

**Art World Hegemony and Access:**  
**Competing Perspectives on the Value of**  
**The Creative Class**

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## Abstract

The Art World exhibits properties of organisational exclusivity that is not captured by extant studies. In utilising Bourdieu's theoretical position and methodological toolbox of *field*, *habitus* and *capital* this study engages in the competing perspectives on the value of the Creative Class within the current Art World structure. In addition to the application of Bourdieusian field theory, a new, non-hierarchical ideal-type typology was created in this work. This was done with the intention of separating the Creative Class from the consumers of their works and to examine the needs of and opportunities for creative producers. In doing so, this classification underpinned the extent of competing perspectives on the value of their habitus and capital. In addition to an overview of the structure of the Art World, empirical data was collected regarding the perceptions of the Creative Class regarding their career trajectories within the Art World. A sample of Fine Arts Graduates holding either a Bachelors and/or Masters of Fine Arts were used for the empirical aspects of this study. Moreover, evidence of significant barriers is drawn from the analysis of these data. The analysis also demonstrates the complicity of actors in blocking Art World access; however, the data highlight that these barriers are both structural and self-inflicted. Additionally, these barriers to the Art World were posited in this work to have a direct impact on the economic opportunities for the Creative Class, and this study explores new strategies to redirect the economic participation of the Creative Class into other areas of opportunity. The corollary of this is opening up ways to support the Creative Class such as the use of digital technologies. Through deconstructing the Art World, the thesis explains why and how the Art World is limiting. This led to the outcome of the research: locating where the breakdown is within the structure of the Art World and who is contributing to it. Through examining why, how and where the barriers are, the study offers a way to reconcile the current limitations to access to the Art World.

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**Acronyms and Definitions:**

ACCD: Art Center College of Design

BA: Bachelor of Arts

BFA: Bachelor of Fine Arts

MA: Master of Arts

RCA: Royal College of Art

SIP: Similar Interest People

SNAAP: Strategic National Arts Alumni Project

UAL: University of the Arts London

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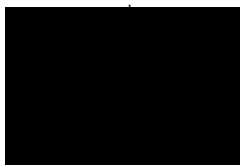
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**Declaration:**

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed



Dated

16 August 2019

## **Original Contributions to Knowledge**

The contributions to knowledge from this study are:

1. The deconstruction and definition of the Art World through an application of Bourdieu's field theory and Three-Level Analysis (as per Grenfell and Hardy, 2007).
2. A classification and examination of the fields of the Art World which underpin the key issues experienced by the Creative Class.
3. The generation of an Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class which provides an expanded understanding of the intersections between the fields of the Art World and the capital and habitus of the Creative Class.
4. The development of a survey tool to engage with the ideal career narrative as put forth by Thornton (2008). The data from the survey highlight that one of the key barriers to the Art World is the misrecognition of the capital of the Creative Class both by the structures of the Art World *and by the Creative Class themselves*.

This research is a contribution to the existing literature Bourdieu's field theory (i.e. field, habitus and capital) as well as the broader literature on the Art World and its relationship with the Creative Class and their artistic careers. This is done by applying Bourdieu's field theory and his Three-Level Analysis to the structures and agents within the Art World, including the Creative Class. Firstly the study investigates how the Art World is positioned within the larger societal context. Following this, the study deconstructs the internal structure of the Art World into its constituent fields by reviewing a selected body of literature vis-a-vis the fields of the Art World as conceptualised by this work. In applying the Bourdieusian lens, a comprehensive categorisation of the Art World system is possible. Using Bourdieu's concept of fields to categorise the literature on the Art World establishes the organisational structure and its operational limits in a unique way. The final aspect of this study is to identify the habitus and capital of the Creative Class as they interact with the structures of the Art World. After reviewing the literature, an inclusive, non-hierarchical Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class is developed to illustrate how the habitus and capital of three main categories of agents within the Creative Class interact with the fields of the Art World. This new classification also contributes to knowledge from other established methods. Additionally, the use of

Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and robust methodology underpin the key issues experienced by the Creative Class in their dialectical relationship with the Art World.

Additionally, it is within this third level of analysis that directly engages with the empirical aspects of this study. A survey questionnaire is deployed in order to engage with the subjective perceptions and understandings of the Creative Class as they operate within the ideal career narrative as put forth by Sarah Thornton (2008). The outcomes of the survey outline the perceptions of Creative Class regarding their experience of exclusion from the Art World and its effect on their creative practice. The analysis of the dataset confirms that the individuals of the sample were unable to identify the economic value of their own social and cultural capital. This internal misrecognition of capital directly contributes to the economic inequality within the Art World. Moreover, in engaging with Thornton's ideal career narrative, the data highlight that throughout the sample's career trajectory, many of the respondents are unable to progress further than producing creative works. Identifying the contribution of the internal misrecognition of the capital of the Creative Class to their economic outcomes is an innovative position from which to address the persistent inequity within the Art World.



## Chapter One: Introduction: And I Said ‘Hey, What’s Going On?’

### **1.1 Houston, We Have A Problem**

When one thinks of the Arts, often what comes to mind is a romanticised archaic connotation of the ‘starving artist,’ an unfortunate, hapless soul, whose love of the craft triumphs over all logic or reason. They are also misrepresented as lone geniuses: their talent, inspiration, and creation all deriving from great masters (Young, 2006). Rarely, however, does anyone bother to think of the why of it, and when they do, their assessment is often naive or incomplete. It may be true that those who practise within the Arts are economically disadvantaged, and it may be from a staunch refusal to participate in normative economic life, or, perhaps, there is a deeper, more insidious reason, unrelated to the creative spirit. Perhaps the reason for the disproportionate poverty amongst those who create art is due to the structural inequities that abound within the world of art itself. The work presented here posits that in fact, both may be true.

The main focus of study in this work is on the Creative Class, who are, as defined for this research, an expanded classification of ‘artists’ as “not necessarily someone who sells a bunch of objects through a fancy gallery. An artist thinks about culture through visual means. Sometimes it’s thinking about culture through any means possible, but it’s rooted in the visual” (Thomas Lawson in Thornton, 2008, p. 64); ‘craftsmen’ as defined by Richard Sennett (2008); as well as incorporates the more inclusive grouping of ‘artists’ proposed by Howard Becker (2008); and appropriates the term ‘creative class’ coined by Scott Timberg (2015) to describe a comprehensive and holistic grouping of skilled creative practitioners.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, for the purposes of this research, the Creative Class is defined as *those who make, and those who contribute to the making of, creative works.*<sup>2</sup> The Art World, defined here, are *all institutions, and people in elite positions within the structure of the Art World that the Creative Class must work through or with, in order to maintain their*

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<sup>1</sup> Timberg defines the creative class as “anyone who helps create or disseminate culture” (Timberg, 2015, p. 10) and Becker defines artists as anyone “producing patterns of collective [art related] activity” (Becker, 2008, p. 1). Craftsmen/Craftsman, when used, refers to Sennett’s definition and is not gender specific or gender exclusive.

<sup>2</sup> There is extensive literature that debates the differences between artists, artisans, artistes, and craftspeople (for example, please see Alexander and Bowler, 2014). This thesis does not seek to enter this debate and will refer to all of these together as the Creative Class.

*practice, and gain legitimacy and recognition for it.* Where previous work has either focused entirely on the structure of the Art World in a descriptive way (Buck and Dodd, 1991; Berger, 1972), or on those who labour (with love) in the Arts (Barthes, 1982; Bachelard, 1994), this work transcends levels of analysis in order to outline a systematic overview of the Art World, from the top to the bottom, and discusses how this structure directly impacts the career trajectories of the Creative Class in order to identify areas of opportunity for economic development within the Art World, by and for the Creative Class.

In examining the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class, this research argues that working through and with the Art World has been the traditional method of pursuing economic opportunities for the Creative Class; however, as the Art World is operationally exclusive, it erects barriers to gaining entry. In order to support this line of argumentation, this dissertation draws on the sociological theory of Pierre Bourdieu. This is because:

Bourdieu's sociology is critical first of inherited categories and accepted ways of thinking and of the subtle forms of rule wielded [...] in the name of culture and rationality. Next, it is critical of established patterns of power and privilege as well as of the politics that supports them. Undergirding the double critique is an explanatory account of the manifold processes whereby the social order masks its arbitrariness and perpetuates itself by extorting from the subordinate practical acceptance of, if not willed consent to, its existing hierarchies (Wacquant, 2006, p. 264).

Bourdieu's social theory, therefore, provides a strong methodological position from which to combine both a structural analysis with mixed methods research. Contributions to the body of knowledge on the central problematic of Bourdieu's sociology are made in this research by deconstructing the Art World into its various structures, and by centring the Creative Class and their experiences and perceptions within it. Fine Arts Graduates, holding either a Bachelors and/or Masters of Fine Arts, from Art Center College of Design (ACCD), who graduated between 1990 and 2015, are the main sample used for the empirical aspects of this dissertation. In surveying Fine Arts Graduates, it becomes more transparent to see how the structures of the Art World are perceived, internalised and operationalised by members of the Creative Class. Moreover, graduates are well educated, trained, and skilled; however, evidence suggests they lack secure and stable employment

opportunities (TBR, 2016; Ball, Pollard, and Stanley, 2010). This conundrum is a byproduct of where the current focus lies within the Art World, that is on the output of Creatives, not on the Creatives themselves, and therefore new strategies must be developed to redirect economic participation by the Creative Class into other areas of opportunity. Additionally, an Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class is suggested in this work. This typology does not imply a hierarchy, but is used to illustrate how the Creative Class is classified within the Art World structures. It draws on the definitions of ‘artist’ and ‘craftsmen’ discussed above, and incorporates structural effects into these definitions. It goes beyond this traditional rigid dichotomy and points to a previously unrecognised fluidity in the classifications of cultural producers within the Art World. Outlining the current Art World is key to understanding the economic limitations faced by the Creative Class. The structure of the Art World, and more importantly its hierarchical nature, its rigidity, and its disconnect from the Creative Class are all contributing factors. By identifying these issues, the Creative Class is refocused into the centre of the Art World, and a more holistic view of the Art World and its participants is developed.

The following work is an ambitious treatise on the relationship between the Art World and Creative Class that heretofore did not exist. The work is divided into six chapters, this introduction, followed by a literature review in Chapter Two. Chapter Three discusses the methodology employed by this research; Chapter Four is the analysis of findings. This is followed by Chapter Five which is the discussion of the research, and this work concludes with Chapter Six, the recommendations and conclusions of this work. The next section is a brief, reflexive moment where the author discusses her position within this research.<sup>3</sup> Following this, a more robust definition of the Creative Class is introduced. Section 1.2 reveals the research questions that guide the empirical aspects of this research. Section 1.3 introduces some of Bourdieu’s main theoretical concepts; defines the Art World and its operationalisation within the larger social world; and provides the necessary

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<sup>3</sup> Reflexivity, and situating oneself within the research programme, is very important to Bourdieu in the execution of good social research, and in mitigating researcher bias (Wacquant, 2006). Section 1.1.1 here is the attempt to fulfil this requirement.

theoretical context for understanding the layout of the dissertation going forward. This section ends with the typology of the Creative Class.

### *1.1.1: Connecting the Researcher to the Researched*

In general, Arts School Graduates do not make money. I know this because as a Fine Arts Graduate, I have experienced many rejections when trying to gain entry into the Art World. Through my professional career I reflected on the utility of my education, an Art Center College of Design graduate, and the preparation given to students for the realities of the life of the artist. A direct contribution to the disconnect when transitioning from student to professional artist was the notion of the Rite of Passage. Sarah Thornton (2008) explained this concept in her book *Seven Days in the Art World*:

an ideal career narrative that starts with graduation from a respected art school and culminates with a solo retrospective in a major museum, prizes are important plot points, clarifying an artist's cultural worth, providing prestige, and pointing to the potential for long-lasting greatness (p. 111).

This process continued to be confirmed during my MA studies at Central St. Martins College of Art. My experience was confirmed when few of my contemporaries from both my undergraduate and graduate classes managed to reconcile the gap between finishing school and the culmination of a major solo retrospective. To put it plainly, we, the alumni from respected art schools could not and did not know how to find gallery representation. Ironically, the nature of education for Albers, as per Horowitz (2006) is:

to teach students to be creative, self reliant, independent; to teach students to bring the conscious mind to bear on the task at hand; to regard restrictions as challenges and to question assumptions; to recognize the uniqueness of any given situation; always to be alert and receptive to serendipitous events; to teach students to actually see what they were looking at (p. 7).

Despite the developed skills and knowledge, it did not enable me to find work effectively post graduation. Faced with the dilemma of securing financial opportunities, we, the alumni, realised that wanting to practise full-time as an artist was simply impossible. The barriers were apparent. The realities of a trained artist seeking full-time employment were bleak.

A direct contribution is twofold. Firstly, my lack of recognition in the skills and knowledge acquired. Secondly, due to the nature of tacit knowledge, employers were hesitant with a candidate with two Fine Arts Degrees as my skills and knowledge could not be presented concretely. In other words, the value of this artist was not to be recognised externally despite receiving a formal education from two respected art schools. This research was conducted as a way to recognise and validate those, like myself, who have endlessly tried to gain access to the Art World and are unable to see their value.

As many artists before myself, we have become a cog in the wheel and we have volunteered to power the mechanisms within the Art World. The cycle of strength and dominance of the Art World paired with the maintain and struggle process of the Creative Class is the perfect storm. However, as Bourdieu says:

The fact remains that the cultural producers are able to use the power conferred on them, especially in periods of crisis, by their capacity to put forward a critical definition of the social world, to mobilize the potential strength of the dominated classes and subvert the order prevailing in the field of power (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 324).

Ultimately, it is from my training that I was able to finally draw on my knowledge and skills to redirect my efforts into finding solutions for this dilemma. My self and my fellow members of the Creative Class are uniquely positioned within the Art World, to challenge these structural inequalities and critique the social world in which we are embedded.

### *1.1.2: Some Quick Words About the Creative Class*

It is imperative to discuss the Creative Class and their role within the Art World. The Creative Class are the primary and supporting persons who have the knowledge, obtained formally or informally, to make creative works and they “feed an important part of our expressive life, the world of ideas, sounds, and images that greet us everyday” (Ivey, 2008. p. 58). Much of the literature within the sociology of art treat artists and craftsmen as separate from each other; however, there is a symbiotic and intrinsic connection between artists and craftsmen: the works and skills of craftsmen are utilised and contribute to works by artists, including works that are classified as fine art by those in the Art World (Fox, 2015). Therefore this thesis combines those

considered by the Art World as artists with those considered craftsmen, alongside all other supporting actors essential to the production and making of creative works as the “image of the lone creative genius is mostly a relic” (Timberg, 2015, p. 10).

An inclusive and diverse definition of the Creative Class is used throughout this dissertation. As one subsection of the Creative Class, Fine Arts Graduates are uniquely positioned within the Art World as active practitioners. They possess a diversity of knowledge, education and skill best applied within it, and are the main focus of this research. Depending on their area of specialisation and expertise, those holding a BFA or MFA have, under the traditional definitions, been regarded as artists, or craftsmen, or both, or neither. As this research is actively centred around the Creative Class, Fine Arts Graduates are used as exemplars of the Creative Class as a whole.<sup>4</sup> Through research into Fine Arts Graduates, the related issue of their lack of economic participation is brought to the fore. Fine Arts Graduates, while highly educated and skilled, are generally undervalued in society, despite the fact that their contribution to the overall health of societies is invaluable. As Timberg (2015) notes, that as enrollment “numbers sink, the foundation for culture itself, and for the creative class that makes a living in and around culture, comes down [...] Literature, art, dance, and everything else depends on [Arts students]” (p. 212). In order to understand the intersection between education and skill of the Creative Class and their economic outcomes, the next section leads into the research questions that guide this work.

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<sup>4</sup> Going forward, Fine Arts Graduates and the Creative Class will be used interchangeably throughout this work unless otherwise indicated.

## 1.2 So What's the Question?

In order to address the related issues of the hegemony of the Art World over access to its structure, and the competing perspectives on the value of the Creative Class this research asks the overarching question of *to what extent have Fine Art Graduates been able to access the Art World post-graduation?* In order to understand the mechanisms of access, the following sub-questions guided the work:

1. How does the Creative Class interpret the legitimation and evaluation assigned by the Art World?
2. How does the Creative Class' interpretation of the Art World's legitimation and evaluation impact their creative career?
3. How do the Art World's rules affect the creative production of the Creative Class?
4. How do the Art World's rules impact economic opportunities of the Creative Class?
5. What are the strategies employed and opportunities available to the Creative Class who meet some but not all of the Art World's criteria?

In order to answer these questions, this study engages with two main theoretical aspects as per Bourdieu:

- A. a comprehensive deconstruction of the Art World into its constituent *fields*; and
- B. a discussion of the *habitus* and *capital* of the Creative Class as they interact with the Art World.

These aspects combined illustrate both sides of the relationship, establishing a full and comprehensive picture in order to dissect the intersecting point(s) within this complex social world. This leads into an introduction to the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, and the role of the Art World within larger society. While this role is not actively discussed throughout the dissertation, it is essential to situate the Art World in terms of its value in society at large. Additionally, the following section will introduce some of Bourdieu's key concepts, which are essential for understanding this dissertation going forward.

### 1.3 Whatcha Gonna Do About It? Introducing Bourdieu's Theory and Methodology

#### 1.3.1 *The Art World is a System within a System*

The Art World is, at its core, in its own little world. For Bourdieu, his interest in the sociology of art was predicated on the way society was forming in the postwar years. He believed the “classical sociological idea that modern societies are [...] differentiated into distinct spheres of practice” (Schmitz, Witte and Gengnagel, 2017, p. 51) and developed his concept of *field*. Fields “designate arenas where specific forms of capital are produced, invested, exchanged, and accumulated” (Swartz, 1996, p. 78).<sup>5</sup> He further expanded the concept of fields to include segments of social space he calls *social fields* which “exhibit a specific structure, produce specific internal interests and are characterized by a relative autonomy from society as a whole” (Schmitz et al., 2017, p. 51). As such, for Bourdieu, the Art World has a unique role as a social field within a modern society.<sup>6</sup> Bourdieu recognised that as modern Western societies prospered, social hierarchies were being conserved not by the traditional ways of aristocratic societies, but by an accumulation of what he called *cultural capital*, that is, the acquisition of educational credentials, as well as knowledge of, and familiarity with, bourgeois culture (Wacquant, 2006). As per Sulkunen (1982):

It is this incessantly changing pattern of cultural forms of domination, competition for power and prestige that constitutes the problematic of Bourdieu's sociology. It is a critical programme, astoundingly revealing a struggle between social groups where we might least expect it: in the practice of photography, attendance of art museums, musical tastes, leisure patterns, selection of foods on the dinner table, clothes, sports, etc. In all these areas the cultural patterns reveal an expression of a contest for position, a distinction from others as a possessor of taste - and of power (p.106).

Therefore, from the outside, the Art World appears to be the place where artists create and sell work; it is the space from which tangible cultural artefacts are created.

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<sup>5</sup> Bourdieu reformulated Marx's concept of capital and posited that “many different forms of capital exist, from material (physical, economic) to non-material (cultural, symbolic, social)” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2003, p. 616). This conceptualisation is discussed in more depth throughout this thesis, but most specifically in Chapters Two and Three.

<sup>6</sup> Bourdieu considers the social field where the Art World is situated as part of the *field of cultural production*; however, for the purposes of clarity, throughout this dissertation this social space is referred to as the Art World. The theoretical parameters of the field of cultural production are discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.



Yet to the untrained eye, it is undetectable that the Art World is also a point of convergence where its constituent institutions and practitioners collide with the elites who claim hegemony over the upper echelons of society. The Art World, for Bourdieu, contains co-conspirators of the unequal socio-economic relations within society, and is vital for maintaining the dominance of the elites.

For Bourdieu, “‘free’ artistic production and consumption are actually a struggle for power between and within classes. At the heart of this struggle is the field of art itself, which achieved autonomy from religion, economy and politics in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries” (Young, 2006, p. 30). The (mostly) autonomous Art World has subsequently become a crucial aspect of an unequal society as its institutions and practitioners fulfill society’s need for cultural production and consumption. Because Bourdieu gives the Art World such a high place in the mundane functioning of everyday life; it is the field whereby the problematic of bourgeoisie dominance in taste and culture is generated (Bourdieu, 1984); it is a culturally accepted and objectively existing social fact that requires closer scrutiny than currently afforded in other work.

Therefore, if the Art World is the filter through which culture is consumed, and its structural position within the outside world is defined as being the intermediary for culture that is relatively unaffected by larger society, it is also a factor in the class conflict found at a more general societal level.<sup>7</sup> The Creative Class, however, are caught in-between as they possess the knowledge and skill to create and produce the cultural assets required for this larger competition to play out. Artists, and more generally the Creative Class, are taught to be ‘perpetrators’ of the class divisions found within the broader society through subtle forms of ‘indoctrination’ by the Art World which “rests on the mythology of the ‘pure’ artwork and artist, *divorced from society*” (Young, 2006, p. 30, emphasis mine). From this paradox, the Creative Class

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<sup>7</sup> The discussion of how the Art World contributes to class conflict in overall society is beyond the purview of this work. This dissertation is concerned with how the Art World encourages and manifests this ‘class’ conflict within its own boundaries. For more on Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of the role of the Art World in overall society, please see Bourdieu, 1984. For studies that discuss the Art World and its relationship with the field of power, please see, for example Alexander, 2014, 2018; Thornton, 2008; Grenfell and Hardy, 2007; Arts Council 2019; Ball et al. 2010; and McAndrew, 2018.

became the gatekeepers of the knowledge and skill required to have mastery of artistic cultural capital:

Artists [...] possess a cultural capital which gives them a 'key' to the language(s) of art. For them the aesthetic experience has meaning and significance as such, it is its own function. They can place the works of art, of whatever sort, in a context of pre-learned classifications, which renders them an autonomous readability independent of any practical use to which they might be put (Sulkunen, 1982, pp. 111-112).

Yet the Creative Class, more often than not, do not reap the economic benefits of their position. This is because the Art World maintains its position as arbiters of taste by fuelling inequality and hierarchy within its own little world. The Art World, as noted by Dempster (2009):

is a world that, while priding itself on innovation and rebellion, is in fact highly structured and conformist. Relationships between people are hierarchical, and 'play on status anxieties'. Strict rules of engagement are designed to uphold existing norms and practices [...] [where] 'artists should wear stripes like generals so everyone knows their rank'. Rather than one that is fluid and dynamic, [it is] a regimented and highly ordered world where people know their place and jostle to move up and down the ladder (p. 314).

It is this in-house inequality that is the crux of the issue within this dissertation.

Bourdieu's sociology of the Art World, therefore, is defined by "an approach which will be applicable to both artistic consumption and production. However, this also includes all elements within the artistic field and the relationship between the two" (Grenfell and Hardy, 2008, p. 49). It has "both a substantial problematic and a methodological point of view" (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 105) from which to look at the structures of inequality within the Art World. As per Sulkunen (1982), Bourdieu's "problematic consists in revealing and bringing to light the hidden forms of domination that are consciously and unconsciously reproduced in everyday life" (p. 105). The Art World contains within its structure the same hierarchies and inclination towards domination that exists in the political or economic structures found in modern societies. As per Kirschbaum (2012):

Bourdieu envisions the overlapping of fields in the social milieu. As a consequence, for Bourdieu, the way that capital flows within and between fields denotes the degree that they are autonomous (or heteronomous) in relation to each other. The embeddedness of fields and the respective flows of capitals impose a homology across all fields in a given society. From that perspective, Bourdieu defends the idea that different fields' inner power logics will be not only comparable, but also quite similar (p. 6).

In order for there to be similar power logics, Bourdieu sees society as possessing “a “meta-field”, the field of power that regulates the relationship among the different kinds of capital” (Kirschbaum, p. 6) and this is the field against which all other fields are identified. In order to complete any study using Bourdieu’s theory, “one must objectively relate each *specific field’s* autonomy to the *field of power* – i.e. the dominant power structure in society as a whole must be identified in the first step of field construction” (Schmitz et al, 2017, p. 54, emphasis in original). Field construction, for Bourdieu, is described as follows:

The boundary of the field is a stake of struggles, and the social scientist’s task is not to draw a dividing-line between the agents involved in it, by imposing a so-called operational definition, which is most likely to be imposed on him by his own prejudices or presuppositions, but to describe a state (long-lasting or temporary) of these struggles and therefore of the frontier delimiting the territory held by the competing agents. One could thus examine the characteristics of this boundary, which may or may not be institutionalized, i.e. protected by conditions of entry that are tacitly and practically required (such as a certain cultural capital) or explicitly codified and legally guaranteed (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 324)

In other words, in order to meet this requirement, this dissertation is not drawing tidy boxes around the institutions and participants of the Art World, it is describing the nature of the fields that comprise it and thus the boundaries where conflict lies within it. Ultimately all boundaries in the Art World are relatively fluid, and it is very much the dynamic relationship between the fields and agents that comprise it, that forms the entirety. How one delineates these fields is fortunately also described by Bourdieu, as he provides a method for his madness. The following section provides a brief overview of this method, and how it is applied throughout this dissertation.

### *1.3.2 Bourdieu’s Three Level Analysis, In Brief*

In order to engage with Bourdieu’s theory and methodology one must realise his sociology comes not only with a theoretical point of view, but he also includes a method for applying his ideas. As such, this dissertation will use, from the outset within its various chapters, Bourdieu’s three levels of analysis (Table 1.1). The first step in this analytical process is to recognise the overarching field of power within a

society, and then position the field of study against it (Wacquant, 2006; Grenfell and Hardy, 2007; Schmitz et al., 2017). As discussed in the previous section, the field of power is the societal arena in which the rates of exchange between forms of capital are contested, “the relative strength(s) of specific forms of capital in relation to each other are fought over, as well as the conflicting principles of hierarchization of the individual fields” (Schmitz et al, 2017, p. 54) are manifested. In other words, the field of power is where economic decisions are made and hierarchies are built. As we have seen in the previous section, the Art World is uniquely positioned against the overarching field of power within modern societies because it has been granted near total autonomy to determine the value and composition of capital within itself. While it is argued here that the Art World mimics a class structure within it, the capital it values is different from that of the outside world. In writing this paragraph the first requirement of Bourdieu’s method is completed.

The next step involves

a mapping out of the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents of institutions (art galleries, museums, art schools) who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which the artistic field is a site (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007, p. 118).

The literature review that follows this chapter has been divided into the fields of the Art World, in order to do just that. This work posits that there are five main fields within the Art World that comprise its objective structure. Moreover, the Art World itself, due to its relative autonomy, possesses within it its own internal field of power, against which all other fields are analysed. This is because “the concept of field of power offers a necessary and productive starting point for the analysis of the interdependent power relations at work both within and between fields” (Schmitz et al, 2017, p. 51). In addition to this internal field of power, the literature has been divided into four additional fields: the field of education, the field of capital, the field of technology and the field of commerce. Each field has its own role within the Art World, and together they comprise the objective structure.

The final step in Bourdieu’s method is to analyse the subjective experiences, understandings and perceptions of the people who comprise the Art World. It is from

this level of analysis that the empirical aspects of this study are revealed. This is because “to explain any social event or pattern, one must inseparably dissect both the social constitution of the agent and the makeup of the particular social universe within which she operates as well as the particular conditions under which they come to encounter and impinge upon each other” (Wacquant, 2006, p. 269). The social constitution of an agent is referred to by Bourdieu as their *habitus*. Habitus has a unique place in Bourdieu’s methodological toolbox

because it allows researchers to explain how and why social agents conceive and (re)construct the social world in which they are inserted. With habitus, Bourdieu tried to access internalised behaviours, perceptions, and beliefs that individuals carry with them and which, in part, are translated into the practices they transfer to and from the social spaces in which they interact. Habitus is thus more than accumulated experience; it is a complex social process in which individual and collective ever-structuring dispositions develop in practice to justify individuals’ perspectives, values, actions and social positions. Just as importantly, habitus can be seen as much as an agent of continuity and tradition as it can be regarded as a force of change (Costa and Murphy, 2015, pp. 3-4).

Essentially, habitus is operationalised capital that manifests itself as behaviours, perceptions and beliefs about the social world. It is from this analysis of the Creative Class’ habitus that this research reveals the complex relationship with the Art World. Additionally, it is the habitus and capital of the Creative Class that form the foundation of the ideal-type typology of the Creative Class put forth by this work. The following section highlights this typology

*Table 1.1: Bourdieu's Three-Level Analysis, Applied*

<b>Three-Level Analysis</b>	<b>Chapter/Section</b>	<b>Key Concept</b>
Level 1 - Positioning the field against the field of power	Chapter One, Section 1.3.1 and 1.3.2	The Art World is a relatively autonomous social field within larger society with its own internal field of power that determines the value and strength of the various capital within it. Its relationship to the larger social sphere is mitigated by its role in society as the arbiters of culture, and the generators and holders of this knowledge.
Level 2 - mapping out of the objective structure of relations competing for the legitimate form of specific authority	Chapter Two, Literature Review	The Art World is divided into fields, and the boundaries of these fields are the sites of struggle within the Art World.
Level 3 - analysis of the habitus and the trajectory of agents within the field	Chapter Four, Analysis of Findings	Understanding the perceptions of the Creative Class, and identifying their perceptions on the misrecognition of their habitus and capital.

### *1.3.3 The Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class*

In order to address the restrictive classifications within the Art World a non-hierarchical typology of the Creative Class is used. This is based on the works of Bourdieu (1984, 1986); Thornton (2007); Becker (2008); Timberg (2015); Thorsby (2001); and Cavalli (2009). Currently the Creative Class is conceptualised within the Art World through systemic categorisation based on parameters set through the governing structures. A reconfiguration of this conceptualisation is necessary to reexamine the current categorical and hierarchical practices within the system for the purposes of encompassing all creative persons within the Art World, including those who have previously been excluded. This approach is essential to the framework of this dissertation. This reconfiguration works within the current operations of the Art World but allows for adjustments in the focus of operations. This research typology has divided the Creative Class into three groups based on six key contributing factors. These are: configuration of capital; legitimacy and recognition; formal education; industry-specific literacy and language proficiency; general skill set; and network. The application of this typology will expand how the Creative Class is conceptualised in order to challenge the current operational framework of the Art World.

#### *1. Group A: Industry Benchmarked Creative*

This group is comprised of those formally recognised by the traditional Art World previously described. This group is primarily comprised of mid to late career Creatives who have received formal Fine Arts education from an accredited art institution and who are represented by Cultural Agents. Members of this group often have their work in the permanent collections of Cultural Agencies and/or in private collections. They are recognised externally by Cultural Agencies: “You are a Creative.” Their works are economically and culturally valued by the Art World and the public. While Group A are the more visible members of the Art World hierarchy, their economic opportunities (value of works produced) are inherently dependant on popularity and acceptance (art markets) within the narrow vision of the Art World. Due to fluidity within this typology, the Creative Class can be classified as Group A or Group B multiple times within their careers.

## *II. Group B: Active Creative*

Group B Creatives are conceptualised as multifaceted art-school educated graduates who do not work directly in their fields nor are they ‘recognised’ by the Art World. Often these graduates are employed outside of their learned field but continue to hone their skills either as a hobby or as a secondary career. However, without the support of the Art World, they face challenges accessing public funding, private funding and galleries/exhibitions. They are primarily reliant on a secondary source, and are the group most likely to benefit from the field of technology.<sup>8</sup> Many Creatives in Group B also source financing or economic opportunity outside of the Fine Arts Ecosystem. They internally recognise themselves as “I am a Creative.” The grouping includes both recent graduates and alumni who do not/could not work within the Art World. The identification of “*I am a Creative*” is bounded by economic constraints due to a number of factors, including the inability to sell any creative work or having student debt. Guided by Throsby’s *Economics and Culture* (2009, pp. 99-101), this grouping is the most varied and diverse, it includes Creatives who are:

- Actively engage in the arts and cultural sector through the application for patronage from public or private funding.
- not able to sell work regularly yet has valuable skill sets which can be translated and transferred into other fields of work for a steady income to therefore subsidise the costs of creating;
- seeking income as not a means of creative production, rather it is to pay for necessary basic living;
- The Creative is therefore constrained by market demands and needs in order to create. The works are therefore made with the notion to be as easily sellable as possible for the market. The sales of the work, more specifically, the easily salability of the work dictates what is to be created;
- The requirement of funds is to provide beyond basic necessities of food, shelter and clothing. The subsistence is to afford a comfortable living.

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<sup>8</sup> The field of technology is discussed in Chapter 2.



### *III. Group C: Unknown Creative*

Group C are not formally recognised by the self or the Art World, however, they may be recognised as Creatives by consumers. They may or may not have recognition of their skills and therefore are defined by the question: “Am I/Are you a Creative?” This grouping is connected by tacit and/or tangible skills. Unlike the other two groupings, if they are trained, they often apprenticed under a master. Therefore, their education is not from a formally recognised institution but these Creatives, like those in Groups A and B, possess skills and knowledge necessary to the functionality of the Fine Arts Ecosystem. They are members of the Creative Class without whom many creative works could not be produced. It is imperative to state Group C members, while underrepresented in the Art World, are not considered, by any means, insignificant. The classification of Group C in the typology are equal members to Group A and B of the Creative Class.

Group C is conceptualised through Cavalli’s frameworks. Essentially, this is the old adage, *practise makes perfect*. Additionally, Cavalli’s 11 Criteria of Excellence in Craftsmanship from *The Master’s Touch* (2017)<sup>9</sup> should be met in order to be categorised as a member of Group C.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix II

<sup>10</sup> Group C is not discussed in this thesis. Engaging with their perceptions on the structures of the Art World is one of the recommendations for future research.

Table 1.2: Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class

Qualifier	Group A	Group B	Group C	Form of Capital	
Non-Economic Capital (i.e. social and cultural capital)	High	Some	Low	-	
Economic Capital	High	Some	Low	-	
Legitimacy and Accreditation	Legitimised by Field of Power	Somewhat Legitimised by the Field of Power	Not Legitimised by the Field of Power	Cultural	
	Accredited by an Elite Institution	Possibly Accredited by an Elite Institution	Not Accredited by an Elite Institution		
Education	Formally Educated	Formally Educated	Not Formally Educated		
Language	Fluent in Industry Jargon	Proficient in Industry Jargon	Limited in Industry Jargon		
Industry Specific Literacy	High Literacy	Some Literacy	Low Literacy		
General Skill Set	High Level Learned Skills and Knowledge	Some Level Learned Skills and Knowledge	Low Level Learned Skills and Knowledge		
Network	Elite Membership within the powerful networks operating within the Art World	Some Membership within the powerful networks operating within the Art World	No Membership within the powerful networks operating within the Art World		Social

#### **1.4 Next Steps:**

This chapter provided the necessary overview to engage with this study going forward. It identified the central problem of this work; justified the position of the researcher as an insider and as an appropriate candidate to conduct this research; defined the Creative Class, and the Art World; set the research questions; and most importantly gave an overview of the theory, methodology and key concepts that underpin this work. The next chapter is the Literature Review, as mentioned it is divided into fields, and important authors are discussed within each field context. Chapter Three explains the theoretical and methodological concepts introduced in this chapter in more depth, and discusses the method employed in this study. Chapter Four presents the findings of the survey research. Chapter Five is an analysis of the findings. Chapter Six concludes this dissertation and presents recommendations for future research.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

In order to set the research questions, which were outlined in Chapter One, we have to engage with the current literature on the Creative Class, the Art World, and their intersecting relationships. Throughout the research, including within the literature review here, Bourdieu's theory of *field*, *habitus* and *capital* is applied.<sup>11,12</sup> Applying the Bourdieusian methodology provides the analytical lens from which to examine the relevant literature concerned with highlighting the varying aspects of the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class. As per Bourdieu, *fields* exist within any social relationship as the objective (read structural) reality. For Bourdieu, social space is differentiated into various spheres of life (e.g. art, science, religion, economy, law, politics, etc.) and within each area, there are norms, rules, and mechanisms of authority (Wacquant, 2006). A field, therefore, is "in the first instance, a structured space of positions, a *force field* that imposes its specific determinations upon all those who enter it" (Wacquant, 2006, p. 268, emphasis in original). Because Bourdieu's sociology is not just theory, it is also a methodology, a crucial step is to map out the objective structures of relations that exist between agents occupying specific positions within the institutions, who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority within the overall field of the Art World (adapted from Grenfell and Hardy, 2007).<sup>13</sup> The literature review, as presented here, is this field map. Five fields have been identified as comprising the bulk of the structure of the Art World. Firstly, the Art World has its own field of power, a relatively autonomous field that is free from the sphere of influence from larger society. In addition to the field of power, the literature has been categorised into four further thematic groupings and the works cited within each are related to and interconnected with each other, and to the Art World's internal field of power. These five fields are: the Fields of Power, Education, Capitals, Technology and Commerce.

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<sup>11</sup> It is important to note that *capital*, defined here, is beyond the traditional economic or Marxist idea of economic capital. Capital here, and throughout this dissertation, will refer to social, economic and cultural capital as a more robust reading of this term and its definition will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

<sup>12</sup> For the purposes of this study, each definition of capital is discussed separately. Cultural and social capital are examined within the *field of capital* whereas economic capital is discussed within the *field of commerce*.

<sup>13</sup> Bourdieu's methodology will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

Each section deconstructs different aspects of the Art World and identifies the different sites of struggle within each field that comprise the whole. These fields identify the various roles and expectations of the Creatives within each field. When looked at together, these works provide a comprehensive overview of the structure and the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class. While each field identified here is a distinct theoretical (and practical) area within the Art World, they do not exist in isolation of each other. Every field is layered upon the next and depends on the others for legitimacy. Parsing out each field individually provides clarity in untangling the complexity and multidimensionality of the Art World; helps to identify where there are intersections between the fields; and outlines the governing theoretical concepts that work together to create the literature on the many structures, networks and hierarchies within the Art World.

The work of Sarah Thornton leads in establishing the *field of power*.<sup>14</sup> Her work brings forward the key areas of the structure of the Art World, their interactions and the hierarchy within. For Thornton, the Art World is broken down into seven individual components: The Auction, The Crit, The Fair, The Magazine, The Biennale, Studio Visit, and The Prize. Each component is essential within this field of power, and together they represent the Rite of Passage expected for each member of the Creative Class. Moreover, these seven components are the encompassing social structure with the power to assign value and legitimacy to the Creative Class within the other four fields. In addition to the power to grant legitimacy (and recognition) within the Art World, its other mechanism of power is money, as this field holds the keys to the safe. Regardless of the configuration of capital within the other fields, it is within the field of power alone that the Creative Class can convert their capital into economic capital and find recognition and success. It is here alone where they can consider themselves ‘to have made it.’ The field of power, therefore, is the arena of the Art World that possesses the highest authority when it comes to assigning legitimacy, recognition and capital within it.

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<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that because the Art World is an overlapping, intertwined network of structures and agents, while certain authors are selected as ‘leaders’ in a field of reference here, their work is often not exclusive to one field or another. This is especially the case for Adamson, Bourdieu, Thornton, and Grenfell and Hardy.

After the field of power, the next field discussed is the *field of education*. Within this section are a diverse group of scholars, with the most influential works being those of Pierre Bourdieu himself. While these authors discuss the Art World at large and its ever-present hierarchy, they primarily focus on the value and the role of the institutionalised capital (i.e. educational credentials) of the Creative Class within the Art World (as such they are termed here as the Valuists). For these authors, the value, role and capital of the Creative Class is centred around education as the gateway into the Art World, and they identify education as the primary ‘currency’ the Creative Class can earn to enter and maneuver within the Art World. Following the discussion on the field of education is the *field of capital*. Building on the conceptual contributions of Bourdieu regarding an expanded definition of capital, the field of capital focuses on the *non-economic* capital of the Creative Class.<sup>15</sup> This discussion of the work within this field grouping is broken down into two main areas: the socio-economic network of the artists (i.e. their social capital) and the saleability of the works of art created (i.e. their objectified cultural capital). Within this field, the habitus and institutionalised cultural capital of the Creative Class obtained within the field of education is put to use as social and objectified cultural capital. The work of Michael Grenfell and Cheryl Hardy lead this section, and for our purposes, the authors discussed here are termed the Capitalists. Following the Capitalists, the Collaborationists build on the field of capital to discuss how Creatives build communities using both digital and analog means, and how interconnectedness is an opportunity for the regeneration of the Creative Class, their knowledge, and skills. Their work falls under the *field of technology* and Howard Becker’s work is used as the entry point into this field. The Collaborationists discuss the democratisation of the creative experience and their work is a compliment to the larger body of literature on the Creative Class. Additionally, the Collaborationists discuss the socio-economic benefits of socio-cultural values centered on the sharing economy (and expanded social networks). Finally, the Economists discuss the economy of the Art World. Similar to the Capitalists in terms of discussing how money is made within the Art World, the Economists’ central focus, however, is on

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<sup>15</sup> The theoretical definition Bourdieu’s use of the term ‘capital’ will be discussed in Chapter 3.

the *economic* capital of the Creative Class and the convertibility of cultural capital into economic opportunity in order to generate economic opportunities and growth. Their patriarchs are Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore. This is a particularly fitting analysis of the Art World as the Economists focus on how to financially incentivise the regeneration and preservation of creative output, including leveraging the tacit knowledge (i.e. the habitus) of the Creative Class. Their work falls under the *field of commerce*. Together, this chapter discusses the five main aspects of the Art World and its relationship to the Creative Class using the Bourdieusian conceptualisation of fields within a social world. The following sections discuss each group individually and collectively as the body of research underlying this thesis.

*Table 2.1: Applied Bourdieusian Field Framework with Corresponding Literature Groupings*

<b>Bourdieu's Field</b>	<b>Grouping Name</b>	<b>Authors/Work</b>	<b>Key Terms</b>
Field of Power	The Elites	Thornton (2008)	The Overarching Power Structure of the Art World
Field of Education	The Valuists	Bourdieu (1986) Dewey (1934) Albers (1928)	Institution Jargon Books Knowledge Skills
Field of Capital	The Capitalists	Grenfell and Hardy (2007) Adamson(2007) Sennett (2008) Nonaka and Takeuchi (1991)	Network Saleability
Field of Technology	The Collaborationists	Becker (1982) Leadbeater (2010) Timberg (2015)	Community Collaboration
Field of Commerce	The Economists	Pine and Gilmore (1998, 2011, 2014)	Experience Economy Economic Emancipation



## 2.1 The Elites: The Field of Power

To establish the Art World at large, and its overarching internal field of power, Sarah Thornton, in her 2008 work *Seven Days in the Art World*, divided the Art World into seven sections: The Auction, The Crit, The Fair, The Magazine, The Biennale, Studio Visit, and The Prize. This work outlines a very loose trajectory to become a career artist; however, it is descriptive not prescriptive. The categories are an overview of the internal power structure of the Art World, its participants and their interconnecting relationships. The field of power, as a general principle, is explained by Schmitz et al (2017):

[t]he field of power in this understanding is characterized by conflicts over the exchange value of the different field-specific capitals, and particularly over the question as to which resources will be perceived and recognized as legitimate symbolic capital. From this perspective, the impression may be conveyed that the conflicts between field elites collectively constitute a superordinate field of power, excluding all those agents without access to elite positions (p. 55).

From this we can understand that, within the Art World, there is an internal field of power that sets the criteria for recognition within the Art World.<sup>16</sup> For Thornton, the Art World is a hierarchy-based system whereby individual components seemingly operate independently; however, when layered together, she provides a comprehensive overview of the Art World power structure. For Thornton, this power structure is comprised of three main points: firstly, this structure is where legitimacy and recognition is assigned within the Art World. Secondly this structure is highly competitive, based on symbolic value and hierarchy, and thirdly this structure is opaque, seemingly arbitrary and exclusionary (Thornton, 2008). Moreover, Thornton argues that for the Creative Class, engaging with the Art World is extremely difficult despite having the ultimate tool of symbolic value at hand: the ability to make art.

Thornton's definition of art "is about experimenting and ideas, but it is also about excellence and exclusion" (Thornton, 2008, p. xii). Even with the adequate tools to experiment, be excellent and have ideas, exclusion is ever present as

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<sup>16</sup> This field of power is relatively autonomous from the overarching field of power in any society (e.g., the state and its overall economy), but is not completely isolated from it. The effects of the superordinate field of power on the Art World is mitigated by this relative autonomy. The effects of the state are not addressed in this dissertation.

struggling for power or control is the basis of the convoluted network of hierarchies guarding the Art World. As such, the field of power, its elite participants and their interactions, have the power to assign, validate and legitimise those who are entering the Art World, and therefore also hold the power to create and exchange value within it. The classifications within *Seven Days in the Art World*, on the surface, focus on seven popular aspects of the Art World and their interconnected relationships; on a deeper level, these seven aspects establish the Art World's subcultures and the subsequent hierarchies that extend their reach into the other fields.

### *2.1.1 Legitimacy and Recognition*

In terms of discussing legitimacy and recognition, Thornton (2008) states that the “artist is the most important origin of a work, but the hands through which it passes are essential to the way in which it accrues value” (Thornton, 2008, pp. 9-10). These ‘hands’ are those of the elites of the Art World who Thornton identifies as the key members of the Art World, namely, those “who buy and sell works (that is, dealers, collectors, auction houses), [and those who are beyond and participate as] art players (the critics, curators, and artists themselves) [but] are not directly involved in this commercial activity on a regular basis” (Thornton, 2008, p. xii). With the exception of the Studio Visit, Thornton’s other six sections are a closed-network of key players who legitimise an artist’s career. This is because in order for artists to progress in their careers, “[t]hey rely on diverse forms of validation, legitimation, endorsement, which all basically come down to belief in value” (Thornton, 2008, p. 257) assigned by this network. Thornton (2008) further examines the convoluted structure and the operations of this field of power:

Since the 1970’s, BA [Bachelor of Art] and MFA [Master of Fine Art] degrees have become the first legitimator in most artists’ careers [...] After that, in no particular order, artists’ work is endorsed through: representation by a primary dealer; grants, awards and residencies; media coverage in the form of reviews and features in art magazines; inclusion in prestigious private collections (one of the strange things about art is that the owner of the work affects the reputation of the work); museum validation in group shows; international exposure at biennials; solo shows in public spaces (particularly major museum retrospectives); and the appreciation signaled by strong resale interest at auction (p. 258).

This comprehensive list of benchmarks directly contributes to “the problem with the contemporary art world [...] that the art itself has become marginalised” (Tanner, 2009, p. 50). In other words, legitimised creative production is purposely limited by the Art World.

This has exacerbated the problem of marginalisation of the Creative Class and has resulted in “graduating artists [...] not only find[ing] it more difficult to acquire representation from a gallery, but harder even to obtain jobs as installers or assistants” (Thornton, 2008, p. 256). Additionally, legitimacy and success are

not a straightforward process, but one that is fraught with conflict because each of these [aspects of the Art World] is controlled by a different [network] of the art world. Passing the test in an auction house or art fair is quite different from getting a great review in a local art magazine or representing one’s country at the Venice Biennale (Thornton, 2008, p. 258).

Moreover, the symbolic value of being in an Art Fair, or getting reviewed in a magazine, is only as valuable as perceptions of that Art Fair or magazine *to begin with*. This is particularly important to establish as this breakdown of the sectors identifies those who assign legitimation. In other words, to be validated by the Art World, engagement with the participants and processes within this field of power is essential. Additionally, Thornton’s classifications provide insight into the hierarchies within the Art World.

### *2.1.2 Competition, Symbolic Value and Hierarchy*

In addition to understanding how legitimacy is assigned, and by whom, it is essential to establish that Thornton views the Art World as a competitive, symbolic value-based hierarchy. For Thornton, despite the fact that “the art world is frequently characterized as a class-less scene where artists from lower-middle-class backgrounds drink champagne with high-priced hedge-fund managers, scholarly curators, fashion designers, and other “creatives,” you’d be mistaken if you thought this world was egalitarian or democratic” (Thornton, 2008, p. xii). The Art World pits Creatives against each other, albeit in a subtle way. For Thornton (2008), “hierarchies amongst artists are often disavowed but they can be brutal” (p. 257), and the Art World maintains these hierarchies well. For Thornton (2008):

every gallerist with a large roster of artists is acutely aware of the sensitivities of status. They have the artists who pay the bills, the ones who bring

credibility, the sleepers who hope will gain some recognition. And they have to handle them all without inciting sibling rivalry (Thornton, 2008, p. 257).

This delicate balance is important: the Art World relies on the Creative Class for their art, but not-so-secretly encourages a hierarchy amongst them, depending on their perceived value by other elites within the network. Thornton's critique of the Art World, its hierarchies, and subcultures gives insight into these networks which exclusively assign the symbolic value required in the field. There is a disconnect between the 'official' line of the Art World, and the actual reality of its hierarchy. This is because "validation often appears paradoxical because the art world is a social sphere where rule-breaking is the official rule -- not just for artists but also for curators, dealers, collectors and, to a lesser extent, auction houses" (Thornton, 2008, p. 258). This paradox is compounded by the reality of the fact that

the art world [...] is rife with conformity. Artists make work that "looks like art" and behave in ways that enhance stereotypes. Curators pander to the expectations of their peers and their museum boards. Collectors run in herds to buy work by a handful of fashionable painters. Critics stick their finger in the air to see which way the wind is blowing so as to "get it right" (Thornton, 2008, p. xv).

This conformity is produced by the Art World and reflected back by the Creative Class for the purposes of maintaining the mystique of symbolic value. Thornton posits that the Art World operates on a value-based "'symbolic economy' where people swap thoughts and where cultural worth is debated rather than determined by brute wealth" (Thornton, 2008, p. xii). So while status is not determined by pounds and pence alone, Thornton is pointing out that the power rests at the top of a competitive hierarchy, where an artist's symbolic cultural value is the currency. This symbolic economy is not understood the same way between the elites of the Art World and the cultural producers at the bottom of the totem pole.

Ultimately what Thornton's work identifies is that it is the elites within these seven areas who hold the keys to cookie jar and that a Creative cannot hope to achieve recognition or success within the Art World without fulfilling all or most of the benchmarks outlined in Thornton's work. How the Art World assigns symbolic value, in their symbolic economy, is not necessarily how symbolic value and capital are interpreted by the Creative Class which is the problematic at the centre of this

thesis. Moreover, the purposefully obscured structures of the Art World does not make it easy to obtain the knowledge required to navigate the system. Therefore dominance is maintained and closely guarded by the key players which reinforces the Creatives' struggle for recognition and acknowledgement.

