The Art of Being on Top:
Power and Prestige in the Global Art World

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the nature of artistic power and its operating modes in a global context. Drawing on Michel Foucault's conception of power, I develop a dualistic theoretical model in which I propose that artistic power is enabled by a body of knowledge, mainly that of art history and aesthetics, that allows actors in visual art circles to articulate a discourse on works of art. At the same time, artistic power is also constituted of a strategic component, embodied in the reputation of the actor, that determines his or her capacity to influence the development of the field.

This dissertation is articulated around three case studies which examine global artistic institutions that run competitions open to contributions from around the world: the Venice Biennale, one of the best-known contemporary art manifestations, the UNESCO World Heritage List, which itemizes "outstanding" built heritage elements situated in each of the world's regions, and the Future Generation Art Prize, a biannual art prize recently created to reward the most promising young artists in the world. Each case considers how comparative evaluation is performed within the framework of these global artistic institutions.

I argue that prestige is a key governance mechanism in the global art world. Indeed, it is because the artistic institutions studied here are prestigious that the judgments they issue matter in the global art world. Each judgment is also the occasion for an artistic institution to further develop its prestige or, conversely, damage it. Prestige can therefore be thought as the linchpin of artistic power because it functions as a mechanism that regulates power in the complex environment of the global art world.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse examine la nature du pouvoir artistique et son fonctionnement dans le contexte de la mondialisation. En m'appuyant sur les conceptions du pouvoir de Michel Foucault, je développe un modèle théorique binaire dans lequel je propose que le pouvoir artistique est rendu possible par un ensemble de savoirs – notamment l'histoire de l'art et l'esthétique – qui permettent aux acteurs du milieu des arts visuels de formuler un discours sur les œuvres. Or, le pouvoir artistique est aussi constitué d'une dimension stratégique, incarnée dans la réputation des acteurs, qui détermine la capacité de ces derniers à influencer le développement des arts visuels.

La thèse est articulée autour de trois études de cas qui examinent des institutions artistiques globales qui organisent des compétitions ouvertes aux contributions venues des quatre coins du monde: la Biennale de Venise, l'une des manifestations d'art contemporain les plus connues mondialement, la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO qui répertorie des éléments « exceptionnels » du patrimoine bâti situés dans toutes les régions de la planète et le prix Future Generation Art Prize, une nouvelle récompense qui souhaite reconnaître les jeunes artistes les plus prometteurs au monde. Chaque étude de cas se penche sur l'évaluation comparative faite dans le cadre de ces institutions artistiques globales.

Je soutiens dans cette thèse que le prestige est un mécanisme de gouvernance clé dans le monde global des arts. En effet, c'est bien parce qu'elles sont des institutions artistiques prestigieuses que les jugements émis par ces acteurs comptent dans le milieu des arts visuels. Or, chaque jugement est également l'occasion pour ces institutions de renforcer leur prestige, ou inversement, une opération qui peut potentiellement le

dégrader. Ainsi, le prestige peut être envisagé comme le pivot du pouvoir artistique puisqu'il fonctionne à la manière d'un mécanisme de régulation du pouvoir dans l'environnement complexe qu'est le monde global des arts.

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INTRODUCTION

In their efforts to reach the top, human beings seem tireless. They climb mountains to sit on the rooftop of the world. They build minarets and bell-towers to be physically closer to God, but they also build towers and skyscrapers to become gods themselves. They fight against their fellow humans to be in the pole position. Physically, spiritually and symbolically, the unattainable dream of reaching the sky has always been a major driver of human creativity and ambitions. It allows human beings to leave their daily condition to contemplate what is bigger than them in this existence. The image of someone sitting on the top of the world to contemplate its vastness is both fascinating and frightening. It evokes the achievement of the pioneer who has been able to overcome obstacles to attain the summit. But it also evokes the figure of the self-made man who has left everybody else behind to shine alone in a dominant position.

Some of the most remarkable realizations of human beings are due to this chimeric ambition. From the ancient pyramids built to provide immortality to great rulers, to large cathedrals and temples constructed to the glory of God, to the Eiffel Tower, erected to affirm the supremacy of a nation, to the competition between the Chrysler and the Empire State buildings to dominate the New York skyline, human creative and technical abilities have been deployed at every epoch to physically and symbolically incarnate power and its connection to the heights. The last episode in this long genealogy of tall structures took place in January 2010 with the opening of the Burj Khalifa in Dubai, currently the tallest building on the surface of the planet with its 160 floors reaching up 828 metres.[1]

[1] The race for the tallest building on earth never ends. Thus, Saudi Arabia has already announced its intention to erect in Jeddah, by 2018, the *Kingdom Tower* that will surpass the Burj Khalifa in height.

Commissioned by the real-estate development firm, Emmar, the building is intentionally designed to symbolize the new power of the region that now has the necessary financial resources to compete with the grandeur of other centres of the world. The Burj Khalifa is only one facet in a series of architectural and technical extravaganzas that have put the Persian Gulf Region in the spotlight over the last decades. In the art world,[2] the region is now well-known for its incomparable buying power to acquire the most famous ancient and contemporary art works, but also for its burgeoning Sharjah Biennial that now attracts high-profile art experts from around the world, as well as a series of stunning museums built recently: the Museum of Islamic Art, in Doha, the Louvre Abu Dhabi, and the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi Museum. In its attempt to establish its reputation as a major centre, both from an economic and a cultural point of view, the Gulf Region seems to know perfectly how to pluck the strings of international recognition. The Burj Khalifa is in fact the brainchild of one of the top US architectural firms – Skidmore, Owings & Merrill – based in Chicago, the birthplace and still the mecca of the skyscraper. Similarly, its museums are built by starchitects – respectively, for the examples mentioned above, I.M. Pei, Jean Nouvel and Frank Gehry – who already enjoy a worldwide reputation for their museum projects. Not to mention, of course, that two of these new museums are in fact subsidiaries of some of the most prestigious museum brands in the world. It seems therefore that in its attempt to elevate itself to the level of other artistic centres, the Gulf Region has chosen to build on the prestige of already well-established actors in the West.

[2] Although it has become a common expression, the term "art world" refers explicitly to a set of theoretical considerations that have contributed to giving the term a specific meaning. These theoretical elements will be discussed further in Chapter 1 to define how I intend to use the expression in this dissertation.

It has often been said that the production of art is in itself a way to elevate oneself. This is probably true. However, the movement upward also has a totally different significance in the art world. Not at all a spiritual elevation, but rather a symbolic elevation of artists, experts and artistic institutions that fight each other to acquire a dominant position in the art world, a position that will make them contributors to the definition of art and the criteria on which it is judged. As my brief example about the rise of the Persian Gulf Region in the art world suggests, this fight is now worldwide. Yet, it is not only regions of the world that compete for artistic influence, but also artists from around the world who meet more frequently and fight for the attention of experts coming from every corner of the world, works of art from different cultural backgrounds that are regularly assembled in heterogeneous ensembles, or artistic institutions that fight to get and keep a place on the world art circuit.

All this triggers two sets of questions on the functioning of artistic power in a global context that I intend to explore in this dissertation. First, a series of questions on the very nature of artistic power as it is exercised today in this global context: What is the nature of this specific form of power? What distinguishes it from other forms of power (political and economic)? But also how is it related to these other forms of power? In this dissertation, I take a firm stand against the often-repeated myth that makes the arts evolve in an idealized autonomous sphere and its corollary that sees artistic judgment as finding its ground solely on artistic qualities and the intrinsic value of the work of art. The stance I am adopting allows a much broader exploration of artistic power as it is situated at the centre of a large web of power relations that conditions the appreciation of art.

As my introductory example suggests, there are specific dynamics that appear in the exercise of artistic power when the question is considered in a global context. Indeed, the recurrence of very famous Western names and brands used in the development of the cultural prestige of the Persian Gulf Region suggests that centuries of cultural domination have not yet vanished and still have a strong influence on the way the art world is structured today. It leads to the second set of questions I intend to address in this dissertation. These questions are more specifically related to the global context that is studied here. What are the specific dynamics that condition the exercise of power in a global context? Or more precisely, how is artistic power exercised when works of art coming from every corner of the planet (with their own cultural references and artistic traditions) meet in a single worldwide competition? What are some of the structures of domination that still exist? What are some of the forces that alter the free play of artistic influence?

These two sets of questions lead to a perspective that is not often adopted in the study of the arts. Indeed, a majority of studies on the visual arts tend to privilege a focus on the interpretation of specific works of art presented in a given context and are less interested in questions related to the structuration of this field. My own perspective focuses on the functioning of power in the global art world. It looks at the very nature of artistic power to consider how it influences judgment-making processes and more generally how it curbs the development of visual arts in a global context.

Scholars (Beck, 2006; Chalaby, 2007) have now established that global dynamics cannot be grasped simply by the comparison of different national contexts but must rather be studied through phenomena happening at the global level. Therefore, this dissertation is

built on three case studies that explore what I call global artistic institutions. These institutions are the Venice Biennale, and more particularly its 55th edition held in 2013; the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL), and more specifically the artistic elements that populate the list; and finally the first three awardings of the Future Generation Art Prize (FGAP), a new biannual art prize rewarding outstanding young artists from around the world. The world of art is made up of a series of competitions in which comparative evaluations of works of art are performed by experts in the name of artistic institutions. All three cases selected in this dissertation set up one of these competitions at the global level, in which, at least theoretically, works of art from every region of the world are invited to compete. The Venice Biennale is constituted by an international exhibition in addition to a myriad of national pavilions in which each country is invited to present an individual exhibition of its artistic representatives. Each edition triggers a very large number of exhibition reviews in which art critics from all regions of the world provide judgments and comments on the artistic proposals presented. The WHL is a repertoire of the most outstanding cultural and natural properties on the planet. Each year, a group of heritage experts work at the different stages of the nomination process to determine which built heritage elements are deemed significant enough to enter this prestigious collection. The Future Generation Art Prize (FGAP) is the recent creation of a Ukrainian billionaire that has set for itself the goal of identifying the most promising young artist in the world. Each second year, an online open call for self-nominations invites all artists under 35 on the planet to submit an application to this competition which is adjudicated each time by an international jury consisting of high-profile art world personalities.

Therefore, this dissertation proposes a veritable journey through the global art world. The three stops in this journey will make the reader encounter, of course, these three institutions, but also different types of power figures that are major characters in this dissertation. The art critic, the heritage expert and the philanthropist will successively occupy the central stage in these three stops. Moreover, a second part will be played in each of these cases by another set of power figures: the artistic director or curator, the bureaucrat and the jury member. If they are not less important in the exercise of artistic power in these global institutions, the limitations of this research have forced me to give them less space than their role would have deserved. This journey will also take the reader to different locations. The trip has already started in the Persian Gulf Region, to which we will return for the second case, since the 2014 meeting of the World Heritage Committee was held in Doha. However, we will spend more time in Kiev where the FGAP is headquartered and holds many of its activities, even though the prize also travels to big centres in the contemporary art world, such as New York and London. However, one location keeps coming back in these cases: Venice. If the whole city looks today more like a gigantic museum, it was at the height of its influence a strange political hybrid and an economic force built on commercial exchange with Asia and North Africa. From a cultural point of view, Venice's situation at the crossroads of so many influences has often been emphasized to explain the cultural vivacity of the city during the *cinquecento*. If Venice was once a leading artistic centre, this reputation is more of a memory now, which is captured in the nomination of the whole city on the WHL as an example of "human creative genius". However, for a week or two every second year, the city returns to its past glory and influence as all contemporary art aficionados and professionals rush to the Serenissima for

the preview week of her world-famous Biennale. On this occasion, the city is also the perfect stage for the young aspiring artists short-listed for the FGAP who hope to be discovered by the global art world. Hence, the main sponsor of the prize is prepared to make every effort to promote its protégés, knowing that this undertaking also contributes to increasing his own prestige in the art milieu. If Venice is, no doubt, one of the centres of classical European culture, it also preserves in a way some of the cosmopolitan essence that created its distinctiveness. In that sense, this location encapsulates one of the key tensions that the dissertation explores: the weight of history when it comes to the functioning of the global art world, but also the influx of newcomers who both challenge and admire the orthodoxy that characterizes this global network.

The core of the dissertation resides in this journey through the global art world. One chapter is dedicated to each of the case studies: Chapter 3 is on the Venice Biennale, Chapter 4 on the World Heritage List and Chapter 5 on the Future Generation Art Prize. Before and after the presentation of these cases, there are efforts to enlarge the perspective of the analysis. The first chapter of the dissertation is dedicated to theoretical considerations in which I propose to reconsider how power functions in the art world and some of the dynamics that emerge in a global context. The second chapter outlines the similar methodology that is used to investigate the three cases and also offers an epistemological reflection for consideration. Finally, the last chapter of the dissertation goes back to the findings of each case to propose a reflection on prestige as a key governance mechanism in the global art world.

Most of the time, theories about art are developed solely in relation to artists who have distinguished themselves from their peers by works of art or artistic practices that

have revolutionized art-making practices. This dissertation offers a counterpoint to these grand theories of art as it proposes a journey through the very particular everyday life of art circles. Along the way, the reader will witness a fight for elevation based on creativity but also fed by devouring aspirations.

CHAPTER 1

Artistic Power and Globalization: A Theoretical Perspective

Before starting our journey through the global art world, some theoretical elements need to be discussed. The purpose of this first chapter is therefore to propose a theoretical framework that will be necessary to analyse the power relations that will be encountered in our three incursions into the global art world. As a first task, this chapter defines the perspective that will be adopted in this dissertation: articulated around the term *governance*, this perspective is grounded in an empirical terrain while relying on an extended theory of power. Hence, the first section reconsiders the exercise of power in the art sector to propose a new understanding that goes beyond the common mythology of powerful figures and institutions often prevalent in this sector. The second section develops a dichotomous model that allows me to operationalize the extended theory of power developed in the previous section. Following these two theoretical sections on power, the third section turns to another keyword of this dissertation: *globalization*. After historical and theoretical considerations, this section situates the three cases in the development of the global art world and provides elements to analyse power relations at play in these international competitions. The chapter concludes with a brief section that outlines some of the most common discourses on cross-cultural encounters in the global art world.

1. Power in the global art world

As the British philosopher Bertrand Russell notoriously said, power is to social sciences what energy is to physics (McLennan, 2005). If the matter is the focal point of so

much social and cultural research, it is because power is at the heart of any human action: it enables, frames and constraints our individual possibilities; it is made of a special blend of our individual capacities, our social position in a given situation, and our economic and symbolic capital at the moment; it is the constant object of negotiation with the individuals surrounding us. This is why so many theoretical models have been developed to understand the nature of this very complex object. Therefore, a study on power in the global art world requires at the outset some considerations on the matter to delineate the perspective from which this study will be conducted. This section starts with a discussion of the concept of governance that I use to situate my work in relation to other perspectives in the field. The remainder of the section is dedicated to developing a theoretical model of power that can help us understand how power is exercised in the art world.

1.1 Governing the art world

In the last decades, the notion of *governance* has emerged in several academic settings as a key concept around which empirical studies of power in various domains (environment, international relations, communications, etc.) have been articulated. With rare exceptions (Schmitt, 2009), the field of arts and culture, though, has remained surprisingly impervious to this theoretical development even if the concept is articulated in relation to objects of study with which the art sector shares several important characteristics. This is probably partially explained by the widespread use of the term *cultural policy* as a general heading for empirical studies that look at how decisions get made in the cultural sector. Cultural policy studies have been conceived, first, almost exclusively in relation to the mechanisms put in place by the state (funding, regulation,

public institutions) to foster cultural development on its territory. In this perspective, the two most studied questions have been for a long time the model of public financial support to the arts and state control over what gets produced by artists on the national territory (Alexander & Rueschemeyer, 2005). However, this narrow conception has been rapidly enlarged to include other kinds of actors (mainly corporations and civil society organizations) that also develop policies that shape the development of arts and culture. Moreover, the term policy itself has been successively enlarged to capture various processes, formal and informal, by which these actors intervene (Raboy & Padovani, 2010), so that several scholars now talk about explicit and implicit cultural policies (Ahearne, 2009). Finally, studies in cultural policies are no longer confined to the narrow art sector and instead tackle topics related to education, religion (O. Bennett, 2009), communication (MacGregor, 2009), etc. In that sense, for Jim McGuigan (1996, p. 1), cultural policy is now about "the politics of culture in its most general sense".

Since its appearance, the term *governance* has often been used interchangeably with the term *policy* (Raboy & Padovani, 2010). Nevertheless, a closer look at some arguments put forth by the proponents of this concept may indicate why it seems a preferable term to lay the ground for an empirical study of power relations in the global art world. Often opposed to the term *government* in order to outline some of its features, governance has acquired a number of meanings dependent on the context in which it is used (Kjaer, 2004). However, the term is always used to capture an extended conception of power and its materialization in different settings. This concept can be seen as operating at three different levels. At the micro level, the term governance is now commonly used to talk about how decisions get made within an organization and the distribution of power among

the different levels of decision-making in the organization. This first layer can be characterized as a managerial understanding of the concept. At the meso level, the concept has been developed to account for the power relations that exist among different stakeholders that collaborate, partner, challenge or confront each other in a given site of struggles (for an application in the cultural sector see Moon, 2001). Thus, this second layer can be understood more as the political dimension of the concept since it attempts to capture the dispersed structure of power, which includes various kinds of actors, each one having its own way to exercise their power. Finally, at the macro level, the concept was developed as a framework to understand the distinctive characteristics of power in a global context. Indeed, in the absence of a single central authority, the conception of power has had to be considerably reworked to capture what is going on at the global level. This third layer does not merely mean that a variety of actors are involved but also that various levels of authority influence each other (national, regional, international, global). It is often emphasized that global governance involves a "multiplicity of networks of interdependent, but operationally autonomous actors, that are involved with different degrees of autonomy and power" (Padovani & Pavan, 2011, p. 544).

Therefore, the concept of governance leads us away from a strict conception of power that remains centred on a state-dominant decision-making system and from an ensemble of studies that are interested mostly, if not exclusively, in the materialization of this particular form of power into programs and regulations. Indeed, the concept of governance broadens the object of study by opening the door to broad analyses of the power relations that characterize a given field. The concept is therefore more appropriate to study other kinds of questions related to unwritten, or even hidden, norms and

standards, preconceptions, general frameworks and patterns of action that strongly structure the field. These elements are also the product of power relations, although they are not the objects of a clearly identifiable negotiation between various stakeholders, as is suggested by the term policy. In that perspective, the concept of governance is close to the broad definition of "cultural regulation" given by Kenneth Thompson when he argues that the term can describe a preoccupation with "the reproduction pattern and order of signifying practices (so that things appear to be 'regular' or 'natural')" (K. Thompson, 1997, p. 3). In fact, in a subsequent text, Thompson (2001) uses the term "cultural governance" without defining it precisely. What preoccupies him in this article is the relation between critical theory and its incarnation in the concept of governance, which is more grounded in empirical research projects.[3]

Furthermore, the emergence of the concept of governance can be seen as the result of the long intellectual discussion that has occurred in the last decades in relation to the terms *policy* and *regulation*. Indeed, as the definitions of these terms have been constantly enlarged to account for the complex social reality that characterizes power relations and steering processes in all fields, the term governance can be seen as a unifying concept. The latter now appears more suitable for studies that attempt to understand how power relations structure a given sector of human activity and how they define the field of possibilities in that sector. Thus, governance is a fruitful concept to conduct a study on power relations in the art world, a world in which non-explicit norms highly condition what

[3] Kenneth Thompson touches here on a long-standing debate on the place of research and academic writing in everyday life and the most appropriate way for intellectuals to make a meaningful intervention. If, for scholars like Tony Bennett (1998), academic work on cultural policy provides an opportunity to intervene in power structures, others like Fredric Jameson reject policy work as having no possible relevance for critical intellectuals, as it would mean abandoning their critical position in the first place. The "policy debate" (O'Regan, 1992), as it is often referred to, finds its roots in an older debate opposing the critical perspective of Theodor Adorno to the so-called "administrative" research of Paul Lazarsfeld.

is expected from an artist, an expert or an institution as well as their real chances to be successful. Moreover, the concept is especially suitable for an inquiry that deals with the global context, where power relations are increasingly decentralized and shared by a multiplicity of actors active at various levels. Governance seems to be a concept capable of accounting for that complexity.

Thus, the term governance will be used in this dissertation to mean the complex process by which norms, standards and rules – both explicit and implicit – are formed in the global art world. These norms, standards and rules are never neutral or stable, even though they are often presented as such. As these norms, standards and rules are established and perpetuated by the action of a large array of actors evolving in a complex web of power relations, the purpose of this inquiry on the governance of the global art world is twofold. On the one hand, it aims at better understanding how the position occupied by an actor allows it to influence the establishment of norms, standards and rules of the art world. On the other hand, it aims at understanding better how this action on norms, standards and rules may, by the same token, affect the strategic position of this actor. As both the set of norms, standards and rules and the strategic position occupied by an actor are susceptible to change over time, each action of this actor is a potential change of position that needs to catch the attention of the analyst. Thus, my analysis of the governance system of the global art world aims at revealing the strategic chessboard on which these actors evolve to better understand who benefits and, conversely, who suffers from these moves.

However, before going further in this binary dynamic at play in the global art world, it is first necessary to discuss the theory of power on which this analysis is based. Indeed, if the concept of governance situates this study on an empirical terrain at the outset,

it nevertheless needs a strong theoretical foundation. As my review of the meanings of the term governance has shown, the use of this concept goes hand in hand with an extended theory of power that rejects simplistic views on the matter.

1.2 Artistic power

In the course of his long engagement with the subject of power, Michel Foucault famously said that we have not yet cut off the king's head in our analysis of power. With this figure of speech, the French philosopher wanted to emphasize that too many analyses of power are still caught in this old conception of power – which he names the "juridical" – that has characterized the way Western societies have been governed for centuries. This conception of power is based on the principle of sovereignty, on which the ruler relies to impose his will on his people. In this perspective, to govern is to force people to obey the ruler's will and the laws that he has decreed (Foucault, 1976).

In the art world, this is, most of the time, the conception of power that still prevails. Indeed, there is a whole mythology about powerful people and institutions in the art world that is constantly reiterated by the numerous articles and rankings on the subject that are published every year in art magazines (Quemin, 2013). These lists and texts try to identify and rate the most influential critics, curators, art dealers or collectors and the most prestigious exhibition venues, the biggest art prizes, or the most influential art magazines that are said to have the power to change the life of an artist. According to this conception of power, these powerful individuals and institutions can make or kill one's career by a simple comment in an article, by a single selection for a major exhibition or even only by the manifestation of their interest in one's work. It is as if today in the art world the crown

would be worn by this small group of powerful people who can impose their views on artistic developments, as they would be the main taste prescribers that dictate what is deemed worthy of interest and what is not. This aristocratic conception has probably been inherited from the long tradition of art patronage that has amalgamated political power and artistic influence, and subsequently from the tradition of beaux-arts academies that were also largely the prolongation of ruling class power in the artistic realm.

Foucault's analysis of the evolution of the way power has been exercised through the ages has allowed him to identify an important shift from this old juridical conception of power to a new one that he names the "disciplinary". Thus, he proposes to redefine power when he writes: "*le pouvoir, ce n'est pas une institution, et ce n'est pas une structure, ce n'est pas une certaine puissance dont certains seraient dotés : c'est le nom qu'on prête à une situation stratégique complexe dans une société donnée*" (Foucault, 1976, p. 123). Therefore, Foucault invites us to break with the simplistic view that concentrates power in the hands of a central authority that can do whatever it wants and rather to adopt a much more complex understanding of the matter.

As Foucault shows, this shift was largely triggered by the emergence, in the classical age, of rationality as the overarching principle in regard to power. A huge part of Foucault's work was dedicated to demonstrating how this rationality served as the foundation of various discourses: rationality imposed on behaviours to draw the line between the erratic and the sane (Foucault, 1972); scientific rationality that imposes an organization of knowledge and becomes a powerful tool for the control of behaviours (Foucault, 1976); and finally the "*raison d'État*" by which rationality came to occupy a central place in the government of populations (Foucault, 2004). To put rationality at the

centre of the exercise of power is also to give knowledge a prominent position since only knowledge can serve as the foundation of this complex form of power which is based on the distinction between the rational and the non-rational. To gain knowledge of a situation is thus automatically to gain power over it. With respect to the state, Foucault coined the term "*gouvernementalité*" to encapsulate this specific form of power that necessitated the development of the government's capacity to acquire knowledge over a whole variety of phenomena in order to be able to control a population and obtain a desired outcome. Indeed, to govern is no longer to force people to obey the rules, but rather to take action on a very large array of factors to prevent problems, to maintain security and peace and to favour prosperity. Therefore, in a disciplinary regime, power is not exercised so much through juridical language, but rather through the establishment of norms, developed through knowledge, by which we distinguish between the normal and the abnormal, between what is acceptable and what is unacceptable, between what should be encouraged and what should be refrained from.

As rationality is now at the centre of the exercise of power, all actors who want to intervene in the structure of power must base their own action on the same principles. Decisions can no longer be backed only by the sovereignty principle but must be explained, and justified, by rational arguments. Thus, any intervention in a decision-making process becomes an attempt to demonstrate that some factors have been neglected, that a certain aspect of the situation is unknown, that the rationale behind a decision is false, etc. When it comes to the art sector, the question is thus how such rationality can take place in a world of tastes and preferences? What kind of rationality can support a public discussion on art?

How can rational arguments be advanced to back decisions? On what basis can a public conversation take place?

Of course, there is no shortage of knowledge about art, far from it. Aesthetics and art history are the fields that immediately come to mind as the main areas that have developed knowledge about art. Indeed, artists and intellectuals working in these fields seem to have developed knowledge and methods that allow them to determine what art is and how its various manifestations can be evaluated and classified through aesthetic judgment. Thus, it can be argued that these fields are the foundation that provides the rationality necessary to any public discussion on art and supports the decision-making processes associated with it. It is on this foundation that some mechanisms have been developed to deal with the attribution of value to certain artistic practices. Peer-assessment is probably one of the most widely spread mechanisms used to decide which artists should receive recognition and support. A decision made by the practitioners involved in the art world is automatically granted a certain level of legitimacy, at least in the art community itself. Nevertheless, aesthetic judgment is also regularly performed by a whole variety of experts in the field (critics, curators, museum directors, etc.). In fact, what Theodor Adorno calls "the ignominious figure of the expert" has become a central character in the administration of the art system. He writes: "No city administration, for example, can decide from which painter it should buy paintings, unless it can rely on people who have a serious, objective and progressive understanding of painting" (Adorno & Bernstein, 2001, p. 128). Aesthetic judgments performed by experts and peer committees are now a key element in the governance of the art world, as these judgments appear to be one of the most powerful justifications of collective artistic choices. However, as this mechanism relies heavily on a

very specific body of knowledge that implies familiarity with the pre-established standards and the training to judge a work accordingly (T. Bennett, 1985), it confines the public discussion on art to a close conversation among specialists from which the general public is often excluded. Any participant in the conversation who cannot claim the credentials that qualify him as a knowledgeable expert in the field is *de facto* relegated to the status of a layperson who can only express his or her personal opinions and tastes. However, as personal opinions have very limited, if any, relevance in a public discussion about art, all those who are not experts in the field are confined to a weak position that excludes them at the outset from every public conversation about the value of art.[4]

This situation tends to situate these experts as the main gatekeepers of the art world. They are the ones who can establish the standards of quality, discriminate between the good and the bad, and eventually trace the path that should be followed in the development of artistic expression. They do this through a series of interventions that produce a discourse on art and therefore control artistic behaviour and development. Examples are numerous in the history of art. Among many others, the American art critic Clement Greenberg may serve as a compelling example: his writings on abstract expressionist artists in New York just after World War II became the theoretical foundation of the new movement, providing it with a strong legitimacy as the most recent vanguard artistic movement. Yet, at the same time, Greenberg established himself as the main gatekeeper of this artistic movement (Marquis, 2006).

[4] This predominance of experts in the art world finds its roots in a long European tradition that makes aesthetic judgment a delicate practice. Thus, widely-read authors like David Hume argued that only a small number of judges are qualified to formulate such judgments. This leads to an often-discussed tension between "a democratic spirit (the desire to make art economically accessible and to place it in the public rather than the private realm) and a class-bound aesthetics" (Lewis & Miller, 2003, p. 175) that reveals the structures of domination that condition judgment on the arts.

We have learned from Foucault that the production of discourse is always a form of control. Therefore, it can be said that the producers of discourse on art are also the holders of a great power over artists and art in general, for they exercise a form of control that can indeed have important consequences on the life and work of an artist. However, to adopt such a position would be to have learned only half of the lesson taught by Foucault. In fact, this position would still be close to a juridical conception of power in which the knowledge developed in aesthetics and art history is reduced to a set of rules, while the discourse produced by powerful individuals and institutions is only a way to force artists to respect those rules.

However, Foucault's writings contain another crucial element for the study of power relations in the art world: the strategic dimension of power. Indeed, for him, there are no "powerful" and "powerless" actors per se, but rather a multiplicity of actors that are all potential agents of power. That is to say, all actors can eventually exercise power under certain circumstances. Knowledge is a key element in the capacity of any actor to exercise power, but it is by no means self-sufficient. In other words, it is not enough to have knowledge in a given field to find oneself automatically in the driver's seat, and no actor has a guarantee that he will be placed in the position to exercise power. Thus, there is always a strategic component to power that forces the producers of discourses to move on the terrain of struggle where they meet and confront each other. Every action or decision made by an actor is a potential strategic displacement on this terrain of struggle that can enhance or, conversely, degrade his capacity to exercise power. Therefore, the analyst must be attentive not only to the discourse itself, but also to the condition in which this discourse is produced as well as the effect of this discourse on the various actors involved.

> *Il ne faut pas imaginer un monde de discours partagé entre le discours reçu et le discours exclu ou entre le discours dominant et celui qui est dominé; mais comme une multiplicité d'éléments discursifs qui peuvent jouer dans des stratégies diverses. C'est cette distribution qu'il faut restituer, avec ce qu'elle comporte de choses dites et de choses cachées, d'énonciations requises et interdites; avec ce qu'elle suppose de variantes et d'effets différents selon qui parle, sa position de pouvoir, le contexte institutionnel où il se trouve placé*. (Foucault, 1976, p. 133)

The mythology surrounding powerful individuals and institutions in the art world is constantly reinforced by an idealized conception of aesthetic judgment that places "artistic quality" or "excellence" in artistic practice at its heart. This means that these elements are considered the most important ones, if not the only ones, that should enter into the formulation of such a judgment. In fact, it has become customary for active members of the art world to sarcastically talk about other factors that influence artistic choices, especially when they involve individuals who are perceived to be outside of the art world's inner circles. Sarah Thornton (2008, pp. 238-241) provides a clear example of that when she reports on a conversation she had about the selection of artists for national pavilions at the Venice Biennale. The politics that enter into this process, as well as the intervention of functionaries representing the sponsoring agencies, generate a great level of cynicism among art world insiders. Furthermore, such an idealized conception of aesthetic judgment neglects to consider two interrelated elements that complicate significantly the exercise of artistic power. First, it presupposes the stability of a set of artistic standards that would be shared by the majority of art world insiders and largely ignored by those excluded from these close circles. It implies an alleged general consensus among experts involved in the judgment on these overarching criteria of artistic quality. It treats artistic quality as a mysterious and invariable essence that could be recognized by the educated eye, regardless

of the circumstances in which the artistic artefact was produced or the circumstances in which the judgment took place. Therefore, it obscures the constant conflict over the definition of these standards of artistic quality, which is particularly exacerbated in a global context. Second, the idealized conception of aesthetic judgment also presupposes the stability of the legitimacy of experts and institutions involved in the production of discourse on art, as if this position could never vary over time or would never be contested by other actors. It puts influential individuals and institutions in a permanent powerful position vis-à-vis the powerless, who are merely the objects of this judgment. Therefore, it obscures the fact that any powerful actor in the art world must fight to keep its reputation and prestige, which ensures its relevance and influence in the milieu and ultimately secures its powerful position in the art world. Every judgment issued by an influential actor is a potential confirmation of its visionary comprehension of art evolution or, conversely, a demonstration of how it has lost touch with the art milieu. Influential global artistic institutions, like those that are the main object of study of this dissertation, always have to fight to gain and keep their artistic prestige, as it is the very source of their symbolic grip on the art world.

