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Temporary events and spaces in the Swedish primary art market

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Abstract

Traditionally, the art market is associated with specific cities or art districts; typically there are internationally renowned locations like Paris, New York and Berlin. However, taking a closer look at the art markets, it is rather the temporal dimensions that are striking. Art market actors (artists, critics, gallerists, buyers, collectors, curators, etc.) are gathering in temporary locations and at temporary events such as art exhibition openings, art fairs, auctions, performances and vernissages. Within economic geography literature, the role of temporary spaces and events has been increasingly discussed in relation to economic activities and their performance, efficiency and creativity. An important insight gained in this literature is how temporary events, despite their short lived existence, create microcosms of an industry or sector. Some temporary events even gather enough resources, skills and power to become 'field-configuring'. In this paper, the primary art market will be discussed from the theoretical perspectives of value-making processes, temporary spaces and events, and field configuring events. More specifically, the study focuses on temporary spaces important to galleries involved in selling and promoting primary art and artists. It focuses on how temporary spaces constitute both a characteristic feature of the art market and important spaces for creating both cultural and economic values. Empirically, this paper is based on a study of the Swedish primary art galleries and in particular it deals with primary art galleries located in Stockholm, and studies how they use temporary spaces and events in creating both cultural and economic values to themselves, the artist and their artworks. Three empirical examples characteristic to primary art galleries are examined; the opening, the art fair and the mobile art district.

Keywords: economic geography, art markets, value-making, temporary spaces, events, circuits, intermediaries.

Introduction

[p. 202] Traditionally, the art market is associated with specific cities or art districts; typically, there are internationally renowned locations such as Paris, New York and Berlin, and rapidly emerging new hotspots in Asia such as Shanghai, Beijing and New Delhi. These locations constitute the global core of the international art market, being where a large part of the global turnover of art takes place and economic and cultural value is ascribed to artists and artworks. However, taking a closer look at the art markets, it is rather the temporal dimensions that are striking. Art market actors (artists, critics, gallerists, buyers, collectors, curators, etc.) are gathering in temporary locations and at temporary events such as art exhibition openings, art fairs, auctions, performances and vernissages, to discuss, evaluate and negotiate the values of art.

In the economic geography literature, the role of temporary spaces and events has been discussed in relation to economic activities and their performance, efficiency and creativity. More specifically, temporary events such as professional gatherings, conferences and conventions have been recognised as stages of processes such as the diffusion of knowledge and information, monitoring, networking, symbolic capital creation, sales and economic transactions, and competence and staff recruitment (Maskell et al. 2004; Maskell et al. 2006; Bathelt/Schuldt 2008a; Bathelt/Schuldt 2008b; Power/Jansson 2008). An important insight gained in this literature is how temporary events, despite their short lived existence, creates microcosms where the temporary location is on the one hand a reflection of an industry or sector, but in highly condensed form, and on the other contains the processes that create and re-create structures of industries and markets. Some temporary events [p. 203] even bring together enough resources, skills and power to become 'field-configuring', meaning they are events that may configure or reconfigure structures and ideas in different 'fields' or industries (Meyer et al. 2005; Lampel/Meyer 2008).

In this paper, temporary spaces and events will be discussed from the perspective of the Swedish primary art market. The paper deals with primary art galleries located in Stockholm and studies how temporary spaces and events are crucial in creating both cultural and economic values to the gallery itself, and the artists and their artworks it represent. In particular, three empirical key spaces characteristic of primary art galleries are examined; the opening, the art fair and the mobile art district.

The primary art market

The art market is, arguably, divided into two separate but closely intertwined types of markets; the primary and the secondary. These two archetypes have their own structure and function, both in being the commercial platform for economic value-making, i.e. selling and buying art, but also in their different agendas in staging cultural, art or public debate. Basically, the primary art market is where artwork is shown and displayed for sale for the very first time. Consequently, as soon as the artwork has been purchased on the primary market and the buyer decides to sell, it will re-enter on the secondary art market, either through private dealers and galleries or through auction houses.

Thus, a main feature of the primary art market is that it offers artworks emerging directly from the artists' studios and the artworks are usually displayed for sale in curated shows organised and managed by art dealers in dedicated gallery spaces.

Even though parts of the art market have moved to the internet and are run by web-based art dealers, traditional spaces for trading art still prevails as an important forum for marketing and trading art, especially the primary market for contemporary visual art. The significance of the opening is naturally the sale of artwork. First, in the primary art market the artwork being sold is unique, i.e. there is only one original piece (Velthuis 2003; Schönfeld/Reinstaller 2007). This aspect is important in the pricing of the works and the psychology surrounding the sale of these works; if a buyer misses the opportunity to purchase an original work, they will not get a second chance unless the artwork is reintroduced on the secondary market. Second and directly linked to the above, the vernissage or the opening is the major point of sale and some galleries in the interview study state that up to 70% of sales are made during these events.