### *2.1.3 Opacity, Arbitrariness, and Exclusion*

The relationship between the Art World and Creative Class, is in constant flux, punctuated with many moving targets to attain success. These targets are difficult to qualify for and are, in most cases, completely obscured or intangible. The intricacies of the networks described by Thornton, establish the internal codes of the Art World hierarchy “as the art world is so diverse, opaque, and downright secretive, it is difficult to generalize about it and impossible to be truly comprehensive” (Thornton, 2008, p. xvii). Moreover, Thornton (2008) quotes Jeff Poe as stating:

the art world isn't about power but control. Power can be vulgar. Control is smarter, more pinpointed. It starts with the artists, because their work determines how things get played out, but they need an honest dialogue with a conspirator. Quiet control - mediated by trust - is what the art world is really about (Poe in Thornton, 2008, p. xii).

Within the Art World having this control and accessing it, “is rarely easy” (Thornton, 2008, p. xvii). Because the Art World is about ‘quiet control,’ its operations, and even its hierarchy is often obscured from the Creative Class. Moreover, even if there are members who manage to maneuver through all seven of Thornton’s criteria, there is still no guarantee they will find success within the Art World. It is the arbitrariness of who succeeds, the true lack of accountability, and the unceasing exclusion within the Art World that defines it. This is unfortunate because in “an increasingly global world, art crosses borders. It can be a lingua franca and a shared interest in a way that cultural forms anchored to words cannot” (Thornton, 2008, p. xv). To have access to networks who lay the foundation of an ecosystem, each group is as disparate as ever just as each of the chapters within *Seven Days of the Art World*. The field of power establishes what the explicit and implicit rules are between and within the Creative Class and the Art World, and how the Art World assigns value and legitimacy to the Creative Class. This sets up the structure of the ideal-type typology.

Those who have gone through ‘all seven days’ are those within the Creative Class with the most access to the elite structures of the Art World. These are classified as Group A:

- Possess high cultural and economic capital
  - Hold high degrees of symbolic value
  - Are accredited from the ‘right schools’ within the field of education,
  - Speak industry jargon,
  - Are literate in the field with the books read, learned skills and experienced knowledge; and
  - Created and own their networks of elites within the Art World as well as with others within the Creative Class.
- In contrast, those with the least amount of access are Group C:
    - Possess low cultural and economic capital,
    - Have no formal training<sup>17</sup>
    - Have a limited vocabulary of industry jargon,
    - Have read limited amount of industry recognised books; and
    - Assumed to possess lesser skills and knowledge
    - May be members of networks, however, their networks are not comprised of the elites within the Art World or the Creative Class.

Group B’s, positioned between A and C, are a blend of the two groupings. As such this grouping has varying degrees of access. Similar to Group A, Group B’s:

- Hold some symbolic value
- Are formally trained
- Proficient in industry jargon
- Are literate in the field with the books read, learned skills and experienced knowledge;
- Have an industry network consisting of both the elites within the Art World as well as with others within the Creative Class.

For Group B’s, gaining access to the necessary networks to get into the Art World even with symbolic capital at hand is a constant struggle. This echoes Bourdieu’s analysis of the social world, and his definition of its sub-fields as sites of a “struggle

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<sup>17</sup> Without navigating the *field of education*, Group C’s are almost always excluded as they are (theoretically) unable to understand the inner workings and interactions of the Art World, and subsequently have a limited access to the Art World networks.

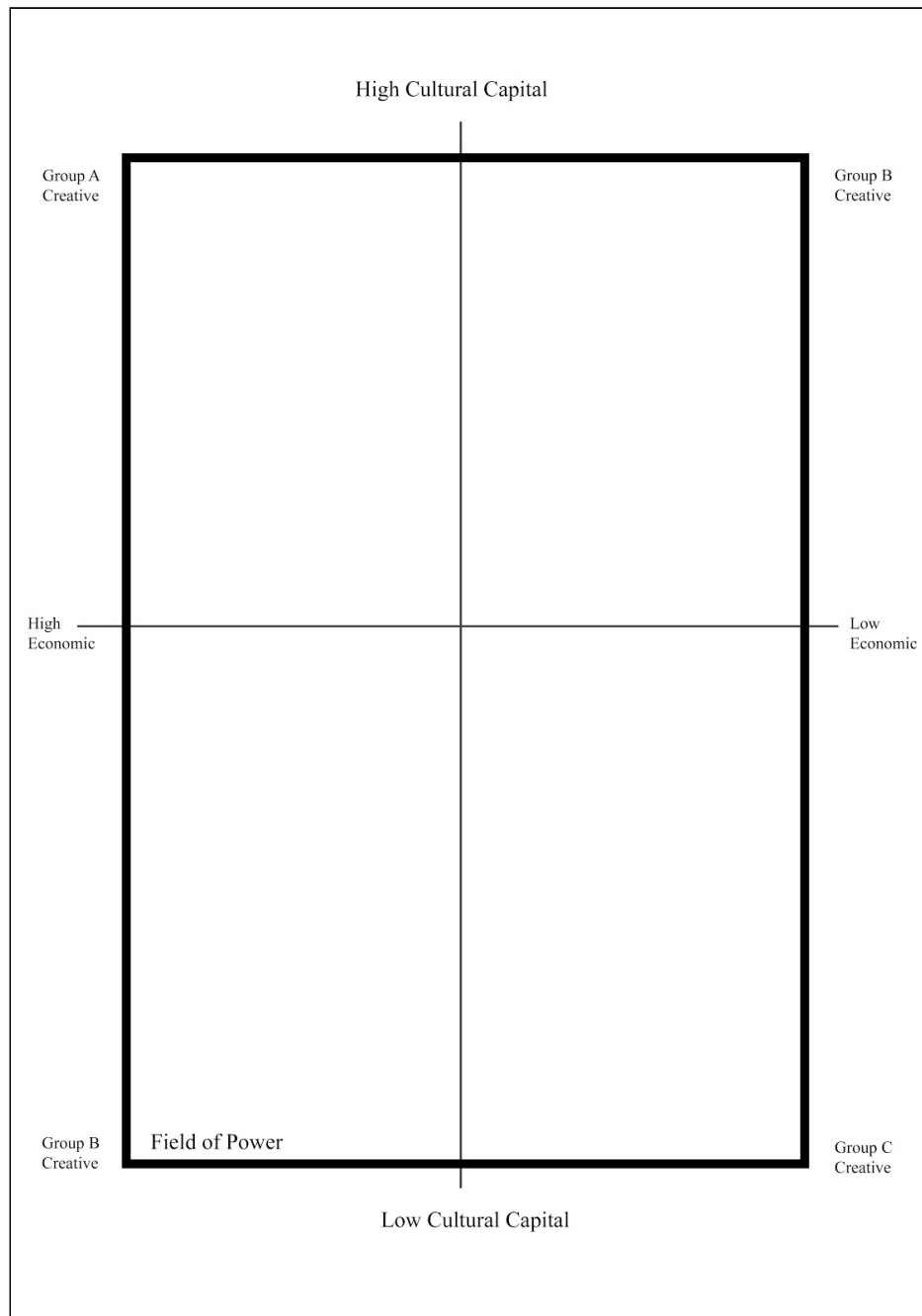
for power between and within classes” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007) and by extension, within networks.

Table 2.2: Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class

<b>Qualifier</b>	<b>Group A</b>	<b>Group B</b>	<b>Group C</b>	<b>Form of Capital</b>	
Non-Economic Capital (i.e. social and cultural capital)	High	Some	Low	-	
Economic Capital	High	Some	Low	-	
Legitimacy and Accreditation	Legitimised by Field of Power	Somewhat Legitimised by the Field of Power	Not Legitimised by the Field of Power	Cultural	
	Accredited by an Elite Institution	Possibly Accredited by an Elite Institution	Not Accredited by an Elite Institution		
Education	Formally Educated	Formally Educated	Not Formally Educated		
Language	Fluent in Industry Jargon	Proficient in Industry Jargon	Limited in Industry Jargon		
Industry Specific Literacy	High Literacy	Some Literacy	Low Literacy		
General Skill Set	High Level Learned Skills and Knowledge	Some Level Learned Skills and Knowledge	Low Level Learned Skills and Knowledge		
Network	Elite Membership within the powerful networks operating within the Art World	Some Membership within the powerful networks operating within the Art World	No Membership within the powerful networks operating within the Art World		Social



Figure 2.1: Field of Power and Typology



## 2.2 The Valuists: The Field of Education

The following section of the *field of education* establishes two main aspects of this field: firstly, it discusses how obtaining an education is the primary step taken by the Creative Class for gaining entry into the Art World; and secondly, how this field facilitates the acquired learning of the Creative Class. The key authors discussed here, Pierre Bourdieu, John Dewey and Josef Albers, discuss the role of education as the first qualifier in gaining access into the current Art World, and the value of this education. The field of education, in this context, is the first field to intersect with the Art World's internal field of power, because education, as also acknowledged by Thornton, is the first tangible capital acquired for the legitimation of every Creative. Education is where the journey begins for the Creative Class; it is where they start to develop their field specific social and cultural capital. Bourdieu's work is used to discuss the role of education as one of the boxes the Creative Class needs to check in order to begin any kind of interaction with the Art World's field of power. He discusses this as the *institutionalized state* of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Dewey and Albers' work, when combined, discuss the value of this education for the development of the Creative as a practitioner. For Dewey and Albers, the field of education is the space where artists develop their artistic gaze and learn to develop their knowledge and skills in order to receive the cultural capital (i.e. the credential) required to enter the Art World. From the reading of these three key authors, six main components of the field of education have been deduced. These are: Institution; Types of Training; Books; Jargon; Knowledge; and Skills. In order to understand the field of power and its mechanisms of legitimation and recognition, it is essential to examine how the Creative Class acquires education. In doing so, this will shed light on the intersection of the field of education with the field of power. Finally, it is necessary to examine the value of education for the classifications within the typology (Groups A, B and C) to understand how education facilitates the entry of these Creatives into the Art World.

### 2.2.1 Bourdieu vs. *The Board of Education*

The first author within this grouping of the literature is Pierre Bourdieu. Not only do Bourdieu's theory and methodology undergird this dissertation, he directly engages, through his own research, with the role that education holds within society.<sup>18</sup> What is relevant here, is that for Bourdieu, obtaining an education is tantamount to obtaining a form of usable cultural capital. In his work *Forms of Capital* (1986), he explains his three conceptualisations of capital, including the most important for our purposes here, what he has dubbed the *institutionalized state* of cultural capital.<sup>19</sup> This institutionalized state, in a nutshell, is an academic qualification. For Bourdieu (1986), at its foundation, an academic credential is a "certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" (p. 248). This credential is "a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). For the Creative Class, attending the 'right' school is highly important for their career trajectory, and obtaining this form of cultural capital is fundamental. Once this capital has been acquired, however, the Creative Class falls victim to the inability to convert that capital into something tangible (i.e. economic capital). This is because for Bourdieu, while this credential confers a form of capital, within the Art World "the monetary value for which it can be exchanged on the labor market [...] the investments made (in time and effort) may turn out to be less profitable than was anticipated when they were made" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). This is because the chances of using that piece of paper within the Art World are governed by the arbitrary "changes in the structure of the chances of profit offered by the different types of capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). Moreover, as per Sulkunen (1982) for Bourdieu, the field of education is where success and blame for failure is individualised (as opposed to being a byproduct of structural inadequacies within the system itself) while simultaneously reproducing the competitive hierarchies of

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<sup>18</sup> This work does not provide a comprehensive recounting of Bourdieu's career long engagement with the sociology of education. For more on this see, for example, Bourdieu, 1967; Bourdieu, 1974; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1989; Bourdieu, 1990 as well as Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990.

<sup>19</sup> Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the different forms of capital is discussed in Chapter 3.

recognition and legitimation found within the Art World. In other words, the elites within the Art World can point to the individual Creative, and their lack of a ‘proper’ education based on the issuing institution as a reason for exclusion. The field of education, therefore, is the first site of struggle for the Creative Class as they try to enter the Art World. This struggle is exacerbated by the nature of the arts education itself which is illustrated here by a discussion regarding Albers and Dewey.

### *2.2.2 Learning to See and Other Art School Lessons*

If a field is the site “with which and against which one has been formed” (Bourdieu in Scott, 2014, p. 9), *habitus* is the system of consistent patterns such as perception, thought, appreciation and action one employs within a field to become formed. “Simply expressed, habitus and field are ontologically complicit” (Bourdieu in Scott, 2014, p. 50). In the context of field of education, “habitus is a kind of incarnation of social history, actualized at a certain point in time, and within the field in which it finds itself, realized as a particular instance within a specific field” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2008, p. 45). In other words, habitus is the internalised knowledge and skills one has which can lead researchers to understand one’s position in a field (or fields) as well as their personal motives and contexts. In the context of the field of education, an Arts education provides the necessary understandings for artistic production by the Creative Class. It is within this field that the Creative Class learns how to ‘make’ art; it is here that they learn how to create what could be considered ‘legitimate’ art that can then propel them further throughout their careers.

For Dewey, education is the experience of thinking and drawing conclusions. Dewey classifies education as a thinking tool when experiencing the social world. He outlines a process that firstly examines Experience followed by what he considers the Big Three of thinking while being trained as an artist: Qualitative Thought, Relational, and Contextual Whole to draw conclusions (Dewey, 1934). In other words, Dewey’s framework of education is a process for thinking, in order for you to make; it is a method of artistic production. Shusterman (2010) discusses that for Dewey, “our experience, judgements, and thoughts about objects and events are never done in absolute isolation but only in terms of a contextual whole” (p. 33). By examining the contextual and surrounding whole, it provides insight into the habitus

acquired by the Creative Class through their education, and provides an understanding of how this process is used as a tool to facilitate the Creative Class' entry into the Art World. Adamson (2007) confirms that attending an Art School is key for the formation of the artistic habitus, because "the goal of all education, Dewey argued, should be to shape experience" (Adamson, p. 79). Gradle (2014) deconstructs the formation of this habitus within the art creation process:

To briefly explore how visual conceiving works, one could think about how an artistic experience happens: an idea makes a deep, lasting impression in one's mind, one that has to be slowly savoured in order to be fully developed. Second, the image is then transformed as one begins work with it in a particular medium. The artwork is never an exact replica of what one has in mind, but emerges during a process that continually forms it. The image begins to take shape, affecting the artist, forming the experience of viewing, creating and all future interactions. By perceiving intuitively what might occur visually, and by then working with materials, problem solving commences and the work finds form. (p. 80).

Though education is not discussed explicitly, the thought process is nonetheless shaped by learnings acquired within educational institutions or otherwise.

Building on Dewey's value on education is Josef Albers. For Albers, "the best education is one's own experience. Experimenting surpasses studying" (Albers in Adamson, 2007, p. 84). This is because "for Albers, the fundamental building block of an art education was development of the capacity to see more acutely. You can't be an artist, Albers reasoned, unless and until you'd mindfully explored the visual field" ("To Open Eyes," 2006).<sup>20</sup> Learning to 'see' is fundamental for the development of the habitus of the Creative Class, and therefore the ability for them to obtain their credential. Albers explains his sentiment on the value of education by stating "[r]eal educational growth begins with making discoveries. Facts should be used to build conclusions and viewpoints of our own, to create a feeling for atmosphere, mentality, and culture" (Albers, 1939, paragraph 12). In other words, Albers identifies that obtaining an education provides the necessary understanding for creative production. In sum "[i]n Dewey's and Albers' theories of education, we find a celebration of the open-ended exploration, an engagement with materials that may result in "readiness" in the mind" (Adamson, 2007, p. 87). For Dewey, the goal

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<sup>20</sup> This quote is excerpted from Horowitz (2006), but was accessed through the Josef and Anni Albers Foundation website here <https://albersfoundation.org/teaching/josef-albers/introduction/>.

of education is to shape experiences, more importantly the outcomes of accumulative education. The foundation of thinking requires ideas, concepts, and theories which have been “worked out in the past. The role of [an educational experience] is to pass this knowledge. [...] One such method is learning by acquisition from what is in books” (Roberts, 2003, p. 3). For Albers, education is a process of learning by doing: an accumulation of experience, “education is a kind of religion based on the belief that making ourselves and others grow—that is making stronger, wiser, better” (Albers, 1939, paragraph 18). Therefore, there is value in the education itself both literally and symbolically.

This focus on cumulative education, and its subsequent credential, establishes how education is used to facilitate the entry of the Creative Class into the Art World. Collectively the authors establish education as “a way of being within society” (Adamson, 2007, p. 100). Moreover, “the interactions of these different elements create symbolic capital, practices, language and knowledge that are given value, or not” (Scott, 2014, p. 50). As such, the acquired learning, (i.e. the habitus, or the ingrained habits and skills from lived experiences), when integrated with the symbolically prestigious capital, is a means to mediate between the Creative Class’ position within the field of power of the Art World. Collectively, Bourdieu, Dewey and Albers conceptualises education as the first tool used by the Creative Class to facilitate their entry into the Art World. From these works, this dissertation proposes that the educational qualifications required by the Creative Class are explicit. Proposed here are six layered components:

1. The Institution: this is the physical institution itself, specifically prestigious institutions (such as Yale);
2. Types of Training, in tandem with the institution, Creatives are trained specifically in line with the institution’s ethos;
3. Books, the types of books read is dependent on the training received, the training of the teacher, and lastly the institution;
4. Jargon, derived from the books read which are assigned by teachers with a specific training in line with the institution and its ethos;
5. Knowledge accumulated based on the previous four components of educational qualifications; and

6. Skills, the technical skills required for creative production which is part habitus, part cultural capital and a combination of the previous five components.

Though each component is symbolic, they are important nevertheless, especially when accumulated “because it attracts acknowledgment of value from those sharing positions within the given field” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 30). Therefore, education first qualifies the Creative Class and secondly, it introduces them to the Art World. Moreover, “degrees from [lead] art schools have become passports of sorts” (Thornton, 2008, p. 46). However, “the most important thing that students learn at art school is ‘how to be an artist, how to occupy that name, how to embody that occupation’” (Singerman in Thornton, 2008, p. 56). In other words, education is the first step in the “processes of acknowledgement and recognition” (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007, p. 30). This classification firstly is conceptualised according to the process of recognition predicated on the elites of the Art World. Secondly, it provides an overview of where the Creative Class’s positions are categorised within the fields of the Art World.

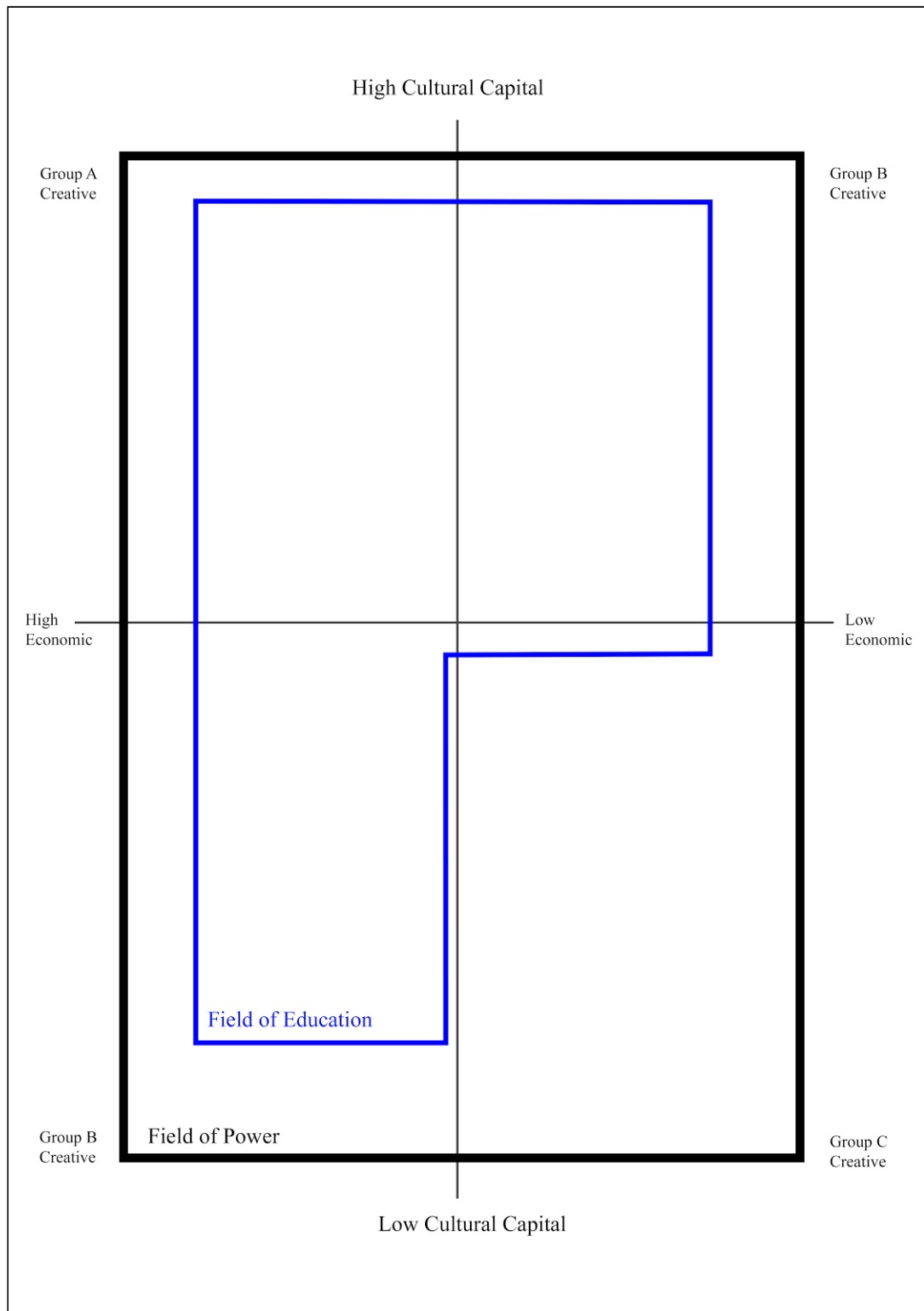
As such, the groupings are focused on recognition, externally or internally:

- Group A: externally recognised Creatives;
- Group B: internally recognised Creatives;
- Group C: neither externally nor internally recognised; however has attained skills through master and apprentice training therefore cannot be categorised into the field of education as they are not formally trained though possess skills and knowledge.

*Table 2.3: Typology in reference to the field of education*

<b>Field</b>	<b>Group A</b>	<b>Group B</b>	<b>Group C</b>
Power	Legitimised by Field of Power	Somewhat Legitimised by Field of Power	Not Legitimised by Field of Power
Education	Recognised by field of education	Recognised by field of education	Not Recognised by field of education

Figure 2.2: Fields of Power and Education with Typology





### **2.3 The Capitalists: Field of Capital**

The *field of capital* is the field in which the *non-economic* capital, that is the social, cultural and symbolic capital, of the Creative Class is paramount. Structurally, the field of capital is built on the field of education, because the habitus and capital required by the Creative Class to access this field is based on having already fulfilled some of the criteria for entry into the Art World (i.e. obtaining the requisite field-specific education and credential(s)). The field of capital is broken down into two main areas of discussion: the networks of the Creative Class (i.e. their social capital) and the saleability of the works of art created (i.e. the objectified state of cultural capital they produce). The main key authors discussed here, Grenfell and Hardy (2007), Nonaka and Takeuchi (1994), Adamson (2007) and Sennett (2009) deconstruct the value of these capital as the second qualifier for gaining access into the Art World. This is because in order for the Creative Class to gain access, they must leverage their cultural, social and symbolic capital, that is, their social networks and the perceived saleability of their work based on their recognition and status.

#### *2.3.1 Because You Gotta Have Friends*

The work of Grenfell and Hardy lead the Capitalists. They establish firstly how the Creative Class' symbolic social capital is operationalised as a consumable good and secondly how it is being exchanged and traded with the Art World. Simply put, it is how the field of capital can facilitate the interaction between the Creative Class and the Art World. As per Kirschbaum (2012) “[s]ocial capital refers to the stable social relations one holds and is able to mobilize in order to obtain other kinds of capital” (p. 3). These stable social relations, or the network of peers and others within the Art World, starts at school within the field of education. Once these networks are established, it is expected that within the field of capital these relationships can be leveraged for greater access to the institutions within the field of power. For Grenfell and Hardy, their examination “always begins with concrete human activity and understands artistic practice in terms of the ‘rules’ which govern it, which are none other than the rules of the field of [power]” (Biesla, 2007, p. 419). By applying Bourdieu’s “field theory to artistic fields [...] to a particular context [it] illustrates further the dynamic of artistic practice” (Grenfell, 2003, p. 23). In other words, in

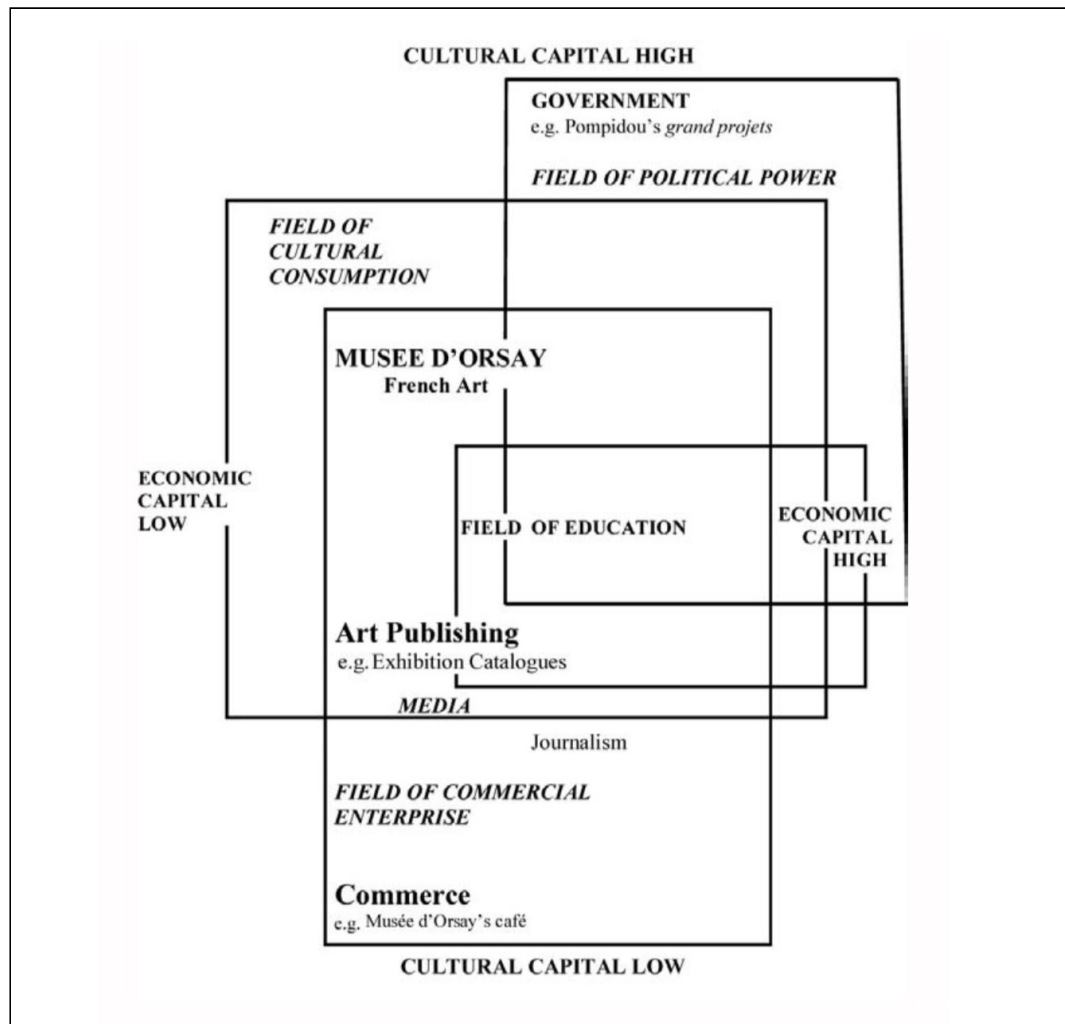
order for the Creative Class' capital to be valued, it is to be recognised by its corresponding field. As such, when examining the field of capital, it is important to establish the requirement of the Creative Class' network. This is because recognition within a specific field is limited. Therefore established relationships with shared experiences facilitate recognition as well as the saleability of the works of art created. The role of capital in this context is nevertheless, a consumable good and mediates the exchange between the Creative Class and the Art World.

Grenfell and Hardy show how these networks overlap using Musee D'Orsay as an example (Figure 3 below).<sup>21</sup> Grenfell and Hardy's case study illustrates the interaction between the fields they identify because these institutions "part of whose role is the legitimation of art works, artists and their donors, it is to be expected that the museums will themselves have accrued capital which is highly consecrated and of high volume" (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 102). Their diagram details the networks between one institution within the Art World and the Creative Class, specifically "between the curators, donors, and politicians responsible for the creation and development of [this institution]" (Carrier, 2008, p. 226). In other words, the map identifies the connections and establishes the interactions between and within the structure and its participants. Together, this establishes the socio-economic network of the artists. In other words, each of the respective institutions accrue, retain, and compound their various forms of capital through the means of a variety of networks. This symbolic capital governs and forms the habitus of these networks.

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<sup>21</sup> Grenfell and Hardy are applying Bourdieu's field theory to the Musee D'Orsay in this case and therefore have identified several fields that are not discussed in this thesis. These fields apply to the context of which they alone are speaking. The graphic presented here is to illustrate the ways in which networks overlap in one institutional setting.

Figure 2.3: Grenfell and Hardy's Fields in relation to the field of power



(Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 86)

### 2.3.2 Habitus and Social Capital

For clarity, Nonaka and Takeuchi's Tacit Knowledge framework conceptualises how the overlapping networks and relationships operate. According to Hoe (2006), for Nonaka and Takeuchi, "tacit knowledge is personal knowledge embedded in individual experience and involves intangible factors such as personal belief, perspective and values" (p. 494). In other words, tacit knowledge in Bourdieusian terms, is the habitus of the Creative Class that when accumulated can be recognised as intangible social capital but that can be exchanged back and forth between the overlapping networks and relationships, the structure and its participants. This tacit knowledge, or habitus, when leveraged as social capital can help facilitate the

establishment of networks by the Creative Class within the structures of the Art World. But because tacit knowledge (*habitus*) is often intangible, only when it is accrued and utilised as social capital does it have any value. This builds on Albers' Learning by Doing framework as "tacit knowledge is acquired implicitly without intention to learn or awareness of having learned. Tacit knowledge can only be acquired through individual processes such as direct experience, reflection and internalization" (Hoe, 2006, p. 494). Moreover, "tacit knowledge tends to be contextual" (Hoe, 2006, p. 494), a direct reflection on Dewey's contextual thought. In other words, for Grenfell and Hardy and Nonaka and Takeuchi, (as well as for Bourdieu) social capital is a valuable tool for mediating the relationship between the Creative Class and the Art World. This is because this capital provides the additional understandings for the interaction.

To further explain the field of capital's value structure and its effects on the Creative Class, Adamson and Sennett's Craft Process is discussed. Craft Process is a thinking process. It shares a similar perspective on the way the Creative Class is taught within the field of education as per the Valulist authors Dewey and Albers. Craft thinking provides clarity as to what the socio-economic networks are of the artists and the saleability of the works of art created. For Adamson (2007), the *habitus* of the Creative Class is discussed through craft. It is a process, "an approach, an attitude, or a habit of action. Craft only exists in motion" (Adamson, 2007, p. 4). In other words, it is an accumulation of experiences. This process of thinking examines the system of exchange.

Thinking is also a method of accruing cultural capital. As discussed within the field of education section, education is used as an entry point into the Art World by the Creative Class and provides the necessary understanding for production. Building on the role of education, Sennett (2009) also discusses how craft thinking is a form of capital. For Sennett, "knowing and working are intimately connected through the experience and action of craft" (Goldfarb, 2009, p. 265); this echoes the work of Dewey, Albers and Adamson. Furthermore, craft has "the shared ability to work to teach us how to [interact with] ourselves and to connect to other citizens on common ground" (Sennett, 2009, p. 269). Therefore the process of craft is "a recipe for binding people tightly together" (Sennett, 2009, p. 80). In other words, the

craft-thinking process, is a method of accruing social capital in the form of a network. It is firstly an internal relationship of experience and action to then a mechanism to connect with others. This concept directly engages with Grenfell and Hardy's network maps and Nonaka and Takeuchi tacit knowledge framework. Moreover, this internal-external relationship sets up the socio-economic network of the artists by establishing a common ground between the self and the network or community. For both Adamson and Sennett the capital accrued by the craft thinking process facilitates the system of exchange in the creation of the socio-economic network of the artist. It is from this network that the saleability of the art created can be determined.

### *2.3.3 Artwork, Get Your Artwork Here*

Within the field of capital there are two things at stake: the creation of social networks (i.e. the creation of social capital), as well as it is the site of struggle for the authority to assign a value to the works of art created. It is within this field that the saleability of a work of art is established. For the Creative Class, it is a site of perpetual rejection. They have acquired an education (went to the 'right' school, read books, learned the jargon, learned how to see and draw conclusions, and received the credential) and it is within this field they are now expected to make work that people may want, and that the field of power recognises as legitimate and valuable. In order to determine the saleability of the works of art created, an examination on capital: cultural, social and symbolic is required. In doing so, it seeks to establish how this network facilitates the saleability of the works of art created within the field of capital framework. For Bourdieu (1986), saleability is directly related to the *objectified state* of cultural capital. He writes:

The cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality. A collection of paintings, for example, can be transmitted as well as economic capital (if not better, because the capital transfer is more disguised). (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246)

Structurally, the saleability of the works of art created is facilitated by the socio-economic network of the artists. As per Grenfell and Hardy's graphic, the structure of the overlapping networks is predicated on the acknowledgement and

recognition of cultural capital. In this context, the Creative Class is producing work within the Art World, facilitated by their education and operating within the social structure. As such the production is a by product of the cultural capital accrued within the field of education and the social capital accrued within the field of capital.

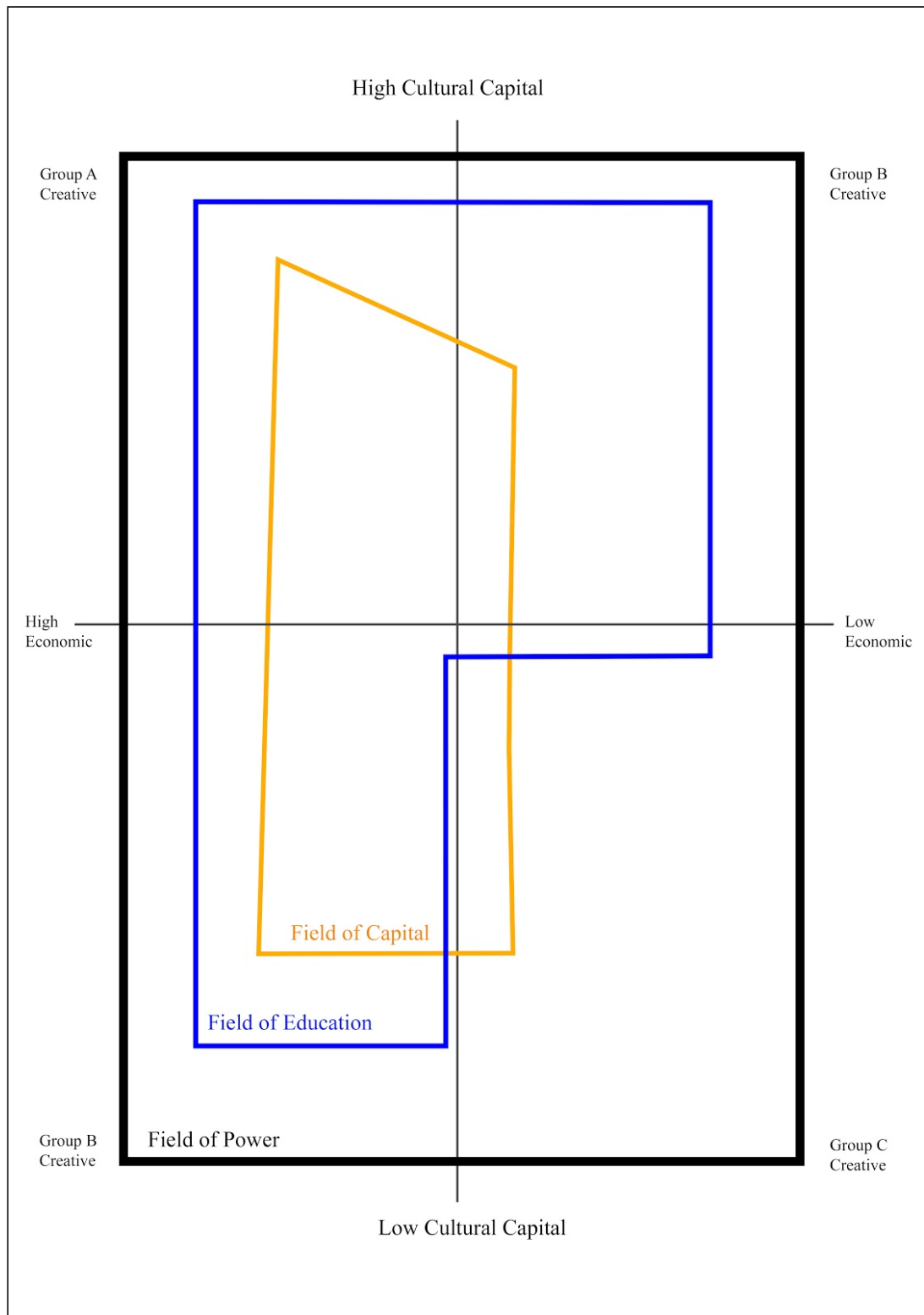
As per Adamson and Sennett, the Creative Class' network is established by their internal relationship with production and the external relationship with a network with common ground. In other words, the Creative Class are "making sense of things through the experience of making a living" (McLemee, 2008, p. 2). Simply put, the established network facilitates the saleability of the works of art created as those within the network have personal insight and lived experiences of the production process. This shared experience is a form of social capital, it is a 'scarce commodity' and built on tacit knowledge (habitus). The understandings within a network, its common ground, in this context has a direct relation to tacit knowledge. Both are "difficult to articulate and replicate from one person to another. Thus, tacit knowledge could only be understood and applied by those possessing it" (Hoe, 2006, pp 494-495). Therefore, a network is useful because within the networks of the Creative Class, there is a commonality to the tacit knowledge (habitus) of the members, and this network provides a common ground from which they can relate to each other. This is needed in order for the Creative Class to interact with the Art World. Both the Creative and their network have shared experiences which provides the necessary support to facilitate recognition and determine the saleability of the works of art created. Social and cultural capital in this context can be described as intangible currencies. Following the structure of Grenfell and Hardy's graphic above (Figure 3), the Creative Class is classified into four groupings that focus on their capital.

- Group A: High Cultural, High Economic Capital;
- Group B: High Cultural, Low Economic Capital;
- Group B: Low Cultural, High Economic Capital;
- Group C: Low Cultural, Low Economic Capital

*Table 2.4: Typology in Reference to the Field of Capital*

<b>Field</b>	<b>Group A</b>	<b>Group B</b>	<b>Group C</b>
Power	Legitimised by Field of Power	Somewhat Legitimised by Field of Power	Not Legitimised by Field of Power
Education	Recognised by Field of Education	Recognised by Field of Education	Recognised by Field of Education
Capital	High Cultural Capital	High or Low Cultural Capital	Low Cultural Capital
	High Social Capital	High Social Capital	Low Social Capital
	High Economic Capital	High or Low Economic Capital	High or Low Economic Capital
Network	Well established: those who operate within the Art World as well as the Creative Class	Somewhat established: those who operate within the Art World as well as the Creative Class	Excluded by Art World
Saleability	Sellable within the Art World	Somewhat Sellable within the Art World	Unable to be Sold within the Art World

Figure 2.4: Fields of Power, Education, Capital and Typology





## 2.4 The Collaborationists: Field of Technology

The Collaborationists conceptualise the Creative Class as a community. This section begins with the classification of an inclusive framework of those who form the Creative Class, their role and value. The *field of technology*, in this context, is the third field to intersect with the Art World's field of power because technology can connect the members of the Creative Class into communities (and thusly enhance their social capital) through the use of digital technology. This grouping is labeled *The Collaborationists* as each of the authors' literature argues that collaboration (not competition as per the field of power) amongst the Creative Class makes for a stronger network. The key authors discussed here are Howard Becker, Scott Timberg and Charles Leadbeater. The Collaborationists build on the Capitalist framework to discuss how Creatives build communities using both digital and analog means, and how interconnectedness is an opportunity for the regeneration of the Creative Class, their knowledge, and skills. Becker's work is used as the entry point into this field. Additionally, the Collaborationists discuss the democratisation of the creative experience and is a complement to the larger conceptualisation of the Art World as a whole. In order to understand the role of the community, it is essential to examine how members of the Creative Class classify themselves. This challenges the current processes of acknowledgement and recognition by the Art World. Finally, it is necessary to examine the value of technology, as proposed by the authors, to understand how digital technology facilitates the entry of the Creative Class into the Art World.

### 2.4.1 Building Communities and the Opportunities of Interconnectedness.

Becker defines the Art World as “forms of cooperation [that] may be ephemeral, but often becomes more or less routine, producing patterns of collective activity” (Becker, 2008, p.1). Because to create “involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people. Through their cooperation, the art work we eventually see or hear comes to be and continues to be” (Becker, 2008, p. 1). In other words, Becker conceptualises the Art World as a large scale participatory engagement. Becker's (1982) definition of the Art World is non-hierarchical. He writes:

Painters thus depend on manufacturers for canvas, stretchers, paint, and brushes; on dealers, collectors, and museum curators for exhibition space

and financial support; on critics and aestheticians for the rationale for what they do; on the state for the patronage or even the advantageous tax laws which persuade collectors to buy works and donate them to the public; on members of the public to respond to the work emotionally; and on the other painters, contemporary and past, who created the tradition which makes the backdrop against which their work makes sense (p. 13).

Not only does Becker's description here outline the overlapping networks required by the Creative Class to participate in and with the Art World, he recognises those who could be considered peripheral (e.g. the manufacturers) as important contributors to production by the Creative Class. This is one example of how Becker's conceptualisation of the Art World and of the Creative Class is collaborative and holistic. This idea directly challenges the field of power and the hegemony of that field in validating and recognising who joins and to what extent they 'matter.'

Sharing a similar perspective with Becker, Timberg's definition of the Creative Class is also inclusive and community focused. Timberg defines the Creative Class as "anyone who helps create or disseminate culture" (Timberg, 2015, p. 10). In order to examine those who are within the Creative Class, it is imperative to establish the role of the Creative Class within the Art World. For Timberg, the Creative Class are "purveyors of creativity" (Timberg, 2015, p. ix). Timberg's classification of the Creative Class has three concentrations. Firstly, Timberg establishes the individuals who comprise the Creative Class. Secondly, he delineates those who operate the communities and networks, and thirdly he discusses the contribution of the Creative Class' symbolic and functional capital.

For Timberg, the interconnectedness amongst the Creative Class establishes an opportunity for regeneration. In order to do so, he examines 'protecting' the Creative Class' knowledge and skills. Echoing Albers, Sennett and Adamson, within the Creative Class there is an intrinsic connection between artists and craftspeople. Their symbiotic and supplemental relationship is built upon skills and knowledge; it is a process acquired, accrued and compounded then converted into symbolic capital. This further echoes Becker's definition of an inclusive Art World. Together, Becker and Timberg recognise and validate "knowledge workers" (Nonaka, 2007, paragraph 12) and their membership to the Creative Class. This is imperative as this inclusive

ecosystem is sustained through the Creative Class' knowledge and skills. For Timberg, the Creative Class "is the driving force of economic growth" (Timberg, 2015, p. ix). However, this growth is limited by the current hierarchy found within the internal field of power within the Art World.

Leadbeater examines the role of connectivity in democratising innovation. For Leadbeater, open-source networks, a connectivity tool, bring together similar-interest individuals (SIP). The Collaborationist put forth an inclusive and non-hierarchical classification of the Creative Class which is echoed by the typology proposed here. Leadbeater's framework establishes a new legitimation process: utilising open-source networks to facilitate the interaction and connection between the Creative Class and their community. In other words, it identifies how the Creative Class builds communities using both digital and analog means, and how interconnectedness is an opportunity for the recognition of the Creative Class' capital, specifically their knowledge and skills, by both those within and without the Art World.

Building on Becker's Art World framework of a community based on joint effort facilitating production, Leadbeater conceptualises the role of technology similarly. Leadbeater identifies how technology can facilitate the interaction amongst the Creative Class themselves. For Leadbeater, digital technology "enables a mass social creativity which thrives when many players, with differing points of view and skills, the capacity to think independently and tools to contribute, are brought together in a common cause" (Leadbeater, 2009, p. 82). In other words, Leadbeater establishes a converging point for the Creative Class' capital.

Technology, in this context, is a point of intersection of the education and symbolic capital of the Creative Class, and is a tool to facilitate and mediate interactions amongst the Creative Class themselves. Moreover, Leadbeater's perspective builds on Timberg's sentiment on the recognition and contribution of the Creative Class. Both share the perspective that the Creative Class is the driving force of economic growth. Particularly, Leadbeater points out the value of collaboration as "such communities allow commerce to thrive. But it is the communities that come first. Markets trade products; communities breed knowledge" (Leadbeater, 2009, p. 25). In other words, because currently the Creative Class is not leveraging

technology to work together as a community, it is a new method for interaction among them. It is an opportunity for acknowledgement and recognition by connecting with each other through knowledge and skills.

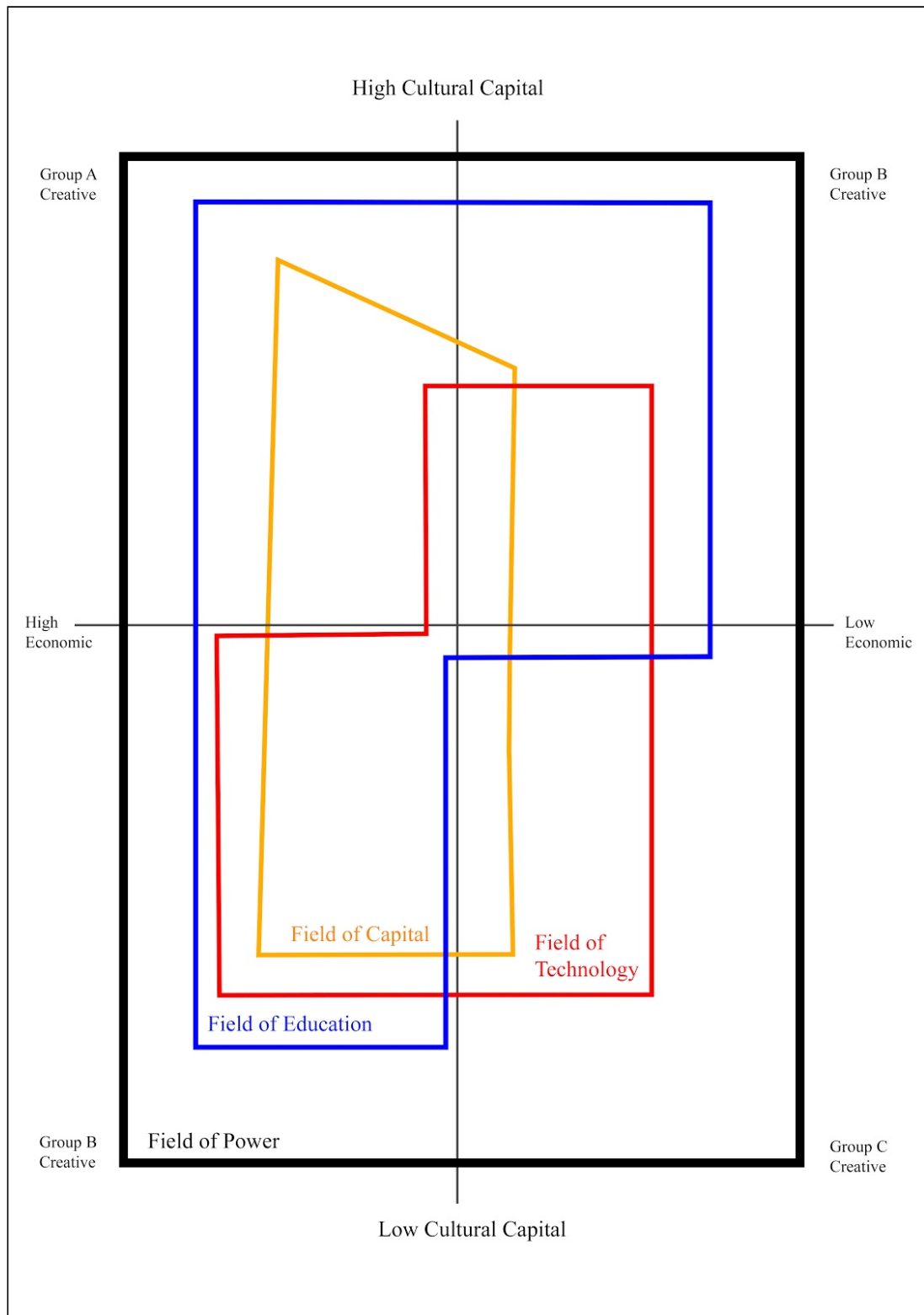
In order to understand the classification of the Creative Class as a community, it requires examination. For Leadbeater, the web is defined as a place where “more people can collaborate more effectively in creating new ideas” (Leadbeater in Weinberger, 2008, p. 80). The role of the internet is that it facilitates the ability of the Creative Class to interact with those who are otherwise unreachable. Furthermore, the value of the internet as proposed by Leadbeater *is* its ability to facilitate these connections formed. This examination provides insight on the interactions of communities of SIPs. Moreover, it acknowledges a process on “how we think, play, work and create, together, en masse, thanks to the web” (Leadbeater in Weinberger, 2008, p. 81). Leadbeater’s process refers back to the Valuist conceptualisation of the role and value of education as well as the typology of the Creative Class.

Additionally, it builds on The Valuists’ conceptualisation of education by incorporating internet use. This process establishes an inclusive relationship between the Creative Class and the Art World by challenging the hierarchies of the Art World and the effects of exclusion on the Creative Class. Leadbeater’s integrative concept restructures the Art World’s recognition system; identifying an alternative interaction between the Creative Class and the Art World. The field of technology is the field where the Creative Class can find structural support as a community, and provides a space for the democratisation of the creative experience by presenting an inclusive and integrative framework.