In sum, I argue in this dissertation that the static conception of artistic power that generally prevails in the art sector must be replaced by a dynamic conception that can account for the constant movement of both criteria and actors on the strategic chessboard that is the global art world. Therefore, the central question that this dissertation investigates considers not only how aesthetic judgment is performed, but also the conditions in which this judgment is made – in other words, what constitutes the nature of power in the art world. Following Foucault's advice, it attempts to reconstitute, for each

case, the web of power relations that is woven around each of these powerful institutions expressing an artistic appreciation of works coming from all over the world.

The next section will explore further this dichotomous model that links the expression of aesthetic judgment to the position occupied by the issuer of the judgment. Before that, as a conclusion to this first section I outline some brief considerations on the nature of expertise in the art world, which is at the very heart of these judgments.

1.3 The nature of artistic expertise

Traditionally, professions have been socially constructed in relation to a certain knowledge over which a group of individuals, recognized as professionals in the field, claims exclusive control. The classic examples of that conception are in medicine and law, where the title attached to the profession is restricted only to a small group of people who have demonstrated their command of an area of expertise (Evetts, Mieg, & Felt, 2006). In the arts, expertise plays a central prescriptive role, as was discussed in the previous sections. Thus, the "art connoisseur" has been the authoritative voice in this sector for centuries, forming an artistic elite that has imposed itself as the only group capable of defining what constitutes good taste in the arts and eventually what is high culture (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013, pp. 195-196). Based on this tradition, a series of professional activities – exhibition curators, art critics, collection managers, art dealers, conservators, etc. – has developed to study, exhibit and preserve more rigorously selected elements of high culture. However, the identification of expertise in the art sector has always remained somewhat controversial. A number of the usual markers of expertise (certification, knowledge tests, or specific experience) can certainly be applied to the art sector. Therefore, a graduate from an

established art history or museology program gains some credibility just as a long experience as curator, critic or evaluation expert also contributes to establishing expertise credentials. Similarly, the affiliation with a recognized institution (university, museum, auction house) may serve as a strong marker of one's expertise. However, expertise in the art sector is not as chartered as it is in other sectors. No diploma or experience is a strict requisite to be recognized as a professional in the field and consensus on these main markers of expertise is often very difficult to achieve. Consequently, contestations of the legitimacy of true expertise are also frequent, so that the very definition of this expertise remains largely contentious and debatable (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013, pp. 200-201).

To address the situation, the most common mechanism to establish expertise in the art sector remains recognition by peers. That is to say that the status of expert is strongly linked to the reputation that a professional can build up through a series of successful experiences. There is a form of instability in the accession to the status of expert, since there are no clearly established standards to meet or any guarantee that the accumulation of experience will gain someone this professional status. Thus, for example, any young person wishing to acquire a professional status in the art world needs to distinguish himself in a way that will gain him the appropriate reputation to be recognized by those who are already acknowledged as experts in the field. Moreover, the status of expert is not necessarily permanent: active professionals have continually to reaffirm their own place within this professional sector and ideally grow their prestige throughout their careers, in order to keep gaining influence to become themselves gatekeepers of their professional circle.

Thus, the mechanism by which professional recognition is granted naturally favours a form of homogenization of expertise, since to be admitted into this close circle the candidate has to demonstrate to a group of influential individuals her command of a certain body of knowledge. More than that, the successful aspiring expert usually demonstrates that she shares a certain vision of what art is or should be, together with her own capacity to make it evolve in the right direction through her curating or writing practice. In short, that is to say that her sense of judgment is right. Therefore, it can be said that the established experts form an epistemic community: what Raj Isar (2011) calls "a community of believers" and Raymonde Moulin (2003), an "oligopoly of knowledge".

In Pierre Bourdieu's terms, it can be concluded that to be accepted as a legitimate professional in the field of art is primarily to demonstrate that one has acquired the habitus of the field. Indeed, for Bourdieu, the habitus is what makes human beings evolve "naturally" in a given field (a learned natural), without questioning the very basic assumptions of such behaviours. He writes about this notion: "*système acquis de schèmes générateurs, l'habitus rend possible la production libre de toutes les pensées, toutes les perceptions et toutes les actions inscrites dans les limites inhérentes aux conditions particulières de sa production, et de celles-là seulement*" (Bourdieu, 1980). In the field of art, this habitus is made up of the knowledge of a series of canons, the specific periodicity generally acknowledged in the dominant history of art, the major artistic movements that have traversed the art world in the last centuries, what makes innovation in this art world, etc. In this perspective, a diploma from an art school or a recognized experience is only a form of institutionalized cultural capital that confirms that one has acquired this necessary habitus. Nevertheless, the primary marker of one's expertise in the art world is always the

incorporated cultural capital that takes the form of the habitus, which settles into the experts' mind to colour the way they look at the art field.

2. Between knowledge and reputation

This second section proposes to go further in the extended theory of power in the art world that I have started to build in the first section. Here, I will develop in more detail a dichotomous model that was only suggested up until now. As stated earlier, I argue in this dissertation that power in the global art world is made up not only of a body of knowledge that allows actors in the field to articulate discourses on works of art, but also of a strategic component that determines the capacity of these actors to be influential in the development of art. These two elements give to this section its structure. First, it looks at how a certain body of knowledge – mainly aesthetics and art history – still constitutes one of the foundations of artistic power, albeit contested. Second, it turns to the notion of reputation as an inseparable element of the exercise of power in the global art world.

2.1 Aesthetics in the art world

Even though art has been the subject of writing for centuries, modern knowledge about art was largely constituted during the XIXth century and the first half of the XXth century. First labelled "aesthetics" by Alexander Baumgarten in 1735 (Guyer, 2008), the branch of philosophy dedicated to art really took off at the end of the XVIIIth century, notably under the influence of Immanuel Kant. Philosophical knowledge about art is mainly preoccupied with three interrelated issues: the definition of art, the nature of the aesthetic experience and the possibility of formulating an aesthetic judgment. In parallel, the XIXth

century also witnessed the emergence of a historical knowledge about art and architecture, which coincides with the emergence of the cultural practice of the "Grand Tour", an unavoidable step of any "educated" young man from the ruling class. This bourgeois education necessitated the development of a body of knowledge to identify the most significant realizations of European art in order to construct a coherent narrative of the evolution of artistic forms. Accordingly, the period also witnessed the emergence of a preoccupation for the presentation and restoration of landmark works of art and architecture. From this connoisseurship emerged a body of knowledge that was institutionalized as the "official" art history as the first chairs dedicated to the new discipline were created in European universities (Bazin, 1986; Therrien, 1998).

In this way, knowledge about art is no different than other social sciences that were constituted as academic disciplines throughout the XIXth century. Hayden White (2010) suggests that several of the social sciences that emerged in this period were designed to deal with fears and anxieties provoked by modern society. Sociology provided the answer to the concerns arising from industrialization and urbanization; psychology responded to the destabilization of the notion of the self in such an environment; and anthropology was charged with easing the malaise that colonization had brought to Europe. Knowledge about art can be situated in the same vein as it was also used to situate the European elite in an exceptional category vis-à-vis the working class as well as vis-à-vis foreign populations. Indeed, all this knowledge on art contributed largely to establishing European art produced for Europe's ruling class as the "universal" standard by excluding from the field other cultural practices. First accounts of art history were commonly titled "universal art history" whereas in fact they were mainly providing a narrative of the evolution of European art,

with some rare incursions outside this territory (to Egypt or present-day Turkey) only to find the roots of the great European tradition. Similarly, as the following paragraphs will recall, aesthetics built theories favouring the establishment of European elite artistic practice as the standard by which everything else had to be judged. Therefore, the constitution of modern artistic knowledge deliberately traced a narrow perimeter to circumscribe its object, from which symbolic expressions produced on other continents or in lower classes of European societies were excluded. The "high art" – as it was labelled for a long time – that resulted from this disciplinary decoupage was during all the modern period the only legitimate object of discourse about art, which has, no doubt, enduringly coloured the way artistic knowledge is envisioned, even today.

The work of Immanuel Kant was seminal in this endeavour. Indeed, with the publication of his *Critique of Judgment* (1985) in 1790, the German philosopher examines the apparent paradox that represents aesthetic judgment as a subjective judgment that, at the same time, claims the universality of its validity. Based on the principle of "disinterestedness", by which he means that aesthetic pleasure does not come from the satisfaction of personal interest, Kant's reasoning distinguishes between a mere individual judgment on what is agreeable from the judgment of beauty. For Kant, the judgment of the agreeable occurs when an object arouses a desire in someone. Therefore, to state a preference for an object is only to manifest this desire and the pleasure of the agreeable. By contrast, proclaiming that an object is beautiful is not the result of such a desire in Kant's opinion, but rather the association of this object with the category of beauty. Thus, Kant maintains that an aesthetic judgment can claim universal validity as it simply expresses the connection between a particular object and the criteria of beauty. Even though this

reasoning presupposes a general consensus on beauty, Kant argues that aesthetic judgment is always reflective, that is to say, judgment made only on the particular in the absence of a given universal.[5]

The universal validity of the aesthetic judgment has been abandoned for a while now, and beauty has been erased from the definition of art at least since Marcel Duchamp's first readymade. Nevertheless, Kant's vision has left an enduring heritage on the governance of the art world. Indeed, one can find in Kant's writing the origin of a key distinction between two types of judgments: the personal judgment that simply expresses someone's preference and the informed judgment of an expert or a connoisseur. As the mere expression of a personal opinion, the former has no relevance in a public discussion about the value of a work of art, even when this personal opinion is formulated by a knowledgeable person. Only the second type of judgment is legitimate in the framework of a public discussion on the value of art; and this is why experts regularly insist on that difference, only to reinforce the legitimacy of their expert opinion, which is not to be confused with their personal preferences. Experts may even report conflicting views between their personal tastes and their expert opinion on a particular piece or artistic practice. The distinction between the two types of judgment has also become a powerful justification strategy for the prominence of experts in the field, as it automatically situates the informed judgment above the personal judgment.

[5] In Kant's system, a judgment is either "determining" or "reflective". The first term is used to characterize a judgment aimed at determining if a particular belongs to a specific category that is already given. The second type of judgment, on the other hand, occurs when only a particular is given and we have to find a suitable category for this particular. Aesthetic judgment is always a reflective judgment for Kant (Ginsborg, 2014; Wenzel, 2005).

However, the abandonment of universality as one of its key characteristics and beauty as its main object has not meant the end of aesthetic judgment. The criteria used in aesthetic judgments have been at the heart of many debates since the refusal of traditional standards seemed to have jeopardized the very possibility of making such judgments. Many commentators have talked about the "crisis of contemporary art"[6] to argue that, in the absence of established criteria valid in all situations, the art world has become a messy place in which it is impossible to have an informed discussion about the value of art. The art world would be simply a world of generalized relativism where everything is equally valid and valued. However, theoretical discussions of the late XXth century have led to a new framework for aesthetic judgment that is often qualified by postmodern aesthetics.[7] If judgment is possible in this framework, any claim to universality is now definitely abandoned. However, before developing further the question of criteria, I need to discuss first an element that came out of this theoretical elaboration of this postmodern aesthetic: the art world.

In a now famous article in the 1960s, Arthur Danto was the first to introduce the notion of "artworld" in relation to the definition of art. Struck by Andy Warhol's Brillo boxes, Danto argues that "to see something as art requires something the eye cannot decry – an atmosphere of artistic theory, a knowledge of the history of art: an artworld" (1964, p.

[6] The alleged absence of aesthetic criteria coupled with a series of famous scandals involving contemporary art pieces and performances led to a public debate questioning the value of contemporary art and the place that it should take in society. This debate is often referred to as the "crisis of contemporary art". Philosophical (Michaud, 1997) and sociological (Heinich, 1998) accounts have analysed the crisis, revealing how the contemporary art world functions.

[7] By the term postmodern aesthetics, I mean here a body of philosophical theories that have emerged in the second half of the XXth century to rethink the aesthetic experience. These theories differ from the modern aesthetic on one central feature. Whereas most of the modern aesthetics theories make standards a key component of any aesthetic judgment, postmodern aesthetic theories rather question the very possibility of such a judgment in the absence of objective criteria valid in all situations (Guyer, 2008).

580). This text opened a whole new terrain for aesthetic theory as the value of the work of art is no longer to be found in the intrinsic characteristics of the object but in an ensemble of theoretical and social elements that enable the interpretation of the meaning of the piece. For Danto, the *artworld* is constituted of the ensemble of theories and thoughts on which artworks are developed, but also the sum of all artworks produced in the history of art, so that any new production acquires a certain meaning (Danto, 2013). Thus, Danto's conception proposes to see the *artworld* merely as an intellectual construct in which the interpretation of contemporary art is grounded. However, the notion was developed in alternative directions in the following years. Even though it provoked some conflicts between the two philosophers, George Dickie took up Danto's notion to develop his own institutional aesthetic theory. According to Dickie, the art world is in fact a social institution that has the power to confer on some objects the status of art. For him, the art world functions in a similar fashion to other established social institutions that can confer status on objects, humans and territories. His examples are the marital status conferred on two people by the state or the church or the status of national park conferred on a portion of land by the state (Dickie, 1974). In art, his main example is Marcel Duchamp's readymade, to which the status of work of art is conferred on an everyday object by its exhibition in an artistic setting and its acceptance as such by art professionals. So, for Dickie, the art world is not the sum of intellectual considerations that make an object a work of art as it is for Danto, but rather a social network of actors and institutions that have the power to decree what art is. In that sense, Dickie's conception is close to the notion of art worlds (in the plural this time) developed from a sociological point of view by Howard Becker. He defines his notion as follows:

> Art worlds consist of all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art. Members of art worlds coordinate the activities by which work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artefacts. The same people often cooperate repeatedly, even routinely, in similar ways to produce similar works, so that we can think of an art world as an established network of cooperative links among participants. (Becker, 2008, pp. 34-35)

The network described by Becker extends well beyond the artists, and even beyond the creators understood in a broad sense, to include the technicians, the bureaucrats, the critics, the art teachers, the cultural managers, etc., indeed every person involved in the production and presentation of the work of art. If Becker's notion is definitely focused more on the sociological aspect of art production, it seems to have benefited from both Danto's and Dickie's. One important aspect of Becker's model is the set of conventions and common language that are developed in every art world in order to make co-operation among its members possible, but also to distinguish it from other art worlds. These conventions represent what each community expects from a work of art, and consequently become a set of rules vis-à-vis which an artist must situate his production. He might choose to play by the rules or, on the contrary, contest them and make a provocation in regard to these standards, but in either case the rules are never ignored.

The term "art world" has been largely adopted now by the people who self-identify as being a part of this world. The meaning of the expression is not always clear, but it seems generally accepted that it designates a broad network of individuals, who dedicate their professional lives to the arts in various capacities (in the sense of Becker) and the main institutions that have as their first mandate the production and presentation of the art work but also its communication and promotion and ultimately its preservation. What is less

widely acknowledged in this popular use of the term is that the cement of such a network is an ensemble of common conceptions of what art is and what excellence in the discipline is. Yet, the individuals and institutions that compose the art world produce a large number of discourses on art, for which they rely heavily on a set of conceptions and standards. So, in the framework of this dissertation, the term art world designates both the social network and the set of conceptions that it carries for these actors, which are constantly reinforced, but also potentially slightly modified by new iterations of this discourse. The art world, understood in this sense, is therefore one of the main preoccupations of this dissertation. Art world practitioners generally use the term in the singular even though it is also generally accepted that the concept can be fragmented to account for regional or local realities. Thus, the reference to THE art world is always understood in relation to the context in which it is used. Therefore, it often refers to the local art scene or the national art context when used by a local journalist, but it may also refer to the "global" art world when used in relation to a global art event in which works of art from different parts of the world are put together and where influential actors from several art centres meet. This loosely defined global art world has no fixed boundaries or established membership, although those who feel a part of it or those who would like to be considered a part of it commonly use the term. Some of the questions posited by this characteristic of globality will be explored further in section 3, but before that I need to go back to aesthetic considerations in order to finish my exploration of the functioning of power in the art world.

One of the key questions for postmodern aesthetics is the question of aesthetic criteria in art worlds: are there any common criteria in a given art world? If so what are they? And how can they serve as a common base to establish judgment and to support a

dialogue within the art world? Post-Wittgenstein scholars of aesthetics, with which both Arthur Danto and George Dickie self-identify, seem to have reached a consensus on the issue. Although the question remains commonly debated among art world practitioners (Bernier, 2007; Elkins & Newman, 2008), this body of theories provides the necessary background for a study on power relations in the art world. The aesthetic theory developed by French philosopher Yves Michaud – also associated with post-Wittgenstein aesthetics – is a compelling example of how the question of aesthetic criteria can be thought in relation to the current state of the art. For him, today's art worlds can only be thought in the plural, in what he calls "postmodern diversity". He writes: "*C'est ici aussi qu'on retrouve le ou les mondes de l'art, ces communautés de taille et de durée si diverses au sein desquels s'élaborent les normes : normes de la pratique artistique d'un côté, normes du jugement esthétique de l'autre*" (Michaud, 1999, pp. 44-45). Nevertheless, this plurality of art worlds does not necessarily lead to a flat world in which everything is equal or where there are no criteria on which an aesthetic judgment can be based. In fact, for Michaud, aesthetic criteria do exist; they are even the basis of any communication on the sensory experience. However, these criteria are not stable and immutable; they are always local, particular and relative. Michaud proposes seeing them as language games in the Wittgensteinian sense. Therefore, he defines criteria simply as specifications, which individuals or groups agree upon in order to make a judgment on the status or value of something. The invention and elaboration of these criteria happen through interactions during which new rules are tried, and eventually accepted or refused. When these rules are adopted and stabilized, they are simply applied. The possibility of making refined judgments extends, amplifies and becomes more complex as the language games develop. These criteria eventually become the justification for such

judgments. This means, of course, that the aesthetic value of an object is not absolute, just like the criteria that justify it, but only valid within the framework of a given community of evaluation. It is through these aesthetic language games that Michaud proposes to understand the diversity of works of art and aesthetic experiences. He argues that his theory complements the sociological theory of art worlds, writing, "*les concepts de jeux de langage et de critères rendent compte du fonctionnement du discours esthétique alors que les facteurs sociaux rendent compte, eux, de la contingence des différents discours et de leur pluralité*" (Michaud, 1999, pp. 79-80)

There are two fundamental questions that such an understanding of aesthetic criteria immediately triggers. The first is the question of authority. If there are no universal aesthetic criteria that are true in any circumstances and immutable over time, then who has the power to forge new criteria? What are the social configurations in which an actor acquires the power to define criteria or make them evolve? On what basis does this authority rely? As is suggested by John Street (2000), the end of these overarching aesthetic criteria brings a whole new set of questions: from an aesthetic debate that focuses on the intrinsic quality of a work in regard to these pre-established criteria to a political debate that focuses on the terrain of struggles on which various actors adopt various strategies to position themselves and their views on what art should be. The second question is the question of the relation between the art produced in various regions of the world and the possible encounter between a multiplicity of different local "art worlds". What happens when works of art deemed excellent by their local art world meet on the global scene to be submitted to a comparative judgment? What are the possible bridges between these communities of judgment? Or is there only one worldwide community that would be

established as the prominent "global" community? What are the domination structures that exist in this global art world? These questions are posed only theoretically by a philosopher like Yves Michaud (1999, p. 90), as they are outside the perimeter of conceptual analysis and necessitate a plunge into empirical studies. The next two sections will detail the theoretical elements that I intend to use to explore this set of questions in my empirical study of worldwide artistic competitions.

2.2 Reputation in the art world

The question of reputation has been widely studied in the art sector, but almost exclusively in relation to the trajectory of artists at the expense of other art world actors that are nevertheless generally keen to cultivate their own reputation. In his exhaustive account on the topic, Pierre-Michel Menger (2009) develops a theoretical model to understand how the reputation of an artist grows over time and how considerable differences in the success of various artists are explainable. If the popular discourse on art generally holds that talent is the only factor that explains the exceptional success of an artist, Menger instead starts from the hypothesis that differences in talent or aptitudes are negligible or indeterminate at the beginning of an artistic career. His demonstration relies on the work of Robert Merton, who developed the model of cumulative advantages to analyse social inequities as the product of the increasing divergence between two individuals in their career trajectory. Adapting this model to the arts, Menger argues that comparable artists are in a situation of quasi-equality at the beginning of their career, but soon a minimal advantage over the competition appears for one of them (a particular aptitude, an opportunity to work with a recognized artist, a highly visible artistic project,

etc.). This first advantage might be due to coincidences or be accidental, but it provides this artist with other opportunities that will eventually lead to greater advantages, and so on. It is through this mechanism that the gap widens with his peers and this artist has access to more possibilities and advantages. To this model, Menger adds the provision that because the art sector is characterized by an organization around projects, there is a phenomenon of selective matching (*appariements sélectifs*) in the encounter between various actors in various artistic projects. According to Menger, selective matching has a multiplier effect on the career of an artist, so that those who reach a certain level work only with collaborators who stand out in their own professional activity, which, of course, increases the likelihood of success.

> *Les mondes artistiques associent à des architectures organisationnelles labiles (réseau, projet, désintégration verticale) une structuration des équipes par association entre professionnels de qualité ou de réputation équivalente […] La dynamique de la carrière réussie équivaut à un mouvement de mobilité ascendante au sein d'un monde stratifié de réseaux d'interconnaissance et de collaboration récurrente.* (Menger, 2009, p. 521)

Menger suggests only in passing that parts of this model could be applied to the judges of artistic competitions and does not explore this idea further. Nevertheless, as this dissertation will demonstrate, reputation is a key factor in the trajectory of experts active in the global art world. In this case, it is not their talent that the common discourse holds as the factor of their success, but their eye. Indeed, this organ is the mystifying symbol of the capacities of an expert to see something that the layperson is incapable of seeing and to organize visual elements in a creative way. This is exactly what Montreal gallery owner René Blouin describes in an article intended to present his successor to the Montreal visual arts milieu. Presenting what happened as a veritable artistic love at first sight, he says, "*C'est quand j'ai vu son œil. Elle fait des accrochages qui sont mieux que les miens, et*

j'accroche pas comme un pied. On regarde des dossiers sans se parler et on sort la même oeuvre, exactement!" (quoted in Charron, 2013) Yet, Menger's model rather suggests that the career of an expert is made up of a series of opportunities – like the meeting with a senior gallery owner who decides to take a young expert under his wing – that lead to the development of an enviable reputation. What is more, the reputation of an expert is always strongly linked to the reputation of the artists with whom he or she works. The example of the gallery owner is here obvious, since his reputation is inseparable from the reputation of the artists he represents. But this logic is true for all types of experts: the curator grows his reputation by assembling a strong roster of artists for a temporary exhibition, just like the art critic gains visibility by writing on popular works, etc. Menger sneaks in another element that is important to thinking through this articulation between the reputation of the artist and the experts. He explains that with highly specialized art forms – classical music and contemporary art are his examples – it is almost impossible for the layperson to evaluate the different level of artistic quality in a group of top artists. Therefore, it is not so much these differences in quality that matter in the development of an artistic career, but rather the dissemination of expert opinions that can confirm excellence and hence contribute to the development of an artist's reputation.

If the reputation of the expert is strongly linked to the reputation of the artist, it is also intrinsically related to the reputation of the artistic institutions that hire him to provide artistic evaluations. Since artistic excellence is only discernible by those who possess this sophisticated knowledge and these judging capacities, the artistic institution itself must rely on experts to ensure the level of artistic quality on which its reputation is built. In all three examples that are studied in this dissertation, people in charge of the global artistic

institutions are not experts in the field. This is why each of them appeals to experts to maintain their artistic credibility and prestige. Raymonde Moulin (2003) has identified two different functions of the expert in relation of to the artistic institution. In the case of historical art (*œuvres classées*), she maintains that the main function of expertise is to guarantee the authenticity and the proper attribution of these pieces, whereas in the realm of contemporary art the role of the expert is rather to validate artistic propositions as legitimate, but also to highlight a selection of works deemed particularly important. In both cases, Moulin argues that expertise in art is a reducer of uncertainty (*réducteur d'incertitude*), and decision-takers have no option but to put a blind faith in their judgment about the value of the work they are about to promote.

In sum, I argue in this dissertation that the reputation of the artist, the expert and the artistic institution are strongly bound together. More than that, they are actually co-constituted as the reputation of one of these actors is only possible by and with the development of the reputation of the others. The last chapter of the dissertation elaborates further on this aspect. Moreover, I also argue in the last chapter of this dissertation that the prestige that is built through reputation is a key component of the architecture of power in the global art world. In fact, it is indeed the prestige of an actor that determines the degree of penetration of his artistic views in the global art world. As such, prestige can be thought as a key mechanism of governance of the global art world, as the last chapter of this dissertation will demonstrate.

However, if Menger's model of cumulative advantages and selective matching can help us understand the articulation between the artist, the expert and the artistic institution in the development of their respective reputations and their influence in the global art

world, the model presents a major difficulty for its application in a global context. Indeed, one of the premises of this model is a quasi-equality of chances among artists who compete with one another. In the cases at hand, where the competitions are international, such a premise cannot be adopted since artists and works of art that enter the competition are already highly charged by their national origins. National or regional affiliations continue to carry their share of prejudices, clichés and historical weight, not to mention the wide disproportion that characterizes the conditions in which art is produced in the various regions of the world. Thus, the remainder of this chapter will highlight some of the key elements that need to be taken into account in this global context.

3. Globalization and the art world

The historical origins of globalization are the object of an on-going debate in academic circles. Several hypotheses have been proposed. For some the establishment of the first trade routes with the first journey of Marco Polo or the politico-commercial expeditions that led to the discovery of America by Europeans are the early steps of globalization. For others it is rather the establishment of large-scale domination systems, namely the European imperialist endeavour or the rise of capitalism, that are at the root causes of the phenomenon. Furthermore, the development of an always more sophisticated communication technology is often cited as a key factor in the emergence of globalization, as it has favoured the spreading of ideas and images throughout the world. Without denying the influence these various historical elements that have probably all converged to make globalization one of the key historical markers of our time, this dissertation concentrates on the contemporary phenomenon of globalization, which has no equivalent in history in

terms of its extensity, its intensity, and its velocity (Hopper, 2007). Thus, I will use the term to refer to the major transformations (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999; Sassen, 2006) of the late XXth century that have profoundly changed our perception of the world. In accord with scholars working on the phenomenon, I consider globalization a series of multidimensional transformations that has encompassed overlapping processes and interrelated phenomena. Thus, Arjun Appadurai (1996) developed a famous theoretical model that itemizes 5 crucial dimensions of the phenomenon whereby he captures the flows of various elements across borders: people, money, technology, media content and ideas. These flows have created a state of permanent connectivity and interdependence of populations around the globe that is summed up in the expression the "shrinking of time and space". Nevertheless, globalization was first theorized in relation to an economic reality and remains largely associated with the rise of a global economy (Beck, 2006; Ong, 2006). In fact, several scholars have argued that this neoliberal order has profoundly reconfigured the exercise of power on the planet, and that it goes well beyond the economic realm to transform the way power relations are envisioned in all spheres of human activities. In the political realm, this new ideology has deeply impacted the social contract between the liberal state and its citizens (Sassen, 2006), but it has also championed a form of political optimization that deeply modifies the organization of the state (Ong, 2006). Furthermore, these changes are not only visible at the level of the nation-state, but also in the growing governance system that is developing at the global level (Hale & Held, 2011).

However, globalization is not only an economic or political matter, it is also a cultural matter, which brings up the issue of the coexistence of multiple cultures in a single space (Wolton, 2003). Indeed, as Stuart Hall rightly remarked in an interview: "There are

practically no serious, well-established forms of culture in the modern world that are self-sufficient and autonomous, out of touch or out of communication with what is going on elsewhere" (Hall, Morley, & Chen, 1996, p. 399). This state of permanent contact with others has aroused the fear that globalization might be a threat to the diversity of human experience, since it seems to erode cultural identity and diminish cultural distinctiveness around the world (Anheier & Isar, 2007). According to Gerard Delanty (2012), the plethora of writings on this phenomenon can be boiled down to three dominant positions commonly adopted by scholars. The first holds that, with globalization, the world is engaged in a process of homogenization. This position includes the thesis developed by Francis Fukuyama (1992), which proclaimed the end of history triggered by the victory of liberal democracy, but also theories on the growing importance of the "world culture" that harms national and local cultures. The second position adopts the opposite view, arguing that the world is following a path of polarization that will eventually lead to what Samuel Huntington (1996) has called the "clash of civilizations". These two positions could be considered as what Benjamin Barber describes as "a sterile cultural monism (McWorld) and a raging cultural fundamentalism (Jihad)" (1995, p. XIII). As Barber suggests both of these positions are problematic as they shrink public space and annihilate any possibility of a shared public conversation. Hence, the third position refuses both the convergence and divergence processes, for they presuppose that it is possible to ascribe a definite and permanent border to cultures. The third position maintains instead that cultures constantly hybridize in contact with each other and, as such, give birth to new shapes, new ideas and new ways of life. However, all these theories are strongly linked to the geopolitical situation of the 1990s and the rise of the neoliberal economy as a key factor of globalization.

Therefore, Delanty suggests that cosmopolitanism, which he defines as the "creative interaction of cultures and the exploration of shared worlds" (Delanty, 2012, p. 6), might be more adapted to the study of the cultural phenomenon happening in our connected world. According to him, the notion suggests a critique of globalization. He writes: "the world may be becoming more and more globally linked by powerful global forces, but this does not make the world more cosmopolitan" (Delanty, 2012, p. 2). The implication of such a position for this project will be explored further in the last section of this chapter.

The world of art has definitely not been impervious to the groundswell of globalization, and there is now a vast literature on the subject (Belting & Buddensieg, 2009; Bennigsen, Gludowacz, & Hagen, 2009; Bydler, 2004; Philipsen, 2010). This literature mostly describes a wider and faster circulation of contemporary art around the globe, with the emergence of new biennials and contemporary art museums in every corner of the world. If the three positions described by Delanty can be found in this literature, this is often a very polarized literature that either celebrates this new global character of contemporary art or conversely denounces the emergence of a totalizing art world that covers the whole surface of the planet. In addition to a few epistemological essays that attempt to differentiate between various keywords – global art, world art, contemporary art, modern art, ethnic art – one can find in this literature a large number of catalogues and monographs (Magnin, Boutté, & Paumelle, 2005; Chiu & Genocchio, 2011; Eigner, Caussé, & Masters, 2015) that present the current state of artistic creation of a particular region (Africa, Asia, Arab Region, etc.) and argue for its legitimate place in the international contemporary art movement (Belting & Buddensieg, 2009), as well as a series of profiles of influential actors and institutions (Bennigsen et al., 2009) that constitute a sort of who's

who in the global art scene, but also contribute to the mythology of powerful people in the art world that I evoked at the beginning of this chapter. My own perspective on the phenomenon focuses on the functioning of power in this global art world, a matter that remains surprisingly under-explored and under-theorized. With this study, I hope to make a contribution to the study of the governance system that spearheads the global art world that has been widely described until now. A fully developed theory of power in the global art world is, of course, beyond the reach of the present work. This is why I have chosen to concentrate on in-depth analyses of three global artistic institutions, which represent three different segments of this global art world (Chapter 2 elaborates further on that) in the hope that these analyses will inform our understanding of artistic power on the planet.

