas vrai, il y a quand même encore deux ou trois villes ou quatre qui sont les lieux de passage très importants (...).

In other words, the degree of internationalisation of galleries reflects on the degree of internationalisation of their artists. Where the artist was born or where (s)he lives thus seems to be less important today. What is more, the current contemporary art world revolves around very international manifestations such as fairs and biennials, which have an ephemeral character. As underlined in the previous parts of this dissertation, these events are frequented by anyone of any importance in the field, who then leaves again after a couple of days. This also downplays the factor of where the artist was born or is based:

“Because everyone...people see so much anyway and they go to all these different fairs, it’s probably more about, you know, the currency of an artist at a particular moment rather than the location. (Interview, gallerist 11, London)

In addition, actors of the contemporary art world not only visit these kinds of international art manifestation, but also travel to explore new local art scenes and discover artists on the ground:

“(…) I think it is all a question of meeting people, in fact. Above all, galleries and institutions travel more and more. Me, as a curator, I go and explore everywhere (…) I go [to] see art fairs, I visit studios, this is how you also discover new things.”¹³² (Interview, curator 9, Paris)

“(…) furthermore, I go and explore a lot of countries that are less visible, for example...I have been in every country of the Balkans, countries in Eastern Europe in the past three years, I have even been in Kosovo, in Albania (…).”¹³³ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

Moreover, it is not only the gallerists and curators who move around; artists themselves have started to travel more in recent years, becoming ‘nomadic’:

“An artist is born in one place and they study in another and they decide to make their home in another place for a while, and then they may move somewhere else and then return to their home country.” (Interview, curator 12, London)

“So, it is that artists, above all, are more and more nomadic, they spend their time travelling, do residency programmes, are not really attached, even if we can speak of the French scene, English scene, American scene, not American but New York or London, half of the artists who are in these cities come from everywhere.”

“(…) So, what I observe today is that artists may, in fact, they move, so that in a specific moment, because this becomes an interesting place to meet other artists, and then they can move too, go somewhere else, so, you see, they do not want to restrict themselves to a definite framework. So we are really [witnessing] an opening up for some. It is the same for curators. We also find, to have a visibility, they have a given nationality and they want a visibility (…) abroad, they have to move and be able to function in different contexts, to show that they are capable of adapting themselves.”¹³⁴ (Interview, curator 11, Paris)

¹³² « (...) je pense que tout est question de rencontre, en fait. Surtout des galeries et des institutions voyagent de plus en plus. Moi en tant que curator, je vais prospecter partout, (...) je vais voir les foires, je vais visiter des ateliers, et c’est comme cela qu’on découvre aussi d’autres choses. »

¹³³ (...) puis je prospecte pas mal dans des pays qui sont moins, moins vus, par exemple...j’étais dans tous les pays des Balkans, des pays de l’Europe de l’Est dans les trois dernières années, j’ai été au Kosovo même, en Albanie (...). »

¹³⁴ « Donc c’est surtout que les artistes sont de plus en plus mobiles, passent leur temps à voyager, faire des résidences, n’ont plus vraiment des attaches, même si on peut parler de scène française, scène anglaise, scène américaine, pas américaine mais new-yorkaise ou londonienne, la moitié des artistes qui sont dans ces villes viennent de partout. »

« (...) Alors ce que je constate moi, aujourd’hui, c’est que les artistes peuvent, en fait, bougent, alors qu’à un moment donné quelque part, car cela devient un lieu de réunion intéressant d’autres artistes, et ensuite peuvent aussi déménager, aller ailleurs, donc voilà, ils ne veulent pas se limiter non plus dans un cadre définitif. Donc on est vraiment dans une, pour certains, dans une ouverture. De la même manière que les commissaires d’expositions. On trouve aussi, pour avoir une visibilité, ils ont une nationalité de départ et s’ils veulent avoir une visibilité [une action] à l’étranger, ils se doivent d’être aussi mobiles et de pouvoir en tous les cas fonctionner dans des contextes très différents. De montrer dans tous les cas qu’ils sont capables de s’adapter. »

Artists not only travel at the beginning of their careers to gain visibility and create new networks; once they are more established and are invited to participate in international exhibitions, the travelling continues:

“Oh, I mean, of course it is crucial, artists have to travel, it is part of the, you know, of the life as an artist, I mean, to be shown internationally. I mean, as soon as you are going to be successful that is going to happen to you.” (Interview, curator 7, London)

Finally, some interviewees question the importance of residing in the main art centres by referring to the fact that there are examples of artists who have succeeded in building a reputation even though they do not live in these places or perhaps live in rural areas:

“We show Jan Worst, who is probably the most successful [yet] still relatively unknown Dutch artist, in that prices are, you know, paintings sell from 100,000-200,000 dollars and there is a number of people who want paintings and he makes four pictures a year. And yet he works in relative isolation in Groningen.” (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

“At the same time, when we say this, there are always counter-examples of artists who are very sedentary, who didn’t move and who work maybe in a very concealed way and who are very attached to their own place. What you are saying may be [true] for a new generation who are in their 30s; 30-40 year olds, but, well, there are obviously always counter-examples.”¹³⁵ (Interview, curator 11, Paris)

There are numerous examples of successful artists who live relatively far away from the important centres of today’s contemporary art world. Anselm Kiefer, who has lived in small towns for almost his entire career, is one such artist. Yet he started his career studying under Joseph Beuys in Düsseldorf, which was an important art centre at the time. Like Kiefer at the beginning of his career in the 1970s, artists from this new generation still have to pass through today’s renowned art centres to launch their international careers:

“I don’t think that it matters hugely where one is based once a career is on the way, you [have] got more flexibility. But to start it is inevitable you’d want to be in one of the centres, you know, (...), where it is, where it does seem to be happening.” (Interview, curator 7, London)

This quote brings us back to the importance of geographical embeddedness. The findings in the previous chapters clearly show the influence of these factors, which was underlined by most interviewees. On the other hand, the nomadic lives of artists and other contemporary art world actors seem to temper the advantages of artists born or living in the world art centres over those who were or are not. I would like to argue that these factors should not be conceived as being in opposition or mutually exclusive, but rather as complementary.

Travelling has become part of the deal if artists want to achieve a certain level of visibility. In particular, at the start of their careers, they need to move from time to time to have new experiences, meet new people and get involved in new networks. The rise in residency programmes and transnational events such as biennials around the world not only provides an opportunity to travel, but also encourages a nomadic lifestyle. This growing importance suggests that settling down in one of the key centres is no longer enough today. Moreover, it indicates

¹³⁵ « En même temps, quand on dit ça, il y a toujours des contre-exemples d’artistes qui sont très sédentaires, qui n’ont pas bougé et qui fonctionnent peut-être de manière très secrète et qui sont très fortement attachés à leur lieu. Ce que vous dites là, c’est peut-être pour une nouvelle génération de trentenaires. Trente-quarante ans, mais voilà, il y a évidemment des contre-exemples. »

that the lack of embeddedness in the form of nationality or residence in one of the main art centres may be compensated for by travelling the world.

However, the basis for meeting the right people while going from one place to another is usually created in a specific geographical space, preferably one of the world art cities. Whether affiliated to the space by birth or residence, artists need to stay for a certain amount of time in order to lay the foundations for a local network of people with international connections. In addition, cultural policy tools generally use such an affiliation as the criterion to define which artistic activities abroad, like participation in residency programmes or exhibitions, are financially supported. Of course, there are other ways to finance this, but cultural policy tools broaden the range of opportunities to lead a nomadic life.

In other words, nationality and residence are of a more static nature and contribute to building and consolidating a network, while travelling has the connotation of movement and implies temporary or ephemeral activities. These differences related to time, however, tend to divert attention away from the similarities in terms of space; like nationality and residence, the importance attached to travelling merely underlines the fact that territorial factors are still significant in the contemporary art world. Accordingly, the influence of territorial factors has not declined as a consequence of globalisation; instead, the range of factors has been extended to include new ones, such as travelling. These factors may be interchangeable (but only to a certain degree), but are above all complementary, meaning that it is not enough to be embedded in a centre's art scene or to constantly travel the world. Residence may have moderated the impact of nationality, as has travelling on both nationality and residence, but overall territorial factors continue to influence the development of an international artistic career.

9 IMPORTANCE OF THE NATIONAL ART SCENE: THE NETHERLANDS

Analyses of several art events in Part III – museums, biennials, galleries and fairs – have shown that domestic artists are usually overrepresented in their home nations. Consequently, if these national platforms are internationally renowned, the artists presented there will become visible on both a national and an international level. MoMA, for example, which is located in the USA, generates visibility there for a large group of American artists, but it also has an international effect as the event is a major player in the international contemporary art world. Accordingly, the local or national art scene of a country has an influence on its visibility and on that of the artists affiliated to that scene in the international art arena.

A national art scene is conceived here as being constituted of different domains, which all contribute to the visibility of artists on an international level. These domains are: institutions, market, education¹³⁶ and cultural policy, and include their respective actors. Depending on the country, one element may be more developed than another; the reputation of Switzerland, for instance, is based more on a well-developed market climate than it is on its museums. Accordingly, a strong national Dutch art scene is likely to contribute to the visibility of Dutch art internationally. In what follows, I will elaborate on the different domains referred to above and their contribution to the visibility of Dutch contemporary art on an international stage.

9.1 THE DUTCH CONTEMPORARY ART SCENE?

Most of the people I interviewed in the four international world art cities seemed to be somewhat disconcerted at being asked about the Dutch contemporary art scene. In general, the first thing that surfaced during our discussions was the fact that they were not particularly well informed about what is happening in the Netherlands today. The following quotes illustrate this:

“Ok, if I know the scene....in a way..., I could not say that I know it, I know it only incidentally while I was travelling for personal reasons to the Netherlands (...), but... I do not have, more, I cannot say I am a specialist, not even of contemporary artists in the Netherlands.”¹³⁷ (Interview, curator 11, Paris)

“I have to say, I’m not a specialist in Dutch art, er... although we have recently had on display Marlene Dumas but er... I’m afraid I’m not a specialist on Dutch art.” (Interview, curator 12, London)

“Well, I couldn’t tell you a great deal about it to be honest. I don’t know, I haven’t travelled there for several years (...). But yeah, my intimate knowledge of what is going on is due for renewal.” (Interview, curator 7, London)

¹³⁶ As in the previous parts, the term education is understood here in a broad sense and includes not only educational programmes, but also those aimed at the artistic development of artists, such as the residency programme at the Rijksakademie.

¹³⁷ « Alors, si je connais la scène.... de manière, je ne peux pas dire que je la connais, je la connais incidemment lors de voyages qui sont des voyages plutôt d’ordre personnel, aux Pays-Bas (...), mais..., je n’ai pas de, plus de, je ne peux pas dire que je suis une spécialiste, même des artistes contemporains aux Pays-Bas. »

However, this does not mean that they were completely ignorant about the subject. When I asked which Dutch art institutions and galleries they were familiar with, several names were mentioned or recognised. Appendix 5 contains a list of all of these institutions and galleries. To quote just a few examples:

"(...) great museums I mean, incredible museums, the Van Abbemuseum, Stedelijk [Museum], Boijmans, I mean great institutions." (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

"And I think De Appel is really an interesting institution, also with their curators' model. (...) Witte de With is an important institution, for sure, and, but I have never been there, and I think also Boijmans van Beuningen, that does a lot of projects, and then Amsterdam, De Appel I think, and then (...) Stedelijk [Museum Bureau Amsterdam]." (Interview, curator 8, Berlin)

"Galleries that I know? Well... Julliette Jongma (...) then Diana Stigter, Annet Gelink, Fons Welters." (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

Despite the fact that the contemporary art world actors I interviewed were familiar with some art institutions and galleries in the Netherlands, or were aware of some of their names, they rarely visit the country. The interviewees gave different reasons for this. One gallerist explained that she seldom travels to another country without a specific purpose, like an opening or another activity based around one of the gallery's artists:

"I only know a little about it, I do not go to the Netherlands very often. I do not have the time to travel without a reason, like an opening. Yes, now we have an opening at Witte de With we will be going there next week, but there has to be a special occasion in fact."¹³⁸ (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris)

Another interviewee who works as a curator referred to a limited travel budget, saying that "even for us, circulating is a real financial problem"¹³⁹ (Interview, curator 11, Paris), when explaining why a visit to the Netherlands had not been on the agenda in recent years. Finally, this unfamiliarity with Dutch art might also be related to the large number of art scenes that contemporary art world actors can choose from. Newly emerging countries, located in regions such as Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe or Asia in particular, attract the attention of many of the gallerists and curators that I have spoken to:

"You can't, there are too many things to choose from, you know, one, my priority in my mind would be to know more of course, like everybody else, of what is going on in China (...)." (Interview, curator 7, London)

The interviewees gave various reasons as to why actors of the contemporary art world do not visit the Netherlands on a regular basis. Nonetheless, more or less the same points were repeatedly made. When it comes to exploring local art scenes, gallerists and curators are limited in both their time and the budget available to them, which means that they have to set priorities. Of course, these restricted travel opportunities not only have negative consequences for the Dutch art scene; other countries are probably also visited less frequently by these same actors. Yet, it does indicate that the Netherlands does not figure on their list of priorities.

¹³⁸ « (...) je connais très peu, je ne vais pas souvent aux Pays-Bas. (...) Je n'ai pas de temps de me déplacer sans raison comme un vernissage. Oui, là on aura un vernissage à Witte de With, à laquelle on va la semaine prochaine, il faut qu'il y ait une occasion en fait. »

¹³⁹ « (...) c'est aussi parce que, même pour nous, circuler est un vrai problème de financement. »

Some interviewees explained that they do not need to visit the Netherlands to keep informed about the Dutch contemporary art scene. They “(...) know what comes here a little bit and what you see on [at] international festivals.” (Interview, gallerist 5, New York) Or, as one curator put it: “[there are] artists you meet everywhere, except in the Netherlands, in fact. In Venice, in Basel....”¹⁴⁰ (Interview, curator 10, Paris) This clearly emphasises the importance of art events such as biennials and art fairs as a meeting point for actors of the contemporary art world (Moulin, 1997, 2003). Participation in these kinds of art manifestation not only generates visibility on an international platform at the time of the event itself, but may also lead to invitations to either participate in other exhibitions or be represented by an internationally renowned gallery in the future.

What is more, the fact that Dutch artists are included in the stable of a well-known gallery also contributes to knowledge of the Dutch contemporary art scene (Interview, gallerist 10, Paris). Moreover, actors of the visual arts’ world also rely on artists as a source of information: “It is by ways (sic) of artists, they are the ones who tell us a bit about what is going on.”¹⁴¹ (Interview, curator 11, Paris) In particular, gallerists who represent Dutch artists emphasise this, although they sometimes add that their knowledge does not extend beyond awareness of their represented artists:

“(...) obviously we show Germaine Kruij, Rezi van Lankveld, Michael Raedecker, so we do have this connection.” (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

“Well, what I know is basically through the artist we represent and so what we have to encounter, with who to be in touch with, because of her, Amie Dicke.” (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin)

“(...) I see that by what we show, but I could not necessarily tell you more than that on the situation in the Netherlands.”¹⁴² (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

As well as through artists, gallerists and curators also learn about recent developments in the Dutch contemporary art scene through other actors in their networks (cf. Van Bruxvoort, Van Diepen, Mulder & De Graaff, 2008):

“(...) I also have had friends, some have moved, but friends that are curators and that live there.” (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

“(...) I know Nicolaus Schafhausen of Witte de With well (...) so, in short, well, it is a bit a network.”¹⁴³ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

¹⁴⁰ « (...) ce sont des artistes qu’on rencontre parfois partout, sauf en Hollande en fait. A Venise, à Bâle... »

¹⁴¹ « C’est par le biais des artistes, ce sont les artistes qui nous parlent un peu de ce qui se passe. »

¹⁴² « (...) je vois ça à travers ceux que nous montrons, mais je ne pourrais pas forcément vous en dire beaucoup plus sur la situation aux Pays-Bas. »

¹⁴³ « (...) je connais bien Nicolaus Schafhausen de Witte de With (...) donc, enfin bref, voilà c’est un peu un réseau. »

9.2 AFFILIATION OF FOREIGN CURATORS TO ART INSTITUTIONS

So, to what extent does the national art scene in the Netherlands contribute to the visibility of Dutch contemporary art in the international art world? When discussing this national art scene with gallerists and curators, some referred to the “openness” of the Netherlands. In this context, they pointed, among other things, to the appointment of foreign curators by Dutch art museums and art centres, which is something that also happens in other art arenas like London, but less frequently so in Germany:

“Charles Esche is the director and he is not, he is British you know. So there is an openness which I think we have in London very much too, we have a lot of foreign directors in our museums, there is Vicente at Tate you know, so it is something that I think we share.” (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

“(…) for Holland it is also quite normal to have curators and directors from all over the world. And it is still, in art institutions, to be open, like that Catherine David runs Witte de With, and now Nicolaus, all those people from abroad (...). I think the curators of like the Kunstvereine, most of the directors; I think most of them are German.” (Interview, curator 8, Berlin)¹⁴⁴

The fact that foreign curators work in national art museums and art centres may positively affect the national art scene in a number of different ways. First of all, the reputation of the curator reflects on the institution. When an internationally renowned curator is connected to an art establishment in the Netherlands, this contributes to it being recognised internationally. Secondly, attracting foreign curators makes the national art scene itself more international. As I have shown earlier, curators often show the work of artists they are familiar with. Therefore, foreign curators who work in the Netherlands contribute to the internationalisation of exhibition programmes and museum collections, because their networks mainly consist of relationships with non-Dutch artists. What is more, foreign curators function as an intermediary between the national art scene in the Netherlands and the international contemporary art world; by working in a Dutch institution, they create a new network comprised of Dutch artists, i.e. those born and living in the Netherlands. Moreover, as these actors are also part of a larger international network, it is easier for Dutch artists to gain access to global platforms. As I have just shown, contemporary art world actors keep themselves informed about other national art scenes through their networks, which may include foreign curators working in the Netherlands. Finally, when these foreign curators are invited to curate exhibitions abroad, it is probable that they will include the work of Dutch artists because they have become familiar with it as a result of their affiliation to a Dutch institution. This was the case when Charles Esche curated the Istanbul Biennial in 2005, for example, in which Dutch artists were well represented in comparison to other editions of this event as well as to other biennials.