*Table 2.5: Typology in reference to the Field of Technology*

<b>Field</b>	<b>Key Concept</b>	<b>Group A</b>	<b>Group B</b>	<b>Group C</b>
Power	Legitimacy	Legitimised by Field of Power	Somewhat Legitimised by Field of Power	Not legitimised by Field of Power
Education	Recognition	Recognised by Field of Education	Recognised by Field of Education	Not Recognised by Field of Education
Capital		High Cultural Capital	High or Low Cultural Capital	Low Cultural Capital
		High Social Capital	High Social Capital	Low Social Capital
		High Economic Capital	High or Low Economic Capital	High or Low Economic Capital
	Network	Well established: those who operate within the Art World as well as the Creative Class	Somewhat established: those who operate within the Art World as well as the Creative Class	Excluded by Art World
	Saleability	Sellable within the Art World	Somewhat Sellable within the Art World	Unable to be Sold within the Art World
Technology	Skills	Acquired	Acquired	Acquired
	Knowledge	Acquired	Acquired	Acquired

Figure 2.5: Fields of Power, Education, Capital and Technology



## 2.5 The Economists: Field of Commerce

Up to this point, this overview of the literature has established the structures of the Art World and where there are limitations or opportunities for gaining access into the Art World per each field. Additionally, the fields of education, capital and technology have examined the power of intangible and symbolic concepts within each field. In contrast, within the *field of commerce* examined here, a more concrete, quantifiable and tangible concept is discussed, that of the role of money. The Economists examine the relationship between the Creative Class and their economic capital. Pine and Gilmore's work lead this section and these authors provide a tangible framework from which the Creative Class can work to reconcile with the Art World's valuation and legitimation process. In doing so, it establishes an avenue for opportunity for the Creative Class. By examining this field of commerce, it provides a clearer understanding of how the Art World distributes wealth, and how this process leads to assigning value and legitimacy. In order to establish the role of economic capital, it is necessary to understand the relationship between the Creative Class and their social and symbolic cultural capital. As per Howkins (2001), "[c]reativity is not new and neither is economics, but what is new is the nature and extent of the relationship between them, and how they combine to create extraordinary value and wealth" (p. viii). In other words, as "economic capital is the most liquid, most readily convertible form" (Anheier et al., 1995, p. 862), it is a quantifiable mediator between the Creative Class and the Art World.

### 2.5.1 Getting That Money

As discussed in the previous sections, the Art World is filled with barriers. The discussion indicated that in order to be acknowledged and recognised by the Art World, the Creative Class must have tools facilitating and mediating the interaction (i.e. the capital obtained within the other fields). Yet even for those who have been legitimised and validated by this closed social world, they are nevertheless in constant danger to have "fallen from grace" (Buck and Dodd, 1991, p. 13). There is no guarantee for a secure position within the Art World. Unfortunately, "just as neglect has been the fate of some works which were at first lauded, there is also the case of artists, sometimes initially well-considered, other times not, who are wiped

off the historical record or neglected by subsequent critical and institutional judgement” (Buck and Dodd, 1991, p. 13). In other words, the economic value of the Creative Class, as a social class, is contingent on any number of things, not the least of which are the whims of the Art World. Despite this fact, referring back to the Collaborationist, Timberg (2015), the Creative Class “is the driving force of economic growth” (p. ix). This paradox identifies the need for a different way for the Creative Class to reconcile with the Art World’s legitimation process.

For Pine and Gilmore, this new and different way is centered around the modern economy. They argue that the economy has shifted from a service economy to an experience based economy (Pine and Gilmore, 2011). In other words, experiences are misrecognised as an economic opportunity and as a quantifiable asset. For them, “experiences represent an existing but previously unarticulated *genre of economic output*” (Pine and Gilmore, 2011, p. xxiv emphasis in original). Moreover, they believe that “economists have typically lumped experiences in with services, but experiences are a distinct economic offering, as different from services as services are from goods” (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p. 97). In order to navigate in the experience economy, Pine and Gilmore developed a tool to bring out economic value. This tool is a five step value-creating opportunities checklist and their main contribution to the field of commerce. The checklist is:

1. customizing goods;
2. enhancing services;
3. charging for experiences;
4. fusing digital technology with reality;
5. and transformative experiences, a promising frontier (Pine and Gilmore, 2014, p. 24).

Though Pine and Gilmore do not directly engage with the Art World, their assertion that the economy is based on experiences and that by operationalising experiences economic return can be expected, puts forth the functioning of capital in the economy. Currently, the Art World “turns objects into art and gives a particular value to the things that it processes. It is not simply that the art market sells art, but that it can transform what it sells into artworks” (Buck and Dodd, 1991, p. 18). In other



words, the Art World continues to succeed by restricting access for the Creative Class. Furthermore, “the value of art doesn’t transcend history but is rather constituted by it; that the particular value given to art is itself subject to, although not reducible to, the values of the social groups and institutions which address it” (Buck and Dodd, 1991 pp. 14-16). This provides an understanding of how the Art World’s distribution of wealth process leads to assigning legitimacy. Pine and Gilmore’s assertion of the primacy of the experience economy can lead to financial opportunities for the Creative Class if they can learn to reconceptualise the capital they acquire from the other fields beyond the narrow definitions permitted by the Art World.

Using Pine and Gilmore’s five-step process as a tool that can establish a new way of exchange between the Art World and the Creative Class, as well as between the Creative Class and its community, would provide immeasurable benefits. By shifting the accrued and compounded symbolic capital, “[a]s services, like goods [such as art works] before them, [symbolic capital has] increasingly become commoditized” (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p. 98) as an experience. To realise the potential of the experience economy, and “to realize the full benefit of staging experiences, [the Creative Class] must deliberately design engaging experiences that command a fee” (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p. 98). In other words, this is a process to monetise symbolic capital into economic value.

The Creative Class must charge for their symbolic capital in order to legitimise the time used to accrue and compound their individual capital. According to Pine and Gilmore, the Creative Class must “explicitly charge for experience time. Time is the primary currency of the experience economy” (Pine and Gilmore, 2014, p. 25). This is because as the value of tacit knowledge accrues, it is recognised as a form of experience based knowledge and a fee is assigned for sharing this knowledge. This process therefore does not “focus on the products or services themselves but on how they are made, discussed, and experienced; the movement is away from products and toward the consumer’s imagination” (Turner, 2007, p. 75) and interest in the Creative Class. Furthermore, this process establishes the Creative Class’ capital is indeed economically viable.

The field of commerce, is where the Creative Class can “transition from selling services to selling experiences” (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p. 98) in a new interaction with the Art World and within Creative Class themselves. This is because Pine and Gilmore (1998) argue that the experience of sharing symbolic capital and tacit knowledge is ultimately more valuable than the ‘service’ of selling artworks. For them,

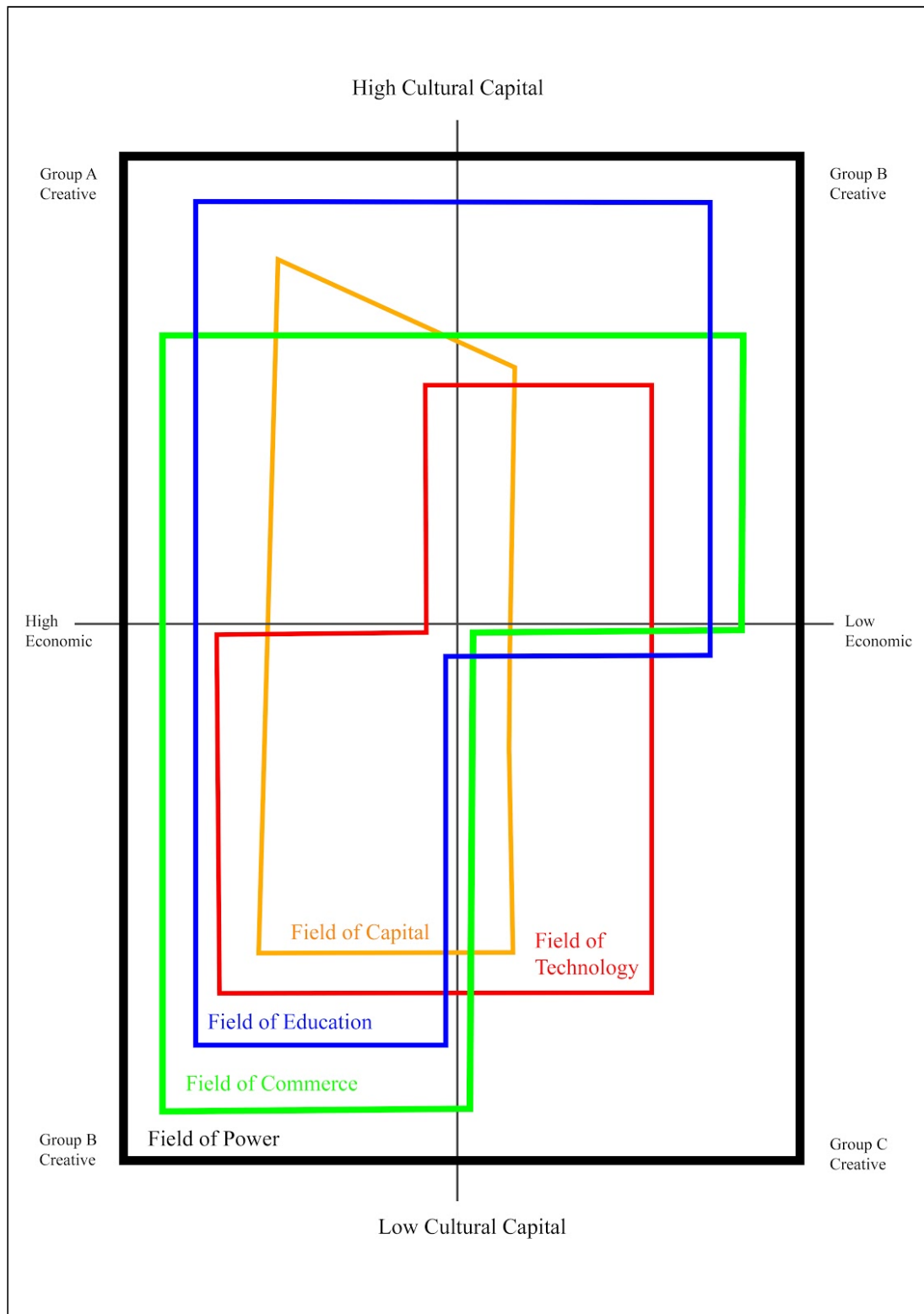
[a]n experience occurs when [the Creative Class] intentionally uses services as the stage, and goods as props, to engage individual customers in a way that creates a memorable event. Commodities are fungible, goods tangible, services intangible, and experiences memorable (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p. 98).

This exchange from the service economy to one built on memorable experience is critical for the Creative Class in order to fund, share, move, and volunteer knowledge. For Pine and Gilmore (2014), “to create high-quality experiences that customers will pay for is even more important than goods or service innovation” (p. 25). In order to legitimise the Creative Class’ accrued symbolic capital, it must be converted from the intangible to the tangible. Therefore, “when you customize an experience, you automatically turn it into a transformation. [The Creative Class] enabling transformations should charge not merely for time but for the change resulting from that time” (Pine and Gilmore, 2014, p. 24). Assigning a price for admission for the creative experience, validates the value of the Creative Class. Pine and Gilmore’s classification of experiences, which builds on Dewey’s framework, examines the process of continuity between daily experiences and the monetisation of such experiences. The transformation of symbolic capital operating in a symbolic economy into tangible monetisation within the everyday economy, offers a new avenue for the legitimation and validation of the Creative Class. Ultimately, the field of commerce is in direct competition with the field of power, because it provides an avenue for the legitimation and validation of the Creative Class that pays no mind to existing hierarchies. This field is relatively new within the Art World, and the strength of its effects on the Creative Class remains to be seen.

Table 2.6: Typology in reference to the Field of Commerce

Field	Key Concept	Group A	Group B	Group C
Power	Legitimacy	Legitimised by Field of Power	Somewhat Legitimised by Field of Power	Not Legitimised by Field of Power
Education	Recognition	Recognised by Field of Education	Recognised by Field of Education	Not Recognised by Field of Education
Capital		High Cultural Capital	High or Low Cultural Capital	Low Cultural Capital
		High Social Capital	High Social Capital	Low Social Capital
		High Economic Capital	High or Low Economic Capital	High or Low Economic Capital
	Network	Well established: those who operate within the Art World as well as the Creative Class	Somewhat established: those who operate within the Art World as well as the Creative Class	Excluded by Art World
	Saleability	Sellable within the Art World	Somewhat Sellable within the Art World	Unable to be Sold within the Art World
Technology	Skills	Acquired	Acquired	Acquired
	Knowledge	Acquired	Acquired	Acquired
Commerce	customising goods			
	enhancing services			
	charging for experiences			
	fusing digital technology with reality			
	transformative experiences			

Figure 2.6: Field of Power, Education, Capital Technology and Commerce



## 2.6 Conclusion

The literature review as presented here has a distinct approach; it has been presented using Bourdieu's field theory. Bourdieu's classification is a useful tool for bringing together, categorising, and analysing the disparate literature that exists on the Art World under one umbrella, and to divide key authors and their work into the fields in which they are most appropriate. However, since the Art World is not made up of tidy little boxes, parsing out the fields and the literature that explains them, is also not entirely straightforward. In applying Bourdieu's field theory here, the intersections and overlaps within the Art World become apparent. In understanding these intersections and overlaps, the potential for innovation becomes clearer. It is only from understanding the current structure of the Art World, and its complex system of overlapping networks and hierarchies, that opportunities for further growth be identified.

In this chapter, the five fields that comprise the Art World were delineated and analysed. These are the field of power (the Elites); the field of education (The Valuists); the field of capital (the Capitalists); the field of technology (the Collaborationists) and the field of commerce (the Economists). Each of the fields examines the literature written about the Creative Class and the Art World in their contexts. The authors discussed establish frameworks to analyse the different roles and relationships between the Art World and the Creative Class.

In applying Bourdieu's field theory, four fields were constructed and examined against the Art Worlds' internal field of power. Sarah Thornton's classification sets up this internal field. Thornton establishes the elite arenas of the Art World as The Auction, The Crit, The Fair, The Magazine, The Biennale, Studio Visit, and The Prize. The field of power examines how

'[p]ower' operates as a meta-field or macro-concept to describe the way in which individuals and institutions in dominant fields [...] relate to one another and the whole social field. The field of power operates as a configuration of capital (economic, cultural and symbolic) that shapes relations and practices within these fields (Webb, Schiarto & Danaher, 2002, p.xii).

In this context, the field of power is where the elite institutions and individuals assign value and legitimacy within the Art World.

The second grouping, The Valuists, discuss the role and value of education within the Art World. Collectively Bourdieu, Dewey and Albers establish education as “a way of being within society” (Adamson, 2007, p. 100) based on the accumulation of cultural capital. As such the cultural capital received from education is the first qualifier in gaining access into the current Art World. Moreover, field of education, is the first grouping to analyse when looking at the Art World structure, because the field of education introduces the Creative Class to the rules and hierarchies of the Art World, and as such it is the gateway into the Art World and the primary currency the Creative Class can use to interact with the Art World.

The third field identified is the field of capital. The Capitalists discuss the acquisition of the *non-economic* capital of the creative class, specifically social capital, and how their objectified state of cultural capital accrues value. The field of capital is broken down into two main areas: the socio-economic network of the artists and the saleability of the works of art created. Grenfell and Hardy (2007), Nonaka and Takeuchi (1991), Adamson (2007) and Sennett (2007) analyse how capital is used between, and within, the Art World and the Creative Class in this field.

Following the Capitalists, The Collaborationists, examine the Creative Class as a community. This section established an inclusive framework in order to discuss the role and value of the Creative Class. For Becker, Timberg, and Leadbeater inclusivity democratises the creative experience and is a compliment to the larger whole within the Bourdieusian field framework. In order to do so, a discussion about using technology to connect the Creative Class, and how interconnectedness is an opportunity for recognising the Creative Class, their knowledge, and skills was required.

The fifth field identified, the field of commerce, discusses new ideas of economy for the Creative Class. The Economists central focus is on the conversion of non-economic to economic capital for the Creative Class. Pine and Gilmore (2011) conceptualises the experience economy as a way for the Creative Class to do this outside of the restrictive confines of the field of power. Moreover, Pine and Gilmore provide a comprehensive framework from which the Creative Class can

leverage their social and cultural capital in an innovative way in order to generate economic growth.

This body of work is by no means the entirety of the literature written on the Art World or the Creative Class; however, these works were selected because together they form a robust picture of the fields of the Art World. Throughout this literature review, Bourdieusian theory and method were applied. The following chapter takes a step back to explain his theoretical concepts in more detail, and provides the methodological context for the empirical aspects of this study.

## **Chapter 3: Theory and Methodology**

### **3.1 Ladies and Gentlemen, Pierre Bourdieu**

This chapter discusses the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this dissertation. Section One will discuss the theoretical foundations of this research: Bourdieu's conceptual triad of *field*, *habitus* and *capital*. Together, this theoretical and methodological toolbox provides a practical position from which to discuss the assumptions and the nature of social reality, and the nature of knowledge and ways of knowing/learning about social reality. As previously mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Bourdieu's sociology is, at its outset, critical of "inherited categories and accepted ways of thinking and of the subtle forms of rule wielded by technocrats and intellectuals in the name of culture and rationality" (Wacquant, 2006, p. 264). As such, Bourdieu's sociology is based on four premises (as per Wacquant, 2006, pp. 264-265): firstly, it is unapologetically *anti-dualistic*. Bourdieu does not have time for the ongoing antinomy within the social sciences between, among other things: positivism and interpretivism, objectivism and subjectivism, and macro and micro levels of analysis. This is a useful place from which to engage with the Art World because the dichotomies presented in the binary of social science paradigms limits the ability to present the entire picture: that the Art World is ultimately a system of structures *and* experiences which, at all levels of the social sphere - from micro to macro - are constantly challenging and reinforcing the status quo within it. Bourdieu's agenda of disrupting these oppositions for a more comprehensive understanding of any social reality is ideal for decoding the intricacies of the Art World's systems.

Secondly, Bourdieu's scientific practice is *synthetic*, meaning he combines intellectual, theoretical and methodological streams with a mixed approach to data collection. When studying the Art World and the Creative Class, it is useful to study the structure *and* the people producing it. The Art World is granted a 'special' place in society by Bourdieu, and understanding how it operates within its walls, with a balance of data, is key to understanding an aspect of society attributed with perpetuating class conflict. This leads us to Bourdieu's third premise, in the tradition of Max Weber, that Bourdieu presupposes society as *agonistic* at its foundation.



Bourdieu's inquiries bring to the fore the conflict and struggle intrinsic in society previously (and purposely) made invisible and unintelligible. The Art World, as argued by Bourdieu, is the locus of culture and taste, and just as it has a role in the competitive social universe of Western societies, within itself there are structures of competition and hierarchy generally unseen and misunderstood, especially by those within it - (the Creative Class) (Wacquant, 1996). Thirdly, it is *recognition* - not realist assumptions of personal interest or gain - that Bourdieu believes motivates human behaviour. Recognition within the Art World is the prime currency within it. Understanding the interaction of how the Creative Class is granted legitimacy (or recognition) and how the Creative Class interprets this legitimacy is key to understanding the systems of the Art World.

In order to meet this lofty agenda, Bourdieu proposes that “the way to proceed is through structural analysis, but not structure in the traditional (Lévi-Straussian), reified sense, but structure as both sense activity and objective surroundings – a kind of dialectic between the individual (including all that they share in common with other individuals, as well as their particular idiosyncrasies) and what confronts them in culture and the material world” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2008, p. 26). In other words, social reality is found in the relationship between “what is known and an act of knowing” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2008, p. 25) and Bourdieu's sociology is “characterized by a concern to connect the social realm of ideas with the structured patterning of society” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2008, p. 26). For Bourdieu, “as for Marx and Durkheim, the stuff of social reality [...] consists of relations. Not individuals or groups, which crowd our mundane horizon, but webs of material and symbolic ties constitute the proper object of social analysis” (Wacquant, 2013, p. 275). For Bourdieu, the ‘proper object of social analysis’ or what he would consider an empirical case, *is* the dialectic - the touchpoints in any social space where the objective structure interfaces with the subjective agency of individuals. As per Wacquant (2013):

[t]hese relations exist under two major forms: first reified as sets of objective positions that persons occupy (institutions or ‘fields’) and which externally constrain perception and action; and, second, deposited inside individual bodies in the form of mental schemata of perception and appreciation (whose

layered articulation compose the ‘habitus’) through which we internally experience and actively construct the lived world (p. 275).

From this epistemological and ontological viewpoint, it is possible to shed light on the foundation from which the Creative Class learns and is taught the ways of interaction and relationships with and within the social systems of the Art World. From these interactions, the objective structures of the Art World (the *fields* discussed in the previous chapter) become more clearly demarcated.<sup>22</sup>

The second section of this chapter discusses Bourdieu’s Three-Step methodology in greater detail, and outlines the rationale for the mixed methods chosen for data collection. In sum, this chapter outlines the theoretical positioning of this work, examines the methodological position adopted and explains the approach to the data analysis.

## **3.2 Unpacking Bourdieu’s Methodology**

### *3.2.1 Say I Do: The Marriage of Objective Structure and Subjective Experience*

This section addresses how the Bourdieusian Framework bridges the conceptual gaps in the supposed dichotomy between objective and subjective understandings of the social world. Bourdieu outright rejects the polarisation presented by the subjectivist and objectivist positions, and “contends that the opposition between these two approaches is artificial and mutilating” (Wacquant, 2006, p. 267). As such, Bourdieu puts forth an agenda that consists of understanding the social world as the *relationships* between the objects of our reality: the structures that operate based on their historical precedence, and the human beings that exist independently of these, but whose interactions and experiences impact (and are impacted by) said structures.

As Holden and Lynch (2004) explain, human nature should be understood as “both deterministic and voluntaristic, that is, humans are born into an already structured society, yet societal structures evolve and change through human interaction” (p. 407). Therefore, it is one thing to identify the conceptual and operational boundaries of the Art World (i.e. to determine the objective social space(s) within which the interactions between structure and agency occur); however, a purely objective analysis of the structure of the Art World, without

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<sup>22</sup> As described in the previous chapter, the structures of the Art World are the institutions, their rules and practises, within fields of power, education, capital, technology, and commerce.

engaging with the humans who operate within it, would be woefully incomplete.

Moreover,

Bourdieu's sociology defines agents and their practices according to their specific position in relation to other agents within a common, interdependent structure. To describe these relations empirically, Bourdieu introduced the concept of 'social space' which he defined as a space of stratified *differences* based on the availability of, in particular, economic and cultural capital (Schmitz et al, 2017, p. 51, emphasis in original)

It is through identifying the interactions between the layers of social spaces, in a set time and place, that its structures are elucidated. Therefore, in order to examine the Art World, the Creative Class and their complex interplay, it is essential to understand how structures come to exist in Bourdieusian theory.

For Bourdieu, the facts of the social world lay in the *dialectic* or the networks of interactions as humans interface with the structures they have reified either tacitly or through their collective will, and that have subsequently become independent social realities from the humans they came from (Wacquant, 2006). This cycle between the subjective and the objective realities of life is defined as being in both "an objectivist and a subjectivist mode: the structural relation arising in individuals' sense activities with their surroundings and in the organizing structures of society – both material and ideological" (Grenfell and Hardy, 2009, p. 27). In other words, firstly, "objective structures produce people, their subjectivities, their worldview; and, as a consequence; secondly, they also produce what people come to know as the 'reality' of the world; and lastly, every thing, object and idea within a culture only has meaning in relation to other elements in that culture" (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 34). Moreover, as per Wacquant (2006):

'the two moments, objectivist and subjectivist, stand in dialectical relationship' (Bourdieu 1987/1994: 125). On the one side, the *social structures* that the sociologist lays bare in the objectivist phase, by pushing aside subjective representations of the agent, do mould the latter's practices by establishing constraints and prescribing possible paths. But, on the other side, these representations, and the *mental structures* that underpin them, must also be taken into account insofar as they guide the individual and collective struggles through which agents seek to conserve or transform these objective structures. What is more, ***social structures and mental structures are interlinked by a twofold relationship of mutual constitution and correspondence*** (p. 267, emphasis mine).

However, this endless relationality evokes the old adage, ‘if a tree falls in the forest, and no one is there to hear it, does it make a sound?’ If there is no one to participate in a structure, and thus perpetuate its existence, is it an *objective* social fact?

Bourdieu would argue it is not absolutely objective, as in his conceptualisation, the ‘objective’ reality of any thing, object or idea within a culture exists manifested as *fields*, (when the relationality and the rationality of said field appears to self-perpetuate regardless of subjective understandings); however, fields, empirically, are only in existence when there is some kind of collective understanding and acceptance of their existence (Schmitz et al, 2017). This collective negotiation is underscored by Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus* and *capital*. According to Friedland (2009):

Bourdieu deploys the concept of habitus to articulate interested individual action on the one hand, and a constraining social structure, on the other. Social structure is twice objectified: in the human body as habitus and in the spatio-temporal organization of persons and objects in the world. That world is differentiated into different fields within which different forms of capital - economic, cultural, social and symbolic being the generic forms - are differentially active and distributed among positions within that field. Habitus is the incorporation of position as disposition, that is, as an incorporation of the categorical order immanent to that social structure of positions, a structure that is only ‘active’ to the extent it is embodied as habitus (Bourdieu, 1998: 47; 1990b: 146; 1977: 81) (p. 3).

Simply put, humans experience life, reify those experiences for the purposes of existence, are affected by this reified structure, and then act according to perceptions of rules, both external to them in their genesis, and internal to the very thought processes, and which enforce these reified structures that are also constraining.

Bourdieu's idea of structure establishes “the relationship between an individual and the social world and the implications this may have for constituent activity within it” (Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p. 9). The structural aspects of social life (fields), therefore, bestow the objective rules and regulations for the ways of interaction or the ways of doing things within its social context. Within the Art World, these are the ways the Creative Class are prescribed to act as they convert the knowledge and capital they gain from their life experiences and interactions with and within the fields of the Art World (i.e. their habitus) into their practice within it. This structural relationship is important to understand as it underscores the dynamic

between the Art World and the Creative Class. Thus, Bourdieu acknowledges the objective independence of structure(s) within the social world, but does not limit his analysis to merely these fields.

Ultimately, Bourdieu and this work, recognises that “the social whole cannot be understood independently of its parts, and vice versa” (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 237) and therefore “[t]he notions of cultural field and the habitus were ‘created’ by Bourdieu primarily as a means of thinking beyond this subjectivist-objectivist split” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 32). Hence, the Art World cannot be examined individually without its constituent counterpart: the Creative Class. Rather, for a thorough investigation, the Art World must be looked at through Bourdieu’s dual lens which provides clarity on both the structure as well as how the individual components interpret, construct and perpetuate the whole and its values.

Structures, therefore, are not purely objective - they do not exist in a vacuum, unaffected by those who engage with them; they are, at least to some extent, established by their participants. The objective social world is predicated on subjective understandings of it, while at the same time, subjective understandings are facilitated by the existence of an objective structure. This endless interexchange of habitus and field is mediated by Bourdieu’s conception of capital (i.e. economic, social, cultural and symbolic) as the tools used to identify one’s position within the structure. Therefore, “habitus as the transformation of position into individual disposition, and field as the objective structuring of those positions which command different amounts of capital dominant in the field” (Friedland, 2009, p. 2). Adopting the Bourdieusian field, habitus and capital methodology bridges the “divide between ‘academic theories’ and everyday practices” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 45). Bourdieu’s incorporation of field theory into his conceptual toolbox is pragmatic because:

Field theory in sociology naturally has a number of features specific to the discipline (the aim of superseding dualisms, the importance of the history of the field, etc.), but what characterizes field theories, regardless of the discipline, and therefore constitutes their common epistemological background, is that they reject the existence of an absolute (social or physical) space and consequently of individual objects or agents existing independently of a set of relations. Space, whether social or physical, is relational. The field implies the existence of an indivisible dynamics between a totality and the elements that constitute it (Passeron 2003: 41). It does not

designate an entity but a system of relations. The effectiveness of the principles underlying the theoretical method of analysis in terms of field therefore stems from the fact that they express the general characteristics of the mechanisms of interdependence (Lewin 1949: 284). ***The field is the analytical space defined by the interdependence of the entities that compose a structure of positions among which there are power relations*** (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, pp. 4-5, emphasis mine).

The social world, therefore, is made up of the constant interaction between the field, habitus and varying forms of capital. When looked at together, this conceptual triad reveals the mechanisms of dominance within any social structure. Using the idea of *field* as an area within a social space in which individuals and structures interact, Bourdieu provides a framework to analyse the validation and legitimation process as established by the Art World both imposed on, and tacitly accepted by, the Creative Class. Through a Bourdieusian examination of the mentioned processes, the tool allows for the deconstruction of the “question of value” (Prior, 2004, p. 587) as well as “on what grounds can these value judgements be made” (Prior, 2004, p. 587). Operating from the premise that much of the Art World is fluid, it is necessary to examine the current valuation and legitimation structure as it will provide greater understanding of its formation, its application, and the effects of this structure-based valuation system on the Creative Class.

In applying these conceptual tools, this work, in its entirety, is a study of the field, habitus and capital of the Art World and select members of the Creative Class. Coupling a breakdown of the fields with a survey of the Creative Class reveals the agonistic aspects of the relationship in this case, and how hierarchy and mechanisms of recognition operate within this semi-closed system. The following section discusses the role of field, habitus and capital in the system formation of the Art World, specifically the classification of the Art World as a *cultural field*; the implications of this classification in regards to the hierarchical structures; their explicit and implicit rules; and the processes of legitimation and recognition within the Art World. Next this study will discuss habitus and capital as conceptual tools, which will lead into discussions of the empirical aspects of this study.

### 3.2.2 *The Holy Trinity: Field, Habitus, and Capital*

To understand the position of the Creative Class within the Art World, one must look at both the structure of the Art World and the operationalisation of the agency of the Creative Class within it. Bourdieu's theoretical framework includes the tools to this with his theoretical postulations of *field*, *habitus* and *capital*. When looked at together, these three concepts provide vital information on the mechanisms of any social system, from the macro to the micro. This is the analytic strength of Bourdieu's sociology. Because Bourdieu possessed a general lack of regard for the seemingly irreconcilability of the traditional levels of analysis, he combined them in his conceptual framework, and punctuates the points of contact and conflict *between them* as the social phenomena worthy of study. While Bourdieu is considered a structuralist, and believed in the analytic value of categorising the social world into 'levels of interaction' (i.e. field, habitus and capital), he also believed in studying all of them, together, in order to reveal anything meaningful about the social world. For Bourdieu, "[t]he concepts of habitus, capital, and field are thus internally linked to one another as each achieves its full analytical potency only in tandem with the others" (Wacquant, 2006, p. 270). The following discussion of field, habitus and capital does not attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the entire Art World and its relationship to the Creative Class. Instead it uses these comprehensive analytic tools provided by Bourdieusian theory to unravel and explain how the system of the Art World operates, its conceptual and operational relationship with the Creative Class and lastly, the overlapping connections between them.

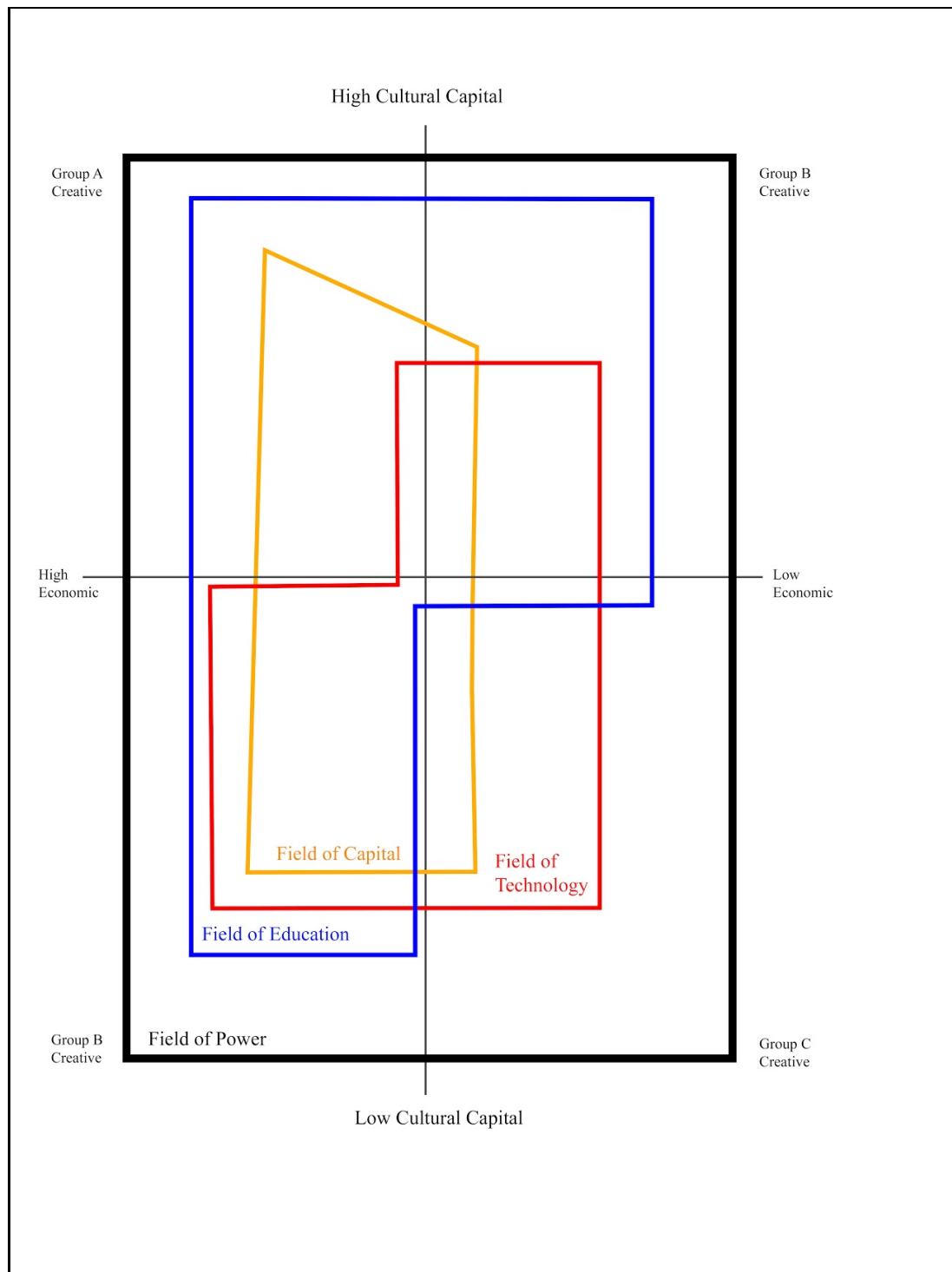
The first aspect of Bourdieu's theory which is important to examine is his concept of *field*. For Bourdieu, the field is an interconnected map situating the interactions between the Art World and the Creative Class. In other words, the field is where the structure of the social world dictates the relationship among and between the occupants of said social world. The field is also where the explicit and implicit rules between and within the Creative Class and the Art World are generated and objectified, and where the Art World accords legitimacy and recognition to members of the Creative Class. The other aspects of Bourdieu's theory, *habitus* and *capital*, are discussed in subsequent sections.

Through identifying the habitus and capital of the Creative Class, we can see

the interpretation of the Art World system from the Creative Class' perspective; how the Creative Class interpret the legitimation and recognition; as well as the Creative Class' interpretation of the Art World's legitimation and recognition as it impacts their creative career. To understand how the habitus and capital of the Creative Class interfaces with the fields of the Art World, an ideal-type typology of the Creative Class is proposed. This comprehensive categorisation system is an entry point from which to engage with Bourdieusian theory and methodology in this context. It does so firstly by establishing how each grouping of the Creative Class maneuvers the fields of the Art World, followed by how each level of the typology is a measure of the habitus and capital of its group members. From this discussion on the typology of the Creative Class, the empirical aspects of this study, including the method and methodology process, are then discussed.



Figure 3.1: Fields of Power, Education, Capital and Technology



Based on the information from the literature, the objective structures (the fields) of the current Art World are represented here. The structures are based on this research and the understandings of the Art World and the Creative Class developed here. This representation has no analytical value, it is not a tool, rather it is a map of the relationship and overlaps of the Art World, its fields and the participants.

### *I. Where The Heck Are We? Identifying the Field:*

As discussed in the previous sections and in Chapter Two, Bourdieu's concept of the *field* is the analytical starting point from which to discuss the objective structures of a social system. These objective structures are everything from the buildings we enter, to the rules of conduct once we are inside those buildings, and the field is the social milieu in which these structures are embedded (e.g. a society, a family, or the Art World). As per Hilgers and Mangez's (2014):

[t]hinking in terms of fields requires a conversion of one's entire usual vision of the social world, a vision interested only in those things which are visible [...] the notion of the field presupposes that one break away from the realist representation which leads one to reduce the effect of the milieu to the effect of the direct action that takes place in any interaction. It is the structure of the relations constitutive of the space of the field which determines the forms that can be assumed by the visible relations of interaction and the very content of the experience that agents may have of them (Bourdieu, 1982:- 41; Bourdieu 1990c: 192) (p. 1).

So how does a Bourdieusian explanation of any social system occur? How does one extricate one field from another in order to put it, alongside others, in a social space?

If "a social space is defined as the totality of fields present at the societal level" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724 in Kirschbaum, 2012, p. 6), and fields are "arenas of production, circulation, and appropriation of goods, services, knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolize different kinds of capital" (Swartz, 1996, p. 79), the boundaries of any field are, by all accounts, arbitrary and only exist insofar that participants within that field agree to their existence.

However, there is no question as to whether there *are* limits that exist in reality: there are boundaries in the world that we tacitly understand and operationalise daily (such as the laws of science and nature) and there are also limits we actively accept as 'correct' (e.g. social norms, the rule of law, or how to behave in a museum). Therefore, the boundaries of any field are able to be delineated. Schmitz et. al (2017) reiterate Bourdieu and Wacquant stating: "[t]he limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 100; cf. also pp. 232ff) (p. 56). Moreover, "notion of the field is not only meant to imply a relational form of epistemology, but also serves to

designate distinct sub-spaces within the global space. There are various fields within the social world, and each field is a relational space of its own, dedicated to a specific type of activity” (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 5).

Swartz (1996) explains the genesis of these ‘distinct sub-spaces, dedicated to specific types of activity’ as *arenas of struggle* and *structured spaces of dominant and subordinate positions*; bounded by *specific forms of struggle*, that are structured significantly by *internal mechanisms of development* (pp. 79-81). First and foremost, fields are *arenas for struggle* over the various forms of capital: what is it, who has it, and how it gets distributed. The Art World, for example, values the cultural and symbolic capital of the Creative Class above all others, but this system of valuation is a moving target for the Creative Class which inevitably leads to conflict within the field. And, since “[a]ctors also struggle over the very definitions of what are to be considered the most valued resources in fields,” (Swartz, 1996, p. 79) the Art World structures are, for the Creative Class, *structured spaces of dominant and subordinate positions*, where they vie for their capital(s) to be recognised and thusly legitimated. The Art World and its hierarchies of capital valuation are able to “exercise some degree of monopoly power over the definition and distribution of capital” (Swartz, 1996, p. 80) and therefore impose on the Creative Class *specific forms of struggle*.

Conflict is expected in any field (for Bourdieu this is the nitty gritty of the social world); however, like any competition, “entry into a field requires a tacit acceptance of the rules of the game” (Swartz, 1996, p. 80). This requires that both the “dominant establishment and the subordinate challengers share a tacit acceptance” of what legitimate action is within the field, and that “the field of struggle is worth pursuing in the first place” (Swartz, 1996, p. 80).<sup>23</sup> Once this tacit agreement has been reached, fields become “structured to a significant extent by their own *internal mechanisms of development* and thus hold some degree of autonomy from the external environment” (Swartz, 1996, p. 81). The Art World is

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<sup>23</sup> As per Swartz (1996): “Bourdieu refers to this deep structure of fields as the *Doxa* for it represents a tacit, fundamental agreement on the stakes of struggle” (p. 80). *Doxa*, in this case, is the fact that despite the barriers within the fields of the Art World, the Creative Class a. still exist as the cultural/artistic producers within the Art World; and b. continue to make work regardless of whether they ‘get in’ to the higher echelons of the Art World. Within the social space of the Art World, there is a tacit acceptance by both the Creative Class and the Art World that cultural production is essential for the functioning of any society, and they share a fundamental agreement that the Art World is worth fighting in, and for.

relatively autonomous from the economic or political concerns of larger society because of its capacity “to control the recruitment, socialization, and careers of actors, and to impose its own specific ideology” (Swartz, 1996, p. 81) onto the Creative Class as part of the rules of the game (that the Creative Class, in turn, agree to).

The previous chapter of this work, therefore, was a deconstruction of the ‘totality of fields’ within the Art World that exist independently from the populations they define (i.e. the Creative Class) and which are all dedicated to the specific activities of the Art World.<sup>24</sup> Previous studies of the Art World are primarily structure-based, and have done a fairly thorough job of discussing various structural aspects of the Art World. As such, these major authors have inadvertently divided the Art World into its objective sub-fields. Very few of the authors surveyed in the Literature Review, however, have brought their ideas together under the same umbrella as others, and discussed how each layer (or field) of the Art World interacts with another, or, more importantly, looked at how they reinforce hierarchical dynamics both within the Art World and within society at large.

To recap, this study began with a breakdown of the fields, and their ‘internal mechanisms of development,’ which correspond to major bodies of work from multiple disciplines within the study of the Art World. Within this section, *fields* were discussed as reified theoretical objects. This begins with a discussion of the Art World’s role in larger society as a *cultural field*, a classification within Bourdieu’s larger conception of the social world which has ramifications for the structural placement of, and power within, the (sub-)fields that constitute it.

#### *i. The Art World as a Cultural Field*

Bourdieu’s theory of fields does not view the social world as “distinct, hermetically closed spheres of the social in an axiomatic fashion” (Schmitz et al., 2017, p. 53) evidenced by the fact that the Art World is not an entirely closed system unaffected by the larger social world in which it is embedded. As per Webb, Schiarto and Danaher (2002), “[c]ultural fields themselves are not autonomous, or uninfluenced

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<sup>24</sup> This lends itself well to the application of Bourdieu’s methodology, due to, as will be discussed in more detail, part of Bourdieu’s sociological toolkit requires a structural analysis of the fields present in any empirical case at the outset of any research programme.

by other fields. [...] fields are fluid and dynamic, mainly because they are always being changed both by internal practices and politics, and by their convergence with other fields” (p. 28). However, the Art World *is* a social system within a social world that is primarily “the site of a process of progressive differentiation” (Bourdieu, 1998B: 83 in Schmitz et al., 2017, p. 53) and because of this, the sub-fields of the Art World are “relatively distinct ‘microcosms’ (Bourdieu, 2005a: 33) with a relative degree of autonomy from the superordinate social macrocosms and from other fields” (Schmitz et al., 2017, p. 53). As such, the Art World is considered by Bourdieu to be a *cultural field*. According to Webb, Schiarto and Danaher (2002):

Cultural field can be defined as a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities. But it is also constituted by, or out of, the conflict which is involved when groups or individuals attempt to determine what constitutes capital within that field, and how that capital is to be distributed (p. 43).

A cultural field, therefore, is more or less a governing formation, constructed from individual components, that designate to its members a “specific position in relation to other agents within a common, interdependent structure” (Schmitz et al., 2017, p. 51). The cultural field that Art World exists within, in Bourdieusian terms, is the *intellectual field* which is a “matrix of institutions, organizations, and markets in which artists [...] compete for the symbolic capital of legitimate recognition for their artistic [...] work.” (Swartz, 1996, p. 79). Within this intellectual field is the *field of cultural production*, one subsection of this meta-field is our arena, the Art World.

Cultural fields, possess within them, internal fields of power where the socio-economic and political aspects of the internal hierarchies are determined. The Art World, therefore, has been conceptualised as both a sub-field of power within a larger society, and conversely, as a superordinate field within its own sphere of influence. The field of cultural production follows the basic premise that all cultural fields are segmented and hierarchised based on their valuation and distribution of capital, and this distribution is based on an internal (possibly arbitrary) ranking system of its members. Cultural field(s) are constructed from autonomous and heteronomous poles, which differ based on the dominance of economic or non-economic capital within them leading to segmentation and hierarchisation

(Alexander, 2019; Anheier et al., 1995). Within the Art World, (and other cultural fields), the *field of restricted production* represents the relatively autonomous pole which is governed with a freedom from mass market considerations.

Within this pole, economic success is secondary to symbolic value, and both the dominant agents within the Art World, and the Creative Class, compete for cultural capital within this pole in the form of recognition, reputation and legitimacy rather than, primarily, monetary rewards (Anheier et al, 1995). This is the realm of ‘high art’ where the focus is on ‘art for art’s sake.’ Because it is a site of ‘restricted production’ the “producers produce mainly for other producers, not for broader or mass audiences” (Alexander, 2019, p. 27) and these producers can be “rich with cultural capital, but relatively, or even literally, impoverished with respect to economic capital. Producers vie with each other for varied symbolic capital such as prestige [...] [t]hus, cultural and symbolic capital are the stakes in the autonomous sphere” (Alexander, 2019, p. 26). Not only is the cultural and symbolic capital required by the Creative Class to be legitimised within the field of restricted production, it is an extremely scarce resource within the Art World, and the structures of the Art World shore up this restricted and restrictive autonomous pole in order to maintain their claims to the ‘pure gaze’ and the cultural and symbolic capital it confers.

The heteronomous pole of a cultural field, the *field of large-scale cultural production*, is characterised by the preponderance of economic and market considerations and success. In the large-scale case, the active agents of the Art World and the Creative Class compete as sellers and producers within the market to “seek financial returns first and foremost” (Anheier et al., 1995, 863). This is the realm of ‘popular art.’ As per Alexander (2019):

Bourdieu defined heteronomous art fields as those that are interpenetrated by commercial fields. They do not garner as much status as the ‘pure’, autonomous arts, but they have a greater ability to earn money. [...] Heteronomous arts range from the ‘Bourgeois arts,’ which sell to and gain consecration from more privileged social classes, to lowbrow, commercial works, or ‘Industrial arts’ (p. 27).<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Alexander (2019) makes the important point that “[f]or Bourdieu, heteronomous fields in cultural production can encompass the fine arts as well as the popular arts. This is because the autonomy or heteronomy has to do with the relationship among fields; it is not a property of genres of art (p. 27,

The interactions within and between these two poles are the locations where the objective elements of its social environment, with its rules and hierarchies, meet the agents and participants, wielding their subjectivities, their ‘realities,’ and their relationship(s).

The model of the structure of cultural fields is reduced to two basic dimensions: the dominance of the types of capital prevalent in either pole; and second, stratification of the people within each pole (Anheier et al, 1995). Cultural fields, therefore, implement hierarchies based on their institutions and rules. This said, the mechanisms within the structures of the Art World persist regardless of the combination of capital required within its poles. The relationship between the forms of capital and the social structure is based on the segmentation and hierarchy within it. As per Anheier et al (1995):

*Segmentation* refers to the number of relatively distinct, structurally separate, and unrelated parallel components of the social structure. Typical of segmentation in culture are the basic distinctions between restricted and large-scale production of cultural goods or the symbolic differences between “high culture” and “low culture.”

*Hierarchy* refers to the extent to which partitions yield clusters of social positions in terms of status differences. Typical hierarchical elements of cultural fields include the positions of prominent [...] elite and the unknown, “struggling” [...] periphery. Segmentation elements are relationally independent, but as social positions are linked across different statuses, hierarchies emerge (p. 865).

These hierarchies dictate the relative position the Creative Class can occupy, the quantities and type of capital they can mobilise within the Art World, and are spaces where, as per Kirschbaum (2012), “[a]ctors who control larger amounts of a given resource are able to impose their dominance over those actors with less capital” (p. 4). Because of the agency of the human actors within cultural fields, cultural fields are “fluid and dynamic, rather than static, entities” not only consisting of “institutions and rules, but of the interactions between institutions, rules and practices” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 22). The way capital facilitates practice within cultural fields will be discussed in a subsequent section; however, the

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emphasis mine). This means that the economic or non-economic capital that is assigned dominance within the poles of the Art World is not a measure of the ‘type’ of work that the Creative Class produces, and therefore the ‘genres of art’ can be minimised as a variable in the economic outcomes of the Creative Class.

functioning of who has dominion over capital (and thusly the practices that are permitted) within cultural fields, are, over time, codified by various areas, professions and organisations. These rules of functioning are specific to the field (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014). The Art World's rules, both explicit and implicit are discussed in the following section.

*ii. The First Rule of Fight Club: Explicit and Implicit Rules*

One of the foundations of Bourdieu's sociology is the fundamental belief that the social world is composed of fields of struggle that are demarcated by the differentiation of positions within them. This demarcation, in turn, fans the flames of competition and conflict within the field(s), and can contribute to the wider struggle in other more macro level fields. For Bourdieu, hierarchies are a structurally integral, taken-for-granted aspect of all fields, in all social arrangements. Bourdieu attributes the existence of hierarchies within fields to the fundamental nature of Western societies as, "[w]ithin cultural fields, as in all others, actors are assumed to compete for social position" (Anheier et al, 1995, p. 860). For Bourdieu (1996), "[t]here is no space, in a hierarchical society, which is not hierarchized" (p. 13). His assumption is that power exists unequally in the social world, and this inequity translates into competition within all areas (and fields) of life. The logic of hierarchies, however, is socially constructed and it exists only insofar as the objective structures of the hierarchy endure and are internalised by the players in the field. So while the existence of hierarchies in the social order of a field is not unique to the Art World, the structure of hierarchies are, however, unique to the composition of individual fields. This is because hierarchies (and their subsequent rules) also shape the specific forms of struggle 'permitted' within any field. For Bourdieu (1996), the tacit acceptance of a hierarchical social order by a population leads to the misidentification of hierarchy as arising "out of the nature of things" (p. 13) when in fact, hierarchies are byproducts of the creation of fields, ordered by their respective participants. Elites within a field encourage the 'naturalisation' of this order of things in order to maintain their dominant positions over capital (Bourdieu, 1996; Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002; Hilgers and Mangez, 2014).



