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Four Business Models in Contemporary Art

Nathalie Moureau, Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux

Introduction

The millionaire auctions held by Sotheby's and Christie's featuring the works of a handful of celebrity artists are but a dim reflection of the reality of the marketplace for modern art: 68% of public transactions today are under €5,000 (Sagot-Duvauroux, 2011). Far from being homogeneous, the market is made up of many different approaches and styles encompassing a wide range of artistic careers, the artistic life being marked by many unforeseen turns.

In their numerous studies of artistic careers and life cycles based on population analyses, Galenson (2000a, 2000b, 2009), Galenson and Jensen (2001), and Galenson and Weinberg (2001) reveal a link between the type of art practised and the career path of the artist, with some artists achieving fame more quickly than others. These authors show that the way in which an artist's career unfolds is dependent on his or her relationship with innovation. Artists who are engaged in what might be termed "conceptual innovation" take less time to create value in their approach than those who develop experimental innovation. Whilst experimental artists tend to work by trial and error, with largely undefined objectives, those who develop their work around conceptual innovation tend to innovate upstream relatively early, then use their ideas to produce quite precisely planned works.

Despite the consistency of their conclusions over the last decade, these authors' methodology

is open to debate. Although the criticism regarding the criteria used for evaluating artists' renown has been moderate (O'Hagan and Kelly, 2005), that addressing the definitions of conceptual and experimental innovation has been rather harsh. For Hellmanzik (2009), it is the use of innovative technologies, rather than simple conceptual innovation, in the creative process that ultimately leads to fame. Ginsburgh and Weyers (2006) highlight the fragility of the categorization used by Galenson and Weinberg (2001) to separate conceptual from experimental innovation.¹ These authors also conclude that the different ages for embarking on an artistic career may be the result of changes in the organization of the art world after World War II.

In this article we follow this last line of thinking and analyze how innovation influences an artist's career. The idea is that the connection between innovation and career does not necessarily form via the effects of innovation on an artist's productivity, as proposed by Galenson (2000a, 2000b, 2009), but brings about more far-reaching transformations in the recognition process.

In order to support this assertion, we turn to the work of Wijnberg and Gemser (2000). For these authors, the selection of artistic talent is based on three systems: the *market*, *peers* and *experts*. Depending on the creative context, these systems may not be equally effective. Whilst the first two are effective for relatively formalized artistic practices, the third has proven to be

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Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux is a professor at the University of Angers, specializing in cultural economics, and the author of numerous works on the contemporary art market. His many publications include *Economie des politiques culturelles*, co-authored with Joëlle Farchy (Presses Universitaires de France, 1994); *La Propriété intellectuelle, c'est le vol ?* (Presses du Réel, 2003); and "Art Prices," in *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*, 2nd ed., R. Towse, ed. (Edward Elgar, 2011).

pertinent for the selection of “artistic innovation.” In the market and peer systems, one need simply reveal elements of quality. In order to do so, it is important to have a proven scale for judging quality. This idea relates to what Benetti and Cartelier (1980) term the “nomenclature hypothesis” – that is, if goods are perfectly defined prior to the exchange, their quality is established.² A system based on expertise³ is more open and therefore has the ability to identify innovation in cultural markets. It is difficult for the peer system to recognize innovation that calls one’s own work and points of reference into question. Similarly, the market system will have difficulty recognizing an innovative work whose characteristics are not in line with current evaluation criteria. Experts, on the other hand, earn their legitimacy through their ability to identify the next trend, to recognize before all others those artists who are destined to make history. “There is, therefore, a symbiotic relationship between artists who systematically pursue innovation and experts who can help to establish the value of this innovation” (Wijnberg and Gemser, 2000, p. 324).

The subject of this article is the extent to which these proposed systems are relevant for the world of contemporary art. We address the question by highlighting the mechanisms that artists use to achieve recognition, based on the type of art practised. These mechanisms involve different people and distinct value and distribution processes. We use business terminology to evoke these mechanisms and the key people associated with each. It is clear that in the art market the idea of a dichotomy of practices within the population of contemporary visual artists is accepted. Caves (2000) notes that within the visual arts two distinct specialties have developed, one based on technique, the other on creative ideas and research. Many other authors have explored much the same idea (Moulin,

1992; Heinich, 1998, 1999; Moureau and Sagot-Duvaurox, 2010; Rouget and Sagot-Duvaurox, 1997; Sagot-Duvaurox, 2011). To date, however, no field study has identified, in any population, the distinctive economies of each of these specialties nor the specific profiles of the artists associated with them, although a few studies have examined in some detail the world of art galleries or artists’ career paths (Benhamou, Moureau and Sagot-Duvaurox, 2001; Velthuis, 2005; Martin, 2005).