The example of biennials underlines even more the importance of the curator to Dutch contemporary artists, considering that they do not have the benefit of the Netherlands hosting an internationally renowned art event. As is apparent from

¹⁴⁴ Currently, Chris Dercon is Director at Tate Modern and Defne Ayas is the new director at Witte de With as of January 2012.

section 6.2, organising an art manifestation of global repute contributes to the visibility of national artists on an international level. The high overall visibility at biennials of countries such as Australia, Brazil and even China arises from the fact that they organise such events themselves. Since this is not the case for the Netherlands, the visibility of Dutch contemporary artists depends even more on the orientation of the appointed curator, which is generally on the art scene in which (s)he is geographically embedded (see sections 4.1 and 6.2).

Obviously, the impact of the curator does not end when he/she pursues his/her career abroad. On the contrary, after their work in the Netherlands, foreign curators continue to contribute to the international visibility of Dutch contemporary art when they are affiliated to art institutions abroad. As Dutch artists become part of the curators' networks, they are more likely to be invited to participate in an exhibition held in the new institution where the curator is working at the time.

National curators with an international reputation may, of course, have as much of an influence on the visibility of Dutch contemporary artists in the international art world as their foreign colleagues do. The examples of the appointed curator Martijn van Nieuwenhuyzen at the ICA in London, and Theo Tegelaers who directed a show at White Box in New York, which were discussed in section 4.1 of this dissertation, make this quite clear. In other words, it is likely that the visibility of the country, i.e. Dutch contemporary art, increases as a consequence of the reputation of national and foreign curators who are familiar with the art scene in the Netherlands.

9.3 A RELATIVELY WEAK ART MARKET

As well as national institutions, the domestic market has an influence on the visibility of Dutch contemporary art in the international art world. However, as I have shown in section 7.1, the impact of Dutch galleries and Dutch collectors is quite limited globally (cf. Gubbels, 1999; Steenbergen, 2002; Velthuis 2005):

"There isn't really one gallery that has sustained itself over a long period. (...) Well, there is Paul Andriesse and Diana Stigter and Torch..., not so many." (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

While some interviewees were able to name the galleries they know in the Netherlands, others clearly had more difficulty, which illustrates the reduced impact of the country in this domain:

"Galleries, I couldn't give you any names..."¹⁴⁵ (Interview, curator 9, Paris)

"There, oh god...mmm, give me some names please..." (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin)

Yet, national contemporary art galleries play an important role in the promotion of Dutch contemporary art on an international level. Like national art institutions, these galleries often provide the initial platform for domestic artists; young and emerging artists usually find their first gallery in their home country. In

¹⁴⁵ « Les galeries, je ne pourrais pas vous dire des noms... »

the Netherlands it is fairly common for gallerists to visit the Open Studios at art schools, which is one of the ways of discovering new talent (Van Hest, 2005). In other words, here too, proximity, or working in the same geographical space, is an important factor. This initial visibility consists, of course, of an exhibition held in the gallery, which gives the artist the opportunity to show his/her work to the public. What is more, and equally important, is that by doing so the gallery contributes to the valorisation of the artist. Being included by a national gallery is the first recognition of an artist's qualities, and will help him/her to construct an international career.

So, how do national galleries function as a stepping stone for artists who are seeking international recognition? There are several ways in which a gallery can contribute to the development of an international career. Two of the most important are the representation of an international stable and participation in international contemporary art fairs.

An international stable means that the included artists are presented in an international context. This works in a similar way to what I highlighted in the case of institutions. The network of an artist is first created in the country of origin, which implies that foreign artists often already have contacts in the country from which they originate. As they are represented by Dutch galleries, these foreign artists bring their own networks to the Dutch institution, including art critics, collectors and curators. This enables the networks of the other artists in the gallery to be widened, and is therefore likely to contribute to the promotion of Dutch contemporary art in the international art world.

The internationalisation of artists (whether Dutch or foreign) represented by Dutch galleries can also contribute to the reputation of the latter. In some interviews, gallerists and curators referred to particular artists as a way of indicating how they know about certain galleries. This might be because the artist is represented by both galleries, or because the Dutch gallery represents artists working in the same geographical space as the interviewee:

"[Annet Gelink] (...) because, obviously, she represents artists that are based here." (Interview, curator 7, London)

"You know, Marlene also works with Paul Andriesse so there is a connection we have in that sense." (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

"We have worked with Yael Davids, that's how we know Akinci." (Interview, gallerist 3, Berlin)

These quotes underline my findings in section 7.2, when I discussed the internationalisation of contemporary art galleries. Galleries and artists are interdependent when it comes to building a reputation and receiving recognition. By including the work of artists in their stable, gallerists valorise and promote them, while some artists who already have a certain level of recognition in the international art world, and who are also represented by internationally renowned galleries or included in international exhibitions, contribute to making the gallery more visible on a global stage. That being said, for those I interviewed, the relationship between two galleries who represent the same artist does not usually go further than that. None of the gallerists I questioned indicated that there is a working relationship with a Dutch gallery:

“(...) let’s say we do share, for example, Iris van Dongen, with, what’s her name, Diana...Stigter, but there is not a real link.”¹⁴⁶ (Interview, gallerist 9, Paris)

Secondly, the gallery can contribute to the development of an artistic career by participating in contemporary art fairs. When a gallery takes an artist to one of these events, especially in the case of Art Basel, the artist’s work is exhibited in an international context to an international audience. In a short period of time, his/her work is presented to a wide range of actors of the contemporary art scene who come from different parts of the world. Simultaneously, participation in art fairs also contributes to the reputation of galleries. Just as galleries function as a valorisation mechanism for artists, contemporary art fairs function in the same way for them.

When looking at the Dutch galleries known by the interviewees, the ones mentioned most, such as Annet Gelink, Diana Stigter, Paul Andriessse and Torch Gallery, have all participated in the most important art fairs. Indeed, apart from through artists, actors of the contemporary art world know Dutch galleries through their presence at contemporary art fairs:

“(...) unfortunately, I don’t have the chance to go to Amsterdam and check out you, about what galleries and what [they] do in their programmes, so it is more what I see at different art fairs and in reviews and the internet.” (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin)

“Yes, I have known Lumen Travo for a long time, I know the Bloom girls and the two galleries they started separately, I know the gallery of Lily van der Stokker over there, of the tall guy, Van Gelder, I knew Torch (...). When I know them, it means that I talk to them, I drink a glass at fairs...”¹⁴⁷ (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris)

“That is to say, all those galleries, I see them at fairs, so I rarely go and see a specific exhibition in a gallery, but I follow globally the galleries that I know and like.”¹⁴⁸ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

This clearly underlines the importance of contemporary art fairs, not only as a global platform for contemporary art galleries, but also for Dutch galleries that are seeking to establish a name for themselves in the international field of the visual arts. Yet, as I have mentioned in the previous part of this work when discussing the visibility of Dutch artists in an international context, the presence of Dutch contemporary galleries at this kind of event seems to be limited. The reduced visibility of Dutch galleries has been noticed by some actors of the contemporary art world whom I have interviewed:

“Only in Amsterdam. De Bruijne, and what is the other.....oh.....sorry, I don’t have the names, but sometimes I go to some galleries. Or more or less, you know I am not that often in Amsterdam, but many galleries, not so many galleries go to Basel, and go to the art fairs. (...) And there are not so many big galleries.” (Interview, curator 6, Berlin)

The fact that Dutch contemporary galleries are underrepresented at contemporary art fairs not only has a negative impact on the visibility of Dutch contemporary artists, but also affects the image of Dutch contemporary art

¹⁴⁶ « on va dire qu’on partage par exemple Iris van Dongen avec, comment elle s’appelle, avec Diana...Stigter, mais il n’y a pas un lien véritablement. »

¹⁴⁷ « Oui, je connais Lumen Travo depuis longtemps, je connais la galerie des Bloom girls et puis les deux galeries qu’elles en ont fait séparément, je connais la galerie de Lily van der Stokker là-bas, du type qui est très grand, Van Gelder, j’ai connu Torch (...). Quand je les connais, cela veut dire que je parle avec eux, je bois un verre aux foires... »

¹⁴⁸ « C’est-à-dire après toutes ces galeries, je les vois dans les foires, donc après, je me déplace rarement pour aller voir une expo spécifique dans une galerie, mais je suis globalement les galeries que je connais et que j’aime bien (...) »

galleries in general. In other words, a limited presence at these fairs is likely to have a negative effect on these on the international reputation of these galleries.

What is more, the Netherlands is not able to benefit from organising a contemporary art fair of international scope. Although the largest art fair in the world, TEFAF, is located in Maastricht, contemporary art galleries do not regularly feature at this event, except perhaps those that also operate in the secondary market. The two contemporary art fairs, Art Amsterdam and Art Rotterdam, seem to be little known abroad; they are hardly ever referred to when the art scene in the Netherlands is discussed (cf. Quemin, 2008a). Only one curator spoke about visiting Art Rotterdam, although for him it was not really the art fair that attracted him:

"(...) well I have been to the Rotterdam Art Fair a couple of times, which you know of course has a handful of really exceedingly good galleries and still a whole sway of galleries that are possibly not so interesting, but... (...) Well, it was free, someone was paying, and I thought, well, ok, you know, why not, and also because there were other public institutions you wanted to see, it was not exclusively about going to an art fair, you know there was a chance of meeting up with people." (Interview, curator 7, London)

In contrast to the Netherlands, other countries do host internationally renowned contemporary art fairs, of which Art Basel is the most prominent example. Although this event is the least nationally orientated of all such fairs (Fournier & Roy-Valex, 2002, Quemin, 2008a), Swiss galleries and artists do benefit from the fact that it is held in Switzerland, which becomes apparent when taking into account the number of national galleries that participate. What is more, hosting such an event also generates extra visibility for galleries and artists away from the fair in the city or country where it is held. As one gallerist explained when talking about Frieze Art Fair in London:

"I mean it is incredibly easy for us to organise something at the gallery parallel to Frieze. So Frieze for us is a window, it is completely like we show there, of course we make a special presentation, (...) because we're at home, we can do so many more things. We are not just limited to the work we take, we obviously have the gallery, we can do special presentations downstairs, so we can store specific works you want a collector to see, for example, who is in town (...) Frieze is sort of definitely something, the kind that people connected up with various things, the best shows that are, you know, in all the institutions and museums, so you really, you get a great package if you come to London around that time. You know, almost, there is almost too much going on (...). But I really think it has changed the London infrastructure a lot, you know, the art world here, you know, everyone is doing special events, dinners and I think it has become a big event, you know, so besides the actual selling at the fair, I think everything around [it] is as important too (...) you know, the fair in a sort of context which I think makes London a really very hot place, you know, around that time, people want to be part of it, you know." (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

Indeed, hosting a contemporary art fair that attracts galleries, curators, critics and collectors from all over the world not only contributes to the visibility of those participating in the event, but also provides the opportunity to put other elements of the national art scene in the spotlight. By doing so, contemporary art fairs have a dual effect.

9.4 THE GREAT REPUTATION OF EDUCATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PROGRAMMES

While the national art market in the Netherlands seems to have little impact internationally – which is illustrated by the limited visibility of Dutch contemporary galleries at the leading global contemporary art fairs – the educational programmes that attract foreign students, and in particular the residency programmes, seem to have a positive effect on the visibility of Dutch contemporary art in the international art world. The art world actors I interviewed often mentioned the Dutch education system when they explained what they knew about the art scene in the Netherlands:

“What I know, what is interesting today is that a lot of young artists (...) – there are schools in fact, where there is mostly multimedia, that is the Rijksakademie in Amsterdam (...) – have gone to this [school], so...”¹⁴⁹ (Interview, curator 11, Paris)

“[T]here’s obviously the Rijksakademie, that’s just got a big reputation, and then I know various people that have gone from there.” (Interview, gallerist 11, London)

“(...) and the Dutch schools and high schools and universities are famous and the Rijksakademie is a fantastic place for a young artist. And you have others, you have Rietveld, courses, so I mean, you have a really, it is very important.” (Interview, gallerist 3, Berlin)

“I think it’s important and there’s definitely a lot of interesting artists that come out of Amsterdam and the Rijksakademie and De Ateliers (...)” (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

“I know the residencies (...) they are very well known apparently, all the artists want to go there because they will have a production space for 2 years (...) A lot of people know this residency, because the artists were very happy there. I know artists who have done that, and who had a great experience, and that is all, I think [I know of the Netherlands].”¹⁵⁰ (Interview, curator 9, Paris)

The interviewees consider the Dutch education system to be one of the most important aspects of the Dutch art scene. A country or a city’s appeal may depend on different elements; some places are more renowned because of their exhibitions, while in others the focus is more on the market. Compared to the Netherlands, nations like Belgium and Switzerland, for instance, have a better reputation when it comes to galleries and collectors. The Netherlands clearly distinguishes itself from other countries with its education system, in particular the residency programmes such as the one at the Rijksakademie:

“So that too, the interest that we may have for a country, that can also be, well, because of the exhibitions, its museums, its art fairs and its biennials, and also because of its academies, the schools that educate the artists. And, so, that creates a focus on a country.”¹⁵¹ (Interview, curator 11, Paris)

“(...) but I think that [the Rijksakademie] is also important to have people come to Amsterdam and Rotterdam to see what is happening.”¹⁵² (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

¹⁴⁹ « Ce que je sais qui est intéressant aujourd’hui c’est que beaucoup de jeunes artistes (...) - il y a des écoles en fait, très actives, où il y a surtout des multimédias, c’est la Rijksakademie d’Amsterdam (...) - sont passés par cette, voilà. »

¹⁵⁰ « (...) je connais les résidences, (...) elles sont très reconnues apparemment, tous les artistes veulent y aller parce que pour deux ans, ils ont un espace de production... (...) Beaucoup connaissent cette résidence, parce que les artistes y étaient très contents. Moi je connais des artistes qui l’ont fait, et qui en ont tiré une bonne expérience, et puis je crois, c’est tout. »

¹⁵¹ « Donc cela aussi, l’intérêt aussi qu’on peut avoir pour un pays, cela peut-être aussi, bon, par des expositions, ses musées, ses foires et ses biennales, et aussi par les académies, les écoles qui forment les artistes. Et là, du coup, ça crée un focus sur un pays. »

¹⁵² « (...) mais je pense que [la Rijksakademie] est très important aussi pour faire venir des gens à Amsterdam et à Rotterdam pour voir qu’est-ce qui se passe. »

"I mean, they don't, Amsterdam particularly sticks out gallery wise in the art market. But it is still a city known for, maybe more for the...for the artists than for anything else related to the art world. (...) Mmm, when I think of Amsterdam, I tend to think of, oh yeah, there is like, I think there is more young artists coming out of Amsterdam than anything else. Maybe it is just because they have good schools (...)" (Interviews, gallerist 4, Berlin)

The education system is not only the most prominent element in the Dutch contemporary art world according to the interviewees, but also seems to be the most international aspect. As some of the programmes attract many foreign students, the schools and the cities in which they are located also become more international:

"Maybe you are getting more and more international I think, (...) because of the Rijksakademie, so many people are coming and staying there, (...) I think it is, I always had the feeling that really a lot of students from all over the world are coming really, [out] of India, and everywhere." (Interview, curator 8, Berlin)

"I mean it also seems fairly international I suppose because of the Rijksakademie, and sort of the amount people that go through... it seems very international to me. (...) I think it, with it, Amsterdam remains international. There's always new artists coming to live there and Rijksakademie has a sort of, a good theoretical base and so you have that feeling, you've got yourself to live up to the context of that." (Interview, gallerist 1, London)

"In fact, it is that in fact, it is an international place. If there are no foreign students, it therefore is not international, so the local art scene will not benefit from it. That is the thing, if you give it an international level, the local art scene will benefit."¹⁵³ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

Having institutions like the Rijksakademie or De Ateliers in the Netherlands has great benefits for the local art scene (cf. Heilbron, 1992). Firstly, these institutions create new networks for domestic artists, starting with the network of those who are studying there at a particular time. What is more, Dutch artists who have studied with foreign colleagues at these academies, or who have met these students because they have been part of the same national art scene for some time, are connected to yet other foreign actors of the contemporary art world through these contacts. Furthermore, the proximity rule is also valid in this case. These kinds of internationally renowned institution are an excellent place to discover new international talents without having to go to London, New York or Berlin. Dutch galleries often include in their stable foreign artists who have studied at one of the national academies.

In other words, the national art scene in the Netherlands becomes more international in two different ways. Firstly, the art academies themselves become more global as they attract foreign artists who want to study there. Secondly, the programmes of the Dutch galleries and institutions have become more international, since it is relatively easy to work with foreign artists who are studying at one of the academies as they are part of the same geographical space. The internationalisation of the Dutch art scene by way of the residency programmes at institutions like the Rijksakademie and De Ateliers attracts the attention of foreign contemporary art world actors, such as curators and gallerists. This, in turn, is likely to influence the visibility of Dutch art on an international stage positively.

¹⁵³ « En fait c'est ça qui en fait que c'est un lieu international, s'il n'y a pas des artistes étrangers, c'est quand même pas international donc cela ne profitera pas au local. Le truc, c'est ça, si vous donnez un niveau international ça va au profite du local. »

While there are several educational and residency programmes that attract foreign artists, the Rijksakademie, in particular, seems to have become an authority. According to a curator:

"I couldn't analyse the reasons in detail, but it has become the authority because, I don't know, the teachers who are there, they are of a very, very high quality, a level of selection of artists who are in the middle of their careers, so these are a bit the best in the world. With time, it has become the authority (...)." ¹⁵⁴
(Interview, curator 10, Paris)

In addition to the high standard of its teachers and artists, the Rijksakademie attracts foreign artists because of the good conditions on offer there. As the same curator explained, there is a lot of working space available for the artists at this institution, "which is exceptional in Europe" ¹⁵⁵ (Interview, curator 10, Paris), and scholarships are also available.

Yet, in recent years, the budgets available for art academies and educational programmes have been cut. This has also been noted by the interviewees, not only when it comes to the programmes dedicated to artists, as is the case at the Rijksakademie, but also in terms of the Curatorial Programme at De Appel. This brings me to the final way in which the national contemporary art scene can contribute to increasing the visibility of Dutch contemporary art, namely cultural policy.