Understanding that fields contain agents in structured positions within a hierarchy can “lead one to identify actors relatively well established in the field, who therefore have a certain interest in the maintenance of the established order or the modification of this order within limits that enable them to strengthen their domination” (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 11). Therefore, those who hold dominant positions within the social hierarchy justify and maintain their own social grouping’s interests, because, “[o]f course, one of the advantages of being in a position of power is that it enables groups or agents to designate what is ‘authentic’ capital” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 23). Being classified within the hierarchy is a valuable position to be in. This is because the classification process is an “instrument of legitimation of social hierarchy” (Waquant, 2006, p. 13). Moreover, it is “routinely invoked by rulers to justify their decision and policies” (Waquant, 2006, p. 13). Participants within the field, therefore, are forced to “adjust their expectations with regard to the capital they are likely to attain in terms of the ‘practical’ limitations imposed upon them by their place in the field, their educational background, social connections, class position and so forth” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 23).

Those in the dominant, established positions set the ‘practical limitations’ within the field, and these explicit rules, in turn, reveal the structure of the field. Additionally, understanding how participants internalise and operationalise the rules of engagement, also helps to peel back the layers of these structures. The empirical aspects of this study, discussed in subsequent chapters, engage with the Creative Class on their perceptions of the expectations and practical limitations imposed on them by the Art World, thus shedding light on the nature and consequences of the Art World hierarchy.

To understand the hierarchy and rules of the Art World, it is important to establish how the Creative Class is able to maneuver within these field structures. Since Bourdieu (1996) asserts that “[s]ocial space is an invisible set of relationships which tends to retranslate itself, in a more or less direct manner, into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangement of agents and properties” (p. 12), hierarchies are constructed, firstly, within the structures itself - the physical space - followed by the interaction(s) amongst the structure - the social space - and lastly the

influences internal and external to the field - the intersection between the physical and social space. For Bourdieu (1996):

Physical space and social space have a lot of things in common. Just as physical space is defined by the mutual externality of parts, social space is defined by the mutual exclusion (or distinction) of positions which constitute it, that is, as a structure of juxtaposition of social positions. Social agents, but also things as they are appropriated by agents and thus constituted as properties, are situated in a location in social space which can be characterized by its position relative to other locations (as standing above, below or in between them) and by the distance which separates them (p. 12).

Hierarchies, therefore, exclude and divide its participants based on the impetus of stratification inherent in social spaces. The strength of a hierarchy within the physical and social spaces of a field is, therefore, a measure of that field's autonomy from influences external to it. According to Schmitz et al (2017):

autonomy is commensurate with the 'extent to which [a field] manages to impose its own norms and sanctions' (Bourdieu, 1983: 321), that is, the extent to which these norms are considered valid and legitimate within the field itself. In this way, a field's autonomy corresponds directly to the extent to which the field's own principles of hierarchization [...] can 'suspend or reverse the dominant', that is, the external 'principle of hierarchization' (Bourdieu, 1993: 37f). A particular field's level of autonomy is thus indicated by the extent to which the principle of external hierarchization is subordinate to the principle of internal hierarchization (cf. Bourdieu, 1996: 216ff) (p. 53).

Within the Art World, the dominant external hierarchies within fields such as science or politics have relatively little impact on the hierarchies within the Art World. The Art World has, "through its knowledge and practices, a corps of specialists" (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 6) that have consolidated and monopolised "rare, socially recognized knowledge of which it is the exclusive holder" (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 6). It has become the sole proprietor of the perpetuation of "the specific competence necessary for the production or reproduction of a deliberately organized corpus of knowledge", whose authority is reinforced by 'the objective dispossession of those who are excluded from it'" (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 6). Therefore, in addition to highlighting the form and function of the relationship(s) of disparity in everyday life, Bourdieu also recognises that these dynamics are taught and learned. Moreover, it is from this institutionalised, 'deliberately organized corpus of knowledge' that the Creative Class are taught the ways of the Art World.

As mentioned in the Literature Review, for Bourdieu, the first locus of hierarchy experienced by most is within the field of academe. This is because in Western societies, obtaining a formal education, within the confines of (certain) prestigious educational institutions, is highly regarded and is considered an inalienable social fact. Within the Art World, the *field of education* is the arena in which the ideology of competition is first introduced to the Creative Class. Not only are Art Schools ranked, and the graduates of higher ranked schools granted higher esteem, more insidiously, as per Sulkunen (1982), Bourdieu maintains that:

[t]he system camouflages the thousands of ways in which school reproduces the class differences, founded in primary 'socialization', in the ideology of 'talent'. The differential achievements [...] are socially attributed to the innate qualities of the students, while in reality these differences reflect the domination of one class by another. The important point is not only that the school system exercises the function of selection of students to positions with differential cultural, economic and status advantages. It is also the mechanism which individualizes the merits for success and the blame for failure, while, furthermore, it produces an aura of legitimacy to the values, tastes and life-style of the dominant (p. 105).<sup>26</sup>

The Art School, in this case, presents as a microcosm of the larger social world as it replicates, almost perfectly, the hierarchies of exclusion and domination found in other systems. Moreover, continues Sulkunen (1982):

[t]he school generates 'cultural capital' which can be utilized in all areas of life, in artistic enjoyment as well as in the cultural forms of everyday life (style). It is a capital which can be accumulated in aesthetic and cognitive practices which are impossible without an original 'investment' of time and effort spent in formal education. But as in economic life, the returns on cultural capital are not guaranteed and do not accumulate without success in competition (pp. 105-106).

In the case of the field of education, one of the explicit 'rules' of the Art World is that the Creative Class is expected to receive some form of formal education; the implicit rule is that those who attend certain institutions are more likely to succeed within the Art World. By participating in the educational system of the Art World, this system

and the meaning system produced and reproduced by it are not just a structure, but fields of action. They are used by individuals to accumulate

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<sup>26</sup> While Bourdieu was making this point about the French Education System, the apparatus of hierarchy and domination applies beyond this scope, and includes, as argued here, the specialised education system that exists within the Art World.

their economic and cultural capital, and they do this as acting subjects with meaningful intentions (although they do not always know what they are in fact doing) (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 109).

This is the irony of this system of dominance: the Creative Class are intentionally applying the knowledge, meanings and rules learned directly from the elites of the Art World, within the field itself, yet the Art World continuously erects barriers limiting entry or access to its upper echelons, and thus restricts the ability of the Creative Class from converting their cultural (and social) capital into economic capital. Moreover, at the same time as the Creative Class are bound by the structure(s) set up by the Art World, they are, regardless, still trying to get into the industry because *recognition* by the Art World is the coveted prize within their field.

Though field in itself is the structure, those who govern the structure, agents, continuously “at a practical, everyday level, negotiate various attempts (by governments, bureaucracies, institutions, capitalism) to tell them what to do, how to behave, and how to think” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 32). This directly echoes Bourdieu, “we think as a condition of the way we are organized” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 49). The organisational structure is therefore a closed insular structure with constant changes. Bringing forward the premises of the organisational structures of hierarchy within fields brings forth the “values and dispositions [which] express [...] interests of the most dominant social groupings” (Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p.12). These values and dispositions constitute the ‘unwritten’ or implicit rules of the Art World. The formation of implicit rules occurs when a field asserts its (relative) autonomy from external forces of hierarchisation. As internal hierarchies carve out their spheres of influence, they develop groups of elites “responsible for the legitimate interpretation of practices and representations in specific areas of activity. These elites rationalize an implicit system of schemes of action, systematizing it in the form of explicit norms” (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 6). Field and hierarchy are, therefore, the structural “forces and influences that inform and drive the various relationships, ideas, meanings and practices that constitute” the objective social world (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 49).

A metaphor for the implicit and explicit hierarchy of the Art World is exemplified in the following example. In this example, Sarah Thornton (2008)

pointedly identifies the Art World structure based on in-flight seating arrangement. The hierarchy starts with Takashi Murakami, a well known international artist sat at the front, (because once recognition is bestowed within the Art World, elite status is conferred); the remaining support staff, inclusive of curators, dealers and employees are sat behind him in subsequent class systems and rows:

The seating assignment offers a near-perfect representation of the hierarchies of the art world. [Takashi] Murakami sits by himself in 1A, a window seat in business class. He reads the newspaper, then watches what he calls a “really maniac, totally geek animation” on his Mac. Blum and Poe [Murakami’s commercial representation] sit in 2C and 2D. The MOCA [Museum of Contemporary Art] people are in economy, row 18. [Charles] Desmarais [from the Brooklyn Museum] is nearby, in 19. The six Kaikai Kiki [Murakami’s personal company with 90 employees in Tokyo and New York] staff members are aligned in row 43 (p. 210).

This example illustrates the spatial positions occupied by various players within the Art World operationalised in real time. Every person sat on that plane understands, implicitly and explicitly, that their seat directly translates into their place in the hierarchy. As such, understanding the Creative Class’ perceptions of the implicit and explicit rules and meanings of the Art World as taught to them (and thus where they are positioned within the hierarchies), we are better able to understand the points of entry for the interactions between the individual Creative and the social structure of the Art World. Building a frame of reference for the dialectic between the hierarchy of the Art World and the ways the Creative Class interacts with these structures, identifies what the interactions are (for example: invitations to studios, talking about the practice), how it is being applied (for example: showing work, talking about the books read) and lastly why the interactions are currently structured this way.

Understanding the nature of hierarchies within a field, helps delineate the tangible yet fluid boundaries of any social world. These boundaries are tangible because the lived reality of participants interacting with fields are limited, in real time, by the structures of those fields. These boundaries are experienced every day in every aspect of life. However, these boundaries are also fluid because the power of hierarchies within fields shift depending on what is considered the dominant position, and this in turn affects how participants can engage. In order to address this

relational process, the *field of technology* within the Art World is an appropriate field from which to contextualise this fluidity.

As explained, the Art World is a multi-tiered physical space where its hierarchies are concrete and definite structurally. However, while the Art World is fairly autonomous from external influence, it is not immune to the outside world. Recently, as a consequence of global technological development, the Art World has incorporated into its structure a field of technology. This field, utilising digital technology as a tool, works in tandem with the current structure while simultaneously providing access to the Art World with fewer barriers. Additionally, this field provides practical literacy of the necessary knowledge “with regard to the laws, rules, values, abilities and tactics ‘of the field’” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 51). Digital technology is a knowledge based filtering system used to bring digitally distributed information forward to those wanting to participate in the Art World. This is because the laws, rules, values, abilities and tactics of the field are displayed with access through the internet. Therefore, this is particularly well suited as an integrative model of the physical and social space. Moreover, as the Art World “involves a knowledge of the various rules (written and unwritten) [...] which are continuously being transformed” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 50), adopting digital means within the Art World provides the necessary tools for agents to keep up with this change. The integration of digital technology is key in addressing the structures of inequality and conflict within the Art World.

The current social formation of the Art World still echoes the Bourdieusian Art World of autonomous and heteronomous poles, each motivated by different configurations of capital. The integration of digital technology into the Art World will diversify and regenerate skills; knowledge; and investments to democratise and deconstruct this archaic system. An internet based open-source framework offers a degree of freedom for the Creative Class within the Art World leading to both tangible cultural contributions as well economic benefits. In discussing the field of technology here, we locate a point of entry into the Art World by the Creative Class that potentially bypasses the traditional hierarchical structure. Engaging with the perceptions of the Creative Class around this point of entry leads to the further development of the other loci of interaction with the Art World. It is through direct

engagement with the Creative Class and their subjective understandings that the objective structures of the Art World become more apparent.

By understanding the experiences of the Creative Class as they maneuver through the hierarchy of the fields of the Art World, we gain insight into the objective structures of value and legitimation within it. We then see to what extent the boundaries of the Art World are, how they operate and to what extent they affect those trying to gain entry. Because hierarchies are “structural and relational” (Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p. 12), it is possible to identify the configuration of the valuation system of the Art World (and how the Creative Class are ‘slotted into’ the hierarchy of the field) which the Creative Class have limited access to, yet at the same accepts. The rules limiting the Creative Class directly contribute to the fields of the Art World as sites of contradiction, conflict and struggle. On the one hand, the Creative Class are bound by the rules set forth by the Art World and blindly accept these rules; however, on the other hand, the Creative Class is in a state of constant struggle as they operate within the limited processes of legitimation. Within the Art World “there is a constant struggle for legitimation, power and dominance” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 49) and in order to further understand the Art World as an arena of struggle, with structured spaces of dominant and subordinate positions, it is necessary to examine its internal mechanisms of development, or how it assigns value, legitimacy and recognition.

### *iii. She Called You What?! The Legitimation and Evaluation Process*

According to Bourdieu (1983), “the field of cultural production is the site of struggles in which what is at stake is the power to impose the dominant definition” (p. 323) of legitimacy. Even though for Bourdieu “field is essentially arbitrary, it needs to be understood symbolically: it does not have value in itself, but accrues value because it is attributed meaning according to the logic of the field” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 30), the logic of the field is legitimised by the participation of actors within that field. Through this participation, the logic of the field is reified into structures and mechanisms in order to grant legitimacy back to the participants, albeit in unequal measure. The dominant definition of legitimacy for the Art World, is at the pinnacle of a hierarchical system, built on mechanisms of recognition. The

endowment of legitimation and valuation within the fields, especially cultural fields, is the exclusive privilege of those at the top of the hierarchies.

This work argues that like the larger social macrocosm that engulfs the Art World within various societies, there is also a field of power within the Art World which is the locus of legitimation and evaluation within the Art World. This field is the (structured, hierarchical) social space where capital is exchanged for the intangible currency of recognition through the various rites of passage expected. As previously mentioned, recognition is the prime motivator of human behaviour, according to Bourdieu. In the modern world, “[t]he social relationships of everyday life have been turned into markets of esteem” (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 107) resulting in a social situation where “isolated individuals [...] capitalize their cultural competence on the market for social esteem, accumulate it by participating in the cultural activities defined as legitimate by the elites, and profit from it in the form of social ascent” (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 107). Within the field of cultural production, or the Art World, recognition is expected to come with rewards. The empirical aspects of this study investigate to what extent recognition by the Art World motivates the practice of the Creative Class in addition to their perceptions on how this recognition is accorded.

The two segments of the Art World, the fields of restricted and large-scale production, are the social spaces where the logic of the field play out: “[e]ach field forms a segment in which different primary “currencies” - prestige versus money - are exchanged; and each segment is internally structured according to either market or reputational success” (Anheier et al., 1995, p. 863). Within the Art World, the distinction between making work, and its evaluation as “art” or as a “product” is indicative of the type of recognition and legitimacy available. No matter which route the Creative Class takes with their practice in these two fields (read ‘art’ vs. economics), the hierarchical structures in place still dictate who ascends. The extent to which the logic of the field leads to hierarchies of legitimacy and recognition is dependent on its autonomy. As per Hilgers and Mangez (2014):

[t]he progressive autonomy of a domain of activity transforms the relationships among the individuals who are linked to the activity in question. Increasingly, their practices and productions are evaluated according to criteria internal to the domain of activity. The creation of authorities and



mechanisms for selection and consecration that are partly immune to external influences is an indicator of this autonomy (p. 6).

As fields carve out their (relative) autonomy, a dominating elite emerge “responsible for the legitimate interpretation of practices and representations in specific areas of activity” (Hilgers and Mangez, 2016, p. 6) and with the emergence of these elites, the type of capital they monopolise also rises to the top. This capital then becomes the capital of recognition.

As soon as the rules that define the legitimate activity in a field are modified, so too is the distribution of recognition. The struggle in a field is thus a struggle to impose a definition of legitimate recognition, in which victory leads to more or less monopolistic control of the definition of the forms of legitimacy prevailing in the field (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 6)

Moreover, legitimacy begets legitimacy within the fields of cultural production. The more legitimate a member of the Creative Class is perceived, the more their peers engage with their work, and the more engagement a member gets, the more legitimate that member becomes (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014). The Art World, therefore, is one of the “fields where certain agents (with their own objective interests) assign members to certain categories” (Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p. 22). This process of hierarchisation assigns “‘legitimacy’ [by] the naming of others” (Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p. 22). Therefore, “certain agents or groups, have power over others in their assigning of class definitions. The power to do this is almost a ‘sacred’ act as it separates social groups” (Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p. 22) and reinforces the status quo of the hierarchical structure.

In order to be legitimised, social literacy is needed. This literacy provides “an understanding of social rules and regulations, and an ability to negotiate conditions and contexts” (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p. 57). Just like fields and their hierarchies, the legitimation and evaluation process within the Art World is also both structural and relational. What is at stake in the Art World is the monopoly over artistic legitimacy, that is, “the monopoly of the power to consecrate producers or products” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 323). This naming and assigning process reinforces those who are dominant and in power. “This is understandable for the dominant, with an interest in preserving the status quo and the social space as it is commonly

conceived” (Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p. 22). Therefore this entire process preserves status quo and singles out people who do not fit into classifications.

For Bourdieu this process is “therefore inherently political: ‘Analysis of the struggle of classifications brings to light the political ambition which haunts the gnoseological ambition to produce the correct classification’”(Bourdieu in Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p. 22). Social literacy in any field is a measure of the habitus of its participants. Understanding the relationship between the nature of the fields within the Art World, and the habitus of the agents within it offers “some clarifications as regards the relationship between the structure of the relative positions that compose the social space of a domain of autonomized activity and the system of incorporated dispositions generating schemes of perception, appreciation, thought and action of each agent who occupies it” (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014, p. 16). The previous discussion on the theory of fields, suggests some basic premises that operate within the Art World. How each person operates, at all levels of the Art World, from the Creative Class to the gatekeepers of esteem within the Art World, is directly impacted by another of Bourdieu’s major theoretical contributions, that of the notion of *habitus*. As will be explained in the next section, habitus, essentially, are valueless habits and behaviours that are shaped by, and shape, the fields in which they are embedded, and they are given value and legitimacy through the interaction with the field. For Bourdieu (1996):

Habitus make different differences; they implement distinctions between what is good and what is bad, between what is right and what is wrong, between what is distinguished and what is vulgar, and so on, but they are not the same. Thus, for instance, the same behavior or even the same good can appear distinguished to one person, pretentious to someone else or cheap or showy to yet another (p. 17).

The fluidity of these distinctions within the Art World are non-sequential, and seemingly arbitrary. The interaction between habitus and field, as located in any individual or group ultimately, is Bourdieu’s program of study. Habitus is directly related to the reification and perpetuation of hierarchies as well as the processes of legitimation within the fields of the Art World. The empirical aspects of this study look at the consequences of these hierarchical structures on a select group of the

Creative Class. This work takes into account the reality of the fields, but asks the Creative Class what their perceptions of these structures are.

A field, therefore, is “an analytical device applied to understand how *habitus*, capital and practices are intertwined in social life” (Kirschbaum, 2012, p. 6). Taking into account the habitus of the Creative Class, this work discusses how the Creative Class is inextricably intertwined with the hierarchies intrinsic to the Art World. The following section explains Bourdieu’s concept of habitus.

## *II. It’s What’s On the Inside that Counts: A Discussion of Habitus*

The second fundamental notion of Bourdieu’s methodological position is his concept of *habitus*.<sup>27</sup> Habitus, for Bourdieu, are “the various practices of living among a certain class or group” (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 108) that are “harmonized and homologized in accordance with its specific living conditions, but not mechanically determined to fulfil a social function, an individual “need” or an “algebraic pattern”. This harmonization and homologization is brought about by a generative principle, *modus operandi*, that is at the same time a system that generates perceptions and a system that generates practices” (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 108, emphasis in original).

As discussed extensively in the previous section(s), a field is the objective space where agents interact with structure. This objective ‘reality’ constrains the possible actions taken by humans as they engage with the system. It is habitus, however, that dictates how agents internalise the ‘rules’ of the field, and how they manifest behaviour within it. As Wacquant (2006) states, “[t]his means that, to explain any social event or pattern, one must inseparably dissect both the social constitution of the agent and the makeup of the particular social universe within which she operates as well as the particular conditions under which they come to encounter and impinge upon each other” (p. 269). The analytic value of habitus, as per Sulkunen (1982) is that “the habitus of a group or a class defines a symbolic order within which it conducts its practices [...] It provides a common framework within which the members of the group understand their own and each other’s

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<sup>27</sup> Field, habitus and capital, Bourdieu’s Trifecta, are not hierarchical as Bourdieu stresses the relationality between them as the foundation for the social world, and action within it. This thesis discusses them in this order for the purposes of clarity only. Other Bourdieusian scholars may choose a different conceptual order.

actions and through which the researcher can make sense of them” (p. 108). There are three basic premises regarding habitus that are important to understand:

Firstly, *habitus is not tangible, it is a system of operationalised perception, thought and appreciation which translates thoughts into action.* Habitus are inferred based on the actions (habits) and practice of individuals that inform us of personal motives and the contexts (fields) these are embedded in. Habits are a product of three components: knowledge, familial/cultural influences and ‘of the moment.’ Webb, Schiarto and Danaher (2002) explain that firstly,

knowledge (the way we understand the world, our beliefs and values) is always constructed through the habitus, rather than being passively recorded. Second, we are disposed towards certain attitudes, values or ways of behaving because of the influence exerted by our cultural trajectories. These dispositions are transposable across fields. Third, the habitus is always constituted in moments of practice. It is always ‘of the moment’, brought out when a set of dispositions meets a particular problem, choice or context. In other words, it can be understood as a ‘feel for the game’ that is everyday life (p. 38).

Habitus and field, therefore, are inextricably linked - the field is where habitus is translated into practice, and the field both facilitates and constrains the operationalisation of habitus at any given moment. The Art World and Creative Class are no exception to this delicate dance between structure and agency. Collectively they are bound by the norms and values of the objective structure. Individually they are subjectively interpreting ‘reality’ through their habits and dispositions. The norms that exist within any society, class, or social grouping assign symbolic value to cultural practices. Habitus, at the individual and the group level, is formed as practical choices are made utilising these values and in “defining oneself in terms of them and expressing one's self-definition by attachment to certain specific” (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 108) expressions of this normativity (e.g. artistic genres or lifestyles) (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 108). Habitus, at its core, is the “internal archive of personal experiences rooted in the distinct aspects of individuals’ social journey” through which they think, act, perceive and approach the world and their role within it (Costa et al, 2019, pp. 20-21).

Secondly, *habitus is both internal and external to any individual or group.*

Habitus are generated both by individuals or groups as a mechanism to interface with fields; however, habitus can also be understood as

the values and dispositions gained from our cultural history that generally stay with us across contexts (they are durable and transposable). These values and dispositions allow us to respond to cultural rules and contexts in a variety of ways (because they allow for improvisations), but the responses are always largely determined - regulated - by where (and who) we have been in a culture (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 36-37).

In other words, there are 'structural' aspects to the subjective experiences of human beings which are explained, by Bourdieu, as the influence of the field. As such, the interaction between the agents of the Art World, in any social world, are in a constant state of struggle and fluidity. As per Webb et al (2002): "agents move through and across different fields, they tend to incorporate into their habitus the values and imperatives of those fields. And this is most clearly demonstrated in the way the relationship between field and habitus functions to 'produce' agent's bodies and bodily dispositions" (p. 37). Understanding this gap, this fluidity, any individual "engaged in practice knows the world [...] too well, without objectifying distance, takes it for granted, precisely because he is caught up in it, bound up with it; he inhabits it like a garment [...] he feels at home in the world because the world is also in him, in the form of the habitus" (Bourdieu, 2000 in Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 25). Moreover, habitus are "generative and unifying principles which retranslate the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary life-style [sic], that is, a unitary set of persons, goods, practices" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 15).

Habitus, therefore, are not only internalised, reproduced, and used by individuals, it is within a social context that a person finds themselves that also comes with intrinsic habitus that form and are formed by any given agent in the field (Bourdieu, 1996; Grenfell and Hardy, 2007; Sulkunen, 1982). These field specific habitus work in tandem with the hierarchies in said field to create and maintain systematic differentiation between positions within the field. This said, it is important to understand that agents are not robots, purely operating on input from the field; agents are "creative subjects" (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 110) whose actions and

thoughts “should not be interpreted in terms of a ‘logic’ but rather in terms of a ‘sense’ [...] This sense is generated by the objective living conditions, but since it is itself able to generate new ‘sense’ it is by no means reducible to a function of them” (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 110). This irreducibility is key to understanding the dialectical relationship between agents and structures and the nature of any social reality.

The third notion worth bearing mention here is that *habitus is not only an abstract concept to explain subjective experience and its effect on practice, it is also an important tool in Bourdieu’s methodological toolbox*. Habitus is the key concept to superseding the paradigmatic antagonism that exists between subjectivism and objectivism (Sulkunen, 1982; Bourdieu, 1996; Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002; Wacquant, 2006; Costa et al, 2019). As per Costa et al (2019):

Habitus, alongside other Bourdieuan tools, offers an explanatory framework and theoretical vocabulary for processes of social reproduction and transformation. Following Bourdieu’s legacy, the conceptualization and application of habitus in different settings comprises attempts to overcome the dichotomy between structure and agency whilst acknowledging the external and historical factors that condition, constrain and/or promote change (p. 19).

The moving between these two levels of analysis is central to understanding the complex relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class. This is because the structure and its participants (both the Creative Class and those individual agents ‘in charge’ of the Art World)

cannot be understood simply in terms of the narratives, rules, values, discourses and ideologies of a field (that is, objectivity), nor in terms of individual, uncontextualised decision making (that is, subjectivity). Rather a person acquired a habitus, which strongly influences all subsequent actions and beliefs. The habitus is made up of a number of ways of operating, and inclinations, values and rationales that are acquired from various formative contexts, such as [...] the education system” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 58).

Habitus, as an analytic tool, is a mechanism through which we understand Bourdieu’s dialectic. It is a way of understanding how humans interact with the structures of their social environments. Habitus “reminds us that while it is necessary to see human practices as structured by meaning systems and as their expressions, they also serve various functions determined by objective conditions of existence; and while they are parts of a structure, they are carried out, produced, reproduced

and used by living individuals” (Sulkunen, 1982, p. 109). For our purposes, it illuminates the composition of, and the ways that the Creative Class use their conscious and unconscious dispositions while they attempt to maneuver within the hierarchies of the Art World. Habitus, therefore, is a bounded concept through which we can understand the subjectivities of human agents, as well as how these subjectivities operate within specific objective contexts.

This brings us to our fourth point regarding habitus: *the empirical data in this study is focused on the habitus of a sample from the Creative Class*. The empirical aspects of this study tests the perceptions and subjective understandings of the external, ‘objective’ Art World. As per Costa et al (2019), “the durability of habitus in both its dispositions and forms of practice provides an opportunity to empirically observe its directive influence. To be specific, the habitus can be observed through the repetition of both attitudes and practices (Bourdieu 1987)” (Costa et al, 2019, p. 23). Understanding the unique habitus of the Creative Class through empirical observation is key to understanding the general operations of the humans and structures within the Art World. More specifically, by engaging with the Creative Class directly, we can understand how their interpretations of the hierarchies of the Art World (and the legitimation and evaluation mechanisms) impact their creative careers. As per Schmitz et al (2017):

Just as the field realizes its past in the present doxa, and hence can be conceived of as condensed history, the habitus incorporates an actor’s past experiences and current structure of opportunity in a given field; the correspondence between fields and habitus – incorporated, coherent schemes (or dispositions) of perception, thought, judgment and action – leads to practice. Habitus thereby operate as intermediaries between structure and action, being the result of positions within a particular field and a structure of dispositions toward what is ‘at stake’ in that field (p. 52).

Moreover, in understanding how humans interface with these structures, opportunities and practices in the field, we also illuminate the subtleties of the field. Just as agents understand the rules, they also understand what is allowed or disallowed outside of these rules. As per Webb, Schiarto and Danaher (2002), in any given social situation, there is

a game is going on within the game which has nothing to do with the rules of the game, and players have to use their cultural literacies to negotiate a context which is never officially articulated. The habitus of the players

incorporates these fluctuations (that is, rules are codified, but they are always changing) and contradictions (that is, the game is never what it officially says it is), and allows the players to respond practically and appropriately (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 60).

Understanding these fluctuations and contradictions from the perspective of the players themselves (as opposed to the ‘official’ version from the field of power), has “implications in becoming attuned “to dynamic relationship” between individuals, their context and actions” (Scott, 2014, p. 106). As such, understandings of the Creative Class of their social world - The Art World - emerge from processes which were created both by The Creative Class themselves as well as based on their internalised understandings of those already established by the Art World.

The concepts of field and habitus, however, are not robust enough theoretically to fully explain field logics, individual decision making or social processes. As per Wacquant (2006), “neither habitus nor field has the capacity unilaterally to determine social action” (p. 8) and it is the relationship between them that has better explanatory value. Within this relationship is the third tool in Bourdieu’s toolbox, his concept of capital. As per Kirschbaum (2012), “*habitus* helps Bourdieu explain how agents perceive objective structures and take action. [...] Bourdieu explains how one’s *habitus* is responsible for the activity of categorization, the decision process of capital conversion in a field and finally, whether a course of action is good or bad” (p. 4). Bourdieu’s concepts of capital and the mechanisms of conversion are discussed next.

### *III. Money Isn’t the Only Thing That Makes the Social World Go ‘Round: What Even is Capital?*

Thus far we have discussed two of the three tools in Bourdieu’s methodological toolbox: field and habitus. Last, but certainly not least, is Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of capital. For Bourdieu, the classic economics/Marxist understanding of capital is woefully incomplete when trying to understand the actions and the practices of individuals within a field (Sulkunen, 1982; Bourdieu, 1986; Anheier et al, 1995; Svendsen and Svendsen, 2003; Wacquant, 2006; Grenfell and Hardy, 2007; Kirschbaum, 2012). Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between three general types of capital: *economic*, *cultural* and *social* (p. 243) while also alluding to



a fourth 'type,' *symbolic capital*, which can be formed from any configuration of the former. Additionally, the ability to transform or convert capital is “fundamental to the specific fields’ common hierarchy, and to the structure of the field of power; the conditions under which field specific forms of capital may be transformed mirror a field’s power relations, and can be understood in total as the objectified structure of the field of power” (Schmitz et al, 2017, p. 57). Therefore capital, as a methodological concept, is multifaceted, relational and dynamic.

We have established that habitus is the subjective, intangible, possibly unconscious mechanism through which actors are negotiating, regulating and living within the context of the status quo presented as the social world. Capital, therefore, is the tool they use to do that throughout their lives. Depending on the habitus required and the field they find themselves in, “individuals accumulate and mobilize different kinds of capital” (Kirschbaum, 2012, p. 3). For Bourdieu, “capital is a generalized ‘resource’ that can assume monetary and nonmonetary as well as tangible and intangible forms [...] which may assume field-specific contents” (Anheier et al, 1995, p. 862). Moreover, for Bourdieu (1986), capital is the mediating factor in the dialectic between habitus and field. He writes: “the structure of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices” (p. 242). In other words, “capital is inscribed in both objective and subjective structures and hereby becomes the guarantor for the regularity and stability of the social world” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2003, p. 609). Economic, cultural and social capital, arguably, have both material and nonmaterial poles. This implies that every form of capital operates both as something exchangeable (i.e. as a currency to exchange for tangible goods or services) as well as operates as a mechanism for assigning or obtaining legitimacy, recognition and ultimately power within a field.

The easiest form of capital to understand is *economic capital* - this is the traditional understanding of the term capital from both the classical economic and Marxist stance. Economic capital is anything “immediately and directly convertible into money” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243) such as an income, other financial resources

and assets (both familial and personal) and is potentially institutionalised within fields through property rights (Bourdieu, 1986; Anheier et al, 1995). In our context, the members of the Creative Class differ in the extent to which they can earn an income from their artistic practice or their other artistic activities such as showing their work or teaching etc. Moreover, their backgrounds (and thusly the habitus with which they are endowed) are also affected by the economic capital of the families, institutions, cities and countries they come from, and the economic markets they find themselves practicing in. This, along with habitus, affects how they can convert their next two forms of capital, cultural and social, back into economic capital down the line.

*Cultural capital* according to Bourdieu exists in three distinct states as the *embodied state*, the *objectified state* and as the *institutionalized state* (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). These are summarised as socialised dispositions and cultural habits (the embodied state); as the possession of valued and valuable cultural artefacts (the objectified state); and as qualifications from formal education or training (the institutionalized state) (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 244-248). Anheier et al (1995) note that there is a distinction between “incorporated cultural capital, in the form of education and knowledge, and symbolic cultural capital, the capacity to define and legitimize cultural, moral, and artistic values, standards, and styles” (p. 862). This is important for our purposes here, because in both forms (i.e. incorporated vs. symbolic cultural capital) the Creative Class have little control over how this capital is assigned, valued or recognised within the Art World.

Moreover, even if the Creative Class possesses seemingly high degrees of institutionalised cultural capital (in the form of educational qualifications from prestigious institutions) the recognition (and thusly the convertibility of this capital) is contingent on the current configuration of symbolic cultural capital within the Art World. Understanding when this configuration of symbolic capital “is effective in a given social arena [and] enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it” (Wacquant, 2006, p. 268) is at best, arbitrary and at worst, deliberately misrecognised in order to maintain the balance of power (and thusly control over the definitions of legitimate capital) within the Art World. This is because “cultural capital is not set in stone or universally accepted, either within or

across fields” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 22). Like habitus, capital is fluid and relational, and both affects and is affected by conditions within the field. These field effects can be mitigated, however, by the third form of capital, *social capital*.

Social capital at its most basic level is the capital (actual and/or potential) that can be acquired or mobilised through group membership (Bourdieu, 1986). The amount and composition of this capital is based on the degree and composition of the capital possessed by other members of the group and it is based on the mutually agreed upon investment of time and efforts to maintain the group, and to institutionalise the benefits of membership (Bourdieu, 1986). Being a member of a group or organisation, allows for individuals to leverage their habitus and other capital in varying ways and it is very much about who you know (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007). The network itself has value, because it is valued by its members and by those outside the group who recognise it as valuable (Bourdieu, 1986). For Bourdieu (1986), social capital is always symbolic because its based on the logics of knowledge and acknowledgment and has little ‘objective’ value outside of the social network; however, as per Grenfell and Hardy (2007) there is a material aspect to symbolic social capital as “these networks do ‘buy’ advantage in an [sic] way analogous to money capital [...] Social capital acts to amplify the efficiency of both economic and cultural capital” (p. 30).

The fourth capital, *symbolic capital* is the least straightforward form of capital, but the form that possesses the most amount of power overall. In *Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu himself barely touches upon it as its own category and explains it in a footnote: “Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital - in whatever form - insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity” (p. 255, footnote 3). This is explained by Grenfell and Hardy (2007) as “[f]or Bourdieu, because what occurs in a field is essentially arbitrary, it needs to be understood symbolically: it does not have value in itself, but accrues value because it is attributed meaning according to the logic of the field” (p. 30). Harker et al. (1990) further expand the definition of symbolic capital to include “culturally significant attributes such as prestige, status

and authority” (in Webb et al., 2002, p. 22). Essentially, in possessing symbolic capital, one has the ability to translate the other forms of capital into something accepted, meaningful and valuable. Ultimately, symbolic capital is the power to recognise and legitimise both the field-specific capital (i.e. to decide the logic of the field, and thusly its site-specific configurations of capital), as well as to determine the value of the capital of others within the field (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007; Hilgers and Mangez, 2014; Schmitz et al, 2017). Symbolic capital, however, is the most nebulous of the capital, the definition of which has the least consensus within the literature.

In understanding the power of symbolic capital, it is imperative to state that “the amount of power a person has within a field depends on that person’s position within the field, and the amount of capital she or he possesses” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 23). Those with the ‘correct’ configuration of capital, and the habitus to actually use it effectively, are considered the elites in a field (Hilgers and Mangez, 2014). In other words, field, habitus and capital are a semi-closed, interconnected system where internal recognition and authorisation is produced. This “is to constitute such a logic and consecrate it so that everything else in it can be valued in its terms” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 29). Moreover,

the way that capital works is through processes of acknowledgement and recognition. Capital can only have value, especially in its most symbolic form, if it is recognized as such. The likelihood of this occurring is ensured by the social reproduction of the symbolic manifestations of the logic of particular fields [...] in other words, because the generating logic of any individual habitus is saturated by a consequent symbolic valuing, it is unlikely that the logic and value will not be recognized in others. Bourdieu draws attention to both the ‘volume’ and ‘configuration’ of capital available in a field at any one time (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 30).

Therefore, “possessing capital is only useful because some possess more than others” (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 30). The Creative Class, at any given moment, might have the ‘correct’ configuration of capital, but the logic of the field of the Art World is that of extreme competition, hierarchy and exclusion, which therefore limits the ability of the Creative Class to leverage said capital into anything tangible.

The possession of any form of capital is not static within a field. It must be understood that “with varying degrees of difficulty, it is possible to convert one form

of capital into another” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2003, p. 616). Within the Art World, convertibility is the exclusive privilege of the elites within the field. Generally speaking, however, economic capital is the easiest form of capital to convert into the other forms, especially into the material aspects of cultural or social capital. According to Anheier et al (1995), “the convertibility of social capital into economic capital is costlier and more contingent; social capital is less liquid, “stickier,” and subject to attrition. While it is difficult to convert social into cultural capital, the transformation of cultural into social capital is easier” (p. 862). The degree to which capital is liquid, convertible and subject to attrition is field-specific, and can take on different forms within a field (Anheier et al., 1995). Positions of power within the field can be characterised by the supremacy of high volumes of any form of capital according to the internal logic of the field in question. While economic capital is generally indicative of ‘high status’ in the general social world, within the Art World, possessing high volumes of economic capital is not always the necessary capital to obtain or maintain power and thusly the ability to legitimise or recognise the members of the Creative Class (but it certainly helps). Other forms of capital are paramount within the Art World, especially cultural capital in its embodied and institutionalised forms.

Capital alone, however, cannot account for the structure of a field or how habitus is operationalised within it. Capital is, in combination with habitus, is the basis of practice within a field. As per Kirschbaum (2012)

The *habitus* is constructed throughout one’s trajectory and embodies one’s expectations on how her kinds of capitals are exchanged. As a consequence, depending on one’s position and *habitus*, he or she might engage in different practices that will eventually lead to different employment of capitals. The heterogeneity of individuals’ *habitus* explains why individuals at the same position might pursue completely different ways of action (p. 4).

Methodologically, capital is a useful place from which to evaluate the position in social space of individuals, groups or institutions by charting the overall volume, and the composition of the capital detained (Wacquant, 2006). Additionally, by looking at the variation of volume and composition over time elucidates trajectory within a field, and “provides invaluable clues as to their habitus by revealing the manner and path along through which they reached the position they presently occupy”

(Wacquant, 2006, p. 268). The typology proposed in this dissertation is an ideal-type aggregation of the habitus and capital of the Creative Class within the field of the Art World. The empirical data presented here, and the multi-generational sample selected, indicates this trajectory and the ways in which these members of the Creative Class have mobilised their habitus and capital over time. The following sections discuss the mixed methods deployed in this research, as the basis for the empirical data collected. It includes sections regarding method process; survey research; sampling; and the testing parameters.

### **3.3 How *Does She Do It?* The Method Used**

The following sections discuss the varying components of the methods applied for this research process. In order to address the research questions and objectives identified in Chapter One, (p. 18), a mixed methodological approach was used. As part of this methodology, Bourdieu's field theory is applied to understand the relationship between key members of the Art World and the Creative Class. In order to find this understanding, quantitative survey research was conducted among Fine Arts Graduates. This exploration of the Creative Class was then supported by the use of Bourdieu's Three-Level analysis as explained in Chapter One (p. 24). First the Art World was assessed delineated against the field of power the larger social world, followed by an analysis in Chapter Two of the "key field participants and key institutions in the field of artistic consumption at that time" (Grenfell and Hardy, 2012, p. 91). A summary of these applied processes are as follows:

- Level One: Sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 of Chapter One introduced the Art World as a social field, and carved out its role and value within larger society vis-a-vis the field of power there.
- Level Two: Chapter Two, the Literature Review, established the fields of the Art World, sets the premises of the fields examined and its participants, and discusses the relationship and interaction of its participants in relation to the social structure.
- Level Three: Chapter Four: Analysis of Findings, will discuss the results of the data collected and will analyse the habitus of the Creative Class insofar as it affects the different ways they have internalised the social and economic conditions which have defined their career trajectories within the Art World.

From the Level Three data there will be a discussion of the current constraints and needs of the Creative Class in Chapter Five.

To begin the process of data collection on the state of the Art World, open-ended interviews were conducted to gather insight from gallerists and curators. Gallerists and curators are considered to be key participants within the field of power of the Art World, and their insight is invaluable when examining both the Creative Class as well as the Art World's participants. These qualitative interviews, in addition to the quantitative survey data provides a comprehensive dataset from which to develop an understanding of the interactions and relationships between the Creative Class and the structures of the Art World. The following section outlines the method process overview.

#### *Mixed Method: Industry Data Sources*

In order to support the claims and analysis found in the Findings Chapter (see Chapter Four, p. 138) additional industry data sources were gathered throughout the survey design process. These sources were collected in various methods such as qualitative open-ended interviews with industry professionals. For the purposes of clarity, these arts professionals operate in the Field of Power and are set up by Thonton's definition of key players (see Chapter 2, Field of Power, p. 35). This "refers to the people who buy and sell works (that is dealers, collectors, auction houses)" (Thornton, 2008, pp. xii). Additionally, curators, artists, gallery and studio visits were approached. The gathered industry data sources will be drawn on in the analysis of findings sections. This is with the intention to concentrate on the core Art Center collected dataset; and will introduce this additional data source in order to support, challenge and question the findings and analysis of the research. This is the limitations of the research.

Moreover, as a reflexive researcher, this experience outlined key outcomes to support, or otherwise the understanding of the Art World. To build meaning from the analysis of the data. For future research, a structured method of gathering data from the commercial side of the Art World will help to build knowledge on industry professionals' experiences. Firstly, this will highlight their restrictions and needs,

and secondly, underpin the key issues they are facing when trying to interact with the Creative Class.

### *3.3.1 Method Process Overview*

Both qualitative and quantitative (mixed) research methods were used in this research to obtain data on both the Creative Class and their interaction with the Art World. The sample is undergraduate and graduate level alumni from Art Center College of Design (ACCD) in Pasadena, California. Quantitative surveys were emailed with the intention to gather qualitative data on Fine Arts Graduates and their perspectives regarding their:

- role in cultural regeneration;
- their post-graduation economic situations; and,
- their industry experiences post graduation in relation to their ability to enter into the Art World

These data help to identify the key issues Fine Arts Graduates are confronted with after graduation, namely the accessibility of their area of artistic specialisation, and what kind of economic outcomes they face upon graduation with a Fine Arts Degree. Additionally, the knowledge gathered from this survey outlines key areas and opportunities for supporting the Creative Class, and contributes to the researcher's understanding of the Art World. While other methods within the social sciences (such as ethnography or grounded theory) would be applicable to this type of research, due to the identified gaps in the literature, and the nature of the subject matter, the method most appropriate for this work is mixed methods.

Many of the authors explored in Chapter Two, such as Bourdieu (1986), Becker (1982), Timberg (2015) have largely written from the position of an outsider to the Art World. In contrast, the research here was led by a trained artist who graduated with her first degree in Fine Arts from Art Center College of Design. In that capacity, the research is conducted from an insider point of view. The subject of this research is connected to the researcher as they too have been confronted with transitioning from academia into becoming a practising, professional artist. The gaps identified through the use of the author's individual capital and habitus, and by her own personal experience during this transition led to this examination of the



structure of the Art World, and its limitations. Acknowledging this point is essential for her own reflexivity as a social science researcher, and helps to mitigate any biases she may bring to the work.

As such, the survey design was a reflexive thinking exercise. This is in line with Bourdieu's sociology as he believes that good social science research is predicated on the reflexivity of the researcher (Wacquant, 2006; Grenfell and Hardy, 2007). The survey was designed through thoughtful analysis of the objectives of the research and the author's personal lived experiences. Because of this connection between the researcher and the researched, the findings are able to be understood and interpreted from a specific, more robust knowledge set. This study examines the dialectic between the Creative Class and the Art World; it clarifies the points of connection and overlap between in the context of the career trajectory of the sampled artists. Survey method is used to collect the data on these intersections, and provides the data from which one can determine where there are no overlaps. Using survey method provided objective data that helped to mitigate researcher bias. In analysing the dataset, any prior assumptions to the research is either removed or avoided.

The use of a questionnaire was chosen for three reasons. Firstly, the point of this research was to gather insider knowledge from within the Creative Class regarding the key issues they face. In order to receive as many responses as possible, to create as robust a dataset as possible, survey method was the most effective way to reach a large sample pool without being limited by geography. Secondly, questionnaires combine flexibility with rigour in order to obtain data. Finally, with a survey questionnaire, there is more control over minimising bias. These three reasons provided a structure in order to look at the post-graduation experiences of those surveyed in relation to their experience of entering, navigating and succeeding within the Art World. This method was chosen because the findings will indicate where Fine Arts Graduates currently see themselves within the Art World.

Moreover, by surveying and examining the data, the research investigates key issues such as to what extent the sampled participates in economic life; market viability for skill sharing; as well as cultural preservation and regeneration. This information highlights the habitus and capital of the sample. In order to do so, the research follows what Miles and Huberman (1994) describe as a "continuum from

exploratory to confirmatory designs” (p. 20). This has been useful to clarify the central problematic of this research which is: have Fine Art Graduates been able to access the Art World post-graduation? If not, what are the economic opportunities available to the Creative Class in order to practise? Moreover, the process of exploratory to confirmatory as described by Miles and Huberman provides a clear framework from which to analyse the findings. This is necessary in order to examine the complex relationship of valuation, recognition and legitimacy within the Art World. The method chosen here reconciles the theoretical with the empirical and allows for the focus of the data to be on the sample’s capital: cultural, social and economic. In other words, the chosen methodological approach explains the process of identifying the participants and the inner workings of the Art World (i.e. the fields, habitus and capital of both the Art World and the Creative Class). This establishes the many systems and overlaps between the two sides to further uncover the contributions of the reviewed literature. This addresses the interplay between the Creative Class and their habitus and capital.

### *3.3.2 Testing Themes: Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship, Preservation and Internet Use*

The following section discusses the themes explored within the survey. These themes arose out of the researchers own understanding of the Art World, and experience of the Creative Class within it, as well as were directly influenced by the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. As such, the survey is composed of five themes:

1. Typology;
2. Funding;
3. Entrepreneurship;
4. Preservation; and
5. Internet-Use

These themes “examine various sociological issues that are at the centre of what can be called, [...] the issue of the existence of a ‘cultural hierarchy’ and its social determinants [within the Art World]” (Lebaron and Bonnett, in Lang, p. 127). In other words, each of the themes examines the social determinants of the Creative Class’ individual post-graduate experience to gain entry into the Art World.

They follow from the idea that within the Art World the “laws of [the] market are unknown by agents and permanently changing” (Lebaron and Bonnett, in Lang, p. 128) which therefore obscure their knowledge from the Creative Class, and as such, are creating a perpetual state of, what one might call, a state of ‘maintain and struggle.’ In other words, the Creative Class is trying to establish and maintain their position as an artist whilst navigating within a space of permanent struggle. This is because “Bourdieu describes ‘distinction’ as a largely unconscious attitude intended at maintaining one’s position in the social space, seen as a place of permanent symbolic evaluation struggles” (Lebaron and Bonnett, in Lang, p. 128). In other words, the maintain-and-struggle process is a “quest for the maximal amount of symbolic capital” (Lebaron and Bonnett, in Lang, p. 128) which is not identifiable or recognisable.

Therefore, in order to establish the misrecognised, the application of Bourdieu’s notion of capital is useful in providing clarity in the context of artists’ careers as it is a suitable concept for examining the five themes. On the basis of this analysis, the Creative Class often do not recognise their habitus and capital (i.e. their social and cultural capital) as having convertibility into economic capital (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007). Consequently, instead, they frame their habitus and capital as solely servicing the development of their practice (maintaining) rather than an accumulation of symbolic capital in the process of conversion into functional capital (struggle). This conversion gap is a byproduct of the inconsistencies of the Art World. Therefore, the misrecognition of the habitus and capital of the Creative Class is constant. As such, to understand the complexities and realities of an artist post-graduation, the themes of the survey were established to collect data to understand:

- How the artists identify themselves (Typology);

- How the sample supports their practice (private Funding or otherwise);
- The themes of leadership and problem solving utilised to sustain the participants' studio practice (Entrepreneurship, Preservation and Internet-Use).

Testing these five themes establishes the sample's relationship with the Art World and identifies the difficulties of entry into the industry. In other words, the responses from the sample are ultimately an analysis of the habitus and capital of the respondents. Furthermore, the obtained data illustrate the overlaps of their cultural, social and economic capital. This information gives insight into how this capital is misrecognised. Moreover the data contributes to a broader discussion regarding the connection between Bourdieu's three types of capital in a given field.

### *3.3.3 Overview of Survey Research*

In this section, the choice of survey method for data collection is considered in detail. This information provides a set of data that is then interpreted to support the research questions. Moreover, questionnaires provide a provisional sense of the sample's views on a range of intersecting points in the Art World. Finally, survey method provides a "comprehensive and coherent framework for representing and analysing the behaviour of individuals" (Throsby, 2001, p. 2). The following discusses the consideration, limitations and bias of survey design, sampling, and the testing parameters of the survey administered.

#### *Survey Design: Considerations, Limitations, Bias*

The purpose of survey design is to obtain information from the sample by asking questions. In choosing an appropriate data collection method for this research, it is important to consider the difference between descriptive and explanatory research. Descriptive research focuses on attitudes and opinions where explanatory research aims to explain the relationships between variables. Because this research focuses on the attitudes and opinions of the sample descriptive research as best suited for this study.

In choosing a research method, it is also important to consider the limitations of the method chosen. There are benefits and limitations in regards to administering digital surveys. One of the main limitations is that there are negative implications for

response rate (Fowler, 2014, p. 64). While digital surveys are cost effective, on the one hand, surveys can be time consuming for both the researcher to generate and the respondent to complete. One of the benefits of a digital survey is that more people can be reached, over a broader geographic area. As the sample here are Fine Arts Graduates, the potential for disparate geographic locations was considered when choosing this data collection method. Of course, other methods could be adopted for this research such as focus groups, structured interviews or case studies; however, in order to explore this sample's experiences of the Art World in relation to their success, collecting general data from as many respondents as possible was the starting point to generating knowledge. The knowledge generated from this survey will guide other methods in future research. Methodologically, quantitative surveys balance flexibility with rigour in order to obtain data from the largest possible sample size. Good survey design makes this possible.