The thread running through this research is verifying the existence of different specialties (innovation versus tradition) in a given population, identifying the economies that characterize the specialties and analyzing the profiles of the artists associated with these economies. In the first part of this article we present the methodology for our field study. Then we present the characteristics of the various business models that enabled us to build our database and highlight the way in which artists’ career paths are incorporated into these models.



Methodology

This article is based on a study conducted for the Département des Etudes de la Prospective et de la Statistique of the French ministry of culture and communication. The purpose of the study was to obtain a panorama of contemporary creativity in France and its distribution networks, whether private or public, not-for-profit or institutional, composed of art dealers or other entities. This work consisted of a survey and statistical analyses of data from the Maison des Artistes (see De Vries et al., 2011b).

A survey of 134 art distributors⁴ and 72 artists was carried out in the regions of Lyon, Le

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ABSTRACT

On the basis of a critical analysis of models addressing innovation in artistic careers, the authors show that innovation not only modifies the artistic process but also brings about transformations in artistic business models (i.e., during the value-increase and distribution processes). The authors also highlight the importance of another factor: the involvement of artists in a cultural project. The influence of these various factors leads the authors to identify four distinct business models spanning artistic careers. This work is based on the results of an investigation conducted with those implicated in modern art (distributors and artists) in five regions of France.

KEYWORDS

Business models, contemporary art, career, artist, innovation, tradition, artwork, project

Havre-Rouen, Montpellier and Nantes.⁵ The selection of regions was based on a desire to obtain a panorama of modes of increasing value and distribution. Lyon is home to the only French contemporary art market outside Paris. Montpellier and Nantes, two cities of comparable size, are characterized by a strong cultural image but one that is not built on contemporary art. Le Havre and Rouen stand out for their geographic proximity to Paris, with which they appear to be in fierce competition; the survey results for these two cities were grouped together to form a single sample.

The survey (semi-structured interviews) had two parts. First, we surveyed the main distributors and promoters of art, with all aesthetic tendencies mixed together, on the characteristics of their work and the relationships they maintained with each other (based, for example, on urban location, year of founding, artistic discipline, method of artist selection, method of pricing, promotional strategies, and links with public institutions). We also examined collaborations with other actors in the city's art sphere in order to identify possible partitions within these other structures. Many variables were used to verify the existence of collaboration. These could be purchases or loans of artworks; joint exhibitions; shared openings, catalogues, or special offers; or subsidization of one structure by another. Using network analysis software (UCINET), we detected a relationship among the structures and established the existence of several networks of actors not connected to one other, regardless of the agglomeration concerned (see de Vries et al., 2011a). The first network consisted of galleries (mostly not-for-profit) and public institutions (museums, funding bodies) dedicated to experimental art and research. A second set consisted of mostly commercial galleries highlighting artists' techniques.

Next, we conducted a set of surveys with a sample of artists belonging to these networks. The sample was compiled based on suggestions by art distributors in the respective regions. We asked the distributors to name distinctive artists in the economy in which they operated. The final sample comprised 71 artists (or 69 career paths, as some artists had been working in pairs on joint projects) from all regions, in all age groups and representing different distribution networks. It is important to note that this sample was designed not to be statistically representative of the population of artists in a region but to include representatives of the various art economies identified, as well as to allow comparison of artist profiles and distribution networks.

Factorial analysis was carried out using the data from the artist interviews (nature of their training, places where they exhibited and sold their work, intermediaries they worked with, how they set prices, decisive contacts during their career, connections with institutions, etc.). A part of the qualitative data collected in the survey was used to qualify and interpret the results of both the network analysis and the factorial analysis. From the interpretation tables, we determined that the first axis places artists according to their relation to innovation and experimentation (tradition versus innovation) and the second according to their relation with public commission (project versus artwork). Four groups of artists were identified. The data from the semi-structured interviews helped us to describe the types and to highlight the economic mechanisms that differentiate them.



R É S U M É

Partant d'une analyse critique des modèles qui traitent du rôle de l'innovation dans les carrières artistiques, cet article s'attache à montrer que l'innovation non seulement modifie le processus de production artistique mais qu'elle induit des transformations profondes dans les modèles d'affaires (c.-à-d. dans les processus de valorisation et de diffusion). Nous montrons par ailleurs l'importance d'un autre élément, celui du rapport de l'artiste à la commande. Le croisement de ces deux facteurs innovation/tradition et œuvre/commande nous conduit à proposer quatre modèles d'affaires distincts au sein desquels se déploient les carrières artistiques. Ce travail s'appuie sur une large enquête menée auprès des acteurs de l'art contemporain (diffuseurs et artistes) dans cinq agglomérations françaises.