3.1 History of the global art world

Just as the origins of globalization have triggered a debate in academic circles, the birth of the global art world is not clearly defined. The world of art has its own history of globalization. The old figure of the travelling artist, both as an ambassador representing his country and as an adventurer keen to enrich his own practice from influences encountered abroad immediately comes to mind (Bellavance, 2000). Cross-cultural contacts in the art world are also undeniably scarred by centuries of exoticism and colonial relationships. However, the acceleration that characterizes the current movements of globalization as a whole has been echoed in the art world recently: if the creation of the first international art events dates back to the end of the XIXth century – the Venice Biennale was one of the first of them – the last decades have witnessed a proliferation of international events and venues that now form a world art circuit on which the most influential actors circulate, meet and

constantly stay in touch with what is going on in several art centres on the planet. Some exhibitions are therefore remembered as turning points in the shaping of this global art scene. As an example, one can mention the legendary *Documenta 5*, curated by Harald Szeemann in 1972, which literally created the genre of the controversial large-scale contemporary art exhibition, a model replicated by numerous biennials that were created subsequently, or the famous *Magiciens de la terre*, presented in 1989 at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, which is often said to be one of the first postcolonial exhibitions. These famous shows are landmark exhibitions in the evolution of the globalization of the art world that have durably changed exhibition and curatorial practices. Some academic works are now dedicated to telling this history of art exhibition practices (Altshuler, 2013) that partially explain the current shape of the global art world. Moreover, these exhibition practices are also regularly accompanied by more theoretical efforts that attempt to account for these new realities that are represented in exhibition spaces.[8]

Without claiming to tell the whole story of the globalization of the art world, this dissertation integrates a narrative of the evolution of the phenomenon, which can be read through the succession of the three cases presented here. The first section of each chapter dedicated to these cases (Chapters 3, 4 and 5) explains at length the historical context in which these global institutions were born and how they have responded to contextual changes throughout their histories. Nevertheless, a few words about each of them is useful here to understand how each of these contexts offers a glimpse of one of the phases of this process of globalization of the art world. Born at the end of the XIXth century, the Venice Biennale is among the first permanent artistic institutions created in a regime of

[8] Lotte Philipsen (2010), for example, analyses the emergence of the "new internationalism" in art circles as a theoretical and curatorial effort that includes non-Western art in the contemporary art circuit.

international relations dominated by a handful of powerful countries. The World Heritage List was one of the first concrete programs of UNESCO, born in the middle of the XXth century with the rise of multilateral institutions in the humanistic spirit following the horrors of WWII. And the Future Generation Art Prize was born at the beginning of the XXIst century as the brainchild of a Ukrainian billionaire philanthropist for whom the collapse of the communist regime meant opportunities to take part in the global economy but also to become a player in the global art world. Thus, each of these specific contexts reveals a very different conception of international relations and cross-cultural encounters in the art world. The French language is useful here to characterize these phases of globalization of the art world as three different words can be used to describe the phenomenon: *internationalisation*, *mondialisation* and *globalisation*. Francophone scholars (Rocher, 2001) generally make subtle distinctions between the three terms, which reflect the changing nature of the phenomenon. Thus, the three terms can be defined as follows: "*internationalisation*" designates the growing relationship, sometimes peaceful and sometimes conflicting, between nation-states that remain completely sovereign on their own territory; "*mondialisation*" describes a new regime of international relations that has been extended to the whole world and in which some co-ordination efforts are conducted by supranational bodies; "*globalisation*" depicts the emergence of a world-system that affects not only nation-states, but a variety of actors in a multiplicity of aspects of their activity. This triad will help me define further three phases of the globalization of the art world that are illustrated by the three cases studied in this dissertation.[9]

[9] The periodization that I propose here is freely inspired by an unpublished manuscript by Éric George (2014).

The narrative of globalization of the art world that we will follow in this dissertation starts with the encounter between a small number of nation-states (exclusively Europeans at that time) that sent the best representatives of their well-established and undisputed national cultures to the newly-born international competition staged in Venice. Here we are in what can be called the "*internationalisation*" of the art world, as this first event involved a "friendly" competition among merely the most powerful nation-states to determine who could claim superiority in the artistic realm. Yet, as the organizer of the competition, Italy was still quite confident that its traditional dominant position in the art world would guarantee a victory in this symbolic war against its European counterparts. More than 70 years later, when UNESCO created its World Heritage program, the world had completely changed in the aftermath of two devastating armed conflicts. As the famous preamble of UNESCO states, the aim of the specialized UN agency is to create peace in the minds of men through culture. We are here in the early stages of the "*mondialisation*" of the art world, in which nation-states participating in the program claim to go beyond their immediate interest and sovereignty and to aim for the general interest of all humans on earth. In this second phase, the art world can no longer be reduced to a handful of European countries, but must rather include all countries – including the newly-born nations emerging as a result of decolonization – in order to live up to the great expectations created by the humanistic spirit that inspired UNESCO's birth. Yet another leap forward brings us to today's context in which the Future Generation Art Prize was born. This third phase of globalization of the art world could be characterized as a fully formed "*globalisation*". A powerful private actor, born from the triumph of capitalism as the only economic system covering the whole planet, takes on the role of rewarding and promoting visual art on the

global scale. This actor operates on a well-established, although very competitive, global art circuit in which the position of the philanthropist resides upon generosity but also potential benefits from a personal or business point of view. Moreover, the competition set up by this organization does not involve national participation, as was the case in the two previous cases, but rather invites artists from anywhere in the world to compete on an individual basis.

If these benchmarks in the history of the globalization of the art world do not fully explain the evolution of this complex process, they nevertheless open the door to a general understanding of the evolution of the power relations that have marked this complex historical phenomenon. Each of these institutions was born in a particular moment so that they can be seen as characteristics of those moments. However, all these institutions still exist today and have consequently adapted to the changing environment. Thus, the Venice Biennale now makes every effort with each edition to welcome new national participants, which, of course, contributes to a more representative image of contemporary creation on the planet, but also to its corporate-like business model. Similarly, the history of the World Heritage List is fraught with struggles in which non-European countries have seriously challenged UNESCO's initial humanistic vision, which was seen as too much aligned with European cultural and artistic standards. In the end, though, the specific rhetoric that has shaped each of these competitions has left an indelible mark on them: the Venice Biennale remains a competition among nations who present their best national artists, whereas these nations are asked to make a contribution to enrich the heritage of humanity as a whole at UNESCO, while national belonging is treated as background information by the

Future Generation Art Price to outline the diversity of individuals included in the competition.

3.2 Metaculture and the global art world

Despite these differences in the historical context, what is similar today in these three cases is the eagerness of the different participants from around the world to take an active role in this global art world. Indeed, participants in these global competitions are prepared to spend resources and time to find a place for themselves in this artistic landscape that goes beyond the borders of their nation. Thus, countries from all parts of the world – even really poor countries – spend considerable amounts of money to install exhibitions in Venice every second year; at each of its meetings, the World Heritage Committee is literally submerged by a growing number of application files – which are themselves increasingly more sophisticated – to enter the World Heritage List; the three editions of the Future Generation Art Prize have received thousands of application files from every corner of the world. In all three cases, it is as if the recognition of artistic achievements by the global art world serves as the confirmation on the international stage of the greatness of artistic accomplishments that are already recognized at the national level. Thus, this recognition at a higher level, represented by the global art world, is a further distinction for an artist or an artwork. This artist or artwork has not only distinguished herself or itself in the restricted circle of the national art world but also in the larger circle of the global art world. In the first two cases studied in this dissertation, we see that nations select already widely celebrated artists to represent them at the Venice Biennale, or architectural elements already protected at the national level to enter the

global repertoire. In the third case, it is on an individual basis that competing artists seek the recognition of an international art prize that will, no doubt, have a significant impact on their careers at home and abroad.

The question then is how can we think theoretically the binary dynamic observed in these three cases in which a work of art, which is invariably linked to a specific historical and cultural context that contributes to give it its meaning, is taken out of this context to become a contribution to a greater ensemble that may encompass, at least theoretically, all artistic productions on the planet? Several cultural theorists (Garcia Canclini, 2010; Tomlinson, 1999) have talked about the "deterritorialization" of arts and culture, adapting a concept developed in philosophy (Deleuze & Guattari, 1991), which has been used in several fields of social theory. Therefore, a deterritorialized art would describe this contemporary artistic production that widely circulates in the global art world using a common visual language understood by the majority of global art followers around the world. This is the hypothesis put forth by some contemporary art curators, like Nicolas Bourriaud (2009) or Gerardo Mosquera (2010)[10] for example, for whom there is now a global visual language that is always valid wherever on earth the exhibition takes place or whatever the origins of the piece might be. However, the notion of deterritorialization of art remains largely underdeveloped theoretically: it is commonly described merely as the break of the "natural" connection between a territory and an artistic production. Thus, the notion is used to emphasize that the link between a territory, an identity and a cultural manifestation is increasingly difficult to establish (Papastergiadis, 2012b). Accordingly, the

[10] The French curator Nicolas Bourriaud is more enthusiastic about the perspective of a visual art global language and even advocates in favour of its creation, whereas the Cuban curator Gerardo Mosquera for his part denounces the situation, arguing that it creates a false diversity in which everyone uses the same visual *lingua franca*.

origin of an artistic manifestation or its attachment to a specific territory also remains undefined. The wide circulation of artists and other members of the art world around the globe as well as the fast and constant circulation of images and ideas have rendered this "natural" connection somewhat impossible to make. Nevertheless, understood in this way the notion of a deterritorialized artistic production is not totally satisfactory to understand the double belonging (national and global) that one can observe in the cases studied here. Indeed, the notion rather suggests a global art sphere as if it would be something up in the air floating in virtual space without any attachment to places where cultural referents and visual language take roots. Hence, the notion fails to capture the dichotomy between the local or national context and the global context that exists in all global assemblages considered in this dissertation. Indeed, the series of works of art that judges consider in the competitions studied here are all born in a variety of specific national contexts. Moreover, when they enter the competition these works of art are made the representative of their nation in the global competition. Of course, these works of art can be – and are increasingly often – the product of a composite context in which several traditions and influences cross each other to give birth to hybrid forms (Nouss, 2005). For example, it becomes increasingly common to find in national pavilions in Venice the work of an immigrant artist or a member of a diaspora to represent the country. If the works of these artists do not necessarily fit with the standard representations of national culture, these contributions are regularly presented as a marker of the diverse population of this country and a sign its openness to diversity. Nevertheless, this contribution remains the official representation of this country in a global artistic competition.

An underdeveloped notion of deterritorialization in the global art world runs the risk of leading to two misguided conceptions of art production. First, it may bring back the old myth of the pure autonomy of art as a human activity evolving in an idealized sphere that does not have to cope with any constraints. Such a conception, of course, forgets to consider the contingencies of artistic production, but also that all works of art are born in a historical, political and cultural context that nourishes their elaboration and meaning. Second, this conception of an abstract deterritorialized artistic production may also contribute to depoliticizing the cross-cultural encounter in the art world as it suggests that the global art world has no physical centres anymore and that all artists in the world have an equal chance to be heard, wherever on the planet they come from, work and show their pieces. Therefore, it is worth going a little further in our theorization of both the national and the global space.

In each of the cases studied in this dissertation, we are placed in front of the spectacle of national culture staged on the international art scene. Of course, this is a well-established mechanism to use the best artistic representatives of a nation to build what Benedict Anderson (2006) has famously called the "imagined community" of the nation, or to delineate a specific space for the nation that would differentiate itself from other nations. This is what we see at the Venice Biennale or in the World Heritage List where artistic representatives are regularly thought to illustrate the creative forces that are present on the national territory or to represent the artistic glorious past of the nation. In the case of the Future Generation Art Prize, it can be said that national belonging serves as a reducer of

complexity of the global context that allows reading the world more quickly.[11] If this differentiation process is made vis-à-vis other nations, it is also invariably made by the silencing of others inside the nation. The global art world is only too aware of that and it has become a common practice in global art events to question the processes of nation building. This is what Jeremy Deller, the UK representative at the 2013 Venice Biennale, did in his proposition questioning the very roots of Britishness. As Homi Bhabha (2004) suggests, the idea of the nation is an ambivalent matter: although it is constantly in place, it also needs a constant reaffirmation to be turned into a coherent narrative. More crucially, Bhabha argues that in the space delineated by this constant reaffirmation, there is a liminal space, a space at the edge of the nation, where cultural difference is to be found. To characterize this liminal space, Bhabha uses the analogy of the supplementary question in the British parliamentary tradition. He writes: "Coming 'after' the original, or in 'addition to' it, gives the supplementary question the advantage of introducing a sense of 'secondariness'" (Bhabha, 2004, p. 222). Therefore, if the contemporary artistic practice has been keen to put the spotlight on this liminal space – through the production of migrant artists or practices that question various myths of national belonging – it doesn't mean that it has eliminated it, but merely that it has been able to put a finger on some cracks in this homogenizing process of nation building.

To be useful in the case at hand, the notion of deterritorialization needs its counterpart, which is a key component of the concept for Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1991): reterritorialization. Thus, I propose that when an artistic production enters a

[11] Based on Niklas Luhmann's work, Pierre-Michel Menger (2009) suggests that some established elements, like talent, can serve as a reduction of social complexity. The argument could be extended to national belonging in a global context. Indeed, in the case at hand, when the FGAP publishes the name of a country attached to the name of an artist, it provides the reader with a first key to reading this artistic practice in the very vast artistic production that exists around the globe.

competition in the global art world, like the ones that I studied in this dissertation, there is a symbolic play of deterritorialization/reterritorialization at work. Indeed, at this moment, the work of art is deterritorialized from the semantic field[12] of the national context in which it was created and in which it has a number of possible meanings, but only to be reterritorialized in the semantic field of the global art world, in which it is put in comparison with other works of art coming from other national contexts and, consequently, may acquire new meanings. In this new territory, the work of art is not deprived of its national character. On the contrary, it is even more strongly attached to this national belonging, because entering an international competition makes the work of art or artist the *de facto* representative of its nation. Visitors, judges or critics who will look at the piece in this global context will necessarily read it with its attachment to a specific nation in mind, including all the preconceptions and stereotypes that such an association carries. "At the Biennale, everyone is vividly aware of national identities," remarked the Canadian writer Sarah Thornton, after the disclosure of her own origin instantly triggered a profusion of comments on the Canadian pavilion. It seems that nationality is inescapable in a global context.

Thus, there is a new ensemble that is created by these gatherings of art pieces coming from all regions of the world, a new ensemble that I suggest be called a "metacultural" ensemble. This term seems more appropriate than others – "supranational"

[12] I borrow the concept of "semantic field" from lexicology where it generally means the ensemble of various meanings that a word can take depending on the context in which it is used. Therefore, here I propose that a work of art acquires a number of possible meanings when presented in a national context. Together, these possible meanings constitute the semantic field of the work presented in the national context. When presented in a global context, the work acquires another set of possible meanings, which constitute another semantic field associated with the presentation of the work in conjunction with other works coming from different national contexts or where the receivers of the artwork are not principally from the producer's national context. This doesn't exclude that some meanings may belong to both semantic fields (national and global).

or “global” are frequently used in the academic literature – as it better captures the transfer that I observe in these global competitions. If for some scholars, the term metaculture means a “culture that is about culture” (Urban, 2001, p. 3) or the sum of the critical intellectual tradition about culture (Mulhern, 2000), the meaning that I give to the term has been only suggested in passing by a few authors (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Schmitt, 2009). Yet, in philosophy and the social sciences, the prefix “meta” is used to characterize something that comes after, that goes beyond, that incorporates various elements, as in meta-analysis for example; but it also means something that occupies a higher position or a second-degree, as in the concept of metalanguage. The prefix is also used to denote a change in position or condition, as in metamorphosis. Therefore, it seems appropriate to talk about a “metaculture,”which is made up of a plethora of artistic productions coming from all corners of the planet. Together, these elements form a new ensemble that is more than the sum of its parts. If the ensemble is not necessarily defined by the similarity of the items that compose it or by any coherence that unites them, it may be read as the synthesis of artistic production at a certain moment (e.g. at the Venice Biennale) or the sum of the most outstanding realizations in a given discipline (e.g. UNESCO World Heritage) or even the developing avenues for the future of the field (e.g. the Future Generation Art Prize). Therefore, something new is created by the assemblage of these elements: a dialogue space in which it is possible to compare various artistic productions, produce a comparative judgment on them, identify trends and commonalities that define world-wide artistic production, etc. This dialogue space is naturally situated at a higher level, as it is formed of what are deemed the best elements of every local or national ensemble. The formation of this metacultural space is rendered possible only through the contribution of artistic

elements coming from the different parts of the world. Therefore, the concept avoids the trap of an autonomous "world" or "global" culture separated from local or national production, which is often suggested by the proponents of these terms.

Furthermore, the concept of the liminal space coined by Bhabha to think of power relations in the establishment of a coherent narrative of the nation can be extended to this metacultural space. Indeed, in the process of the creation of these metacultural ensembles, attempts are made to find a form of coherence in these heterogeneous ensembles. In the cases that I consider here, this is accomplished by a form of selection made either in the constitution of a permanent ensemble (World Heritage List), which is guided by ordering principles, or after the constitution of an ephemeral ensemble (Venice Biennale and Future Generation Art Prize) by determining which of these pieces should be promoted and remembered in the future. However, in defining processes like these all pieces do not enter the competition on an equal footing. Such a claim would mean to completely ignore the historical, political and economic factors that strongly colour the establishment of a common language in global visual circles, or common references in the development of visual art forms. Thus, Bhabha's notion of the liminal space makes him insist on one point: "Cultural difference must not be understood as the free play of polarities and pluralities in the homogeneous empty time" (Bhabha, 2004, p. 232). Just like the space of the national culture, the metacultural space is not neutral but rather organized by a form of hierarchy. As each case will demonstrate, the Euro-centric vision of art still occupies the central stage in this metacultural space, and several artistic propositions coming from the rest of the world are relegated to the liminal space of this common ground. It doesn't mean that they

have no space at all in the definition of this metaculture, but rather that there is a persistent sense of secondariness that is attached to these propositions.

There is an important international prestige associated with this metacultural space in which pieces that are deemed to be the very best of every region of the world meet. This prestige probably explains in large part the eagerness to participate in the constitution of these metacultural ensembles and to distinguish oneself in these prestigious competitions. Yet, if the metaculture is fuelled only by nationally situated productions, the dynamic between the two spaces is also marked by a movement in the other direction, since every national art world always keeps an eye on what is happening in the global art world. The metacultural space then becomes the place where the new "big thing" emerges, and it generally does not take too long before it finds an application in various local art scenes. In that context, the ultimate success for an artist or an artwork is perhaps to become this next big thing that the whole planet talks about.

4. Cross-cultural encounters in the global art world: pluralism, diversity, cosmopolitanism

As a conclusion to this first chapter, it is worth considering briefly how experts in the global art world have approached the question of cross-cultural encounter. The question is certainly not new and practitioners in the field have developed standard answers that are often articulated around two terms: pluralism and diversity.

When asked what was British about the British pavilion at the Venice Biennale, Tim Marlow, the director of the influential White Cube Gallery (London), simply answered that "the dominant cultural paradigm is pluralism" (Thornton, 2008, p. 237). This kind of answer has become customary in a global art world that can no longer promote a single

vision of art, as its many forums are now fraught with contributions coming from the entire world and carrying various aesthetic and cultural references. For many commentators on the global art scene, the difficult question of cross-cultural encounters in the global art world is now a settled matter, since the paradigm of "pluralism" provides a quick and simple answer to many issues raised by such a situation. This is the position that is implicitly taken by art world commentators when they describe the global art world as a "post-national" world (Verhagen, 2013) or as a "boundless and borderless" world (Mooney, 2013a). As Emi Fontana (2013, p. 68) writes in *Flash Art*: "From the 1960s on, anthropology as a study of the Other has progressively become the *lingua franca* of art history and artistic practice in general." This position has become so common in the global art world that the influential art critic Benjamin Buchloh (2013) even talks sarcastically about "the global art world fatigue with exoticism" now growing in importance. If there is indeed a fatigue vis-à-vis such a fashionable concept, it might be because most of the more difficult questions related to cross-cultural encounters have been avoided by simplistic answers. If many commentators on the global art world like to think that the question of the power relations between artistic communities is now resolved, such a claim does not necessarily iron out the persistent structures of domination that have conditioned the production and appreciation of artistic production for centuries.

Questioning the alleged neutrality and universality of the global public sphere has been a central concern of many works in communication studies in the last decades. Therefore, communication studies seem to provide a fertile ground to examine the question of cross-cultural encounters in the global art world. The next chapter will explore further how I situate this study in the broader field of communication studies. Indeed, some of the

intellectual traditions developed in this field are useful to conduct such a study focusing on the functioning of power in the global art world. They help to reveal a much more complicated situation in which plurality and diversity are often treated as catchy buzzwords or as idealistic vision rather than as signs of a paradigm shift in the art world.

If pluralism is now the supposed dominant paradigm of the aesthetic discourse in the global art world, it must be noted that such a discourse is also situated in a broader effort to foster a dialogue between cultures. As Chapter 4 will show, UNESCO has been one of the key international forums where these questions have been debated, starting immediately after WWII. The policy answer of UNESCO has always been articulated around the notion of cultural diversity. If the concept has been in the DNA of the organization since its creation, the notion has taken increasingly more space both in the reflection and in the action of the UN specialized agency. In that perspective, cultural diversity is a form of moral discourse, which strongly affirms the equality of all cultures in the world and consequently that all of them should be treated with the same respect. According to this principle, the imposition of hegemonic standards or the spread of a single culture all around the world are unacceptable. From a general principle on which the organization was built, cultural diversity became what Raj Isar (2009, p. 61) calls a "globally shared normative meta-narrative" that the agency has never stopped promoting among its members. Therefore, the notion has become an international standard that establishes the equality of culture as one of the fundamental principles in international political relations and, to a certain extent, in commercial relations.[13] If the notion has proved useful in international arenas, it has also

[13] In 2005, the UNESCO general assembly adopted the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression*, which was, in large part, an attempt to make the protection of cultural diversity a standard in international commercial relations. Indeed, the convention reaffirms the right of

penetrated national and local spheres where the question of dialogue between cultures has become increasingly pressing as well. As Sara Ahmed (2012, p. 16) argues, "the languages of diversity are mobile, and the story of diversity's inclusion within and by institutions is transnational." In her own account, Ahmed describes how a "diversity world" – made up of practitioners, teams, meetings, workshops, etc. – has been formed in universities to deal with these questions. The same is true in the art sector, where a "milieu of diversity" has also been constituted in different local communities in order to favour a better integration of "culturally diverse artists" in a too homogeneous artistic landscape and to offer greater visibility to artistic practices coming from the various ethno-cultural minorities. Centres dedicated specifically to artistic expressions of these minorities have been founded (Mirza, 2009), while established museums have started programs and activities to foster an enhanced dialogue with these communities (Ang, 2005).[14] Therefore, cultural diversity has become one of the values that orient artistic development and promotion in various regions of the world, just as pluralism has widely penetrated the discourse on art in the global context.

Both of these notions – pluralism and diversity – will be at the heart of this dissertation as each case study attempts to look beyond the use of these trendy words to see how the notions of equality and inclusion on which these views are based really have an impact on the comparative judgment that is performed on works of art coming from all regions of the world. However, in the last two decades, a third concept has re-emerged to

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member-states to adopt cultural policy to sustain cultural industries on their territory. Hence, the Convention attempts to exclude culture from regular free-trade agreements.

[14] In Montreal, various initiatives of that kind have been developed in the last decades, among which funding programs dedicated specifically to visible minorities and immigrant artists in Art Councils; a multidisciplinary art centre (Montréal, arts intercultural – MAI); and an art service organization (Diversité artistique Montréal – DAM). I have been personally involved in several of these initiatives, which makes me not a total stranger to the "milieu of diversity" in Montreal.

understand social realities in a globalized world: cosmopolitanism. This concept is the product of a long philosophical tradition[15] that considers that all humans on the planet belong to a single worldwide community and, as such, are entitled to have a say in its development. The term is used sporadically by art world practitioners and remains largely an academic concept. Recent writings on cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2012) often insist on the dual dimension of the term. It is first a set of empirical phenomena, in which one can experience the interaction of various cultures in a shared world. However, cosmopolitanism is also a normative concept that allows us to evaluate these experiences of the world from a political and moral point of view. These two dimensions are present in this dissertation. The global competitions that are the main object of study in this dissertation can certainly be described as a cosmopolitan phenomenon. Moreover, the sub-concept of "aesthetic cosmopolitanism" has been proposed by several authors to understand more specifically artistic realities. Definitions of this concept often sound more like an idealistic wish when it is described as an "aesthetic interest in others and difference" (Papastergiadis, 2012a, p. 221), or when it is suggested that the aesthetic cosmopolitan is "versed in recognizing and appreciating cultural diversity" (Sassatelli, 2012, pp. 234-235). Nevertheless, the concept may prove useful in two different ways. First, aesthetic cosmopolitanism can be thought as a norm, which reiterates that all artists on the planet should have a say in the definition of the metacultural space. Second, as a general approach for this project, the notion reminds the researcher to look at the phenomenon under investigation without the hegemonic preconceptions of art that colour so strongly the way we usually envision the global art world.

[15] One of the defining moments cited by many authors is the publication of the *Perpetual Peace* by Immanuel Kant in 1795.

CHAPTER 2

Researching the global art world

The focal point of this dissertation is power in the globalized art world. It looks at how power is exercised, distributed and negotiated in artistic circles and the influence that these elements have on what kinds of works of art get produced, presented to an audience, celebrated and eventually preserved for future generations. Such a project could have been conducted in several academic settings, notably in art history or sociology of the arts. However, the elaboration of this dissertation in such disciplinary frameworks would have probably led to a totally different intellectual account since academic disciplines, especially those with long traditions such as art history and sociology, tend to give a canonical tone to research conducted under their auspices. Of course, no academic setting is totally free of intellectual imprimatur, but the interdisciplinary character of communication studies has proved to be particularly fruitful for the elaboration of this project. Therefore, the first section of this chapter offers an epistemological reflection on communication studies and outlines some of the research avenues that are opened up by the location of this project in such an interdisciplinary enterprise.

Once this epistemological position is established, this chapter examines how the project was consequently developed, adopting an interdisciplinary and critical approach. This approach is operationalized by the selection of case studies as the main research strategy for the project. The rationale and implications of this choice are discussed in section 2, together with the guiding principles that led to the selection of the three cases

studied. Finally, a third section is dedicated to the three main methods of data collection and analysis used to work on these cases.

1. Epistemological position

In his well-known book *Cultures Hybrides*, Nestor Garcia Canclini uses the metaphor of a *feuilleté* to describe how culture as an object of study has been traditionally appropriated by different academic disciplines: "*l'histoire de l'art et la littérature qui s'occupent du « cultivé »; le folklore et l'anthropologie, consacrés au populaire; les travaux sur la communication spécialisés en culture de masses*" (Garcia Canclini, 2010, pp. 42-43). This division, with which Garcia Canclini encourages us to break, is even compartmentalized further by another fracture that traverses the academic engagement with cultural and artistic practices. On the one hand, academic disciplines traditionally classified under the humanities have been generally interested in the interpretation of texts and images produced through these practices by providing close readings of them. Art historians, literary critics and film studies scholars generally conceive their main task as to describe the artistic artefact, to situate it in larger artistic and aesthetic traditions or contemporary trends, and finally to provide an interpretation of its possible meanings for a given audience. If this kind of work was first developed by the disciplines working on the "cultured" artistic expression – like paintings or literature – the techniques and tools elaborated for such objects of study have been largely extended to other objects that fall under what Garcia Canclini identifies as mass culture – TV shows, popular imagery, comic books, etc. On the other hand, academic disciplines that are more commonly associated with the social sciences have taken a totally different approach to cultural and artistic

practices. Here, the objective of these academic works is rather to understand the social or economic conditions in which these practices are elaborated and to what extent these "exterior" elements condition these practices. Thus, sociology of culture or cultural economics have set for themselves the aim of exposing the parameters in which the production, distribution and consumption of cultural and artistic artefacts happen. If this second kind of academic work has been widely developed in relation to mass culture, these kinds of academic accounts are now developed in relation to elements of the three layers of the *feuilleté* described by Garcia Canclini.

This largely fragmented landscape of academic studies on art forces the researcher to delineate his or her personal epistemological position when embarking on a study dedicated to the art world. This dissertation takes as an object of study what is traditionally categorized as "high art" or "cultivated" culture in Garcia Canclini's description.[16] Such an object has been largely appropriated, on the one hand, by art history as an endeavour of the humanities dedicated mostly to the interpretation of works of art and, on the other hand, by the French sociology of art, which aims at unveiling the socio-economic conditions in which works of art are created, produced and presented to an audience. Situating this dissertation in communication studies instead of these two more traditional intellectual perspectives has a number of advantages from an epistemological point of view.

[16] In the last decades, a large number of pleas have been made in various intellectual circles to break with this old traditional division between "cultured" art, or "high art", traditionally associated with an elite and the popular culture, or "low art", associated with the masses. This division is rendered obsolete by consumption habits that reveal a mix in the choices made by individuals of all classes, which has led to the widely-discussed notion of "cultural omnivorous" (Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2007). More importantly for this project, high art was traditionally considered in the paradigm of "art for its own sake", whereas the popular culture was largely analysed in relation to its marketable character or for its potential to perpetuate the hegemony of the ruling class. As this project demonstrates, "high art" is also largely subjected to those kinds of considerations.

Communication studies, often described as an anti-discipline or an interdiscipline, has been situated at the junction of the humanities and the social sciences (Straw, 2009). Following the break I have described above, one can indeed classify a large part of this academic production under the heading of the humanities, as it is more concerned with the interpretation of the media content, whereas another ensemble of works looks instead at the conditions of production and reception of this content or the vehicle by which this content is delivered to various audiences. Moreover, the traditional object of study of communication studies has been indeed mass culture, as it is rightly identified by Garcia Canclini, but this narrow understanding, which confines it to traditional mass media production (newspaper, radio, television, etc.), has been considerably enlarged by the adoption of a broader definition of the term communication,[17] which opens the door to a very large array of possible research projects.

Thus, the location of my project in the intellectual framework of communication studies has a number of important benefits. As a relatively young field of inquiry, compared to sociology or art history, which have deeper roots in the university tradition, communication studies still enjoys a large degree of intellectual autonomy. Therefore, according to Bernard Miège, communication studies has no fixed epistemological foundations, like older disciplines, but rather presents itself as, if not a composite image, at least a complex and diversified one. For him, "*la pensée communicationnelle participe à la fois de la réflexion spéculative et de la production scientifique; elle dépasse le plus souvent les clivages disciplinaires existants ou elle émane de spécialistes se trouvant à l'étroit dans leurs*

[17] James Carey is a key figure in the elaboration of this extended definition of communication. He writes: "communication is a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed" (Carey, 2009, p. 19).

disciplines d'origine" (Miège, 2005, pp. 8-9). Such a flexible position favours the development of an interdisciplinary and critical approach that nourishes itself from the findings of various disciplines to tackle very complex problems. Therefore, my project is built at the intersection of a number of academic disciplines that have studied the field of art for a long time. The objective is not to reject the findings of these disciplines but rather to cross-read their knowledge to unveil new possible terrains. Thus, this dissertation takes its roots in several academic disciplines: aesthetics and art history, on which the discourse on visual art is largely constructed; sociology of the arts, and mostly its French tradition, which has unveiled many of the dynamic forces that structure the art world; cultural history, which brings to this kind of research the weight that is carried by each of the institutions under investigation; and, to a lesser degree, the burgeoning field of economics of the arts, which develops new perspectives on the links between artistic institutions and the marketable side of art production.