The existence of commercial art galleries and gallerists is, arguably, a result of a shift in the relationship between the artist and the artwork but also in the relationship between the artist and the marketplace. The romantic ideal of the 'artist' is a rather recent (and prevailing) phenomenon and has made the relationship between artist and client rather complex. What has happened is that the image of an 'artist' as a knowledgeable and learned artisan/craftsmen has been replaced by the image of the artist as a creative genius (although combined with knowledge and craftsmanship); the artist is fully responsible for the creative process (artistic freedom), which safeguards their independence from both financiers and other commercial interests. The artist often views this independence as a requirement for 'great' art to be created (Caves 2000). This move has shifted the focus from a more objective measure of craftsmanship towards a more subjective measurement where aesthetic, symbolic and conceptual values come first. Hence, in comparison to the secondary market, what characterises the artworks displayed and commercialised in the primary market is their lack of history (i.e. provenance). Although the artist and the gallery may be known to the public, the actual artwork shown in a gallery for the very first time does not have the 'certificates' that help verify its value in the secondary market.

The functional and spatial division of the primary art market

The primary market may be divided into three different functional and spatial levels, or submarkets, which, to some extent, have their own economic and cultural dynamics, and may vary between different countries and regions (Throsby 1994, 5). At the first level, somewhat unorganised individual artists provide works to galleries, local art fairs and exhibitions. The market is decentralised, both in power and spatial distribution, and since there are more artists and aspiring artists than art buyers, the competition is extensive and prices are usually low. At [p. 204] the second level, the market is more spatially and economically concentrated to larger cities where established artists, dealers, and public and private collectors circulate works by artists who have managed to make the transition from the primary level. At the same time, given the increased resources to purchase artworks at this level, the buyer side is also limited. Consequently, gallery owners and art dealers may tie up parts of an artist's oeuvre and thus achieve a monopsony in dealing with artists and a monopoly in dealing

with their buyers. At the third and final level, both the supply side (internationally recognised art galleries and to a lesser degree, the major auction houses) and the buyer side act more or less entirely within global markets, trading artwork from well-known artists at prices that frequently make headline news. At this level, the market is even further concentrated to global art cities, and major actors have the power to 'make or break' an artist's international reputation and career.

At one level, the art market does not make any exceptions from the general rule of the spatial concentration of cultural industries (Power/Scott 2004; Currid/Connolly 2008), and hence urban agglomerations constitute a permanent stage in which cultural and commercial value is created. There are a number of well-known art districts or clusters in cities like New York, Paris, Beijing, Berlin, Seoul (Velthuis 2005; Kim 2007; Molotch/Treskon 2009) of both formal and informal character (Chapple et al. 2010). However, the localised pattern is perhaps only applicable to the secondary and the tertiary levels of the art markets, while many small galleries at primary level are located outside regional and global art nodes.

Also, galleries and art districts tend to be mobile over time, and the districts hosting art galleries and other artistic activities tend to change, perhaps with the notable exception of art institutions (art schools, museums etc.). A well-known example is Manhattan, New York, where galleries slowly moved from SoHo to Chelsea (Molotch/Treskon 2009), and where the Lower East Side (LES) recently emerged as a main Manhattan location for art galleries (Harris 2011). Rent levels and other variables related to cost and creativity have driven many art galleries away to neighbouring locations such as Williamsburg/Brooklyn as part of (or usually initialising) wider restructuring and gentrification processes (Cameron/Coaffee 2006).

Value-making, temporary spaces/events and field-configuring events in the primary art market

Value-making processes and the value of art

The primary art market is where the value-making process of a specific artwork is initialised and its price is established for the very first time. However, the distinction between price and value is acknowledged in the economic literature, with price being a figure that may (or may not) reflect what people are willing to pay for a certain product and thus dependent on external actors and processes. Value on the other hand is in many ways the same thing as beauty (and/or quality for that matter; see e.g. Zeithaml 1988) since it lies in the eyes of the beholder, and may take various forms such as functional, practical and emotional (Young/Feigin 1975). Value (or sense of quality) is defined internally by the individual, although socially it is socially constructed within and between different groups and in interaction with specific organisations, standards and regulations (Callon et al. 2002; Jansson/Waxell 2011). The distinction between price and value is exceptionally important to the art market as it deals with cultural products; objects of art that are for sale and advertised through their symbolic characteristics (Power/Scott 2004).