M O T S C L É S

Modèles d'affaires, art contemporain, carrière, artiste, innovation, tradition, œuvre, projet

Results

The data were used to develop four business models spread across two trajectories. The first axis, tradition/innovation, allowed us to distinguish between two configurations supporting the analyses developed by Wijnberg and Gemser (2000) in their models for selecting talent. The analysis of the matrix of collaboration between participants revealed a dense network of experts who, through their activities, display innovation and signal quality to the market as a whole, and a sparser dealer network for those who fulfil a simple merchant role (1). The second axis completes the picture by opposing the artwork and the project. In the first case, it is the artwork that is evaluated and judged, with the merchant transaction representing final approval. In the second case, the evaluation concerns the creative process, and it is the approach that is judged and that determines whether the artist will receive production assistance, most often in the form of subsidies (2). These distinctive traits (innovation/tradition and artwork/project) lead to the emergence of four artist profiles revealing four business models and career types: the *salon* artist, the *commission* artist, the *360°* artist and the *art fair* artist (3).

Innovation Versus Tradition

The most obvious common trajectory in the business models, evident in the network analysis, interviews and discriminant analysis, appears to be the opposition between innovative and traditional art (technique). For the sake of clarity, we present this here based on the results of the network analysis (see Figure 1).

In all regions, the pattern of collaboration between actors is similar, with both a dense network of experts and a more dispersed network

of dealers. This similarity is not surprising, as it reflects the effectiveness of a given business model in evaluating quality according to whether it requires complex mediation (innovation) or simple evaluation of quality (tradition and technique).

Business models centred on innovative art

The *expert* network is organized around the heads of local institutions (Fonds Régionaux d'Art Contemporain [FRAC], schools of fine art and venues dedicated to contemporary art (museums, art institutions, etc.). What are promoted for the most part are works by artists representing researched, innovative art. A particular role is played by schools of fine art, being places of innovation where artists are trained to produce the works that will fill the exhibitions and collections of local institutions, often through the mediation of a few influential professors.

Within this network are a multitude of associations, not-for-profit galleries and artists' collectives, the majority of which have been founded through the initiative of former fine art students who, in so doing, are themselves open to innovative practices. These structures occasionally produce performance art or installations and fall within the largely non-commercial economy.

The areas of collaboration between participants and this expert network are dense. They include co-publication of catalogues, exchange of exhibitions or organization of joint exhibitions, and accommodation of artists-in-residence. This network enables artists to locate a studio, financial assistance for their projects or support to have their work distributed internationally. However, connections with the rest of the country and internationally are less dense than those within the regions, and are dependent on the mediation of key figures.

RESUMEN

A raíz de un análisis crítico de los modelos que estudian el papel de la innovación en las carreras artísticas, en este artículo se propone demostrar que la innovación no sólo modifica el proceso de producción artística, sino que también induce profundas transformaciones en los modelos empresariales, es decir, en los procesos de valorización y difusión. Se muestra además la importancia de otro elemento, el de la relación del artista con el encargo. El cruce de estos dos factores innovación y tradición por un lado y obra y encargo por el otro, nos lleva a destacar cuatro modelos empresariales diferentes dentro de los cuales evolucionan las carreras artísticas. Este trabajo se apoya sobre una importante encuesta llevada a cabo con protagonistas del arte contemporáneo (difusores y artistas) en cinco ciudades francesas.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Modelos empresariales, arte contemporáneo, carrera, artista, innovación, tradición, obra, proyecto.