*Table 3.1: Types of Surveys*

Types of Surveys		
Self administered: posted, emailed, or weblink-based questionnaire	Delivered hardcopy, and personally collected questionnaire	Interviewer/researcher administered telephone questionnaire

*Table 3.2: Advantages and Disadvantages of Surveys / Avoiding or Minimising Bias (adapted from Fowler, 2014)*

Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cost effective</li> <li>• Email or weblink-based surveys are time effective and can reach the audience directly</li> <li>• Flexibility in collecting qualitative and/or quantitative data</li> <li>• Minimise error in data collected</li> <li>• Provide statistical estimates of the characteristics of a target population</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time consuming to create surveys</li> <li>• Limited to only those with online access               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nonresponse</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Fatigue leading to attrition and/or response bias</li> <li>• Requires thorough reading and writing skills by respondents</li> <li>• No one to guide through any queries respondents may have</li> </ul>

The selection of self-administered descriptive research was based on, firstly, the characteristics of putative respondents, the importance of reaching a particular person as respondent, control over minimising bias, size of sample required, the types and number of questions that needed to be asked and, time and/or financial resources. Bearing in mind ACCD and Fine Arts Graduates are US-based, the following were the deciding factors to utilise a digital survey:

- Descriptive surveys are to draw out opinions
- Reaching the target audience, as the sample is based in USA, posting and telephone interviews are burdensome
- Control over bias
- Cost effectiveness
- Timeliness

The issues considered during the survey creation process were:

- Ensuring each question was related to an objective;
- Corresponded with existing literature and other research;
- Clarity of the questions

In ensuring consistency of questions, short and concise questions were favourable; as well as word choice and direct language. In other words, to ensure a maximum response rate, an easy to follow sequence was considered; such as flowing from simple to complex questions. In order to draw out information regarding the respondents typology grouping, the survey begins with questions regarding employment. A series of straightforward questions such as employment status, types of employment in the last seven days were asked. This then transitions into source of income queries such as, *is your studio practice secondary to your primary source of income?* By establishing the employment status, the sequence explores the objectives of the study. The flow follows the order from simple to complex questions (See Appendix 7). Another approach to capturing meaningful data relating to the research was designing open-ended and closed-ended questions. Open-ended questions were designed to draw out qualitative answers.

To obtain additional qualitative information both open-ended and closed-ended questions were incorporated within the survey. One example of this type of question was in regards to respondents' current employment (Chart 3.3). There were 26

possible options, with two open-ended options *other designer (please specify)* and *other (please specify)*. In order to collect data about the typology, criteria and threshold questions were established. Criteria questions were designed to enable reliable categorisation of the participants into Group A, B or C. These questions were based on the literature discussed in Chapter Two, (p. 30). Threshold questions were designed to examine the categorisation of the grouping. There were three main issues considered:

1. The use of “deal breaker” questions: do certain responses to particular questions automatically exclude respondents from a grouping?
2. Is the categorisation cumulative?
3. If questions are left unanswered, can the respondent be categorised within the typology?

#### *I. Coding: An Introduction*

Each of the participant’s answers can be seen as a distinct documentation of their individual career path. Collectively, it tracks the career trajectory, access into the Art World, the relationship between the Creative Class and the Art World spanning over 25 years, 1990-2015. Analysing the collected data followed a systematic process of criteria, threshold and deal breaker questions. Furthermore, the coding was guided by defined objectives and themes: Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship, Preservation and Internet-Use and its respective assigned colours. This sought to trace the artist’s’ journey, experience post graduation navigating the Art World.

The literature review and Bourdieu’s Field Theory guided the initial coding. In tandem with colour codes, criteria, threshold and deal breaker questions, the typological framework gave way to new patterns. Habitus and capitals became an essential tool in the process of coding. Moreover, identifying Bourdieu’s capitals and its relationship to the empirical data, new patterns emerged in relation to cultural, social and economic capital. In order to do so, it was necessary to focus on each theme and subtheme. This led to a more comprehensive analysis of the data than in the preliminary data analysis.

Figure 3.2: Development of Initial Coding Categories

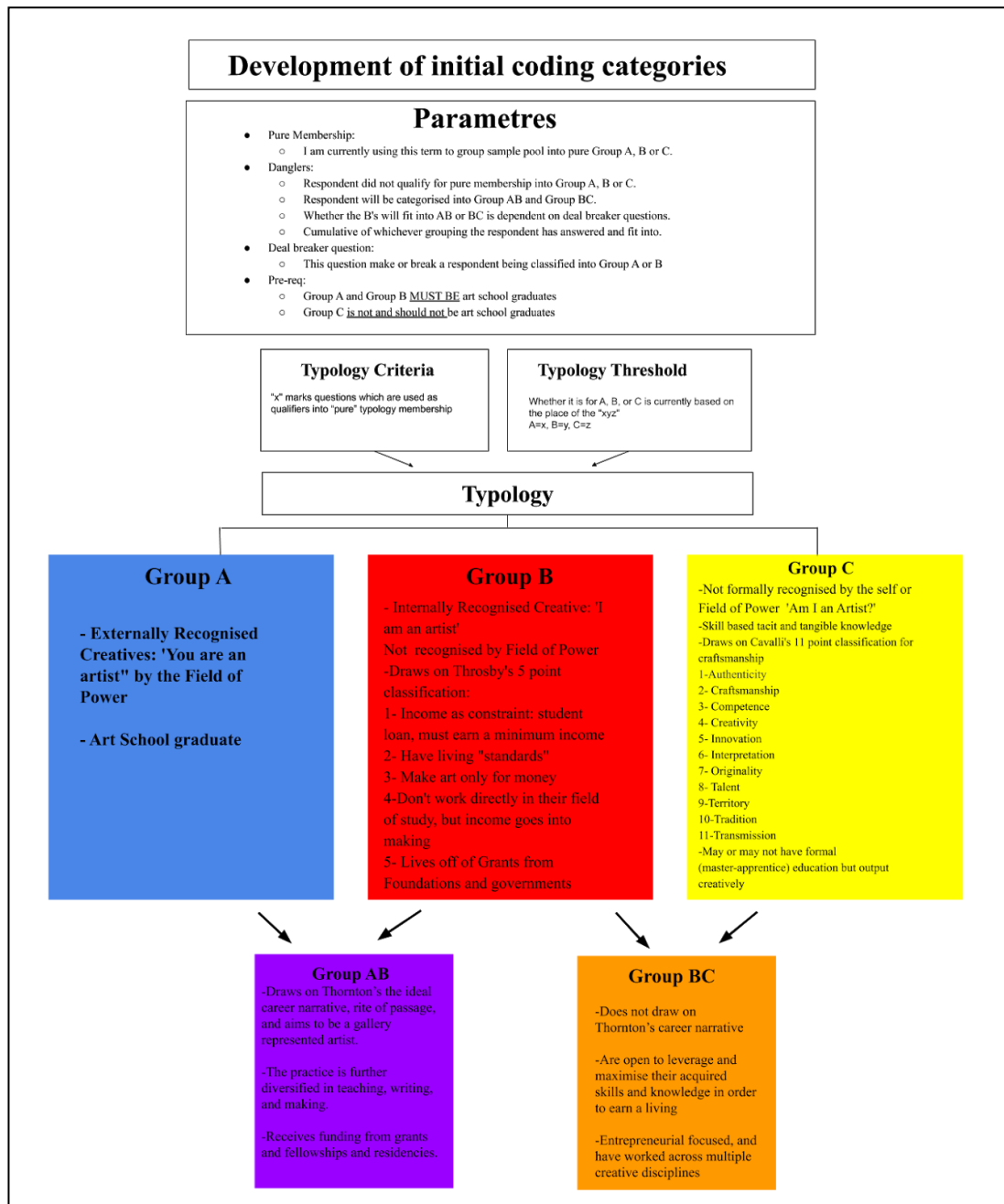






Table 3.3: Open and Close-Ended Question (Example)

<b>Which of the following occupations best describe your current employment? (Select all that apply)</b>	
Currently not employed	Interior Designer
Private teacher of the arts	Web Designer
Arts admin/manager.	Other designer (please specify)
K-12 arts educator	Craft Artist
Higher education arts educator	Fine Artist
I prefer not to answer.	Film, TV, Video Artist
Arts writer, editor, author (magazine, newspaper, journal, books)	Multi-media Artist or Animator
Museum or Gallery worker	Photographer
Curator	Actor
Arts administrator (including development, marketing)	Technician
Graphic Designer	Musician (including instrumental, vocal, conductor, composer, arranger)
Illustrator	Theater and stage director or producer
Art Director	Other (Please Specify)

To establish response reliability, questions were asked multiple times. For example, questions regarding the nature of employment were asked in various ways.

- Do you currently work full time in an occupation as an artist?
- Do you work full time as a teacher in the arts?
- Do you work full time managing programmes or other person in an arts organisation (inclusive of museums, galleries, schools, churches, businesses with art programmes)

Leading questions were avoided to minimise bias. Unintentional bias stress may have influenced respondents to answer questions in a specific way. Bias is defined as a “systematic way the people responding to a survey are different from the target population as a whole” (Fowler, 2014, p. 10). To collect objective data, clear concise language was used to minimise and to collect valid and reliable results. However,

because the responses are based on personal opinions, and opinions are, by their very nature, subjective, bias may not be eliminated entirely.

## *II. Piloting the Survey*

Prior to administering the survey to the sample, a pilot was distributed to 10 art industry professionals and artists. The pilot questionnaire was distributed in November 2017 and gave direct feedback on:

- Syntax
- Clarity of the questions
- Flow
- Bias and leading questions
- Survey length

After a 14 day period 100% of the respondents completed the survey. Constructive feedback was received regarding syntax and possible leading questions; bias in wording, ambiguity, appropriate use of jargon, etc. Additional questions were consolidated and/or rephrased for clarity. From this pilot the survey was finalised and distributed to the respondents in December 2017.

### *3.3.4 Sampling*

#### *I. Rationale for Sample Frame: Art Center College of Design*

In order to gather information on the Creative Class, surveys were sent using targeted sampling (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, and McKibbon, 2015). This is because the data gathered through surveys would help to build understanding. Fowler (2014) describes a sample as “a small subset of a population representative of the whole population” (p. 4). Following the fields of the Art World established in Chapter Two, the preferred target population for this research is one that is drawn from the field of education. This is due to the structural position of educational institutions as gateways into the Art World. The small subset of the Creative Class used in this study are Fine Arts Graduates. Fine Arts Graduates between 1990 and 2015 from ACCD covers the preferred target population as ACCD is a recognised institution with a Fine Arts department. Furthermore, respondents were surveyed at least two years post graduation and the variation in response rates over time would not be expected to affect the overall pattern of employment. Since

this research seeks to examine the accessibility of the Art World post graduation, it was necessary, therefore, to have a gap between fresh graduates and those who left education for an extended period of time. Moreover, ACCD lists post-graduate employment figures for both bachelors and masters graduates on their website, therefore testing the alumni situated within this frame is particularly useful.<sup>28</sup> This study engages with the official figures of ACCD, and analyses the veracity of their claims.

In parallel, the Strategic National Arts Alumni Project (SNAAP) surveys Art School graduates yearly. However, according to ACCD policy, the Fine Art department does not use the collected data, and the response rate from ACCD is very low.<sup>29</sup> This is because the questions asked do not reflect their teachings. Moreover, ACCD is a design school with a Fine Arts department, therefore, the college does not regard SNAAP's survey questions as an accurate tool to capture the data of the career progress of their Fine Arts alumni. The Fine Arts Department does survey their own graduates yearly; however, the data are unavailable. In other words, currently, there are no available data on the sample and its relationship with the Art World post graduation.

Sampling graduates from ACCD also provides a comprehensiveness necessary for this research.<sup>30</sup> Fowler (2014) writes "sampling is done from a set of people who go somewhere or do something that enables them to be sampled" (p. 15). In this context, graduates from ACCD both went somewhere and did something that made them ideal candidates for this research. They are a reliable source because ACCD is considered a lead school and engaging with this population leads back to the researcher's understanding of the topic. Moreover, in surveying these graduates, the work directly engages with the Rite of Passage as described by Thronton (2008) mentioned in Chapter One (p. 20) and Chapter Two (p. 42). In Bourdieusian terms,

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<sup>28</sup> ACCD boasts positive figures for post-graduate employment. The 2016 Fiscal Year figures indicate an 86.6% Job Placement Rate for Classes of 2014 Bachelors (1-Year Out Graduates, 37.1% response rate); 77.8% Job Placement Rate for the Classes of 2014 Masters (1 Year Out Graduates, 29.7% response rate).

<sup>29</sup> Information regarding ACCD and its relationship to SNAAP was obtained through anonymous personal correspondence with SNAAP.

<sup>30</sup> Comprehensiveness is "how completely it covers the target population" this is because "a sample can only be representative of the sample frame, that is, the population that actually had a chance to be selected" (Fowler, 2014, p. 16).

ACCD is an institution within the field of education in the Art World and the credentials received from ACCD are considered cultural capital for those who attended. Additionally, through understanding the responses of graduates of ACCD the researcher can build knowledge which is likely to reflect that of the wider Art World.

### *3.3.5 The Sample*

The target population for this survey are graduates from ACCD between 1990 and 2015 who are accredited either a Baccalaureate and/or a Masters of Fine Arts regardless of their age, gender, or domicile. This is a genuine sample from a general population from a lead school with a specific teaching method. The data collected from this sample are lived experiences. By looking at their experience with the Art World, it identifies the key issues faced by the Creative Class. Therefore, this is a reliable source of data in order to explore the research questions. The consideration of selecting graduates over a 25 year period has allowed for a robust discovery of different generations of Fine Arts Graduates' outcomes over time. Secondly, the substantial time frame explores their experiences post graduation and how it impacts an artist's career trajectory in addition to their opinions of the Art World.

#### *I. Accessing the Sample*

The sampling procedure was carried out in several stages. Firstly, to gain access to the population, initial conversations with Professional Development and Industry Engagement Department began in April, 2017. A letter of intent (Appendix, 5) was submitted to Entrepreneurship and Professional Practice at ACCD in April 2017. Additionally, contact with the Director of Fine Art was established in May, 2017. The Director had attached an application form to be submitted to Campaign Initiatives & Support Department expanding the network in order to reach the population with the highest chance of success for approval. Additional contact was made in August 2017 with the Campaign Initiatives & Support Department. Permission was granted to access alumni databases on August 31, 2017.

*Table 3.4 Timeline to Access the Sample*

April, 2017	Initial contact with the Professional Development and Industry Engagement Department
	Letter of Intent submitted to the Entrepreneurship and Professional Practice Department
May, 2017	Initial Contact with the Director of Fine Art Department
	Application form submitted to Campaign Initiatives and Support Department
August, 2017	Permission granted to access Alumni Databases

### *3.3.6 Testing Parametres*

According to Miles and Huberman, in order to begin qualitative research, it is useful to create testing parameters (see Chart 3.5). Therefore, a set of boundaries were created to examine the five themes of Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship, Preservation and Internet-Use as set by literature review: Field of Education, Field of Capital, Field of Technology and Field of Commerce. Moreover, the set of parametres draw on Throsby's definitions of the subclasses of creatives as a guide. Throsby's definition and classification focuses on financial outcomes and/or opportunities and struggles creatives encounter. They are:

- An extended model introducing economic variables;
- Income as constraint;
- Income as joint maximand;
- Income as sole maximand; and
- Multiple job-holding.<sup>31</sup>

This was a starting point to examine where and how Creatives were earning post-graduation in order to gather the sample's perspective on the realities of their educational experience and for understanding the realities of whether they were

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<sup>31</sup> For more detail on Throsby's definitions and classifications, please see Appendix 1 or Throsby, 2009.

financially sustaining their practice full time, part time or not at all. Therefore the idea for the questions included:

- How Fine Arts Graduates view themselves alongside their practice and the monetisation of their labours;
- What they see their role in cultural sustainability as;
- Whether they have been successful in their fields;
- Whether they would consider an online platform; and
- Whether they would be interested in testing a beta platform?

The following table illustrates the initial testing parameters that were then refined for use as the basis for the questions within the survey that was piloted.

*Table 3.5: Initial Testing Parameters*

<b>Initial Testing Parameters</b>
That most Arts' School Graduates are Group Bs
the Art World divides Creatives
The division impacts Creatives' legitimacy and earning potential
Globalisation has led to cultural homogenisation
Globalisation has led to cultural decline
Fine Arts Grads have a key role in preserving culture
Fine Arts Grads have a key role in reversing homogenisation.
The internet will save us.

Examining both the Creative Class as well as the Art World's participants provided a comprehensive dataset to gather understanding of the interactions and the relationship between the Creative Class and the Art World. These data helped to identify the key issues Fine Arts Graduates are confronted with after graduation.

### **3.4 Summary**

The relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class is complex, multidimensional and hierarchical. Due to the imbalanced nature of the structure, it is a continuous struggle for the Creative Class to gain access into the Art World. Therefore in order to understand this complexity, the study draws on Bourdieu's field

theory and Three-Level Analysis as its theoretical and methodology underpinnings. Bourdieu's triad of *field*, *habitus* and *capital* guide this research. Bourdieu's social theory is predicated on the unravelling of the dialectic between structures and their agents. His sociological work in numerous fields illustrates his commitment to the underlying idea that by unraveling the variables contributing to both sides of a relationship, the research will provide a comprehensive analysis of social phenomena. Bourdieu employs both a substantialist and a relationalist approach to social research. As explained by Grenfell and Lebaron (2014):

The substantialist approach treats things as pre-existing entities, with essential properties- as realist objects; whilst the relationalist approach understands things in terms of their relational context- how they acquire sense in terms of their position with respect to other phenomena which share their context (pp. 9-10).

For Bourdieu, this approach is defined as a “science of the dialectical relations between objective structures [...] and the subjective dispositions within which these structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them” (Bourdieu in Grenfell and Lebaron, 2014, p 13). Bourdieu combines both structure and agency in his theoretical approach, believing sociological analysis is incomplete without factoring both sides. He insists that true social science is predicated on the reflexivity of the researcher, and therefore not only puts forth a theoretical stance of the social world, he also provides a methodology to engage in social research. The Bourdieusian lens for social research is particularly useful as the “work is based on an attempt to think through the divide between quantitative and qualitative positions” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 48). This process of thinking is central to this research.

Adopting a mixed methodological stance in this research is important because any meaningful examination of the Art World and The Creative Class must recognise that this relationship is “derived from the intersection of a particular social issue [i.e. the inequity in the valuation of the Creative Class by the Art World] and the methodologies used to bring this issue to light in an empirical way (say, the formulation of questionnaires and surveys)” (Webb, Schiarto and Danaher, 2002, p. 48). However, survey data alone is not robust enough to elucidate the depth of this or any other social relationship. Therefore this study deployed mixed methods in order to address the research questions and objectives. A 65 question survey was



developed, piloted and distributed to Fine Arts Graduates from ACCD between the years of 1990-2015. In addition to this, informal interviews were conducted by the researcher. Together these methods provide a dataset from which to engage with Bourdieu's theories. The next chapter will highlight select findings from the data collected.

## **Chapter 4: Analysis of Findings**

This chapter integrates the results of the collected data with an analysis of select findings.<sup>32</sup> The dataset used to extract these findings were drawn from the survey. Open-ended interviews provide additional data sources in order to support, challenge and question the findings and analysis of the research. From December 4 - December 18, 2017 Fine Art Graduates from Art Center College of Design were surveyed and the data were collected and analysed. A second cycle of the survey was distributed from January 23 - February 23, 2018. The survey was composed of five themes, each theme solicits data as per the research questions outlined in Chapter One.

This study explores:

- a. How does the Creative Class interpret the legitimation and evaluation assigned by the Art World.
- b. How does the Creative Class' interpretation of the Art World's legitimation and evaluation impact their creative career.
- c. To what extent have Fine Art Graduates been able to access the Art World post-graduation?
- d. How do the Art World's rules affect the creative production of the Creative Class?
- e. How do the Art World's rules affect economic opportunities of the Creative Class?
- f. What are the strategies employed, and opportunities available, to the Creative Class who meet some but not all of the Art World's criteria?

The five themes are:

1. Typology
2. Funding
3. Entrepreneurship
4. Preservation
5. Internet-Use

The following sections are an overview of the analysis of findings and descriptive statistics. These data are categorised into gender and age; degree classification; year

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<sup>32</sup> Due to the length of the survey, only select results are analysed here, the complete survey, with responses is available as an appendix.

of graduation and domicile. Section 4.3 discusses series one and two, Typology and Funding. Section 4.4 is an exploration on entrepreneurship. This is followed by preservation and finally an examination on internet-use.

#### **4.1 Analysis**

This study deployed Bourdieu's field theory and applied his three-level analysis to highlight the interactions and exchanges between the Art World and the Creative Class. This framework utilised the literature discussed to set up the fields of the Art World and its structure (see Chapter 2). By establishing the fields, it identified firstly its participants and secondly how they are interacting with each other. The empirical data for this research was collected from those who are subject to and work within the fields (i.e the Creative Class). This study is "presented in terms of three distinct levels in order to focus on operations across and within the artistic field. The three levels range from the formal socio-political relations in society itself to field structures derived from the activities of agents and institutions and from individuals' habitus" (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007, p. 118). This is summarised as follows:

- Field analysis established the *where* and *why* of the structural inequalities within the Art World including its relationship to the larger society, and its own internal operations.
- Examining the habitus and capital of the Creative Class through the empirical aspects of this study highlights *how* these inequalities operate in real time and points to where there are opportunities to increase their economic participation.

This is a comprehensive look at the valuation system that exists within the Art World and how it affects the Creative Class. In following this process, it supports Thornton's description of the Rite of Passage which she describes as:

an ideal career narrative that starts with graduation from a respected art school and culminates with a solo retrospective in a major museum, prizes are important plot points, clarifying an artist's cultural worth, providing prestige, and pointing to the potential for long-lasting greatness (Thornton, 2008, p. 111)

The notion of the Rite of Passage is also supported by *ArtTactic* in their NextGen Artists' report (Petersen, 2018). According to the report, throughout an artist's career trajectory, their cultural and economic value is the basis of endorsement from the key

participants of the Art World. This endorsement is key to receive recognition. Simply put, in order for the Creative Class to access the Art World, post graduation, their cumulative acquired skill and knowledge (their habitus and capital) must be endorsed and recognised. Therefore, in order to understand how this Rite of Passage operates, there is a need to collect data from this sample as it is their lived experience. By looking at their experience with the Art World, the outcome of the survey generates knowledge on what extent this “ideal career narrative” (Thornton, 2008, p. 111) is actually achieved by members of the Creative Class.

*Table 4.1: Bourdieu’s Three-Level Analysis, Applied*

<b>Three-Level Analysis</b>	<b>Chapter/Section</b>	<b>Key Concept</b>
Level 1 - Positioning the field against the field of power	Chapter One, Section 1.3.1 and 1.3.2	The Art World is a relatively autonomous social field within larger society with its own internal field of power that determines the value and strength of the various capital within it. Its relationship to the larger social sphere is mitigated by its role in society as the arbiters of culture, and the generators and holders of this knowledge.
Level 2 - mapping out of the objective structure of relations competing for the legitimate form of specific authority	Chapter Two, Literature Review	The Art World is divided into fields, and the boundaries of these fields are the sites of struggle within the Art World.
Level 3 - analysis of the habitus and the trajectory of agents within the field	Chapter Four, Analysis of Findings	Understanding the perceptions of the Creative Class, and identifying their perceptions on the misrecognition of their habitus and capital.

In analysing the collected data significant interactions between the Art World and the Creative Class were classified and described. The data highlighted the key issues Fine Arts Graduates are confronted with after graduation, and most importantly, located where the barriers are to their area of artistic specialisation: the constant misrecognition of the Creative Class’ habitus and capital. The findings support that assertion that the Creative Class’ capital and habitus are misrecognised by and

within the Art World; yet interestingly, the findings indicate that their habitus and capital are misrecognised by the Creatives themselves. In other words, the analysis of the findings pinpoints the significance and contribution of this misrecognition to the structural inequality present within the Art World.

## **4.2 Descriptive Statistics**

This section presents the key elements and the descriptive statistics from the survey. Eleven percent (11%) or 39 of 347 of the sample completed the survey. As the dataset is not large enough for generalisability, the collected data are used as a guide to interrogate on the basis of the theoretical perspective of the research and the outcomes of the Creative Class. Descriptive statistics are presented below as an overview of the sample.

### *4.2.1 Gender and Age*

Fifty-one percent (51%) of the responses were from women whilst forty-six percent (46%) were from men (Figure 4.1). The collected dataset were close to a 50/50 response rate. Previous research conducted by Curtin et al 2000; Moore & Tarnai, 2002; Singer et al 2000 confirmed that women are more likely to participate in online surveys than men. Moreover, the gender ratio is supported by the current gender ratio of men to women attending and graduating from art school. According to 2016 gender data as listed on the University of the Arts London (UAL) website, seventy-four percent (74%) of the students were female. Whilst at the Royal College of Art (RCA) sixty-two percent (62%) of students were female. At Art Center (ACCD), fifty-four percent (54%) are female and forty-six percent (46%) are male.

In regards to age, the sample were between the ages of 23 and 69. The highest frequency response population was between ages 30-39 and 50-59 (Figure 4.2). Previous research indicates that younger people are more likely to participate in online surveys than older people (Goyder, 1986; Moore & Tarnai, 2002).

Figure 4.1: Gender

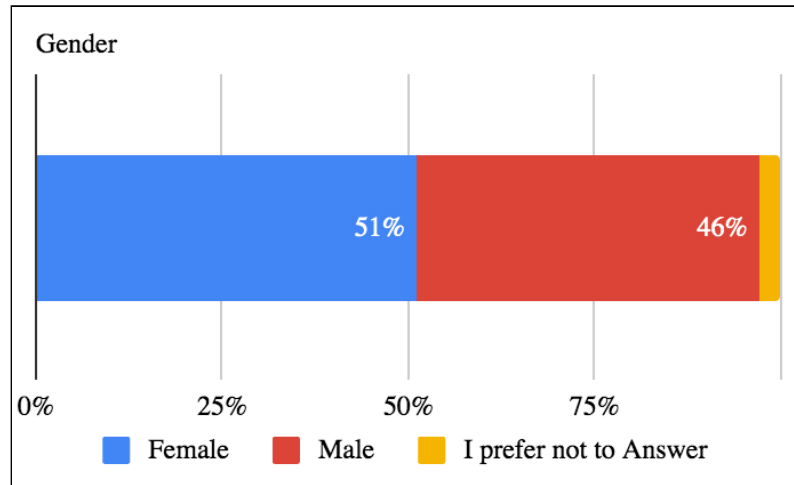
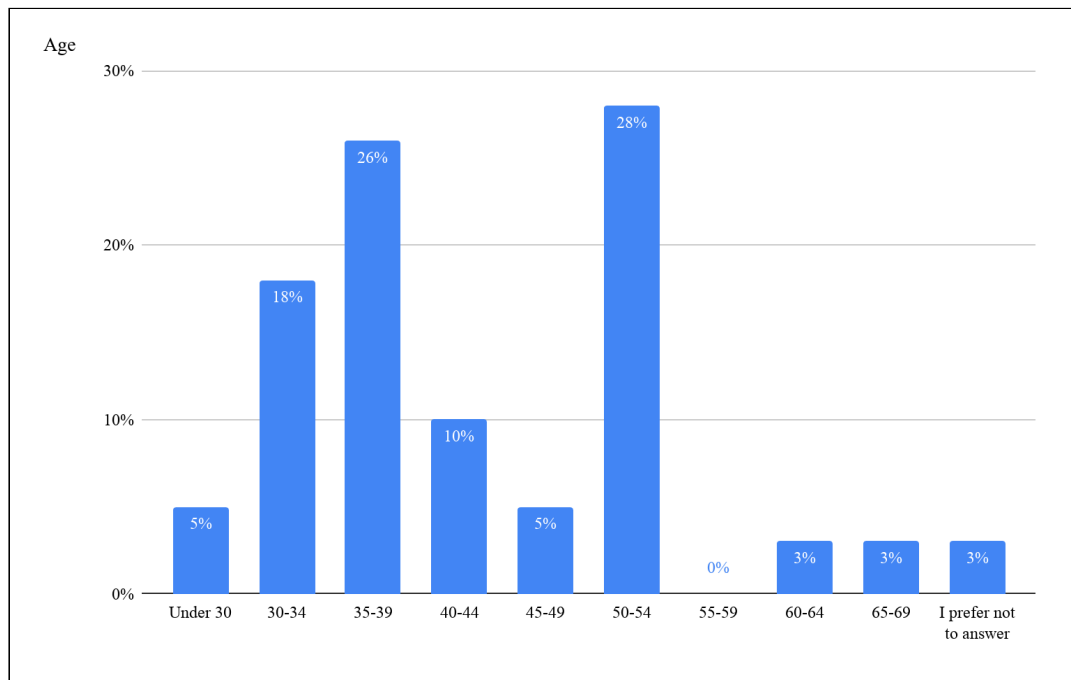


Figure 4.2: Age

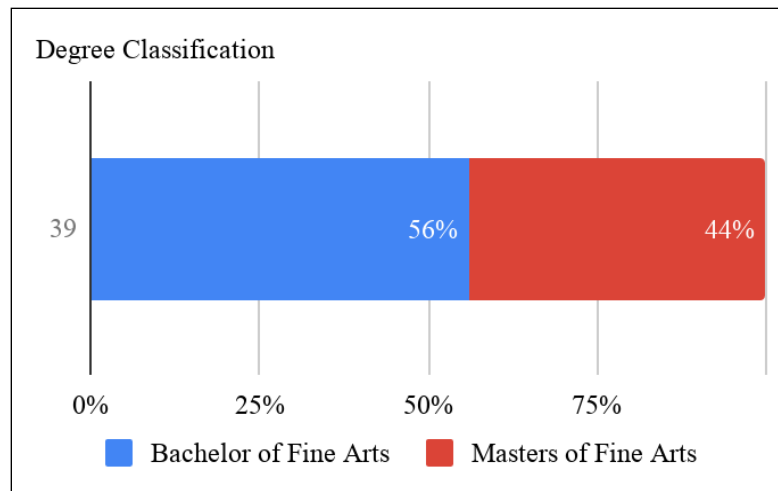


#### 4.2.2 Degree Classification

Those with a bachelor's degree had a 56% response rate and those with a master's degree had a 44% response rate (Figure 4.3). This distinction matters because there is a difference between those with an undergraduate degree in comparison to those with a graduate degree in gaining entry into Art World. BFA degrees focus on

acquiring skills and knowledge; those with an MFA are trained to get into the Art World.<sup>33</sup> Those graduating with an undergraduate degree may be expected to continue on with their education and receive higher education at an alternative institution. A study conducted by *ArtTactic* indicated out of 1300 sampled artists, sixty percent (60%) hold an MFA. Petterson (2013) explains that art school is part of the formation phase for artists as part of their endorsement process.<sup>34</sup>

*Figure 4.3 Degree Classification*



<sup>33</sup> As per ACCD's website, MFA alumni are trained by 33 faculty members with a total of 35 students. The faculty to student ratio is almost one-to-one which is rare within the field of education.

<sup>34</sup> The findings as presented here did not engage with literature that suggests that MFA's have increased participation within the Art World (NextGen Survey, 2018). Understanding the intersections of MFA and BFAs with the Art World, and if/how they differ is an opportunity for further research.

### 4.2.3 Year of Graduation

Responses were received from every decade covering the spectrum from 1990-2015. However, alumni who graduated more recently had a higher response rate. This pattern of response might be expected as contact details were more up to date. This pattern appeared beginning with those who graduated in 2000 as alumni emails were more readily available (Figure 4.4). By contrast, contact details become less reliable over time for those who graduated prior to 2000. Therefore, there is an underrepresentation of pre-2000 graduates and an over representation of those who graduated after the year 2000. Additionally, Art Center has three graduations per year, meaning ACCD students are accredited and readied for the next step of their career more often than other institutions where graduation is annually or every six months (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.4: Year of Graduation

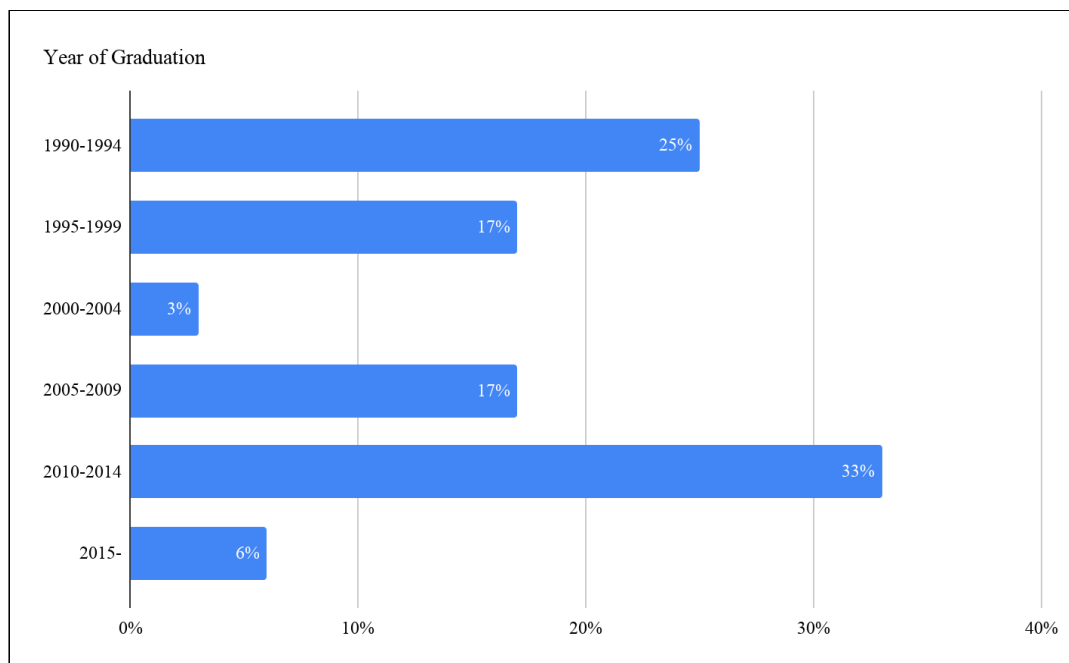
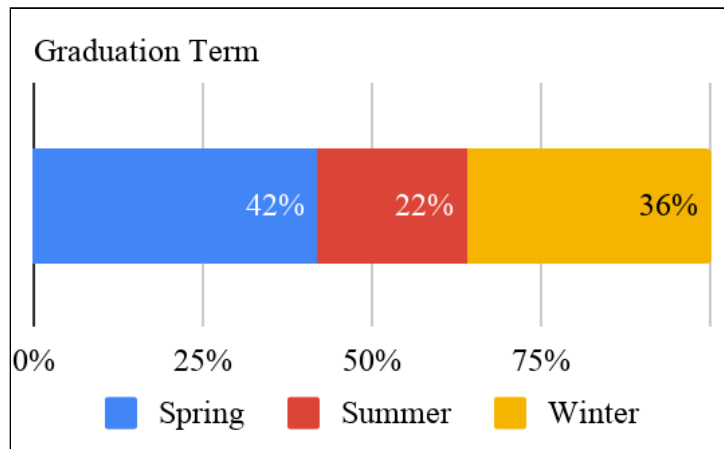




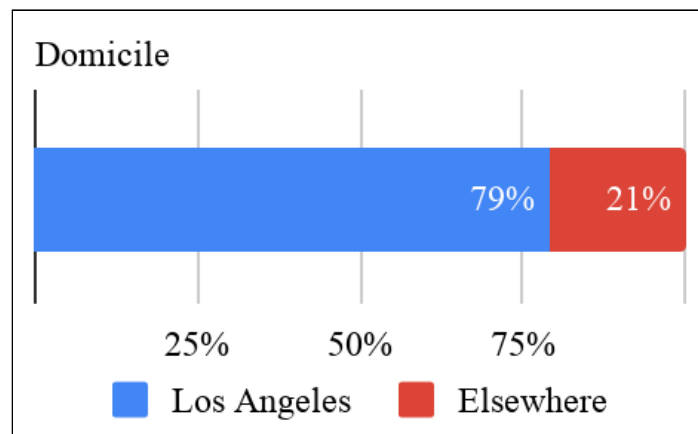
Figure 4.5: Graduation Term



#### 4.2.4 Domicile

Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the sample have stayed within Los Angeles or Greater Los Angeles Area post graduation (Figure 4.6). This was supported by the *ArtTactic* NextGen report. In their study, it was confirmed out of 1300 sampled artists, American artists live and work in the United States. Their dataset indicates that only 13% of American-born artists live and work outside of the US. In regards to Los Angeles, it is currently ranked as the third most important artists' hub globally (Pettersen, 2018).

Figure 4.6: Domicile



#### 4.2.5 Summary: Survey Demographic Information

Table 4.2: Survey Representativeness and Descriptive Statistics

	Total Survey Population (#)	Completed Responses (#)	Total Survey Population (%)	Final Response Rate (%)
All graduates	347	39	100	11%

<b>Descriptive Statistics n=39</b>	Total Responses (#)	Total Responses (%)	<b>Descriptive Statistics n=39</b>	Total Responses (#)	Total Responses (%)
<b>Gender</b>			<b>Classification of Degree</b>		
Female	20	51%	BFA	22	56%
Male	18	46%	MFA	17	43%
I prefer not to answer	1	2%	<b>Alumni Domicile Status</b>		
<b>Age Group (At the time of survey)</b>			Los Angeles	31	79%
Under 30	2	5%	Other	8	21%
30-34	7	18%	<b>Year of Graduation</b>		
35-39	10	2%	1990-1994	9	23%
40-44	4	10%	1995-1999	6	15%
45-49	2	5%	2000-2004	1	2%
50-54	11	28%	2005-2009	6	15%
55-59	0	0%	2010-2014	12	31%
60-64	1	2%	2015-	2	5%
65-69	1	2%	<b>Term of Graduation</b>		
I prefer not to answer	1	2%	Spring	15	41%
			Summer	8	22%
			Winter	13	36%

### 4.3 Series One and Two: Typology & Funding

The first two series of questions examined who the sample are and how they are financing their studio practice. Thematically, the questions within the first series asked the respondents to think about their identity vis-a-vis their creativity, and explored how the sample are classifying themselves along the Ideal-Type Typology proposed in this work. This relates back to the first theme of the survey: *Typology*. This was followed by asking them how they are financially sustaining the production of creative work. The dataset offers evidence on the economic realities the sample face through questions regarding *Funding*. Through an examination of the relationship between incomes and artists' characteristics, key findings include:

1. An introductory to the context of the employment status of ACCD Fine Arts Graduates.
2. A study of the career patterns of ACCD Fine Art Graduates.
3. Insights into the value of a creative education in both the career trajectory and funding of their creative practice.
4. An interrogation of Thornton's ideal career narrative (i.e. the rite of passage) and whether and to what extent this narrative applies to the sample.

In order to explore the collected information, the two series were compared to the *field of education* and *field of capital* as outlined in Chapter Two. First, the series of questions asked around the typology were used to understand the self-classification of the sample. The second series regarding Funding highlights the employment patterns of these Fine Art Graduates, including their career patterns. Thirdly, this series explores how the social and cultural capital of the Creative Class is operationalised as a consumable good in order to interact with the Art World. Finally, the questions asked within the Typology and Funding series correspond with Thornton's description of the artist's Rite of Passage from graduation to the solo retrospective. Together, this analysis underpins the value of education and the career progression of the Creative Class.

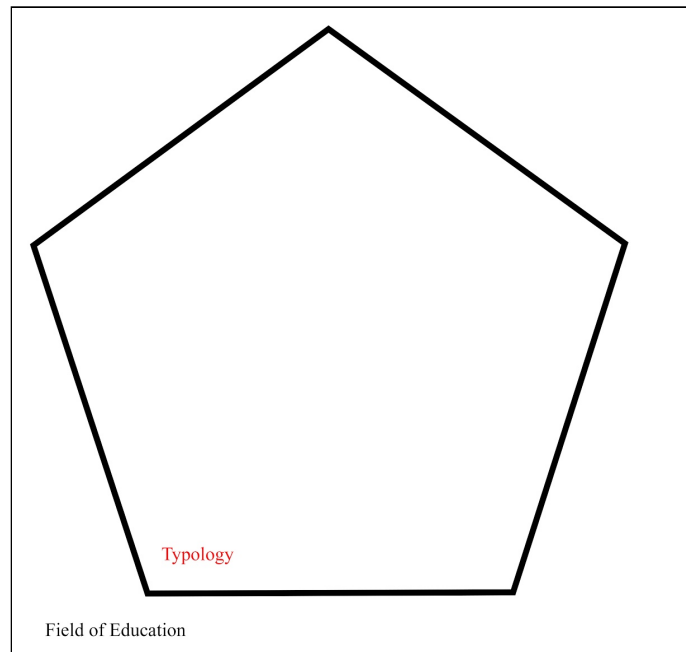
*Table 4.3: Rite of Passage Location Corresponding to Typology and Funding Series*

<b>Rite of Passage Location</b>
Series 1: Step 1: Graduation from a respected art school (field of education)
Series 1 and 2: Step 2: Financial sustainability (field of capital)

*Table 4.4 Series One and Two Compared to Field of Education and Capital*

<b>Corresponding Series</b>	<b>Field</b>	<b>Grouping Name</b>	<b>Authors/Work</b>	<b>Key Terms</b>
One, Typology	Field of Education	The Valuists	Bourdieu (1986) Dewey (1934) Albers (1928)	Education Institution Jargon Books Knowledge
Two, Funding	Field of Capital	The Capitalists	Grenfell and Hardy (2007) Adamson Sennett (2008) Nonaka and Takeuchi	Network Saleability

*Graphic 4.1: Series 1: Typology Corresponding to the Field of Education*



*Graphic 4.2: Series 1 and 2: Typology and Funding Corresponding to Field of Education and Capital*

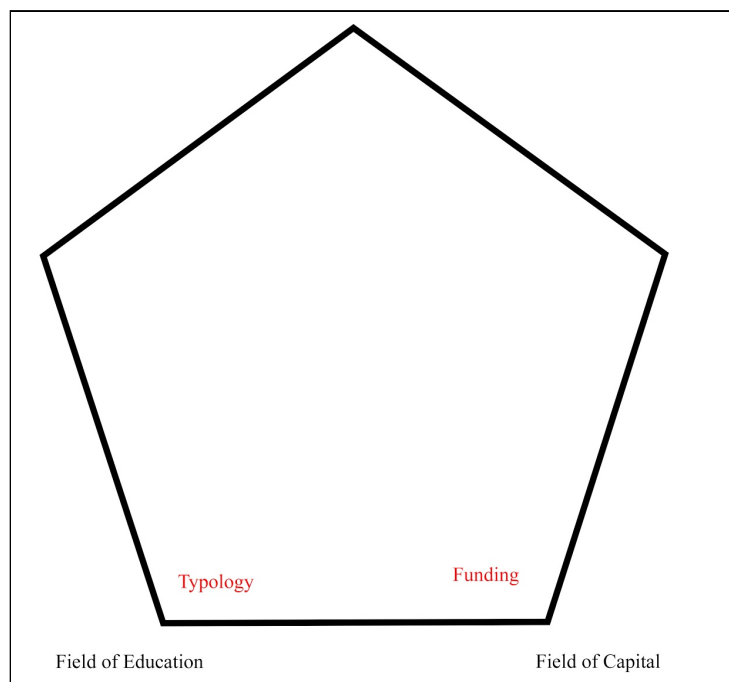


Table 4.5: Survey Questions Corresponding to Survey Themes: Typology and Funding

<b>Survey Questions Corresponding to Survey Themes: Typology and Funding</b>	
<b>Typology</b>	<b>Funding</b>
Do you currently work full time in an occupation as an artist?	You assess the economic potential of cross sector activities and partnerships to attract a broader audience for your practice
Do you currently work part time in an occupation as an artist ?	In thinking about income from your creative practice(s), from which of these areas do you earn income?
Which of these describes your current employment status within the last 7 days?	Your creative works are constrained by current arts market demand
Which of the following occupations best describes your current employment (select all that apply)?	Do you work part time as a teacher in the arts
Are you represented by a gallery?	Do you work full time as a teacher in the arts
Which gallery?	How important is it for your art practice that your work is sold
Have you been a recipient of fellowship in the past 5 years?	How important is it for your art practice where your work is sold
Have you had a solo retrospective in a museum in the last 10 years?	How important is it to you that your art work to be within the permanent collection of a private collector
How important is it to you that your art work is displayed in the permanent collection of a museum consisting of at least 80000m <sup>2</sup> /86000' of gallery space?	How important is it to you that your work has been sold in the primary market (new work being sold for the first time in a gallery)
Is your studio practice secondary to your main source of income?	How important is it to you that your work has been sold in the secondary market (work which has previously been sold being resold)
How often do you practice creatively in your personal (non-work) time?	Do you work full time managing programmes or other persons in an arts organisation (inclusive of museums, galleries, schools, churches, businesses with art programmes)?
Do you make art in your personal (non-work) time?	Have you been commissioned in the last 5 years by a gallery?
Do you make work that are multiples of the same thing?	
Do you make work that is a one off?	

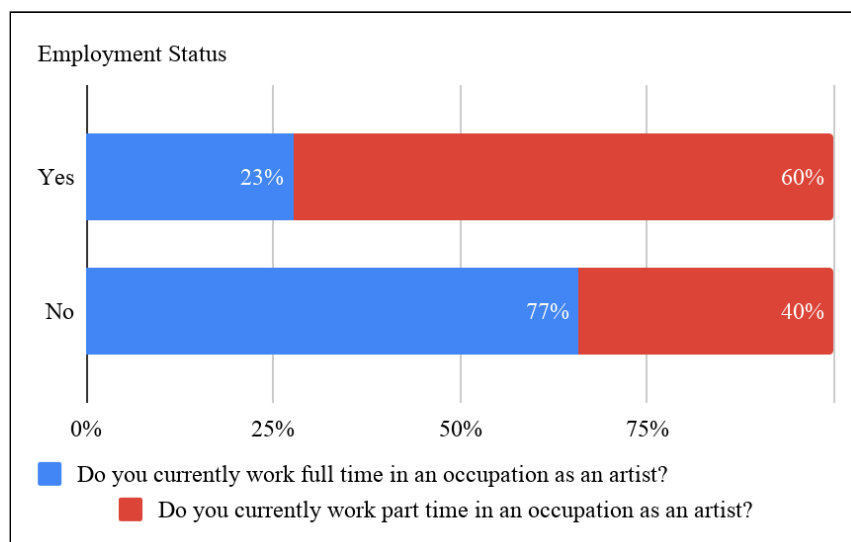
### 4.3.1 Employment

The following dataset establishes ACCD's Fine Art Graduates' employment status. These responses highlight the extent to which Fine Art Graduates have been able to access the Art World post graduation. The obtained data provides understanding on the experiences of the sample's career trajectory. This highlights the key issues Fine Art Graduates face upon graduation. This information established the classification of the Typology (Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8).

- Eighteen percent (18%) of the respondents *obtained employment within the Creative Cultural Industry (CCI) after graduation*,<sup>35</sup>
- Additionally, eighteen percent (15%) of respondents *obtained employment prior to graduation or after more than a year*;
- Seventy-seven (77%) of the sample *do not work full time as an artist*;
- Sixty (60%) *work part time as an artist*;
- Thirty-six percent (36%) are employed in *full time paid work*;
- Thirty-one percent (31%) are *self-employed or freelance*; and
- Seventeen percent (17%) are *employed, part time paid work (working fewer than 35 hours per week)*

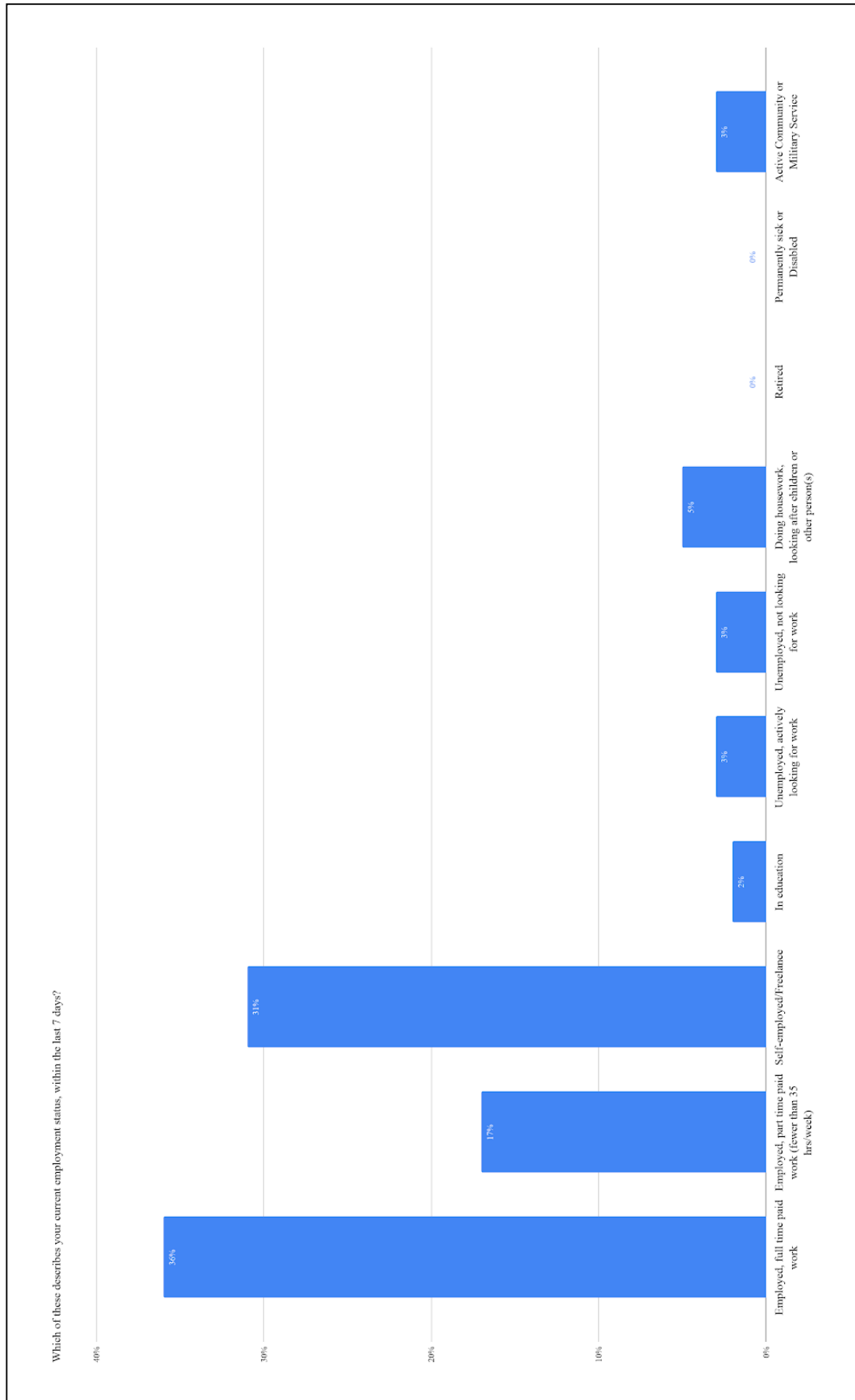
In 2016, twenty-eight percent (28%) of the sample either spent 0-25% and 51-75% of the week working as a creative.