In embracing the complexity of the art market but conforming to simplicity, this paper concurs with Hutter and Throsby in making a distinction between *economic* and *cultural* value, and in that “it is the nature of these twin concepts of value, how they are formed and how they relate or do not relate to each other, that needs to be investigated” (2008, 1). This paper argues, on the one hand that economic and cultural values may be seen as opposite and different, with their own intrinsic logic, and on the other that these values are mutually intertwined, and none of them can be judged without knowledge of the other.

Although attempts have been made to combine these two approaches (Hutter/Throsby 2008), disciplines such as anthropology and economics, usually, have fundamentally different views on value in the art market (Arizpe 2008), and the literature on art markets and economic value-making in the art markets can basically be divided into two distinct types. The first type deals with statistical modelling of the value (price) of artworks in both the primary and secondary markets (Goetzmann 1993; Ashenfelter/Graddy 2003; Higgs/Worthington 2005; Schönfeld/ Reinstaller 2007; Pesando/Shum 2008; Beggs/Graddy 2009), [p. 205] while the second strand of literature emphasises the socially embedded and constructed nature of the value-making process of the art market. For example Santagata (1995) detects institutionalised anomalies in the formal rules and conventions of the art market, and Velthuis (2003; 2005) analysing the symbolic meaning of price. This literature promotes the idea of a ‘value-creating ecology’ rather than the ‘value chain’ metaphor (Hearn et al. 2007). Increasingly, the literature tends to sympathise with the idea of a socially constructed art market and takes its starting-point in the idea of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984), in which cultural and economic capital are negotiated in the interplay between consumers and producers.

Following the second strand of literature, the value-making process of the art market could be defined as argued by Velthuis (2005, 160): “aesthetic, artistic, or cultural values are socially constructed: the value of an art object does not reside in the work itself, but is, under conditions of uncertainty, produced and constantly reproduced by artists, intermediaries, and audiences, subject to numerous conventions and cultural codes of art worlds”. Thus, in the case of the art market, the value-making process could be said to be made up of a combination of actors negotiating the value of an art object. First, gallery owners affect value and price by being the main intermediary between the artist (and the actual art object) and the art buyer, functioning as the key selector of artists and artworks, thus curating and controlling the supply of artworks to the art market. The gallery’s ability to increase the value of an artist or an artwork depends on its position, status and reputation on the art market. Second, the artist may also affect the value of an art object by his or her reputation or real/imagined position on the art market/scene (Throsby 1994; Towse 2010), which, in turn, is affected by earlier works, sales and CV. Third, media players such as critics affect the art market by approving or disapproving different artists, galleries, genres, etc. Fourth, the art buyers, such as private collectors, museums etc., are themselves affected by general economic and financial fluctuations, as well as trends signalled from art market experts (critics, galleries, etc.), which in turn affect the demand for certain types of artworks (Fasche 2013). Fifth, the art object in itself, in relation to its size, choice of material, production method and motif affects the value, as well as societal, cultural and economic fluctuations and trends (Wilde 2008). Finally, the price in itself, being a symbolic signifier, may affect both the economic and cultural value of the art object (Velthuis 2005).

Temporary spaces and field-configuring events

In economic geography, the idea of temporary spaces or clusters has been advanced by Maskell et al. (2004), who highlight professional gatherings such as trade fairs and conventions as demonstrating some of the knowledge-creating mechanisms found in traditional, permanent clusters, but also as bridging the gaps between clusters of local firms and global project and collaboration networks. In the literature, a number of dimensions of temporary spaces have been highlighted, such as their role in knowledge generation and diffusion, face-to-face contacts, work coordination, creating networks and symbolic capital, sales and economic transactions, and competence and staff recruitment (Maskell et al. 2004; Maskell et al. 2006; Bathelt/Schuldt 2008a; Bathelt/Schuldt 2008b; Power/Jansson 2008; Rallet/Torre 2009). Temporary events, despite their short-lived existence, create microcosms, with the temporary location on the one hand being a reflection of an industry or sector but in highly condensed form, and on the other hand containing the processes creating and re-creating structures of industries and markets (Power/Jansson 2008).

Related to the idea of temporary spaces and events is the concept of 'field-configuring events' (Meyer et al. 2005; Lampel/Meyer 2008), which is defined as "settings where people from diverse social organizations assemble temporarily, with the conscious, collective intent to construct an organizational field" (Meyer et al. 2005, 467). This concept has proved to be a fruitful tool for studying the cultural industries whose configurative and value-making processes often relate to temporary spaces and events (Anand/Jones 2008; Røling/Strandgaard Pedersen 2010; Lange et al. 2014). Naturally, there is a hierarchy between different temporary events, and some may have a stronger mandate than others in the sense that they can exercise a powerful influence on the evolution of an industry or field. Consequently, although organisers may have the ambition of creating a field-configuring event, these intentions often fail to be achieved (Lampel/Meyer 2008). These processes [p. 206] also resemble what Appadurai calls a 'tournament of value', which are complex and cyclical events characterised as a stage where status is contested and participating being for the privileged, and although they are temporary in terms of time and space, they have long-lasting consequences for the values of things (Appadurai 1986, Moeran and Strandgaard Pedersen 2011).