Business models centred on traditional art

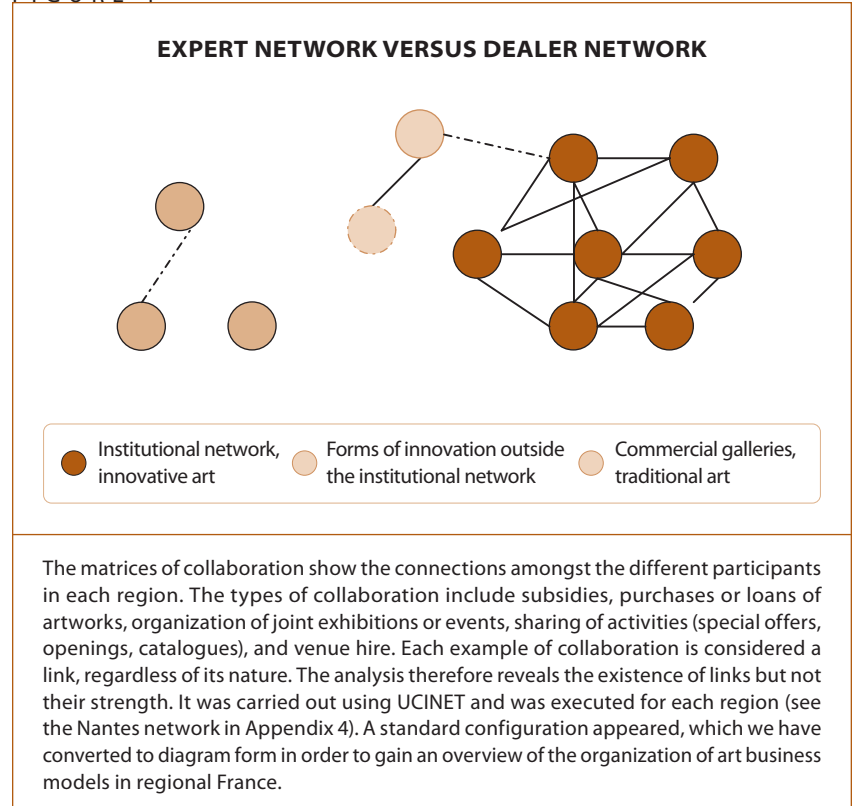
The *dealer* network, which is not connected to the expert network, is made up of galleries offering local clientele artworks that are selected mainly for the quality of their design, their emotional and decorative appeal, or their subject matter (seascapes, female nudes, etc.). Most of these galleries have a tacit local exclusivity agreement with their artists. The artists work outside the institutions and perpetuate the tradition (technique) of the *artisan*, without necessarily seeking to make a place for themselves in art history. The galleries cooperate little with each other and rarely maintain connections with institutions. The only examples of cooperation detected between these galleries are the printing of flyers distributed by tourist centres and signage at public venues. With the exception of Lyon, the art market in regional France (outside Paris) is almost exclusively represented by this segment.⁶

Artwork Versus Project

A more detailed approach to business models leads us to update a second shared trajectory of the models through the opposition of artwork and project. This distinction appeared as much in the analysis of the interview data as in the factor analysis of corresponding elements, permitting us to refine the first results obtained from the network analysis (cf. previous paragraph).

It seems that the participants involved in the business models vary according to what is offered by the artist rather than the artworks or the projects, thus giving rise to distinct career types. With an artwork, it is the final product that is subject to evaluation; the sale, and therefore the market, represents approval. For those artists who function on the basis of projects, the evaluation is made earlier in the process; it is the approach that is judged and that opens up access to production assistance. It should be noted that this antagonism between artwork and project relates to Galenson's (2009) distinction between conceptual and experimental innovation; our approach lifts the obscurity surrounding Galenson's distinction by giving it form, with tangible elements becoming involved in the production process. Moreover, our approach differs from Galenson's in that we place the emphasis not on the artists' productivity in developing their careers but, rather, on the different business models involving quality-revelation processes and distinct participants. We will now examine the characteristics associated with this distinction between artworks and projects.

FIGURE 1



Business models centred on the artwork

The art gallery is at the centre of the art economy. It serves as an intermediary between artist and buyers, whether they be institutions or private collectors. Salons, art fairs and, increasingly, auctions are complementary or alternative means of distribution to the gallery when the artist is not reduced to selling directly from his or her studio. In this system, the price of an artwork is set by the gallery based on its intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics – for example, the originality and reputation of the artist, the technique or medium used, the size of the piece and possibly how long it took to create. Galleries are distinguished less by their legal status than by the roles they play in the process of legitimizing artists' work.

Our survey data led us to identify three types of gallery: *point-of-sale*, *promotion* and *spring-board*. Note, however, that a number of exchanges take place outside of galleries.

Point-of-sale galleries fulfil the role of intermediary in art exchanges. The primary role of this type of gallery consists in hosting exhibitions and openings. Point-of-sale galleries rarely produce catalogues or participate in art fairs. They contribute little if anything to critical reviews.

They very rarely contribute to the costs associated with producing the works. When an artwork is sold, the profit is split 50-50 between the artist and the gallery, unless the artist has borne the full cost of production – as is often the case with sculpture – in which instance he or she generally receives 70% of the sale price.

An artist can be represented by several point-of-sale galleries simultaneously; a minimum of four or five galleries is often necessary to guarantee the artist a decent living. When a contract binds the artist to a gallery, it generally includes local exclusivity within a radius of 50 kilometres. Point-of-sale galleries recruit their artists through feedback from their clientele, artists' Web sites and critical reviews. Point-of-sale galleries develop few cooperation networks; they are more likely to be the terminus of a network, with the artist at the centre, than to be at the heart of a value-chain network of galleries and institutions. The majority of commercial galleries in regional France match this profile, adopting the legal status of a limited company or a limited liability company or, less often, an association.