Figure 4.7: Employment as an Artist



<sup>35</sup> CCI is a classification of the field of cultural production within the United Kingdom. It is comprised of 15 creative cultural industries. They are: Books; Newspapers and Magazines; Music; Performing Arts; TV; Film; Radio; Video Games; Visual Arts; Architectural Activities; and Advertising Activities.

Figure 4.8: Current Employment Status, Within the Last 7 Days





#### 4.3.2 Career Patterns vis-a-vis the Sample's Participation in the Art World

The next questions pinpoint whether the respondents applied their acquired education to navigate the Art World. The generated knowledge outlines how education facilitates the entry of the Creative Class into the Art World; and illustrates the intersection of acquired learning and the Creative Class.

28 of 39 respondents (72%) confirmed their studio practice is *secondary to their primary source of income*. This is supported by *Livelihoods of Visual Artists: 2016 Data Report* which sampled 2,007 artists in England. In this report, a key finding was that sixty-nine percent (69%) of the sample were unable to support themselves through their creative production, and therefore held other jobs to supplement their income. More than seventy percent of the sample in this work *have not been a recipient of a fellowship in the last five years; are not represented by a gallery; have not been commissioned by gallery and have not had a solo retrospective in a museum in the last 10 years* (Figure 4.9). The data are as follows:

- Seventy-eight percent (78%) were *not a recipient of fellowship in the last 5 years*;
- Eighty-two percent (82%) are *not represented by a gallery*

These results are supported by an informal interview with an Art Dealer (Dealer A) from Vancouver, Canada in October 2017.<sup>36</sup> This dealer confirmed the sample's lack of gallery representation. Structurally, Dealers accrue much of the value from artists' work, namely, a large share of the value of art. For Dealers, works of art are commodities, and similarly, artists are commodities based on the value of their works. Primarily, a Dealer's role is to establish relationships with artists to connect them with galleries. In Figure 4.10 (below), a honeycomb structure shows a simplified interaction between artists and industry professionals. It is a symbiotic relationship where each of the components require the other to operate; however, it underscores the disconnect between the artist and others in the structure.

Dealer A explained the process of speaking with artists and scheduling studio visits. Communication exchanged between Dealer A and artists are slow and often left open-ended. As such, her time is used to follow up with artists in order to

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<sup>36</sup> None of the interviews conducted were recorded or transcribed; however, a table of basic information about these interviews are included in the Appendix.

schedule appointments. Moreover, during studio visits, according to Dealer A, the artists are unable to recognise their value or the Dealer's role. The disconnect between the artist and their value is reflected in the sample's response regarding gallery representation. This dataset underpinned a key issue artists experience in relation to their success in gaining entry to the Art World, namely they do not understand their own role or their value or the role of the Dealer. Dealer A also mentioned one of the key issues relating to this is the inability of the artists to articulate clearly their role or value. This inability to adequately communicate their own value is supported by the sample's responses on gallery commissions and solo retrospectives in a museum. The data suggests that,

- Seventy-two percent (72%) have not been commissioned in the last 5 years by a gallery; and
- Ninety-eight percent (98%) have not had a solo retrospective in a museum in the last 10 years.

Additionally, a majority of respondents, forty-one percent (41%), believe being displayed in the permanent collection of a museum consisting of at least 8000m<sup>2</sup>/86000ft of gallery space is *unimportant*, thirty-three percent (33%) of the alumni believe being part of the permanent collection of a private collector is also *unimportant*. Fifty-six percent (56%) of respondents believe having works sold in the primary market, are *neither important nor unimportant* or *unimportant*. received. Thirty-eight percent (38%) believe it is *unimportant* to be sold in the secondary market (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.9: Participation in the Art World

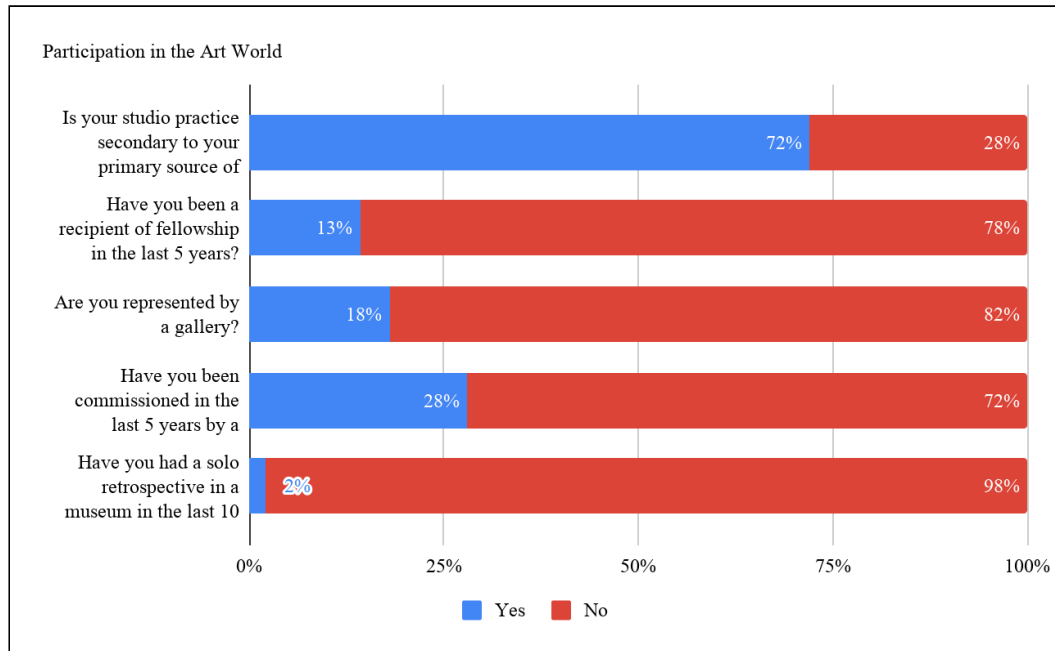


Figure 4.10: Simplified Stakeholder Map Between Artists and Industry Professionals

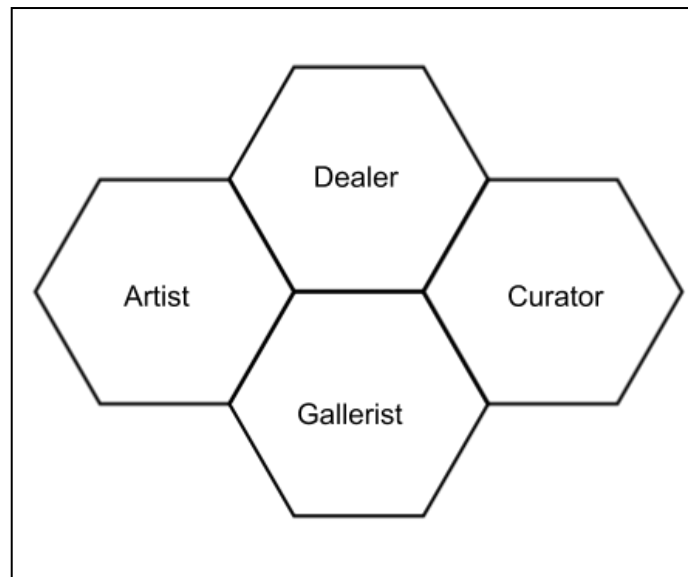
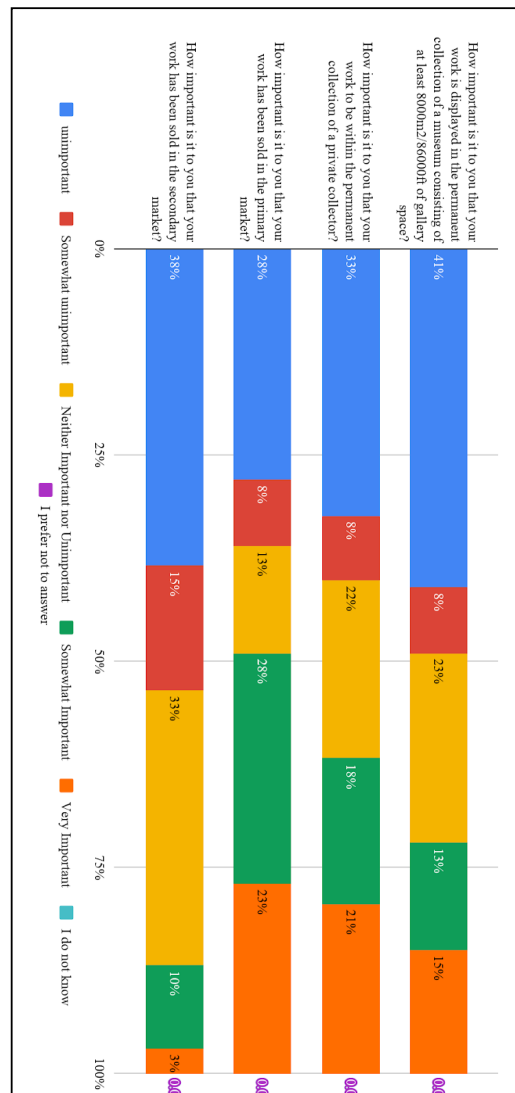


Figure 4.11: Works sold in the Art World



#### 4.4.3 The Value of Creative Education in Career Trajectory and Funding of Creative Practice

The data suggest that eighty-seven percent (87%) of the alumni are not active artists; however, they make art in their personal (non-work) time (Figure 4.12). Moreover, thirty-eight percent (38%) practise creatively daily in their personal (non-work) time. Thirty-three percent (33%) practise between two and three times a week, fifteen percent (15%) practise once a week in their personal time. Only five percent (5%), or two people never practise creatively (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.12: Practising Artist during (non-work) time

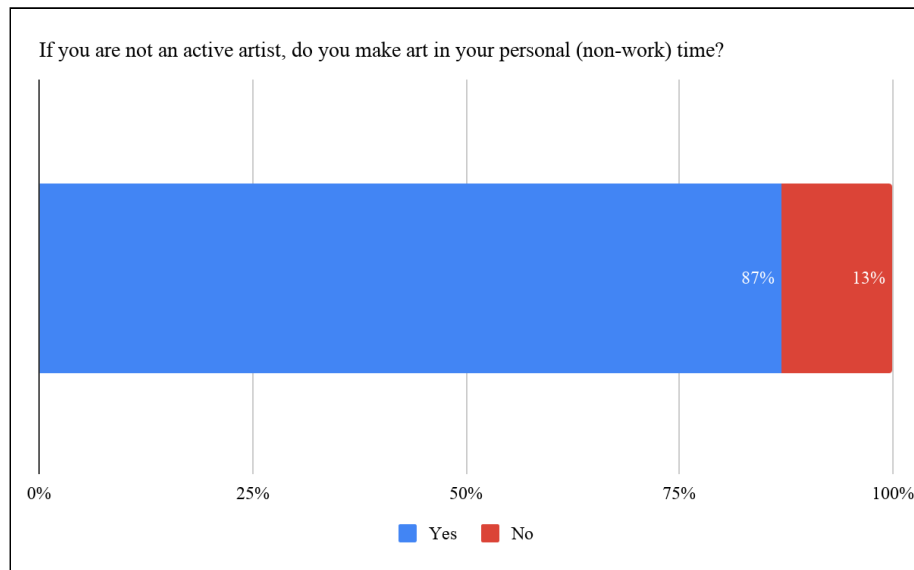
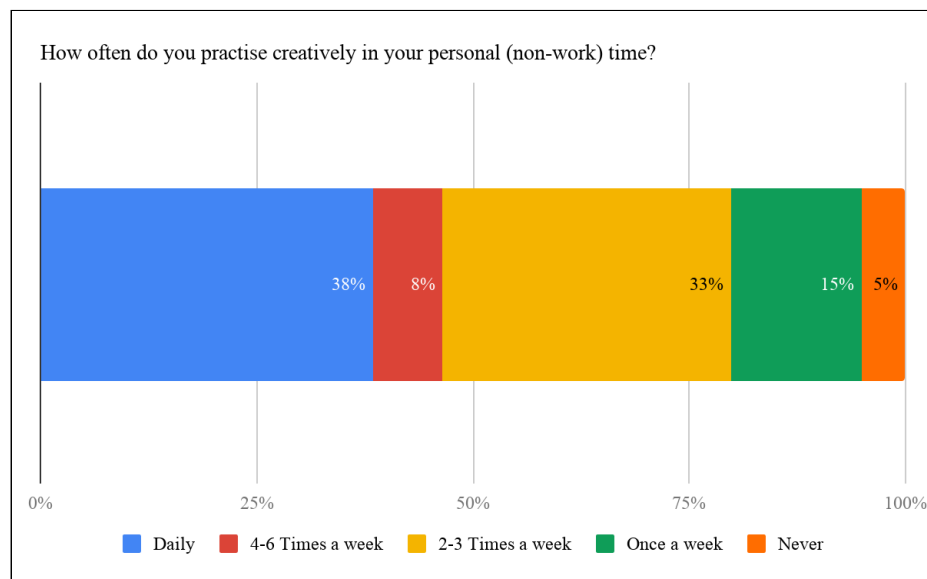


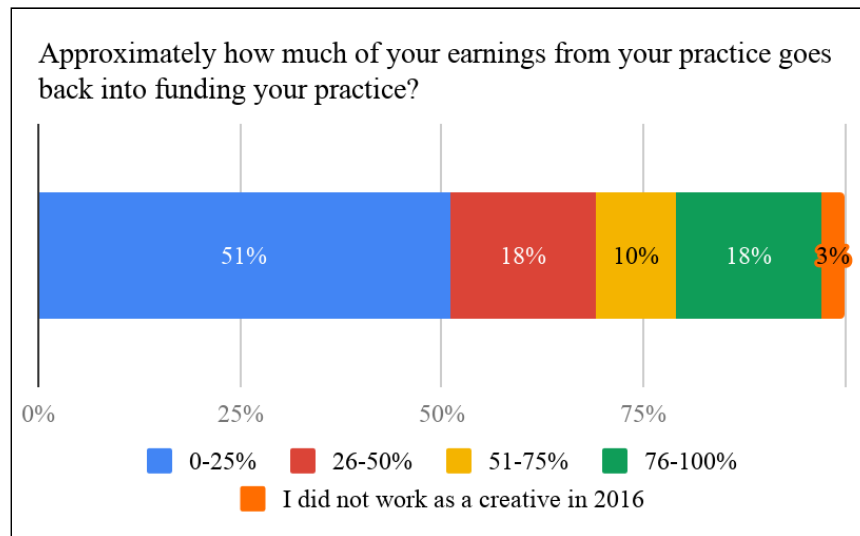
Figure 4.13: Studio Practice Habits



Fifty-one percent (51%) of the respondents invest 0-25% of their earnings from their practice back into funding their practice. Eighteen percent (18%) of the alumni invest 26-50% or 76-100% back into funding their creative practice (Figure 4.14). This is despite the fact that a majority of the respondents are not represented by a gallery, have not been commissioned by a gallery in the last five years nor have they had a solo retrospective within the last decade. This suggests that despite being unable to access the Art World through the rite of passage, the Creative Class continues to make work. Through understanding the creative practices of ACCD

graduates the researcher can build knowledge which is likely to reflect that of the wider Art World.

Figure 4.14: Funding Studio Practice



Another component to an artist's studio practice is methods of funding (Figure 4.15). Through analysing the sample's selling habits, it outlines key outcomes to generate knowledge on whether their symbolic capital is operationalised as a consumable good and how it is being exchanged and traded with the Art World. This provides insight into the value of a creative education in both the career trajectory and funding of their creative practice. Thirty percent (30%) sold creative work (Figure 4.16), for example, through word of mouth; private buyers or sold to acquaintances. Key insights regarding funding streams are as follows:

- Twenty-two percent (22%) of the respondents receive income from commission;
- Nineteen percent (19%) receive income from teaching;
- Fourteen percent (14%) receive income from the sales from commission; and
- Five percent (5%) receive money from Public grants/awards

The data collected on *funding received from grants* is echoed by John Holden's report titled *Capturing Cultural Value, 2004*. This report indicates that "[m]any artists feel that they are made to jump through hoops and that they create art in spite of the funding system. Their ability to 'play the game' and write highly articulate funding proposals is more important than the work that they make or facilitate"

(Holden, 2004, p. 11). In other words, in order to receive public funding, the efforts required to fulfill proposal requirements underpins a key issue artists face.

These findings are corroborated by a conversation with a Hong Kong artist in August 2017 who also spoke of this issue. The artist questioned the lengthy process in order to obtain public funding for his practice. However, he recognised the ideal career narrative (Thornton, 2008) that in order to be acknowledged by the Art World, receiving public funding is necessary to acquire recognition from the structure. This conundrum contributes to the dilemma of how capital is operationalised as a consumable good and how it is being exchanged and traded with the Art World. The outcome of the conversation helped to further reveal the barriers of gaining entry to the Art World.

*Figure 4.15 Generated Areas of Income*

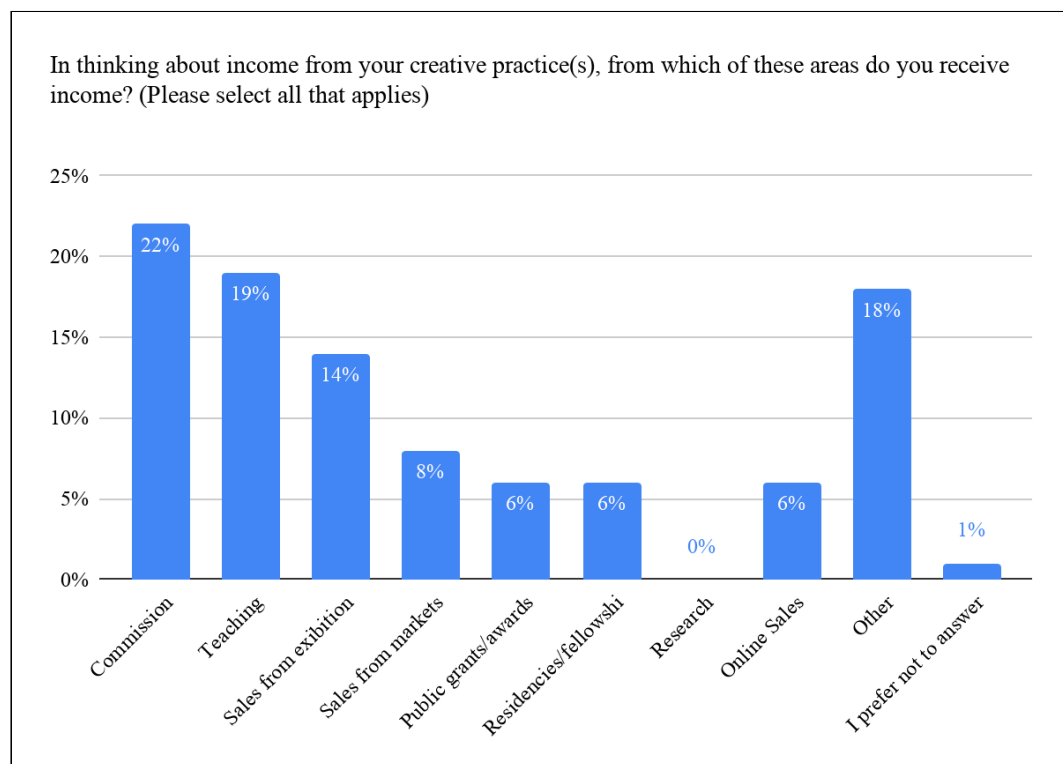
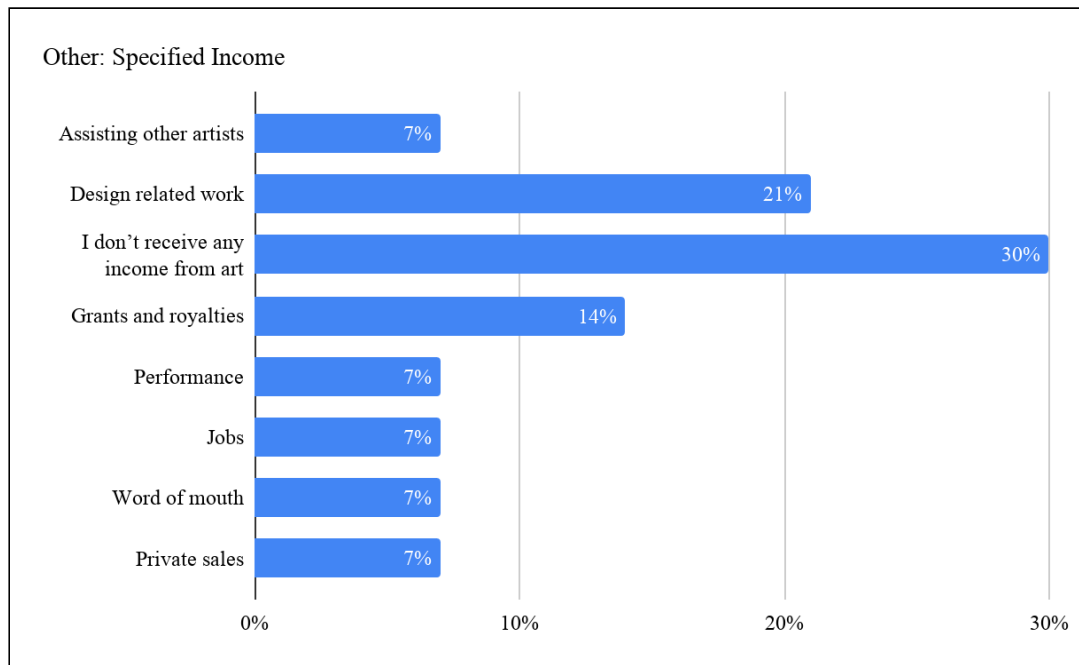


Figure 4.16 Other: Specified Income



On further exploration, the sample have found ways to operationalise their capital as a consumable good and how it is being exchanged and traded with the Art World. Seventy-nine percent (79%) have sold creative work in the last 5 years (Figure 4.17).

Figure 4.17: Selling Habits in the last five years

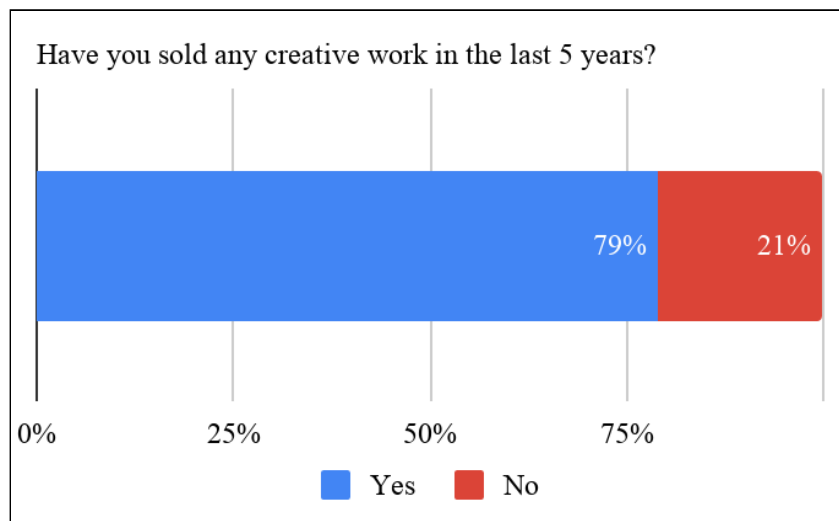




Figure 4.18: Where works are sold

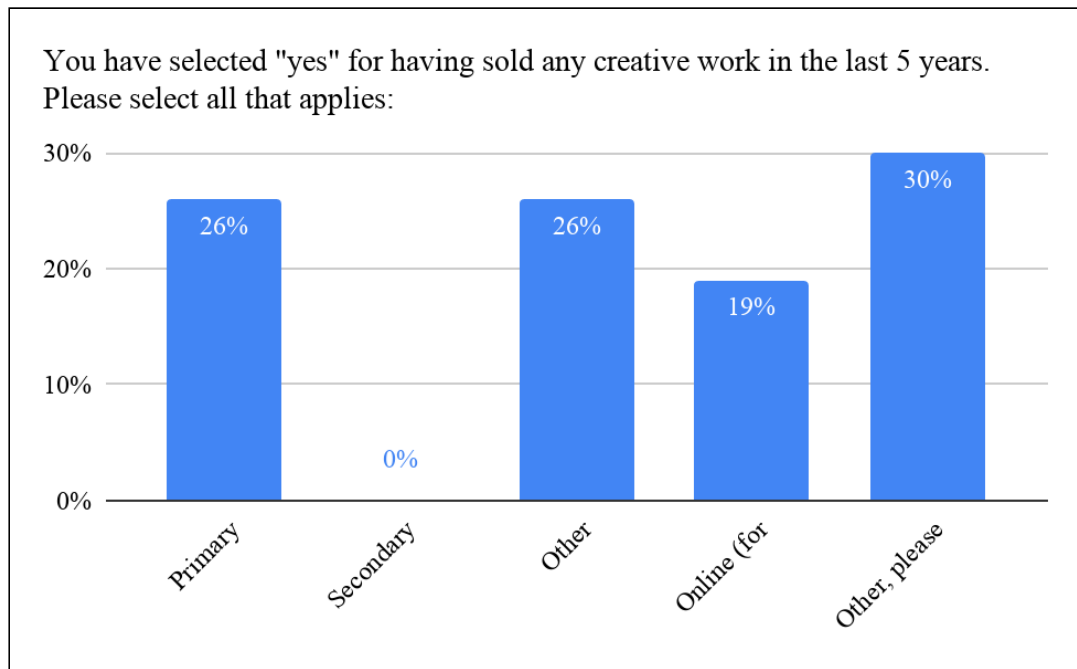
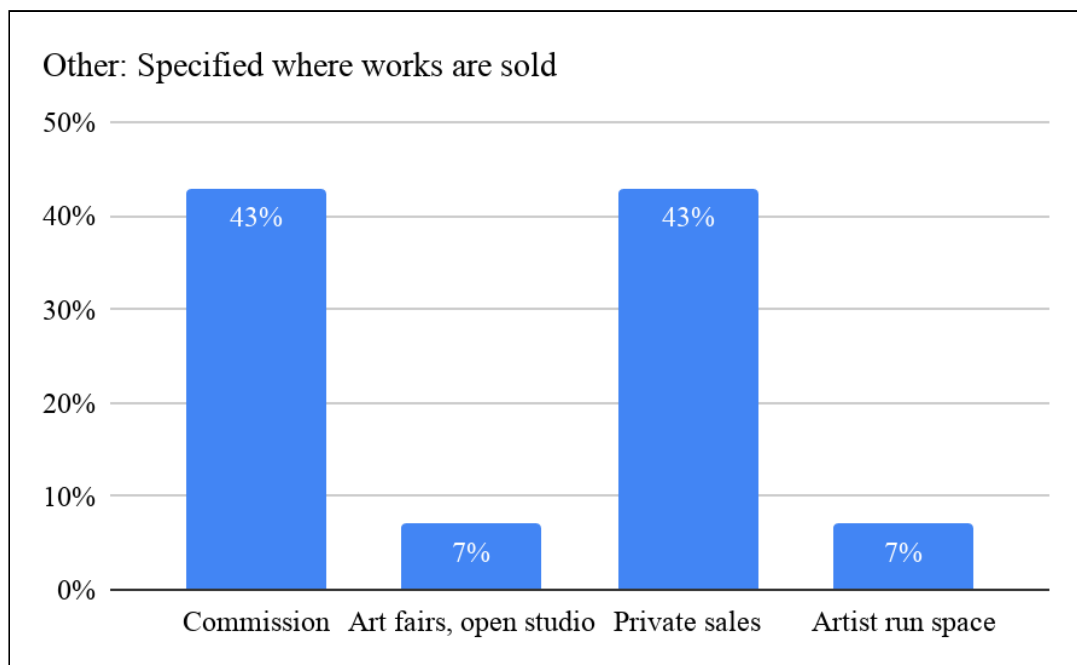


Figure 4.19: Other: Specified where works are sold



#### 4.4.4 Summary and Rite of Passage:

Through exploring the nature of employment, career patterns and establishing the intersection between the value of education and funding practices, the dataset supports Thornton's description of the Rite of Passage (see above, p. 14). The next step post graduation, according to Thornton's ideal career narrative, culminates with a solo retrospective in a major museum. Utilising this logic, the guiding questions in Series One (Typology) regarding how the alumni classify themselves, and Series Two (Funding) regarding how they sustain their studio practice highlight whether the respondents applied their acquired education to navigate the Art World. In other words, the data collected pinpoint the perceived three main industry expectations for this career narrative (per Thornton, 2008), and whether or not the sample have been able to meet them. These expectations were:

- selling in the primary and secondary market,
- gallery representation
- solo retrospective in a major museum

To recap, the data suggest that:

- Ninety-eight percent (98%) have not had a solo retrospective in a museum in the last 10 years;
- Forty-one percent (41%) believe being displayed in the permanent collection of a museum consisting of at least 8000m<sup>2</sup>/86000ft of gallery space is *unimportant*;
- Thirty-three percent (33%) of the alumni believe being part of the permanent collection of a private collector is also *unimportant*;
- Twenty-eight percent (28%) of respondents chose either *neither important nor unimportant* or *unimportant* when asked about their perception of the importance of primary market sales;
- Thirty-eight percent (38%) answered that it is *unimportant* that their work has been sold in the secondary market.

The career narrative is indeed ideal, and as suggested throughout this work that the barriers for entry into the Art World are tangible; however, this does not deter the sample from practising their art making. This is supported by the fact that

eighty-seven percent (87%) of the alumni *are not active* artists but still make art in their personal (non-work) time.

- Thirty-eight percent (38%) practise creatively *daily* in their personal time;
- Thirty-three percent practise *two to three times* a week;
- Fifteen percent (15%) practise *once a week* in their personal time;
- Only five percent (5%), or two people *never* practise creatively;
- Seventy-nine percent (79%) *have sold* creative work in the last 5 years.

Furthermore, in regards to participants' self classification, the data confirms:

- Only eighteen percent (18%) of the respondents obtained employment within Creative Cultural Industry (CCI) after graduation.
- At the time of the survey, seventy-seven (77%) of the sample *do not* work full time as an artist, and sixty (60%) of the alumni work *part time* as an artist.
- Seventy-two (72%) identified that their studio practice is secondary to their primary source of income.

In other words, the sample found methods to secure income in order to supplement their creative production.

The data received regarding the first two themes of the survey provide interesting and somewhat contradictory information regarding how the Creative Class engages with the ideal career narrative (Thornton, 2008). The respondents indicate that they practise creatively, often (more than one-third practice daily), but that certain benchmarks as posited by Thornton are unimportant or have been unattainable to them (for example, an overwhelming majority have never had a solo retrospective, and more than one-third of the respondents believe being a permanent collection of a private collector or a museum is unimportant). Moreover, eighty-two percent (82%) of the artists are *not* represented by a gallery and seventy-two percent (72%) replied “*no*” to being commissioned by a gallery in the last five years. This paradox is corroborated by the researcher's discussion with the Artist in Hong Kong. He admitted that receiving public funding is an important step along this trajectory but lamented the process. The data indicate that only six percent (6%) of the respondents receive public money, and more than half invest as much as 25% of their earnings back into their practice. These responses from the Funding series built

knowledge through analysing the respondents' experiences and outlined how the Creative Class' social and cultural capital is operationalised as a consumable good in order to interact with the Art World, but suggest a disconnect between practice and outcome that is not wholly attributable to the structure or expectations of the Art World worthy of more in-depth examination in further research. The next section discusses the results of the third series (entrepreneurship) from the survey. It highlights the intersection of the field of commerce with the sample's perceptions on the value of their tacit knowledge (*habitus*).

#### **4.5 Series Three: Entrepreneurship Testing**

The series of questions regarding *Entrepreneurship* within the survey examine the convertibility of non-material capital to material capital through the recognition of one's own skills and knowledge. In other words, one's recognition of their own value. Because the cultural capital (and to some extent social capital) of the Creative Class is often misrecognised, to address this misrecognition, the Entrepreneurship series examined the relationship between the *habitus* of the Creative Class and their potential to convert their social and cultural capital into economic capital. The questions in the survey asked the respondents to think about what makes them an asset. This knowledge is linked to the overall research question for this dissertation regarding *what are the strategies employed, and opportunities available, to the Creative Class who meet some but not all of the Art World's criteria?* This knowledge helped to identify key issues facing the Creative Class when interacting with the Art World, primarily the recognition of their own skills and knowledge, and most importantly what makes them valuable. Simply put, the outcome pinpointed how the sample is able to monetise their tacit knowledge. In order to explore the collected information, the series on Entrepreneurship were compared to the *field of commerce* outlined in Chapter Two. Building knowledge through analysing the sample's experiences, the dataset also outlined key outcomes to support the researcher's understanding of the Art World. More importantly, it identified where the breakdown is between the Creative Class and the Art World.

An examination of the responses from the series of questions regarding Entrepreneurship outlines the importance and existence of misrecognition of the

capital of the Creative Class. For example, when asked whether their creative practice involved working across multiple creative disciplines since graduation, over ninety percent (90%) of respondents answered yes. This suggests that a majority of the sample have used their acquired skills and knowledge across creative disciplines that were beyond their specialisation. Moreover, when asked later if their skills were transferable, a majority of the respondents answered in the positive (Figure 4.21). The data collected on Entrepreneurship outlines the current economic constraints and needs of the Creative Class.

By looking at the sample’s experiences in relation to their success in the Art World, the data identified a misrecognition of the transferable skills by the Creative Class themselves, and a gap in their knowledge regarding charging for their skills and knowledge. Additionally this aspect of the research established the intersections between social/cultural and economic capital. The data outlined key outcomes to support how these capital are operationalised. In other words, which capital (social/cultural, economic or both), is being exchanged as a consumable good in order to interact with the Art World? Moreover, following Thornton’s description of the artist’s Rite of Passage, while Entrepreneurship begins after graduation, it is one of the fields of the Art World where financial rewards can be attained without being tied to the ideal career narrative.

*Table 4.6: Rite of Passage Location Corresponding to Typology, Funding, and Entrepreneurship Series*

<b>Rite of Passage Location</b>
Step 1: Graduation from a respected art school
Step 2: Financial sustainability
Step 3: Misrecognition

*Table 4.7: Series Three Compared to Field of Commerce*

<b>Field</b>	<b>Grouping Name</b>	<b>Authors/Work</b>	<b>Key Terms</b>
Field of Commerce	The Economists	Gilmore & Pine	Economic Capital

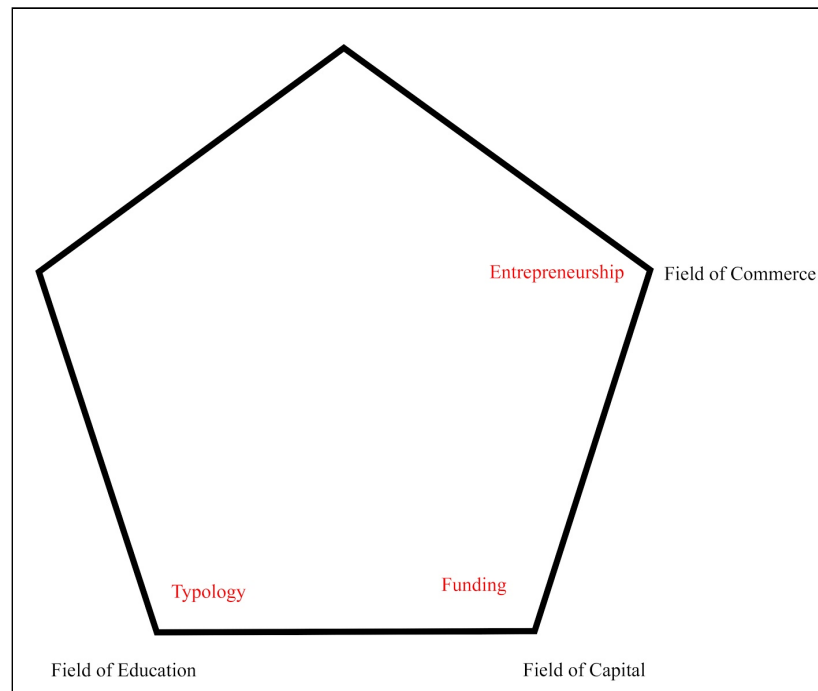
*Table 4.8: Survey Questions Corresponding to Survey Theme: Entrepreneurship*

<b>Survey Questions Corresponding to Survey Themes: Entrepreneurship</b>
Since graduation, has your creative practice involved working across multiple creative disciplines? (Yes/No)
Your Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated. <sup>37</sup> (Agree/Disagree) (Cultural Worth is defined as the affective elements of cultural experience, practice and identity. Therefore, it locates the value of culture partly in the subjective experience of participants and citizens. Economic Worth is defined as the maximum amount a consumer is willing to pay for an item.)
You assess the economic potential of cross sector activities and partnerships to attract a broader audience for your practice (Agree/Disagree)
You have gained transferable skills through your studio practice (Agree/Disagree)
You are open to working with others in order to get the project finished. (Agree/Disagree)

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<sup>37</sup> Cultural Worth is defined as the affective elements of cultural experience, practice and identity. Therefore, it locates the value of culture partly in the subjective experience of participants and citizens. Economic Worth is defined as the maximum amount a consumer is willing to pay for an item.

Graphic 4.3: Series 1, 2 and 3: Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship Series Corresponding to Field of Education, Capital, and Commerce



#### 4.5.1 Analysis

The questions below establish the respondents' method of converting their non-material capital into material capital by recognising one's own skills and knowledge. The dataset highlighted their experiences of working within the creative industry. Most importantly, the data underpinned a key issue: the misrecognition of one's value. When asked about transferability, ninety-two percent (92%) of the graduates *have confirmed* that since graduation their creative practice involved working across multiple creative disciplines (Figure 4.20). This number suggests that the Creative Class is able to apply their knowledge and skills outside of their areas of specialisation. Another key finding in the report is in regards to Entrepreneurial behaviour is supported by this research's dataset. For example, eighty-nine percent (89%) of the sample either strongly agree or agree that they have transferable skills through their studio practice. Moreover, eighty-percent (80%) strongly agree or agree to working with others in order to get the project finished which implies the sample has a willingness to leverage their social networks or creating new networks in innovative ways. However, when asked if their *cultural and economic worth are*

*integrated*, the sample provided mixed results. This is interesting because the insight provided in an informal interview with Art Consultant A, in July 2019 implied otherwise.

The researcher discussed with Art Consultant A her career path. The Consultant graduated from Goldsmiths, University of London, with a degree in Art History, and post graduation, the Consultant worked for Tiffany's creative department. Her colleagues were also trained formally, similarly to her, and transitioned into the commercial creative industry as well. For the consultant, she identified a flexibility in transferability of the skills when trained formally in the arts. More specifically, she stated those who are trained as artists make well-informed and knowledgeable curators and dealers. This is because their formal training as artists provide transferable skills and knowledge giving them the foundation to work across multiple creative disciplines. This is also echoed in the *Creative Graduates Creative Futures Report*. The study focused on career patterns of graduates in art, design, crafts and media subjects undertaken between 2008 and 2010 from 26 UK institutions of higher education. According to the report, creative education teaches a learning-by-doing method and this teaching method provides the foundational tools to make relational decisions guided by experience. This finding directly echoes Dewey's (1934) literature (See Chapter Two, p. 46)

However, when looking at whether those sampled are able to identify their economic and cultural worth, in other words, whether their individual social/cultural capital and economic capital are supplemental (Figure 4.21) the sample's results were noticeably mixed:

- Twenty-two (22%) *agree* their Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated
- Forty-six percent (46%) *neither agree nor disagree* their Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated.
- Eighteen percent (18%) *disagree* their Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated

The sample's disconnect between their economic and cultural worth underpinned a key issue. This is because the Art World uses economic and cultural worth as a measurement tool. *ArtTactic's* survey frames cultural and economic value as functions of a process of endorsement in order to be recognised by the Art World.



Therefore, recognising their different configurations of capital, and how to use them, will help the sample gain entry into the Art World. Anecdotally, this was discussed by the researcher with Museum Director A during March Art Basel in Hong Kong in 2019. The Director argued “when museums charge, the public will respect admission charges; however, when artists charge for their work there’s a disconnect as to why artists need to be paid.” She continued the conversation saying “artists must charge for their work in order for the public to recognise they have value. Without that transaction, people won’t respect their worth.” In other words, an artist’s economic and cultural worth are integrated, but obviously misrecognised.

This misrecognition is both external to the Creative Class, but also partially internal. Less than half of the participants look at the possible economic opportunities available across the creative industry in order to grow their practice.

- Thirty-eight percent (38%) either *strongly agree* or *agree* they assess the economic potential of cross sector activities and networks to attract a broader audience for their practice
- Forty-four percent (44%) *neither agree nor disagree* assess the economic potential of cross sector activities and networks to attract a broader audience for their practice
- Fifteen percent (15%) *disagree* they assess the economic potential of cross sector activities and networks to attract a broader audience for your practice

The obtained data outlined the sample’s experiences of working in the creative industry. Despite cross sector employment, the graduates are unable to recognise how valuable their capital is. As such, securing stable economic compensation is limited.

Figure 4.20: Working Across Multiple Creative Disciplines

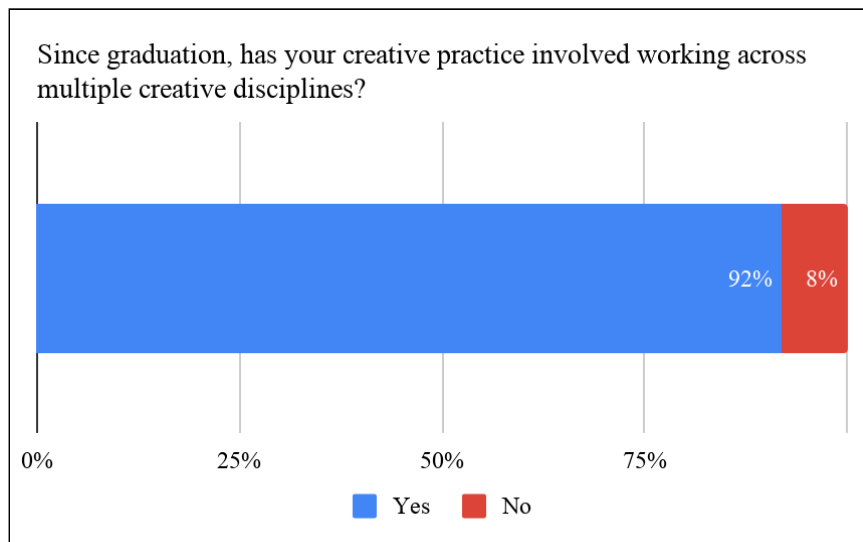
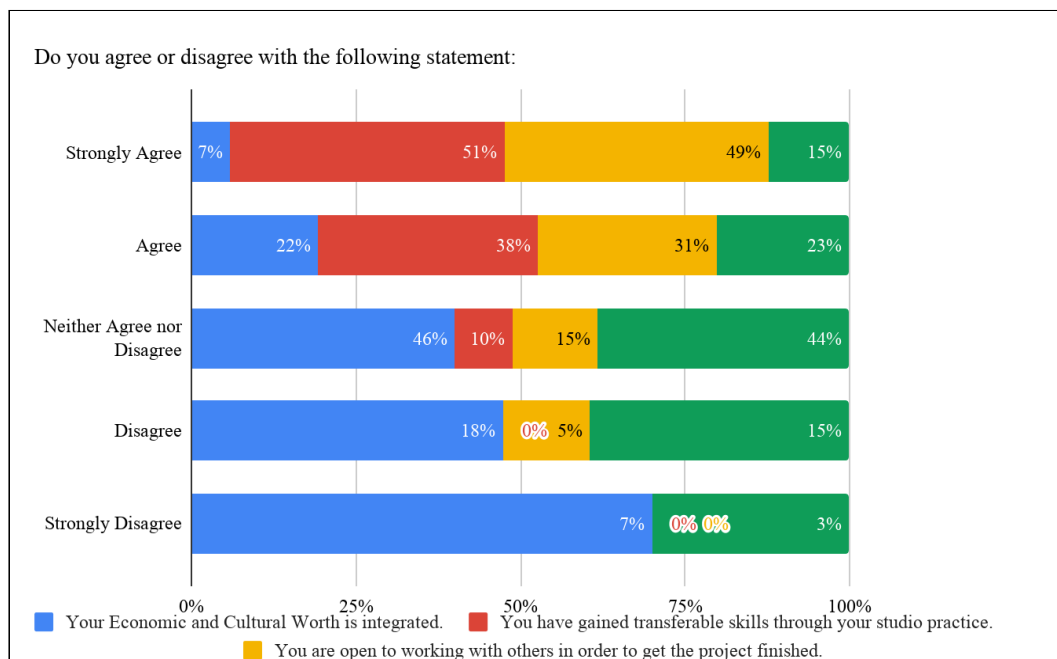


Figure 4.21: Entrepreneurial Behaviours



#### 4.5.2 Summary and Rite of Passage

This series generated knowledge through analysing the sample's experiences in applying their social/cultural capital across multiple creative industries. The dataset outlined key outcomes to support the researcher's understanding of the Art World. Firstly more than ninety percent (90%) of the graduates identified that their creative practice involved working across multiple creative disciplines since graduation. However, symbolic capital is often misrecognised. This is supported by the sample's understanding of their own capital. Less than one-quarter (22%) of respondents agree that their Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated. In order to underpin the cause of misrecognition, the Entrepreneurship series asked respondents to consider what makes them an asset in order to answer the research question: *what are the strategies employed, and opportunities available, to the Creative Class who meet some but not all of the Art World's criteria?* This knowledge identified key issues:

- Misrecognition of skills and knowledge
- Inability to assess value.

These questions were supported by the literature discussed within the field of commerce section of the Literature Review (Chapter 2).

At the time of the survey, the results underscored how the sample is unable to operationalise their non-material capital and convert it into economic capital. The sample realises they possess social/cultural capital, but do not seem to realise the economic opportunities available from leveraging this knowledge.

Following Thornton's description of the artist's Rite of Passage, while Entrepreneurship begins after graduation, it is one of the fields of the Art World where financial rewards can be attained without being tied to the ideal career narrative. However the respondents indicated that they were not able to operationalise their non-material capital, and still see financial rewards as tied to the traditional career trajectory (i.e. the gallery system). The heavy reliance on the narrative of gallery representation continues to contribute and impact the Creative Class' misrecognition of their capital. Therefore, the outcomes support that when the sample are unable to recognise their capital and operationalise it as consumable good, they cannot have meaningful interactions with the Art World. The next section

discusses the results of the fourth series (Preservation) from the survey. It highlights the intersection of the field of education and the field of capital with the sample's perceptions on their contributions to cultural life.

#### **4.6 Series Four: Preservation Testing**

The series of questions on *Preservation* builds knowledge through analysing the sample's experiences of their role as a contributor to cultural life. This data highlights the key issues of being an artist and asked the respondents to consider what their role is as a creative within the larger context of the creative class. In the previous sections, data have been collected on:

- Internal classification (Typology);
- Financial opportunities (Funding); and
- Skill and Knowledge (Entrepreneurship)

The purpose of the Preservation series is to build data on the sample's perceived role, as a participant of the Creative Class and as a Fine Art Graduate. This outlined the data gathered to build a comprehensive analysis to ensure the Creative Class were relevant to themselves as well as the larger context of the Art World. In order to find new ways for future interactions, this series established the intersection between the Creative Class and the Art World. This series explored:

- The conceptualisation of an artist's current role as understood in the context of being part of the Creative Class;
- How this current role is articulated; and
- To what extent this current role is evaluated.

In other words, this series engages with the following research questions:

- a. How does the Creative Class interpret the legitimation and evaluation assigned by the Art World?
- b. How does the Creative Class' interpretation of the Art World's legitimation and evaluation impact their creative career?

These questions in this series encompass three levels, from the larger global context of the role of culture, to the role of the Creative Class within global cultural life, and as individual Fine Artists participating within the Art World. These questions were set up by literature discussed within the *field of education* and *field of capital*

sections of Chapter Two. These questions highlight the overlaps between these fields. Following Thornton’s description of the artist’s Rite of Passage, as this sample is accredited, they have all completed step one. These questions establish the respondents perceptions of their role within cultural life, and thus contributes to their habitus. It is from this ideation, the Creative Class can further engage in the rest of the steps to follow the ideal career narrative. So while these questions do not directly relate to Thornton’s Rite of Passage, they help to establish the habitus of the sample which is a necessary component for their career trajectories.