Also, temporary events and field-configuring events often include ceremonial and dramaturgical elements. These are part of the value-making processes within the art market and require a 'stage' in order to be 'performed'. In the art market, these stages consist of the intricate web of local, national and international openings, exhibitions and art fairs, where the value-creating processes are stimulated and orchestrated, both formally and informally, in highly fixed ceremonial processes (Arizpe 2008).

Method and material

The empirical material used in this paper is based on two main sets of data: first, statistical mapping of the primary art market in Sweden, and second, a semi-structured interview study of gallerists and art fair organisers active in the Swedish primary art market.

Material for the mapping was gathered during two different stages. In the first stage, secondary data, e.g. official company registers, was used to map the Swedish art market. However, the official statistics do not sufficiently identify the primary art market as such. Accordingly, during the second and more specific stage, a combination of sources was used to estimate the scale and scope of primary art market galleries: comparing the official company registers (e.g. Affärsdata) with digital map searches; a systematic search of industry journals (two years' worth of *Konstvärlden & Disajn* were examined); and the list of members of SGF (the Swedish Gallery Association [www.galleriforbundet.se]). In addition, the interview respondents were asked questions about the scale and scope of the Swedish primary art market.

The second bulk of empirical material is the result of 15 semi-structured interviews with various art gallery owners and art fair organisers. An original random sample of five galleries was made, and an additional selection of respondents was made using the snowball sample method. This method ensured the inclusion of a range of different respondents (e.g. gallery owners aiming at different segments of the market: local, national and international), working at different professional levels with both internationally recognised artists and locally based amateurs. Of the total number of respondents, 12 were located in Stockholm (including two who combined their role as gallerist with being an art fair organiser). The interviews with gallerists in Stockholm were supplemented with three interviews with gallerists active in Uppsala, with the aim of understanding the context, functions and structure of galleries located outside the capital. These interviews covered a specific set of topics, all of which were related to the gallery's activities and its day-to-day operations in relation to efforts to create value for the artists and artwork they represent. Due to the relatively limited number of actors involved in the Swedish art market, all respondents have been anonymised.

Additionally, the statistical data and interviews were supplemented by observations and informal conversations made during visits to vernissages and openings of various exhibitions and art fairs. Also, an extensive literature review was made of magazines, newspapers and information from exhibition brochures and booklets, providing information on different aspects of the gallery's activities, market strategies and the organisational structure of the different segments of the primary art market.

The primary art market in Sweden

In an international comparison, the Swedish art market is relatively small, in terms of both turnover and the number of actors. Consequently, only the largest and most established Swedish galleries work with international artists and are involved in the international art scene by exhibiting at large international art fairs such as Art Basel, Frieze Art Fair (London) and the Armory Show (New York). Most galleries, however, are very small and do not have sufficient resources to work with international artists or get involved in international art fairs, and thus rely solely on local or national artists selling art to a local audience. However, there are a number of domestic art fairs that cater to Swedish (and to a certain extent Scandinavian) galleries.

It is difficult to estimate the size of the art market and number of actors involved. This is partly [p. 207] because of the pace of renewal (many galleries cease to exist and new are established), and

partly due to the fact that galleries are run as a type of enterprise that is not visible in the official statistics. The main reason, however, is that the official company statistics (e.g. SNI code/NACE 47783) do not distinguish between, for example, art galleries in the primary and secondary art market, and they also include a range of other activities related to art, such as art centres and art museums. Nevertheless, in the absence of more stringent statistics, the official company statistics (including a manual review from which companies whose primary business was not in sale of art were deleted) contains 310 limited companies with a total of 346 employees (excluding the company owner), and a total turnover of almost € 74 million (see table 1). Note that the statistics presented give a general overview of the size and location of the Swedish art industry as they do not focus on the primary art galleries alone.

-----INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE-----

In line with the existing literature on the geography of art galleries and art markets, the Swedish primary art market and its actors (galleries, media, industry organisations, etc.) are highly concentrated to the city of Stockholm. Table 1 shows that more than 40% of the total number of actors in Sweden is located in the municipality of Stockholm.