Promotion galleries, which are sparse in regional France, primarily support researched, innovative art. For the most part, their directors have training in art history or have previously worked for a cultural institution. The gallery is part of a complex network. Cooperation is developed with galleries in Paris or abroad as well as with institutions such as museums (shared printing of catalogues, joint exhibitions and purchasing), FRACs (acquisition or exhibition), regional offices of the ministry of culture and communication (assistance with first exhibitions and printing costs, support for greater visibility at art fairs, etc.) and recognized art institutions. Insofar as their means permit them, these galleries participate in the big international events through their presence at art fairs. The curriculum vitae plays a key role in an artist's career, being no less essential than the artwork itself, because it constitutes a certificate of quality, a testament to the many stages of legitimization achieved by the artist (graduation from art school, presence at art fairs, representation by galleries, exhibition in prominent venues, etc.).

These galleries often have a shorter lifespan than point-of-sale galleries. On average, they are younger and have trouble surviving. They run a high degree of risk because they promote little-known artists with a small following and make few sales to public institutions (FRACs or regional museums). They often contribute to the

costs of producing an artwork, do not ask for contributions from the artists, and co-produce catalogues. Regional promotion galleries are vulnerable to artists transferring their loyalty to galleries whose financial means allow them to produce more ambitious works and whose reputation increases their visibility, first nationally and then internationally.

The springboard gallery is a variation of the promotion gallery. Not-for-profit in form, these galleries are frequently run by former art students, art teachers or holders of visual arts degrees. Usually non-commercial, they function for the most part on subsidies from collectives. Some springboard galleries are firmly integrated into an institutional network.

These galleries constitute a first step in the career paths of fine art graduates. Sometimes they also represent a few well-known artists with whom they try out new artistic approaches and help to finance the production stage.

The contribution of the springboard gallery to increasing the value of an artist's work consists of being near the top of the artist's curriculum vitae and helping him or her to get noticed by national or international promotion galleries. Springboard galleries collaborate on the production of catalogues (often with a public institution), contribute to the production costs of artworks and do not require any financial outlay by the artists whose work they are promoting. Exhibitions can be organized in collaboration with other springboard galleries in the region, local institutions or, to a lesser extent, national and international structures.

The promotion of artworks in regional France also takes place **outside the gallery system**, in venues from exclusive salons to restaurants or boutiques, and of course artists' studios. Whilst the volume of sales at these venues is impossible to estimate, results of the few surveys that have been conducted with restaurants exhibiting paintings suggest that it is low. The vast majority of works exhibited in this context are traditional and figurative, and, whilst more daring choices may be offered in trendy locales, pieces are always of a decorative nature. In order to sell their work, artists may also go through art agents, who can introduce them to individual art buyers and handle the logistics of participating in salons or large modern art markets. Lastly, artists' associations have their own networks for distributing their work, in the form of salons or weekend exhibitions covered by local media, during which

artists not only sell their work but also make contact with buyers whom they then invite to visit their studios.

Business models centred on the project

Whilst the artworks economy is centred on a tangible, clearly identifiable object and intercedes directly with a transaction in the marketplace, in the projects economy it is not only the final object that is evaluated but also the process or approach. In the projects economy, the challenge is not so much the sale as obtaining the financing necessary for artists to devote themselves to their work. Consequently, the agreement is limited in time and space and must be rewritten with each new project the artist undertakes in a “bit by bit” economy.

Relationships between the state, community organizations and artists are a deciding factor, and in some cases a veritable institutional economy is established, with competition amongst associations for assistance with projects proposed by public financial backers. A project can have several sponsors. Particular qualities are prized, including the ability to draw the attention of sponsors or to create favourable conditions for self-employment. Artists must be able to create employment opportunities by suggesting projects that are tailor-made for the distributors they solicit. Integration into various networks is thus an important factor in an artist's success. Artists who collaborate on projects connecting different distributors are able to build interpersonal networks, progressively guaranteeing themselves a degree of employability and therefore visibility in the region. At the centre of such networks reside a small number of artists who combine the advantages of freelance work with some regular work, whilst at the edges are found the majority of artists, who are underemployed. Each successful project increases the artist's chances of being hired again and improves his or her prospects. Thus the progress of an artist's career is partly due to his or her ability to secure projects that involve other artists and high-profile professionals. On the other hand, this can lock the artist into a circle of links with the same intermediaries, thus creating dependence on those intermediaries.

The transactions that occur take various forms. The commission of artworks is the model that is closest to the traditional art economy. Yet there are other artistic projects implemented by associations and artist communities that demand

a role in the public space. Lastly, some participants take the part of creative service providers.

Commissioned artworks, which under the Quattrocento constituted the central model of organization of the market (the work did not pre-exist the demand), still applies in regional France, particularly in the field of sculpture. The sculptors we met spoke of time spent on finding projects and responding to calls to participate in them, especially in the context of 1% of public commissions, and then, sometimes, fulfilling these commissions. These artists, who are rarely represented by galleries, maintain a network of relationships with sponsors. The presence of their works in public spaces helps them to gain recognition and secure new commissions. They also take part in an original type of commission, the Symposium of Sculpture, whereby a municipality invites and pays some 10 sculptors to create a piece *in situ* in an allotted amount of time. The resulting works either become the property of the city or are recuperated by the artist. Prices are set by quotation, with the cost of production and the artist's reputation being deciding factors.