9.5 AN EXTENSIVE CULTURAL POLICY PROGRAMME

As well as support for national art institutions, national galleries and attractive educational programmes, financial help from the government can contribute to improving the visibility of domestic artists. Similar to the renowned programmes of the Rijksakademie and other art academies, the support system for art and artists in the Netherlands was well-known among the people I interviewed. When discussing the Dutch contemporary art scene, the issue of the Dutch government's support often came up. It is safe to say that the reputation of the Netherlands as a country of relatively high state support for the arts dates from the time that the BKR still existed (cf. Moulin, 1997), although this particular aid has a rather negative connotation today:

"I know that, you know, for years it was a kind of subsidised situation so you had a lot of artists who were making mediocre work and there are warehouses full of their works." (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

While the BKR has been abolished for more than two decades, the Netherlands still has a rather vast system of support for contemporary art through which it distinguishes itself from other countries. One of the tools with which to stimulate the creation of art is providing direct support to artists. As a gallerist explained when referring to the production costs of video art:

¹⁵⁴ « Je ne saurais pas analyser les raisons en détail, mais c'est devenu la référence à cause des, je sais pas, des enseignants qui y sont, ils sont d'une très très grande qualité, un niveau de sélection des étudiants qui sont vraiment en plein parcours, donc forcément, ce sont un peu les meilleurs dans le monde. Avec le temps, c'est devenu la référence (...). »

¹⁵⁵ « c'est exceptionnel en Europe. »

"(...) I think that Holland has so many rather important fine artists as a result of that, otherwise it wouldn't happen, and then I mean especially artists like Liza May Post or Aernout Mik, or whatever, you wouldn't have it without the system." (Interview, gallerist 3, Berlin)

An interviewee referring to France, which is also known for the support it gives to the arts, underlines the importance of state assistance:

"I think that that has a real role, because in France, for example, we have the equivalent of Mondriaan, so [an institution] which is really dedicated to the support of artists, by or through galleries or by people who organise [exhibitions]. I know that in Holland, there is even more support for artists, but if we look at the structure in France or abroad, like in Holland where there is the Mondriaan, I think that that really made a lot of things happen."¹⁵⁶ (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris)

As well as stimulating production through the provision of direct assistance to artists in the form of basic scholarships, a contribution to production costs, or funding for residency programmes abroad, there are also other tools with which to support the distribution of Dutch art on an international level more specifically. For instance, the Mondriaan Foundation may provide a financial contribution in the form of travel and visiting expenses to foreign institutions that include Dutch artists in their exhibition programmes. The Mondriaan Foundation was mentioned often (cf. Van Bruxvoort et al., 2008) by the gallerists and curators I interviewed. To quote some gallerists:

"(...) the Mondriaan Foundation is a famous phenomenon in the world." (Interview, gallerist 3, Berlin)

"And what I have seen, first of all the thing that has struck me the most [is] that in the Netherlands [it] is good art wise, is good contemporary art wise, because actually things like the government tries to help artists, offer them like scholarships, or for example the Mondriaan Foundation, which I think is extremely important, they really, really want to support the artists and they want them to be internationally known. And I like really the initiative to this, because you know it is very good for an artist, who already has difficulties as it is, but can in case of, can count on this kind of help from the government." (Interview, gallerist 4, Berlin)

"[The Mondriaan Foundation is] truly international and it is phenomenal how wide they spread. And I do think they make a difference, because it helps projects to realise them in other places." (Interview, gallerist 6, London)

Although in most cases, the financial support is given to public institutions, such as museums and art centres, galleries may also apply for a contribution for the Dutch artists they represent:

"(...) even for us, it's a help, even for the gallery, it is a help, the artist, we can apply for the money and if we do a good job, they really [are] going to help us and the artist, so this is even an incentive to work with a Dutch artist, because we know we are going to have some sort of support [from] the government of the artist, so that is the first thing that I see of the scene." (Interview, gallerist 2, New York)

As well as the Mondriaan Foundation, other Dutch institutions, such as the embassies, may also contribute to the financial costs of including the work of a Dutch artist in an exhibition. Some art centres contact national institutions or embassies on a regular basis for financial support:

¹⁵⁶ « Moi, je pense que cela a un vrai rôle, parce qu'en France, par exemple, on a un équivalent à Mondrian, donc qui s'occupe vraiment des aides aux artistes, par ou via les galeries, ou via les gens qui organisent. Je sais qu'en Hollande, il y a plus d'aide même aux artistes qu'en France, mais si on prend en tête la structure de la France où à l'étranger, comme en Hollande où il y a Mondrian, je pense que cela a vraiment permis beaucoup de choses. »

"It is true that when we work with international artists, we always approach the corresponding cultural centre, like the Goethe Institut, the British Council or the Institut Néerlandais to see if they are interested in supporting their artist."¹⁵⁷ (Interview, curator 9, Paris)

Apart from contributing to an exhibition itself, the embassy also functions as an intermediary between the foreign art institution and other channels, such as the Mondriaan Foundation. On the one hand, the cultural attaché informs the institutions about funding possibilities, while on the other (s)he fulfils the role of advisor to the Dutch bodies about the foreign establishments that are applying for funding:

"Yeah, for Folkert's show, obviously, it is important to have the support of the embassy when you are, for funding, in the first instance. You know, it helped hugely, but Daphne was able to recommend funding for the show to the Mondriaan Foundation. (...) And she could be there as an advocate to say, yes, this is a good thing, this will be a good thing for the artist and sure enough it was a good thing for him at the time and I also think that it extends the networks, the people that you are in contact with. So yeah, I think that the people that are tuned in to contemporary art, and are tuned in to the spaces in London, er, it can be a very supported and useful relationship." (Interview, curator 7, London)

Another tool with which to stimulate distribution is the Mondriaan Foundation's visitors programme, in which foreign actors of the contemporary art world, such as curators, are invited to visit the Netherlands. As I have shown in the second part of this work, several artistic directors and curators of contemporary art biennials have visited the country in recent years.

Indeed, in some of the editions curated by them, the Netherlands was overrepresented. Although this was not the case in every edition, it is probably due to the fact that the artistic directors or other members of the curatorial team have been able to visit the country and become more familiar with its national art scene. This has, in turn, had an influence on the larger numbers of participating Dutch artists. Curators of museums may also be invited to participate in this visitors programme. In the case of one of them, this led to an exhibition and an acquisition:

"I was, by the way, invited by the Mondriaan Institute, I think, to come and see the studios, because I was interested in an artist called Erik van Lieshout, of whom I, by the way, showed, I invited him to 'prospectifs cinema' and I also bought a large drawing for the collection."¹⁵⁸ (Interview, curator 10, Paris)

Finally, the Mondriaan Foundation provides financial support to the galleries that show the work of Dutch artists in their booths at contemporary art fairs. An earlier study on the Dutch contemporary art scene revealed that Dutch galleries depend on these contributions if they want to participate in such fairs, because the fees they have to pay to be included are significant (Van Hest, 2005). Foreign galleries may also apply for this financial support, provided that they meet the same condition as their Dutch counterparts, namely the dedication of at least 50% of the booth to the work of Dutch artists:

"We even had a contribution from Mondriaan, why, yes, because we did a project, well, we did a fair, where we showed two artists who do only wall-painting, or for 90% wall-painting, and some drawings. So we had the artists come, with their assistants, during the whole fair, they stayed the whole fair (...) so we had the chance to present a very, very different booth, with the artists present the whole time, and that is thanks to

¹⁵⁷ « C'est vrai que, quand on travaille avec des artistes internationaux, nous approchons toujours le centre culturel correspondant comme le Goethe Institut, le British Council ou l'Institut Néerlandais pour savoir si cela les intéresse de soutenir leur artiste. »

¹⁵⁸ « Moi j'étais invité d'ailleurs par l'Institut Mondrian, je pense, à venir voir des ateliers, parce que je m'intéressais à un artiste qui s'appelle Erik van Lieshout dont d'ailleurs j'ai montré, je l'avais invité aux « prospectifs cinéma », et j'ai acheté aussi un grand dessin à la collection. »

the contribution of Mondriaan for Lily van der Stokker, who, the production costs of the work is very high, she has assistants who are expensive, we couldn't have easily, especially because we don't sell wall-painting at a fair, we present the work and then we generate contacts."¹⁵⁹ (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris)

Yet the same gallerist also emphasised that the provision of support to artists, particularly when it comes to financial contributions towards participation in art fairs, provokes critical reactions in the contemporary art world:

"Then, the thing is that in a time of, indeed, a more widespread economic liberalisation, it is disapproved of. It is said, the idea is that the subsidised artist, that it devaluates the work, there was, I remember in particular, a big thing at Art Basel, through one of the committee members (...) who said that it is a disgrace that French galleries are supported by the state, and that it has therefore become a competition problem in relation to other galleries that do the same work with their own budget."¹⁶⁰ (Interview, gallerist 8, Paris)

CONCLUSION

The contemporary art world today has a fairly international orientation. Interviews with different actors have highlighted that in the past 20 years the scope of museums, biennials, galleries and art fairs is no longer limited to the West. Yet, despite this international focus, the West remains pre-eminent and the visibility of artists in the international contemporary art world is still influenced by territorial factors.

The interviewees have put forward different arguments to illustrate that the contemporary art world is now less marked by territorial factors like the nationality and residence of an artist than it was before. It has increasingly come to revolve around major international events, such as biennials and art fairs that are located in different places around the globe, which seems to make it less important for an artist to be in one particular place. The gallery also plays an important role in this because it provides access to these international platforms and to art fairs in particular. If an artist is represented by an internationally renowned gallery, (s)he becomes part of an international network. A final argument is that artists and other contemporary art world actors travel a lot more today and, therefore, meet people from all across the globe. Since artists appear to be constantly on the move, i.e. *nomadic*, they are regarded less as artists who are attached to a specific space, thereby reducing the importance of nationality and residence.

However, in spite of the aforementioned points, my analyses and interviews have revealed that territorial factors such as nationality and residence do still have a major influence on the visibility of artists in the international art world. This first becomes apparent in the rise in the popularity of artists from outside the Western art arena. A growing interest in these artists from the peripheral zone is translated, for example, into the desire of museums to present a more balanced collection or

¹⁵⁹ « On a même eu une aide de Mondrian, pourquoi, oui on a fait un projet, bon, on a fait une foire, où on a montré deux artistes qui ne font que du wall-painting, ou 90% du wall painting, et un peu de dessins. Donc on a fait venir ces artistes, avec leurs assistants, pendant toute la foire, ils sont restés toute la foire, on les a hébergés, nourris, [...], donc on a pu présenter un stand très très différent, avec la présence des artistes tout le temps, et cela est grâce à l'aide de Mondrian pour Lily van der Stokker, qui, le coût de la production de son œuvre, c'est très important, elle a des assistants qui sont très chers, on n'a pas facilement pu, surtout qu'on ne vend pas du wall-painting sur une foire, on présente l'œuvre et, ensuite, on génère les contacts. »

¹⁶⁰ « Après il se trouve que dans une époque où effectivement d'une plus grande libéralisation économique, c'est quelque chose que est mal vu à l'étranger. Des rumeurs ou des conceptions considèrent que l'artiste assisté, cela dévalorise l'œuvre, il y a eu je me rappelle notamment un grand sujet à la foire de Bâle, via un des membres du comité, (...), qui disait que c'était scandaleux que des galeries françaises soient aidées par l'état, et que c'était un problème de concurrence du coup, par rapport aux autres galeries qui faisaient le même travail avec leur propre budget. »

exhibition programme. Yet, this focus on the peripheral zone has not changed in any way the hierarchy that still exists in the contemporary art world. The dominant position of a small group of countries, in particular the USA, followed by Germany and the United Kingdom, is a second indicator of the enduring importance of territorial factors.

The visibility of artists and countries internationally partly depends on the national art scene. Analyses of several different events – galleries, biennials, art fairs and museums – have shown that artists from the home nations are always well represented. An important factor in this is proximity. This means that actors of the contemporary art world often work with artists who are geographically close to them. In other words, when an artist was either born or resides in a place that is hosting an event that is recognised internationally, (s)he has more chance to be included in it than those who were born or live elsewhere. For example, when the work by American artists is shown at MoMA or its contemporary platform PS1, which is a national platform, it is also shown on an international stage because of the global reputation of the institution. The Netherlands does not host any internationally renowned biennials or art fairs, and nor does it have institutions or galleries that can compete with those in New York or London. As a consequence, the presence in the national art scene of Dutch art does not have the same impact internationally as, for instance, American art does.

The visibility of Dutch art on an international level is not improved by the fact that important contemporary art events of international repute are organised within the Netherlands. However, other features of the Dutch art world help to increase its presence in the global arena. First of all, the Dutch art scene distinguishes itself from that of other countries by its international scope, which attracts foreign curators and foreign artists. The major presence of foreign artists in the country makes it easier for Dutch institutions and galleries to include them in their collections, stables or exhibitions. What is more, both foreign artists and foreign curators bring their own networks to the Netherlands. By being part of different networks in different geographical spaces, these visitors from abroad extend the networks of Dutch artists by connecting them to other actors – artists, gallerists, curators – in the international art world.

In addition, the Netherlands distinguishes itself from other countries through its cultural policy. Several tools have been implemented to promote Dutch contemporary art on an international level, including direct support for artists, a visitors programme for foreign actors, financial contributions to exhibitions in foreign institutions and financial help for galleries – Dutch and foreign – that show Dutch art at contemporary art fairs. In other words, these specificities of the Dutch art scene, namely the internationalisation of the national art scene and cultural policy, help to redeem the lack of internationally renowned platforms and contribute to increasing the visibility of Dutch art in the global art arena.

The internationalisation of the Dutch art scene by way of its educational programmes and openness towards foreign curators, as well as state support for the export of Dutch art abroad, seem to be the main elements promoting the visibility of Dutch artists. In other countries, different elements of the national art scene prevail. One could think, for instance, of Switzerland, which hosts the most important contemporary art fair, Art Basel, or Belgium, which has a relatively high

number of important galleries and collectors. Other countries, like the USA, are particularly visible in the international art world, yet achieve this without an extended system of state support for the arts. The example of the Netherlands does not, therefore, reveal the most effective tools with which a state can promote its artists. Instead, it shows that national art worlds can contribute in different ways to the visibility of artists in an international arena, depending on the country. This illustrates, yet again, the importance of territorial factors in today's contemporary art world.

CONCLUSION

The notion of globalisation has become increasingly important in the past few decades in the field of the visual arts. The global diffusion of the visual arts, unlike the spread of the performing arts or literature, is rarely hindered by physical or language barriers. Accordingly, the visual arts are thought to be capable of being internationalised more easily than other disciplines.

Key in the contemporary art world is the belief that, due to globalisation, artists from around the globe are more equally visible and the influence of territorial factors on artistic careers and the positions of countries has been eradicated. Researchers such as Quemin (2002, 2006, 2008, 2010) and Buchholz and Wuggenig (2005), who are among the few scholars to have studied the globalisation of the visual arts' world empirically, have questioned this assumption and shown that the field is still hierarchical. This dissertation has sought to expand upon the empirical research in this particular field by including and comparing different types of art event, analysing them in various national or local settings and on an overall transnational level. The study has also examined the internationalisation of the biennial event both empirically and more extensively.

I have sought to clarify and qualify the effects of globalisation and the impact of territorial factors on the visibility and positions of countries, and the Netherlands in particular, in the international contemporary art arena. The Netherlands, which is neither a central nor an emerging country in the field, is an interesting case, because it is part of a group of nations that has, until now, received little attention in research into the globalisation of contemporary art. Moreover, while the general assumption is that the country is in a weak position in the contemporary art world, the international visibility of the Netherlands has not been the subject of extensive empirical research to date (cf. Bevers, 1995; Blotkamp, 2001; Hurkmans et al., 2005; Simons, 2002).

My analyses began with an investigation of the visibility of the Netherlands in six types of art event: the exhibitions of museums' permanent collections; temporary exhibitions in art centres; participation in biennials; gallery stables; participation in art fairs; and auction sales. In addition, I examined the presence of the country in an international context by addressing the (inter)national orientation of four of these types of art event: museums, biennials, galleries and art fairs. To achieve this, I looked at the presence of artists affiliated to countries by birth or residence. This was expressed in what I call *representations*. In the case of art fairs, the involvement of galleries was crucial, as art fairs choose galleries, instead of artists, to participate therein.

Distinguishing between the various kinds of art event enabled me to explore differences and similarities between them individually, as well as between events in art institutions and the art market. It also enabled me to differentiate between more static and traditional events (i.e. museums and galleries) on the one hand and more ephemeral and emerging events (i.e. biennials) on the other. I have analysed the different types of event on various levels and in different settings. I initially conceived them as events that operate on a transnational level, and therefore examined the totality of representations in the different locations to reveal the *overall* degree of visibility of countries per event. Next, I conceived them as events that take place in various geographical locations, and so studied the presence of countries in a local (or national) context to provide more insight into *cross-national variations*.

Three research questions were central in this study. The first aimed to describe the geographical orientation of the different types of contemporary art event, while the second concerned how and to what extent the notion of globalisation has affected the structure of these events and the positions of countries therein. The third question, meanwhile, was focused on how and to what extent territorial factors still influence the international field of the visual arts. My findings have shown that there is a certain degree of diversity in terms of countries in the international contemporary art world, yet I also discovered that it is still manifestly marked by a hierarchical structure that is dominated by a limited group of countries. This dissertation has also highlighted that the unequal degree of visibility of countries is related to the geographical embeddedness of the events and the specificities of the national art scene to which artists are affiliated.

BETWEEN HETEROGENEITY AND HOMOGENEITY

The contemporary art world takes pride in the belief that it has expanded beyond the borders of Western countries and today includes art created by artists from all over the world. Actors in the field generally tend to label it as international or global to indicate that it encompasses more than just art from Western European or North American countries. Such an international field of the visual arts is believed to be no longer marked by Western hegemony and homogeneity, but is, allegedly, more heterogeneous and diverse in terms of artists and countries. In various ways, the results of my research confirm, in part, this claim to diversity and heterogeneity. However, they also lay bare several homogeneous features of the field.