*Table 4.9: Rite of Passage Location Corresponding to Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship, and Preservation Series*

<b>Rite of Passage Location</b>
Step 1: Graduation from a Respected Art School
Step 2: Self-Classification and Financial Sustainability
Step 3: Misrecognition of Non-Material Capital
Step 4: Role of the Creative Class in Cultural Life

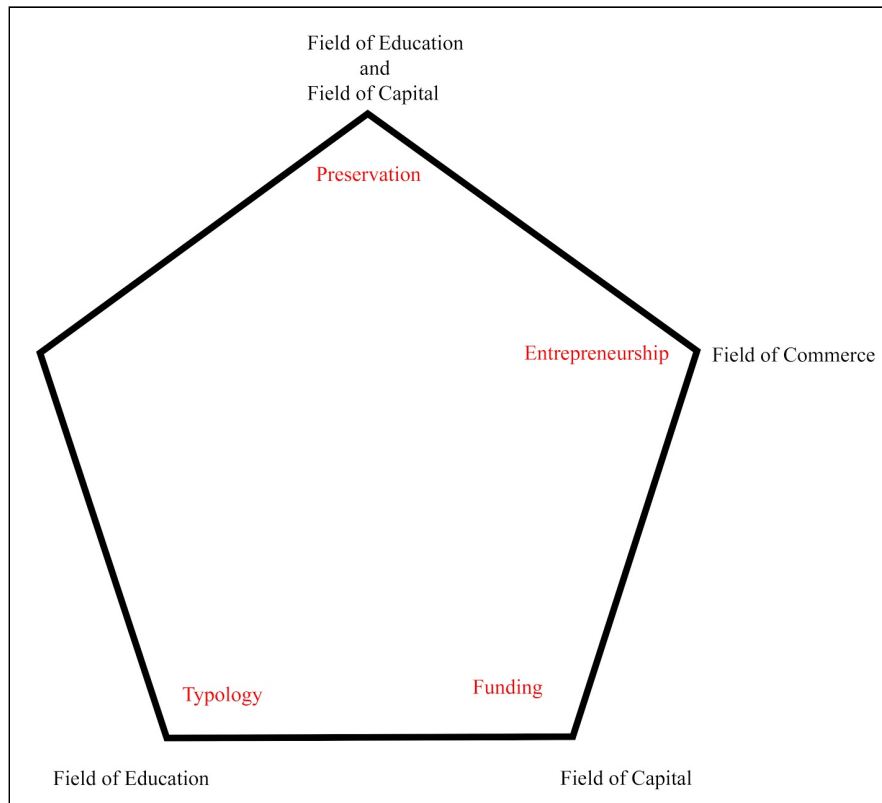
*Table 4.10: Series Four Compared to Field of Education and Capital*

<b>Field</b>	<b>Grouping Name</b>	<b>Authors/Work</b>	<b>Key Terms</b>
Field of Education	The Valuists	Bourdieu (1986) Dewey (1934) Albers (1928)	Education Institution Jargon Books Knowledge
Field of Capital	The Capitalists	Grenfell and Hardy (2003) Adamson(2007) Sennett (2008) Nonaka and Takeuchi (1991)	Network Saleability

*Table 4.11: Survey Questions Corresponding to Survey Theme: Preservation*

<b>Survey Questions Corresponding to Survey Themes: Preservation</b>
In your opinion, has globalization led to cultural homogenization? (Yes/No) (Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and values.)
In your opinion, has cultural homogenization led to cultural decline? (Yes/No) (Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.)
In your opinion, does the Creative Class have a role in preserving culture? (Yes/No)
In your opinion, does the Creative Class have a role in diversifying cultural homogenization? (Yes/No) (Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and values.)
In your opinion, does the Creative Class have a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenization? (Yes/No) (Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.)
In your opinion, do Fine Art Graduates have a role in preserving culture? (Yes/No)
In your opinion, do Fine Art Graduates have a role in diversifying cultural homogenisation? (Yes/No) (Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and values.)
In your opinion, do Fine Art Graduates have a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenization? (Yes/No) (Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.)

*Graphic 4.4: Series 1, 2, 3 and 4: Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship and Preservation Series Corresponding to Field of Education, Capital, Commerce, and Education and Capital*



#### 4.6.1 Analysis

This dataset has generated knowledge through analysing the sample's experience with the lack of cultural diversity within the Art World. In doing so, the data highlighted the way the sample perceived their role as a creative within the larger context of the Creative Class. The sample's opinion on global impacts are:

- Seventy-two percent (72%) of the respondents believe globalisation led to cultural homogenisation;
- Fifty-four percent (54%) of the sample do *not* believe cultural homogenisation led to cultural decline.

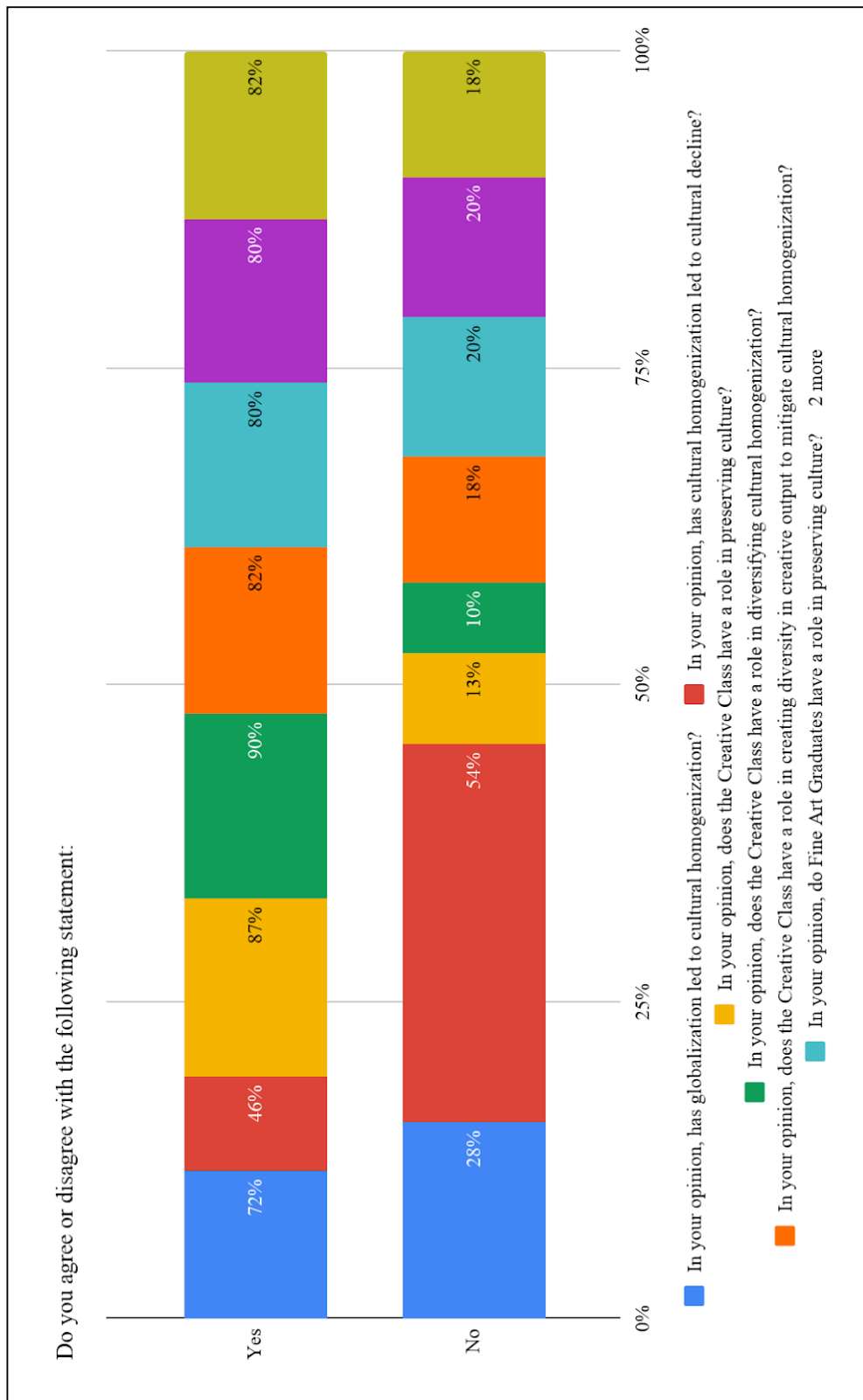
Moreover, specific to the Creative Class, a majority of the graduates identified that the Creative Class have a role in preserving culture:

- Eighty-seven percent (87%) responded “yes” to the Creative Class having a role in preserving culture;
- Ninety percent (90%) supported the Creative Class have a role in diversifying cultural homogenisation;
- Eighty-two percent (82%) agree that the Creative Class have a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenisation.

A conversation with Curator A in Vancouver, in December 2017, showed support for the question “[do] the Creative Class have a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenisation?” The Curator had piloted a method to diversify creative output by initiating market-rate rental studios for artists. “The studios operate under a cost-recovery model that will set rental rates for artist studios according to the overall cost of operating the facility.” The role of his organisation is to facilitate affordable studios in order for artists to create work. The Curator recognised a causal relationship between place of production and producer.



Figure 4.22: Cultural Homogenisation, Cultural Decline and Preserving Culture



#### *4.6.2 Summary*

Knowledge was generated through analysing the samples' experience with global constraints surrounding the lack of cultural diversity. This explored how it impacted the sample's access to the Art World and their needs post graduation. The data highlighted that:

- Seventy-two percent (72%) of the respondents believe globalisation has led to cultural homogenisation;
- Eighty-two percent (82%) agree that the Creative Class has a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenisation;
- Eighty percent (80%) of Fine Art Graduates surveyed agree Fine Art Graduates have a role in preserving culture as well as a role in diversifying cultural homogenisation; and
- Eighty-two percent (82%) believe that Fine Art Graduates have a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenisation.

The data gathered have contributed to the researcher's understanding of how the Creative Class relates their cultural capital to the larger global context, as well as within the context of the Art World. Moreover, these data highlight how the Creative Class have internalised global conditions into their habitus. However, this knowledge is currently limited.

Lastly, following Thornton's description of the artist's ideal career trajectory, Rite of Passage, Preservation, continues to support the previous three, Typology, Funding, and Entrepreneurship series. Examining these themes underpinned why the Creative Class are caught between graduation and gallery representation. As such, this dataset generated knowledge which is likely to reflect that of the wider Art World. The next section discusses the results of the fifth series (Internet Use) from the survey. It highlights the intersection of the field of technology with the sample's self-reported internet use.

#### 4.7 Series Five: Internet Use Testing

The fifth and final series of this survey asked respondents about their perceptions of utilising the internet, and the internet's role for an artist. Technology is a method to connect members of the Creative Class with each other; yet the data highlighted the key issue of low internet usage amongst the sample. To address the misrecognition of the value of the internet, the internet-usage series examined the relationship between the Creative Class and the role of the internet. By asking respondents to consider how interconnectedness is an opportunity for the regeneration of the Creative Class, their knowledge, and skills, their responses provide insight on key opportunities for the Creative Class.

These questions correspond to the premises discussed within the *field of technology* in Chapter Two. Simply put, the outcome pinpointed how the sample is at an intersection to generate more opportunities to grow, connect and interact with the Art World. More importantly, it identified a tangible way to address the breakdown between the Creative Class and the Art World.

The questions asked generated knowledge on how the extent of internet use within the sample's studio practice. Data collection on internet-use outlined how the sample currently limits themselves. By looking at the sample's digital practices, this dataset underpinned the sample is not maximising technology as a means to:

- A. Connect with others in the Creative Community;
- B. To reach a larger audience; and
- C. Access the Art World

The data outline key areas of opportunities for the Creative Class, and supports how digital technology can be operationalised to facilitate connection. In other words, utilising the online experience to generate opportunities, to grow, connect and interact both within the Art World and within larger society. Moreover, following Thornton's description of the artist's Rite of Passage, internet-use is still situated between graduation and gallery representation. The outcomes support that the internet facilitates the sample's recognition of their individual capital and operationalise it as a commodity to interact with the Art World or with each other.

*Table 4.13: Rite of Passage Location Corresponding to Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship, and Preservation Series*

<b>Rite of Passage Location</b>
Step 1: Graduation from a respected art school
Step 2: Financial sustainability
Step 3: Misrecognition
Step 4: Role of the Creative Class
Step 5: Working together

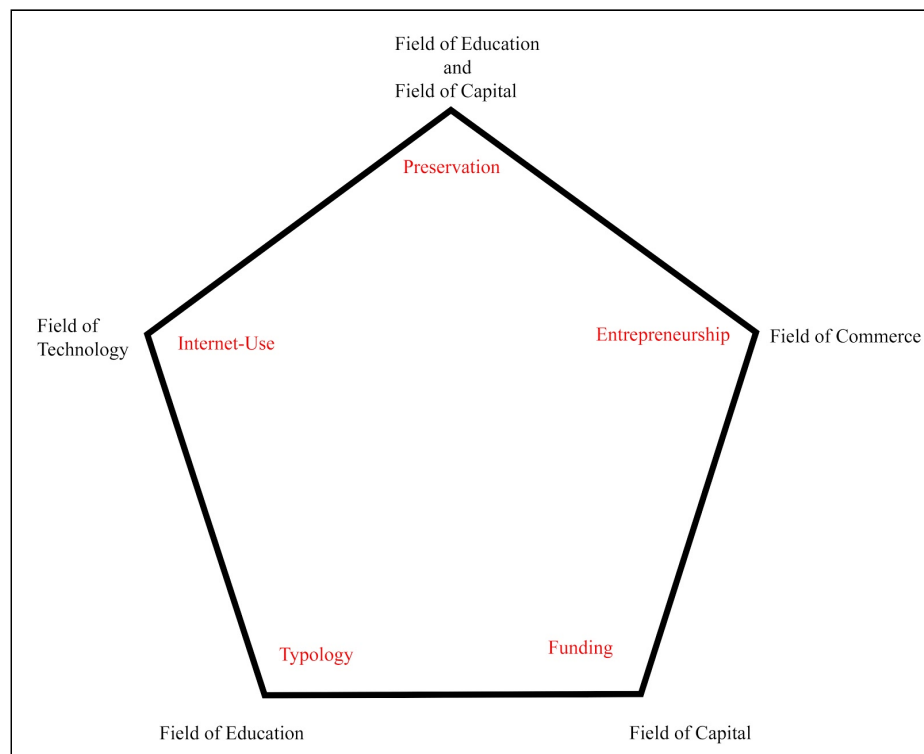
*Table 4.14: Series Five Compared to Field of Technology*

Field	Grouping Name	Authors/Work	Key Terms
Field of Technology	The Collaborationists	Becker (1982) Leadbeater (2009) Timberg (2015)	Training Skills

*Table 4.15: Survey Questions Corresponding to Survey Themes*

<b>Preservation Series Questions</b>
Does internet-use have a role in cultural preservation? (Yes/No)
Does internet-use have a role in cultural homogenization? (Yes/No) (Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and values.)
Does internet-use have a role in cultural decline? (Yes/No) Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.
Do you advertise your creative practice? (Yes/No)
Do you use a website to sell your work? (Yes/No)
How important is direct access to clients to your practice? (Important/Unimportant)
You would sell more creative work if you have control over selling it. (Agree/Disagree)

*Graphic 4.5: Series 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5: Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship, Preservation, and Internet-Use Series Corresponding to Field of Education. Capital, Commerce, Education and Capital and Technology*



#### *4.7.1 Analysis*

The following analysis builds knowledge through analysing the alumni’s experiences with internet-use. Moreover, the obtained data revealed the intersections between internet-use, and cultural homogenisation, cultural decline and cultural preservation. This knowledge outlined a growth opportunity for the Creative Class’ social and cultural capital to be converted into economic capital.

- Ninety-seven percent (97%) believe internet-use has a role in cultural homogenization;
- Sixty-two percent (62%) support the idea that internet-use has a role in cultural decline;
- However, eighty-eight percent (88%) of the participants identified that internet-use has a role in cultural preservation;

Internet-use and its growth potential is supported by the Art World. A 2017 report by The European Fine Art Foundation (TEFAF) explored the use of e-commerce and

other digital activities and how they are changing the art industry. The study sampled over 100 companies. Thirty-nine respondents completed an online survey or one-to-one interview. Similar to the obtained dataset, TEFAF has identified digital opportunities for “artists expand beyond the traditional marketplace to reach new buyers and collectors; this will continue and likely accelerate” (Pownall, 2017, p. 11).

The dataset identified an opportunity regarding how to address the needs of the sample. When asked whether the sample currently advertise their practice, a majority, seventy-four percent (74%), simply do not. Seventy-nine percent (79%) do not use a website/platform to sell their work. The generated knowledge is also confirmed by studies from within the Art World. As per Pownall (2017) “[s]ocial media platforms provide portals to advertise, enhance credibility and reputation, and create an online presence” (p. 29). In other words, online platforms are a place for growth, more importantly, acknowledging and recognising artists and their value. Moreover, a conversation with a Gallery Director A in May 2019 in London explored low internet presence of artists. She relayed the frustrations from a commercial gallery point of view of the inability to find artists online. The lack of accessible artist profiles highlighted a key issue that mirrors the collected data whereby a majority of the sample do not use a website/platform to interact with the Art World.

These data are interesting when compared to the responses regarding the importance of having direct access to clients. When asked to rate the importance of having direct access to clients thirty-three percent (33%) of the sample selected *very important*; twenty-one percent (21%) identified it as *somewhat important* whereas thirty-one percent (31%) feel it is *unimportant or somewhat unimportant*. Yet when asked if having control over selling power would increase sales

- Thirty-six percent (36%) *neither agree nor disagree*
- Twenty-eight percent (28%) *disagreed*

For data reliability purposes, a similar question was asked in Series Two: Funding regarding sales. Only nineteen percent (19%) of the participants indicated *using the*

*internet* (such as Instagram, Facebook, or a personal website) as a means to sell their work.

The dataset indicates that direct access to clients is important to those sampled; yet, over seventy-five percent (75%) do not have an opinion or do not agree that having control over selling their work will facilitate economic opportunities. When asked whether they currently advertise their practice, a majority simply do not. Seventy-nine percent (79%) do not use a website/platform to sell their work. This is a missed opportunity for the Creative Class. Petterson (2013) also highlights the rise in digital opportunity. In *Risk and Uncertainty in The Art World*, Petterson (2013) “looks at how changing motivations among buyers, as well as technology and the Internet, has the potential to change the endorsement process of contemporary art, giving increasing power to new types of players as well as to the informed art public, potentially at the expense of the art insider” (p. 68). In other words, digital technology is a tool. It can help facilitate new selling habits such as directly engaging with clients.

When looking at the open-ended responses to these questions, two particularly outstanding answers were extracted that highlight polarised positions:

“No body wants it. These systems are corrupt...”

“I've done pretty much every gig that's come my way since graduation - Movie posters, t shirts, murals, drum skins, book illustrations, a few group shows in a gallery etc. I am only now returning to focus on my personal work (painting) and ideally do mainly gallery work in the future.”

When asked whether the respondents currently advertise their practices, the first response indicate the emotions of trying to gain access to the Art World whilst the second response show the realities of the career trajectory of an artist “trying to make it.” These opinions may differ should the respondents have direct access to their clients and are, therefore, able to directly engage with their clients and create work.

Figure 4.23: Internet-Use: Cultural Homogenisation, Cultural Decline and Cultural Preservation

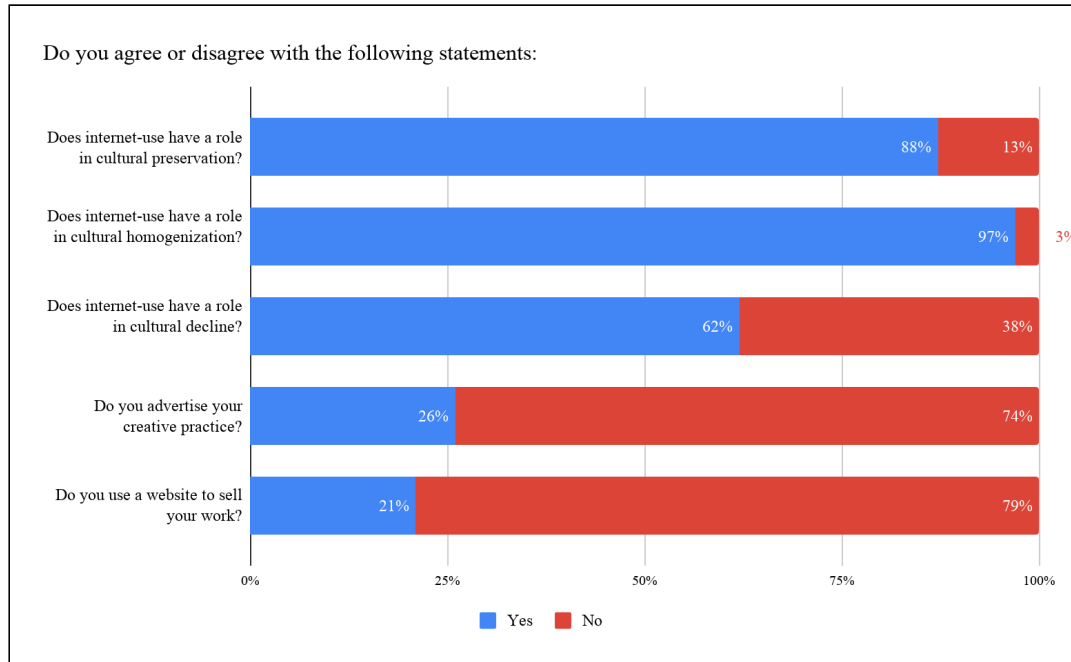


Figure 4.24: Specified Ways of Selling work

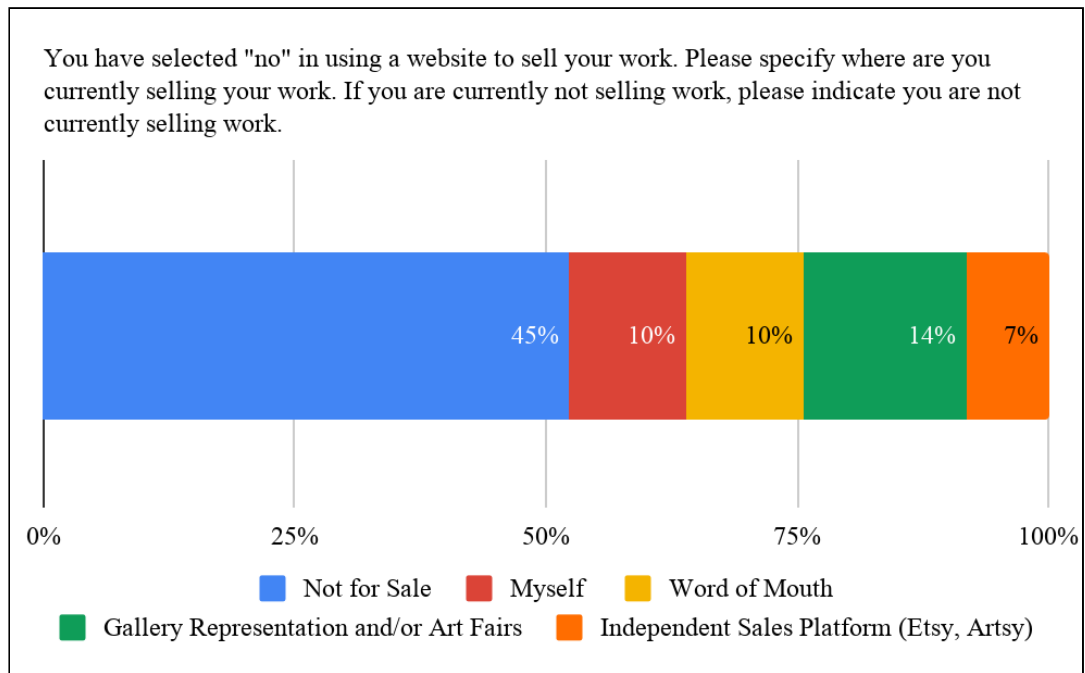




Figure 4.25: Accessing Clients

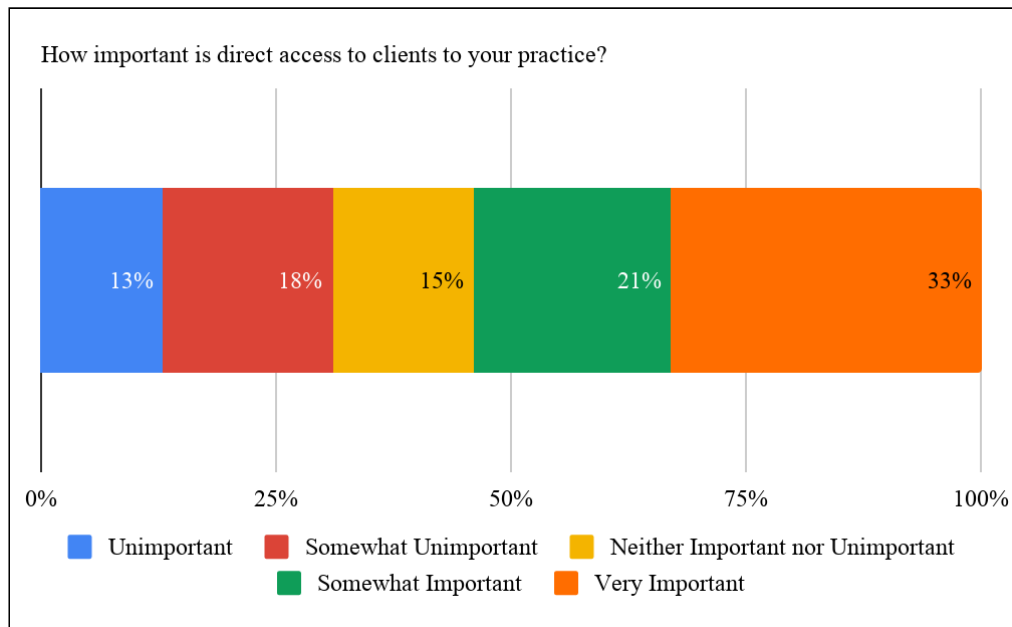
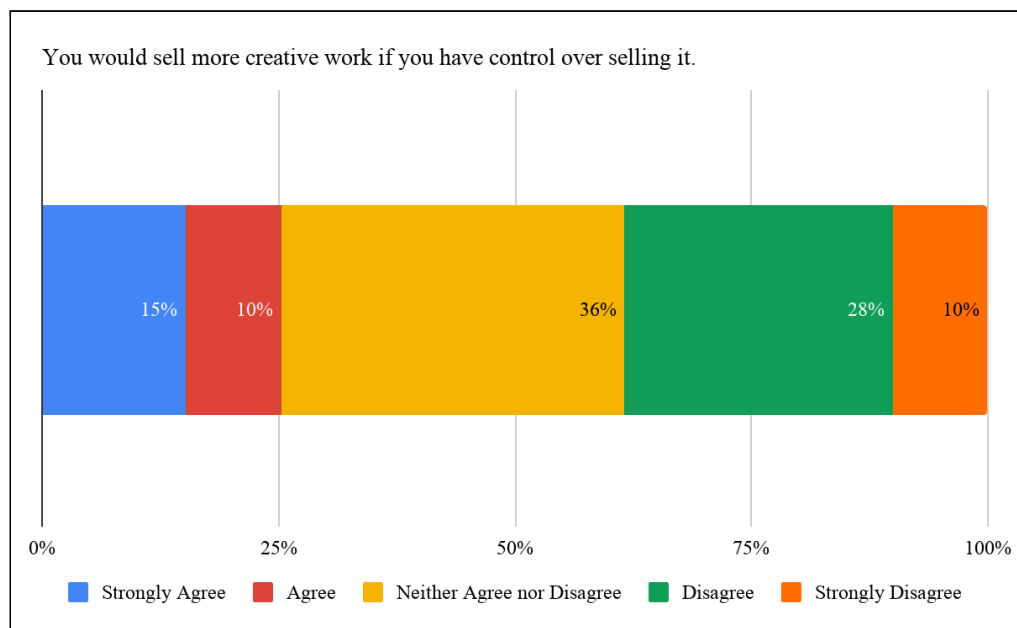


Figure 4.26: Control Over Selling Work



#### 4.7.2 Summary

In order to support the needs of the sample, this dataset outlined how this is possible. Technology is a method to connect the members of the Creative Class. This is an opportunity for growth as data highlighted the key issue of low internet usage.

- Seventy-nine percent (79%) do not use a website to sell their work

At the time of the survey, the sample were not recognising how the internet tied the creative community together in order to interact with the Art World. This gap was discussed within *The Collaborationist* (see Chapter Two, Field of Technology p. 59). To address this misrecognition, this series examined the relationship between the Creative Class and the role of the internet. By asking “how interconnectedness is an opportunity for the regeneration of the Creative Class, their knowledge, and skills” this knowledge identified a key opportunity for the Creative Class.

- Nineteen percent (19%) of the participants indicated *using the internet* such as Instagram, Facebook, and personal website as a means to sell work.

This outcome pinpointed how the sample are, in fact, at the intersection to generate more opportunities to grow, connect and interact with the Art World. According to a TEFAF, “online sales channels are showing very high rates of growth for innovative business models” [and this sector is] “point[ing] to an ever-increasing share in terms of volume in the years ahead” (Pownall, 2017, pp. 8). This is also supported by “Christie’s online-only sales have reached \$217m, and Sotheby’s online sales increased 20% over the previous year to \$155m. Invaluable realized a 30% increase in online live auction revenue year-on-year” (Pownall, 2017, pp. 19). More importantly, the analysis has established a tangible way to address the break down between the Creative Class and the Art World. Technology and its transformative potential, not only facilitating the Creative Class in accessing the Art World, but will also facilitate in content, making, exhibiting, and discussing art.

Finally, the artist’s ideal career trajectory (Thornton, 2008) in regards to internet-use, the dataset strongly supported the gap between graduation and gaining entry into the Art World. Meaning the sample are unable to gain entry into the Art World even at step five in the Rite of Passage (See Above, p. 20). After following a

long list of criteria, the sample identified they have not gained access to the Art World. Therefore, this dataset generated knowledge which is likely to reflect that of the wider Art World.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed an analysis of selected findings from the empirical data. The collected data provides insight on the sample's interaction with the Art World and the open-ended interviews conducted by the researcher were drawn-on to support and/or question the collected data. This chapter applied Level Three of Bourdieu's Three-Level Analysis to highlight the intersections between the fields of Art World and the habitus and capital of the Creative Class. Field analysis established the *where* and *why* of the structural inequalities within the Art World including its relationship to the larger society, and its own internal operations. Examining the habitus and capital of the Creative Class through the empirical aspects of this study highlights *how* these inequalities operate in real time and points to where there are opportunities to increase their economic participation. As such, this was an opportunity to take a comprehensive look at both the Art World and the Creative Class' perceptions of their value. Additionally, this process engaged with Thornton's description of the Rite of Passage. In many cases the empirical data here highlighted the intersections between those sampled and this ideal career narrative; however, it also underpins where their lived experience diverges from this.

Key findings include information regarding the practice of the respondents; the misrecognition of their nonmaterial capital; their perceptions on the global state of culture; and their internet use. The data indicate that more than one-third practice daily, but the overwhelming majority have never had a solo retrospective, and more than one-third of the respondents do not believe that being in a permanent collection of a private collector or a museum is important. Moreover, eighty-two percent (82%) of the artists are *not* represented by a gallery and seventy-two percent (72%) replied "*no*" to being commissioned by a gallery in the last five years. More than ninety percent (90%) of the graduates identified that their creative practice involved working across multiple creative disciplines since graduation; they misrecognise their symbolic cultural capital as less than one-quarter (22%) of respondents agree

that their economic and cultural worth are integrated. This is interesting because more than three-quarters of the respondents believe globalisation has led to cultural homogenisation and over eighty-percent agree that the Creative Class has a role in preserving culture as well as a role in diversifying cultural homogenisation with creating diversity in creative output to mitigate this phenomenon. Moreover, ninety-seven percent (97%) believe internet-use has a role in cultural homogenisation, and two-thirds agree that internet-use has a role in cultural decline; however, the sample is optimistic about the role of the internet because almost ninety percent (90%) of the participants identified that internet-use has a role in cultural preservation. However, when this optimism is contrasted with actual internet-usage by the sample, almost eighty percent (80%) do not use a website or online platform to sell their work. Internet-use also ties back into how the Creative Class (mis)recognise economic opportunities as almost three-quarters do not advertise their work at all, let alone on the internet. Having direct access to clients is important or very important to over half of the sample, yet seventy-five percent (75%) do not have an opinion or do not agree that having control over selling their work would facilitate economic opportunities.

This research was set out with the intention of gathering data by looking at the samples' experiences after graduation in relation to their success in gaining access to the Art World. This knowledge firstly helped to identify key issues and secondly outlined key outcomes to support this researcher's understanding of the Art World. Finally, this dataset generated knowledge which is likely to reflect that of the wider Art World. The following Chapter discusses two main areas: the two themes that arose from the data (the maintain-and-struggle process, and the persistent misrecognition of their capital by the Creative Class), and reflects on the survey method, including highlighting the limitations in this study.

## **Chapter Five: Discussion**

This thesis examined the relationship between the Creative Class and the Art World. Firstly, this work introduced the Creative Class; outlined the Art World's position in larger society; and introduced Bourdieu's concepts and methodology (Chapter One). Secondly, this work interrogated a selection of literature on the Art World through an application of Bourdieu's field theory. Five fields were delineated as comprising the current structure of the Art World: the fields of power, education, capital, technology and commerce. Within each of these fields, the work of Thornton, 2008 (field of power); Bourdieu, (1986) (field of education); Dewey, (1934) (field of education); Albers, (1928) (field of education); Grenfell and Hardy, (2007) (field of capital); Adamson, (2007) (field of capital); Sennett, (2008) (field of capital); Nonaka and Takeuchi, (1991) (field of capital); Becker, (1982) (field of technology); Leadbeater, (2010) (field of technology); Timberg, (2015) (field of technology); Gilmore and Pine, (1998, 2011, 2014) (field of commerce) were discussed (Chapter Two). These fields identified the varying roles Creatives hold within the Art World and when looked at together, these works provide a comprehensive view of the structural aspects of the Art World. This was followed by an explication of Bourdieu's field theory and its theoretical components. Additionally this chapter outlined the methods applied in this research (Chapter Three). Chapter Four discussed key findings from the empirical aspects of this study. The analysis of the data highlighted key aspects regarding the perceptions of the Creative Class regarding their interactions with the Art World, highlighting the aspects of their creative habitus and ultimately identified the factors contributing to the misrecognition of the Creative Class' capital by the Art World and by themselves. In other words, Chapter Three and Four explored the usefulness of Bourdieu's social topography. As such, the research outlined an alternative way to frame the current relationship between the Creative Class and the Art World. This chapter is divided into three sections discussing the key findings of the research: the two themes that arose from the data (the maintain-and-struggle process and the misrecognition of the capital and habitus of the Creative Class), followed by the limitations and some reflections on the research.

### 5.1 A Neverending Story: the Process of Maintain-and-Struggle

In Chapter Three, Methodology and Method, Bourdieu's definition of capital explained as:

any resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it. Capital comes in three principal species: economic (material and financial assets), cultural (scarce symbolic goods, skills, and titles), and social (resources accrued by virtue of membership in a group) (Wacquant, 2006, p. 268)

In order for the Creative Class to accrue the capital needed for participation in the Art World, they must first receive a credential from a recognised institution. For Emma Flynn (2014), this capital "begins to accrue during this time, [...] to varying degrees for every student, and thus contributes to" (p. 208) the trajectory of the Creative Class' career and how this capital is acquired and converted into economic capital. Therefore, education, in this context, is the first point of contact with the Art World for the Creative Class; it is the beginning of a lifelong process of acquiring and developing the correct composition of social and cultural capital to partake in the Art World and interact with its agents. Additionally, "those who may not be in a position to have achieved enough [social/cultural] capital [...] must continue the cycle of developing and enhancing their [...] capital for longer, even indefinitely" (Flynn, 2014, p. 208). Simply put, in order to maintain the accrued capital, the "process becomes a perpetual mission of maintenance to ensure that they can sustain enough capital to ensure they can continue to build economic capital" (Flynn, 2014, p. 208). This perpetual mission of maintenance traps the Creative Class in a process of 'maintain and struggle' that reinforces the stereotype that artists are supposed to embody the characteristics and dispositions of the quintessential 'starving artist.'

The maintain and struggle process is by nature cyclical which mirrors the process of accumulation and preservation of the relative composition of the capital and habitus of the Creative Class. This is due to the reflexive cause and effect process of "continually [needing to be] refreshed in order to remain current and accepted as legitimate by other art world players" (Flynn, 2014, p. 209). Though the processes of capital/habitus accumulation and preservation are similar to the process of maintain and struggle, the latter is understood and accepted by the Art World, the Creative Class and by larger society. This 'starving artist' stereotype is continuously

reinforced. The acknowledgement of this process directly contributes to the asymmetry within the Art World which has become a marketplace for it. This is echoed by Flynn (2014)

The art world has thus far been framed around a concern for shielding artists from aspects of economic capital which can be thought to threaten their artistic capital. This act of sheltering begins at art school and continues through to their relationships with commercial galleries in their mid to late careers, and has even seeped into the publicly funded sector where curators avoid mention of economic capital (p. 218).

By contrast, the process of capital and habitus is often unidentified leading to misrecognition. Therefore, a process to identify and recognise capital and habitus, that breaks the cycle of maintain and struggle, provides key avenues to better support the Creative Class. This provides an alternative way to a. frame how the Creative Class gains legitimacy in the field; b. how they recognise and legitimise their capital and habitus and that of others working around them; and c. how they value their individual capital and habitus to therefore value the collective capital and habitus of others like themselves. This logic is central to providing a base for an alternative way to frame the current relationship between the Creative Class and the Art World.

The data help to demonstrate this maintain and struggle process. At the time of the survey, the sample's experience in gaining access to the Art World are outlined in four steps: nature of employment, studio practice habits, gallery representation and selling habits. Firstly, it is important to note that almost forty percent (40%) of the sample practice creatively in their non-work time daily, and over forty percent practice between two and six times per week. Moreover, when the sample did sell their work, over eighty-five percent (85%) use the profit generated from the sale to help fund their practice. The respondents, therefore, are committed to maintaining their practice but seventy-seven percent (77%) of the sample *do not* work full time as an artist, the overwhelming majority have never had a solo retrospective, and more than one-third of the respondents do not believe that being in a permanent collection of a private collector or a museum is important. Moreover, eighty-two percent (82%) of the artists are *not* represented by a gallery and seventy-two percent (72%) replied "*no*" to being commissioned by a gallery in the last five years. These data demonstrates that regardless of maintaining, those surveyed struggle to

operationalise their practice to meet the benchmarks of the ideal career narrative (Thornton, 2008). The next section discusses how the responses from the survey support the notion that the habitus and capital of the Creative Class are often misrecognised.

## **5.2 Misrecognising Capital**

The study began with the intention of gathering data to explore the Art World's assigned classification system on the Creative Class. By looking at the dataset, the aim was to establish the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class, and to understand the Creative Class' perceptions of this interaction. In order to explore the structure, Bourdieu's field theory was used as a guiding framework to identify the interaction points in the relationship between the Creative Class and their entry into the Art World. Additionally, the framework provided the theoretical concepts, namely the notions of capital and habitus, that support a key finding: some of the issues the Creative Class face are not structural (i.e. because of Art World), they are due to the sample's misrecognition of their own capital and habitus. In examining the collected data, this misrecognition is reflected in the samples' experience of interacting with the Art World. Moreover, Bourdieu's definition of cultural, social and economic capital, as well as his field theory has proven to be useful as it identified the process of acquiring these capitals through the field of education. The generated knowledge outlined where there are opportunities to support the Creative Class going forward to help reconcile some of this misrecognition.

Data indicated a disconnect between the sample and their value. Twenty-two percent (22%) *agree* their Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated, whilst eighteen percent (18%) *disagree* their Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated. From the analysis of the data, it became clear that the sample are unable to identify their economic and cultural worth. This is the first step of the misrecognition process.

To reconcile this disconnect, recognition and acknowledgement of symbolic capital is arguably a necessary condition to build a greater understanding of the



samples' cultural and economic worth; to therefore establish the Creative Class' value. This was supported by Flynn (2014),

The artists fail to recognise that what they are involved in is the maintenance and enhancement of capital. They speak of their social activities but deny that they are networking. Similarly they discuss elements of economic capital - through employment, payment, investments in practice and how they make a living - but they do not talk explicitly about making money. This misrecognition means that artists are missing an opportunity to use the framework, offered by Bourdieu's capitals, to provide insights into their careers and their activities - particularly where they can gain understanding of the value of different aspects of capital or in how the capitals can each contribute to the development of other capitals (p. 215).

In other words, when the Creative Class are unable to recognise their own capital, it is a dilemma created by the Creative Class themselves. As such, if the Creative Class were to recognise and acknowledge the role of their cultural capital in their economic worth, this would be one method to address the systematic inequalities that persist within the Art World.

Moreover, building knowledge through analysing the sample's experiences underpinned key issues to support the author's understanding of the Art World. Having identified and located misrecognition provided insight on my own personal experiences when interacting with the Art World. Mirroring the sample's experiences in relation to their access to the Art World, I too, have not been able to recognise my own capital and have been unable to articulate what and how I can contribute to the Art World.

For both the Creative Class and the Art World, establishing the route to market to earn a living means being responsive to market growth and viability. As such, for the Art World it is necessary to identify the supply and/or what is in demand. However, this is being misinterpreted by the Creative Class as assigning, classifying or legitimising works of art in order to maintain centralised control over the determinants of economic value. In other words, the Creative Class believe that the Art World jealously holds the keys to the safe, and maintain their power by purposely erecting barriers to entry. This opinion was articulated by one respondent to the survey in regards to the sale of their work: "No body [sic] wants it. These systems are corrupt..." In reality, the Art World responds to certain structurally intrinsic economic demands. They do erect barriers to entry, and there is inequality

built into this structure; however, if the Creative Class could engage in a process of acknowledging and recognising their own capital and habitus they could better articulate their value within the Art World.

Another aspect of the misrecognition of the Creative Class is they do not necessarily acknowledge their position within the structure as *those who make, and those who contribute to the making of, creative works*. As such, they do not recognise their intrinsic worth within the system, the system that possesses the structures and institutions to further their careers. There is misrecognition of the symbiosis and this has directly impacted the interaction between those who supply and those who are creating demand for the supply. Ultimately, this study has highlighted that the Creative Class are not the handmaidens to the hegemony of the Art World. Rather, this relationship is symbiotic. The interaction is framed within an interconnected system with a historical legacy of insularity and exclusivity perpetuated by *all* of the participants within it.

The study demonstrated there are several intersecting points indicating the breakdown process of recognition and how it directly contributed to the Creative Class' misrecognition. The outcomes support the testing parameters that the Art World divides Creatives and that this division impacts Creatives' legitimacy and earning potential. The survey provided the data from which to discuss the habitus and capital of the Creative Class as they interact with the Art World; their perceptions on how the Art World's rules affect the creative production of the Creative Class; and how the Art World's rules affect economic opportunities of the Creative Class. As established, the Art World is exclusionary; however, despite the fact that there is a large disconnect between ideal career narrative as set forth by the structures of the Art World and the lived experience of the Creative Class, the analysis of the dataset indicated there are overlaps between the sample and activities which develop their economic capital. Ironically, these actions are things which the sample are engaged in regularly. As per Flynn (2014) "[a]rtists eschew the entrepreneurial but show similarities with regard to the focus for their career; therefore without recognising it they are building capitals" (p. 216). These activities mirror entrepreneurial careers. This was observed in the responses to the question regarding where the sample is selling their work. Twenty-seven percent (27%) of the

sample responded: *myself*, *word of mouth* and *independent sales platforms such as Etsy*. This entrepreneurial behaviour underpins the drive to search for the next opportunity; yet these entrepreneurial characteristics are not recognised by the sample. Their denial of their economic tendencies impact their financial compensation.

The study began with the intention of gathering data to explore the classification system the Art World assigned to the Creative Class. Breaking down the structure led to the examination of the explicit and implicit rules the Creative Class are bound by. However, in interrogating the Art World it became a reflexive exercise in understanding, and more specifically, the empirical data provide a more comprehensive picture of how these rules operate in real time. In engaging with the Creative Class directly the data highlighted where there are fundamental gaps in the understanding and utilisation of capital by the Creative Class. The gap in this context is the reality many of the Creative Class experience. Their misrecognition of their own capital leads to them falling into a trap post graduation with little understanding or knowledge on how to proceed. The benchmarks may be taught, and the ideal career narrative may be articulated by someone like Sarah Thornton (2008); however, the Creative Class, and especially those within the sample here, do not seem to be able to operationalise their habitus or capital in a meaningful way in order to meet them. In other words, the research established “an on-going and reflexive interplay between the two positions - empirical investigation and theoretical explanation” (Grenfell, 2014, p. 15). The knowledge generated by exploring the structure of the Art World, and analysing the perceptions of the participants within it underpinned for the researcher a more comprehensive understanding of the Art World. Looking at the sample’s experiences after graduation in relation to their success in gaining access to the Art World identified key issues and more importantly outlined ways to support the Creative Class. This is to reposition the current perspective and interaction between the Creative Class and the Art World.

### **5.3 Survey Limitations**

#### *5.3.1 Limitations*

Every survey tool has its limitations. Firstly, a drawback of the research exists in the limitations of the research methodology. Questionnaires have their limitations. It was a sharp instrument deployed to identify the breakdown in the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class as represented by the sample, which might be a sensitive subject. Quantitative surveys might introduce the possibility of recall bias amongst the participants. Furthermore, question design may introduce confirmation bias and leading language. Lastly, the possibility of deliberate bias where the sample presents an account of themselves which highlights particular aspects that help them to position themselves in a way that they identify as honest.

To address these limitations guarantees of anonymity were confirmed at the beginning of the survey. Of the 54 people who opened the survey, only one declined to participate in some capacity. Moreover, an element of survivor bias may enter into the participants' responses. This is documented by attrition (loss of participants). In other words, the sample have managed to survive or hold onto the sidelines of the Art World. In order to do so, they have made choices around economic capital such as by supplementing their studio practice through their primary source of income. It is important to note that although census data are useful in identifying reliability and validity within the collected data, it is also limited in its reach. This is because of the restrictive definitions within census questionnaires "result in a bias towards including only those who achieve the most success in their art form as artists" (Wassall 2006, p. 17). According to Herman-Kinney & Verschaeve (2003), data may suffer from deliberate or unintended bias. This is due to and dependent on the participants as they may be selective with the information disclosed to the survey.

A weakness that must be admitted to is the modest number of respondents. The aggregate was summarised; as the demographics are important, the absolute numbers are quite small. For future research, the survey should be deployed across multiple institutions in order to generate more comparative data that could also be tested statistically. Finally, a direct contribution to the modest number of respondents

was the survey length. The 65-question survey had recorded steady attrition with which is an indication of fatigue.

### 5.3.2 Attrition

Attrition is discounting trial subjects/tests that did not run to completion. A steady decline in responses was recorded in this study. 53 participants started the study; however, three participants stopped responding by the fourth Question (*which of these describes your current employment status, within the last 7 days*). Another two respondents had stopped at the seventh Question (*is your studio practice secondary to your primary source of income?*) bringing the number to 48 graduates answering. At the Question 11 (*Have you been commissioned in the last 5 years by a gallery?*), the recorded number of responses was 47. There were 44 responses by Question 22 (*Is your creative practice skill based on tacit knowledge?*) An additional two respondents stopped answering at Question 25 (*Is your creative practice tradition based?*) Another graduate stopped at Question 35 , asking (*In your opinion, has globalization led to cultural homogenization?*) By Question 46, a matrix table asking participants to agree or disagree with a series of statements, another person stopped answering. Finally, by Question 49 the last person stopped answering. The final completed survey had a response rate of 39 people.

### 5.3.3 Fatigue

Research fatigue is discussed in this section. For Clark, research fatigue “occurs when individuals and groups become tired of engaging with research and it can be identified by a demonstration of reluctance toward continuing engagement with an existing project, or a refusal to engage with any further research” (Clark, 2008, p. 955). This process occurs within Community-based research (CBR), where a concentrated sample is tested, for example, within a limited geography and population. The small concentration increases the possibility of the feeling of exhaustion or overwhelmed by research. In order to explore the dimensions of research fatigue within this research, 53 participants started the questionnaire with the number dropping down to 39 completed surveys. As such, the implications of fatigue suggests that “Fatigue can occur because people are simply not interested in all of the elements of a research project. Indeed, where interest in some elements of

the research is not high, any engagement that has been initiated can become difficult to maintain” (Clark, 2008, p. 961). Furthermore, this can also be an implication whereby the research “require [...] more engagement than those who are involved expect[ed]”, which had increased the fatigue factor” (Clark, 2008, p. 962). Lastly, a respondent was concerned with questions asked and emailed this response:

What is this survey to be used for other than greater understanding?

It doesn't appear to be anonymous. It asks for specific gallery representation and artist website url, etc..

This echoes Clark’s (2008) account for research fatigue where the participant “did not perceive that their involvement had had any impact on their circumstances or the wider population. Consequently, any further involvement with research is perceived to have limited function or value” (pp. 958-9). In other words, if participants were unable to perceive their direct contribution and value, they ceased to participate. An additional reason for fatigue is “[r]esearch engagement requires time on behalf of both the research group and the researcher: research is not temporally neutral for either. Where this effort is deemed too high, and the benefits of engagement cannot off-set those costs, research fatigue can occur” (Clark, 2008, p. 964). As per many of the responses recorded, participants are in low paying employment and thusly taking time out of their day challenges engagement. A number of contributing factors leading to fatigue are outlined and could have led to the lack of participation with and the attrition rate of this survey. These include a lack of interest therefore leading to lack of engagement; and lastly practical barriers such as time.

#### **5.4 Reflections**

The dataset provided previously unknown data as ACCD does not collect career information on Fine Art Graduates. The dataset underpinned the key issues Fine Arts Graduate experience according to five groupings: Typology, Funding, Entrepreneurship, Preservation and Internet-Use. Moreover, the five groups were set up by Bourdieu’s Field Theory and the Literature Review. The dataset outlined the participants’ careers through examining the sample’s activities undertaken to gain access to the Art World and the means to fund their studio practice. This information suggested whether the participants’ understood their role within the Creative Class;

how the sample developed their careers; and whether they were successful at entering the Art World. This firstly addressed the research aims and secondly contributed to knowledge by the deconstruction and definition of the Art World; a classification and examination of the fields underpinned the key issues experienced in the Creative Class. Moreover, the expanded use of capitals and habitus, typology, and the groupings of Fields within the literature review forms a theoretical contribution to the literature; establishing the misrecognition of The Creative's capital and habitus and finally developed and piloted a survey tool following a career trajectory that was taught in art school.

Adopting a Bourdieusian perspective proved to be useful when investigating the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class. This was because the Bourdieusian framework provided a method to analyse the gaps in knowledge. As such, the research question was addressed directly by understanding the dialectic relationship between the objective social world and the subjective world. Meaning the research was not to be driven by a framework that assumed a misunderstanding between the Art World and the Creative Class already existed. Field theory therefore provided an entry point to develop the research by using a large body of available literature by Bourdieu, for example, *Distinctions* (1984); *The Forms of Capital* (1986); and *Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus* (1996).