The second transaction model characteristic of project-oriented business models is the **artistic action project**. This involves not the production of artworks but the financing of artistic performances and events in urban public spaces or in art institutions. The primary participants are associations and collectives, financed by community organizations and cultural institutions. In this model, as distinct from the commissions model, projects usually involve artists, operators and mediators in activities that have an artistic, social and political outcome.

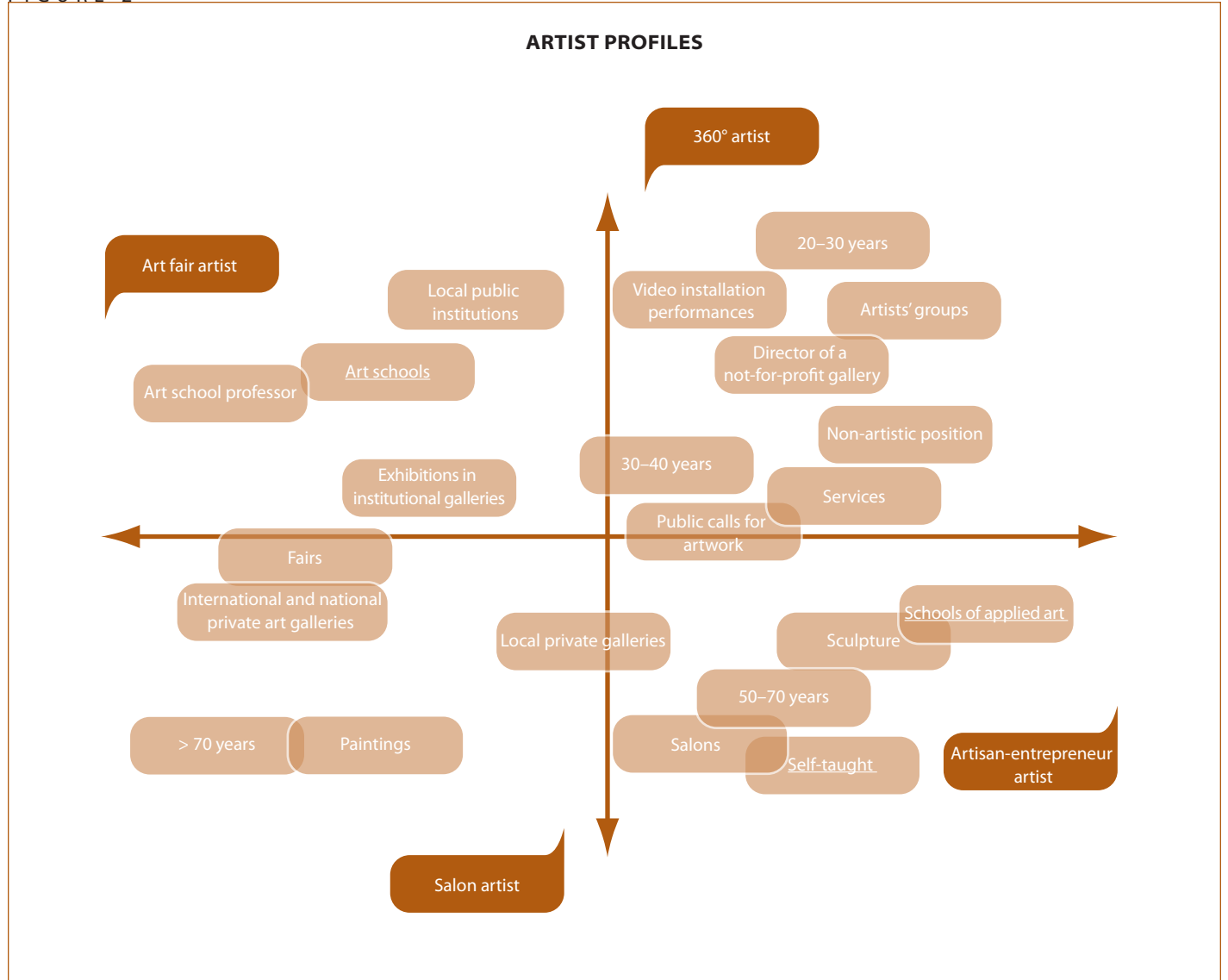
The archetype of the project consists of positioning oneself as a **creative service provider** in the local economy. Here, the organization sells “artistic know-how” to a wide range of participants, including schools and architects' studios. Of course, they also sell artworks to public and private collectors.