The contemporary art world is, to some extent, marked by heterogeneity. A completely homogeneous visual arts' world would see the regular appearance of precisely the same countries with the same degree of visibility at each of the events under study. This is not, however, what I found. For instance, the biennial event has a somewhat different scope than the gallery event. I also identified some degree of diversity within the individual types of event on a national level. Accordingly, countries that are not present in one type of event or location may very well be visible in another.

Diversity in the contemporary art world overall reflects the dissimilarities in the orientation of the various types of event. This becomes apparent in the differences in relative diversity per type of event. Relative diversity reflects the percentage of nations that account for half of the representations, and thus expresses the distribution of the attention paid to the individual countries. The biennials had the greatest relative diversity (8%), followed by museums (6%) and galleries (4%). This indicates that visibility is more equally distributed between the countries represented in art institutions than those in the art market. It is also more equally distributed in ephemeral and emerging events than in the more static and traditional ones (Chapters 6 and 7).

On a national level, the variations in orientation are related to the geographical embeddedness of the event and the overrepresentation of the country hosting it. Museums, biennials, galleries and art fairs give primacy to domestic artists, resulting in the relatively high degree of visibility of the nations that host these events. These home countries vary depending on the location: in

the case of MoMA this is the USA, while for Centre Pompidou this is France. Accordingly, cross-national variations occur between the top of the rankings. Moreover, the rise and global diffusion of the biennial has increased the number of countries hosting key contemporary art events (with a preference for domestic artists), leading to a more diverse group of the most visible countries within the contemporary art world as a whole.

The analyses on a national level also revealed variations in orientation at the bottom of the rankings: the countries with a limited presence are distinct in each location. When the representations of countries in the different locations are brought together in an analysis of the event on a transnational level, the result is the high absolute diversity of countries. I will elaborate on these differences in orientation when I discuss the impact of territorial factors.

The contemporary art world is also marked by homogeneity, which is particularly noticeable in the presence of specific countries and the structure of the different events under study. The same structure was identifiable in museums, biennials, galleries and art fairs, which were particularly marked by the high visibility of a limited group of countries (Chapters 6 and 7). Relative diversity, again, expresses this, and is low, albeit variable, in each of the events. In other words, a minority of countries are highly visible, while the vast majority are only marginally represented in contemporary art events. This asymmetry was present in the events' overall transnational level, as well as in the individual national (or local) settings. Correspondingly, there were no substantial differences between the art institutions and the art market, or between traditional and emerging events; in terms of structure, the different types of event were revealed to be largely similar.

This homogeneity stems from similarities between the events, which were identified when looking more specifically at the group of dominant countries. Two categories of country were highly visible in each of them: the home nations and the central countries in the contemporary art world (Chapters 6 and 7).

The USA is the most visible nation by far in the international visual arts' world, and takes the lead at each of the events on an overall, transnational, level. It is followed by Germany and the United Kingdom, while France is some distance behind them. The dominance of these countries on an overall transnational level reflects their relatively high visibility on a national level, where they are generally part of the group of top nations, in particular the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom. The stable presence of these countries and their overrepresentation in each of the four types of event indicates that gatekeepers working elsewhere consider them to be exemplary. Accordingly, these countries are the most central in the field of the visual arts. Their dominance increases when the presence of countries is based not only on an artist's affiliation to a nation by birth, but also by residence. Relatively more foreign artists were attracted to these countries than others, thus highlighting the transit function of these nations.

In addition to the group of central countries, a second category of overrepresented nations are those that host the relevant events. As I stated earlier, these countries are very visible in the various locations of each of the events because of the primacy given to domestic artists. On the overall level of the events, this has led to the dominance of the host nations (Chapters 6 and 7). Together, and as noted earlier, the overrepresentation of the central and home countries leads to the various contemporary art events having a similar structure in terms of the nations' rankings.

TERRITORIAL FACTORS

This fairly homogeneous structure and variations in attention attributed to countries reveal the impact of artists' geographical embeddedness in a national scene on the visibility of countries in the international field of the visual arts. Accordingly, this indicates that territorial factors are still at play.

My analyses unmistakably underline that today's contemporary art world is still dominated by a limited group of Western countries, with the USA being by far the most prominent. In itself, this result is unsurprising and underlines the outcomes of previous research (cf. Buccholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Janssen et al., 2008; Quemin, 2002). Even some of the contemporary art world actors acknowledge that the USA, along with Germany and the United Kingdom, and France to a somewhat lesser degree, continue to be the most prominent places in the art world (Chapter 8). However, this does not mean that they admit to being more orientated towards these geographical spaces or to selecting artists from these locations because of their geographical background.

Nonetheless, these central countries do receive more attention, whether intentionally or not. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that the attention they receive is still much more than other nations and applies to each of the types of art event under study. Gallery stables, museums and biennial exhibitions all included considerably more artists from central nations than from other countries, whether or not they were born or reside there. This, firstly, underlines the importance of nationality, as artists born in these nations have more opportunities to become successful in the international contemporary art world. Secondly, it highlights the importance of residence: artists who were not born in these central countries improve their chances of international artistic success by moving there. The central countries, meanwhile, benefit from their status as a central country, which further underlines their reputation.

The impact of territorial factors also becomes apparent in the overrepresentation of countries hosting leading international contemporary art events. Their dominant position can be explained by the geographical embeddedness of gatekeepers and cultural policies. Biennials in particular are marked by the influence of cultural policy. Their curators and artistic directors (especially those located in the peripheral zone) underline their explicit focus on domestic artists and those from the region i.e. countries that are geographically or culturally close to the one hosting the event (Chapter 6). For these artists, the biennial is a platform and a stepping stone to the international art world. In fact, this focus on domestic and regional artists is the main reason why these countries are highly visible in the contemporary art world on a transnational level; in regions other than their own, they are rarely represented.

The interviews with gatekeepers in museums, art centres and galleries did not yield similar results; curators do not feel the need to include a minimum number of domestic artists in their exhibitions, and neither do gallerists with their stables. My analyses, however, reveal that these artists are nonetheless more visible than others. This is acknowledged by the interviewees, who explain it in terms of proximity (Chapters 6 and 7). Gatekeepers generally work with artists who are geographically close to them and, by extension, to the event they are involved with. These are, above all, artists who were born in the same space as the gatekeeper and have built their careers in the same art scene. Secondly, this includes artists who reside in the same space and have become part of the network of the gatekeeper. In other words, the nationality and residence of the artists, and

the geographical embeddedness of the gatekeeper, are crucial factors and contribute to the overrepresentation of the host nations in the leading international contemporary art events.

BIENNIALS AS A SYMBOL OF INTERNATIONALISATION

Of the six types of event taken into consideration in this dissertation, the biennial and the art fair are generally considered to be the most transnational. In particular, the global dissemination of biennials and the change from the system of national representation to the model of exhibitions of invited artists have turned the biennial into the symbol of the contemporary art world's internationalisation (Chapter 1). Biennials have therefore been of specific interest in this research.

As stated earlier, compared to museums and galleries, biennials have greater relative diversity (Chapter 6 and 7). This makes them a more diverse event and confirms their general image in the field of the visual arts. The more equal distribution of attention paid to different countries in this type of event may be related to its historical tradition of putting on national representation exhibitions and the more explicit intention to include a wide range of countries. However, even at biennials, there is no global coverage; visibility is restricted to specific countries and is fairly unevenly distributed.

Western countries, and in particular the central nations, are highly visible at the different biennials, as they also are in museums and galleries. Their impact is less strong than in the other two types of event, which is partly due to the biennial's aim to exhibit art from different parts of the world. Even so, Western countries continue to be overrepresented in biennials. Their dominance is related to their centrality and to the fact that they generally contribute financially to the participation of their artists. This reflects how the transnational event is nonetheless marked by territorial factors.

Moreover, biennials are strongly locally embedded. The event is used as a gateway to the international art world for domestic artists. It is therefore unsurprising to find home countries overrepresented at these events. In addition, regional countries, i.e. those that are geographically or culturally close to the one hosting the biennial, have a greater presence there than at biennials in other parts of the world. The primacy given to these countries reveals that biennials are, above all, regional events. In this light, this type of event's degree of diversity on a transnational level does not simply express the more equal presence of nations at biennials around the world, but is primarily due to the major presence of regional countries in the different locations. This clearly calls into question the international image of biennials and the tendency to regard them as global.

THE DUTCH CASE

The analyses of different international contemporary art events have revealed both the homogenising and heterogenising effects of globalisation on the position of countries in the contemporary art world. These positions, which reflect the orientation of events, can be related to territorial factors. Although today's visual arts' world has become international or transnational, national art scenes are still important. The uniform structure of the different events, in which specific countries (the central and home nations) are overrepresented, underlines this. In addition, my analyses have shown that territorial factors are also at play in the case of the non-central nations and those that do not host an international contemporary art event. I have used the example of Dutch art to achieve these findings.

The visibility of the Netherlands has been an ongoing theme throughout the dissertation. My analysis revealed that the country has a fairly stable presence at each of the events (Chapter 4) and is part of a group of semi-peripheral nations that generally rank some distance behind the central and home countries (Chapters 6 and 7). I also highlighted that the relative share of the Netherlands does not change drastically from one type of event to another, although there are some differences. Overall, when comparing them on the transnational level, Dutch artists are most visible in gallery stables, while on a national level they appear most regularly in the editions of biennials (Chapter 4).

The results of the research that particularly focused on the Netherlands (Chapters 4, 5 and 9) provided indicators of how territorial factors, and more specifically the Dutch art scene, influences the international visibility of Dutch artists, and, consequently, the position of the Netherlands in the international contemporary art arena. The facts that the country does not host any prominent international art events and is not a central nation are weak elements of the Dutch art scene. The interviews have made clear that foreign actors of the international contemporary art world are only moderately familiar with what is going on in the Netherlands and the country is generally not a priority on the list of nations to visit (Chapter 9).

INTERNATIONALLY ACTIVE GATEKEEPERS

A way to counterbalance this lack of centrality and leading events, and to improve the position of the Netherlands in the international art arena, is through gatekeepers who are active in the Dutch art scene and are also involved with the main international art events. These gatekeepers can provide Dutch artists with direct access to international platforms, and can also function as intermediaries between the Dutch art scene and (other) foreign gatekeepers who rely on them as an information source (Chapter 9).

The Netherlands has benefited more from this in the art institutions than in the art market. With a limited pool of national collectors, and only a handful of internationally renowned galleries, the Dutch art market is relatively weak, particularly compared to countries like Belgium and Switzerland, a point that was also noted by the interviewees (Chapters 4 and 9). This limits the presence of Dutch galleries in art fairs, a type of event that has become increasingly important in recent years. This in turn jeopardises the visibility of Dutch artists: galleries tend to promote domestic artists, which puts Dutch creators at a disadvantage

when their national galleries are not selected to participate in fairs (Chapters 4 and 7). As a consequence, they depend more on foreign galleries, which are, as stated, marked by their geographical embeddedness and are less likely to include Dutch artists than their Dutch counterparts. The relatively weak Dutch art market thus makes it more difficult for Dutch artists to gain access to this type of event and negatively influences the position of the Netherlands there.

The effect of gatekeepers who are active in internationally renowned art institutions is more positive. Dutch artists were overrepresented in several temporary exhibitions at art centres and in biennial editions organised by curators who are related to, and thus familiar with, the Dutch art scene (Chapter 4). In the case of biennials, this impact is reflected in the position of the Netherlands in the overall rankings (Chapter 6).

The curators in question were not just actors of Dutch origin; some of them were foreign curators who are active in the Dutch art scene, with the Van Abbemuseum's director, Charles Esche, being an example. Such openness towards foreign gatekeepers, and affiliating them to the Dutch art scene, is rather specific to the Netherlands (Chapter 9). As such, relatively more curators become acquainted with and are part of the Dutch art scene. Accordingly, this expands the pool of curators affiliated to the Netherlands and increases the opportunities for Dutch artists to participate in international art events.

CULTURAL POLICY TOOLS

The affiliation of foreign gatekeepers to the Netherlands is a way to internationalise the Dutch art scene from within and contributes to Dutch artists expanding their networks. Another way to connect foreign gatekeepers and Dutch artists is through the visitor's programme, which is one of the cultural policy tools used to promote the exportation of Dutch art to the international art scene. These tools are another indicator of the influence of territorial factors, as they are developed to both support a specific group of artists, selected on the basis of their nationality or residence, and increase their visibility in specific countries or cities. The visitor's programme seeks to familiarise foreign actors with the Dutch art scene during a brief stay in the Netherlands, while the artist-in-residence programmes provide Dutch artists with the opportunity to work in a foreign art scene temporarily. Other tools are financial support for the participation of Dutch artists in exhibitions abroad and the funding that is given to participating galleries that present Dutch artists at contemporary art fairs.

The Netherlands is known for its extended programme of financial support for artists, and this was often mentioned when I asked foreign actors about the Dutch art scene. Indeed, some of the interviewees had participated in the visitor's programme or received funding for the participation of a Dutch artist in an exhibition abroad or in their gallery's booth at an art fair (Chapter 9).

The major presence of Dutch artists in Dutch gallery booths at art fairs indicates how cultural policy tools may positively affect the visibility of the Netherlands (Chapter 4). This is also the case in biennials with the overrepresentation of Dutch artists at the editions organised by artistic directors who have participated in the visitor's programme (Chapter 4). In addition, the position of the Netherlands in the biennial rankings suggests that countries that financially support the participation of artists in this type of international art event

have more chance of taking part than countries that do not have these financial means (Chapter 6).

Of course, cultural policy tools and the involvement in internationally renowned art events of gatekeepers who are affiliated to the Dutch art scene do not always lead to the greater presence of the Netherlands in the international art arena. Moreover, my research design only allowed me to present these results as indicators, not as strong correlations. However, when it comes to the affiliation of foreign artists, my research design does enable me to make firmer statements, as it was developed to measure and uncover the impact of residence on the position of countries. To this end, I have analysed and compared the positions of nations based on the artists' countries of birth and residence.

THE NETHERLANDS AS THE COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE: AFFILIATING FOREIGN ARTISTS

The position of the Netherlands in international art events can be improved by attracting foreign artists. Like in the case of gatekeepers, the affiliation of foreign artists internationalises the Dutch art scene and expands the networks of Dutch born artists. Moreover, these foreign born artists continue to participate in their own international networks, but now also as Dutch artists.

When we consider the association of artists to countries by residence as well as birth, the visibility of the Netherlands in an international context grows considerably (Chapters 6 and 7). Accordingly, in each of the events, i.e. museums, biennials and galleries, the Netherlands occupies no lower than 10th position, behind the home or central nations. In fact, when taking residence into account, the Netherlands has a greater presence than countries like Switzerland and Belgium that are otherwise ahead of it. The only other nations that benefit in a similar way from attracting foreign artists with a presence in international art events are the USA, Germany, the United Kingdom and France. My analyses have made clear that the Netherlands, even though it does so less impressively than these central countries, clearly benefits from its transit function.

The Dutch educational or post-doctorate programmes are crucial to this transit function; the majority of foreign artists come to the Netherlands in this way. Obviously, these are temporary programmes. This is not, however, necessarily the case for the artists' affiliation to the Netherlands. In fact, most of them stay in the country and continue to be part of the Dutch art scene after the programme has ended (Chapter 5).

These programmes and their appeal to foreign artists are specific to the Netherlands. Foreign actors of the contemporary art world are familiar with these institutions and consider them to be the most prominent assets of the Dutch art scene. In particular, the Rijksakademie is regarded as an authority (Chapter 9). These institutions are a meeting place and connect Dutch artists and other contemporary art world actors to their counterparts of foreign descent. As such, they contribute to the internationalisation of the Dutch art scene, as well as to increasing the presence of the Netherlands in the international arena.

The impact of foreign born artists living in the Netherlands on the position of the country in international art events is substantial, including when compared to other countries (Chapters 6 and 7). Overall, they accounted for about 40% of all Dutch representations, while at biennials, the majority of these representations were by this group, particularly artists from the peripheral zone (Chapters 5 and

6). Their affiliation may help to counterbalance the declining interest in art from Western countries in favour of that from peripheral zones, a development that was also highlighted during the interviews (Chapter 8). Art institutions seek to establish equilibrium in their collections and, to this end, sometimes have special budgets for exhibitions or the acquisition of non-Western artists.

The example of Art Basel revealed that the art market, too, has witnessed an increase in participants from the peripheral zone over the years (Chapter 7). This shift in focus has little impact on the position of the central countries. Indeed, even though their supremacy in the fair editions under study declined somewhat over time, the central nations, particularly the USA, Germany and the United Kingdom, have remained fairly dominant to date. Challenged by the rise of new countries are the semi-peripheral and peripheral Western nations, to which the Netherlands belongs.

The longitudinal analysis of the presence of the Netherlands in biennials highlighted how the affiliation of resident foreign born artists can reinforce a country's position. In this type of event, the visibility of Dutch born artists fell in recent years, while that of foreign born Dutch artists rose, resulting in the growing presence of the Netherlands overall (Chapter 5). In other words, the Netherlands benefits from the affiliation of foreign born artists to the Dutch art scene and consolidates its position in the international contemporary art world because of this specificity.

My findings suggest that none of the four models discussed in Chapter 2 – cultural dominance, cultural networks/flows, reception or cultural policy theory (Crane, 2002) – are able to fully explain how globalisation affects the contemporary art world. Instead, and in line with the views of previously mentioned scholars (De Swaan, 1995; Hannerz, 1992; Heilbron, 1995, 1999; Robertson, 1995), I would argue that each model highlights certain elements which, taken together, more adequately describe the dynamics of the international contemporary art world.

Actors in the field tend to embrace cultural networks or flows theory, which suggests that globalisation leads to a more heterogeneous population of artists and countries. Indeed, in line with network theory, the biennial event in particular appears to be regionally orientated, leading to the greater diversity of countries on a transnational level. The other types of event are more nationally than regionally marked, nonetheless also resulting in more variety overall.