Hence, in a Swedish context, it is inevitable to take a closer look at Stockholm, where the majority of all professional galleries are located and most of the economic and cultural capital is established, with the exceptions of a few galleries located in Gothenburg and Malmö. Another way of estimating the number of the Stockholm art galleries has been to ask the respondents, and they generally state a much smaller figure than the results of the statistical analysis¹: **[p. 208]**

“If you think a little broader in Stockholm, there may be 30 galleries or so. Others might say 10 or 12. But I think there are 30 or so that deserve respect. But then again, if you examine these 30 galleries and pick out seven and ask them to make their top 20 list, they will all be part of it themselves.” (Gallery D)

In order to make a more accurate estimate of the number of primary art galleries in Stockholm, a more systematic examination was executed in which various sources were combined (official company registers, digital map searches, industry journals, membership lists and interviews). The resulting estimate puts the number of galleries dealing with primary art in Stockholm at approximately 104 (see Fig. 1).

¹ All interviews were conducted in Swedish and the quotes are translations made by the author. Hence, no quotes are literal or exact replications of the original wording, although the intention is for them to be as close to the original as possible.

Temporary spaces and events: openings, art fairs and the mobile art district

In her overview of the 'contemporary art world', Thornton (2008) recognises a number of 'spaces' - the auction, the 'crit', the fair, the prize, the magazine, the studio visit, and the biennale - which, in turn, are closely connected to specific actors. Although some of these spaces are temporary, they have lasting consequences and are all part of processes establishing power or 'control' in the art world. Strictly speaking, however, not all of these spaces are directly related to the primary art market; for example, auctions and auction houses have, so far, only rarely been involved in the sales of art on the primary market.

Arguably, three forms of temporary spaces that are of significance to the spatial organisation of the primary art market are the opening, the art fair and the mobile art district. First, the opening is synonymous with traditional art gallery's activities; put simply, everyone holds them, but at different levels and with various levels of ambition and target groups. Although the galleries themselves are (more or less) fixed in space, the opening is a temporary event.

Second, when it comes to art fairs, Swedish galleries are very much divided into different levels. Only a few actors participate on a regular basis in major international art fairs. While some of galleries take part in between five to ten international art fairs every year in various locations, directed towards different markets and market segments, others focus on more easy accessible national art fairs. Generally, both nationally and internationally, the number and importance of art fairs has increased over the last decade. Art fairs are temporary events that are often located in temporary spaces, or at least are located in spaces that are only temporarily utilised for the purpose of the art fair.

Third, an alternative view of the temporality of the primary art market is what could be termed the 'mobile art district'. Art galleries usually agglomerate in certain districts, which form an integral part of almost any larger city. However, over time, these districts tend to be mobile, i.e. they move in and between neighbourhoods, and with this mobility comes changing dynamics of the power and control, which affect the configuration of the primary art market.

In the following sections, an analysis will be made of the relationship between temporary spaces and events important to the primary art market in Sweden and the value-making processes of cultural and economic values.

The opening

Although the gallery is (usually) fixed in space, the vernissage or opening is a temporary event where efforts, initiatives and investments come together, and the gallery becomes the epicentre of all these activities; usually the result of months and sometimes years of work and preparation. An art gallery may be defined as a space for art exhibitions, and as an intermediary in the intersection between artist and potential buyer. It conveys a selected range of artworks and artists to a market of collectors, museums, institutions, art associations and other 'regular' art buyers. The gallery plays an

important part in creating value for the specific artwork and for the oeuvre of an artist. The interview study identifies that the value-making process in art galleries may be divided into creating commercial value and creating cultural value, hence the art gallery and the gallery owner have many roles and functions. First, the gallery scouts for talent and/or already established artists. Second, it creates a market for its artists and their artwork by strengthening the artists' brand, taking on a role similar to that of an agent or publisher in that by representing the artists it works with (e.g. handling press relations, marketing etc.), it is involved in more than just the exhibition. Third, the gallery works to strengthen its own brand. Fourth, the gallery plays the role of exhibitor, organising regular exhibitions with a roster of artists with whom the gallery owner works closely. Fifth, it negotiates [p. 209] prices with buyers (collectors, institutions and others). Finally, the gallery serves as a 'stage' where an audience is given the opportunity to meet, view and respond to art, thus generating artistic quality, debate and knowledge.

The gallery and the activities taking place within it constitute a space in which the dichotomy between commercial and cultural values is particularly tangible and concentrated.

"So I managed to create a model for how to run the gallery where I balanced between the non-commercial and the commercial. The non-commercial shaped the gallery and built the reputation. But, during this time, I surely made some exhibitions that were financial disasters. But they were also an important part of the process." (Gallery B)

In particular, the vernissage or the opening of a show is a space in which the commercial and the ideal world come to a head. The commercial and cultural value of an artwork is negotiated and embedded in the social processes condensed at the gallery's opening.