As Graeme Turner (2012) recalls, interdisciplinarity has a number of advantages. I summarize here some of them that constitute the main reasons why an interdisciplinary approach seems appropriate for my own project: it enables access to new problematics and new viewpoints that remain invisible within the traditional divisions of academic knowledge; it uses various methods, providing the potential to lead to new findings that are obscured by existing explanatory regimes; it combats the tendency to colonize knowledge and organize it into self-contained fiefdoms; it is appropriate to investigating transdisciplinary theoretical areas, like culture, that cannot be fully grasped solely by one discipline; and it fosters a more collaborative spirit between disciplines. However, any researcher who adopts such an interdisciplinary approach finds himself in a more

vulnerable position since he cannot count on an established discipline to back his epistemological position and its methodological choices. Adopting such a position means to be on one's own to defend the solidity of the academic work. However, interdiscipinarity is not a newcomer to the academy, and such a project can now benefit from the reflections of those who have attempted the experiment beforehand. These reflections are now well-advanced in communication studies. Two of the most visible interdisciplinary and critical approaches in the field are political economy and cultural studies. These two approaches, which have been particularly useful for accounts dealing with policy and governance (Raboy, Abramson, Proulx, & Welters, 2001), will constitute my main anchors in this project. If the two schools of thought share some intellectual roots, they have been challenging each other on several aspects of academic practice for a long time. For Jarrod Waetjen and Timothy A. Gibson, the conflict between these two schools of thought have often taken a stereotypical form that they summarize as follows: "Cultural studies scholars are often accused of losing themselves in jargon-filled analyses of text and discourse, thereby cutting their work off from the material forces that structure both media production and the contexts of reception. Political economists, for their part, are said to focus with single-minded ferocity on the consequences of for-profit ownership and commodification, thus neglecting studies of text and audience that might reveal spaces of contradiction within the circulation of cultural goods" (Waetjen & Gibson, 2007, pp. 3-4).

To go beyond this clichéd vision of the two schools of thoughts, I build on recent definitions of these approaches given by two of their leading figures. The comparison of these definitions will allow me to outline several key elements that explain why I see an affiliation between my own work and these two approaches. First, for Vincent Mosco, the

political economy of communication is "the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communications resources" (Mosco, 2009, p. 2). To go further, he explains that for him, political economy is the study of both control and survival in social life. "Control refers specifically to how a society organizes itself, manages its affairs and adapts, or fails to adapt, to the inevitable changes that all societies face. Survival means how people produce what they need to reproduce themselves and to keep their society going" (Mosco, 2009, p. 3). Interestingly, Lawrence Grossberg uses the same strategy when it comes to defining cultural studies. He first gives a narrower, but also a more workable, definition. For him, cultural studies "is concerned with describing and intervening in the ways cultural practices are produced within, inserted into, and operate in the everyday life of human beings and social formations, so as to reproduce, struggle against, and perhaps transform the existing structures of power." In a way similar to Mosco's, Grossberg then enlarges his definition: "Cultural studies describes how people's everyday lives are articulated by and with culture. It investigates how people are empowered and disempowered by the particular structures and forces that organize their everyday lives in contradictory ways, and how their (everyday) lives are themselves articulated to and by the trajectories of economic, social, cultural and political power" (Grossberg, 2010, p. 8).

What can be deduced from the juxtaposition of these two sets of definitions? First, of course, one needs to note the common preoccupation with power and its embodiment in the realm of culture. For both approaches, power is the central object of analysis, which makes them perfectly suited approaches for my project that deals primarily with this organizational dimension of the globalized art world. What is more, both authors suggest

that power should be approached as a complex object of study as it cannot be isolated or clearly identified to one specific actor. This is what Mosco suggests with his notion of control that, his definition suggests, emanates from various sources. Complementary to this is the notion of survival that could be understood as a sort of adaptation to control either in the form of acceptance of this control or, conversely, in the form of a resistance to this control or at least as a way to compromise with this control. Similarly, Grossberg's definition of cultural studies also suggests a dispersed structure of power, when he describes how power is embedded in everyday lives. His definition insists that power is the site of many struggles as people accept and reproduce power but also resist it and try to change it. This means that any analysis of power located in these approaches must consider its object of study as a sprawling concept, contrary to more traditional approaches that tend to deal with the distribution of power in a fixed manner that opposes those who hold this power and those who are subjected to it. What this strategy of a double definition reveals is the attachment of both schools of thought to a theory of the social totality that is probably inherited in both cases from earlier Marxist theory. Indeed, power is here conceived as something that covers the whole social space and therefore cannot be studied in isolation.

This epistemological position has two major implications for my own project. First, it studies power as a constitutive element of any human interaction. This means that it traces power not only in its formal structure (in people who are in charge, in the formal means to exercise power, etc.) but also in the broader context (historical and social) that constitutes the ground on which institutional power is built as well as in the discourse carried out by these institutions. Therefore, I have concentrated the data collection on each case and my analysis on three main areas that allow me to study power in such a broad

perspective: the cultural history of institutions, the political economy analysis of actors involved, and the analysis of discourses carried out by these institutions. I will give more precision to what I mean by all of this in the third section of this chapter. The second implication of such an approach to the study of power is the development of multi-sited research. Indeed, with a conception of the object of study as a dispersed phenomenon, one has to consider various interrelated sites where power is crystallizing. It is particularly true when one attempts to capture the structure of power in the context of globalization, since its very essence resides in its interrelatedness by which what happens in one part of the world has an influence on other parts. Therefore, the study of globalization cannot be done merely by the juxtaposition or the comparison of different national contexts. As Ulrich Beck (2006) argues, the "global" cannot be fully captured by a simple comparative approach of different national or local situations; it must be observed through phenomena happening at the global level. This means breaking with what Beck calls methodological nationalism to look instead at phenomena happening in the global sphere. In this project, this involves constructing the research on a selection of contrasted case studies in which works of art coming from various national contexts are assembled and presented in a global setting in which they will be submitted to a common judgment. The considerations that have led to the choice of these cases will be detailed in the following section of this chapter.

Both political economy and cultural studies have also generally maintained a strong attachment to a critical approach. The term "critical" has a number of meanings in academic traditions.[18] However, the most important sense that is given to the term by both schools of

[18] In a previous paper (Sirois, 2013), I have described three common meanings of the term in academic language. First, in an epistemological acceptance of the term, it means to reflect on the organization of knowledge to see the possibilities and limitations of a given system of thought. A second meaning, which has

thought has to do with the uneven distribution of forces among the different actors involved in the struggles under investigation. This critical tradition finds its philosophical roots in Marxian theory and has been developed notably through the work of the Frankfurt school. It aims to describe, analyse and understand the mechanisms of oppression and domination that exist in modern society. This critical research tradition has given birth to social theories that consider, first, the conflicting encounters between social classes, which were later extended to other encounters between the majority and several different minorities (based on gender, race, or sexual orientation, for example). If many of these theories have now distanced themselves from Marxian orthodoxy, these critical works continue to reveal social inequalities in an attempt to make a meaningful intervention in the structure of power. This critical aspect of the approach is also key to this project. Indeed, the whole endeavour here attempts to deconstruct the alleged neutrality of the artistic discourse that situates the artistic quality as the sole criterion in any artistic judgment, regardless of other social, political or economic considerations. This dissertation questions the assumption that every artist has an equal chance to have his or her voice heard in the global art world and thus pays attention to underlying domination structures that exist in the globalized art world.

The face-to-face encounter between political economy and cultural studies has generated a series of important questions.[19] Every researcher who situates his work

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more to do with ethical considerations, defines a body of engaged theories that describe and analyse different mechanisms of domination and subordination in modern society, based on class, race, sexual orientation, etc. This is the meaning that I discuss in the following paragraphs. Finally, when it comes to artistic activity, the term often takes a third meaning, that could be qualified as aesthetic critique, which characterizes the intellectual activity that aims at describing and analysing works of art to formulate comments on their signification.

[19] Some of the most important of these questions can be summarized as follows: the value of a theory embracing the totality of the social space; the place of economy in such a theory; the determinant nature of the

somewhere in or between these two perspectives has eventually to clarify his own position in regard to these important questions. Nevertheless, there is now a growing consensus among scholars of the two camps that the two approaches do not necessarily have to be opposed but can be complementary (Kellner, 1997; Mattelart, 2011; Raboy et al., 2001). Even Mosco and Grossberg have both acknowledged on several occasions the fruitfulness of such a dialogue. What can be taken away from this long intellectual debate between the two schools of thought is the different inclination of each of them in their approach. Cultural studies has been more inclined to work on the interpretation of texts as an element that reveals the social order (which is closer to the work of the humanities), whereas political economy has been more inclined to work towards the documentation of social reality (which is closer to the work of the social sciences). Therefore, working at the intersection of these two approaches means bridging the interpretative work of the humanities with the empirical study of the social sciences. This is more, of course, than just juxtaposing these two types of inquiries; it is to make them work together. Doing so means to see the effect of power on the development of texts and discourse, as well as on the development of a particular social reality. In the framework of this project, it means to show how various historical dispositions, various power relations, and various social configurations condition a certain discourse on works of art, which in turn means confronting the interpretation discourse with the social reality that produces this discourse.

Bridging the humanities and the social sciences is, of course, a really ambitious position to take. Several attempts have been made from that perspective, although it

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base in relation to the superstructure; the importance of other factors of domination, notably gender, ethnicity or sexual orientation, in regard to social classes; the role of intellectuals in unveiling these structures of domination.

remains far from being common in academic work. This dissertation does not claim to provide a comprehensive illustration of what such a work could be. In fact, this fruitful breeding can lead to a very large array of possible avenues. Nevertheless, this dissertation is intentionally situated at this crossroads as an example of the type of work that could be developed on one of these avenues.

2. Case study as a research strategy

A research project that looks at power relations in some globalized institutions seems exactly tailored to adopt a case study approach as its main research strategy. Contrary to the survey, a case study allows the researcher to go deep into one example in order to identify what constitutes the particularity of the case under investigation. Thus, it provides an opportunity to understand complex phenomena, whereas a survey tries to identify the commonalities in a large number of examples. This is the difference, according to Peter Swanborn (2010), between "extensive research," which attempts to cover a large area through a multiplicity of examples to understand the occurrence of a phenomenon or its regularity and the rules that govern it, and "intensive research," which focuses on in-depth analysis of a smaller number of examples. In the former case, the analysis happens mainly between units of observation, whereas in the latter case, the analysis involves much more an analysis within a given unit of observation. A research strategy based on case studies allows the researcher to explore, describe and explain complex phenomena and to gain insights from the chosen cases that will eventually be helpful for understanding broader questions (Gerring, 2007).

Nevertheless, choosing this research strategy doesn't necessarily confine the researcher to a single case, as multiple case study approaches have surfaced in various academic settings in the last decades. However, a multi-sited approach necessarily implies paying attention to the articulation between the chosen cases. Two interrelated questions need attention during the design phase of the project: first, the selection of the cases to be studied and, second, the comparability of these cases. On the first question, Robert Yin (1994) recommends avoiding to conceive the cases in terms of sampling but rather to consider them as experiments. This analogy is partially useful to guide the researcher in the choice of the right cases, but also has some serious limitations when it comes to cultural phenomena. Cases and experiments differ totally on one point: in the former, the researcher does not control the conditions in which these "experiments" are conducted, which is, of course, a central feature of the latter. Consequently, in the choice of these cases, the researcher should pay careful attention to context as it represents the variations in the conditions under which the study is conducted. Following his analogy, Yin encourages researchers to select their cases according to a "replication logic", by which he means that the same phenomenon is found in each case, which makes them ultimately comparable. We touch here on the second element to consider in building a research project on multiple case studies: the comparability that unites or sets apart the cases. In many research designs, the researcher is looking for cases that are as similar as possible to render their comparison easier. According to Yin, the ideal case study research would "submit" the exact same phenomenon to various conditions (or various contexts) to see how it is influenced by these conditions. These "experiments" could eventually lead to a theory of predictability of the phenomenon studied. However, such a "scientific" vision is incompatible with the co-

constitution of the context and the phenomenon in the realm of culture. In fact, Lawrence Grossberg (2010, pp. 20-40) talks about a "radical contextualism" to insist that context is not just a background on which a cultural phenomenon is taking place, but is rather co-constitutive of a given phenomenon. This is where the analogy of the experiment is unworkable when it comes to cultural phenomena. Indeed, context is always an integral part of any study of cultural phenomena. Therefore, in the selection of the cases to study, cultural research should not try to identify cases that present exactly the same phenomenon in various contexts – that would be illusory – but rather a variety of phenomena of the same kind that have the potential to illuminate parts of a broader trend. These cases are therefore not directly comparable, as Yin's analogy suggests, but form a continuum of examples that allow the researcher to explore in depth different facets of the phenomenon that he is studying.

Consequently, a number of parameters have guided the selection of cases in this project. On the one hand, following the replication logic recommended by Robert Yin, a number of elements make these cases hold together. Indeed, the three cases of this project were selected because they are all sites of a similar phenomenon. In each of these cases, the institution studied receives a stream of works of art coming from different regions of the world (with their own artistic and aesthetic traditions, their own cultural references, their own visual languages, etc.). Indeed, being part of global artistic institutions, these competitions are open, at least theoretically, to everyone in the world. In each of these cases, this heteroclite inventory of works of art is submitted to a comparative artistic judgment that aims at determining which ones are the most worthy and should therefore be encouraged, promoted and eventually preserved for future generations. All these

competitions are taking place in the broad field of visual arts, or what is traditionally conceived as such, that is essentially the three traditional visual art disciplines (painting, sculpture, architecture) and their contemporary extensions (photography, video, installation, performance, mixed media arts). It is traditionally the "elite", or the "cultured", art world and to a large extent it still is, even though several efforts have been made to open up the field to practices that are traditionally excluded: either practices that are more associated with mass culture or elements of popular culture.

On the other hand, a number of elements set these cases apart from each other to form this continuum, allowing me to illuminate various aspects of the phenomenon under investigation (i.e. the functioning of power in the global art world). First, as was described in the first chapter, these three cases are the product of three distinctive moments in the process of globalization of the art world: the Venice Biennale was born during the "*internationalization*" of the art world, which was characterized by friendly competition between powerful countries of the North dominating the art sector; the World Heritage List at UNESCO is the product of a first "*mondialisation*" defined by a form of idealism in which arts and culture were conceived as contributing elements in the establishment of an international regime covering the whole planet; and, finally, the Future Generation Art Prize takes its roots in a fully developed "*globalisation*" in which individualism and neo-liberal economy have become the driving forces in the development of this philanthropic institution.

Second, the three cases represent three different types of cultural institutions that are active in the globalized art world – state, private and civil society organizations. The Venice Biennale is what could be qualified as a civil society organization with its own board

and various sources of revenue coming from corporate sponsorship and state subsidies; UNESCO for its part can be considered a part of the global state sector, as an intergovernmental organization steered by the general assembly of its member-states and financed by contributions from all its members; and the Future Generation Art Prize is a program of a private foundation, set up by a wealthy businessman, who remains the central figure of the organization and, crucially, the main source of its financial means.

Third, these three cases are selected to illustrate various stages of the intrinsic logic of the art world. To reflect on this intrinsic logic, I use the triad theoretical model developed by Raymond Williams (1977) that conceptualizes the articulation between the dominant, the residual and the emergent. Of course, the three terms first suggest a preoccupation with three periods that constitute any culture: its present, its past and its future. My analysis of the power relations at play in the three global artistic institutions studied here take into account these three moments. As manifestations of the current artistic power these institutions are grounded in the present. Indeed, by running influential international competitions, all these institutions play a role in the life cycle of works of art entering competition. The Future Generation Art Prize tries to stimulate the "production" and "promotion" of new works of art, whereas the Venice Biennale is an institution dedicated to the "presentation" of these works of art to an audience, and UNESCO's World Heritage List works to have works of art "preserved" for the generations to come. However, my analysis of the artistic power held by these institutions is also informed by the historical past that has contributed to establishing it. Similarly, it looks towards the future as this dissertation postulates that these international competitions and the way they are run form one of the key governance mechanisms by which the art world of tomorrow will be defined.

However, there is much more in Williams' model than just this journey through the past, the present and the future of cultural manifestations. Indeed, the cultural theorist has introduced two other terms in his conceptualization that transform this linear model into a dynamic tool for analysis. These terms are the "alternative" and the "oppositional". First, it needs to be said that for Williams (1980) the dominant is made up of a selection of possible meanings, practices and values that are chosen at the expense of other possibilities. Consequently, "alternative" and "oppositional" describe, in this model, attitudes of individuals or groups of individuals that choose different meanings, practices and values than the ones that are included in the dominant culture. In the former case, the proponents of such attitudes see themselves only as a side track to the dominant culture but do not advocate to reform the mainstream, whereas in the latter case, the proponents adopt a more combative attitude vis-à-vis the dominant with the aim to change it. It is with this dyad that Williams forges his definition of the residual and the emergent. Indeed, for him, the residual needs to be distinguished from the merely "archaic". He explains that the archaic is formed of elements of the past that are fully integrated into the current dominant culture or, as he describes it, are "wholly recognized as an element of the past, to be observed, to be examined, or even on occasion to be consciously revived." The residual, on the other hand, describes "certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of dominant culture, [they] are nevertheless lived and practiced on the basis of the residue" (Williams, 1977, p. 122). Williams acknowledges that the two are often quite difficult to distinguish from one another. The same logic is applied to the emergent. Therefore, the term characterizes new meanings, practices and values that are not a part of the dominant culture (they can be either

alternative or oppositional) and are therefore to be differentiated from merely new iterations of existing elements of the dominant culture. Here again, Williams recognizes that it is not an easy task to unravel these elements, when he writes: "but it is exceptionally difficult to distinguish between those which are really elements of some new phase of dominant culture […] and those which are substantially alternative or oppositional to it" (Williams, 1977, p. 123).

In the design of my research project, I postulate that the Venice Biennale represents the dominant or the mainstream[20] of the current globalized art world. However, it is too early to say if the UNESCO World Heritage List is an element of the residual or if it is merely an archaic repertoire fully integrated into the dominant culture. Similarly, at this stage it is impossible to say if the Future Generation Art Prize represents an emergent culture or if it is only a new iteration of the dominant culture. At this point, I leave these questions open, as they will serve as guiding questions in the study of these cases. I will come back to them in the last chapter of this dissertation. In this way, Williams's model will become a fruitful analytical tool to understand the dynamic at play in each of these cases and, more broadly, in the globalized art world.

3. Methods of documentation and interpretation

Following the advice of Robert Yin, each of the chosen cases has been studied independently from the other two so that the findings of one case do not become a set of preconceptions projected onto the others (Yin, 1994). This recommendation has also

[20] In this dissertation, I often use the term "mainstream", interchangeably with the dominant, to mean the most widely spread artistic forms that circulate in the world of contemporary art. The Venice Biennale serves here as the main example of this mainstream contemporary art culture, as this institution is really influential in setting the tone in contemporary art circles.

influenced the structure of the dissertation, since each case has resulted in its own "independent report" that takes the form of one chapter of the dissertation (Chapters 3, 4 and 5).

Nevertheless, the case studies are not strangers to one another. On the contrary, each case presents an analysis that unravels the complex web of power relations that condition the production of artistic judgment made in the framework of these global artistic institutions. To do so, I rely mainly on three methods of data collection and analysis that are the same for each case, and therefore form a symmetrical architecture that is to be found in all the cases. These three methods are: a reconstitution of the cultural history of each institution studied; a political economy analysis of the actors involved that targets both the individual actors playing a central role in the production of the artistic judgment and the position occupied by the institution studied within a broader artistic landscape; and an analysis of the discourse that circulates in the framework of these institutions. Case study research is too often mistakenly conceived as a form of ethnography with its iconic methods of participant observation and interviews. This is probably because the case study is a research strategy focusing mainly on deepening the knowledge of specific cases. However, the research strategy should not be conceptually attached to a specific method, since a variety of methods are available to the researcher adopting such a strategy. Therefore, I prefer to use a mixed method to document and analyse the chosen cases because such a blend can act as a check and balance on the various observations (di Leonardo, 2006) or constitute a form of triangulation (Gerring, 2007) that enhances the quality of the observations. In the remainder of this section, I will give more details on each of the

selected methods to illustrate why I think this is the appropriate mix to study the questions at hand.

First, each of these institutions was born in its own distinctive historical context in which one finds the roots of the main narratives underlying all of the institution's actions. More than just a background, these narratives are an integral part of the prestige the institutions have been able to develop over the years – and that they still cultivate – and consequently they explain a large part of the institutions' symbolic power within artistic circles. Cultural history is now widely conceived as an intellectual practice that considers "history from the viewpoint of the motives and meanings that individuals and collective historical agents from the past gave to whatever they were doing, and to the context in which they operated" (Arcangeli, 2012, p. 16). Therefore, each case starts with an examination of the cultural history of the institution under study. The following question serves as the main guideline in this examination: what did this institution mean for its founders in the broader political, economic, social and cultural landscape of their time? One of the primary sources of this reconstitution is the history published by each of these institutions, complemented by the consultation of foundational documents (constitution, decree, bylaws, etc.). In the case of the Venice Biennale, the organization has published a fairly developed history, available online, that covers every step in the development of this event. The history of UNESCO has now been told in a large number of independent accounts, but the organization published in 2005 – on the occasion of its 60th anniversary – its own history, under the title *Humanity in the making*. This is the account I consider the official history of the institution. The last case is rather recent as it was born in 2010. Nevertheless, the institution's website contains archival elements relating to the editions of

the prize. The short history of this institution has been reconstituted on the basis of these elements. Since this is not really a written history, as opposed to the two other cases, I have created a chronology of the main events that marked the development of the prize (which can be found in Appendix 4). In each case, this "official" history is related to broader political, economic, social or cultural trends that were key elements of the society in which these institutions were born. This historical "contextualization" illuminates some of the reasons why these institutions were created in the first place and reveals the bedrock of their reputation as major institutions in the globalized art world.

Second, this dissertation is also built on what I call a political economy analysis of the actors involved in the formation of artistic judgments. Political economy analysis is taken here not in the strict sense of an analysis of the "state" and the "market" and the means by which they control a situation, but rather in a much broader sense in which the agency of these actors is considered in relation to their own relative power vis-à-vis other actors involved in a given situation, which includes both symbolic and economic power. This analysis is built mainly on qualitative data on these actors, but also includes some small quantitative analyses that help draw the portrait of the type of actor being studied. At the level of the individual actors, this means evaluating not only what their possibilities are, but also their limitations, which are conferred on them by the position they have occupied in the artistic landscape. In each case studied, there is one category of individual actors that is explored in depth. The first case (the Venice Biennale) examines the figure of the art critic, to better understand who they are, what the position they occupy in visual art circles is and what the relation they maintain with the magazine that hires them is. The second case (UNESCO's World Heritage List) turns to the figure of the expert to question the

construction of their authoritative voice in the art sector. Finally, the third case (The Future Generation Art Prize) studies the figure of a philanthropist to consider some of his motives for getting involved in the art sector as well as the specific dynamics that condition his actions. Each case study also contains, to a lesser extent, considerations on another figure of power in art circles: the curator or the artistic director in the case of the Venice Biennale, the bureaucrats in the UNESCO World Heritage List and the jury members in the Future Generation Art Prize. These characters are mentioned in the dissertation, but not studied at length, since another project could eventually be dedicated solely to them. Similarly, at the level of the institutions, this political economy analysis reveals the terrain of struggles on which these institutions evolve. This terrain is filled with alliances with various partners but also with various kinds of competitions with similar institutions to attract attention and acquire prestige in the globalized art world. This analysis also reveals, in some cases, a variety of associations and rivalries that are taking place inside these institutions. Thus, the first case touches on two different institutional dynamics: the international biennial movement in which the Venice Biennale struggles to keep its place in the vanguard of the movement and the broad landscape of the publishing practices in the art sector in which art magazines struggle to maintain their influence. The second case concentrates on the very complex institutional dynamics of an intergovernmental body in which member-states meet and confront each other to become – or remain – influential builders of the global heritage movement. Finally, the last case considers the ecology of art prizes to show how the new prize studied here attempts to build its own reputation on the international stage through the means provided by a private foundation which itself follows a peculiar institutional dynamic.

Third, my research on the three case studies draws on an analysis of the discourse on art carried on within the framework of these globalized artistic institutions. In each case, this discourse is a key element by which the actors involved produce their vision of what art is – and what good art is. This vision is, of course, at the centre of the artistic choices that get made in the framework of these institutions when a comparative artistic judgment is produced. For each case, a clearly defined corpus of documents has been established to be the object of this content analysis. In the first case, the corpus is made up of 40 exhibition reviews of the 55th edition of the Venice Biennale that were published in 15 international art magazines circulating widely in the globalized art world. The corpus for the second case study encompasses two sets of policy documents: first, the 18 successive versions of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* and, second, a series of reports that constitute the paper trail of any nomination to the list: the nomination file (produced by the member-state), the evaluation report (produced by the International Council of Monuments and Sites – ICOMOS) and the committee decision (produced by the UNESCO intergovernmental committee). Finally, the corpus for the third case consists of communication tools (press releases, exhibition booklets, vision statement, public speeches, photo albums, etc.) issued by the Pinchuk Foundation for the purpose of promoting its Future Generation Art Prize. In this last case, the corpus is also complemented by an interview that I conducted on November 18, 2014, with Björn Geldhof, Deputy Artistic Director of the Pinchuk Art Centre. The lists of all the elements forming these three corpuses can be found in the appendices at the end of the dissertation.

Conclusion

Communication studies has become over the years an intellectual terrain on which a large array of problematics, methods of inquiries and theories meet. As such, it forms a fertile ground to develop intellectual work that provides an alternative perspective on social realities. The ground is especially fruitful for complex phenomena, such as globalization, and vast domains of human life, such as culture, as they cannot be fully grasped by any monolithic approach. Therefore, the project conducted here finds itself at ease in such an intellectual framework that removes several of the boundaries that shape the contours of traditional academic disciplines. This framework allows the development of an interdisciplinary and critical approach specifically tailored for the problematic under investigation. The approach, which I situate at the intersection of political economy and cultural studies, is the backbone of the methodological choices that have been made in the construction of this research project. It starts with a clear inclination towards intensive research, which favours deep analysis rather than a broad survey, because cultural phenomena are always context-specific. This inclination is reflected in the selection of the case study as the main research strategy of this project as it focuses on deep analysis of selected cases. Accordingly, a mixed method is adopted to document and analyse each of these cases because the multiplication of viewpoints naturally leads to a thorough examination of each case.

CHAPTER 3

Artistic diversity at the Venice Biennale

and the fight for global attention

Every curator coming to Venice as the artistic director of its prestigious contemporary art biennale knows that the endeavour is a unique chance to leave a mark on the development of international contemporary art and on the history of curating practice. If the stakes are high, it is because the proposition that is put forward will automatically generate a great many commentaries and discussions as the most pre-eminent artists, critics, curators, gallery owners, museum directors and collectors from around the world gather in the Italian city for what is often described as the "Olympics of the arts".

In his own take on the task, the Italian-American critic and curator Massimiliano Gioni chose as a general theme and title of the 2013 biennale "Il Palazzo Enciclopedico" – the Encyclopaedic Palace – in reference to the concept of his compatriot Marino Auriti. In 1955, Auriti filed a design with the U.S. Patent Office describing an imaginary museum that he would like to see erected in Washington, D.C. In Auriti's vision, the structure would have been a 136-storey building spanning more than 16 square city blocks and having enough space to contain all the knowledge of the world. From the Renaissance man to the encyclopaedic project of the Enlightenment, the utopian dream of seeing, knowing, and recording everything on the planet has been in the mind of scientists and artists for centuries. It is this chimera that artistic director Gioni[21] chose as the main theme of the 55th international exhibition of the Venice Biennale. Gioni writes in the catalogue: "The

[21] The Venice Biennale uses the title "artistic director" to designate the person who is appointed by the board of directors to curate the main international exhibition of one of its editions.

Encyclopedic Palace is an exhibition about knowledge – and more specifically about the desire to see and know everything, and the point at which this impulse becomes defined by obsession and paranoia. In this regard, it is also an exhibition about the impossibility of knowing, about the failure to achieve omniscience, and the melancholy we suffer once it becomes clear that such efforts will always fall short of our desires" (Gioni & Bell, 2013, p. 23).

By choosing such a theme, Gioni explicitly attempts to open up the borders of the art world and to blur the lines between "insiders" and "outsiders". It means that his exhibition is meant to gather a large variety of artistic propositions coming from different regions of the world, but also that works of art are to be presented in conjunction with found objects, artefacts, relics, etc., because, according to Gioni, the world of art should not be reduced to the "tautology of masterpieces" (Gioni & Bell, 2013, p. 23). As it has been often noted in the press, this choice clearly situates the proposition in line with the famous exhibition *Magiciens de la terre* presented at the Centre Georges Pompidou (Paris) in 1989 and, to a lesser extent, with *Documenta 5* presented at Kassel (Germany) in 1972, which I evoked in Chapter 1. Therefore, Gioni situates his own exhibition in line with the genealogy of exhibitions that tackled similar questions.

More importantly, the theme selected by Gioni is perfectly suited for an event that has always had the ambition to give, at a glance, a comprehensive image of the creations of the moment. This chapter will look first at how the Venice Biennale has built its prestige to become the unavoidable rendezvous providing a snapshot of the world's most cutting-edge contemporary creations. Such a reputation has been carefully developed since the very beginning of this institution that has created a new genre of exhibition. Then, the chapter

will turn to the milieu of art critics and art magazines, which remains one of the key legitimizing mechanisms in the visual arts sector. This second section will be helpful to understand how this milieu contributes to perpetuating the prestigious image of the Venice Biennale, but also how the notoriety of art critics and art magazines themselves follows the peculiar rules and habits of the global art world. Nevertheless, the reputation developed by art critics and art magazines is a key factor in the influence that they have on the global art world. Finally, the chapter will examine how art critics treat the question of diversity and pluralism in the framework of the Venice Biennale, where artistic contributions from all regions of the world are put side by side. To do so, the chapter will present an in-depth analysis of 40 exhibition reviews of the 55th edition of the Venice Biennale that were published in the most widely read art magazines. The list of these 40 exhibition reviews is given in Appendix 1.

1. From an international to a global contemporary art competition

Since its inception, the Venice Biennale has always been about organizing an international competition in which the Serenissima is the host site of the very best visual art creation coming from around the world. If the competition remains, the rules that govern it have evolved significantly over more than a century.

1.1 Venice in the international public culture

The first Venice Biennale opened its doors on April 30, 1895, in the presence of King Umberto I and Queen Margherita of Savoy. The event was imagined two years earlier by the Venice City Council to celebrate the silver anniversary of the royal couple. However,

for the recently united country,[22] the event was also an opportunity to find a place in a series of international cultural events that had become a key component of international relations in Europe in the second half of the XIXth century.

The movement finds its roots in 1851 when Great Britain created the very first international exhibition (hereafter called "expo"). Organized by a Royal Commission consisting of four former Prime Ministers and headed by Prince Albert himself, the *Great International Exhibition,* opened by Queen Victoria, was the occasion for the country to publicly display its power. This first international exhibition was dedicated to industrial innovation and foreign countries were invited to come to London to show their most innovative products. The structural ingenuity shown in the emblematic Crystal Palace, where the exhibition was housed, was in itself an eloquent demonstration of British superiority in the field. This first event of its kind was so successful – visited by more than 6 million people and generating important profits – that it would be replicated no fewer than nine times before the end of the century in different countries (Roche, 2000, p. 48). Until the beginning of the First World War, national governments, mainly in France and the United States, entered into competition with Great Britain to define their place on the international scene through these events. Every new edition made sure to set the bar higher by enlarging the scale of the event and the grandeur deployed on the site.

The genre developed through this succession of expos. Its content was broadened to include the fine arts (starting in Paris in 1855) and later the "native villages", which allowed the colonial powers to present the imperial spectacle made up of their "possessions" abroad. Another important addition was the shift from a single building to

[22] Italy was united in 1861, when the father of King Umberto I, Victor Emmanuel II, became King of the united Italy.

house the expo (as was the case in London in 1851) to a series of constructions providing each participating nation with its own pavilion in which it was invited to organize its own representation of the country.