Such cross-national variations lay bare the impact of territorial factors, i.e. the gatekeepers' geographical embeddedness and cultural policy tools, which can be explained by reception theory and cultural policy theory. These approaches stress that variations in reception and cultural policy respectively contribute to a more diverse field and provide a counterweight to the dominance of the central countries. This is, however, only partly true. Such territorial factors positively affect some countries more than others: some benefit from hosting leading art events like biennials, while those like the Netherlands consolidate or strengthen their position due to specific cultural policy programmes or the affiliations of gatekeepers who are active in key events. Other countries do not have these advantages. Diversity is thus, above all, the result of more attention paid to artists from specific countries in specific spaces.

Moreover, this diversity has its limits. Firstly, the benefits for the non-central countries hosting an event are fairly local; they are rarely a feature in other geographical spaces. Secondly, and in line with the previous argument, the primacy given to specific countries negatively influences the visibility of others. It does not therefore lead to the greater visibility of more countries worldwide, as expected with cultural flows theory.

In addition, the process of globalisation has so far failed to yield radical changes in the power relationships between countries. Even the primacy given to home countries in upcoming events has not challenged the leading positions of the central nations; the contemporary art world is still marked by their dominance, as suggested by cultural dominance theory. From this it is plausible to conclude that the visual arts' world is characterised by a centre-periphery-structure, in which diversity represents the sum of cross-national variations rather than the more equal distribution of countries' visibility in different parts of the world.

DISCUSSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The aim of this research was to assess how globalisation affects the contemporary art world and the international positions of countries therein, particularly that of the Netherlands. Examining how and to what extent territorial factors are still influential today was also a goal. I have obtained several answers, but some discussion points also arise. First, my research had a strongly quantitative approach. The interviews I conducted with some of the key actors of the international contemporary art world were useful when it comes to clarifying and discussing the outcomes in this dissertation further, but were not numerous or extensive enough to base strong conclusions on them. Moreover, for practical reasons, most of the interviews were conducted concurrently with my collection of quantitative data in the various locations, which made it impossible for my results to be reflected upon by these interviewees.

It would be valuable to use a more qualitative approach to further investigate the presence of the Netherlands in the international contemporary art arena. My research shows that *objectively* the country is fairly visible in the international contemporary art world, even though it is well behind the central nations. With this position, it is one of a group of countries in the sub-top level: nations that do not dominate, but are neither marginally visible or totally absent from international contemporary art events. Foreign born Dutch artists contribute in a major way to this more or less stable presence. The question is whether, and to what degree, the *perceived* presence of the Netherlands by key foreign actors corresponds to the established *objective* presence. In interviews, I used images of prominent Dutch born and foreign born Dutch artists to open up the discussion on the Dutch art scene. In some cases the interviewees were unaware of the artist's affiliation to the Netherlands. It would be of interest to examine this in greater depth. How do foreign actors of the contemporary art world value the presence of Dutch contemporary art? To what extent do their perceptions correspond to the objective visibility of the Netherlands and other countries? And how do key actors affiliate artists to national art scenes?

Moreover, my research design was particularly aimed at measuring the impact of the nationality and residence of artists on the position of countries at international art events. In the case of the Netherlands, the effect of affiliating

foreign born artists to the country was substantial. However, the research design did not permit me to establish a correlation between other territorial factors and the position of the Netherlands, although I did find indications that the geographical embeddedness of gatekeepers and cultural policy had a positive influence on the position of countries in the international arena.

In this light, it would seem to be valuable to study the internationalisation and orientation of gatekeepers in more detail, particularly that of curators. In recent years, international independent curators have become a new group of actors (cf. Bydler, 2004; Carroll, 2007; Eric, 2007; Griffin, 2003). They are involved in biennials and other temporary art manifestations organised all over the world. Curators affiliated to museums and art centres are also increasingly invited to participate in artistic events abroad. Who are these curators and what are their career trajectories? How are they marked by their geographical origins and embeddedness in new art scenes? How does this translate into the presence of artists? What are similarities or differences between museum curators and their independent counterparts?

Furthermore, the nomadic lives of artists deserve more attention. I have used their migration abroad to measure the position of countries, but have only superficially discussed the impact of this on their careers (cf. Bydler, 2004; Papastergiadis, 2005; Tuerlings & Ostendorf, 2012; Vinken & Van Kampen, 2006). It would be of interest to change the scope to the artists and their geographical attachment to artistic scenes. How do they experience the impact of territorial factors? What drives them to travel the world and how do they chose their destinations and places of residence in terms of countries and cities? How do they become part of international networks? How different are the careers of nomadic artists to those of artists who stay in the country in which they were born?

Moreover, the impact of foreign artists living in the Netherlands calls for extended research on their embeddedness in the Dutch art scene. My study showed that the majority of foreign artists with international visibility become part of the Dutch scene through one of the country's educational programmes. What motivated these artists to come to the Netherlands, and why do they stay or leave? How does their presence in the country affect them and their careers and how does it contribute to the Dutch art scene? It would also be of interest to study the affiliation of foreign artists to the Dutch art scene from a cross-national perspective and compare it to other strong countries of creation and residence like the USA or the United Kingdom.

This brings me to another discussion point. Central in my study were the positions of countries, although cities have become increasingly important in recent years. My choice of countries followed on from the statement that actors tend to deny the impact of nationality in today's contemporary art world. Moreover, this enabled me to compare the visibility of a geographical space based on artists' affiliation by birth and by birth or residence. However, a country's art scene is generally centred on one or a limited number of cities (cf. Brandellero, 2011; Florida, 2002, 2005; Sassen, 2001; Scott, 2000). A focus on the city would thus provide an alternative and complementary perspective. Moreover, the argument of proximity that was brought to the fore by the interviewees to explain the overrepresentation of domestic artists suggests that these are likely to be the artists working in the same city, which underlines the value of a more thorough investigation of these spaces.

Apart from spatial aspects, there are also time-based factors. My research was based on recent data with the purpose of analysing the contemporary art world in the recent past and present. My work has shown that, thus far, globalisation has not led to more equal visibility in the field of the visual arts, a result which flies in the face of the belief that the orientation of the field has changed. It is possible that such changes take more time to develop. If my research has shown that globalisation has not yet provoked a radical redistribution of positions in the field, one should also bear in mind that it deals with a field that is in perpetual motion. It would, therefore, be interesting to follow developments in the contemporary art world and to continue research in this domain. My dissertation certainly contributes to a better understanding of the contemporary art world in times of globalisation and will, I hope, inspire further exploration of this fascinating field.

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SOURCES

MUSEUMS

Display signs and websites

hamburgerbahnhof.de
mam.paris.fr
centrepompidou.fr
moma.org
tate.org.uk

ART CENTRES

Catalogues and websites (see also Appendix 2)

co-berlin.info
chisenhale.org.uk
fondation.cartier.com
ica.org.uk
jeudepaume.org
kw-berlin.de
fracidf-leplateau.com
newmuseum.org
momaps1.org
palaisdetokyo.com
whiteboxny.org
whitechapelgallery.org

BIENNALES

Catalogues and websites

Bienal de São Paulo
Universalis (1996)
Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros (1998)
Cidades: iconografias metropolitanas (2002)
Território livre : Registro de montagem (2004)
Como viver junto (2006)
Catalogues 1971-2004 (national representation)
bienal.org.br

Biennale di Venezia
Aperto 93 (1993)
Identity and Alterity (1995)
Futuro, Presente, and Passato (1997)
dAPERTutto (1999)
Plateau of Humankind (2001)
Dreams and Conflicts. The Dictatorship of the Viewer (2003)
The Experience of Art – Always a Little Further (2005)
Think with the Senses – Feel with the Mind. Art in the Present Tense (2007)
Catalogues 1970-2007 (national representation)
labiennale.org

Documenta
documenta 9 (1992)
documenta X (1997)
documenta 11 (2002)
documenta 12 (2007)
documenta.de

Gwangju Biennale
Beyond Borders (1995)
Unmapping the Earth (1997)
Man and Space (2000)
P_A_U_S_E (2002)
A Grain of Dust A Drop of Water (2004) Fever Variations (2006)
gwangjubiennale.org

Istanbul Biennale
Orient-ation - The Image of Art in a Paradoxical World (1995)
On Life, Beauty, Translations and Other Difficulties (1997)
The Passion and the Wave (1999)
Egofugal - Fugue from Ego for the Next Emergence (2001)
Poetic Justice (2003)
İstanbul (2005)
Not Only Possible, But Also Necessary: Optimism in the Age of Global War (2007)
bienal.iksv.org

Shanghai Biennale
Haishang-Shanghai (2000)
Urban Creation (2002)
Techniques of the visible (2004)
Hyper Design (2006)
shanghaibiennale.com

Sydney Biennale
The Boundary Rider (1992)
Jurassic Technologies Revenant (1996)
Every Day (1998)
12th Biennale of Sydney (2000)
(The World May Be) Fantastic (2002)
On Reason and Emotion (2004)
Zones of Contact (2006)
Revolutions - Forms That Turn (2008)
biennaleofsydney.com.au

ART FAIRS
Catalogues and websites

FIAC Catalogue 2007
fiac.com
Art Basel Catalogues 2000-2008
art.ch

AUCTION SALES
Websites

Christie's
christies.com
Post-War/Contemporary Art
London: 5225; 5324; 7357; 7358; 7406; 7408; 7425; 7487
New York: 1806; 1834; 1835; 1836; 1872; 1903; 1904; 1905
Photographs
London: 5162; 5417; 7393; 7434
New York: 1804; 1825; 1871; 1893

Sotheby's
sothebys.com
Contemporary Art
London: L07020; L07021; L07022; L07023; L07024; L07026; L07713; W07710; W07711
New York: N08294; N08317; N08318; N08339; N08363; N08364
Photographs
London: L07430; L07431
New York: N08309; N08349

GALLERIES

Gallery lists and websites

Berlin

arndt-partner.de
carliergebauer.com
cfa-berlin.de
estherschipper.com
aurelscheibler.com
galeriebarbaraweiss.de
galerie-nagel.de
eigen-art.com
galerieneu.com
jablonkagalerie.com
johannkoning.de
klosterfelde.de
maxhetzler.com
neugeriemschneider.com
nourbakhsch.de
peresprojects.com
galeriethomasschulte.de

New York

andrearosengallery.com
gladstonegallery.com
caseykaplangallery.com
davidzwirner.com
petzel.com
gagosian.com
gavinbrown.biz
greenenaftaligallery.com
deitch.com
luhringaugustine.com
mariangoodman.com
matthewmarks.com
michaelwerner.com
maccarone.net
thepacegallery.com
paulacoopergallery.com
peterblumgallery.com
roebblinghall.com
speronewestwater.com

London

annelyjudafineart.co.uk
anthonyreynolds.com
davidrisleygallery.com
frithstreetgallery.com
gagosian.com
greengrassi.com
haunchofvenison.com
ghw.ch
lissongallery.com
maureenpaley.com
stuartshavemodernart.com
paragonpress.co.uk
sadiecoles.com
stephenfriedman.com
theapproach.co.uk
victoria-miro.com
vilmagold.com
waddington-galleries.com
whitecube.com

Paris

airdeparis.com
galerieartconcept.com
cent8.com
crousel.com
cosmicgalerie.com
danieltemplon.com
galerieperrotin.com
fillesducalvaire.com
galeriewolff.com
galerie-lelong.com
galerie-nelson.com
ropac.net
insituparis.fr
galeriemennour.fr
galerie-karsten-greve.com
mariangoodman.com
galerie-obadia.com
yvon-lambert.com

OTHER WEBSITES

artfacts.net
artnet.com
fondsbkvb.nl
galleries.nl
mondriaanfoundation.nl

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 LIST OF INTERVIEWED ART INSTITUTIONS AND GALLERIES

AIR DE PARIS	PARIS
CARLIER GEBAUER	BERLIN
CENTRE POMPIDOU	PARIS
CHISENHALE GALLERY	LONDON
COSMIC GALLERIE (2 INTERVIEWEES)	PARIS
FRITH STREET GALLERY	LONDON
GREENE NAFTALI	NEW YORK
GWANGJU BIENNALE	GWANGJU
HAMBURGER BAHNHOF	BERLIN
HAUSER & WIRTH	LONDON
KW BERLIN	BERLIN
MUSEE D'ART MODERNE DE LA VILLE DE PARIS	PARIS
PALAIS DE TOKYO	PARIS
PERES PROJECTS	BERLIN
SÃO PAULO BIENNALE (2 INTERVIEWEES)	SÃO PAULO
SHANGHAI BIENNALE (2 INTERVIEWEES)	SHANGHAI
SPERONE WESTWATER	NEW YORK
SYDNEY BIENNALE	SYDNEY
TATE MODERN	LONDON
THE APPROACH GALLERY	LONDON
YVON LAMBERT	PARIS

APPENDIX 2 TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART CENTRES WITH DUTCH ART

BERLIN

C/O BERLIN	U2 & I	2005
	DEUTSCHE BÖRSE PHOTOGRAPHY PRIZE	2006
	PORTRAITS	2007
KW BERLIN	INEZ VAN LAMSWEERDE/JUDY FOX	1995
	1ST BERLIN BIENNIAL	1998
	WIEDERERÖFFNUNG DER KUNST-WERKE	1999
	WIEDERERÖFFNUNG DER KUNST-WERKE, PERFORMANCE	1999
	LARA SCHNITGER	2000
	2ND BERLIN BIENNIAL	2001
	ANIMATIONS	2003
	JULIAN ROSEFELDT, SEBASTIÁN DÍAZ MORALES, MARINE HUGONNIER	2004
	SHRINKING CITIES	2004
	ZUR VORSTELLUNG DES TERRORS: DIE RAF-AUSSTELLUNG	2005
	4TH BERLIN BIENNIAL	2006
	KUNSTFILMBIENNALE	2006
	INTO ME/OUT OF ME	2007

LONDON

CHISENHALE GALLERY	SUCHAN KINOSHITA	1998
	NWUK99	1999
	JOB KOELEWIJN	2000
	FOLKERT DE JONG	2005
ICA	SPHERES OF INFLUENCE	1991
	MARLENE DUMAS	1993
	MIRAGE: ENIGMAS OF RACE, DIFFERENCE AND DESIRE	1995
	THE ICA, 50TH ANNIVERSARY AUCTION	1997
	DIE YOUNG, STAY PRETTY	1998
	SIGHTINGS, NEW PHOTOGRAPHIC ART	1998
	SURFACING: CONTEMPORARY DRAWING	1998
	OMA REM KOOLHAAS: LIVING	1999
	STEALING BEAUTY: BRITISH DESIGN NOW	1999
	STEVE MCQUEEN	1999
	3 CROWDS	2000
	CITY RACING	2001
	DE RIJKE DE ROOIJ: 3 FILMS	2002
	LA RAEVEN, ANNIKA LARSSON	2002
	VIDEO ACTS	2003
	100 ARTISTS SEE GOD	2004
	ARTIST'S FAVORITES	2004
	BECK'S FUTURES	2004
	POST NOTES	2005
	ALIEN NATION	2006
	MEMORIAL TO THE IRAQ WAR	2007
WHITECHAPEL GALLERY	WHITECHAPEL OPEN	1990
	WHITECHAPEL OPEN	1992
	INSIDE THE VISIBLE 38 ARTISTS	1996
	EXAMINING PICTURES	1999
	TEMPORARY ACCOMODATION	2001
	EDGE OF THE REAL	2004
	FACES IN THE CROWD	2005
	A SHORT HISTORY OF PERFORMANCE	2006
	PABLO PIJNAPPEL	2007

NEW YORK		
NEW MUSEUM	RHETORICAL IMAGE	1990
	THE INTERRUPTED LIFE	1991
	THE SPATIAL DRIVE : SECURITY AND ADMISSIONS PROJECT	1992
	TEMPORARILY POSSESSED: THE SEMI-PERMANENT COLLECTION	1995
	THE TIME OF OUR LIVES	1999
	A WORK IN PROGRESS	2001
	NAME NO NAMES	2002
	ADAPTIVE BEHAVIOUR	2004
	CORRECTION	2004
	REFRACTION	2005
	MUSUM AS A HUB	2007
	UNMONUMENTAL: THE OBJECT IN THE 21ST CENTURY	2007
	CITIES ON THE MOVE	1998
PS1	1999: P.S.1 STUDIO PROGRAM EXHIBITION OPENS AT P.S.1 AND THE CLOCKTOWER GALLERY	1999
	ANIMAL.ANIMA.ANIMUS	1999
	GENERATION Z	1999
	PRIMARILY STRUCTURAL: MINIMALIST AND POST-MINIMALIST WORKS ON PAPER	1999
	CLOCKWORK 2000	2000
	GREATER NEW YORK 2000	2000
	LOOP	2001
	NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIO PROGRAM 2000-2001	2001
	UNIFORM: ORDER AND DISORDER	2001
	BUILDING STRUCTURES	2002
	LISTENING TO NEW VOICES: 2002 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIO PROGRAM	2002
	MEXICO CITY: AN EXHIBITION ABOUT THE EXCHANGE RATES OF BODIES AND VALUES	2002
	VIDEO ACTS	2002
	BREAKING AWAY: 2002-2003 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIO PROGRAM	2003
	SPECIAL PROJECT: Yael BARTANA: KINGS OF THE HILL	2003
	CURIOUS CRYSTAL OF UNUSUAL PURITY	2004
	HARD LIGHT	2004
	VISA FOR THIRTEEN: THE 2003-2004 P.S.1 INTERNATIONAL STUDIO PROGRAM	2004
	DAY LABOUR	2005
	GREATER NEW YORK 2005	2005
	INTO ME/OUT OF ME	2006
	INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL PROJECTS	2007
	NOT FOR SALE	2007
WHITE BOX	PRODIGAL PRODIGY	2001
	SIX FEET UNDER: SUMMER NOIR	2001
	QXYGEN	2002
	BQE	2003
	SIX FEET UNDER: TEAR ME UP TEAR ME DOWN	2003
	ANOTHER EXPO: BEYOND THE NATION STATE	2005
	THEATER OF CRUELTY	2007
PARIS		
FONDATION CARTIER	LA VITESSE	1991
	MACHINES D'ARCHITECTURE	1992
	AZUR	1993
	DOUBLE VIE, DOUBLE VUE	1996
	PORTRAITS	2004
JEU DE PAUME	RALENTIR VITE	2004
LE PLATEAU	ARCHIPEINTURE	2006
PALAIS DE TOKYO	LE SALON	2002
	VIRGIN WARRIOR/WARRIOR VIRGIN	2004
	TROPICO-VEGETALE (LE CABANE VIDEO)	2006
	CARTE BLANCHE	2007
	ETATS	2007
	MODULES	2007