One of the gallery's main activities is thus to bring together the various actors relevant to the value-making process of the artwork in terms of its potential economic and cultural value. According to the general division of labour between *the artist* and the gallery, the gallery's main task in relation to the artist is naturally to represent and showcase the art that the artist produces. The reputation of an artist is, at least partly, managed by his or her gallery and there is a relationship of interdependence between galleries and their artists as follows: if the gallery wants to work with a specific artist and the artist is equally interested in working with the gallery, this cooperation is a sign to the market that both the gallery and the artist are associated with quality art. Thus, the gallery is a central component in the 'certification process' that an artist must undergo in order to succeed, both culturally and commercially.

Art *buyers* such as private collectors, art clubs and associations, museums, and other institutions, have an important function as the ultimate destination of an artwork. If the collector is financially viable and culturally prestigious, he or she has the ability to 'kick-start' a career by buying an artist's works and thus ensure that the art market takes the artistry seriously. Hence, gallerists take great care (or pride) in 'placing' their artworks and their artists. Hence, collectors offering the most money are not necessarily the ones who get to purchase the artwork, and gallerists usually have a circle of collectors to whom they extend special privileges.

"If I've only seen a collector during one of my artists' shows, then I'm not that interested in that collector. I'm interested in collectors who come to several shows...that is really important [...]. I would rather have someone who is truly interested in an idea, and those collectors who are interested, always get first choice when they get here." (Gallery A)

This allows collectors who acquire a lot of work by a single artist to become an integral part of the artist's career, with gallerists functioning as intermediaries. With its established contacts among collectors, the gallery may also create additional value by offering, for example, studio visits or post-opening 'artist's dinners'. This is not only an enjoyable part of purchasing an artwork; to most collectors, it is an essential aspect of their research of contemporary artistry and the development of their collections.

Also important to the value-making process is the media or *the critic*, both in terms of creating a reputation for the artist and the artworks presented at the exhibition and for the gallery.

"...but that show is going to be reviewed in the Art Forum magazine and that show is going to be worth three pages in Svenska Dagbladet, and three pages in DN [the two largest Swedish daily newspapers]. This is very important for building the gallery's reputation." (Gallery A)

Certain art journalists and magazines thus have the power to frame an artist's work or a gallery's programme within a national or international art discourse, which of course assists the gallery in creating reputational value for itself and its 'stable' of artists.

Finally, *the gallery* and its artists are intertwined, and galleries' work with their artists is as much about working with the reputation of the actual gallery as it is about the work of the individual artist. The gallery's business is, in other words, a balancing act between these two spheres, and the gallery itself and reputation of the gallery owner are also important:

"The gallery's brand is important, because I am the brand. I am my gallery. And although I have extremely talented people around me, they are not the brand. And this is the case with almost all galleries. The brand comes with the person who runs it. It is extremely rare that a gallery survives its founder and that succession takes place" (Gallery E)

[p. 210] The location, scale and aesthetics of a gallery's exhibition space are also important, as well as a strong network of institutions, collectors, etc. Above all, the gallery composes a space structured for social interaction between various actors in which both cultural and economic values are negotiated. The vernissage or opening has almost ritual or ceremonial qualities whereby each actor plays their role; the gallerist, the artist, the critic, the buyer.

"...the vernissage is...you can almost divide it into time zones in a way...the collectors would come early, they look at the work, and they might be gone by seven if it starts at five. People come at four, at five, at six, and by the time it gets to seven there are a lot of people here, and there are a lot of artists, friends, critics and art people. Then it tends to be some kind of discussion or some kind of professional cocktail party and people are actually talking about ideas and different shows, and they talk about works they have seen, or things they are doing in the studio." (Gallery A)

The opening is thus a platform where social interaction between actors of importance to the value-making process takes place. In this process, it is clear that the controversy between economic and cultural values not only divides the market as such, but also makes the strategic choices of the gallery/gallerists more complex. In relation to field-configuring, few if any, single openings in the Swedish or Stockholm context have the power to configure the field. Rather the openings may be viewed as networks of events that informally structure and regulate the market.

The art fair

In the literature, fairs are often recognized as perhaps the most characteristic event that relates to temporary spaces/clusters (Maskell et al. 2006; Bathelt/Schuldt 2008a; Power/Jansson 2008) and field-configuring events (Lampel/Meyer 2008). Like in other industries, the art market fairs are important and characteristic events, both at national and international levels, in which various actors and extensive resources are concentrated under a relatively delimited (in time and space) event. Also, art fairs are important nodes in the cyclical process of relational networks that constitutes the value-making processes at the global level. Thus, the different art fairs constitute a continuous global circuit of events, in which economic and cultural values are negotiated and established.