Such exhibitions were designed to give a coherent and comprehensive image of the world in which the host country is invariably situated at the top of the pyramid. Offering a Foucauldian reading of the phenomenon, Tony Bennett (1988) suggests that these events are important components of the modern governmentality in which power is enforced not only through repression but also by what he calls the "exhibitionary complex", which displays appropriate behaviours and attitudes towards the world.[23]

Taken together, this assemblage of pavilions forms what I would propose to call a symbolic "panoptical space",[24] a space that offers the spectator a vantage point to look at the work. In this space, the visitor can traverse the world in a fairly short period of time and get a complete image of what it is made of. Along the road, he encounters the current "zeitgeist" of these countries, or at least what officials choose to represent as such. Therefore, the panoptical space offers a symbolic high point of view over the world that allows the viewer to see the whole world at a glance, to read it and eventually form a synthesis or draw some conclusions out of his experience. However, in most of these cases, the conclusion is written in advance for the visitor of the exhibition, as all narratives structuring the event and the organization of the site point in the direction of the supremacy of the host country. Jim McGuigan writes about the 1851 London expo: "Nationalism and internationalism were in a complicated interplay at the Great Exhibition,

[23] Roche prefers the concept of "performative complex" as the display is not only made up of objects but also the body in space, since Roche also considers in his analysis some sports events like the Olympics.
[24] This term is inspired by Anne McClintock who proposes in her book *Imperial Leather* (McClintock, 1995, p. 37) the notion of "panoptical time" to describe "the image of global history consumed – at a glance – in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility."

resulting in the solidification of a particular version of Britishness, the arrogant and insular feeling that the British are uniquely different from 'foreigners' in general and, implicitly, superior to everyone else" (McGuigan, 2004, p. 76).

Through this succession of competing narratives of superiority staged in different international events, the most powerful countries at the end of the XIXth century and the beginning of the XXth century engaged in a fight to define what Maurice Roche (2000, p. 38) calls the new "international public culture" and to define the place each of them had in it. Together with the expos, other international events emerged in the period, such as the modern Olympics, which were held for the first time in 1896 in Athens, just one year after the first Venice Biennale (Young, 2010). Together, these cultural events formed important media through which the spread of modern culture was negotiated and the process of cultural globalization was set in motion.

The Venice Biennale is a specialized event that takes place in this broader stream. I have already noted that its creation was strongly linked to the newly born state of the united Italy. If this royal dynasty could not compete with its European counterparts as a colonial power or as an industrial force, there was a field in which the country had been dominant for centuries: the arts. Indeed, at this period, the country still continuously witnessed the influx of European intelligentsia to admire its monuments and masterpieces. The accounts of Victorian writers like Henry James or John Ruskin are testimonies to this European fascination with Italian art and culture, which has often been perceived since the Roman Empire as the cradle of European culture as a whole. It is on this cultural notoriety that Italy built its own international event, an event capable of challenging its European rivals and showing that the country was still a dominant nation in its own right. Thus, the

establishment of such an artistic event in a city that was once one of the most prestigious intellectual and artistic centres of Europe was certainly not innocent.

The concept of the Venice Biennale is literally copied from the model of the expos. Through diplomatic channels, countries are invited to send to the Italian city their representatives who will all together form a large exhibition representing the art produced in different regions of the world. In a way, the Venice Biennale aims at producing every second year a "panoptical space" entirely dedicated to recent artistic creations. The system is still in use today as participating countries are in full control of the exhibition to be staged in their own national pavilions, which are in the majority of cases the property of their governments. Therefore, the sum of all exhibitions that form each edition of the Venice Biennale can be considered according to what I described in the first chapter as a metacultural space, that is a new ensemble created by the gathering of art works coming from various parts of the world.

Following the same developmental path as the expos, the site of the Biennale – the Giardini – has been slowly populated by national pavilions. Starting in 1907, seven of them were erected before the First World War. Today, the Giardini is fraught with 29 national pavilions, and it is almost possible to read the evolution of the world order in their disposition: the French, the German and the British occupy a central place at the top of the hill; Canada and Australia[25] stand in the shadow of the UK pavilions; the USA pavilion opens a new perspective in the middle of the garden, the Israeli pavilion immediately to its right; a series of European middle powers (Spain, Belgium, The Netherlands) lead to the main pavilion; the only African country represented in the Giardini is Egypt. The central pavilion

[25] Australia rebuilt its pavilion in time for the opening of the 56th Biennale in May 2015.

nowadays houses the main exhibition (often referred to as the international exhibition) curated by the invited artistic director; but at the origin of the event, this pavilion was the space reserved for Italian art, thus making sure that the country was not overshadowed by any of its guests.

1.2 The Venice Biennale as a global institution

The Biennale seems to have inherited from the international exhibition movement its expansionist logic, so that each edition is always bigger than the previous one. In 2013, the biennale was the biggest ever organized: the main exhibition gathered the works of 150 artists coming from more than 40 different countries, 88 nations were represented by their own exhibitions, in addition to 47 collateral events, that is to say, another series of autonomous exhibitions organized by provinces and territories, universities, private foundations, and independent organizations. In total, the official program[26] was made up of more than 130 contemporary art exhibitions. Even with the addition of the Arsenale as a second main site for the Biennale in 1979, many exhibitions have to find a space elsewhere in the city, in palazzos, churches and other venues.

This expansionist logic is now even pushed further under the reign of Paolo Baratta, the president of the Biennale since 2008. In an interview with the French magazine *Le Figaro*, he explains that there are always new countries knocking on the door of the Venice Biennale. He gives the example of Kosovo. "*Le Kosovo est devenu indépendant et rêvait de Venise, première manifestation d'un jeune pays qui se veut complet, avec l'art et la*

[26] These numbers only account for the official program of the Biennale. However, given the importance of the event for the visual arts sector, other organizations stage exhibitions in Venice during the same period with the hope of benefiting from the Biennale's visibility.

reconnaissance internationale instantanée qu'il donne. De nombreux pays veulent avoir leur pavillon permanent" (Duponchelle, 2013). And Baratta has capitalized on the eagerness of these countries to be part of the most influential contemporary art show[27] to help restore the Arsenale – a former shipyard – and grow the size of the event. With a system of long-term renting (2 million € for 500 m^2 over a period of 20 years), he has found a way to multiply the number of "permanent" national pavilions while making the Arsenale one of the largest contemporary art exhibition spaces in the world. The strategy is also part of a bigger plan to generate more revenue for the Biennale. With the contributions of sponsors and the increase in the price of entry tickets, the Biennale had a budget of approximately 14 million € in 2013.[28]

Therefore, each edition of the Biennale offers a more complete image of contemporary world creation, as the different regions of the planet increase their numerous representations.[29] However, from the international institution that it was at its beginning, the Biennale has evolved into a global institution. The superiority of one nation over others is still a pressing question in Venice, although it is more of an open question now. It has evolved from a unidirectional question to a multilateral issue. The dominant Italian exhibition of the beginning, which was designed to leave no doubt about the superiority of the peninsula, has been replaced by an international exhibition articulated around a central

[27] In 2013, ten countries were participating for the first time in the Venice Biennale: Angola, Bahamas, Kingdom of Bahrain, Republic of Ivory Coast, Republic of Kosovo, Kuwait, the Maldives, Paraguay, Tuvalu and the Holy See.

[28] This amount, of course, excludes money spent by each of the participating countries on the exhibition presented in their own national pavilions, as well as money spent by other private foundations and organizations on exhibitions staged in various spaces throughout the city.

[29] Nevertheless, some regions remain under-represented in Venice. For example, only 6 African states were represented in 2013 (Angola, Egypt, Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe), representing only 7 % of all national participation.

theme.[30] In this way there is no nationality attached to the main exhibition, as the invited curator always picks artists from a variety of countries. If this main exhibition is meant to be global in scope, the task becomes almost too big to be realized by one person, as was noted by Nicholas Serota, director of the Tate Gallery (Thornton, 2008, p. 231).

However, the structuration of the Biennale by national pavilions keeps alive the dialectic between nationalism and internationalism that has prevailed in this event since the beginning. The global character of the central exhibition has only increased the competition among national pavilions. In this context, each participating country presents its national exhibition to the international community; and the competition to determine which one is the most important, the most provocative or the most innovative is an integral part of the experience of the Biennale. The best national participation is indeed sanctioned by a prize, awarded by an independent jury. But the winner of the prize is merely the "official" best pavilion, a designation that only fuels the discussions and debates among art world insiders and other visitors each year. At the Biennale, everybody has a nationality and itineraries through the city are often determined by the geo-political affiliations that this citizenship carries. Thus, pavilions of the "friend" countries, or countries of the same region, the same linguistic group or sharing historical links create organic itineraries through the city.[31] If the visitor has to construct his or her own journey, it is because one has no choice but to make a selection in this ocean of contemporary art exhibitions. In fact,

[30] The Italians have kept a good grip on the curating of the Venice Biennale for a long period. It was only in 1995 that the position of artistic director was offered to a non-Italian – Jean Clair from France. Moreover, the Venice Biennale had always been curated by a European or an American, until 2015, when the position was occupied by Okwui Enwezor, a Nigerian-born curator now living in New York and Munich.

[31] The coverage of the Venice Biennale by the general-public and the specialized press is also often strongly coloured by national allegiances. For example, Randy Lee Cutler (2013) in his contribution to *C Magazine* enumerates all the Canadian participations in the 2013 Biennale beyond the Canadian pavilion. This kind of practice is widespread in reports about the Venice Biennale.

the Biennale has become almost too big, as many observers note. It is probably too big to be seen entirely if we believe the great number of journalists reporting how they raced across the city during the 2 or 3 press preview days to catch as much as possible.

2. Writing and publishing on contemporary art in a globalized context

An event of the magnitude of the Venice Biennale – particularly in 2013 with such a theme – if it can be overwhelming for any dedicated visitor, also represents a significant challenge for any art commentator asked to write about it. In its editorial the magazine *Art Monthly* sums up the challenge as follows: "Exposure to so much square footage of the weird, the wonderful and the wacky is at best and, at worst, like watching a freak show. The viewer is stunned into passivity so that power to discriminate between one thing and another – let alone between good and bad – is entirely eroded" ("Editorial," 2013, p. 368). What is at stake in this challenge is how can one make up one's mind in such a line-up of exhibitions? Catherine Millet, *Art Press* director and contemporary art mogul, describes the show as "an ocean where everything is everything" (Millet, 2013, p. 5), a situation only amplified by the theme selected by Gioni for the 55th Biennale. The question asked by *Art Monthly* and *Art Press* concerns the hierarchies and criteria that make the artistic qualities discernible in order to avoid a condescending art world where "artists are all great" and exhibition organizers are all "so nice" (Millet, 2013).

Any edition of the Venice Biennale provokes a massive production of texts of all kinds published in various venues. All these texts are certainly not of equal status and a brief exploration of writing and publishing practices in the art world is necessary here to delineate how I intend to approach the question at hand in regard to the Venice Biennale.

2.1- Writing about art

Works of art and artists have been the objects of some forms of writing probably since Antiquity, but not all these forms of writing would necessarily count as art criticism. If the origin of art criticism can be traced back to Antiquity (Pigeaud, 2002), many observers (Deflaux, 2008; Démoris & Ferran, 2001) situate the emergence of the modern practice in France in the XVIIIth century in conjunction with the advent of the "Salons"[32]. Annie Becq (2002, p.91) writes:

> *C'est plus précisément à l'institution des expositions publiques officielles des travaux des membres de l'Académie royale, dites Salons, qu'on lie l'apparition d'un discours consistant essentiellement en jugements de valeur (et non épars dans un propos historique, technique ou pédagogique), publié donc écrit et visant l'audience la plus large possible.*

In a world where images were difficult to reproduce and circulate, the first function of these texts was to offer a detailed description of the works of art on display at these occasions. Thus, the modern practice of art criticism came to be understood as fulfilling four different functions: description, evaluation, interpretation and expression (Frangne & Poinsot, 2002). However, as important literary figures – Denis Diderot or Charles Baudelaire are here emblematic figures – joined the movement, their texts became a literary genre (Venturi, 1969).

The practice of art criticism generates an important literature every year. In addition to countless collections of art exhibition reviews by historical figures (Baudelaire, 1992; Diderot 1967) or contemporary commentators (Pontbriand, 1998; Rubinstein 1997),

[32] The *Salon* was the official state-sponsored exhibition of living artists that was held in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. Protestations against the conservatism of the selection jury eventually led to the organization of the "Salon des refusés", which became one of the key venues for the early modern painters in France (Gombrich, 1995; Laclotte & Cuzin, 1996, pp. 2033-2036).

the existing literature on art criticism consists of a certain number of guidebooks (Barrett, 2003; McCoy, 1992) targeting students and junior critics who want to learn the job, as well as a variety of books on the history of art criticism, generally focusing on a specific period (Gee, 1993). What remains much less explored, though, is what could be described as a sociology of art writing and art criticism, as well as a political economy of publishing activities in art circles. However, a fairly developed literature on what could be called the ontology of art criticism does exist (Carroll, 2009; Joppolo, 2000), a literature often written by people who self-identify as art critics. In these texts, these writers engage in a self-reflexive account on their own practices in order to identify what defines this activity and what are the main issues surrounding its practice today. It is mainly on the basis of this literature that I would like to establish different categories that will be useful to trace the first lines of a portrait of the political economy of art writing and publishing. These elements will be useful to better understand the kinds of rules and constraints that condition the formulation of commentaries on works in these exhibition reviews.

Art criticism has been in a state of permanent "crisis" for years now, a crisis that intertwines different questions on the status of the critic and his relevance in the art world, his capacity to formulate a judgment and the conditions of writing and publishing of these texts. The British art critic Adrian Searle describes the situation as follows: "At almost every international art fair over the past few years, there has been a panel discussion about the crisis in art criticism. I have found myself talking about the topic in London, Madrid, Berlin and Miami. Wherever critics are paid to gather… they go on about the crisis" (quoted by Davis, 2013, p. 12). As an illustration of these debates, I am using here the proceedings of two conferences on the topic: the first one held in French in Montréal in October 2006

(Bernier, 2007), the second one held in English in Ballyvaughan (Ireland) and Chicago (USA) in 2005 (Elkins & Newman, 2008). Both discussions gathered together academics and professional art critics from Europe and North America.

One of the reasons why consensus cannot be reached in these discussions probably has to do with the fact that a large number of people self-identify in one way or another as "art critics", although they are engaged in very different activities. As soon as they are questioned on their practice, a first division promptly appears in this heterogeneous group of individuals. It is the division between what is often called "art journalism" (*critique de terrain*) and "academic criticism" (*critique érudite*) (Dubois, 2007). More than just a description of the work performed by two types of art critics, this division reveals more a posture towards the task at hand and is linked to the debate about the independence of the writers. The first category is often overlooked by the second one. For example, during the Ireland roundtable Abigail Solomon-Godeau, professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara, tried to distinguish her own work from "art journalism", asking if the latter can really be considered art criticism. She said: "I think there is an immediate problem when we scramble together the categories of arts journalism and art criticism, because I do not think they are the same thing". She asked: "Is arts journalism really the same as art criticism?" (Elkins & Newman, 2008, pp. 153). However, the fracture line between the two communities is not as clear as it might appear. Solomon-Godeau herself, as well as some of her colleagues who agree with her, have also published many texts in broadly circulating art magazines. Later in the discussion, Solomon-Godeau developed further the distinction between various types of art writing, while reflecting on the critical dimension of this activity. "The range of writing about contemporary art, from the level of daily journalism

through exhibition catalog texts and art magazines, provides few examples of *critical* critical writing. Everything ends up being implicitly about advocacy [...] When you write a catalog essay, you're obviously not going to write something critical, let alone negative" (Elkins & Newman, 2008, pp. 157-158). Building on this comment, the following section will explore further the types of publications that exist in the global art world and the kinds of contraints that these formats impose on writers.

2.2- Types of publications

A closer look at the different types of published texts on contemporary art will help delineate further the contours of art criticism and refine this division between art journalism and academic criticism. Looking at the vast array of publications on contemporary art, it is possible to rapidly establish a typology of art publications that will help situate exhibition reviews published in art magazines in the broader landscape of art writing and publishing. This typology contains five different types of publications that each has its own periodicity, functions, and habits. In one way or another, all these publications can be related to the Venice Biennale. However, my comments will expand more on the first three types, as they are more closely related to this event and my own analysis.

First, newspapers and general-interest magazines publish a large array of texts about the arts, which include interviews with artists and curators, previews of exhibitions, articles about the art world (market, policy, institutions, etc.), and, in the case of the Venice Biennale, texts about controversies and debates surrounding national participation as well

as on the glamour and celebrity aspects of the event.[33] All these texts would not necessarily be considered art criticism but merely reporting as it is done on many other subjects. However, many newspapers also publish reviews of exhibitions that are usually considered by their writers as a form of art criticism. These texts are generally relatively short (1-2 pages) and are intended for the general public, not necessarily specialists in the arts. If general reporting on the arts is often made by the regular staff of a newspaper, the exhibition reviews section is generally assigned to someone considered a specialist and hired for the occasion. Indeed, in a survey of 230 art critics writing for general-interest news publications in the USA conducted in 2002, the National Arts Journalism Program at Columbia University found that 60% of them were not full-time staff members of the publication for which they wrote and that even a large proportion of them (49%) were freelancer writers (with or without a formal contract). However, these art critics were highly educated since 81% of them reported formal training in art or art history, 32% at the graduate level (Szanto, 2002). The publication of these exhibition reviews generally follows closely the opening of a show. Most of the reviews of the 2013 Venice Biennale published in this kind of publication appeared during the press preview days or during the following week.

Second, magazines that have as their first mission to publish texts about the visual arts, more or less broadly defined (hereafter identified as "art magazines" or "specialized press"), also publish a variety of texts, including interviews and art world-related articles. What is usually considered art criticism in these publications is opinion texts and, here again, exhibition reviews. The reviews in these publications are generally longer (2-4

[33] These categories of texts are based on my observation of a collection of more than 250 texts published in general-interest newspapers and magazines about the Venice Biennale during the summer of 2013.

pages) and more developed. These texts usually consider the topic from an "artistic point of view" and use a specialized language and references to commonly employed concepts of art theory. They are intended for a public already initiated into art: art scene followers, art dealers, collectors, museum staff and artists. Art magazines are, most of the time, run by a very small team of full-time staff, among whom one or a few editors contribute one or two texts for each issue. The rest of the editorial content is generally produced by regular or occasional contributors to the magazines who have no formal employment links to the publication beyond these texts. There are no large-scale data available on the profile of art magazine reviewers,[34] but the next section will present some facts about the writers studied in this chapter. Yet, from my sample, it is possible to note right away that a large majority of art magazine reviewers occupy other functions in the art world (professor, gallery or museum director, editor, etc.) and their contributions to these magazines are only a very small portion of their professional activity. Finally, if these reviews are also linked to the topicality of art exhibitions, their publication follows a slower pace. A vast majority of the reviews studied in this chapter were published in the September 2013 issue of these magazines, several months after the opening of the Biennale.

Both of these types of publications (general-interest press and art magazine) are characterized by their ephemerality since they focus on the present moment and are not intended to last for future generations. However, the reviews published in both types of publications are written mostly by highly educated freelance writers who also assume other functions in the arts sector. The main difference between the two types of

[34] The academic literature on art magazines is not really developed. Apart from some elements on the history of specific magazines (Bickers, 2010; Thornton, 2008) or accounts that consider the role of certain magazines in the development of conceptual art (Allen, 2011), there is no fully developed exploration of the role of these publications in the structure of the visual arts sector.

publications resides in the public they are intended for. Nevertheless, this is a significant difference (general public vs art insiders), since it has a major consequence on how these two types of reviews are considered in the visual arts milieu and, consequently, on the impact these reviews have. In the opening of her text about the Biennale, Patricia Bickers, the editor of *Art Monthly*, talks about the "mainstream media" that convey false perceptions about the art of the UK representative at the Venice Biennale, Jeremy Deller. Clearly, Bickers does not consider herself part of this "mainstream media". Her own paper is the occasion for her to distance herself from these comments, but also to give a much more elaborate analysis of Deller's work. Bickers' attitude is similar to Solomon-Godeau's comments on the difference between journalistic criticism and academic criticism and show the higher status that is attributed to exhibition reviews published in art magazines. As one can see from these two examples, texts published in art magazines are generally considered by art world insiders to be of a superior quality in terms of engagement with the artworks discussed, and hence more prestigious in comparison to the general-interest press.

Third, a significant portion of art criticism takes the form of essays included in exhibition catalogues. Their forms and length can vary enormously from one catalogue to the next but they are always a form of commentary that accompanies the exhibition. They are published by the institution (museum, gallery, art centre, etc.) organizing the exhibition and usually launched during the opening night. The exhibition catalogue has acquired at least three major functions in the visual arts system: first, it is an archive that prolongs the life of the exhibition and keeps a record of this assemblage of artworks; second, the catalogue is designed to assume an educational function as the mediator between the public and the work of art; third, the catalogue is a promotion tool for the exhibition (Lamarche,

1999). Therefore, texts published in these documents are situated at the confluence of these three functions and, consequently, place their writer in a very peculiar situation: on the one hand, he is asked to provide a *first rough draft of art history*,[35] as he is the first to comment on newly created works of art; but, on the other hand, his text is commissioned by the institution promoting the exhibition, which, of course, limits his independence. In Venice, the Biennale published a two-volume catalogue to accompany the 55th edition: the first volume contains a text by the curator as well as 24 essays by invited contributors, together with a reproduction of at least one work by every artist presented in the international exhibition; the second volume presents a double page with reproductions and introductory texts for each participating country and each official collateral event. In addition to this, almost all the participating countries and sponsoring organizations published their own catalogue. If these essays have traditionally been produced by art specialists (journalists, independent curators and academics), recent years have witnessed a real diversification of writers solicited for these publications. The catalogue of the Biennale features texts of several art academics and other art writers, but also pieces by writers working in various fields of the humanities (psychoanalysis, history, history of science, religion, philosophy).[36]

These three types of publication are always related to the topicality of exhibitions, and any major exhibition will almost inevitably generate a mixture of these three types of texts. However, to complete our typology, two additional types of texts need to be mentioned. First, art criticism generates a great number of art theory books. Generally,

[35] This phrase is freely inspired by the famous sentence of the American publisher Philip Graham, who said in a speech in 1963 that journalism provides a first rough draft of history.

[36] It is also noticeable for an exhibition that explicitly tries to blur the lines between "insiders" and "outsiders" that no authors working outside the West were selected for this publication; a third of them are based in New York and the other two-thirds are based elsewhere in the USA (Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago), the UK and Italy.

these books adopt a broader perspective to explain some trends or to give a solid ground to certain practices. They are written by academics but also by practitioners (curators and art critics). Almost always intended for art world insiders, many of these books have become the theoretical backbone of famous exhibitions or, conversely, have been written to theorize what happened in major exhibitions. Finally, art criticism is also published in academic journals. Written almost exclusively by academics, comments offered in this kind of publication are intended to reach only a small portion of the art world, the most formally educated segment of this milieu.

2.3 The "independent" art critic

The practice of contemporary art criticism could be described as "art history in the making". Since the works of art and the curatorial statement are new propositions put on the table by the exhibition, the task of the art critic in this context is to propose a first interpretation of these works and the intellectual rationale that makes them hold together as a coherent corpus. Therefore, there is a high level of intertextuality involved in all the types of publications described in the previous section. Fauchon Deflaux (2010) proposes to consider art criticism as the articulation between two media devices: the exhibition and the review. Indeed, the contemporary art exhibition is a discourse put forth by the curator, and the role of the art critic is to answer this proposition with his own text. On the one hand, the exhibition catalogue is the site where the curatorial proposition is made explicit by the curator himself and the invited contributors. On the other hand, the exhibition review is an answer to this curatorial proposition. Thus, by its specific nature, the exhibition review

takes place in a large network of texts, but it is always at least the second utterance in a conversation started by the curatorial proposition.

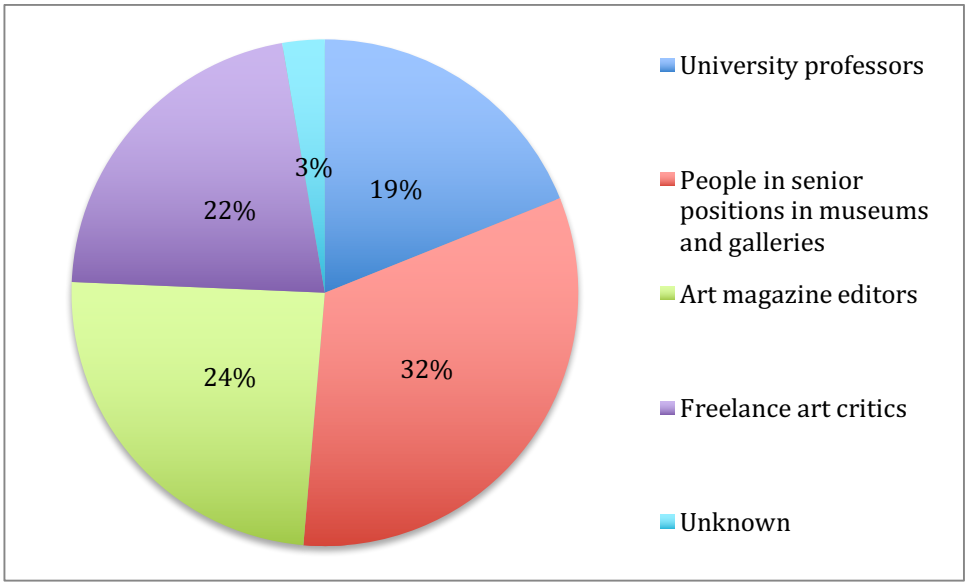
As they take place in a long literary tradition, exhibition reviews are still thought to be independent commentaries made on the works of the artists presented in the exhibition and the curatorial proposition. However, the level of independence that these writers enjoy in this exercise is strongly linked to the interchangeability of roles in the art world. Indeed, as we have seen in the previous section, art criticism in its various forms is produced by a more or less homogeneous group of art world insiders fulfilling successively, or even simultaneously, various functions (writer, editor, curator, museum director, etc.). Moreover, a majority of art writers will produce for more than one type of publication over the course of their career, or even produce texts for different types of publications at the same time. It is important to note that the position of the "independent" art critic is, most of the time, only a temporary position occupied by an individual in this network of people active on the art scene. Therefore, the position of the judge and the object of judgment might be reversed very quickly in this circular dynamic. Thus, the art critic always walks the fine line separating his independence as an observer of the contemporary art scene and his own involvement as an active member of this community.

As Christine Bernier notes, the practice of art criticism is nowadays totally integrated into the art system, which is increasingly defined by a circular dynamic involving various cultural institutions (notably museums and universities) (Bernier, 2007). This situation triggers many questions about the position of the art critic and his possibility of formulating a judgment on the work of art. At the centre of the debate is the role of the art critic: is he simply the promoter or the advocate of the work he writes about, in charge of

raising awareness and eventually educating the public; or is he the interpreter of the work, providing a judgment on it and formulating significant comments on the art production? In short, is the art critic a mediator or a judge? Are we in front of a critical discourse or a celebratory discourse?

The idealized position of the outside observer was created in reference to the historic figure of the art critic of the 19th century. It has been noted, though, that this historical construction romanticizes the position of the literary art critic and creates expectations that are beyond what has been achieved by these writers (Desrochers, 2007). Nevertheless, the art critic is put in a fragile position in which he constantly has to fight to maintain his relevance in the art circuits. If the position of total independence remains utopian for any art critic, the opposite position of being subservient to an institution or an artist would prove extremely harmful for critics and their credibility as accurate interlocutors in contemporary art circles.

The professional status of these writers plays an important role in the position that they adopt as an art critic. I have examined the professional status of the writers who produced the 40 exhibition reviews that will be studied in detail in the next section and four profiles are clearly distinguishable.



University professors wrote 19% of the reviews of the Venice Biennale. They are professors in departments of fine arts or art history in some of the most prestigious universities in North America and Europe (Harvard, Stanford, Yale). However, they do not form the most populous group of reviewers, since 32% of reviews were written by people who occupy senior positions – most of the time directorships – in famous art museums or galleries in Europe and North America. It is also noticeable that one of them had been artistic director of the Venice Biennale, and another one would soon be.[37] A third group is made up of magazine editors who publish their own texts. They were responsible for 24% of the Biennale reviews studied here. In fact, 40% of the magazines publishing reviews of the Venice Biennale reserved this assignment for their editor(s). Finally, the last group of writers consists of freelance art critics, who produced 22% of the reviews. This is probably the most heterogeneous group, although two other professional activities fill up the agenda of a large portion of this group of people: they are either editors of another publication or freelance curators, or even a combination of the two activities.

[37] Daniel Birnbaum was the artistic director of the 53rd Venice Biennale (2009), and Okwui Enwezor was the artistic director of the 56th edition held in 2015.

Almost all of these writers are alternatively curator, catalogue essay writers, reviewers and, in some cases, artists themselves.[38] If this particular configuration of the art sector imposes limitations on the independence of the writer, it would be simplistic to conclude that exhibition reviews are only promotional texts or complaisant celebrations of the work of friends and allies. Such a position would be a total negation of the complexity of power relations at play in the art world. Following Fanchon Deflaux, this chapter instead considers exhibition reviews as a singular, "representation of the exhibition". Deflaux argues: "*L'opérativité symbolique et sociale du compte rendu réside ainsi dans la mise en tension du discours expographique proposé par le commissaire. En effet, c'est en s'inscrivant en décalage par rapport au point de vue curatorial, en mettant en perspective ce point de vue primaire, que l'énonciateur peut exister en tant que critique*" (Deflaux, 2010). It is this "*décalage*" that needs to be questioned to see what kinds of values are carried by the art critic.

2.4 The global art magazine

As the literature on the political economy of media (Mosco, 2009) has clearly demonstrated many times, the level of independence of a writer is also linked to the media outlet for which he or she writes. However, communication studies scholars have tended to be more interested in the general-interest press and how it is related to big corporations and media empires. For their part, art historians and art commentators are generally not interested in political economy studies. For example, when asked to prepare an

[38] According to Jean-Marc Poinsot (2007), the American art critic Benjamin Buchloh and a few of his colleagues claim that their position as academics guarantees their independence as art critics. For this reason, they almost never get involved in the organization of exhibitions, although they write essays for exhibition catalogues, which are understood as a part of the critic's work.

introductory text for the Art Seminar on art criticism, Michael Schreyach states right at the outset that for him collecting data on writing and publishing was not an option (Elkins & Newman, 2008). This conjuncture probably explains partly why there is almost no literature on the political economy of art magazines. This study remains to be done, but it largely exceeds the framework of this dissertation. However, in the following section, I will draw a modest portrait of the international art magazine landscape, based on the sample of magazines studied in this case.

As the main research question of this dissertation deals with power relations in the global art world, the corpus is constituted of magazines that claim to be international in scope and that are circulating internationally. I did not include in the corpus all the texts on the Venice Biennale found in these magazines but only the exhibition reviews, by which I mean all the texts that provide a critical appraisal or formulate developed comments on the content of the exhibition (both the curatorial statement and the works of art).

The corpus comprises 40 exhibition reviews published in 15 international art magazines (the complete list of these articles in presented in Appendix 1). All magazines, but one, are based in Europe or North America. There is a concentration of these magazines in the USA (6) and the UK (5); the others are based in France, Italy, Canada and Colombia. All the reviews are published in English, which is largely the most commonly used language in the global art world. However, in three cases the publication in English is the international edition of a magazine originally published in another language. The magazine *Art Press*, which originally published only in French, became bilingual in 1992 in an attempt to reach a larger international public, whereas the magazines *Flash Art* and *Art Nexus*

publish entirely English versions of their magazines that are also published in Italian and Spanish, respectively.[39]

A vast majority of these magazines are well-established and prestigious publications on the arts. They all specialize in contemporary art, except three (*Apollo*, *Burlington Magazine* and *ARTnews*) that are general art magazines covering historical and contemporary topics alike. These three magazines are also the oldest, with *ARTnews* and the *Burlington Magazine* dating back to the first years of the XXth century and *Apollo* being created in 1925. *Art in America* is the oldest magazine focusing mostly on contemporary art (1913), since the majority of its competitors were created in the 1970's and 1980's. The most recent magazine included in this corpus is *Frieze*, which was launched in 1991.