APPENDIX 3 SELECTED CONTEMPORARY ART GALLERIES

PRESENCE AT ART BASEL + FRIEZE ART FAIR & LISTED BY DUTCH GALLERIES		PRESENCE AT ART BASEL + FRIEZE ART FAIR		LISTED BY DUTCH GALLERIES	
ARNDT & PARTNER	BERLIN	GALERIE AUREL SCHEIBLER	BERLIN	ESTHER SCHIPPER	BERLIN
CARLIER GEBAUER	BERLIN	GALERIE NEU	BERLIN	JOHANN KÖNING	BERLIN
CONTEMPORARY FINE ARTS	BERLIN	JABLONKA	BERLIN	MAX HETZLER	BERLIN
GALERIE BARBARA WEISS	BERLIN	KLOSTERFELDE	BERLIN	NEUGERRIEMSCHEIDER	BERLIN
GALERIE CHRISTIAN NAGEL	BERLIN	ANNELY JUDA FINE ART	LONDON	NOURBAKSCH	BERLIN
GALERIE EIGEN + ART	BERLIN	303 GALLERY	NEW YORK	PERES PROJECTS	BERLIN
ANTHONY REYNOLDS GALLERY	LONDON	GAVIN BROWN'S ENTERPRISE	NEW YORK	THOMAS SCHULTE	BERLIN
FRITH STREET GALLERY	LONDON	LUHRING AUGUSTINE	NEW YORK	DAVID RISLEY	LONDON
GAGOSIAN GALLERY	LONDON			GREENGASSI	LONDON
LISSON GALLERY	LONDON			HAUNCH OF VENISON	LONDON
PARAGON	LONDON			HAUSER & WIRTH	LONDON
SADIE COLES HQ	LONDON			MAUREEN PALEY	LONDON
STEPHEN FRIEDMAN GALLERY	LONDON			MODERN ART/STUART SHAVE	LONDON
THE APPROACH	LONDON			VILMA GOLD	LONDON
VICTORIA MIRO	LONDON			CASEY KAPLAN GALLERY	NEW YORK
WADDINGTON GALLERIES	LONDON			FRIEDRICH PETZEL	NEW YORK
WHITE CUBE	LONDON			GAGOSIAN GALLERY NY	NEW YORK
ANDREA ROSEN GALLERY	NEW YORK			GREENE NAFTALI	NEW YORK
BARBARA GLADSTONE	NEW YORK			JEFFREY DEITCH	NEW YORK
DAVID ZWIRNER	NEW YORK			MICHAEL WERNER	NEW YORK
MARIAN GOODMAN NY	NEW YORK			MICHELE MACCARONE	NEW YORK
MATTHEW MARKS GALLERY	NEW YORK			PACE WILDENSTEIN	NEW YORK
SPERONE WESTWATER	NEW YORK			PAULA COOPER	NEW YORK
AIR DE PARIS	PARIS			PETER BLUM	NEW YORK
CHANTAL CROUSEL	PARIS			ROEBLING HALL	NEW YORK
YVON LAMBERT	PARIS			ART: CONCEPT	PARIS
				CENT8	PARIS
				COSMIC	PARIS
				DANIEL TEMPLON	PARIS
				EMMANUEL PERROTIN	PARIS
				FILLES DU CALVAIRE	PARIS
				GALERIE JOCELYN WOLFF	PARIS
				GALERIE LELONG	PARIS
				GALERIE NELSON	PARIS
				GALERIE THADDEUS ROPAC	PARIS
				IN SITU	PARIS
				KAMEL MENNOUR	PARIS
				KARSTEN GREVE	PARIS
				MARIAN GOODMAN	PARIS
				NATHALIE OBADIA	PARIS

Presence of Dutch art in the selected galleries

SELECTION	TOTAL		DUTCH ART IN GALLERIES			
	GALLERIES	REPRESENTATIONS	GALLERIES		REPRESENTATIONS	
			N	%	N	%
PRESENCE AT ART BASEL + FRIEZE ART FAIR (TOT)	34	1,003	18	52.9	36	3.6
LISTED BY DUTCH GALLERIES (TOT)	66	1,879	40	60.6	76	4.0
PRESENCE AT ART BASEL + FRIEZE ART FAIR & LISTED BY DUTCH GALLERIES	26	813	18	69.2	36	4.4
PRESENCE AT ART BASEL + FRIEZE ART FAIR	8	190	0	0	0	0
LISTED BY DUTCH GALLERIES	40	1,066	22	55.0	40	3.8
TOTAL	74	2,069	40	54.1	76	3.7

APPENDIX 4 PRESENCE OF ARTISTS AT ART BASEL 2008 (COUNTRY OF BIRTH)

COUNTRY	OVERALL PRESENCE		PRESENCE IN		PRESENCE IN		PARTICIPATING
	ARTISTS		DOMESTIC GALLERY		FOREIGN GALLERY		
	N=6,695	%	N	%	N	%	N
USA	1,636	24.4	812	49.6	824	50.4	80
GERMANY	929	13.9	425	45.7	504	54.3	57
UNITED KINGDOM	645	9.6	234	36.3	411	63.7	34
ITALY	361	5.4	190	52.6	171	47.4	21
SWITZERLAND	322	4.8	187	58.1	135	41.9	39
FRANCE	306	4.6	129	42.2	177	57.8	28
SPAIN	212	3.2	80	37.7	132	62.3	11
JAPAN	182	2.7	75	41.2	107	58.8	6
AUSTRIA	148	2.2	70	47.3	78	52.7	10
CHINA	138	2.1	101	73.2	37	26.8	7
BELGIUM	125	1.9	36	28.8	89	71.2	10
NETHERLANDS	117	1.7	17	14.5	100	85.5	3
SWEDEN	105	1.6	49	46.7	56	53.3	4
CANADA	100	1.5	17	17.0	83	83.0	3
BRAZIL	95	1.4	50	52.6	45	47.4	4
POLAND	75	1.1	17	22.7	58	77.3	2
RUSSIA	69	1.0	16	23.2	53	76.8	1
DENMARK	68	1.0	17	25.0	51	75.0	4
ARGENTINA	59	0.9	22	37.3	37	62.7	1
AUSTRALIA	54	0.8	27	50.0	27	50.0	1
SOUTH AFRICA	54	0.8	25	46.3	29	53.7	1
INDIA	51	0.8	27	52.9	24	47.1	2
ISRAEL	51	0.8	13	25.5	38	74.5	1
MEXICO	50	0.7	25	50.0	25	50.0	2
NORWAY	45	0.7	12	26.7	33	73.3	1
PORTUGAL	45	0.7	16	35.6	29	64.4	2
IRELAND	43	0.6	8	18.6	35	81.4	2
SOUTH KOREA	43	0.6	15	34.9	28	65.1	2
CUBA	34	0.5			34	100.0	
FINLAND	32	0.5	17	53.1	15	46.9	1
GREECE	27	0.4	2	7.4	25	92.6	2
UKRAINE	25	0.4			25	100.0	
CZECH REPUBLIC	23	0.3			23	100.0	
HUNGARY	23	0.3			23	100.0	
ROMANIA	21	0.3	1	4.8	20	95.2	1
TURKEY	20	0.3	11	55.0	9	45.0	1
VENEZUELA	17	0.3			17	100.0	
IRAN	16	0.2			16	100.0	
PAKISTAN	14	0.2			14	100.0	
PERU	14	0.2			14	100.0	
ICELAND	13	0.2			13	100.0	
ALGERIA	12	0.2			12	100.0	
BULGARIA	12	0.2			12	100.0	
CHILE	12	0.2			12	100.0	
PANAMA	11	0.2			11	100.0	
CROATIA	10	0.1			10	100.0	
LEBANON	9	0.1			9	100.0	
NEW ZEALAND	9	0.1	2	22.2	7	77.8	1
SERBIA	9	0.1			9	100.0	
SLOVAKIA	8	0.1			8	100.0	
SLOVENIA	8	0.1	2	25.0	6	75.0	1
ALBANIA	7	0.1			7	100.0	
BELARUS	7	0.1			7	100.0	
EGYPT	7	0.1			7	100.0	

APPENDICES

HONG KONG	7	0.1	7	100.0
KENYA	7	0.1	7	100.0
LUXEMBOURG	7	0.1	7	100.0
BAHAMAS	6	0.1	6	100.0
COLOMBIA	6	0.1	6	100.0
LITHUANIA	6	0.1	6	100.0
THAILAND	6	0.1	6	100.0
MOROCCO	5	0.1	5	100.0
SURINAME	5	0.1	5	100.0
GEORGIA	4	0.1	4	100.0
LATVIA	4	0.1	4	100.0
TAIWAN	4	0.1	4	100.0
REST ¹ (42)	<4	<0.05		100.0

¹ Armenia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Iraq, Mali, Zambia (3); Bangladesh, Barbados, Cambodia, Cameroon, Estonia, Ghana, Jamaica, Kosovo, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Netherlands Antilles, Palestine, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Vietnam (2); Afghanistan, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, El Salvador, Guatemala, Indonesia, Laos, Moldova, Namibia, Nigeria, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uruguay, Zimbabwe (1). Monaco had no artists in the fair, while one gallery from Monaco participated.

APPENDIX 5 DUTCH ART INSTITUTIONS AND GALLERIES CITED OR RECOGNISED BY INTERVIEWEES

ART INSTITUTIONS

BAK, BASIS VOOR ACTUELE KUNST
BONNEFANTENMUSEUM
DE APPEL
DE PONT
GEMEENTEMUSEUM DEN HAAG
KRÖLLER-MÖLLER MUSEUM
MUSEUM BOIJMANS VAN BEUNINGEN
STEDELIJK MUSEUM BUREAU AMSTERDAM
STEDELIJK MUSEUM AMSTERDAM
STROOM DEN HAAG
VAN ABBEMUSEUM
W139
WITTE DE WITH

GALLERIES

ANNET GELINK GALLERY
COKKIE SNOEI
ELLEN DE BRUIJNE PROJECTS
GALERIE AKINCI
GALERIE DIANA STIGTER
GALERIE FONS WELTERS
GALERIE JULIËTTE JONGMA
GALERIE PAUL ANDRIESSE
GALERIE TORCH
GALERIE VAN GELDER
UPSTREAM GALLERY

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Geografische factoren in een geglobaliseerde kunstwereld?

De zichtbaarheid van landen in hedendaagse beeldende kunstevenementen

INTRODUCTIE EN ONDERZOEKSVRAAG

Net als in andere culturele en niet-culturele domeinen, heeft globalisering ook zijn intrede gedaan in de hedendaagse kunstwereld. De internationale verspreiding van beeldende kunst lijkt redelijk eenvoudig in vergelijking met bijvoorbeeld podiumkunsten of literatuur. De fysieke verplaatsing van beeldend kunstenaars en hun werk is niet zo ingrijpend en taal vormt evenmin een obstakel. Dit maakt de internationalisering van beeldende kunst makkelijker dan van andere culturele disciplines (cf. Crane, 1992; Heilbron, 1999; Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008; Sapiro, 2010).

Tot aan de jaren 90 was de beeldende kunstwereld vooral gericht op ontwikkelingen in het Westen: de Verenigde Staten en West-Europa, die samen het centrum van de hedendaagse kunst genoemd kunnen worden¹⁶¹. Hedendaagse kunst uit de rest van de wereld, ook wel periferie genoemd, kreeg maar weinig aandacht. Een van de eerste tentoonstellingen die hierin verandering bracht was *Magiciens de la Terre* (1989, Parijs), waarin kunst uit Latijns-Amerika, Afrika en Azië werd samengebracht met Westerse kunst en bovendien werd getoond als *hedendaagse kunst* in plaats van *primitieve kunst*. In de beeldende kunstwereld betekent globalisering dan ook bovenal een meer gelijkwaardige zichtbaarheid van kunstenaars vanuit de hele wereld, waarbij territoriale factoren, zoals nationaliteit of woonplaats, geen invloed meer hebben op de artistieke carrières van kunstenaars en de posities van landen (cf. Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Bydler, 2004, Quemin, 2002, 2006; Velthuis, te verschijnen). Verschillende wetenschappers, onder wie Quemin en Buchholz & Wuggenig, hebben echter aangetoond dat de beeldende kunstwereld nog steeds hiërarchisch gestructureerd is.

Het doel van deze studie is bloot te leggen hoe de zichtbaarheid en posities van landen, met name die van Nederland, in de internationale hedendaagse kunstwereld worden beïnvloed door globalisering en territoriale factoren. Het voorbeeld van Nederland is interessant, juist omdat het geen centraal of perifeer land is. Dergelijke landen hebben tot nu toe nog maar weinig aandacht gekregen in onderzoek naar globalisering van hedendaagse kunst. De focus ligt over het algemeen op de afbrokkelende dominantie van centrale landen of op de opkomst van perifere landen; niet zozeer op de landen daartussenin. Daarnaast heerst het idee dat de internationale positie van Nederland zwak is, terwijl hier nauwelijks empirisch onderzoek naar gedaan is (cf. Bevers, 1995; Blotkamp, 2001; Hurkmans, Hewison, Bemont & Barendrecht, 2005; Simons, 2002).

¹⁶¹ Van de West-Europese landen worden vooral Duitsland, het Verenigd Koninkrijk en Frankrijk als centraal beschouwd.

Drie onderzoeksvragen staan centraal: wat is de internationale geografische oriëntatie van verschillende hedendaagse kunstevenementen? Hoe en in welke mate beïnvloedt globalisering de posities van landen, met name Nederland, in deze evenementen? En hoe en in welke mate spelen territoriale factoren een rol in de internationale oriëntatie van evenementen en de posities van landen?

THEORETISCH KADER EN METHODE

De vier globaliseringsmodellen zoals besproken door Diana Crane (2002) vormen samen een bruikbaar kader voor een dergelijk onderzoek. Het eerste model, *cultural imperialism/dominance theory*¹⁶², gaat uit van een kleine groep landen (het centrum) die de beeldende kunstwereld domineert met een eenzijdig of homogeen aanbod van kunst als gevolg. *Cultural flows/network theory* spreekt dit tegen en stelt dat er meerdere centra zijn en er sprake is van een tegenstroom van de periferie naar het centrum. Globalisering in de beeldende kunst leidt dan juist tot een meer heterogene vertegenwoordiging van kunstenaars en landen. Deze visie sluit aan bij het heersende idee van de openheid van de kunstwereld naar kunstenaars uit niet-Westerse landen. *Reception theory* spreekt ook van diversiteit, maar dan vooral veroorzaakt door (cross-nationale) variatie in receptie. Gatekeepers zoals curatoren en galeriehouders spelen hierin een belangrijke rol. Het laatste model, *cultural policy theory*, benadrukt dat cultuurbeleid de productie, distributie en receptie van beeldende kunst kan beïnvloeden en zo ook tegenwicht kan bieden aan de dominantie van centrale landen.

In deze studie richt ik mij op de top van de hedendaagse kunstwereld, aangezien deze de hoogste kwaliteit in de beeldende kunst vertegenwoordigt en zich bovendien het sterkst profileert als internationaal opererend. Ik onderscheid hierin zes verschillende soorten kunstevenementen: vaste collectietentoonstellingen in musea, tijdelijke tentoonstellingen in kunstcentra, biënnaletentoonstellingen, galerievertegenwoordiging, presentaties op kunstbeurzen, en veilingverkoop¹⁶³.

Het onderzoek bestaat voornamelijk uit een kwantitatieve content analyse van de voorgenoemde soorten evenementen, waarbij ik gebruik heb gemaakt van informatiebronnen van de evenementen, zoals tekstbordjes bij werken, tentoonstellingscatalogi, galerielijsten en websites. De internationale oriëntatie van de kunstevenementen en de posities van landen wordt gemeten aan de hand van het geboorteland en het woonland van kunstenaars. Ik gebruik de term *representaties* om de aandacht voor specifieke geografische gebieden aan te duiden; het geeft aan hoe vaak kunstenaars uit een bepaald land zichtbaar zijn in een evenement.

¹⁶² De term *cultural imperialism* veronderstelt dat een land doelbewust zijn culturele producten wil opleggen aan andere – afhankelijke – landen. Ik betwijfel of dit het geval is in de hedendaagse kunstwereld. Daarom geef ik de voorkeur aan de term *cultural dominance* om ongelijke machtsverhoudingen aan te duiden.

¹⁶³ Onderzocht in Berlijn, Londen, Parijs en New York zijn vijf vaste collectietentoonstellingen in musea in 2007-2008: Hamburger Bahnhof; Museum of Modern Art (MoMA); Tate Modern; Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (MAMVP) en Centre Pompidou; tentoonstellingen tussen 1990-2007 in 12 kunstcentra: C/O Berlin; Kunst-Werke; Whitechapel Gallery; Institute of Contemporary Art; Chisenhale Gallery; Palais de Tokyo; Jeu de Paume; Le Plateau; Fondation Cartier pour l'art Contemporain; PS1; New Museum; White Box; galerievertegenwoordiging in 74 galleries in 2007-2008 (zie Appendix 1); en veilingverkoop in 43 fotografie- en hedendaagse kunstveilingen bij Christie's en Sotheby's in 2007. Verder zijn onderzocht 42 edities van de biënnales in Gwangju, Shanghai, Sydney, Istanbul, São Paulo, Venetië en Documenta; en de kunstbeurzen FIAC, Parijs (2007) en Art Basel (2008).

Verder zijn er interviews afgenomen met biënnaledirecteuren en -curatoren (7), directeuren en curatoren van musea en kunstcentra (7), en galeriehouders en een galerieassistent (11). Deze interviews worden gebruikt ter illustratie en om de resultaten van de kwantitatieve analyse te bespreken. Daarnaast geven ze meer inzicht in hoe deze actoren kunstenaars selecteren en hoe ze denken over nationaliteit en geografische inbedding in een geglobaliseerde kunstwereld.