Additionally, Grenfell and Hardy's diagram of the three-level analysis provided a comprehensive graphical representation of the overlaps in the structures of the Art World. This diagram clarified where and how the current system is working while simultaneously breaking down. Their analysis helped to establish the researcher's understanding of field, capital and habitus. This was central to the research as it helped to guide the author's application of Miles and Huberman's (1994) exploratory to confirmatory continuum. In order to examine the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class, this research applied field, capital and habitus within one thesis. Cultural, social and economic capitals could each have formed a single analysis; however, as field, capital and habitus are inextricably linked, it was necessary to examine the theory in its entirety to strengthen the research in terms of addressing the research questions:

1. a comprehensive deconstruction of the Art World into its constituent Fields;

2. a discussion of the habitus and capital of the Creative Class as they interact with the Art World; and
3. an interrogation of proposed typology of the Creative Class using qualitative survey data.

These aspects combined illustrate both sides of the relationship of the Art World and the Creative Class. It also established a full and comprehensive picture in order to dissect the intersecting point(s) within this complex social interaction.



## **Chapter Six: Recommendations and Conclusion**

The focus of the study was on the social topography of the Art World. It investigated the relationship between the objective structure of social world and the subjective understandings of the Creative Class within it using survey data obtained from Fine Arts Graduates. It identified why and how this relationship is fraught with tension. This research adopted a Bourdieusian framework as it is “a rich conceptual apparatus” (Grenfell and James 2004, p. 507) from which to apply the main theoretical aspects of this study, which are:

- A. a comprehensive deconstruction of the Art World into its constituent *fields*; and
- B. a discussion of the *habitus* and *capital* of the Creative Class as they interact with the Art World.

In order to do this, this research asked the overarching question of *to what extent have Fine Art Graduates been able to access the Art World post-graduation?*

In order to dive into the details of access, the following sub-questions guided the work:

1. How does the Creative Class interpret the legitimation and evaluation assigned by the Art World?
2. How does the Creative Class’ interpretation of the Art World’s legitimation and evaluation impact their creative career?
3. How do the Art World’s rules affect the creative production of the Creative Class?
4. How do the Art World’s rules impact economic opportunities of the Creative Class?
5. What are the strategies employed and opportunities available to the Creative Class who meet some but not all of the Art World’s criteria?

Examining these aspects together provided a comprehensive analysis of the field, habitus and capital of the Art World and its members. Firstly, this study established the fields of the Art World; looked at what the explicit and implicit rules are between and within the Creative Class and the Art World; and how the Art World assigns value and legitimacy to the Creative Class. Secondly, this study recognised that an

examination of the interpretation of the Art World system from the Creative Class' perspective was needed. From this understanding, it deployed a survey to Fine Arts Graduates from Art Center College of Design, and analysed the findings from the questionnaire. The combination of both a structural analysis and engagement with subjective understandings illustrated both sides of the relationship in order to establish a full and comprehensive picture to better dissect the intersecting point(s) within this complex social interaction. The following sections discuss opportunities for future research as identified throughout the study; it outlines the contribution of knowledge developed from this work; and concludes this dissertation.

### **6.1 Opportunities for Future Research**

Understanding the relationship between the Art World and The Creative Class is the central focus of this study, the data gathered reached beyond a single thesis and can continue to be developed for both academics and practitioners. This work is a useful starting point for further research as it provided a base to understand how Bourdieu's three capitals: cultural, social and economic, can be used as a tool when navigating cultural fields. From this study there are several areas that could be used for further research programmes within the social sciences and across other academic disciplines:

1. In order to understand the nature of the career trajectories of the current selection of Fine Art Graduates, revisiting the participants at a later stage to re-examine their relation with the Art World would expand the knowledge on the development of their habitus and capital and to what extent they have engaged with the Rite of Passage into the Art World.
2. In order to understand regarding one of the major findings of this research, namely the perpetual misrecognition of the habitus and capital of the Creative Class, additional data should be collected from other art schools and/or Fine Arts departments. Using the survey questionnaire in other contexts would provide a new dataset from which to gather comparative data that could be tested statistically. Furthermore future research that extends the discussion into other Arts-related disciplines such as arts management, or arts education is applicable.
3. There is a need for the development of a wider body of research on the misrecognition of capital by both the Art World and the Creative Class themselves. This is because the process of convertibility from social and

cultural capital (and habitus) to functional (economic) capital, as well as identifying the critical components to gain entry into the Art World had been noticeably problematic for the Creative Class. Additional data and research that centres additional members of the Creative Class in a holistic and qualitative way, that illustrates the particularly detrimental aspects of this relationship from their perspective, may be revealing and helpful. The use of other methods, such as interviews or focus groups could assist in the development of this research.

4. Another topic for further research is the role of gatekeepers within the Art World. As the central focus of this research was to examine Fine Arts Graduates' success entering the Art World an in-depth analysis of the role of gatekeepers was beyond the scope of this study and merits further study. The survey could be supplemented at a later stage to examine industry professionals and their understanding of social and cultural capital. For example, curators, collectors and gallerists also have individual capital. Examining arts professionals' capital would help to bring into focus how gatekeepers assign legitimacy and validation much more clearly. Through a break down of the gatekeepers' capital would underpin the process of consecration of an artist and their works. Much of the current validation and legitimation focuses on the social and cultural capital of the Creative Class, yet it is often misrecognised. Therefore, recognising the capital of the gatekeepers' could provide clarity on how the agents of the Art World view the role and value of the Creative Class.
5. Another area for future research is regarding the notion of art schools as the institutions where artists first develop and acquire their social and cultural capital. As the literature in Chapter Two identified, art education is the most prevalent path to gain access to the Art World. However, as per Thornton's classifications with the internal field of power of the Art World, the six sections, The Auction, The Crit, The Fair, The Magazine, The Biennale, Studio Visit, and The Prize, are a closed-network of key players who legitimise an artist's career. As such, a Creative cannot achieve recognition or success within the Art World without fulfilling all or most of the benchmarks outlined in Thornton's work. Therefore, examining those who are not formally trained will provide insight on the function of art schools gaining access to the Art World. This information is an opportunity to understand how artists can develop the necessary capital beyond formal education. Comparative and quantitative data that can be tested statistically is particularly well suited for future research.
6. As this research did not account for alternative training to develop and accrue capital outside of the formal education route, Group C is a direct test to

engage with those who are trained through alternative routes. Further research to understand their skills and knowledge in comparison to those who are formally trained will be insightful to understand the recognisability of the social and cultural capital within the Art World.

7. Research into understanding why artists continue to practice regardless of economic viability will greatly recognise the value of creativity, persistence and dedication. For example, a study published in the *Creativity Research Journal*, led by Dr. Roberto Goya-Maldonado, states “Collectively, our results indicate the existence of distinct neural traits in the dopaminergic reward system of artists, who are less inclined to react to the acceptance of monetary rewards” (Corbett, 2018, paragraph 7).<sup>38</sup> This type of research will not only provide understanding of the artists perspective and dedication to their practice; it will outline the development of artistic careers and the wider structures of the Creative Class and the creative industry from disciplines outside the social sciences.

The most important recommendation from this work; however, is how to increase the economic participation of the Creative Class, namely by exploring the potential for incorporating digital technologies in more robust ways into the Art World. Tech in art is a new industry and provides opportunities to support those who may not have been able to finance their practice. This framework is worth investigating in the future beyond the framework of this thesis.

#### *6.1.1 Embracing Digital Means: Widening Accessibility*

Internet-use was tested within the study. This was to understand the percentage of the sample who were leveraging digital technology as a tool to help pave their route to market. There are two recommendations to access the digital market: ways of integration and alternative funding mechanisms. Ways of integration include advertising and marketing on social media platforms such as Facebook or Instagram. Alternative funding mechanisms use digital patronage such as crowdfunding or Patreon: where artists build networks and create works for their subscribers using

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<sup>38</sup> As reported on Artnet  
<https://news.artnet.com/art-world/why-are-artists-poor-research-suggests-it-could-be-hardwired-1310147>

technologies such as cryptocurrencies.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, there is significant growth within digital auction platforms such as Artsy, Christie's and Sotheby's.

Data from industry players such as TEFAF, Artsy, Artnet annually report positive growth in the digital sector.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the utilising tech in art can shift the legitimacy and validation process to therefore opening new opportunities for the Creative Class. Pownall (2017) writes that as online opportunities open up, "serious collectors, using multiple devices, can turn to technology today to build their collections, obtain provenance and valuable information, finance and insure their newly-acquired piece, digitally fingerprint it and actively manage their collection" (p. 8). This is particularly meaningful information as it is an alternative way for the Creative Class to interface with the Art World.

To reiterate the literature reviewed in Chapter Two by the Collaborationists who argued that collaboration, amongst The Creative Class, made for a stronger community: technology has a transformative potential. Therefore, both the Creative Class and the Art World could benefit from exploring and and better integrating digital technology to tap otherwise unknown talent.

## **6.2 Contribution to Knowledge**

The contributions to knowledge from this study are:

1. The deconstruction and definition of the Art World through an application of Bourdieu's field theory and Three-Level Analysis (as per Grenfell and Hardy, 2007).
2. A classification and examination of the fields of the Art World which underpinned the key issues experienced by the Creative Class.
3. The generation of an Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class which provides an expanded understanding of the intersections between the fields of the Art World and the capital and habitus of the Creative Class.

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<sup>39</sup> Crowdfunding is defined as "[t]he practice of funding a project or venture by raising money from a large number of people who each contribute a relatively small amount, typically via the Internet" (Oxford Dictionary, 2018).

<sup>40</sup> Based on data collected in 2017 by The European Fine Art Foundation (TEFAF): "online sales channels are showing very high rates of growth for innovative business models" and this sector is "point[ing] to an ever-increasing share in terms of volume in the years ahead" (Pownall, 2017, p. 8). This is evidenced by healthy numbers in Auction Houses. As per Pownall (2017) "Christie's online-only sales have reached \$217m [USD], and Sotheby's online sales increased 20% over the previous year to \$155m [USD]. Invaluable realized a 30% increase in online live auction revenue year-on-year" (p. 19).

4. Developed and piloted a survey tool to engage with the ideal career narrative as put forth by Thornton (2008). The data from the survey highlighted that one of the key barriers to the Art World is the misrecognition of the capital of the Creative Class both by the structures of the Art World *and by the Creative Class themselves*.

This research is a contribution to the existing literature Bourdieu's field theory (i.e. field, habitus and capital) as well as the broader literature on the Art World and its relationship with the Creative Class and their artistic careers. This was done by applying Bourdieu's field theory and his Three-Level Analysis to the structures and agents within the Art World, including the Creative Class. This analysis requires the social world under research to be broken down into three 'levels' in order to put forth a robust understanding of it. Firstly the study investigated how the Art World is positioned within the larger societal context, in traditional sociological terms, this identifies its position at the macro level. Following this, the study deconstructed the internal structure of the Art World into its constituent fields by reviewing the selected body of literature vis-a-vis the fields of the Art World as conceptualised by this work. These fields are: the field of power; the field of education; the field of capital; the field of technology and the field of commerce. The work of Thornton (2007); Bourdieu (1986); Dewey (1934); Albers (1928); Grenfell and Hardy (2007); Nonaka and Takeuchi (1994); Adamson (2007); Sennett (2009); Becker (1982); Timberg (2015); Leadbeater (2009); and Gilmore and Pine (2011) were classified into the five fields identified. In applying the Bourdieusian lens, a comprehensive categorisation of the Art World system was possible. Using Bourdieu's concept of fields to categorise the literature on the Art World established the organisational structure and its operational limits in a unique way. From this classification and examination of the fields, the third level of analysis was possible. The final aspect of this study was to identify the habitus and capital of the Creative Class as they interact with the structures of the Art World. Or, in other words, this part of the study investigated the micro level, subjective experiences of those who participate in the structures of the Art World. After reviewing the literature, an inclusive, non-hierarchical Ideal-Type Typology of the Creative Class was developed to

illustrate how the habitus and capital of three main categories of agents within the Creative Class interact with the fields of the Art World. These groupings are:

- Group A - Industry Benchmarked Creatives
- Group B - Active Creatives, and
- Group C - Unknown Creatives

This new classification also contributes to knowledge from other established methods. Additionally, the use of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and robust methodology underpinned the key issues experienced by the Creative Class in their dialectical relationship with the Art World.

Additionally, it is within this third level of analysis that directly engages with the empirical aspects of this study. A survey questionnaire was developed and deployed in order to engage with the subjective perceptions and understandings of the Creative Class as they operate within the ideal career narrative as put forth by Thornton (2008). The outcomes of the survey outlined the perceptions of Creative Class regarding their experience of exclusion from the Art World and its effect on their creative practice.<sup>41</sup> The analysis of the dataset confirmed that the individuals of the sample were unable to identify the economic value of their own social and cultural capital. This internal misrecognition of capital directly contributes to the economic inequality within the Art World. Moreover, in engaging with Thornton's ideal career narrative, the data highlight that throughout the sample's career trajectory, many of the respondents were unable to progress further than producing creative works. Identifying the contribution of the internal misrecognition of the capital of the Creative Class to their economic outcomes is an innovative position from which to address the persistent inequity within the Art World.

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<sup>41</sup> A more specific contribution to knowledge is regards to the sample chosen. The sample was selected from Fine Arts Graduates from Art Center College of Design, between the years of 1990-2015. Because ACCD does not collect data from its alumni, by specifically sampling Fine Arts Alumni, the data generated provides the institution with bespoke knowledge about their graduates.

### 6.3 Conclusion

This research examined the current relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class by combining Bourdieu's field theory and methodology, with mixed methods. The empirical aspects of this study involved surveying Art Center College of Design Fine Art Graduates from between 1990 and 2015 and pairing the data compiled with informal, open-ended interviews the researcher conducted throughout the study. In order to engage with the sample, and understand how they have interacted with the Art World post graduation, a survey tool was developed, piloted and deployed to 347 potential respondents. With a completion rate of eleven percent (11%) (n=39), the findings revealed a distinct breakdown between how the Creative Class identified and operationalised their capital within this highly rigid system. Moreover, upon analysis of these findings, it became clear that this misrecognition of capital currently exists both within the sample themselves and within the Art World. Another key outcome in this research is in regards to how the Creative Class perceive valuation within the Art World. Through understanding how the Creative Class signify value, it confirmed that social and cultural capital (and the resulting habitus) are the ties that bind the Art World and the Creative Class together.

Additionally, in understanding that the capital and habitus of the Creative Class are misrecognised, the analysis of the findings revealed where this disconnect between the Art World and the Creative Class is located. It is a taken for granted fact that the Art World has a valuation system of its own that is dependent on multiple variables that are often obscured from the Creative Class (and society at large). What is less understood is that there is another side to this coin; that is, that the Creative Class themselves do not necessarily recognise their *own* value. For example, that data highlights that less than thirty percent of the respondents agree that their economic and cultural worth are integrated.

This underpinned two key issues that face the Creative Class as they engage with the ideal career narrative as put forth by Thornton (2008). The first is the structural points of conflict between the Creative Class and the Art World that hinder the Creative Class from gaining entry. The second is the identification of the power of the maintain and struggle process as a factor in how the Creative Class view themselves, and thusly how they operationalise their social and cultural capital



within the structures of the Art World. These key insights point to how to support the Creative Class on their career trajectory, namely an innovative process that allows the conversion of their social and cultural capital into functional (economic) capital.

In addition to engaging with empirical data on the perceptions of the Creative Class, another focus of this research was on the objective structure of Art World and the structural constraints that exist within it. In doing this, this study employed Bourdieu's field theory as a compliment to the qualitative and quantitative methods used. Bourdieu's conceptual triad of *field, habitus and capital* in addition to his Three-Level Analysis, provided the conceptual vocabulary and theoretical context from which to analyse the entirety of the Art World system. Moreover the Three-Level Analysis provided a robust methodological position from which to connect the structural aspects of the Art World to the subjective understandings of the people within it. In order to deconstruct the structural aspects of the Art World, the Literature Review was divided along the fields of the Art World. The literature examined within the context of the fields provided a comprehensive deconstruction of the Art World, its structure and inner workings. When looked at together, these fields provide a comprehensive overview of the structure of the Art World and set the stage for the relationship between the Art World and the Creative Class to play out. Additionally the fields identified within the Literature Review identify the overlaps, connections and influences of each field on the overall structure.

This study was an analysis of the competing perspectives on the value of the Creative Class, and directly challenged the notion of the hegemony of the Art World in granting access to its structure. In utilising Bourdieu's theoretical position and its accompanying methodological toolbox, this study was able to execute a comprehensive research programme. Moreover, while certain aspects of the researcher's anecdotal experience as a practicing artist were confirmed, such as the frustration at the complexities of the many barriers the Art World erects to limit access into the industry. From conducting this study, the researcher came to realise that she too had misrecognised her own social and cultural capital, and this misrecognition had an effect on her career trajectory as an artist. She too bought into the romanticism of the 'starving artist' trope, but from this work has identified that while there are serious structural inequalities embedded in the operations of the Art

World, the Creative Class are complicit in their own devaluation. However, this study provides a fruitful place from which to consider innovative ways to begin a new process of recognition.

## Glossary

**Art World:** All institutions, and people in elite positions within the Art World that the Creative Class must work through or with, in order to maintain their practice, and gain legitimacy and recognition for it

**Capital:** Bourdieu reformulated Marx's concept of capital and posited that “many different forms of capital exist, from material (physical, economic) to non-material (cultural, symbolic, social)” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2003, p. 616).

**Creative Class:** The primary and supporting persons who have knowledge, obtained formally or informally, to make creative works. *Those who make, and those who contribute to the making of, creative works.* Timberg defines the creative class as “anyone who helps create or disseminate culture” (Timberg, 2015, pp. 10) and Becker defines artists as anyone “producing patterns of collective [art related] activity” (Becker, 2008. P.1).

**Cultural Worth:** is defined as the affective elements of cultural experience, practice and identity. Therefore, it locates the value of culture partly in the subjective experience of participants and citizens.

**Economic Worth:** is defined as the maximum amount a consumer is willing to pay for an item.

**Field:** “designate arenas where specific forms of capital are produced, invested, exchanged, and accumulated” (Swartz, 1996, p. 78).

**Habitus:** Habitus designates the system of durable and transposable *dispositions* through which we perceive, judge and act in the world. These unconscious schemata are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditioning, via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities” (Wacquant, Loïc, 2006, p. 267). In other words, Habitus is ingrained habits, skills, that we learned from our life experiences

**Tacit knowledge:** is defined as mental models, beliefs, and perspectives in creating that is ingrained through experience and practice that we take them for granted, and therefore cannot easily articulate them, additionally, this type of knowledge is not codifiable and learned through apprenticeship.

**Three-level Analysis:** Inspired by Bourdieu, the Three-Level Analysis is an analytic tool from which to begin a comprehensive research programme deploying the concepts of field, habitus and capital. Level 1 positions the field against the field of power; Level 2 maps out the objective structure of relations; Level 3 is an analysis of the habitus and the trajectory of agents within the field.

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## **Appendix**

### **List of Appendices:**

- Appendix 1: A Hybrid of Throsby's classification
- Appendix 2: Cavalli's 11 Criteria of Excellence in Craftsmanship
- Appendix 3: Ethical Considerations
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### **Appendix 1: A Hybrid of Throsby's classification:**

1) Group B'ers actively engage in the arts and cultural sector through the application for patronage from public or private funding. An extended model introducing economic variables is According to Throsby, this is defined as those “who receive a sufficiently large grant from a beneficent foundation or government arts agency” (Throsby, 2009, p. 98).

2) Income as a constraint is defined as “... requiring ... a certain minimum level of income. ... [which provide] no incentive to artistic production, it is simply a necessary element in the decision process that cannot be ignored” (Throsby, 2009, p. 99). These Creatives are seeking for income as not a means of creative production, rather it is to pay for necessary basic living.

3) Income as joint maximand is defined as “... artistic practice can lead to financial reward is of more than passing interest to [the Creative] and the generation of income from their artistic labour assumes for them a great significance than simply being a means of paying the bills” (Throsby, 2009, p. 99). The requirement of funds is to provide beyond basic necessities of food, shelter and clothing. The subsistence is to afford a comfortable living.

4) Income as sole maximand is defined as “... all aspects of the quality of output are determined principally by the economic conditions under which it is produced- i.e. by the income-earning potential of the work” (Throsby, 2009, p. 101). The Creative is therefore constrained by market demands and needs in order to create. The works are therefore made with the notion to be as easily sellable as possible for the market. The sales of the work, more specifically, the easily salability of the work dictates what is to be created.

5) Multiple job-holding is defined as “... other income-earning opportunities available that are lucrative enough to enable revenue to be generated quickly and efficiently, allowing a maximum of residual time for non lucrative arts work” (Throsby, 2009, p. 101). Moreover, this creative is not able to sell work regularly yet has valuable skill sets which can be translated and transferred into other fields of work for a steady income to therefore subsidise the costs of creating.

## **Appendix 2: Cavalli's 11 Criteria of Excellence in Craftsmanship**

1. Authenticity is defined as the connection between the creator and the creative output in creating products reflecting history, artistry and social values.
2. Craftsmanship is defined as products produced manually based on the boundaries and limitations of techniques and materials. The skill and knowledge that is applied is a constant dialogue between the artisan's mind and hands.
3. Competence is defined as a blend of professional, theoretical, and practical skills developed to the ability to respond to unexpected situations.
4. Creativity is defined as balancing functional and material limitations in order to respond to contemporary needs and tastes.
5. Innovation is defined as incorporating new elements to pre-existing objects with the use of technology.
6. Interpretation is defined as the ability to transform creative ideation into reality.
7. Originality is defined as the balance of old and new, application of innovative ways of integrating centuries-old techniques to create fresh and unique products.
8. Talent is defined as the natural, innate ability which requires to be developed.
9. Territory is defined as linkage of creative output to the social environment of creation.
10. Tradition is defined as knowledge of a trade, its history and context; knowledge of all the traditional tools and brand new technologies associated with it; maturity for collaboration and teamwork; access to a workshop for practical application; and continuous learning and updating of knowledge bases.
11. Transmission is defined as working collaboratively.

### **Appendix 3: Ethical Considerations**

Ethical Approval was confirmed by the Doctoral College in September 2017.

A disclaimer had been included that covered the ethical use of the survey answers to ensure anonymity. It is important to protect the participant's anonymity for their participation to encourage honest answers particularly with respect to sensitive topics such as income and gallery representation. (See Appendix 6, Survey Consent Form).

## Appendix 4: Alumni Art Center Data Request Form

### Raiser's Edge Data Request Form



Please allow a minimum of **5-10 working days** to process your request. Contact Jenny Physioc if you need assistance.  
**Please email this completed form to [jenny.physioc@artcenter.edu](mailto:jenny.physioc@artcenter.edu).**

List/Event/Report Name  Requested By

Date of Request  Date Needed

Reason for your Request & Notes

**CONSTITUENT CRITERIA** (Please check all that apply):

- |  |   |                                      |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Alumni | <input type="checkbox"/> Alumni Parent      | <input type="checkbox"/> Corporation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Corporate Contact | <input type="checkbox"/> Current Parent     | <input type="checkbox"/> Faculty     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Foundation        | <input type="checkbox"/> Foundation Contact | <input type="checkbox"/> Friend      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Government        | <input type="checkbox"/> Government Contact | <input type="checkbox"/> Parent      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Staff             | <input type="checkbox"/> Trustee            |                                      |

Degree(s)

Grad Year(s)

**MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA** (Check all that apply):

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> ArtCenter 100         | <input type="checkbox"/> FullCircle        | <input type="checkbox"/> MINT               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pasadena Art Alliance | <input type="checkbox"/> San Marino League | <input type="checkbox"/> Williamson Gallery |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other                 | <input type="text"/>                       |   |

Level

- Status  Current
- Lapsed (note # of years)

**GIFT CRITERIA**

Gift Dates (include ranges)

Gift Fund(s)

Gift Appeal(s)

Gift Type(s)  Cash  Pledges  Pledge Payments  
 Matching Gifts  Stock/Property  GIK  
 Planned Gifts

Credit Type(s)  Hard Credit  Soft Credit  Both

**EVENT CRITERIA**

Event Name(s)

Attendance  Invited  Registered  Attended  Guests

**OUTPUT FIELDS** (Please select all fields to include in your final list):

Biographical  Addressee/Salutation  Married Add/Sal  Degree(s)  
 Grad Year(s)  Employer  Spouse Name  
 Industry  Position/Title  Membership(s)  
 Prospect Manager  Other

Contact  Mailing  Email  Phone

Include International Addresses?  Yes  No

Gift Output  Appeal  Package(s)  Fund Name  Gift Amount  
 Gift Date  Gift Detail  Gift Summary  Gift Type  
 First Gift  Last Gift  Largest Gift  Last Appeal  
 Other

---

For processing use ONLY- Please do not write in this space.

File Name  Date Completed

Query/Query Folder

BBNC Query

BBNC List Name

Export/Export Folder

## Appendix 5: ACCD Survey Proposal Letter

Dear,

I am writing to you for assistance with my PhD research at the University of Brighton. I am an Art Center BFA graduate, class of 2008. This research will survey Art Centre Fine Art Graduates (BFA and MFA) to understand their key economic and professional outcomes, their perceived role in cultural sustainability and preservation, and whether a peer-to-peer (P2P) platform, in today's experiential and entrepreneurial economy, would be an effective space for both commerce and the preservation of artistic and/or cultural knowledge and skill. I seek permission from ACCD to access the alumni network in order to carry out my survey research.

This project centres on acquiring data regarding the application of the tacit knowledge and skills of Fine Art Graduates, rather than the traditional focus on the creation and sale of end products. This research investigates how Fine Arts Graduates perceive of their role in cultural preservation and sustainability; how Fine Arts Graduates perceive of and use the internet in their studio practice; and whether Fine Arts Graduates perceive of the internet as a vehicle for cultural preservation and sustainability. The data gathered will be used for further analysis into the efficacy of a P2P platform as a viable space for the aggregation of artistic and cultural knowledge and skill; the operationalisation of the system of intergenerational knowledge transference, and whether it can modernise the master-apprentice relationship. Most importantly, this research will uncover how Fine Arts Graduate perceive of their role in the process of cultural sustainability and regeneration.

ACCD has a long history of innovation and collaboration, and its graduates are known throughout the creative cultural industries as well trained and highly skilled. Therefore the insight ACCD graduates can provide to this research is invaluable: it will uncover and classify ubiquitous problems in the art world/Arts and Culture Sector(s), and is a starting point for further research into Art School Graduates from other schools. The data will be used entirely for the purposes of the larger PhD research and is not used to evaluate the efficacy of ACCD's courses, programming or curriculum. The results of the research can be shared with ACCD, and ACCD will receive a copy of the survey prior to distribution. This research will follow strict academic standards of privacy and security and I am committed to working openly with ACCD.

Please do not hesitate to contact me with further questions.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,  
Erika Wong



## Appendix 6: Survey Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Erika Wong, from The University of Brighton Business School. Your participation of this study is entirely voluntary.

The purpose of the study is to examine the monetisation of artistic labours from the Creative Class. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to complete a 10 minute online survey.

All your responses are anonymous.

The findings from this survey will be used for the development of an online tool for creatives seeking a space for cultural sustainability and effective monetisation of their skill. The tool links creative learning and development with economy and enterprise. This project is a bridge between academic conceptualisations of creativity, and commerce.

If you have any questions, please contact me at [e.wong@brighton.ac.uk](mailto:e.wong@brighton.ac.uk). If you are willing to participate in this research, please choose the "yes" button below. Otherwise, simply close this window or press the "no" button.

Thank you for your time and consideration, each survey completed will greatly benefit this research for The Creative Class.

## Appendix 7: Survey

Q1 - Do you currently work full time in an occupation as an artist?			
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	23.08%	9
2	No	76.92%	30
	Total	100%	39
Q2 - Do you currently work part time in an occupation as an artist?			
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	60.00%	18
2	No	40.00%	12
	Total	100%	30
Q3 - Which of these describes your current employment status, within the last 7 days?			
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Employed, full time paid work	35.90%	14
2	Employed, part time paid work (fewer than 35 hrs/ wk)	17.95%	7
3	Self-employed/freelance	30.77%	12
4	In education	2.56%	1
5	Unemployed, actively looking for work	2.56%	1
6	Unemployed, not looking for work	2.56%	1
7	Doing housework, looking after children or other person(s)	5.13%	2
8	Retired	0.00%	0
9	Permanently sick or disabled	0.00%	0
10	Active community or military service	2.56%	1
	Total	100%	39
Q3a - You have selected "In education" as your current employment status. How are you funded?			
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Scholarship, student loan	0.00%	0
2	Self Funded	100.00%	1
	Total	100%	1
Q4 - Which of the following occupations best describe your current employment? (Select all that apply)			
#	Answer	%	Count
4	Currently not employed	0.00%	0

1	Private teacher of the arts	1.49%	1
2	Arts admin/manager	2.99%	2
3	K-12 arts educator	2.99%	2
5	Higher education arts educator	14.93%	10
6	Arts writer, editor, author (magazine, newspaper, journal, books)	0.00%	0
7	Museum or Gallery worker	1.49%	1
8	Curator	0.00%	0
9	Arts administrator (including development, marketing)	1.49%	1
10	Arts manager (including development, marketing)	1.49%	1
11	Graphic Designer	2.99%	2
12	Illustrator	4.48%	3
13	Art Director	2.99%	2
14	Interior Designer	1.49%	1
15	Web Designer	0.00%	0
16	Other designer (please specify)	5.97%	4
17	Craft Artist	4.48%	3
18	Fine Artist	19.40%	13
19	Film, TV, Video Artist	2.99%	2
20	Multi-media Artist or Animator	0.00%	0
21	Photographer	4.48%	3
22	Actor	1.49%	1
23	Technician	0.00%	0
24	Musician (including instrumental, vocal, conductor, composer, arranger)	1.49%	1
25	Theater and stage director or producer	0.00%	0
26	Other (Please Specify)	20.90%	14
	Total	100%	67

Q4a: Other designer (please specify)

I design for a profit-sharing company (Kulture Shop, India) that prints them on paper and other products.

sculpture fabrication

product designer

artist studio workspace organization/work tables/storage shelving

Q4b: Other (Please Specify)

muralist

Gig economy. Ride share driver

Bakery manager



cherry and martin, los angeles galerie hussenot, paris

foto relevance, houston TX

Q8 - Have you been commissioned in the last 5 years by a gallery?

(Gallery is defined as a privately owned for-profit commercial gallery, also inclusive of artist cooperative and artist-run space)

#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	28.21%	11
2	No	71.79%	28
	Total	100%	39

Q9 - Have you had a solo retrospective in a museum in the last 10 years?

Museum is defined as consisting of at least 8000m2/86000ft gallery space.

#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	2.56%	1
2	No	97.44%	38
	Total	100%	39

Q10 - If you are not an active artist, do you make art in your personal (non-work) time?

1	Yes	87.18%	34
2	No	12.82%	5
	Total	100%	39

Q11 - Do you work full time as a teacher in the arts?

1	Yes	10.26%	4
	Total	100%	39

Q12 - Do you work full time managing art programs (inclusive of museums, galleries, schools, churches, businesses with art programs, etc)?

1	Yes	12.82%	5
2	No	87.18%	34
	Total	100%	39

Q13 - Have you sold any creative work in the last 5 years?

1	Yes	79.49%	31
2	No	20.51%	8
	Total	100%	39

Q14 - You have selected "yes" for having sold any creative work in the last 5 years.  
Please select all that applies:

1	Primary market (the primary market is defined as new work being sold for the first time in a gallery)	25.53%	12
2	Secondary market (the secondary market is defined as your work has been resold in an auction house such as Sotheby's, Christie's, Bonham, Poly, Paddle 8, Artsy)	0.00%	0
3	Other exhibitions (such as pop-up, art markets)	25.53%	12
4	Online (for example, Instagram, Facebook, personal website)	19.15%	9
5	Other, please specify	29.79%	14
	Total	100%	47

Q14\_A\_TEXT - Other, please specify

Other, please specify - Text

comissions, design work under contract with Print Company

WORD OF MOUTH

Commissions

Private buyer

Commissioned work.

sold to acquaintances

private sale

artist run space

Art fairs, open studio

Commissioned work

commissions

I sell work from my studio

direct to customer

Commission

--	--	--	--

Q15 - Do you use a website to sell your work?

1	Yes, please specify which website(s) you use, if possible URL	20.51%	8
2	No	79.49%	31
	Total	100%	39

Q15\_A\_TEXT - Yes, please specify which website(s) you use, if possible URL

Yes, please specify which website(s) you use, if possible URL - Text

Theoni Designs.com

<http://untitled-rug.com/>

<a href="http://www.stevegavenas.com">www.stevegavenas.com</a>
Etsy, society 6
<a href="http://raymieiadevaia.com">raymieiadevaia.com</a>
<a href="http://www.ramonemunoz.com">www.ramonemunoz.com</a>
<a href="https://vimeo.com/222116553">https://vimeo.com/222116553</a>
<a href="http://www.rebeccajorton.com">www.rebeccajorton.com</a>

Q16 - You have selected "yes" in using a website to sell your work. Do you use the profit generated from the sale to help fund your practice?			
1	Yes	87.50%	7
2	No	12.50%	1
	Total	100%	8
Q17 - You have selected "no" in using a website to sell your work. Please specify where are you currently selling your work. If you are currently not selling work, please indicate you are not currently selling work.			
Not selling			
I've done pretty much every gig that's come my way since graduation - Movie posters, t shirts, murals, drum skins, book illustrations, a few group shows in a gallery etc. I am only now returning to focus on my personal work (painting) and ideally do mainly gallery work in the future.			
No body wants it. These systems are corrupt...			
Gallery			
Gallery and private collectors			
Mainly word of mouth, and returning clients. Some sales generated from ETSY.com			
Occasional gallery show			
Ets			
y			
Not selling work			
Word of mouth to individual, private clientele			
gallery representation, art fairs			
Not currently selling work.			
not currently selling			
Not currently selling but will in the future			
I am selling my work by personal indication			
not for sale			
I sell work but do not use the website to process or track sales			
not currently selling			
website: curatorialhub.com			
not currently selling work			
I have a web site, but it is not a sales platform. Www.janeszabophotography.com my work is also on artsy.com most sales come through exhibitions and repeat customers			

No work for sale			
I am currently selling my work through art galleries and private commissions			
Not currently selling work			
Word of mouth			
Either in a gallery setting or directly to customers who reach out to me.			
I do not sell work from my studio or website.			
no			
independent clients			
myself			
Not currently selling work.			
1	Q18 - Do you advertise your creative practice? - Selected Choice		
1	Yes, please specify	25.64%	10
2	No	74.36%	29
	Total	100%	39
Q18_A_TEXT - Yes, please specify			
Yes, please specify - Text			
Facebook and Instagram (@lazeebone)			
Facebook, Instagram, local newspaper			
Gallery and personal website and social network			
Business cards word of mouth			
website, social media			
Instagram, Facebook			
artist website + instagram			
Facebook, fabrik media			
Website			
on my personal instagram and facebook			
Q19 - Is your creative practice skill based on tacit knowledge ?			
Tacit knowledge is defined as mental models, beliefs, and perspectives in creating that is ingrained through experience and practice that we take them for granted, and therefore cannot easily articulate them, additionally, this type of knowledge is not codifiable and learned through apprenticeship.			
1	Yes	71.79%	28
2	No	28.21%	11
	Total	100%	39
Q20 - Did you first learn your creative practice through a master-apprentice setting?			
1	Yes, please specify, i.e. where or who did you learn it from?	30.77%	12
2	No, please specify	69.23%	27



	Total	100%	39
Q20_A_TEXT - Yes, please specify, i.e. where or who did you learn it from?			
Yes, please specify, i.e. where or who did you learn it from? - Text			
My lead artist at a commercial studio			
My Great-Aunt was a trained artist and teacher, so I had private classes when quite young. I did go on to get a BFA from ACCD eventually.			
Ucr mfa			
Art center			
Clown college Lou Jacobs			
Brooks Institute of Photography, ACCD and UFRJ ( Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro)			
Art Center and other schools			
This is not a yes/no question for me, but rather a both and. I have both a university education and went through a vocational carpentry apprenticeship program that taught me carpentry and fabrication skills that I did not get in art school.			
Art Center College of Design, Fine Arts Master's program			
I have an MFA and BFA			
ACCD			
University of louisville			
Q20_B_TEXT - No, please specify			
No, please specify - Text			
Mfa			
College, online tutorials			
Confusing question			
self taught			
Self Taught			
My creative practice has always been			
I was already making work before formal education.			
self practiced/taught			
construction industry			
Received formal college education			
observing other creatives and emulating			
first learned in school (high school)			
got BFA and MFA			
self taught until high school			
MFA program			
formal education			
went to schools			
Did get an MFA			
College and grad school arts education, and on the job training!			

Learned photography/filmmaking on my own before my B.F.A			
Received MFA			
I learned it through school.			
creative practice came from higher ed			
I have an MFA in Fine Art			
No			
curiosity			
Education			
Q25 - How was the knowledge and skills needed in your creative practice learned?			
#	Answer	%	Count
7	Academia	50.00%	6
1	Vocational training	8.33%	1
2	Books	0.00%	0
3	Familial generational skill passed on from generation to generation: i.e. passed on from your nanna to you	33.33%	4
5	YouTube tutorial	8.33%	1
6	Home Economics	0.00%	0
	Total	100%	12
Q21 - Is your creative practice tradition based?			
Tradition is defined as production process and services carried out using techniques and methods that have been developed over time and handed down via local customs and practices in response to the needs, and demands of the resident and floating populations within the territory, taking into account those innovative techniques that are part of its natural development and modernization.			
1	Yes	61.54%	24
2	No	38.46%	15
	Total	100%	39
Q22 - Is your creative practice connected to a geographical place?			
1	Yes	35.90%	14
2	No	64.10%	25
	Total	100%	39
Q23- Do you make work in the same city where you reside			
1	Yes	100.00%	39
2	No	0.00%	0
	Total	100%	39

Q24 - Which city do you make work in?
LA
Mumbai, India
Los angeles
Paonia, colorado
Los angeles
Los Angeles
los angeles
Los Angeles
Los angeles
La
Los Angeles
Los Angeles
los angeles
Pasaden
Portland Oregon
Oakridge
Rio de Janeiro
Los Angeles
Los Angeles
Los angeles
Shanghai, China
Los Angeles
Los Angeles
Los Angeles
Altadena and Los Angeles, CA
Los Angeles
Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA, USA
Los Angeles
Los Angeles (and Seattle)
Los Angeles
Salt Lake City, UT
Los Angeles and Mexico
South Pasadena
los angeles
los angeles
Citrus Heights
Los Angeles
Louisville, ky

Q25 - Is your creative practice reflective of social values?			
Social Value is defined as value which affects social well being.			
1	Yes	66.67%	26
2	No	33.33%	13
	Total	100%	39
Q26 - Do you have practical knowledge of materials?			
1	Yes	100.00%	39
2	No	0.00%	0
	Total	100%	39
Q27 - Do you have practical knowledge of techniques?			
1	Yes	100.00%	39
2	No	0.00%	0
	Total	100%	39
Q28 - Do you make work that are multiples of the same thing?			
1	Yes	56.41%	22
2	No	43.59%	17
	Total	100%	39
Q29 - Do you make work that is a one off?			
1	Yes	89.74%	35
2	No	10.26%	4
	Total	100%	39
Q30 - Since graduation, has your creative practice involved working across multiple creative disciplines?			
1	Yes	92.31%	36
2	No	7.69%	3
	Total	100%	39
Q31 - In your opinion, has globalization led to cultural homogenization? Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and values.			
3	Yes	71.79%	28
4	No	28.21%	11
	Total	100%	39

Q32 - In your opinion, has cultural homogenization led to cultural decline? Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.			
1	Yes	46.15%	18
2	No	53.85%	21
	Total	100%	39
Q33 - In your opinion, does the Creative Class have a role in preserving culture?			
1	Yes	87.18%	34
2	No	12.82%	5
	Total	100%	39
Q34 - In your opinion, does the Creative Class have a role in diversifying cultural homogenization? Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and values.			
1	Yes	89.74%	35
2	No	10.26%	4
	Total	100%	39
Q35 - In your opinion, does the Creative Class have a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenization? Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.			
1	Yes	82.05%	32
2	No	17.95%	7
	Total	100%	39
Q36 - In your opinion, do Fine Art Graduates have a role in preserving culture?			
1	Yes	79.49%	31
2	No	20.51%	8
	Total	100%	39
Q47 - In your opinion, do Fine Art Graduates have a role in diversifying cultural homogenisation? Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and value47			
1	Yes	79.49%	31
2	No	20.51%	8
	Total	100%	39
Q48 - In your opinion, do Fine Art Graduates have a role in creating diversity in creative output to mitigate cultural homogenization? Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.			
1	Yes	82.05%	32

2	No	17.95%	7
	Total	100%	39
Q49 - Does internet-use have a role in cultural preservation?			
1	Yes	87.18%	34
2	No	12.82%	5
	Total	100%	39
Q50 - Does internet-use have a role in cultural homogenization? Cultural homogenization is defined as the reduction in cultural diversity through the popularization of cultural symbol, physical objects, customs, ideas, and values.			
1	Yes	97.44%	38
2	No	2.56%	1
	Total	100%	39
Q51 - Does internet-use have a role in cultural decline? Cultural decline is defined as funding cuts to Arts and Culture, which has led to the decline in the input into and output from the arts and cultural sector.			
1	Yes	61.54%	24
	Total	100%	39

Q52 - The following section will ask you to agree or disagree with a series of statements.												
Please rate your response from strongly agree to strongly disagree in the following statements:												
#	Question	Strongly agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly disagree		Total
1	Your practice manages functional and material limitations in response to contemporary needs and tastes.	20.51%	8	20.51%	8	43.59%	17	5.13%	2	10.26%	4	39
2	You would sell more creative work if you have control over selling it.	15.38%	6	10.26%	4	35.90%	14	28.21%	11	10.26%	4	39
3	You have gained transferable skills through your studio practice.	51.28%	20	38.46%	15	10.26%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	39
4	You are open to working with others in order to get the project finished.	48.72%	19	30.77%	12	15.38%	6	5.13%	2	0.00%	0	39
5	You assess the economic potential of cross sector activities and networks to attract a broader audience for your practice.	15.38%	6	23.08%	9	43.59%	17	15.38%	6	2.56%	1	39
6	Your Economic and Cultural Worth is integrated. (Cultural Worth is defined as the affective elements of cultural experience, practice and identity. Therefore, it locates the value of culture partly in the subjective experience of participants and citizens.) Economic Worth is defined as the maximum amount a consumer is willing to pay for an item.)	7.69%	3	20.51%	8	46.15%	18	17.95%	7	7.69%	3	39

7	Your creative works are constrained by current arts market demand.	12.82 %	5	25.64 %	10	28.21 %	11	17.95 %	7	15.38 %	6	39
8	Your creative practice incorporates new elements to pre-existing objects with the use of technology. (Elements are defined as new materials or technique applied to pre-existing objects with the use of technology.)	23.08 %	9	35.90 %	14	28.21 %	11	5.13%	2	7.69%	3	39
9	You link your practice to a geophysical environment. (Geophysical is defined as the physical location of where you are creating.)	15.38 %	6	30.77 %	12	20.51 %	8	23.08 %	9	10.26 %	4	39
10	You have knowledge of traditional tools.	58.97 %	23	35.90 %	14	5.13%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	39
Q53 - The following section will ask a series of questions in percentile.												
Please rate your response from not working as a creative to 100% of the time working as a creative in the following questions:												
#	Question	I did not work as a creative in 2016		0-25%		26-50%		51-75%		76-100%		Total
1	How much of your work time did you spend on working as a creative in 2016?	7.69%	3	28.21 %	11	12.82 %	5	28.21 %	11	23.08 %	9	39
2	Approximately how much of your earnings from your practice goes back into funding your practice?	2.56%	1	51.28 %	20	17.95 %	7	10.26 %	4	17.95 %	7	39
Q54 - The following question is measured in frequency.												
#	Answer	%	Count									
1	Daily	38.46 %	15									
2	4-6 times a week	7.69%	3									
3	2-3 times a week	33.33 %	13									
4	Once a week	15.38 %	6									
5	Never	5.13%	2									
	Total	100%	39									
Q55 - Please rate your response from unimportant to very important for the following questions:												
#	Question	Unimportant		Somewhat Unimportant		Neither Important nor Unimportant		Somewhat Important		Very important		Total
1	How important is it for your creative practice where your work is sold?	35.90 %	14	15.38 %	6	17.95 %	7	7.69%	3	23.08 %	9	39
2	How important is it to you that your work is displayed in the permanent collection of a museum consisting of at least 8000m2/86000ft of gallery space?	41.03 %	16	7.69%	3	23.08 %	9	12.82 %	5	15.38 %	6	39
3	How important is it to you that your work be within the permanent collection of a private collector?	33.33 %	13	7.69%	3	20.51 %	8	17.95 %	7	20.51 %	8	39
4	How important is it to you that your work has been sold in the primary market? (The primary market is defined as new work being sold for the first time in a gallery.)	28.21 %	11	7.69%	3	12.82 %	5	28.21 %	11	23.08 %	9	39

5	How important is it to you that your work has been sold in the secondary market? (The secondary market is defined as your work has been resold in an auction house such as Sotheby's, Christie's, Bonham, Poly, Paddle 8, Artsy)	38.46 %	15	15.38 %	6	33.33 %	13	10.26 %	4	2.56%	1	39
6	How important is direct access to clients to your practice?	12.82 %	5	17.95 %	7	15.38 %	6	20.51 %	8	33.33 %	13	39

Q56 - AGE			
AGE			
34			
34			
38			
38			
35			
54			
36			
33			
41			
40			
36			
NA			
54			
45			
50			
54			
51			
41			
62			
34			
38			
35			
44			
50			
51			
39			
54			
53			
38			
28			
33			



49			
66			
52			
53			
30			
27			
32			
37			
Q57 - Gender			
1	Male	46.15%	18
2	Female	51.28%	20
3	I prefer not to answer	2.56%	1
4	Other	0.00%	0
	Total	100%	39
Q58 - Year Graduated (YYYY)			
Year Graduated (YYYY)			
2007			
2010			
2010			
2004			
2008			
1997			
2011			
2013			
2013			
2010			
2009			
1995 or 1996			
1990			
1994			
91			

1997			
1994			
2005			
2011			
2007			
2011			
2012			
2005			
1994			
1990			
2013			
1991			
2003			
2008			
2015			
2013			
BFA Advertising 1977 - MFA Fine Art - 1990			
1998			
1997			
2012			
2015			
2009			
2010			
Q59 - Term Graduated			
1	Spring (April)	41.67%	15

2	Summer (August)	22.22%	8
3	Winter (December)	36.11%	13
	Total	100%	36
Q60 - Degree Attained at ACCD			
1	Bachelors of Fine Art	56.41%	22
2	Masters of Fine Art	43.59%	17
	Total	100%	39

Q61 - The following questions asks about finances.		no income		\$10k less		up to \$20k		up to \$30k		up to \$40k		up to \$50k		up to \$75k		up to \$100k		Over \$100k		I prefer not to answer		Total
1	What was your total household income from all sources in the last financial year?	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	5.13%	2	10.26%	4	10.26%	4	5.13%	2	12.82%	5	7.69%	3	25.64%	10	23.08%	9	39
2	What was your approximate income (related to your creative practice) in the last financial year?	28.21%	11	28.21%	11	10.26%	4	5.13%	2	2.56%	1	2.56%	1	0.00%	0	5.13%	2	2.56%	1	15.38%	6	39
3	How much student loan debt did you incur in order to attend ACCD?	23.08%	9	0.00%	0	10.26%	4	5.13%	2	2.56%	1	7.69%	3	10.26%	4	5.13%	2	28.21%	11	7.69%	3	39

Q62 - The student loan debt incurred from attending ACCD had impacted your career			
1	Yes	53.85%	21
2	No	43.59%	17

3	I prefer not to answer	2.56%	1
Q63 - In thinking about income from your creative practice(s), from which of these areas do you receive income? (Please select all that applies)			
1	Commission	21.79%	17
2	Teaching	19.23%	15
4	Sales from exhibition	14.10%	11
10	Sales from markets	7.69%	6
5	Public grants/awards	5.13%	4
6	Residencies/fellowships	6.41%	5
7	Research	0.00%	0
11	Online sales	6.41%	5
8	Other	17.95%	14
9	I prefer not to answer	1.28%	1
	Total	100%	78
Q63A - Other			
None			
design work, royalties from design work			
I don't receive any income from my art WORK			
Assisting other artists			
word of mouth			
None			
private sales			
graphic design for clients			
Performance			
consulting/design			
grants, royalties from a textbook			
creative fabrication/design			
none			
Jobs			
Q64 - After graduation, how long did it take to obtain employment in the Creative Cultural Industry (CCI)? Creative Cultural Industry is defined in the United Kingdom as industries of: Books, Newspapers and Magazines, Music, Performing Arts, TV, Film, Radio, Video Games, Visual Arts, Architectural Activities, Advertising Activities.			
1	I have not obtained employment	10.26%	4
10	I have not obtained employment within the CCI	10.26%	4

2	I have obtained employment, but have not yet obtained employment in the CCI	2.56%	1
3	I obtained employment in the CCI prior to graduation	15.38%	6
4	I obtained employment in less than four months	17.95%	7
5	I obtained employment in four to twelve months	12.82%	5
6	I obtained employment after more than a year	15.38%	6
7	I did not search for employment after leaving programme	2.56%	1
8	I pursued further education	7.69%	3
9	Other, please specify	5.13%	2
	Total	100%	39
Q64_A_TEXT - Other, please specify			
Other, please specify - Text			
Created Etsy store to sell my designs			
I started working during art center program			

**Appendix 8: Table: Open-ended Interview**

<b>Role</b>	<b>Company</b>	<b>Contact Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>How long in the business</b>
Dealer A	October Inventory	October 2017	Vancouver	Since 2012
Director A	Arup	October 2016	London	Since 1946
Director B	Vitamin Gallery	November 2017	Guangzhou	Since 2002
Director C	A Blade of Grass	May 2017	New York	Since 2011
Director D	Steam	November 2017	Vancouver	Since 2003
Director E	Edouard Malingue Gallery	June 2019	London	Since 2010
Collector A		March 2018	Hong Kong	
Collector B		March 2019	Hong Kong	
Curator A	Victoria and Albert Museum	June 2017	London	Since 1852
Curator B	Tate Modern	June 2017	London	Since 2000
Curator C	221A	November 2017	Vancouver	Since 2005
Curator D	Asian Art Museum	March 2019	Hong Kong	Since 2003
Consultant A	Made in China (UK)	October 2017	London	
Consultant B	Art Basel	October 2017	London	Since 1970
Consultant C	Arthesia	March 2018	Hong Kong	Since 1999
Consultant D	Culture A	June 2019	Amsterdam	Since 2013
Artist		November 2017	Hong Kong	