Almost all of them could be qualified as independent publications since they are run either as non-profit organizations or as small businesses publishing only one or a few issues. The exceptions to this rule are *Apollo*, *Modern Painters*, and *Art in America*. However, there is no common denominator between these three magazines that are in three slightly different situations. *Apollo* is now integrated to the media empire of the Barclay Brothers – David and Frederick Barclay, twin brothers and billionaire business partners based in the UK – that also includes *The Spectator* and the *Daily Telegraph*. *Modern Painters* is also part of a media group, but a much smaller one: Louise Blouin Media, which specializes in art publications. This media group includes some magazines and websites dedicated to various segments of the arts and book publishing companies. Finally, *Art in America*, is the property of Peter Brant, a wealthy American business man in the paper industry. Brant is also an

[39] It is also interesting to note the opposite movement. The magazine *Frieze*, which was published in English since its inception, now publishes a new bilingual version of the magazine in English and German.

important art collector. He purchased the magazine in 1984 and created Brant Publishing, which now publishes three art magazines.

All the magazines included in our sample published at least one review of the 2013 Venice Biennale, but some of them extended their coverage of the gigantic manifestation, as can be seen in the following list.

Art Monthly	3 reviews
Art Press	5 reviews
Flash Art	7 reviews
Frieze	7 reviews
Art Forum	8 reviews

To conduct the analysis of these texts a series of questions was addressed to each of them: What is the central thesis of the author AND/OR what is the great narrative of art development used by the author? What is the connection between these elements and the selection of artworks or the judgment made on them? Which pavilions or artwork are qualified positively or negatively and for what reasons? What is the author's position on cross-cultural encounters? What kinds of strategies of authority does the author use? The answers to these questions inform the following analysis.

3. The art critic in the middle of a battlefield

During the Ireland roundtable on art criticism, Boris Groys, from the Academy of Design in Karlsruhe (Germany), argued that whether a paper is favourable to an artist or not, does not really matter in the end, since even a bad critique may have a positive effect on the career of an artist (Elkins & Newman, 2008, p. 157). According to this logic, what counts more than anything for an artist is the coverage that he or she receives in the press, and even more importantly in the specialized press.

If one looks at the national pavilions that have caught the attention of the largest number of art critics in our 40 reviews, one obtains the following list.

Number of mentions in the specialized press	
7 mentions	• France • Germany • Great Britain • Iraq
6 mentions	• Lebanon • United States
5 mentions	• Angola • Ireland • Romania

Not surprisingly, we find in first position what Daniel Birnbaum calls in his review of the Biennale the "powerful triangle" (France-Germany-Great Britain), and in the second position the unavoidable United States. What is more surprising, though, is the rest of the list and particularly the presence of three non-European countries: Iraq, Lebanon, and Angola.

If this list suggests at first glance that the coverage of a global contemporary art event such as the Venice Biennale now enjoys a great level of diversity, a closer look at the discourse carried out by these exhibition reviews reveals a much more complicated situation. Here, I would like to suggest that contemporary art criticism could be understood as a battleground where a war of positions (Hall et al., 1996) is taking place. My analysis of the content of the 40 exhibition reviews considered in this chapter reveals four positions in regard to the question of diversity. The first position shows a total "denial of artistic

diversity" and treats the art world as a single homogeneous community. The second position is what I call a "diversity of surface", since it considers some elements of diversity although only in a superficial way. The third position represents an attempt to "counter Western artistic hegemony" and present non-Western manifestations as resisting the homogenizing conception of art. Finally, the fourth position is closer to an "aesthetic cross-cultural dialogue" in which artistic propositions coming from all regions of the world are treated as much as possible on an equal footing. These positions form a spectrum of the degree of openness of art critics to propositions coming from outside the well-established Western world. The following sections describe successively how the 40 exhibition reviews studied here can be classified in these four positions.

3.1 Denying artistic diversity

The first position has to be described as a negation of artistic diversity. Indeed, in several texts there is, in one way or another, a rejection of the plurality of artistic languages, and global art world is instead considered as a single community of production and evaluation that shares a common and unifying language game. The art critics studied here express this position either explicitly or implicitly in their reviews of the Venice Biennale.

In its explicit formulation, it takes the form of an *a priori* disqualification of any artistic production created by people evolving outside of the well-established Western art system with its specific markers of professionalism and artistic excellence. Commenting on some of the pieces presented in Gioni's exhibition, New York-based art critic Dan Fox writes, for example, that these "marginalia to art history" are produced by individuals "not quite as in control of their ideas as those with MFAs and gallery representation." He adds:

"It's like making the distinction between astronomers and astrologists, only in the field of art we do not have the tools of physics and mathematics with which to prove that one group has more of a handle on truth than the other" (Fox, 2013). On that point, he is in agreement with his colleague at *Frieze* for whom the "MFA-gallery-museum-biennial complex" (Thorne, 2013) also serves as an accurate definition of the "professional artist". Thus, one can easily recognize here the often-repeated attack against artists evolving outside the mainstream art world. Since this system is raised to the level of a professional standard, any work of art produced outside its boundaries is disqualified right away as it is deemed non-professional and implicitly of an inferior artistic quality.

In its implicit formulation, however, the negation of artistic diversity is more complex and consequently more difficult to identify. Three examples will demonstrate here how the construction of the text itself may *de facto* produce the same result as the explicit denial of artistic diversity, that is to say a global art world treated as a unified community using a single artistic language.

In his text entitled *The Entropic Encyclopedia*, the famous art critic and Harvard University professor Benjamin Buchloh (2013) focuses exclusively on works of art produced in the Western world: the USA, Belgium and UK pavilions, as well as some works included in the main exhibition. The whole text is articulated around issues surrounding the Western sculptural tradition and the artists that catch his attention are those who propose new developments in this tradition. Therefore, the USA pavilion contains the strongest proposition according to him, as Sarah Sze is presenting what he qualifies as "post-pop" art in reference to the work of Jeff Koons and Damian Hirst. It is also with regard to this tradition that he evaluates positively the proposition presented in the Belgium pavilion by

Berlinde De Bruyckere, whereas the work of Jeremy Deller in the UK pavilion seems to him less convincing.

In a way similar to Buchloh's, the editor of *Art Press*, Anaël Pigeat builds her own account around the theme of history and archives, which she identifies as a recurrent theme of postmodern art. The emergence of this theme is one of the symptoms of the passage from the modern era to the postmodern era, as she clearly indicates in the first sentences of her review. "The avant-garde [the modern in the French version of the text] craving for a *tabula rasa* ran out long ago, and today's artists thrive on an abundance of documents and archives, whether real or imagined. This new edition of the Venice Biennale makes that obvious" (Pigeat, 2013). Therefore, the choice of the pavilions and collateral events that Pigeat discusses is guided by this theme, showing that a plethora of exhibitions have been organized with this well-established feature of postmodern art in mind. From Europe and USA, where it finds its sources, the theme has now populated the art landscape of other continents; she discusses mainly some propositions coming from Africa.

One of the co-editors of *Frieze*, Jörg Heiser, takes a really targeted approach to construct his own contribution to the magazine coverage of the Venice Biennale. Indeed, his review discusses only three videos (works by the French Camille Henrot, the British Mark Lecker, and the German Hito Steyerl), all included in the international exhibition. The works of these three artists encapsulate, according to him, the vanguard in art video production, and this is why he has chosen to concentrate solely on them. For him, Gioni's proposition is disappointing because it gives too much space to outsiders and historical figures, but at least the show also includes some cutting-edge pieces. He writes: "Seen together, the works of all three artists touch on the central political challenges and aesthetic needs of our time"

(Heiser, 2013). Being in phase with the social and political state of mind of his society is here highly praised as an essential quality of any artist aspiring to produce the most advanced artistic expression. Not only are these pieces the vanguard with respect to aesthetic development, but they are also capable of catching the zeitgeist of our time. In sum, these three pieces represent the newest stage in the progress of Western art.

Thus, these three reviews operate in a similar way to formulate some comments on a selection of pieces presented in this Biennale. Adopting a historical perspective, Buchloh's review is concerned with how the selected pieces enter these lines of development of Western art. Pigeat's review instead isolates a particular theme, which occupies a specific place in this historical development of Western art, to see how this theme resonates worldwide. Finally, Heiser's review turns aesthetic vanguard and thematic relation to the current into a criterion that also finds its roots in the Western art tradition and current state of development of the Western world. Taken together, these texts form a sample of the Western critical reception, which induces specific historical, thematic and criterial determinants. In the context of a global event such as the Venice Biennale, this single framework is used predominantly by several art critics to situate a selection of works, but also to judge works produced outside the Western art system.

3.2 A diversity of surface

The second position is characterized by what I call a diversity of surface. Indeed, it describes the position of several art critics who acknowledge the existence of a form of diversity, and in many cases they celebrate it. However, this diversity is only captured through the citizenship of the artists presenting their work or through the properties of

specific exhibition spaces, but the impact of such an allegiance on the development of the works remains largely unquestioned.

Before exploring this position further, it needs to be noted that for a small group of art critics this diversity of surface can serve as a form of disclaimer that gets the writer off the hook vis-à-vis this enormous Biennale which simply offers too much to see and too much to comment on. For example, Randy Lee Cutler opens his review of the Biennale with this sentence: "Composed of national pavilions, collateral events, ad hoc presentations and Massimiliano Gioni's curated exhibition *The Encyclopedic Palace*, the 55th Venice Biennale is a large rambling sprawl, nearly impossible to fathom as a whole, yet rich in its diverse offerings" (Cutler, 2013). Here, diversity serves as a general description for this show that, in the words of another art critic, itemizes "a variety of topics" and a "vast range of perspectives" (Remes, 2013). But as vast and as multiple as it is, it becomes almost impossible to make up one's mind about the whole, and the art critic then contents himself with a series of partial comments as diverse as the exhibition, running the risk of being only too disparate.

However, a more important group of writers adopts a nationalistic approach to the question of diversity to take note of a number of crossovers between nations and their citizenry. A good example of this is provided by the review dedicated entirely to the work of Anri Sala presented under French patronage (Mooney, 2013a). Indeed, a large portion of Mooney's review is dedicated to exploring the various border-crossings that this exhibition implies. First, Sala himself is originally from Albania, naturalized French, but currently living in Berlin. His work is presented by France but in the German pavilion since the two countries have exchanged their exhibition space this year to celebrate the 50th anniversary

of the Élysée Treaty. More than this structural hybridity, the thematic of the installation also involves a series of trans-border circulation. Titled *Ravel Ravel Unravel*, the work involves a concerto, composed by a French musician – Maurice Ravel – and commissioned by an Austrian pianist – Paul Wittgenstein – forced into exile by the German Nazis, now played by the Orchestre nationale de France and two pianists, one French, one Canadian.[40] For Mooney, a great deal of the interest of this work resides in the historical and political implications these structural and thematic circulations carry.[41] For him, this exhibition, in this particular venue, with this particular context "celebrate[s] the seemingly boundless and borderless energies of contemporary art".

Thus, many art critics adopting this position of diversity of surface question whether the national pavilion tradition in Venice does not reveal an art world in which borders have completely disappeared. In his article *The Giardini in the Post-National Era*, Erik Verhagen writes: "Globalization has made the tradition of national pavilions obsolete and embarrassing, not to mention dubious" (Verhagen, 2013). He takes the France-Germany pavilion switch as the main proof that the art world has entered a post-national era. Moreover, Germany opened its own space to the work of three (out of four) non-German artists, among whom was the extremely visible Chinese dissident artist Ai Weiwei. This whole situation is perceived by the art critic as a truly positive development for the future of art internationally.

Verhagen's colleague Anaël Pigeat argues along the same lines in the preceding pages of the same magazine. For her as well, the pavilion tradition in Venice is somewhat

[40] This last nationality is not mentioned by Mooney who simply identifies them as "francophone".
[41] Topics that imply trans-border circulation caught the attention of several art critics in this edition of the Venice Biennale. Other often-cited examples are the Irish pavilion that presented a video installation about civil war in the Congo (Blood, 2013; Remes, 2013) and the pavilion of the Bahamas that housed an exhibition on the North Pole (Ambrosio, 2013; Cembalest, 2013).

out-dated and should eventually be revised. She writes: “But even as African countries reaffirm the principle of national pavilions, it seems to be in shreds everywhere else” (Pigeat, 2013). This is a surprising comment considering that the two pavilions that she discusses the most in the first part of her article are the British and the Lebanese ones. The former questions the notion of “Britishness” with a series of interventions targeting historical figures and popular culture of Britain, whereas the latter tells the story of an unknown episode of recent national conflict. She also neglects to consider the Kenyan pavilion, though she mentioned it in passing in the previous passage. But a very large portion of the Kenyan space was shared with Chinese artists. Pigeat prefers to emphasize the swap of exhibition space between France and Germany, as well as the joint venture of Cyprus and Lithuania, who decided to pool their resources to create a common pavilion this year. This article is representative of a dominant art discourse that maintains that the art world is evolving towards a “post-national” state, and consequently that the old tradition of structuring the event around national pavilions should be abandoned. In this context, to suggest that Africa sticks to this nationalistic tradition is also to suggest that the continent is backward as regards the evolution of contemporary art and its presentation.

This discourse promoting a post-national art scene in Venice goes beyond the reviews published in the specialized press. Indeed, the jury of the 55th Venice Biennale awarded a special mention to the Cyprus-Lithuania pavilion. The jury noted that this was an “original curatorial format that brings together two countries in a singular experience” (press release, Venice Biennale). Claire Bishop reports in her piece about the pavilion that many observers qualified this experience as an “unforgettably atmospheric nonpavilion

that sets new standards for post-national, site-specific representation in Venice" (Bishop, 2013).

3.3 Countering Western artistic hegemony

The Venice Biennale, with its representations coming from all continents, is also the site where a counteroffensive against the hegemony of the Western art system is taking place. Indeed, the third position describes the position of art critics who use the opportunity provided by this international exhibition to try to legitimize the art production coming from outside the Western world. This position takes two different forms: first, a preservation stance that aims at protecting art against the too strong normativity imposed by the Western art system and, second, a legitimation stance that attempts to establish the credibility of a country or a region as a producer of up-to-date contemporary art.

For art critics who adopt the preservation attitude, the Western art world is a corrupting system that deprives artists of their singularity and originality. The position of these critics is in total opposition to the explicit negation of artistic diversity, explored in section 3.1, which makes belonging to the Western art system a guarantee of professionalism and artistic quality. Here, in reverse, the Western art system is responsible for the alteration of a certain purity that characterizes the work of non-Western artists.

A good example of this position is to be found in the text "Venice INSIDE OUT," published in *Art Monthly*. In this account, the editor of the magazine, Patricia Bickers tackles the notion of insider/outsider proposed by Gioni as a curatorial statement. She writes: "While Gioni's levelling approach might appear to be a democratic opening-up of the field of art through a generalized definition of creativity, it is actually the very opposite; his is the

controlling hand throughout" (Bickers, 2013). Bickers argues along the same lines in her appreciation of different pavilions. For her, the real dividing line between insiders and outsiders is determined by the highly market-driven art world. The real innovation is to be found in artists who evolve outside this system, as for example the artists presented in the Iraqi pavilion who are "yet innocent of international representation". Moreover, Bickers depicts the art world as a devouring machine that consumes everything that catches its attention. Talking about the work of Farid Rasulov, presented in the Azerbaijan pavilion, she writes: "It can only be a matter of time before Sotheby's, whose sleek water taxi circled the lagoon like a predatory shark, snaps up his work." This global art world for her is made of power and money, which determine what is forced into the margin and what will be brought to light; but this is only a "decadent appetite for mere stimulation rather than a desire to truly engage with art on its own terms, a passive wish to consume rather than to enter into dialogue."

More than a description of the structural constraints imposed by the global art world, her argument becomes a criterion to establish her judgment about the various pavilions. Indeed, she sees in the Romanian pavilion a resistance to the market-oriented art world that would have received the Golden Lion for best national participation if she were to choose. This pavilion featured only five performers in an empty room miming famous works of art presented in Venice throughout the long history of the Biennale. This immaterial reconstitution of modern art history is worth noting for her, especially in a world where material wealth is everywhere. Resistance to Western hegemony as a criterion is not exclusive to Patricia Bickers. Rather than concentrating on the business aspect of the global art world, Carlos Jimenez focuses on the cultural aspect of this situation in his own

account published in the Colombia-based magazine *Art Nexus*. He maintains that this Biennale is truly multicultural since it includes the work of artists "who do not squarely fit into what until very recently were the unquestioned canons of Western art, coined by an equally homogeneous modernity" (Jiménez, 2013). Consequently, he divides national pavilions into two groups. On the one hand, there are pavilions that are built on "emphatic affirmations of an artistic discourse that remains hegemonic in the West". His two examples – Brazil and Mexico – exhibit works that are historically situated in line with the development of Western art: the former draws on the legacy of modern art, whereas the latter takes place in the acoustic art tradition developed in the West. On the other hand, the second group is made up of pavilions that, contrary to the first group, feature elements that are not common in Western art production. Some pavilions replace the Western art tradition by their own national or regional artistic tradition. Jimenez gives the example of the Indonesian pavilion that makes references to traditional architecture of the country and to its traditional puppet craftsmanship. Other pavilions include works that are thematically related to their region. Here, his example is the pavilion of the Instituto Italo-Latino Americano (IILA) where different video installations engage with key cultural elements of the region: anthropological research of the 1950s, a 10,000-year-old sculpture park, festivities of the First Nation people.

Jimenez presents the introduction of these non-Western cultural elements in the mode of resistance to the invasive Western discourse on art: the pavilions that receive his most positive evaluation are those that are built on non-Western cultural elements. However, his text is closely akin to the legitimation stance, since it is also an attempt to give a voice to the art of a region of the world, in his case mainly Latin America. Indeed, the

Venice Biennale is a rare occasion to shed light on the artistic production of a region that mostly stays in the dark the rest of the time. To do this, international art magazines call upon new collaborators who are considered specialists on these regions. Thus, *Artforum* asked Negar Azimi[42] to write about the Iraqi pavilion; *Flash Art* hired Arsalan Mohammad[43] to cover the Middle East pavilions and Alia Swastika[44] to look at the Asian ones; and *Frieze* commissioned a text from Sean O'Toole[45] on the African pavilions. None of these writers, except Sean O'Toole, are regular contributors to these magazines.

This situation puts these exceptional collaborators *de facto* in the position of being representatives of their region, in charge of making the global audience reached by these publications discover the art of the region they cover. Arsalan Mohammad clearly assumes the position of an advocate for the art of his region. Right at the beginning of his article he makes a clear statement in that direction. "Barely a decade ago, artists of Arab and Persian origin were still regarded by many West of Suez as a global novelty. How times have changed. Middle Eastern art has never been so strong, vital and globally visible as today" (Mohammad, 2013). The whole paper is articulated around this central argument that Middle Eastern art is now engaged in a fast-evolving process that will soon guarantee it a place on the international art circuit. He gives developed comments on the Turkish and the Lebanese pavilions, as well as the exhibition *Otherwise Occupied* featuring the works of two Palestinian artists. These are all examples of outstanding exhibitions in his opinion.

[42] Negar Azimi is the senior editor of *Bidoun*, an art and culture magazine (based in NY) specializing on the Middle East.
[43] Arsalan Mohammad is the editor in Chief of *Harper's Bazaar Art Arabia*, a magazine dedicated to art and culture of the Middle East, published from Dubai.
[44] Alia Swastika is a writer and curator based in Jakarta (Indonesia). She was part of the team of six co-artistic directors of the 2012 Gwangju Biennal (Korea).
[45] Sean O'Toole is a writer and co-editor of *CityScape*, a critical journal for urban enquiry. He lives in Cape Town, South Africa.

Throughout the text, Mohammad re-emphasizes the important development the art of the region went through and the promising future that is foreseeable. He says for example about the pavilion of the United Arab Emirates that after two unremarkable participations, the country came up in 2013 with a "low-key yet deeply affecting work [that] has set the bar high for future UAE participations." The international recognition of the region is not completely achieved yet, as the following remark on the international exhibition suggests: "Massimiliano Gioni's 'Encyclopedic Palace' nevertheless failed to pick up on any significant contributions from the East". However, this did not affect the confidence of the author about the art of the region. He adds immediately: "No matter. There is always next time." He concludes his article with a sentence that leaves no doubt about his desire to see the art produced in the region being considered seriously by the global audience: "After once existing in the curatorial margins, this year's Biennale shows that the contemporary art of the Middle East is finally standing proudly in its own right."

However, art critics are not the only ones to carry out this legitimation attempt. On the contrary, the Venice Biennale provides countries and regions enjoying less visibility on the international art scene a chance to catch the attention of a global audience. Thus, some countries use Venice as an opportunity to raise their artistic profile and change their international image. In 2013, Iraq deployed many efforts to be noticed in this ocean of contemporary art exhibitions. After a presence at the 54th edition of the Biennale, for which the country was criticized for not including artists residing on its territory, Iraq changed its approach. The Ruya Foundation for Contemporary Culture in Iraq was created, and the new organization hired Jonathan Watkins, a UK-based curator active in the international Biennale scene, to curate its pavilions. Watkins selected eleven artists, all of them living in

different regions of Iraq. Adopting an anthropological approach, the curator installed his exhibition in a friendly apartment overseeing the Grand Canal, where, together with the works of art, other elements of the Iraqi culture were at the disposal of the visitor: books, music, tea and kleytcha (traditional biscuits). Entitled *Welcome to Iraq*, this exhibition was a deliberate attempt, first, to change the image of the country from "war, destruction, displacement" to "art, creativity and resilience" and, second, to take a "small but significant step towards free cultural exchange between Iraq and the rest of the world" (Watkins & Chalabi, 2013).

It must be concluded that this initiative has borne fruit, since the pavilion was among the most discussed ones, together with France, Germany and Great Britain. The pavilion even generated two texts dedicated exclusively to the Iraqi experience (published in *Frieze* and *Artforum*). In the first text, the art critic became the relay of this legitimation operation. Indeed, the editor of *Frieze*, Jennifer Higgie, confessed bluntly: "I know next to nothing about Iraqi art – and I don't think I'm alone in that – but the show is terrific" (Higgie, 2013). Here, Higgie seems to abandon the prerogative of independence of the art critic and instead to endorse the choices made by the curator. The selection of a UK-based curator was probably no disadvantage to the level of attention the pavilion received in the specialized press and the sympathy with which the pavilion was treated in *Frieze*. However, for both the curator and the art critic, this structural element is not worth questioning. Higgie quotes Watkins saying that he was selected as curator of the show only because "There are no curators in Iraq."

The attitude of the "specialized" reviewer hired by *Artforum* is more nuanced. She seriously engaged with several works presented in the pavilion and commented on the

curatorial proposition. She wrote: “Neither ethnographic, lugubriously humanitarian, nor straightforwardly political [...] the work in the pavilion is probably a faithful reflection of contemporary art from Iraq” (Azimi, 2013). In this way, she is approaching an authentic cross-cultural aesthetic dialogue.

3.4 Entering into an cross-cultural aesthetic dialogue

The fourth position is more or less an idealized position, for it describes the attitude of art critics who walk the fine line of aesthetic hybridity, where one culture is not constantly measured in relation to a dominant one, while at the same time this non-dominant culture is not situated as a counteroffensive intended to replace the dominant culture. This is a very difficult position to achieve and attempts of the kind are always imperfect. Nevertheless, some of the art critics writing about the Venice Biennale suggest some perspectives for what can be called a “postcolonial aesthetic”.

The piece by Negar Azimi on the Iraqi pavilion, mentioned at the conclusion of the last section, is a good example of that attitude. In the conclusion of her text, she confronts two interpretations of the design of the pavilion as a comfortable apartment full of Arabian cultural elements. On the one hand, she mentions that this is a brave decision in the context of the contemporary art setting, which is often reluctant to include any demonstration of “gratuitous signs of sentimentality or, alternatively, the claptrap of cultural specificity” (Azimi, 2013). On the other hand, this “Arabian Nights setting” is also unnecessary, since “the works are more than capable of speaking for themselves, without any help from Scheherazade.”

This remark by Azimi points to a first condition of this postcolonial aesthetics, which is to engage seriously with the work exhibited, without the clichés that are often associated with the nationality of the pavilion where it is presented. In the case of the Iraqi pavilion, the mythology surrounding Arabian culture is questioned as a thematic that both distinguishes and encloses the interpretation of the work. A second example of this attitude is to be found in the review of the Bahamas pavilion published in *Flash Art*. Since the thematic proposed in this pavilion deals with the North Pole, most of the articles published on it focused on the incongruity of such a subject for a Caribbean island. In *Flash Art*, Daniela Ambrosio concentrated on travel and migration, and therefore avoided the clichés associated with the south, to emphasize one of the key themes of this exhibition: the relation between humans and nature (Ambrosio, 2013).

Providing more than a mere discussion on the thematic proposed by the non-Western pavilion, Sean O'Toole – who writes regularly on contemporary African Art – elaborates detailed comments on four of the six African pavilions, in addition to some comments on the presence of African artists in Gioni's exhibition and the involvement of an African in the Belgium pavilion. He establishes a conceptual relation between the photographs of Edson Chagas, representing Angola, and the work of Franck Abd-Bakar Fanny, presented in the pavilion of the Ivory Coast. For him, both African photographers capture the "unvarnished texture of urban space, one in which the human subject is largely implied, not figured" (O'Toole, 2013), a *modus operandi* they share with the European photographer Brassaï. O'Toole also concludes his reviews with some thoughts on the works of Papa Ibra Tall that were included in the main exhibition. He describes him as "the

Senegalese painter who returned to Dakar from Paris in 1960 to teach 'black plastic arts' and extend the remit of the Négritude idea."

In his review, O'Toole situates himself as a specialist on contemporary African art, capable of producing an informed and fully developed account of this production. This attitude is the opposite of the one adopted by his colleague Jennifer Higgie in the same magazine; she contents herself with superficial comments on the Iraqi pavilion.

Conclusion

The Venice Biennale is a metacultural space dedicated to contemporary art. The event provides visitors with an ensemble of exhibitions that allow them to get a sense of the state of contemporary visual creation of the moment. Each of its editions prides itself on presenting the most cutting-edge propositions in the global art world, but also a more comprehensive image of contemporary creation from around the world. To achieve that goal, the Venice Biennale is caught in an expansionist logic that makes it constantly look for new national participations and a bigger international exhibition gathering contributions from various regions of the world. In this way the event can still claim to be one of the biggest shows on earth both from the physical point of view, with its countless independent exhibitions presented in the same place, and from the symbolic point of view, with the influence it retains in visual art circles. As has been discussed several times in this dissertation, many commentators argue that the dominant paradigm in visual art today is one form or another of pluralism. Hence, the organizers of the Venice Biennale are always keen to recruit contributions from the most unexpected countries, which will increase the

importance of the manifestation and maintain its prestige as one of the most influential events in contemporary art circles.

Nevertheless, the deal offered by the Venice Biennale is certainly not without advantages for these countries that are not necessarily contemporary art centres. Indeed, the prestigious celebration of contemporary art provides a chance to be seen by influential art critics, curators and museum directors, who are all in the Italian city for the very well-attended opening week. In this perspective, this is a unique chance for an artist to have one of his pieces be noticed by people who would otherwise probably never visit the artist's studio or the galleries where he usually exhibits. Yet, in this ocean of contemporary art exhibitions, a simple participation is not enough to guarantee this visibility and every competitor coming to Venice has to fight to get the attention of some of the most influential art critics on the planet who visit the show.

If comments formulated by art critics in widely circulating art magazines are no doubt one of the key mechanisms of recognition in the global art world, it would be simplistic to make art critics omnipotent figures who randomly pick and choose what is to be the next big thing on the visual art planet. The practice of art criticism takes place in a long intellectual tradition, which forces commentators to respect the genre, to demonstrate their command of a body of knowledge and to inscribe their comments within a certain intellectual framework. This compliance with expectations related to the genre guarantee their own legitimacy as serious art critics writing for prestigious internationally read magazines. Most of the time, it is not just their position as an art critic that is at stake but more generally their overall position in the global art world. As section 2 of this chapter has demonstrated, art critics are part of a broader art milieu in which they occupy serially or at

the same time several positions as professor, museum director, curator, etc. Therefore, art critics are the representatives of an "erudite prestige" in which their reputation as cultivated men and women capable of discussing the most advanced artistic utterances is the indispensable requisite of their association with various prestigious artistic institutions.

The comments they elaborate in their exhibition reviews reflect this status. Even though this chapter has demonstrated various opinions in regard to the question of diversity, all of the critics have to situate themselves vis-à-vis a tradition that is largely grounded in a Western conception of art. To take into account this tradition, and the body of knowledge behind it, has consequences on the treatment of artistic propositions coming from outside the mainstream art world. On one side of the spectrum we have seen critics who operate solely within the Western artistic development scheme (the first position described). If other critics are more open to diversity, one can only note that clichés and prejudices about art produced outside the Western world remain abundant and art critics who truly engage with these works (the fourth position described) remain exceptions. That is certainly because the reference framework for critical discourse on art remains largely dominated by the Western tradition.

Moreover, as this chapter has demonstrated, in the metacultural space that the Venice Biennale forms, the critical discourse on pieces coming from the periphery of contemporary art is routinely marginalized in the most circulating specialized magazines, just as the discourse coming from these regions is almost systematically treated at a certain level of "secondariness". Therefore, the artworks of these regions are maintained in what I called in the first chapter the liminal space of this metaculture that is staged each second year in Venice. Each edition of the event is probably an occasion to redraw the map of

contemporary art and to bring some elements of the liminal space closer to the mainstream. However, the question is always who is going to be able to get out of the margin and attract the attention of certain influential voices?

The 55th edition that I have analysed here provides us with a few examples of countries that have been successful in their attempt to catch the attention of the global art world. They are Iraq, Lebanon and Angola. These three countries have adopted a similar strategy to differentiate themselves: they have all built on the reputation of curators already well-established in Western contemporary art circles. This strategy seems to have paid off as they have all attracted a significant number of exhibition reviews in influential art magazines. Therefore, these countries will probably be remembered as resounding examples of what it is possible to be seen in Venice, even when you come from far away – culturally as well as geographically. These examples are certainly very useful to maintain the assumption that the global art world now evolves according to the paradigm of pluralism. They are also useful to attract newcomers to the Serenissima and hence maintain the expansionist strategy put in place by the organizers of the Biennale. However, the spotlight may not stay on these countries for very long, as the global attention in contemporary art circles is generally rather short.

CHAPTER 4

Artistic Grandeur and the Valuation of the Past:

the UNESCO World Heritage List

During its meeting at Doha (Qatar) in June 2014, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee added a 1000th site[46] to its famous World Heritage List (WHL), a repertoire meant to itemize the most exceptional natural and cultural properties to be found on the planet. This simple fact illustrates in itself a major tension that has lain at the heart of this international mechanism since its inception. On the one hand, the list needs to be large enough to contain all the richness of cultural and natural sites that exist in the world and therefore be representative of the large diversity represented by the UNESCO member states who have ratified the World Heritage Convention.[47] On the other hand, this instrument has always been conceived as a selective list that would encompass only the most outstanding monuments and sites, which limits the number of properties that could be recognized. If the list has never been formally capped at a certain number,[48] the importance to keep it relatively small has always been present in UNESCO's deliberations and members of the committee in charge of the nominations have always been tough gatekeepers to make sure that only exceptional elements enter this exclusive club.

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[46] This 1000th site is the Okavango Delta, situated in Botswana. It was added to the list as a natural site on June 22, 2014.

[47] Countries that have ratified the World Heritage Convention and are therefore legally bound to its provisions are called states parties to the convention in UNESCO's jargon.

[48] The very first version of the *Operational Guidelines* of the Convention, written in 1977, is very clear on this point. It states: "Cultural and natural properties shall be included in the World Heritage List according to a gradual process and no formal limit shall be imposed either on the total number of properties included in the List or on the number of properties any individual State can submit at successive stages for inclusion in the World Heritage List" (UNESCO, 1977)

The list was created by the World Heritage Convention (WHC)[49] and adopted by the UNESCO General Assembly in November 1972. The Convention entered into force in December 1975, after the requisite 40 countries had ratified it; and the first nominations to the list were made in 1978. There are currently 191 countries in the world that are parties to the convention. This instrument has become one of the best-known cultural programs of UNESCO and the number of nominations has multiplied over the years. Following the 38th session of the World Heritage Committee held in 2014, the list comprises a total of 1007 sites situated in 161 countries around the world. The Convention also establishes a second list – the *List of World Heritage in Danger* – on which appear some properties of the first list that are threatened by serious and specific dangers caused either by human development or negligence or by natural phenomena. This second list allows UNESCO to turn the spotlight onto certain properties for which immediate action must be taken either by a national government or by the international community. After the Doha meeting, 46 properties were itemized on this second list.