To galleries aiming at an international and national market there are several reasons to travel to and participate in art fairs such as sales, building networks and recruiting new collaborators (other galleries, artists and staff). In the Swedish context, only the most influential galleries participate and exhibit their artists at international art fairs. One gallery owner explains advantages of exhibiting at international art fairs:

“It generates networks, international buyers, and perhaps contacts with other dealers, collaborations or partnerships. Maybe you can come into contact with new artists too.” (Gallery C)

The value-making process of art and artworks is very much to do with intangible dimensions and is, to a large extent, driven by reputation, brand building and the social process of negotiating economic and cultural values of art. Thus, participating in art fairs, both nationally and internationally, is a strategically important activity to gain these intangible resources.

Unsurprisingly, there is a hierarchy between the international art fairs and to most Swedish gallerists, both active and passive on the international scene, it appears that Art Basel is the most renowned, interesting and important fair to participate in. This is because it seems to have the power to increase both cultural prestige and sales.

“... But people know that I have done that other fair for four years. And there is no guarantee that I will ever participate in a larger fair than that ... even if I do get requests from high-ranked fairs in Europe. Basel is number one ... and I am working hard to someday be able to have a gallery programme that will make the entrance requirements...” (Gallery B)

However, it is difficult to get ‘inside’ and be given the opportunity to exhibit at top ranking art fairs.

“I have exhibited at the Basel fair. It is the most prestigious, and very difficult to get into. And basically, if it was not for my contacts I would never have made it. On the other hand, they will never let you in unless you have a really good programme.” (Gallery C)

It is not only the gallery's potential contacts and programmes that may stand in the way of artists and galleries wishing to exhibit at international art fairs. As participation often involves a major investment, it is also a cost issue.

“Most fairs are extremely expensive. Participating in a fair costs between €25 000-45 000. If you go to the US you have to pay somewhere between \$15 000-30 000 for a booth. Then you need to add transport costs if you do not just want to bring watercolours in an envelope. These costs are at least €6 000.” (Gallery C)

[p. 211] Exhibiting in international markets may result in a stronger position in the domestic market. Previous research on trade fairs in certain industries has shown that participating in international trade fairs might sometimes be the only way to attain recognition from domestic media (Power/Jansson 2008). However, in a Swedish context, it is important to understand that art fairs have different meanings for different types of galleries. There are galleries that have a well-defined international strategy and find their way to international recognition. Other galleries are nationally acclaimed although do not have the programme, sufficient resources or the viable approach to reach outside national markets, as well as third level galleries that primarily have a locally embedded artist and customer base.

To the most prominent Swedish art galleries, international art fairs constitute an important part of their work strengthening reputation, identity building and branding. However, both at the national and local level, there are a number of art fairs taking place in Sweden during a year. In 2011, the most important art fairs were located in Stockholm, and two of these took place, at the same time, during the Stockholm Art Week in February (which also included a range of other art events). Both art fairs were located in temporary spaces in downtown Stockholm and continued over a period of three days. The first example, 'Market', is an art fair for contemporary art gathering prominent galleries from the Nordic countries. This fair was located in a building that usually hosts the royal academy of fine art, and hence some of its cultural capital might spill-over to the galleries participating at that fair. The second example, 'Art Anglais', is also a contemporary art fair although attracting/inviting participants from a more narrow a locally embedded range of galleries. The choice of location, a hotel with the name Anglais, could be said to mirror the type of galleries exhibiting at the art fair; a highly sophisticated milieu although with less cultural capital. Clearly, the type of art fair that gallery can or may involve with, will have an effect on the gallery's brand and hence its artists.

A more recent phenomenon related to traditional art fairs is on-line exhibitions. One such example is SCARF - Scandinavian (on-line) Art Fair (www.scandinavianartfair.com) which is an event that expands the range of temporary spaces and events as well as the complexities in and between these spaces. This art fair is limited in time and utilize 'temporary' space in the form of a website which is only open during the art fair. Also this on-line art fair is dedicated to, and invites only a limited number of prominent and well known galleries, and although set up and managed in Sweden and mainly presenting galleries in Stockholm it also invites galleries from the other Nordic countries.

The mobile art district

As already stated, there are just over a hundred primary art galleries located in the central parts of Stockholm. Characteristic to the spatial distribution of these galleries is that they are concentrated to four different districts (or even streets) in the central parts of Stockholm (Fig. 1). What is not shown in the map, however, is that they seem to be in some kind of permanent state of flux where they move to new locations every now and then.

"If you look at gallery over its time of existence, they do change location a few times." Gallery D

Arguably, in line with existing research on art districts/clusters (Molotch/Treskon 2009), this may be interpreted as an alternative view of the temporality of the Swedish primary art market or at least it does point to the problem of delineating between 'permanent' spaces hosting day-to-day, continuous and recurrent activities, and the more temporary event.