De gekozen opzet maakt het mogelijk verschillende evenementen afzonderlijk te onderzoeken, met elkaar te vergelijken en de kunstwereld in zijn geheel te analyseren. Voorgaande studies richtten zich vooral op individuele evenementen. De meeste aandacht ging daarbij uit naar museumcollecties; pas sinds kort is er aandacht voor andere evenementen zoals galleries en beurzen (cf. Quemin, 2008, 2012a; Velthuis, te verschijnen). Ik kijk hierbij ook naar overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen kunstinstellingen (musea, beeldende kunstcentra, biënnales) en de markt (galleries, beurzen, veilingen). Verder maak ik onderscheid tussen de meer statische en traditionele evenementen, zoals musea en galleries en de efemere en opkomende evenementen, zoals biënnales¹⁶⁴.

Daarnaast onderzoek ik de evenementen op twee niveaus en in verschillende settings. Ik beschouw ze op de eerste plaats als transnationale evenementen en analyseer dan ook alle representaties samen om een mate van zichtbaarheid van landen in het *hele* evenement vast te stellen. Op de tweede plaats bestudeer ik de evenementen in de verschillende nationale (of lokale) settings, wat meer inzicht verschaft in cross-nationale verschillen.

Met name de internationale oriëntatie van de biënnale wordt uitgebreid empirisch bestudeerd, aangezien dit type evenement over het algemeen gezien wordt als het symbool van de internationalisering van de hedendaagse kunstwereld. Onderzoek hiernaar is echter beperkt en vooral gericht op biënnales in het centrum (cf. Quemin, 2002; Wu, 2009). In dit onderzoek betrek ik ook biënnales in de perifere zone. Daarnaast bestudeer ik de ontwikkeling van dit evenement aan de hand van een longitudinale analyse van de biënnale-edities.

BEVINDINGEN

TUSSEN HETEROGENITEIT EN HOMOGENITEIT

De hedendaagse beeldende kunstwereld benadrukt graag dat ze haar grenzen heeft geopend voor kunst en kunstenaars uit alle delen van de wereld. Actoren gebruiken vaak de term internationaal of globaal om aan te geven dat de kunstwereld meer omvat dan alleen kunst en kunstenaars uit West-Europa of Noord-Amerika. Een dergelijke internationale hedendaagse kunstwereld zou zich dan kenmerken door diversiteit van landen en kunstenaars in plaats van door Westerse hegemonie. Mijn onderzoek bevestigt deels het heterogene karakter van de kunstwereld, maar laat ook zien dat er nog steeds sprake is van een bepaalde mate van homogeniteit.

¹⁶⁴ In Hoofdstuk 1 ga ik in op het onderscheid tussen instellingen en de markt en bespreek ik de opkomst van biënnales en kunstbeurzen als symbolen van de internationalisering van de hedendaagse kunstwereld.

De hedendaagse kunstwereld is, tot op zekere hoogte, heterogeen of divers te noemen. Als we te maken zouden hebben met een 100% homogene hedendaagse kunstwereld, dan zouden in ieder evenement dezelfde landen aanwezig zijn en overal even zichtbaar zijn. Dit is echter niet het geval. De oriëntatie van biënnales is anders dan van galleries en de afzonderlijke evenementen laten ook op nationaal niveau verschillen, en dus een bepaalde mate van diversiteit, zien. Anders gezegd, landen die geen zichtbaarheid genieten in een evenement of op een bepaalde plek, hebben dat misschien wel ergens anders en vice versa.

Diversiteit in de hedendaagse kunstwereld geeft aan dat de verschillende soorten evenementen een andere oriëntatie hebben. Dit wordt duidelijk door te kijken naar hoe de aandacht van de evenementen voor de verschillende landen is verdeeld, wat kan worden uitgedrukt in de relatieve diversiteit: het percentage landen dat de helft van de representaties voor zijn rekening neemt. Biënnales hebben de hoogste relatieve diversiteit (8%), gevolgd door musea (6%) en galleries (4%). Hieruit kan bovendien worden opgemaakt dat de zichtbaarheid van landen eerlijker is verdeeld in kunstinstellingen dan in de markt, maar ook in opkomende en efemere evenementen dan in traditionele statische evenementen (Hoofdstukken 6 en 7).

Op nationaal niveau zijn verschillen in oriëntatie vooral gerelateerd aan de geografische inbedding van het evenement en de hiermee samenhangende oververtegenwoordiging van het thuisland (cf. Bevers, 2005; Janssen et al., 2008; Quemin, 2002). De onderzochte musea, biënnales, galleries en beurzen geven de voorkeur aan binnenlandse kunstenaars, waardoor het thuisland van het evenement oververtegenwoordigd is. Door de groei en verspreiding van het aantal biënnales over de hele wereld is ook het aantal thuislanden van toonaangevende kunstevenementen, met een voorkeur voor binnenlandse kunstenaars, toegenomen in de laatste decennia. Hierdoor is de groep van de meest zichtbare landen in de gehele kunstwereld diverser geworden.

Ook aan de onderkant van de ranglijsten is er sprake van variatie op nationaal niveau: de groep landen met een beperkte zichtbaarheid verschilt per locatie. Op een transnationaal niveau, als de representaties van de landen in de afzonderlijke locaties bij elkaar worden genomen in een analyse van het hele evenement, resulteert dit in een hoge absolute diversiteit van landen. Ik zal verder uitweiden over deze verschillen in oriëntatie bij het bespreken van de impact van territoriale factoren.

De hedendaagse beeldende kunstwereld wordt ook gekenmerkt door homogeniteit. Dit blijkt uit de aanwezigheid van specifieke landen en de structuur van de verschillende evenementen. Musea, biënnales, galleries en beurzen hebben allemaal dezelfde structuur, met een sterke vertegenwoordiging van een kleine groep landen (Hoofdstukken 6 en 7). In ieder van deze evenementen is de relatieve diversiteit weliswaar niet overal gelijk, maar wel overal laag. Anders gezegd, een beperkt aantal landen geniet van een grote mate van zichtbaarheid, terwijl de overgrote meerderheid nauwelijks zichtbaar is in hedendaagse kunstevenementen. Zowel op een transnationaal niveau als op een nationaal (of lokaal) niveau was er sprake van een dergelijke asymmetrie. Er waren dan ook geen grote verschillen tussen instellingen en de markt, of tussen traditionele en opkomende evenementen; wat structuur betreft zijn de verschillende soorten evenementen min of meer hetzelfde.

Deze homogene structuur is het gevolg van overeenkomsten tussen de verschillende typen kunstevenementen, die naar voren komen als we kijken naar de groep dominante landen. In ieder evenement zijn steeds twee groepen landen sterk zichtbaar: de thuislanden en de centrale landen (Hoofdstukken 6 en 7).

De Verenigde Staten is het land met verreweg de meeste zichtbaarheid en staat bovenaan de ranglijsten van ieder evenement op transnationaal niveau. Daarna komen Duitsland en het Verenigd Koninkrijk, op afstand gevolgd door Frankrijk. De dominantie van deze landen op transnationaal niveau weerspiegelt hun hoge mate van zichtbaarheid op nationaal niveau. In de verschillende soorten evenementen en de verschillende onderzochte locaties horen met name de VS, Duitsland en het Verenigd Koninkrijk bijna altijd bij de toptanden. De stabiele aanwezigheid en oververtegenwoordiging van deze landen in ieder van de vier soorten evenementen laten zien dat gatekeepers uit andere landen ze een voorbeeldrol toedichten. Op basis hiervan kan gesteld worden dat deze landen nog steeds de meest centrale landen zijn in de hedendaagse kunstwereld. Hun dominantie wordt zelfs groter als de aanwezigheid van landen niet alleen gemeten wordt op basis van kunstenaars die er zijn geboren, maar ook op basis van kunstenaars die er wonen. Deze landen trekken relatief meer buitenlandse kunstenaars aan, wat de doorvoerfunctie van deze landen onderstreept (Hoofdstukken 6 en 7).

Naast centrale landen zijn de thuislanden oververtegenwoordigd. Deze landen hebben een grote mate van zichtbaarheid op nationaal niveau, doordat gatekeepers de voorkeur geven aan binnenlandse kunstenaars. Dit heeft geleid tot een dominante positie op een transnationaal niveau (Hoofdstukken 6 en 7). Kortom, de oververtegenwoordiging van centrale landen en thuislanden maakt dat de ranglijsten van de verschillende hedendaagse beeldende kunstevenementen dezelfde structuur tonen.

TERRITORIALE FACTOREN

De homogene structuur en variatie in aandacht voor landen laten zien wat de impact is van de inbedding van kunstenaars in een nationale kunstwereld op de zichtbaarheid van landen op internationaal niveau. Met andere woorden, territoriale factoren spelen nog steeds een rol.

Uit het onderzoek komt duidelijk naar voren dat de hedendaagse kunstwereld nog steeds wordt gedomineerd door een beperkt aantal landen en met name door de Verenigde Staten. Dit is niet zo verrassend en bevestigt de resultaten van eerder onderzoek (Heilbron, 1995; Janssen et al., 2008; Quemin, 2002). Sommige actoren onderschrijven zelfs dat de VS, met Duitsland en het Verenigd Koninkrijk, en Frankrijk in mindere mate, nog steeds de belangrijkste landen in de hedendaagse kunstwereld zijn (Hoofdstuk 8). Dit wil echter niet zeggen dat zij hiermee toegeven meer georiënteerd te zijn op deze specifieke gebieden en meer kunstenaars uit deze landen te selecteren vanwege hun geografische achtergrond.

Toch krijgen deze centrale landen meer aandacht, bewust of niet. Wat vooral verrassend is, is dat ze zoveel méér aandacht krijgen dan andere landen en dat dit geldt voor alle soorten evenementen die ik heb onderzocht. In galleries, musea en biënnales waren er beduidend meer representaties van kunstenaars geboren of woonachtig in centrale landen. Dit geeft ook het belang van de woonplaats aan: kunstenaars die niet geboren zijn in een centraal land verhogen hun kans op

internationaal succes door naar zo'n land te verhuizen (Brandellero, 2011; Crane, 1987; Florida, 2002, 2005; Scott, 2000). De centrale landen profiteren op die manier van hun status als centraal land, wat hun reputatie alleen maar sterker maakt (De Swaan, 1995, 2001; Heilbron, 1995, 1999).

Het belang van territoriale factoren komt ook tot uitdrukking in de oververtegenwoordiging van thuislanden. Dit kan verklaard worden door de geografische inbedding van gatekeepers en door cultuurbeleid. Vooral biënnales worden beïnvloed door cultuurbeleid. Curatoren en artistiek directeurs van biënnales, met name van degenen in de perifere zone, geven aan dat ze zich expliciet richten op binnenlandse en regionale kunstenaars, oftewel kunstenaars uit landen die geografisch of cultureel gezien dichtbij het thuisland liggen (Hoofdstuk 6). De biënnale functioneert als platform en is een eerste stap richting de internationale kunstwereld. Deze focus op binnenlandse en regionale kunstenaars is de belangrijkste reden waarom deze landen een grote mate van zichtbaarheid hebben op transnationaal niveau. Ze zijn namelijk nauwelijks aanwezig op evenementen buiten hun eigen regio.

Curatoren in musea en kunstcentra noch galeriehouders voelen zich niet zozeer geroepen een minimaal aantal binnenlandse kunstenaars op te nemen. Uit mijn analyses blijkt echter dat zij toch een grotere mate van zichtbaarheid hebben dan buitenlandse kunstenaars. De geïnterviewden onderschrijven dit en verklaren dit door de nabijheid van deze kunstenaars (Hoofdstukken 6, 7 en 8). Over het algemeen werken gatekeepers met kunstenaars die geografisch dichtbij zijn. Dit zijn op de eerste plaats kunstenaars die geboren in hetzelfde land en deel uitmaken van dezelfde kunstscene. Daarnaast zijn het buitenlandse kunstenaars die in hetzelfde land of dezelfde stad wonen en zodoende onderdeel zijn geworden van hun netwerk. Nationaliteit en woonplaats van de kunstenaar, net als de geografische inbedding van gatekeepers zijn dus belangrijke factoren en dragen bij aan de oververtegenwoordiging van thuislanden in de toonaangevende internationale hedendaagse kunstevenementen.

BIËNNALES ALS SYMBOOL VAN INTERNATIONALISERING

Van de zes soorten hedendaagse kunstevenementen die ik heb onderzocht, worden de biënnale en de kunstbeurs over het algemeen gezien als de meest transnationale (Hoofdstuk 1). Met name de biënnale symboliseert de internationalisering van de hedendaagse kunstwereld. Dit komt vooral door de wereldwijde verspreiding van dit evenement en doordat de tentoonstellingen van nationale vertegenwoordiging op de meeste biënnales in de loop der jaren zijn vervangen door een grote expositie van genodigde kunstenaars (cf. Bydler, 2004; Moulin, 2003). Dit maakt de biënnale interessant voor dit onderzoek.

Zoals al eerder gezegd, vertonen biënnales een grotere mate van relatieve diversiteit in vergelijking met musea en galleries (Hoofdstukken 6 en 7). Dit bevestigt de algemene opvatting over biënnales als meest divers of heterogeen evenement in de hedendaagse kunstwereld. Mogelijk hebben juist de traditie van nationale vertegenwoordiging en de intentie om een verscheidenheid aan landen te laten zien gezorgd voor een meer gelijkwaardige verdeling van aandacht voor verschillende landen. Toch zijn ook biënnales niet wereldomvattend; niet alle landen genieten zichtbaarheid op biënnales en deze is ook nog steeds sterk ongelijk verdeeld.

Westerse landen, en dan met name de centrale landen, hebben een hoge mate van zichtbaarheid op biënnales, net als in musea en galleries. De impact van deze landen is beperkter dan in de andere twee soorten evenementen, wat deels komt doordat de biënnale specifiek gericht is op het tentoonstellen van kunst uit verschillende delen van de wereld. Ondanks deze doelstelling zijn Westerse landen nog steeds oververtegenwoordigd op dit type evenement. Dit komt door hun centrale positie en doordat zij meestal financieel bijdragen aan de deelname van hun kunstenaars, wat duidelijk maakt hoe dit transnationale evenement toch beïnvloed wordt door territoriale factoren.

Daarnaast kenmerken biënnales zich door een sterke lokale inbedding. Het evenement wordt gebruikt als een opstap voor binnenlandse kunstenaars naar de internationale kunstwereld. Het is dan ook niet verrassend dat thuislanden oververtegenwoordigd zijn op dit soort evenementen. Ook landen uit dezelfde regio genieten een sterke mate van zichtbaarheid. Op biënnales in andere delen van de wereld zijn zij echter nauwelijks aanwezig.

De voorkeur voor binnenlandse kunstenaars en kunstenaars uit de regio toont aan dat biënnales boven alles regionale evenementen zijn. De hogere relatieve diversiteit in dit evenement op transnationaal niveau zou dan ook niet zozeer moeten worden opgevat als een meer gelijkwaardige aanwezigheid van landen op biënnales in de wereld; het is vooral een gevolg van de sterke aanwezigheid van regionale landen op de afzonderlijke biënnales. Deze constatering nuanceert het heersende beeld van biënnales als internationaal en wereldomvattend evenement.

DE POSITIE VAN NEDERLAND

Uit de analyses van verschillende hedendaagse kunstevenementen blijkt dat globalisering zowel homogeniserende als heterogeniserende effecten heeft op de posities van landen in de hedendaagse kunstwereld. Deze posities geven de internationale oriëntatie van de verschillende evenementen weer en worden beïnvloed door territoriale factoren. Nationale kunstscenes zijn nog steeds belangrijk, ondanks het feit dat de kunstwereld internationaler of transnationaler is geworden. De uniforme structuur van de verschillende evenementen, inclusief de overrepresentatie van centrale landen en gastlanden, bevestigt dit. Verder laat mijn onderzoek zien dat territoriale factoren ook een rol spelen in de posities van landen die niet centraal zijn of zonder toonaangevend kunstevenement. Dit doe ik aan de hand van het voorbeeld van Nederland.

Uit de analyses blijkt dat Nederland deel uitmaakt van de groep semi-perifere landen die na de centrale landen en thuislanden de meeste zichtbaarheid hebben in musea, biënnales, galleries en kunstbeurzen (Hoofdstukken 6 en 7). Verder is aanwezigheid van Nederland in ieder van de evenementen min of meer hetzelfde, hoewel er ook verschillen zijn. Op een transnationaal niveau is het zichtbaarheidspercentage van Nederland het hoogst in galleries, maar op een nationaal niveau is het land het meest regelmatig aanwezig in de edities van biënnales (Hoofdstuk 4).

Verschillende indicatoren laten de invloed zien van territoriale factoren, en de Nederlandse kunstscene in het bijzonder, op de zichtbaarheid van Nederlandse kunstenaars, en de daarmee samenhangende positie van Nederland in de internationale kunstwereld. Zwakke elementen in de Nederlandse kunstscene zijn

het gebrek aan centraliteit en toonaangevende evenementen. De interviews maken duidelijk dat de kennis van buitenlandse actoren over de Nederlandse hedendaagse kunstwereld beperkt is en dat het land niet bovenaan hun lijstje met te bezoeken landen staat (Hoofdstuk 9).

INTERNATIONAAL ACTIEVE GATEKEEPERS

Gatekeepers die zowel actief zijn in de Nederlandse kunstscene als op internationaal niveau kunnen het gebrek aan centraliteit en belangrijke evenementen compenseren en de internationale positie van Nederland verbeteren. Zij kunnen Nederlandse kunstenaars direct toegang bieden tot internationale platforms (Hoofdstuk 4), maar ook als intermediair functioneren tussen de Nederlandse kunstwereld en (andere) buitenlandse gatekeepers voor wie zij een belangrijke informatiebron zijn (Hoofdstuk 9).