The WHL is the result of a very large number of judgments that were made, throughout these 37 years of nomination, on various elements applying to enter the list. This chapter studies this decision-making process by which some heritage elements are deemed worthy of entering this very selective club, sometimes described as "the best of humanity". The WHL is a very heterogeneous ensemble, though, that encompasses to date 779 cultural properties, 197 natural properties and 31 mixed properties. Among them, one can find some of the best-known artistic achievements on the planet. The early gathering of many iconic cultural elements in a single repertoire has rapidly transformed the UNESCO

[49] The complete name of the convention is: Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

program into a prestigious select club into which almost all the countries on the planet want to have one of their national cultural elements admitted. Therefore, this chapter focuses on how artistic manifestations are considered in this list. A large part of the analysis is dedicated to the elements that have been declared "masterpieces of human creative genius". In addition, the chapter also focuses on the question of cultural diversity, which has been one of the primary preoccupations of UNESCO since its creation. The universal character attached to the WHL makes the question of the plurality of cultures a particularly difficult one to negotiate when it comes to identifying works of art that are outstanding within a particular artistic tradition, yet at the same time of universal significance.

Since the WHC has been functioning for a number of years now, the chapter adopts a historical perspective to better understand how this international instrument was constructed to become a very prestigious international ensemble of cultural elements and how this history has influenced the selection of elements. It does that, first, by situating the WHC in the broader history of UNESCO to show how this project was a product of the intellectual and political climate that gave birth to UNESCO. Second, it turns to the governance system by which decisions are made in the selection process. Third, it analyses the evolution of key defining terms of the convention. And finally, it shows, through a few recent examples, how the history of the convention has a major impact on the selection of cultural heritage elements today.

The WHL is probably one of the most popular UNESCO initiatives in the world. Populations in different regions of the planet take pride in having a world heritage site in their local community, and international tourists regularly make a detour to come see these properties. That makes the program one of the most powerful worldwide standard-setting

mechanisms with respect to our collective past. Therefore, a close examination of how art is considered in the WHL may provide insight into the value attributed to artistic achievement and beauty in a global context.

1. Building UNESCO between universal idealism and Realpolitik

The creation of an international instrument to protect and preserve the heritage of humanity is strongly linked to the history of UNESCO. Perfectly aligned with the initial idealism that prevailed at the creation of the organization, the program has become, over the years, one of the greatest successes of the organization in the cultural sector and, consequently, one of the justifications of its credibility in this sector. However, just like the organization that is at its origin, the WHC is the product of a tension in which the idealist impulse that propels such a cultural action is constantly curbed by the reality of international politics.

1.1 Preventing war through culture: the idealism of UNESCO

In the aftermath of WWII, the international community was in search of mechanisms that could prevent such devastation from happening again. The most damaging conflict the world had ever known forced a profound questioning of the way the world was governed. Leaders and diplomats could only acknowledge their incapacity to prevent such trauma. As the war ended, the discovery of the horror of the Holocaust only amplified this impression that politics and diplomacy were no longer capable of protecting populations and maintaining security. Authorities were forced to recognize that the League

of Nations, the old forum invented after the Great War, with its ambition to maintain peace and protect minorities, had been a total failure.

The Second World War was immediately followed by what historian Glenda Sluga calls a "curious utopian moment bracketed by the end of World War II and the onset of the Cold War" (2010, p. 393). It is in this period that the main agencies forming the United Nations (UN) system were imagined. Traditional accounts of the period make the UN system the pure product of the legacy of Enlightenment ideas. It is certainly true that the universal idealism that animated many builders of this system was inherited from this Western humanist tradition, but the movement was also fuelled by some non-Western intellectuals who reworked these ideas to make them relevant in their own traditions. Thus, the combination of both the trauma of WWII and the newly born decolonization movement led to a context favourable to the development of universal ideas. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights serves as a compelling example of an achievement born from this amalgam of converging universal ideas (Amrith & Sluga, 2008, pp. 254-256).

The creation of a specialized agency responsible for education, science and culture within the UN system took place along the same lines. Discussions leading to the creation of UNESCO started even before the end of the war on the premise that education would be a key element of post-war reconstruction (Singh, 2010). The organization is based on a utopia that is incarnated in an often-cited sentence of the preamble of its constitution: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" (UNESCO, 1945). This simple sentence, written by the American poet and Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish, has worked as the whole program for the organization for decades. Indeed, for the newly born organization, education and

knowledge could serve as a rampart against violence and barbarism. Already in November 1942, the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education (CAME), the ancestor of UNESCO, held a meeting in London to start coordinating efforts in education to counter the propaganda made by the German Nazis and other countries of the Axis (Singh, 2010, p. 12). For the delegates to this conference, ignorance and demagogy were one of the primary sources of conflict and education was the only adequate response to be provided by the Allied governments.

This vision still prevails today. On the occasion of its 60th anniversary, UNESCO published a book on its own history titled *Humanity in the Making* in which the French philosopher Roger-Pol Droit reiterates this firm belief in the power of education. He writes: "Any advance in knowledge implies progress in the realm of morality and hence of social behaviour. It follows that the only true evil, the unique source of all misfortune, material or mental, is ignorance" (Droit, 2005, p. 13). In this institutional history of the organization, Droit argues that the link between knowledge and wisdom existed for centuries in the most ancient cultures of Greece, China and India, therefore giving the notion a universal echo. We are here at the heart of the somewhat angelic and naïve vision of UNESCO that refuses to envisage that knowledge can serve evil, reducing any reprehensible human behaviour to ignorance. Yet, this vision has been criticized over the last decades: many intellectuals have pointed out that if ignorance may aggregate fears, the belief that knowledge invariably leads to the eradication of suspicion and mistrust is highly questionable.

Nevertheless, it is this vision, rooted in the humanist tradition and its universal ideals, that has informed the action of UNESCO over the last decades. The main objective of the organization remains to foster cultural co-operation and mutual understanding in order

to maintain security and peace through cultural means. One of the first projects of the organization has been nothing less than rewriting human history from an inclusive point of view that would turn its back on the traditional Eurocentric vision underlying many historical works. The project of a *History of Mankind* found one of its most dedicated advocates in Julian Huxley, the first Director General of UNESCO. A project of such ambition, not surprisingly, turned out to be a truly political and intellectual saga, but Huxley deployed enormous efforts to keep the project going and to remain involved, before, during and after his term as Director General (Duedahl, 2011). If this project took on such a personal importance for him, it is because it incarnates what he foresaw as the most advanced stage in human evolution. Trained as a biologist, Huxley was a firm proponent of the Darwinist theory of evolution and this position informed his vision of the future of humanity. Indeed, for him, a "world consciousness" is the inevitable development and the desirable latest step in human evolution (Sluga, 2010, p. 396). Thus, this project of the *History of Mankind* finds its place in a larger endeavour to create a world culture that would provide a sense of universal belonging to a world community, and would eventually unite the world's minds.

In parallel to that, the end of WWII also boosted the modern preoccupation for the past and its preservation for future generations. If the question of the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage has animated European intellectual circles since the end of the XIXth century, the massive destruction of WWII only rendered this question more pressing as reconstruction efforts started in Europe. The necessity to deal with the matter at the international level triggered many discussions in the 1950's and 1960's (Cameron & Rössler, 2013, pp. 1-26). However, a turning point was reached when the Egyptian government planned to build the Aswan dam on the Nile in the 1950s. As a result of the

construction, the famous Abu Simbel temples would have been completely submerged under water. Reacting to the threat to this irreplaceable loss, the UNESCO Director General at the time, Vittorino Veronese, launched the Nubian Campaign to collect the $80 million necessary to move the temples, stone by stone, from the riverbanks to higher ground above the river. The successful campaign gave legitimacy to international actions in the domain of cultural heritage preservation and restoration and provided the rationale for a future structured program at UNESCO. Indeed, the Nubian campaign was based on the idea that certain buildings, monuments and sites are of upmost importance for the history and culture of humanity as a whole, so they cannot merely be left in the hands of the country where they are situated. The ancient Egyptian culture, often presented as the cradle of humanity's culture, offered a powerful symbol of this reasoning. With this action, the international community gave itself a responsibility to protect these important elements of the heritage of humanity.[50]

With this campaign, the main idea of the World Heritage Convention (WHC) was born. One of the chief tasks of this new project would be to create a repertoire of these prestigious elements that belong to humanity as a whole and should be protected at the international level. The idea of this international repertoire would not be to replace the national ones already existing in many countries – on the contrary, the WHC encourages the development of national measures to identify and protect cultural heritage – but rather to select the most significant elements that should already be protected at the national level, to create a group of heritage pieces that concerns everybody on the planet.

[50] The notion is even inscribed in the preamble of the Convention: "Considering that, in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, by the granting of collective assistance which, although not taking the place of action by the State concerned, will serve as an effective complement thereto" (UNESCO, 1972, preamble).

In that sense, the project shares many beliefs with the *History of Mankind*, as it is an attempt to unify all citizens of the world in a common cultural project and create a single world cultural ensemble that could be relevant to every human on the planet. However, hundreds of years of cultural domination, as well as political rivalries, can hardly be overturned in these grand cosmopolitan cultural projects.

1.2 Between the national and the international: the project of a cosmopolitan culture at UNESCO

In the early years of the UN System, calls for the establishment of an effective "world government" were often heard, but were also constantly refrained from by representatives of the different nation-states who were determined to stay in the driver seat of this new international initiative. Thus, the idealistic concept of "world citizenship" rapidly surfaced in these newly created international arenas as the symbol of this new cosmopolitan political community to be created within the UN System. Glenda Sluga describes how delegates and functionaries portrayed it at the time "as the path to permanent world peace, and as a necessary step in the evolution of mankind from tribes to nations, from national consciousness to 'One World'" (2010, p. 393). However, the difficult question of the relationship between this new world citizenship to be created and the existing national citizenship did not take long to be raised. Despite reassuring claims that world citizenship would only supervene on, but never replace national belonging, national governments that retained the bulk of power in this emerging international regime significantly tempered the enthusiasm surrounding the notion.

As the UN specialized agency for culture, UNESCO elaborated its contribution to this effort around the notion of a cosmopolitan culture that would help constitute this new

collective subjectivity. However, the project raised two delicate questions in the post-war context: first, the question of equality between the various ethno-cultural groups and, second, the question of the place of the sovereignty of nation-states in this one-world vision. These two questions are also strongly related to the elaboration of the WHC. Thus, it is worth briefly exploring their roots.

Immediately after the war, the question of race was a very delicate one. On the one hand, in the recent past the racist theories of the Nazis had led to one of the most unbearable massacres of all time. For the newly created UN system, it was of utmost importance to stand in strong opposition to the theories that led to a genocide. On the other hand, several of the most powerful governments involved in the construction of this UN system were still engaged in imperial projects in which the superiority of the white man was foundational. UNESCO rapidly became an important forum, within the UN system, to negotiate this delicate issue and to seriously challenge the scientific and ethical ground of such racial theories. One of the key moments in this endeavour was the famous talk the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss gave at UNESCO in 1952 – later published by this organization under the title *Race et Histoire* (Lévi-Strauss, 1987). The text remains rooted in the European imperial fascination for the other and contains some troubling passages on the superiority of Western civilization. Nevertheless, the text argues against some of the most widespread racist cultural theories that make some cultures backward or childish. Lévi-Strauss affirms the equal dignity of all cultures and calls on the recognition of diversity as a value of the new organization. He even describes a foreseeable "world civilization" as a coalition of cultures, all preserving their own originality. In a way this world civilization is the cultural counterpart to political world citizenship. Lévi-Strauss's

text has remained one of the foundations of UNESCO's position on cultural diversity and has been cited copiously in the subsequent documents of the organization on the question.[51]

The second question the one-world vision poses is related to the negotiation between an emerging international power and the well-established national powers. In the framework of UNESCO, this vision means two sub-questions had to be debated: first, who is going to decide what are the elements to be selected to create this cosmopolitan culture; and, second, what will be the articulation between national cultures and this cosmopolitan culture to be created, and how will the allegiance of citizens be distributed between these two levels of cultural ensembles.

J.P. Singh explains that the French delegation involved in the creation of UNESCO argued for the formal integration of international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the structure of the new agency and for the establishment of national commissions that would allow all nations to be represented by a grassroots movement (Singh, 2010, p. 13). Given the cultural mandate of the organization, no doubt such a proposal involving a variety of different players would have resulted in a completely different organization. However, this early proposal was greatly diluted throughout the process of building the organization. If both NGOs and national commissions do gravitate around the organization and act as consultative bodies, UNESCO, like most of the UN agencies, is member-state driven organization. Therefore, the definition of a cultural vision for the organization, as well as its implementation in concrete actions has had to be calibrated to the reality of this power structure. The cosmopolitan vision put forward by the organization in its early years was

[51] As an example, the text was still presented as a cornerstone in the evolution of the organization's thinking about cultural diversity in the second intersectorial World Report *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue* published in 2009 (UNESCO, 2009).

perceived by some of the most powerful members of the organization as conflicting with their own national interests. In the early 1950s, the United States was at the height of McCarthyism as the world became increasingly divided into two ideologically opposed blocs. In these years, the United States deployed major efforts to be recognized as the land of freedom, and arts and culture became major tools in this endeavour. Abstract expressionist painters or jazz musicians were celebrated as the symbol of the artistic freedom enjoyed by artists in the "free world" as opposed to the state-controlled artistic expressions to be found in the East. In this context, the burgeoning cosmopolitan culture at UNESCO was incompatible with the great divide keeping apart the cultural visions deployed on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Therefore, a number of countries led by the United States urged UNESCO to temper its cosmopolitan projects and reaffirm its support for national sovereignty. In 1952, the second Director General of UNESCO, Jaime Torres Bodet, felt it was important to clarify the position of the organization:

> It has never been the purpose of UNESCO to turn citizens from their national loyalties. We are trying to do something quite different: to train citizens – since we are concerned with education – who will be faithful in their duty to their own country, and who, for that very reason, will also be loyal to the international obligations which their country has assumed. (quoted in Sluga, 2010, p. 417)

This situation is an example of a tension between the established national power and the emerging international power that has significantly twisted the development of the UN system. Since the legitimacy of this new international power is only grounded in the assent of the most powerful builders of the system, compromises have had to be made on the grand principles guiding the reconstruction of the world. At UNESCO, as in any other UN agency, the vision of this new international order needs to be adapted to the interests of member-states. Thus, the universal principles forging a world of cultural equality and

mutual understanding were confronted with the rivalries of a group of nation-states trying to impose themselves in the post-war geopolitical environment and protect their own political and economic interests.

These two questions – the equality and diversity of the world's cultures and the sovereignty of the nation-states building the UN system – are key elements in understanding the elaboration of the World Heritage Convention. When the time came to build an international instrument for the protection of heritage, member-states naturally put themselves at the top of the decision-making process by which this new mechanism would be governed. We will come back to this issue in the next section. However, for now it is worth mentioning that not all members of UNESCO had an equal chance to be heard in the crafting of this international instrument. Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler give a detailed account of the complicated process by which the convention came into being. They note that European countries largely dominated the most important meetings in which the convention was developed. After the General Assembly agreed to the principles of the convention, UNESCO commissioned papers from experts in the field and subsequently organized a meeting with them to develop the main concepts of the convention. Cameron and Rössler describe the European domination during this first phase of the elaboration of the convention as follows:

> While purporting to be a global project, the work was dominated by European participation. More than half of the thirteen experts came from European countries; the commissioned technical papers were authored by Robert Brichet (France), Professor Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat (Italy) and Professor Jan Zachwatowicz (Poland); with the exception of the League of Arab States, all the non-governmental organizations were represented by Europeans. (2013, pp. 14-15)

And this European domination maintained itself throughout the process of the development and adoption of the convention. UNESCO held a meeting with government experts in April 1972 at which the convention was "effectively created" and in which "once again European nations were the most represented with other participants evenly distributed among other regions of the world" (Cameron & Rössler, 2013, p. 23). Even after the adoption of the convention, states parties to the convention elaborated "operational guidelines" for the new instrument in consultation with the advisory bodies that were, here again, represented exclusively by experts from Europe and North America.

It was always clear during the process of creation of this new international instrument that it was not designed to protect every valuable cultural heritage element on the planet but only a restricted number of elements that are deemed the most significant for humanity as a whole. The authors of the convention imagined a two-tier system, in which the national level was in charge of identifying and protecting the heritage elements situated on its territory and proposing some elements of this national repertoire to be included in the international list.[52] Thus, the states parties would keep full control over the elements that would be recognized in their name on the international scene and to which each state's population would eventually relate. The drawback was, of course, that some national governments might not be inclined to recognize and propose cultural sites that did not fit with their national interest.

However, this two-tier system created a metacultural space formed by a selection of heritage elements that were said to be relevant beyond the border of a nation. "Symbolic

[52] The first version of the Operational Guidelines of the Convention states: "The Convention provides a vehicle for the protection of those cultural and natural properties or area deemed to be of outstanding universal value. It is not intended to provide for the protection of all properties and areas of great interest, importance, or value, but only for a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint" (UNESCO, 1977).

gestures like the list confer value on what is listed, consistent with the principle that you cannot protect what you do not value"[53] (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, p. 57). Therefore, instead of forming a "neutral" and theoretically egalitarian new ensemble of heritage elements, the system rather provoked a form of rivalry among the states parties to have some of their national elements included in this metacultural space. As Nathalie Heinich suggests in another context, international recognition is often a way to find at a higher level the confirmation of the value that is attributed to a property locally (Heinich, 2009).

The number of entries on the list and the fast pace of its growth are a clear indication of the eagerness of states to have the most significant elements of their heritage accepted into this metacultural space. Indeed, since the program targets only the most significant or the most valuable heritage properties on earth, the list quickly became a very prestigious select club of cultural elements to be admired by the world's population. Over the years, the list has become so prestigious[54] that the most powerful countries in the world – but also the most disadvantaged ones – are prepared to invest money and resources and deploy important diplomatic efforts to get a nomination for their most outstanding cultural sites. For example, France, Italy and Spain have all made significant efforts to secure a place for the Château de Versailles, the City of Venice and the works of Antonio Gaudi in Barcelona on the list. The pecuniary benefits[55] of such nominations remain marginal for these countries, but the nominations have a great importance from a symbolic point of view

[53] In this article Kirshenblatt-Gimblett discusses mainly the sister convention of the WHC, the convention concerned with Intangible Heritage, but this remark applies also to the tangible heritage.
[54] Ryan and Silvanto explain that the designation "UNESCO World Heritage" which was created as a technical means to protect buildings, monuments and sites has gained importance over time to become a prestigious brand carefully handled by UNESCO. Like other brands, the designation has its own economic value as the tourist industry has used it as a "quality-assurance measure" or a "seal of approval" (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009).
[55] These sites are already among the most visited places by international tourists each year. The states where they are situated have never asked for any international assistance for their conservation from the time of their nomination on the list.

and can contribute to the establishment of the soft power of a country. In fact, the competition among these three countries has always been fierce, as they are the most represented nations on the list from a cultural point of view. In a way, each nomination to this prestigious list is a confirmation of their symbolic cultural power and the number of their nominations to the list is an index of the country's cultural influence on the world stage. These European countries were among the most active UNESCO members in this fight for cultural influence in the early years of the program. Designed by them and their European counterparts, the WHL was highly favourable to heritage sites found on their territory. However, in recent years, non-Western countries – Iran, for example – have been vigorous in fighting back this European domination and getting nominations for cultural sites from their own glorious past. These countries are certainly gaining ground. However, as the following sections will demonstrate, this is undoubtedly also the result of the evolution of the nomination process and the selection criteria.

2. Governing the heritage of humanity

Since 1992, the activities of the WHC are coordinated by the World Heritage Centre, which serves as the secretariat for the convention. The main mission of the Centre is to be the point of contact between the different actors involved in the activities of the WHC: the States Parties, the World Heritage Committee, and the advisory bodies. In addition, the Centre has also developed its own expertise, which has become a crucial aspect in the management of the list (Severo, 2013, p. 53). Therefore, the Centre is at the crossroads of the decision-making process in which different actors are involved. The following section describes the power and responsibilities of these actors.

2.1 A three-layer nomination process

The World Heritage list is ruled by a three-layer governance system. Like most of the UNESCO conventions, the sovereign body of the WHC is the General Assembly of States Parties in which every member has one seat and one vote. Holding a meeting every second year, the General Assembly elects a certain number of countries[56] to form the World Heritage Committee (hereafter the Committee). This Committee meets once a year to take the main decisions concerning the convention and report back to the General Assembly. To this conventional structure, the WHC adds a third layer: the advisory bodies, which are in charge of producing recommendations to the Committee concerning nominations to the lists. The reader will find in Appendix 2 a list of the main institutional structures of the World Heritage.

2.1.1 The General Assembly of the States Parties

As explained in section 1, the main holders of formal power at UNESCO are national governments. In the framework of the WHC, this means that the States Parties are the only actors allowed to make a proposal for the inclusion of a cultural element on the WHL.[57] The text of the convention is absolutely clear on that point: "The inclusion of a property in the World Heritage List requires the consent of the State concerned" (UNESCO, 1972, art.11).

[56] The World Heritage Committee is composed of 21 states parties, elected for a term of 6 years. A third of the Committee is renewed at each General Assembly (WHC, Article 8-9).

[57] This state monopoly on nomination to the WHL occasions serious limitations for heritage elements associated with minorities not recognized or even marginalized by a particular state or in situations in which the undetermined status of the state prevents nominations. A good example of this is provided by the case of Palestine, analysed by Chiara De Cesari (2010).

The first responsibility of a State Party to the Convention is to establish a Tentative List of the properties situated on its territory that could eventually by proposed for nomination to the WHL. The mechanism is conceived as a planning and evaluation tool for both the State Party and UNESCO, as the exercise raises awareness about the richness of heritage on a given national territory, but also allows both the state and UNESCO to plan future nomination dossiers to be handled.

Any proposal by a State Party must be accompanied by a detailed nomination file, including full documentation of the cultural element (description, report on the state of conservation, protection and management plans and policies, maps, photographs and/or videos) and a justification for its inclusion on the WHL, including a set of proposed criteria under which the element should be listed.

Until 1992, the consent of the state in which a property was situated was even required to place it on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Since then, the Committee has made its decisions regarding this list more independently.

2.1.2 The World Heritage Committee

The Committee is really the main gatekeeper of the lists. One of the primary tasks of the Committee is to decide whether or not a property proposed by a State Party will be included on the WHL.[58] Similarly, the Committee also has the responsibility to evaluate if a threat to a property is serious enough to justify its inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger and, subsequently, if the measures taken to address the situation can authorize

[58] The Committee has four options with respect to nomination to the WHL: inscription of the property on the WHL; referral back to the State Party for additional information and resubmission; deferral for a more in-depth assessment or study or a substantial revision of the nomination that could be resubmitted; not to inscribe the property on the list, which means that the property cannot be presented again for nomination (UNESCO, 2013, articles 153-160)

the removal of the property from this list. In the event that a state fails to properly protect one of its properties, the Committee has the power to remove an element from the list.[59] All the decisions made by the Committee are final and there is no mechanism of appeal. Nevertheless, under certain circumstances, a refused file may be resubmitted after changes have been made to better protect the cultural element or if new discoveries about the property justify a resubmission.

The division of power between the General Assembly and the Committee in this convention makes this a unique situation, according to Peter Strasser, one different from "many other international conventions in that all the substantive powers are designated to the Committee and not to the General Assembly" (Strasser, 2002, p. 229).

As mentioned above, the Committee is made up of representatives of the elected States Parties. In addition to the diplomats who usually represent a state at UNESCO, the convention specifies that members elected to the Committee "shall choose as their representatives persons qualified in the field of the cultural and natural heritage" (UNESCO, 1972, art. 9). However, the convention remains silent on the kind of expertise that is expected here. In fact, it has been a common practice for the UNESCO ambassadors to be accompanied to these meetings by representatives of heritage institutions or specialists in the field. Moreover, a study of the number of attendees to the Committee meetings shows that the recourse to experts has been a growing trend among States Parties to the Convention. Indeed, Jukka Jokilehto (2011) shows that, given the increased complexity of the nomination files and the issues debated during these meetings, many States Parties

[59] This situation happens very rarely. It has only occurred twice in the history of the convention: in 2007 and 2009 the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary (Oman) and the Dresden Elbe Valley (Germany), respectively, were deleted from the WHL.

have decided to strengthen their delegations with various experts. This tendency has been particularly observable since the 1994 meeting, held in Phuket (Thailand), during which some concerns were expressed about the way the World Heritage Centre was managed.

2.1.3 The advisory bodies

To make its decisions, the Committee can count on the evaluation reports prepared by the advisory bodies.[60] These reports are transmitted to the World Heritage Centre, which prepares a draft resolution, including a proposed decision on the nomination. The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is in charge of evaluating all cultural properties put up for nomination on the WHL. In the Operational Guidelines of the Convention, ICOMOS is described as follows:

> *ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) is a non-governmental organization with headquarters in Paris, France. Founded in 1965, its role is to promote the application of theory, methodology and scientific techniques to the conservation of the architectural and archaeological heritage. Its work is based on the principles of the 1964 International Charter on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter).* (UNESCO, 2013)

ICOMOS comprises more than 11,000 members.[61] Individual members are architects, historians, archaeologists, art historians, geographers, anthropologists, engineers, town planners and other specialists in built heritage. This repertoire serves as the main pool of experts to evaluate each nomination proposal, but the organization's secretariat may also

[60] In the WHC, there are three official advisory bodies. They are the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). ICOMOS is in charge of evaluating all cultural nominations to the WHL, whereas IUCN is in charge of evaluating all natural nominations. Mixed nominations are evaluated by both advisory bodies. ICCROM for its part provides other assistance relating to training, monitoring and advising.

[61] This number includes four categories of members: individual members, institutional members, sustaining members and honorary members.

consult experts from its partner organizations. ICOMOS's rules of procedure mention that the evaluation process consists of two distinct steps (and two distinct groups of experts). The first step is an evaluation of the "outstanding universal value" of the property and results in a "cultural evaluation". This step is conducted by academics doing "library work" to produce the report. The second step is an on-site mission to evaluate the state of conservation of the property and its management. This step is conducted by experts who have more practical experience in the management of heritage sites but who are "not necessarily high academic experts in the type of property" (UNESCO, 2013, annex 6, art. 5). As a final step, a synthesis of both evaluations is produced by the ICOMOS secretariat and submitted to a "World Heritage Panel", which is made up of the ICOMOS Executive Committee (the main governing body of the organization, elected by its general assembly) supplemented by a number of experts depending on the subject to be discussed. This panel has the final say on an ICOMOS evaluation before it can be sent to UNESCO (UNESCO, 2013, annex 6).

The WHC also includes a second advisory body in the realm of cultural heritage: the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). An intergovernmental organization [62] headquartered in Rome, ICCROM maintains activity in five general sectors: training, information, research, co-operation, and advocacy. ICCROM claims to have offered courses to more than 4,000 professionals from around the world in the past decades.

[62] Currently, 134 countries are members of the organization.

2.2 An expert-dominated process

This brief review of the nomination procedure clearly indicates the predominance of experts in this decision-making process. If the States Parties to the Convention retain the formal power (the exclusive power to propose nominations to the WHL and the shared power among Committee members to make decisions about these nominations), their decisions rely heavily on experts. In fact, experts are involved at each step of this process. First, to prepare the nomination file, the state needs to draw on various expertise to develop the appropriate documentation that situates the property in a specific artistic or historical tradition and to elaborate a convincing justification of the exceptional character of the property. Second, the evaluation of the file is placed in the hands of another group of experts who provide an informed opinion on the merit of the file with respect to its potential nomination. Third, each delegation of members of the committee is nowadays made up of several experts to advise ambassadors during the final discussion leading to the decision on nominations. Thus, the nomination process revolves around a close conversation among experts who can easily ignore the involvement of the local community where the property is situated (De Cesari, 2010).

The recourse to experts at every step of the nomination process is a consequence of the expansion of knowledge in the field of cultural heritage that has rendered discussions more and more specialized and complex. But it is also a consequence of the popularity of the WHL among UNESCO's members and the growing competition between them to get a nomination on the WHL, which has created the need for a rigorous process by which the committee can make its choices. The corollary of that situation is, of course, the growing bureaucracy involved in the administration of the nominations. If in the early years of the

convention a nomination file could be as simple as a few pages and the advisory report as short as a couple of paragraphs, the process today is much weightier. It is not uncommon now to have nomination files far over 500 pages that contain a complete "course" on the art and history of the region. This great amount of documentation is necessary to present a full-fledged exposition of a tradition as the background against which the outstanding character of an element can be pointed out. This inflation in the production of evidence is in itself the erection of an extension on a barrier that was not very high in the early years of the WHC. But more importantly, it is also the symptom of the increasing difficulty to find a place for a new property in this imposing corpus.

To make up their minds in this ocean of documentation and reports, members of the Committee are provided with a draft decision prepared by the World Heritage Centre. After having observed the deliberations of the Committee, Thomas Schmitt (2009) notes that the tight schedule followed by the Committee allows a very limited time for discussion on each dossier, so that for many of them the draft decision is adopted unchanged. If this was certainly true for the first nominations to the WHL, the increase of expert representation in state delegations noted above is also accompanied by an increase in the number of decisions changed by the Committee. Indeed, Jukka Jokilehto (2011) shows that between 2003 and 2010 the number of changes made by the Committee on recommendations of ICOMOS has increased constantly.

The weight of the state in this process as well as the many national interests that are involved in these nominations have been carefully studied (De Cesari, 2010). However, the intervention of experts in the process has been much less questioned. Consequently, a critical examination of some of the characteristics of the community of experts involved in

the selection process is useful here to better understand how power is exercised in the framework of this international institution.

Like many communities of experts in the arts sector, the community of cultural heritage experts is characterized by a form of homogeneity in its composition, not to mention the close relationships of its members. Indeed, cultural heritage experts involved in this process often circulate through the various bodies of the Convention to occupy successively official positions. Just like the art critic discussed in the preceding chapter, the heritage expert is alternatively judge and party: at one moment an advisor to a State Party, at another moment an ICOMOS expert for the evaluation of a specific file or participating in one of its expert meetings, or even in some cases as part of the staff of the World Heritage Centre.

The two official cultural advisory bodies to the Convention – ICOMOS and ICCROM – play a key role in the recognition of expertise in the field. If the group of experts gathered around ICOMOS may seem very diverse in terms of profession or origin at first glance, its selection process works in the opposite direction. Indeed, like many professional organizations, ICOMOS counts on a system of peer-recognition to accredit its experts. This is certainly a legitimate mechanism to select experts. However, as I noted in chapter 1, this kind of selection processes naturally favours a form of homogenization of expertise, since to be admitted to this close circle the candidate has to demonstrate his command of some well-established elements in a body of common knowledge recognized by the group. Moreover, ICCROM also strongly contributes to the uniformity of this community of experts because it is the main educational centre where experts from around the world are trained. Many experts involved in this network underline the influence of ICCROM in the

professional development of cultural heritage experts, especially experts from the South who do not necessarily have access to training programs in their home countries. The centralization of teaching in a single centre that has become the "official" educational institution of this international network certainly contributes to propagating a unified vision of the field, but also favours a certain proximity of the individual experts who constitute this community. This proximity of experts in the field is also illustrated by the parallel between the topics of expert meetings held by ICOMOS and the modifications to the operational guidelines made subsequently by the Committee.

After observing the work of heritage experts in France, sociologist Nathalie Heinich notes: "*il existe à l'évidence une forte homogénéité de jugement entre les experts, qui partagent tous, plus ou moins, les mêmes valeurs: c'est là une des caractéristiques propres à tout travail d'expertise collective pour lequel un petit nombre de personnes aux compétences très spécialisées doivent s'accorder sur une décision commune*" (Heinich, 2009, p. 515). In this context, disagreements are born from an emphasis on one or the other of these shared values from one expert to the other, but rarely involve a direct contestation of one of the values on which there is a broad consensus in the profession.