[p. 212]

-----INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE-----

The four current agglomerations of galleries are located in districts with different functions and characteristics. First, the most recent established of these clusters, are located in Vasastaden at the street Hudiksvallsgatan. This cluster involves some of the most prominent and experimental galleries in the Stockholm and Swedish art scene and a relatively high proportion of the galleries located at this street/district is internationally oriented and participates in international art fairs. The main reason behind the accumulation of galleries to the property on Hudiksvallsgatan is the deliberate strategy of the landlord to provide subsidized rents and favourable contracts to galleries in order to reinvent the image of their property, which also have had spill-over effects on the surrounding neighbourhood and as such an effective force of redevelopment.

"No one knew about this building before we came here. All I knew before moving here was that there were some industrial properties around here... and after about a year or so this fashion company moved in and then another company. To companies in fashion, art and music it was critical that our type of activities were already here. On the other hand they have been crucial in attracting other art galleries to the building." Gallery C.

[p. 213] The second concentration of galleries is found in Östermalm, which is an economically prosperous neighbourhood and have a long tradition of art galleries and presence of elite culture. Although some internationally active galleries are located here, most galleries here are nationally oriented with their primary customers locally based. The third agglomeration is in the district called Gamla Stan. Being one of the main destinations for national and international tourists, and galleries located here serve the tourist market, especially during the summer season. The last cluster of galleries is in Södermalm district on the street Hornsgatan and consists of a broad mix of galleries, most of which are relatively small and rely their sales on e.g. private customers and art associations. Although, the district of Södermalm is known for its high density of creative workers, this specific concentration is very much to do with access to appropriate spaces. In this case, the municipal housing authority exerts a policy of reduced rents to gallery and related activities.

As the above analysis show there are different characteristics related to the four different agglomerations in Stockholm – some of which is economic (rents, availability of sufficient spaces and access to customers) and some are cultural (type of district, buyers and surrounding activities). Consequently, the cultural and economic capital that is attached to a specific district tends to spill-over to the gallery. Galleries move within and between the spatial agglomerations and over time new concentrations emerge with slightly transformed cultural and economic values.

Conclusion

This paper has made an attempt to draw attention to temporary spaces and events of importance for the value-making processes in the primary art market in Sweden, focusing on galleries located in Stockholm. In relation to the art market (of galleries, artists and their artwork), values are negotiated and established, not in one space but continuously and simultaneously on several levels and in the interaction between different processes, locations and spaces. More specifically, the paper has highlighted three temporary spaces and events characteristic to the primary art market; the opening; art fairs and the mobile art district.

The opening is argued to make up a social scene and a platform in which values of art can be negotiated and established. Although the opening of the exhibition represents a significant component of the value making process, there is an inherent tension between economic and cultural values. It is also clear that it is not relevant to appoint individual openings as field-configuring events. Rather, the starting point for such an analysis should be in how the different openings relate to each other. In comparison, the art fair assembles significantly more resources at a specific point in time and space. Together, the two art fairs that is exemplified (in combination with the additional events of the Stockholm Art Week), does make up a qualified initiative both to strengthen Stockholm's position as a leading arts centre in Sweden, as well as its role in Scandinavia and in Europe. Each individual event can perhaps not meet the requirements of a configuring event, but in relation to each other, they constitute an important element in establishing a position in the domestic market, and make an impression at the international art scene. In the case of the mobile nature of the art district, the idea of the 'temporary' is further developed. As shown, there are different temporalities in the primary art market in Sweden. Firstly, temporary events that occur in a very restricted time and space, but also temporary movements in the location of the galleries that takes place over more stretch out periods of time, although equally important to the configuring and structure of the art market.

In this context, temporary spaces and events should be seen as epicentres for broad ranges of activities and actors coming together in time and space. On the one hand, temporary spaces and events constitute separate microcosms in which values are recognised, negotiated and established in formally and informally performed and ceremonial events. On the other hand, the activities taking place in the limited space and time that openings and art fairs constitute must not be viewed as atomistic, but as relational.

In addition, only few events have the power or capacity to become field-configuring events in the sense that they can exercise a powerful influence on the evolution of an industry or field. Further research is needed in order to understand the spaces and processes behind value-making on the primary art market and we certainly must look beyond the [p. 214] individual or single event. Although there exist certain events that have been assigned a mandate to exercise such an influence on the market (e.g. Art Basel), it may be more fruitful to study the intricate networks of individual events, e.g. field-configuring networks of events, on global, national and local levels, to understand the complex processes involved in creating economic and cultural values in the primary art market.

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