Nederland profiteert hier vooral van in instellingen en niet zozeer in de markt. Door het kleine aantal verzamelaars en toonaangevende galleries, is de Nederlandse kunstmarkt zwak, zeker in vergelijking met België en Zwitserland. Dit werd regelmatig opgemerkt door de geïnterviewden (Hoofdstuk 9). Dit beperkt de aanwezigheid van Nederlandse galleries op kunstbeurzen, die in de afgelopen jaren steeds belangrijker zijn geworden (Hoofdstukken 4 en 7). Hierdoor wordt ook de zichtbaarheid van Nederlandse kunstenaars bedreigd: galleries geven immers de voorkeur aan binnenlandse kunstenaars, een voordeel waarvan Nederlandse kunstenaars niet kunnen profiteren als Nederlandse galleries niet geselecteerd worden voor beurzen. Nederlandse kunstenaars worden zo steeds meer afhankelijk van buitenlandse galleries, die op hun beurt ook beïnvloed zijn door hun geografische inbedding en hen dus minder snel in hun stal zullen opnemen dan Nederlandse galleries. Op deze manier maakt de zwakke binnenlandse markt het moeilijker voor Nederlandse kunstenaars om aan dit soort evenementen deel te nemen en heeft het een negatieve invloed op de positie van Nederland.

Positiever is de invloed van gatekeepers die actief zijn in toonaangevende instellingen. Nederlandse kunstenaars zijn oververtegenwoordigd in verschillende tijdelijke tentoonstellingen in kunstcentra en edities van biënnales waarbij curatoren betrokken zijn die verbonden zijn aan het Nederlandse kunstenveld (Hoofdstuk 4). In het geval van biënnales is het effect hiervan terug te zien in de positie van Nederland in de ranglijsten van landen (Hoofdstuk 6).

Het betreft hier niet alleen curatoren van Nederlandse afkomst; sommigen van hen zijn buitenlandse curatoren die actief zijn in Nederland, zoals de directeur van het Van Abbemuseum, Charles Esche. Deze openheid naar buitenlandse gatekeepers is typisch voor Nederland (Hoofdstuk 9) en zorgt ervoor dat relatief meer curatoren bekend zijn met en deel uitmaken van de Nederlandse kunstwereld. De groep curatoren verbonden met Nederland wordt zo groter waardoor Nederlandse kunstenaars meer kans hebben om deel te nemen aan internationale beeldende kunstevenementen.

CULTUURBELEID

Het aantrekken van buitenlandse gatekeepers maakt de Nederlandse kunstwereld van binnenuit internationaler en vergroot het netwerk van Nederlandse kunstenaars. Een andere manier waarop buitenlandse gatekeepers en Nederlandse kunstenaars samengebracht kunnen worden is het bezoekersprogramma, een van de instrumenten uit het Nederlandse cultuurbeleid die zijn ontworpen om de export van Nederlandse kunst te stimuleren. Deze instrumenten vormen een andere indicator van de invloed van territoriale factoren, aangezien ze zijn ontwikkeld om een specifieke groep kunstenaars, geselecteerd op basis van nationaliteit of woonplaats, te steunen en hun zichtbaarheid in specifieke landen of steden te vergroten. Terwijl buitenlandse actoren via het bezoekersprogramma de Nederlandse kunstwereld leren kennen tijdens een kort verblijf aan Nederland, krijgen Nederlandse kunstenaars via het *artist-in-residence* programma de mogelijkheid om een periode in het buitenland te werken. Andere instrumenten zijn financiële bijdragen aan de deelname van Nederlandse kunstenaars aan tentoonstellingen in het buitenland en van Nederlandse galleries met Nederlandse kunst aan hedendaagse kunstbeurzen.

Nederland staat bekend om de financiële steun aan kunstenaars; dit punt werd regelmatig genoemd in interviews toen ik naar de bekendheid met de Nederlandse kunstscene vroeg. Sommigen van de geïnterviewden hadden zelf deelgenomen aan het bezoekersprogramma of hadden in het verleden een financiële bijdrage ontvangen voor de deelname van een Nederlandse kunstenaar aan een tentoonstelling of een beurs (Hoofdstuk 9).

De oververtegenwoordiging van Nederlandse kunstenaars in de stands van Nederlandse galleries op beurzen duidt op een positieve invloed van cultuurbeleid op de zichtbaarheid van Nederland (Hoofdstuk 4). Dit geldt ook voor de oververtegenwoordiging van Nederlandse kunstenaars in edities van biënnales, waarvan de artistiek directeur of curator heeft deelgenomen aan het bezoekersprogramma (Hoofdstuk 4). Daarnaast wijst de positie van Nederland in de ranglijsten erop dat landen die financieel bijdragen aan biënnales meer kans hebben op deelname dan landen die niet beschikken over dergelijke financiële middelen.

Natuurlijk leiden bovengenoemde punten, i.e. verschillende beleidsinstrumenten die de export van Nederlandse kunst stimuleren en gatekeepers die zowel in de Nederlandse en internationale kunstwereld actief zijn, niet altijd tot een grotere internationale zichtbaarheid van Nederland. Daarnaast is het door de gekozen onderzoekopzet niet mogelijk scherpe uitspraken te doen over de mate van correlatie; ik kan hier niet verder gaan dan deze resultaten te presenteren als indicatoren. Het is wel mogelijk sterkere uitspraken te doen waar het buitenlandse kunstenaars betreft, aangezien mijn onderzoek is ontworpen om aan te tonen wat de impact is op de positie van een land van buitenlandse kunstenaars die zich daar vestigen. Dit heb ik gedaan aan de hand van een analyse en vergelijking van de posities en zichtbaarheid van landen op basis van het geboorte- en vestigingsland van kunstenaars.

NEDERLAND ALS VESTIGINGSLAND VOOR BUITENLANDSE KUNSTENAARS

Nederland versterkt zijn positie in internationale kunstevenementen door buitenlandse kunstenaars aan te trekken. Net als in het geval van gatekeepers internationaliseert de Nederlandse kunstscene door buitenlandse in Nederland wonende kunstenaars. Deze kunstenaars maken deel uit van internationale netwerken, nu ook als Nederlandse kunstenaars. Bovendien wordt met en via hen het netwerk van in Nederland geboren kunstenaars groter

Als we landen zowel als geboorteland als vestigingsland van kunstenaars beschouwen, dan groeit de zichtbaarheid van Nederland aanzienlijk in de ranglijsten van musea, biënnales en galleries (Hoofdstuk 6 en 7). Op basis van geboorte en vestiging samen staat het altijd op de 10^e plaats of hoger, na de centrale landen en thuislanden. De zichtbaarheid van Nederland is daarmee groter dan van landen als Zwitserland en België, die Nederland wel voorgaan op basis van alleen geboorte. De Verenigde Staten, Duitsland, het Verenigd Koninkrijk en Frankrijk zijn de enige andere landen die op eenzelfde manier voordeel genieten van het aantrekken van buitenlandse kunstenaars. Ofschoon in mindere mate dan deze centrale landen, profiteert Nederland in sterke mate van zijn doorvoerfunctie.

Hierin spelen kunstopleidingen en postacademische programma's een essentiële rol; de meerderheid van de buitenlandse kunstenaars komt zo naar Nederland. Hoewel de gevolgde programma's zelf van korte duur zijn, geldt dit niet per definitie voor het verblijf van de kunstenaars. De meesten van hen blijven in Nederland en blijven dus deel uitmaken van de Nederlandse kunstscene nadat ze het programma hebben afgerond (Hoofdstuk 5).

Dergelijke programma's en hun aantrekkingskracht op buitenlandse kunstenaars is kenmerkend voor Nederland. Buitenlandse actoren van de hedendaagse kunstwereld zijn bekend met de postacademische instellingen en andere opleidingsinstituten en beschouwen ze als een belangrijke waarde in de Nederlandse kunstscene. Vooral de Rijksakademie wordt gezien als een autoriteit (Hoofdstuk 9). Deze instellingen zijn een ontmoetingsplaats, waar Nederlandse kunstenaars en andere actoren van de hedendaagse kunstwereld samenkomen met hun buitenlandse collega's. Zij dragen op deze manier bij aan de internationalisering van de Nederlandse kunstscene en aan het vergroten van de zichtbaarheid van Nederland in de internationale kunstwereld.

Buitenlandse kunstenaars woonachtig in Nederland hebben dus een substantieel aandeel in de zichtbaarheid van Nederland in internationale kunstevenementen, ook in vergelijking met andere landen. Ze vertegenwoordigen gemiddeld 40% procent van de Nederlandse representaties en in biënnales was deze groep, en dan vooral kunstenaars uit de perifere zone, zelfs verantwoordelijk voor de meerderheid van de representaties (Hoofdstukken 5 en 6). Door buitenlandse kunstenaars te verbinden aan het land kan tegenwicht geboden worden aan een verminderde interesse in kunst uit Westerse landen, een ontwikkeling die ook te berde werd gebracht in interviews (Hoofdstuk 8). Kunstinstellingen zoeken naar meer evenwicht in hun collecties en beschikken over speciale budgetten voor tentoonstellingen en aankopen van niet-Westerse kunstenaars.

De analyse van Art Basel laat zien dat ook in de kunstmarkt het aantal landen en galleries uit de perifere zone in de afgelopen jaren langzaam maar zeker is gegroeid (Hoofdstuk 7). Deze verandering in focus verandert niet veel aan de positie van de centrale landen. Hoewel hun suprematie wel wat is afgenomen door de jaren heen, zijn de Verenigde Staten, Duitsland en het Verenigd Koninkrijk nog

steeds dominant. Het zijn vooral de semi-perifere en de perifere Westerse landen, waaronder Nederland, die geraakt worden door de opkomst van nieuwe landen (Hoofdstuk 6 en 7).

Dat een land zijn positie kan versterken door buitenlandse kunstenaars aan zich te binden, kan geconcludeerd worden op basis van de longitudinale analyse van de Nederlandse deelname aan biënnales (Hoofdstuk 5). In de afgelopen jaren is de zichtbaarheid van de in Nederland geboren kunstenaars afgenomen, terwijl de zichtbaarheid van buitenlandse kunstenaars woonachtig in Nederland is gegroeid. Hierdoor is de aanwezigheid van Nederland gemiddeld toegenomen. Met andere woorden, Nederland profiteert van het aantrekken van buitenlandse kunstenaars die deel uitmaken van de Nederlandse kunstscene en verstevigt door deze specificiteit zijn positie in de internationale hedendaagse kunstwereld.

CONCLUSIE, DISCUSSIE EN SUGGESTIES

Mijn bevindingen duiden erop dat geen van de vier theoretische modellen – *cultural dominance*, *cultural flows/network*, *reception* en *cultural policy theory* (Crane, 2002) – toereikend genoeg is om de effecten van globalisering op de hedendaagse kunstwereld te verklaren. Ik zou eerder willen stellen, in navolging van auteurs als De Swaan (1995), Hannerz (1992), Heilbron, (1995, 1999) en Robertson (1995), dat ieder van de modellen elementen bevat die, als we ze samenvoegen, beter recht doen aan de dynamiek van de hedendaagse kunstwereld.

Actoren in het veld kunnen zich het best vinden in de *cultural flows/network theory*, die stelt dat globalisering leidt tot een meer heterogene samenstelling van kunstenaars en landen. Van de verschillende events is vooral de biënnale regionaal georiënteerd, met een grotere diversiteit op transnationaal niveau tot gevolg, wat aansluit bij *network theory*. De andere soorten events hebben eerder een nationale oriëntatie dan een regionale, maar kennen hierdoor net zo goed een grotere variatie aan landen op transnationaal niveau.

Dergelijke cross-nationale verschillen geven het belang aan van geografische factoren, i.e. de geografische inbedding van gatekeepers en cultuurbeleidsinstrumenten, dat verklaard kan worden aan de hand van *reception theory* en *cultural policy theory*. Deze modellen benadrukken dat respectievelijk verschillen in receptie en cultuurbeleid bijdragen aan een diverser veld en tegenwicht bieden tegen de overheersing van centrale landen. Dit is echter maar ten dele zo. Dergelijke geografische factoren hebben namelijk op bepaalde landen een sterkere positieve invloed dan op andere: in sommige landen wordt een toonaangevend kunstevenement, zoals een biënnale, gehouden, terwijl landen zoals Nederland hun positie verstevigen of verbeteren door specifieke beleidsinstrumenten of door gatekeepers die betrokken zijn bij belangrijke evenementen. Andere landen hebben deze voordelen niet. In dit opzicht is diversiteit dus vooral het gevolg van meer aandacht voor kunstenaars uit bepaalde landen op specifieke plekken.

Bovendien is er een grens aan diversiteit. Op de eerste plaats zijn de voordelen voor niet-centrale thuislanden vooral lokaal; zij genieten nauwelijks zichtbaarheid in een andere regio. Op de tweede plaats, en in lijn met het voorgaande, heeft de voorkeur voor bepaalde landen een negatief effect op de zichtbaarheid van andere landen. Het zorgt dus niet voor een grotere en wereldwijde zichtbaarheid van meer landen, zoals *cultural flows theory* verwacht.

Ten slotte heeft het globaliseringsproces tot nu toe niet geleid tot drastische veranderingen in de machtsverhoudingen tussen landen. Zelfs de voorkeur voor kunstenaars uit thuislanden vormt amper een bedreiging voor de positie van de heersende centrale landen; zij domineren nog steeds de beeldende kunstwereld, zoals *cultural dominance theory* suggereert. Op basis hiervan kunnen we dan ook concluderen dat de hedendaagse kunstwereld wordt gekenmerkt door een centrum-periferiestructuur, waarin diversiteit de som is van cross-nationale variatie, in plaats van een meer gelijke zichtbaarheid van landen in verschillende delen van de wereld.

Tot slot nog een aantal suggesties voor vervolgonderzoek. Tijdens interviews bleek dat prominente buitenlandse actoren sommige in Nederland geboren of wonende kunstenaars niet altijd met Nederland associëren. Het zou interessant zijn vanuit een meer kwalitatief perspectief te onderzoeken hoe buitenlandse actoren de zichtbaarheid van Nederland inschatten en of dit overeenkomt met de in dit onderzoek vastgestelde objectieve zichtbaarheid.

Daarnaast zou het waardevol zijn de internationalisering en oriëntatie van gatekeepers uitgebreider te bestuderen, met name van curatoren. Vooral in de afgelopen jaren zien we een opkomst van internationale onafhankelijke curatoren die betrokken zijn bij biënnales en andere grote kunstmanifestaties over de hele wereld (cf. Bydler, 2004; Carroll, 2007; Eric, 2007; Griffin, 2003). Wie zijn zij en hoe ziet hun carrière eruit? Hoe worden zij gevormd door hun geografische inbedding? En hoe beïnvloedt dit de zichtbaarheid van kunstenaars?

Ook zou het interessant zijn meer aandacht te besteden aan nomadische kunstenaars en hun verbondenheid aan verschillende kunstscenes (cf. Bydler, 2004; Papastergiadis, 2005; Tuerlings & Ostendorf, 2012; Vinken & Van Kampen, 2006). Ik heb nu vooral gekeken naar hun invloed op de zichtbaarheid van landen en niet zozeer naar het effect van migratie op hun kunstenaarschap. Hoe ervaren zij de impact van geografische factoren? Hoe bouwen zij internationale netwerken? En in hoeverre verschillen de carriers van nomadische kunstenaars van die van kunstenaars die in hun geboorteland blijven?

Dit onderzoek heeft laten zien dat buitenlandse kunstenaars een groot aandeel hebben in de zichtbaarheid van Nederland. Het is dan ook aan te bevelen hun inbedding in de Nederlandse kunstscene verder te onderzoeken. Waarom hebben ze besloten naar Nederland te komen, er te blijven of weer weg te gaan? Hoe beïnvloedt hun aanwezigheid in Nederland hun carriers en hoe draagt het bij aan de Nederlandse kunstscene? Dit zou ook in een cross-nationaal perspectief onderzocht kunnen worden, bijvoorbeeld in vergelijking met andere sterke vestigingslanden, zoals de Verenigde Staten en het Verenigd Koninkrijk.

Dit brengt mij op het toenemende belang van steden. In dit onderzoek heb ik me vooral gericht op landen. Ik kwam tot deze keuze omdat ik zo het belang van nationaliteit kon onderzoeken, en de posities van landen op basis van het geboorte- en vestigingsland van kunstenaars met elkaar kon vergelijken. Een nationale kunstwereld concentreert zich echter meestal in een of een klein aantal

steden (cf. Brandellero, 2011; Florida, 2002, 2005; Sassen, 2001; Scott, 2000). Onderzoek gericht op de steden waar kunstenaars wonen en werken zou dus een ander en aanvullend perspectief bieden.

Naast spatiale aspecten, zijn er ook nog tijd-gerelateerde factoren. Mijn doel was het bestuderen van recente ontwikkelingen in de hedendaagse kunstwereld. Ik heb laten zien dat globalisering de verwachting van een gelijkwaardigere mate van zichtbaarheid van landen niet heeft waargemaakt, in ieder geval niet tot nu toe. Het is mogelijk dat dergelijke veranderingen meer tijd kosten en er op den duur een herverdeling van posities plaatsvindt. Het is daarom waardevol de ontwikkelingen in de hedendaagse kunstwereld, die voortdurend in beweging is, te blijven volgen en onderzoeken.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Femke van Hest, born on February 17th 1977 in Tegelen, grew up in Waalwijk, where she completed her secondary education at Dr. Mollercollege in 1994. She then studied European Studies at the University of Amsterdam, obtaining her master's degree in 1998. After graduation, she worked for a couple of years as a supervisor and project manager at SNS Bank. In 2001, she decided to return to university, combining her studies with a new job as project manager at Vertaalbureau Boot. This time at Utrecht University, she commenced a degree in Language & Culture Studies, specialising in cultural policy & management and modern & contemporary art. In 2004, during the programme, she left for Paris as an Erasmus student at the Sorbonne Nouvelle, initially for a couple of months, but ultimately staying for almost four years. Here, she studied Sociology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in 2004-2005 and wrote her master's thesis on the role of nationality in the presence of visual artists in the Dutch contemporary art scene, graduating with honours. With a collection of three master's degrees, it was time for a new challenge, resulting in the development of a PhD project at the EHESS on the internationalisation of the contemporary art world. In support of this research, the Mondriaan Foundation awarded her a 3-year research grant. After moving back to the Netherlands, she pursued her PhD project under joint supervision at the EHESS and Erasmus University Rotterdam. In the past few years she has divided her time between writing her dissertation and lecturing at the Department of Arts and Culture Studies at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Currently, Femke van Hest is an Assistant Professor (non-tenured) there.

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