Business Models and Artist Profiles

The crossing of the two main lines we have highlighted, innovation *versus* technique and artworks *versus* projects, leads to four business models associated with four distinct artist types: salon, artisan-entrepreneur, 360° and art

FIGURE 2



fair. These models are summarized in Figure 2, the result of a factor analysis using the data from our artist interviews. The two main differentiating criteria for the models presented above are whether the artwork falls more into the category of innovation or into that of tradition (technique), and the degree of autonomy exercised in creating the artwork (or the project).

The business models incorporating the four artist types differ on several criteria: education and/or training, distribution sites, modes of increasing value, criteria for success during artistic evolution, sources of revenue, complementary activities, intermediation involved (dealers/institutions) and the role of communities. Table 1 shows the main characteristics of each group.

The Salon Artist

Self-taught or trained in applied or studio art (art school), the salon artist produces traditional art (technique), primarily painting or sculpture. The work acquires its value through exhibitions in point-of-sale galleries, salons and markets (such as the Grand Marché de l'Art Contemporain de Bastille), town halls, restaurants, cafés, offices or community centres. Recognition is achieved through commercial success and the artist's career is evaluated on the basis of his or her ability to sell and to exhibit in a significant number of galleries nationally and internationally. Articles in the regional or specialized press as well as prices fetched at salons are indicators of the artist's reputation.

TABLE 1

ARTIST TYPES: MAIN CHARACTERISTICS								
	Number	Painters	Sculptors	Video artists, photographers	Art school	Self-taught	Other	Institutional support
Art fair artists	27	11	2	14	22	2	3	24
360° artists	20	0	0	20	16	3	1	19
Salon artists	15	13	2	0	5	8	2	0
Artisan- entrepreneur artists	7	2	5	0	1	4	2	2
Total	69	26	9	34	44	17	8	45

Source: de Vries et al. (2011a)

Mediation between the salon artist and buyers (demand) is limited to its commercial aspect; the art gallery, salon or art market offers display opportunities. The discourse of intermediary parties about the artworks is rarely critical and is more informative and technical than descriptive: The collector is often interested in a genre (seascapes, nudes), school or group (e.g., paintings of ships). Salon artists may be very knowledgeable in their particular area of specialization. Living essentially from the sale of their work (and sometimes derivative products such as cards or event posters), they may also be engaged in supplementary activities such as offering private instruction.

The Artisan-Entrepreneur Artist

The educational background of the artisan-entrepreneur artist is similar to that of the salon artist. Often, these artists are self-taught or have been a protégé of a master at some point in their lives. Many sculptors match this profile. They must, taking the cost of their medium into account, find sources of funding before they begin work. Their work can be classified relatively easily within the context of the urban landscape, which allows them to be better placed than others in terms of commissions from local or regional governments. Photographers also fit this model.

These commission artists are entrepreneurs who may surround themselves with a team. They might offer their services to particular organizations and devote a portion of their artistic activity to these organizations, collaborate

with other artists or even delegate a part of the artistic process to someone more qualified than themselves.

They gain value for their work by responding to calls for artworks or through their ability to convince sponsors of the worth of their propositions. Mediation takes place through Web sites listing calls for participation in projects and through government departments. Some artists also become associated with architects or with public relations agencies representing industries.

Revenue sources for this type of artist include payment for orders. The artisan-entrepreneur artist may also engage in supplementary activities such as selling reproduction rights or giving private classes.

The 360° Artist

The 360° artist, like the artisan-entrepreneur artist, responds to calls for participation in projects and commissions. However, this artist's creativity is not necessarily manifested in the production of an artwork in the usual sense of the term (painting or sculpture); it can take the form of a performance, ephemeral artistic representation, installation, or audiovisual or mixed-media presentation. In contrast to the artisan-entrepreneur, the 360° artist is engaged in innovative art and has received applied art or fine art training from one of the great art schools.

These artists gain value for their work by responding to calls for artworks but also through training they may provide and various services they may offer (designing Web sites, managing

exhibitions or venues, etc.). The 360° artist is often involved in artist groups and sometimes provides advice to businesses.

There are many places where 360° artists can distribute their work (galleries, public spaces, businesses, etc.), because it does not necessarily result in a piece of art as such. Criteria for success depend on the size and diversity of the network the artist has built up. In other words, the degree of centrality of the artist's network is an indicator of his or her success. A limitation of this model is its strong roots in one location, which restricts its export possibilities. In terms of promoting the artist's work, mediation by institutions is strong, that by art dealers more moderate. The role of communities is decisive: They are the suppliers of information, are part of the network and offer commissions.

The Art Fair Artist

Although they do produce innovative art, art fair artists essentially create pieces that appeal to collectors or institutions. The representation of their work at large international art fairs constitutes an important step in their gaining recognition. Whilst some are self-taught, their education is primarily in fine art.

Due to its innovative nature, evaluating the quality of the work produced by art fair artists requires expertise at the intersection of the art dealer and the institution: Curators play a central role in this mediation, along with art institutions, FRACs and large collectors. The artist's success depends on his or her sales record (both private and public sales), representation at art fairs and auctions, presence in museums and collections, and criticism. The main source of income is the sale of works, but revenue also comes from art instruction, most often within the network of schools of fine art.



Conclusion

The goal of this study was to shed light on how career paths play out in the art world. Based on the results of a survey of participants in the art scene in five areas of France, we developed a typology of artistic business models. Two criteria, one referring to novelty (innovation versus tradition) and the other to process (artwork versus project), enabled us to identify four business models associated with the roles of salon

artist, artisan-entrepreneur artist, 360° artist and art fair artist. For salon and entrepreneur artists, commercial success is the primary criterion for recognition, whilst 360° and art fair artists develop a researched and innovative form of art and must receive their legitimacy from institutions before being able to claim any kind of commercial success.

This situation calls for very different promotional strategies. Salon artists can increase their sales through a network of galleries specializing in a genre or subject (seascapes, nudes) located in city centres amongst design-oriented businesses. Artisan-entrepreneurs derive their reputation from their local networks, which allow them to capture public sales. Those artists falling into the 360° group also draw their resources from their local roots. Nevertheless, in order to get to market they must pass through local art institutions. Finally, art fair artists need to develop links with local art institutions early in their careers; they can enter the international contemporary art market when their works are exhibited by an influential promotion gallery.

Although these classifications do not cover all of the approaches or backgrounds that define an artist's work, they do offer a new perspective on artistic careers and on the speed at which some participants may find themselves front and centre on the artistic stage. In particular, the increasingly early success of artists practising researched art, the recognition of which depends largely on signals given by experts and institutions rather than on the art market, raises the question of the responsibility of public players in developing the market and its values.

Notes

1. In particular he shows how Picasso, considered by Galenson to be the archetype of the innovative conceptual artist, could in some respects be placed in the other category.
2. "According to the nomenclature hypothesis, it is possible to describe an ensemble of things, considered to be goods or merchandise, prior to any proposition concerning the society" (Benetti and Cartelier, 1980, p. 94).
3. An expert is a person who, by virtue of his or her knowledge and judgement, is able to spot talent.
4. Dealers or those in charge of associations, institutions or trusteeships. See Appendix 1 for characteristics of the sample.
5. This work is summarized in De Vries et al. (2011a).
6. Note that between these two extremes are several hybrid configurations. For example, a creative artist might work with conventional tools such as canvas. Also, a significant part of the local artistic economy is active outside of the gallery system.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEWS, BY LOCATION AND TYPE OF ACTOR				
	Rouen-Le Havre	Montpellier	Nantes	Lyon
Commercial galleries	10	7	8	18
Not-for-profit galleries	9	8	6	9
State, regional and local authorities	5	4	6	3
Art institutions (FRAC, art schools, museums, art centres)	8	5	6	6
Others (agents, associations, trustees, collectors, critics)	5	5	8	4
TOTAL	36	28	33	37

APPENDIX 2

ARTISTS, BY REGION AND CHARACTERISTICS		
	Number	%
City		
Rouen-Le Havre	18	26
Lyon	18	26
Montpellier	20	29
Nantes	13	19
Gender		
Men	57	83
Women	11	16
Couple	1	1
Training		
School of fine art	44	64
Other art school	8	11
Self-taught	17	25
Age (years)		
Under 40	18	26
40 to 60	35	50
Over 60	16	24
Principal medium		
Painting, drawing, collage	27	39
Sculpture	8	11
Photography	5	7
Video art	14	20
Mixed media	15	22
Total	69	100

FACTORIAL ANALYSIS OF ARTISTS' PROFILES	
Variables of the factorial analysis	
Gender	V3
Age (years)	V4 20–30; V5 30–40; V6 40–50; V7 50–60; V8 60–70; V9 70–80; V10 80–90
Principal medium	V11 painting; V12 sculpture; V13 photography; V14 video; V15 mixed media
Training	V16 fine arts; V17 applied arts; V18 other schools; V19 self-taught
Institutionalization	V20 FRAC purchase; V21 DRAC support
Other activity	V22 teacher at a fine arts school; V23 teacher at other art school; V24 other jobs; V25 no other job
Gallery attendance	V26 local commercial gallery; V27 local not-for-profit gallery; V28 national or international gallery
To fulfil a commission	V29 public commission; V30 delivery service
Local recognition	V31 managing a place, running an association; V32 member of a collective
Exhibition venues	V33 salons; V34 fairs; V35 certified venues; V36 international exhibitions
Artists' profile typology encoded from interviews	-21 art fair artists; -22 360° artists; -23 salon artists (shows); -24 artisan-entrepreneur artists