If this community of experts echoes other art expert communities in the relative homogeneity of its composition, cultural heritage experts differ from other forms of art expertise discussed in this dissertation on one point: their propensity to clothe their analyses and judgments in the language of science. Of course, science is a common building block of expertise in a variety of domains, but the recourse to scientific discourse is rather

limited in art circles.[63] Despite the fact that their work involves considerations of meanings, preferences, history and beauty, experts working in the framework of the WHC regularly appeal to science to establish their expertise. Indeed, both ICOMOS and UNESCO insist on the scientific character of the expertise called upon to make what is described as objective decisions. For example, in its description of the evaluation process, ICOMOS states: "As an advisory body, ICOMOS makes a recommendation based on an objective, rigorous and scientific analysis" (ICOMOS, 2013a). Similarly, UNESCO has always been keen to place science at the heart of its decision-making process. In the long succession of versions of its operational guidelines, the following paragraph[64] has always been kept in a prominent position:

> *Committee decisions are based on objective and scientific considerations, and any appraisal made on its behalf must be thoroughly and responsibly carried out. The Committee recognizes that such decisions depend upon:*
> *a) carefully prepared documentation;*
> *b) thorough and consistent procedures;*
> *c) evaluation by qualified experts;*
> *d) and if necessary, the use of expert referees.*
> (UNESCO, 2013, article 23, emphasis added)

The use of objectivity and science in reference to the work of experts involved in the selection process is a clear attempt from both ICOMOS and UNESCO to legitimize the decisions made in the framework of this convention. This claim contributes injecting some clarity and transparency into the process and pre-empting any accusations of mere favouritism of one tradition at the expense of another or of political interference. It affirms that decisions of the Committee are never based on preferences but are rather backed by

[63] Heritage experts are not necessarily the only ones in the art sector to call themselves scientists. Experts working on dating or restoring very ancient art pieces also make a similar claim.
[64] This paragraph appears for the first time in the 1980 version of the operational guidelines (second version). It was then article 5 of the document and remained in that position until the major reorganization of the document in 2005.

rational arguments. One can recognize the distinction established in Chapter 1 between the expert judgment (here allegedly based on science) and the personal judgment (that would be based merely on one's preferences and affinities).

Science is the usual terrain of expertise. As Evetts, Mieg, and Felt (2006, p. 114) observe: "Scientists are regarded as experts, and science is the prime example of an expert system with its own checks, validation procedures, recognition and authority processes, and hence claims to legitimacy." Hence, there is a form of prestige associated with science and scientific occupations that contributes to establishing this discourse as a reference point. To wrap the work of heritage experts in the language of science is to reinforce their status as the authoritative voices in the field. This rhetoric uses the well-established institutional status of science in society to construct the legitimacy of the expert position as the undeniable truth so that it becomes hardly disputable by the layperson. This strategy is certainly not exclusive to the WHC, as science has proved to be a powerful justification strategy commonly used to back political decisions. Legislators and officials frequently call upon scientists and other experts as an authoritative voice to support policies they want to implement or decisions they have to take. Therefore, according to Stehr and Grundmann (2011), officials and scientists behave in complicity, using the prestige associated with science to give the impression of objectivity, neutrality and disinterestedness. In the framework of the WHL, this rhetoric of science and expertise results in what Tim Winter (2011) describes as a "preference for depoliticized, techno-managerial approaches" that are often used to justify decisions.

Yet, stakes are high in these decisions. From a political point of view, a nomination on the WHL can be especially useful for domestic policy, as it can help construct national

identity (De Cesari, 2010) or deal with ethnic minorities on the territory (Sheppard, 2006),[65] as well as for foreign policy to construct the image of the country on the international scene and contribute to soft power efforts (Isar, 2011). From an economic point of view, a nomination to the WHL can also have important impacts. Tim Winter (2011, p. 76) argues that "the predominance of particular discourses or forms of knowledge expertise within the heritage sector occurs precisely because they are both privileged by capital *and* at the same time enable the production of capital, a process, which, by implication, allows certain forms of heritage, memory and identity to prevail." His main example is the price of real estate in contexts where heritage preservation can boost prices, but the same argument could be made with respect to the tourist industry.

The recourse to scientific language to justify decisions is built on the long-standing alleged separation between science and politics that makes the former impermeable to any influences not based on scientific evidence. However, knowledge is rarely neutral and requires interpretation on the part of the scientist. This is particularly true for the "scientist" dealing with cultural objects. This is where the power of the expert lies: to define a situation, to determine the way of thinking about it, to set priorities and options, and to situate him- or herself as the best-equipped person to analyse the situation. Stehr and Grundmann (2011, p. 49) summarize the expert's power as follows: "experts define the situation and set the priorities for the uninitiated. They shape people's views of their lives and their world, and they set the standards for assessment. Experts thus sum up the options."

[65] Sheppard takes in this article the example of Tibet to show how UNESCO's cultural heritage policy has concurred to shape Chinese claims of authority over the culture of this recalcitrant region. This policy contributes to the traditional national narrative that presents Tibet as a backward region in need of modernization.

3. Constructing the heritage of humanity

Over 37 years (1978-2014), the work of heritage experts gathered around this UNESCO initiative has resulted in a repertoire of what are deemed to be the best achievements of humanity. Since experts are the central figures in the definition of what counts as the most outstanding elements of our common past as well as in the selection of elements to populate this repertoire, it is crucial to have a closer look at how this conversation among experts has evolved over time and how it has influenced the accumulation of elements in the WHL. More specifically, for the purpose of this dissertation, three questions are particularly important to consider: how is art – and good art – conceived by this community of experts? Which are the elements selected in relation to this conception? And what is the place of plurality of cultures in this initiative?

In the remaining part of this chapter, I will study these questions through a close examination of policy documents (mainly the convention, the operational guidelines, and reports on nominations). A list of the policy documents consulted to build the following analysis can be found in Appendix 3. If the text of the WHC has remained unchanged since its adoption in 1972, the operational guidelines have been constantly revised by the World Heritage Committee to adapt them to new situations. In 38 years of operation, no fewer than 19 versions of the document have been produced by the Committee. Therefore, this series of documents constitutes a rich track record of the evolving thinking of this community of experts. Each change to the operational guidelines is the result of a process that Aurélie Elisa Gfeller (2013) describes as a negotiation made up of both competition and co-operation between key actors and involving expert meetings, conferences, reports, and

eventually discussions at the Committee. In a way, the operational guidelines represent the bottom line of a series of reports and discussions emanating from both ICOMOS and UNESCO. In addition to this, my analysis is complemented by a look at decisions taken by the Committee throughout the period. If one were to borrow legal vocabulary, these decisions could be described as a form of "jurisprudence" about the WHC's conception of valuable artistic elements of the past. Finally, this analysis is put in relation to variations in the number of nominations, which provides yet another angle to better understand the growth of the list.[66]

From the close examination of the different iterations of the operational guidelines, it is possible to reconstitute how the definition of key terms of the convention has greatly evolved over time. Here, the emphasis will be put on three main elements that constitute the conceptual backbone of the WHL. First, I shall look at the definition of cultural heritage itself, as it broadly defines what kinds of elements are the object of this convention. Second, I shall examine the expression "outstanding universal value" which is said to characterize all elements in the WHL. Finally, I shall consider the evolution of criteria for inclusion in the WHL.

[66] The following sections draw extensively on the highly developed system of information the World Heritage Centre maintains on the WHL, which is accessible online. This database contains for each item on the WHL, detailed information about the property (description, date of inscription, criteria under which the property is inscribed, photos, and in some cases videos). The information system is also a digital archive of the WHC in which a series of documents (nomination file, advisory report, decision, report on the state of conservation) for each item on the list is stored and accessible online. Moreover, a developed search engine allows the interrogation of the database from a variety of parameters, which makes it possible to obtain various data on the evolution of the constitution of the WHL (Severo, 2013).

3.1 The definition of cultural heritage

The definition of what constitutes "cultural heritage" is the purpose of the first article of the convention. In this article, cultural heritage is defined as encompassing solely three types of elements: monuments, groups of buildings, and sites. As Raj Isar (2011) remarks, this is a very narrow conception of heritage. Isar's argument is that this conception excludes all elements of heritage that are not material – traditions, craftsmanship, oral transmission, ancestral knowledge, etc. – to concentrate exclusively on the physical incarnation of traditions in the built environment. This omission has been compensated for by the adoption of another convention concerning what is labelled "intangible heritage", whereby UNESCO designates traditions and living experience, such as oral tradition, performing arts, rituals and festivals, for example.[67] However, even in the realm of material or "tangible" heritage, the definition remains quite narrow. Thus, it excludes a large amount of the material culture that is still a significant part of the common heritage. For example, paintings on canvas, movable sculptures, drawings on paper, etc. are excluded from the parameters of this convention. As early as 1980, an article was added to the operational guidelines to emphasize that the convention was concerned only with immovable elements. Therefore, elements that are likely to become movable cannot be protected within the framework of this convention (UNESCO, 1980, art. 19b). This article has been kept in all subsequent versions of the operational guidelines. Thus, pictorial elements can only be protected when they are an integral part of a building. This is the case for example of the famous *Last Supper* by Leonardo da Vinci, which was protected as part of

[67] The *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* was adopted by the UNESCO General Assembly in October 2003. The Convention came into force in April 2006 after thirty countries had ratified it. This is a sister convention to the WHC that adopts the same architecture with its *Representative List of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity* and its *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding.*

the Church and Dominican Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie. This property was in fact the very first masterpiece (criterion 1) situated in Italy to enter the list in 1980.[68] In its report, ICOMOS describes the fresco as an integral part of the building and refers only to da Vinci's work to declare the ensemble as a masterpiece that needs to be protected. This case exemplifies how the administrative definition of cultural heritage in a document such as the WHC creates arbitrary divisions in the treatment of paintings as a meaningful element of our collective past.

This narrow conception of heritage has very deep roots in the traditional European view of culture. Traditionally, heritage elements have been viewed as a way to encounter the glorious past of European civilization, an essential component of any upper-class education. If the link between education and history has existed for centuries, two related modern activities emerged during the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries: tourism and conservation. Indeed, as upper-class Europeans started to visit more frequently the great monuments and sites in Europe, particularly in Italy, a preoccupation with the conservation and restoration of the "vanishing" past developed throughout Europe with the development of specific professional activities related to this field, the creation of civic groups and state institutions, and the emergence of a literature on the subject.[69]

Nevertheless, as the Committee proceeded with nominations to the WHL, different forms of pressure were exerted on it to enlarge the perimeters of this narrow definition of

[68] Italy only had one previous nomination, the Rock Drawings in Valcamonica, which entered the WHL under criteria 3 and 4 in 1979.

[69] In Britain, John Ruskin is a key figure of that movement, since he wrote several books (*The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, *The Stones of Venice*) that contributed to the development of knowledge in this new field of conservation and restoration. In France, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc is a much more controversial figure because he took some liberties in the restoration of monuments and sites, adding anachronistic or foreign elements to structures. One of the famous examples is the city of Carcassonne in the south of France, which Viollet-le-Duc "restored" in the mid-XIXth century by adding pointed roofs to towers of the fortified city, a motif that is instead typical of northern France.

cultural heritage. The various iterations of the operational guidelines tell the story of this evolution. In 1987, a series of articles (23-31) were added to the operational guidelines to bring additional precision on the group of buildings that are situated in an urban context. In many ways, these paragraphs prolong the original vision of cultural heritage as they insist that these groups of buildings should be selected "for their purity of style" (UNESCO, 1987, art. 25), or that "history alone will tell which of them will best serve as example of contemporary town planning" (UNESCO, 1987, art. 29). However, both of these traditional features of heritage – purity and historicity – were considerably modified by later additions to the operational guidelines and nomination decisions taken by the Committee. I will come back to the question of purity in my analysis of the evolution of the selection criteria. On the second point though – the historic character of the buildings to be protected – the thoughts of the Committee evolved greatly over the years to include more and more recent creations. Several landmark architectural realizations of the Modern movement would slowly populate the list (for example the city of Brasilia or the city of Le Havre in France), shrinking the period separating the creation of a property and its inclusion in the list as a heritage element. A good example of that is the nomination in 2007 of the Sydney Opera House as a "masterpiece of human creative genius" not even 35 years after its inauguration. In other words, the test of time as a revealing factor of what stands out in our common past has slowly lost its validity in the eyes of this community of heritage experts.

In 1994, the Committee worked on another category of element that could be included in the list: sites. Here, the Committee was more audacious in its deliberations and decided to expand the definition of that category of elements. Building on the expression "the combined works of nature and man" included in article 1 of the WHC, the Committee

introduced the notion of "cultural landscape". The operational guidelines explain: "Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature" (UNESCO, 1994, art. 38). With this addition, the committee added a category of cultural elements that are not necessarily incarnated in buildings or monumental architecture but can also be found in symbolic capital associated with certain sites or in the way some sites have been arranged to work with natural elements. Later, the inclusion of cultural routes or itineraries proceeded with the same logic, emphasizing that these heritage properties are made of "tangible elements of which the cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions" (UNESCO, 2005, art. 23).[70] In that sense, this addition was an implicit recognition of an alternative conception of heritage that has opened the door to many symbolic sites located in the South (Isar, 2011). Moreover, as Aurélie Elisa Gfeller (2013) has demonstrated, the recognition of this new heritage category is also the result of an advocacy campaign led mainly by heritage specialists from what she calls "post-settler states". Thus, the closed circle of European heritage specialists is modestly enlarged to consider the contribution of other Western experts based in Canada, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. This is not yet a broad worldwide conversation that would involve contrasting visions of heritage, but still a small step that brings new considerations into the conversation.

In 1996, the Committee proceeded with another addition, which is more peripheral to our topic, but still worth noting, as it has a side effect on the way the arts are considered

[70] This definition appears for the first time in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines, but the notion of cultural routes and itineraries is older than that. In fact, the 2005 document refers to an expert meeting held in Madrid in November 1994 and the subsequent discussion by the Committee at its 19th session (Berlin, 1995).

in the WHL. Indeed, in its new version of the operational guidelines, the committee modified several criteria and in so doing opened the door to the recognition of technological elements as part of cultural heritage. In criteria 2 and 4 a reference to technology was inserted into the enumeration of admissible elements, whereas in criterion 1 the adjective "artistic" that was used to qualify "masterpiece" was dropped with the clear intent to have technological realizations recognized in this category. After this change, canals, industrial machinery, or civil-engineering achievements have indeed been recognized as masterpieces of creative human genius.

So, as we see, the perimeters of what counts as cultural heritage were constantly enlarged in the 38 years of operation of the convention. Two different types of arguments were made during this widening process: first, arguments to have new types of elements (landscapes, routes, technological realizations) included in the list and, second, arguments to push back the temporal limits imposed on elements to be considered for nomination to the WHL.

3.2 Outstanding universal value

The expression "outstanding universal value" is really the heart of the convention. The expression was forged to qualify the elements that are the object of the convention and to distinguish them from other heritage elements. In the two-tier system of the convention, only elements that are recognized as being of "outstanding universal value" are to be listed and protected. As early as 1980, a paragraph was included in the operational guidelines to make this quite clear: "The Convention provides for the protection of those cultural and natural properties deemed to be of outstanding universal value. It is not intended to provide

for the protection of all properties of great interest, importance or value, but only for a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint" (UNESCO, 1980, art. 6.1). In short, this paragraph makes "outstanding universal value" the overarching criterion of the convention.

Strangely, though, the meaning of the expression is not explicitly defined in the text of the convention. Moreover, the expression has always been difficult to handle for an organization that is set up to represent all the cultural diversity of this world. As Henry Cleere puts it: "the concept of 'universality' in relation to the cultural heritage is paradoxical, and logically applicable only to the earliest phases of human cultural evolution, and perhaps also to the global culture of the late twentieth century" (2001, p. 24).

In the first version of the operational guidelines, produced in 1977, the Committee added an interesting comment regarding the universal character of this overarching criterion. The paragraph reads as follows:

> *The definition of "universal" in the phrase "outstanding universal value" requires comment. Some properties may not be recognized by all people, everywhere, to be of great importance and significance. Opinions may vary from one culture or period to another and the term "universal" must therefore be interpreted as referring to a property which is highly representative of the culture of which it forms part.* (UNESCO, 1977, art. 7)

This paragraph, which tempers the universalistic ambitions of the convention, did not last long in the operational guidelines; it was removed from the document in 1980. Instead, from this date on, the operational guidelines claimed that the expression is defined by articles 1 and 2 of the Convention.[71] Yet, the only definitions that are to be found in these articles are definitions of "cultural heritage" (article 1) and "natural heritage" (article 2)

[71] The major rewriting of the operational guidelines of 2005 changed the wording of the paragraph to say that the expression is defined "in" articles 1 and 2, instead of "by" articles 1 and 2. Also, starting in 2005, the operational guidelines now reproduce integrally the two articles.

that use the expression "outstanding universal value" to qualify the object of the convention. For example, in the definition of "cultural heritage", the convention describes the first element to be classified under this heading as "monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings, and combinations of features, which are of *outstanding universal value* from the point of view of history, art or science" (UNESCO, 1972, art. 1, emphasis added).

The operational guidelines partly follow the same logic when they assert that to qualify as an element of "outstanding universal value", a cultural property must meet at least one of the six criteria. However, in several of these criteria a part of the expression is repeated as the qualifier of the element to be selected. In their most recent version, criteria 4 and 5 require a property to be an "outstanding example" to qualify, whereas criterion 6 recognizes properties that are associated with elements of "outstanding universal significance".

Thus, the definition of this key element of the convention has been caught in a circular logic resulting only in a tautological definition of the phrase. Therefore, the expression has remained largely vague and open to interpretation for many years. In 2005, however, the new version of the operational guidelines included a new element that clarifies the situation. Indeed, even though it still states that the definition of "outstanding universal value" is included in articles 1 and 2 of the convention, it adds the following sentence: "Outstanding universal value *means* cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for

present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO, 2005, emphasis added). This sentence has been kept in subsequent versions of the document.

In the vagueness that surrounds the expression "outstanding universal value" in the framework of this convention, the history of the operational guidelines shows two opposite ways to construe the expression. In 1977, the universal character of the expression was envisioned as a mosaic in which each cultural ensemble could determine what was universalizable in its own heritage without the explicit consent of the rest of the planet. Twenty-eight years later, after a long period of indeterminacy, the Committee seems to have gone back to a more totalizing vision that makes the universal a unique notion applicable to all of humanity, regardless of cultural identities.

3.3 Selection criteria

As is the case for the definition of cultural heritage and of the expression "outstanding universal value", the six selection criteria for cultural properties have changed significantly over the 37 years studied here. All of the criteria have had between 3 and 6 different versions following the constant revisions made by the Committee. In this series of revisions, the Committee has followed a process of specialization of the criteria that has reduced the overlap between them. In this way, each criterion is intended to recognize a specific element in the realm of heritage. It is important to note, however, that following this process of specialization, the chosen area of specialization of some of these criteria was enlarged to include multiple interpretations. In some cases (e.g. criteria 1 and 3) the essence of the criteria has remained the same, whereas in other cases (e.g. criteria 2 and 4) changes have been more significant. This evolution of the criteria over the years has had

important consequences on the place of the arts in the list and on the way the question of the plurality of cultures is handled.

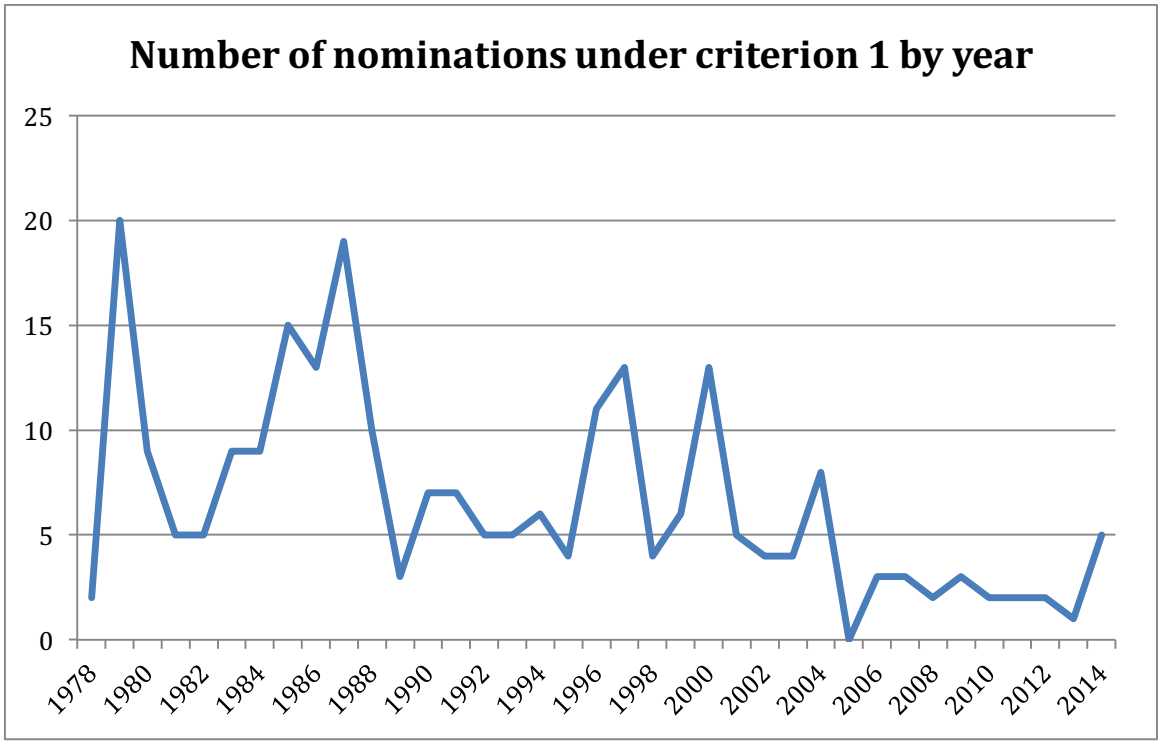
In the first set of criteria elaborated by the Committee in 1977, a reference to the arts was clearly made in criteria 1, 2 and 4. In 2013, only criterion 2 still contains a similar explicit reference to the arts, in addition to a mention in criterion 6.[72] This observation suggests that the arts have lost ground in the list over the last decades. Nevertheless, the main criterion for the inclusion of works of art has always been criterion 1. In its first iteration, the criterion reads as follows: "represent a unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius" (UNESCO, 1977, art.7). In a peculiar process of specialization by subtraction, the wording of the criterion lost one after another the terms "aesthetic" (in 1980) and "artistic" (in 1996), to concentrate solely on the term "masterpiece". As a result, the latter can be construed in a much broader sense. As I have mentioned above, it was also in 1996 that the Committee added several references to technology or industrial creativity in the criteria. From that date on, therefore, the expression "masterpiece of human creative genius" has also referred to exceptional achievements in terms of technological or industrial innovation. For example, one of the first properties to be recognized as a masterpiece in this new understanding of the term was the Canal du Midi in France (in 1996), a 360 km man-made navigable waterway between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean that demonstrates, according to the description of the property, the exceptional capacities of modern civil engineering. Other

[72] Since 1980, criterion 6 is a criterion of less importance than the others, since it includes a mention that specifies that this criterion should only be used in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria (UNESCO, 1980, art. 18).

examples followed: a pumping station in the Netherlands (1998), the Rideau Canal in Canada (2007), the Pontcysyllte Aqueduct and Canal in the UK (2009).

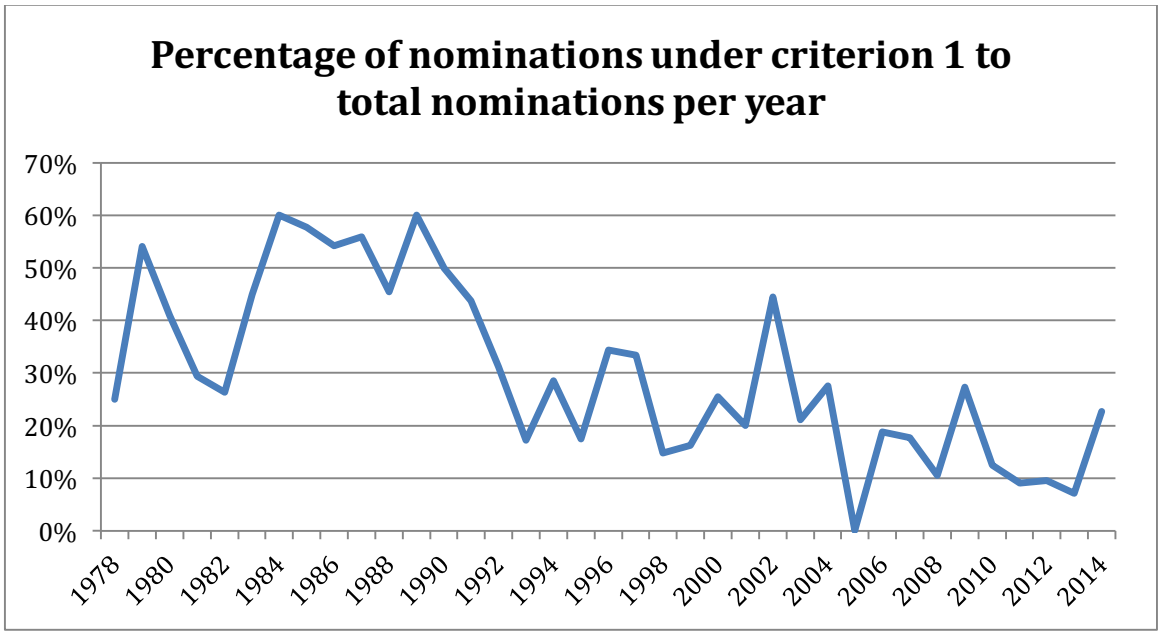
The choice of the term "masterpiece" as the main element of definition in criterion 1 may seem rather surprising. Beyond the multiple meanings it may carry in the framework of this convention, the term is not attached to a specific meaning widely established in art and humanities disciplines. In art history vocabulary, the term "masterpiece" does not refer to a precise normative standard, and it is generally described as being "loosely applied to the finest work" (Chilvers & Osborne, 1997, p. 358) or "applied to any work of pre-eminent merit" (Lucie-Smith, 2004, p. 136). In the introduction of his authoritative *Story of Art*, the famous art historian Ernst Gombrich (1995) explains that it would be illusory to try to establish a series of rules to circumscribe what constitutes a great work of art, since the latter is characterized instead by a form of delicate equilibrium that cannot be fixed by any normative principles. Thus, professional art historians and other art specialists often avoid, on purpose, the term "masterpiece" for its lack of precision and its associations in popular usage. The only place where the term is commonly used in artistic circles might be in galleries and auction houses where such a label may be used as an effective selling argument. For a community of experts that wraps its work in the language of science, the choice of such a term as a selection criterion for the WHL appears to be somewhat contradictory.

Moreover, the use of this criterion to justify nominations to the WHL has been generally in decline over the last 37 years, as is shown in the following figure.



Nevertheless, during the same period, the total number of cultural nominations to the WHL was, on the contrary, progressively increasing. In fact, it was in the second year of nominations (1979) that the largest number of masterpieces was nominated to the list. Among the twenty masterpieces that entered the list that year, five of them are situated in France: Chartres Cathedral, Mont-Saint-Michel and the Versailles Palace; and another four are situated in Egypt: for example, the Nubian Monuments of Abu Simbel, Thebes and its Necropolis and Memphis and its Pyramids. For these prestigious emblems of traditional high culture, discussions were rather brief before accepting them as masterpieces, since ICOMOS simply wrote a couple of sentences in its evaluation report to mention how these elements are unique, exceptional or already widely recognized as masterpieces. After 1979, the number of masterpieces admitted to the WHL followed a slow but constant decline. As

can be seen in the following figure, if one looks at the percentage of nominations[73] that were accepted under criterion 1 each year, three plateaux are distinguishable: between 1979 and 1992, this percentage was situated generally between 30% and 50%, reaching 60% some years; between 1993 and 2004, the percentage oscillated between 20% and 40%; and since 2005, the percentage has dropped below 20%, with the only exception being 2009 when it made a surge to 27%.



Furthermore, after 37 years of inscriptions, 57% of the masterpieces inscribed on the WHL are situated in Europe and North America, 23% are in Asia and the Pacific; the three other official regions of UNESCO (Africa; the Arab States; Latin America and the Caribbean) share the remaining 20%. Thus, this history clearly demonstrates that the WHL was rapidly populated by some of the best-known elements of Euro-centric culture deemed "masterpieces of human creative genius" without much discussion or debate before the criterion was significantly modified.

[73] This percentage was obtained by establishing the ratio between the number of elements nominated under criterion 1 for a given year and the total number of nominations for the same year.

In parallel to this evolution, several modifications to the criteria were made by the Committee to better accommodate the question of the plurality of cultures. Indeed, the original vision of the Convention, strongly rooted in a Euro-centric vision of heritage favouring monumentality and narratives of traditional high culture, was hardly sustainable in the framework of an organization promoting cultural diversity as one of its central values. Consequently, when the WHL became unbalanced with a clear majority of the nominations coming from Western members, UNESCO felt the need to correct the situation. In response to this situation, the Committee launched in 1994 the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List*. One of the objectives of this strategy was to correct what is called the "geographical" imbalance in the properties nominated to the list. To do so, the strategy put in place a series of measures to encourage countries from the South to become states parties to the convention, to prepare a tentative list and present nomination files. However, one can only note that the impact of the strategy was rather limited since twenty years after its adoption, 48% of the total properties on the WHL are still situated in Europe and North America. Thus, Chiara De Cesari concludes: "The crucial problem with the Global Strategy is that it adopts an additive approach that not only leaves the World Heritage 'core' intact, but also leaves its built-in, exclusionary structures of representation and selection mechanisms in place" (De Cesari, 2010, p. 313). As the main gatekeepers in this endeavour, experts are at the centre of this negotiation of the place of diversity in the WHC.

In addition to the broadening of the notion of cultural heritage that I have described above, the criteria have also undergone modifications to adapt to the diversity of cultures represented by UNESCO's members. Some of these modifications are minor,

although not insignificant, like the addition, in 1994, of the plural to terms like “cultures” and “traditions” in criteria 4 and 5. With this simple addition the committee acknowledged that a single element can be representative of more than one moment in history and more than one culture. This small modification set the stage for a more substantive one that occurred two years later. Since this convention came into effect, criterion 2 has always been construed around the key term “influence”. The first formulation of the criterion reads: “have exerted considerable influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on subsequent developments in architecture, monumental sculpture, garden and landscape design, related arts, or human settlements” (UNESCO, 1977, art. 7). With such a wording, criterion 2 can be understood as the criterion under which major styles and trends in art history will be listed, or even that the list is seeking to identify the source of these styles and trends. This is in fact consistent with the “purity of style” that was a part of the original vision of this convention. For example, when the Committee elaborated additional guidelines for the inclusion of groups of urban buildings on the list in 1987, it stated that “the criteria which call for uniqueness or exemplary character have led to the choice of groups of buildings noteworthy for their purity of style, for the concentrations of monuments they contain and sometimes for their important historical associations” (UNESCO, 1987, art. 25). However, in the major re-working of the criteria the Committee undertook in 1996, the term “influence” was replaced by the term “interchange”, in a new version of the criterion that now reads as follows: “exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design” (UNESCO, 1996, art. 24). This version is still in use today. In this version, the formulation

suggests that the Committee favours the hybrid character of works born from the encounter between more than one tradition. In that sense, the change of terminology marks an important turning point in the construction of the WHL. This attitude towards hybridity contrasts with the attachment to the "purity of style" that was praised in the first versions of the operational guidelines.

A similar attitude is observable in other modifications that were made to the wording of the criteria. Indeed, an effort to de-Europeanize some criteria seems to go in the same direction of a greater openness to cultural diversity. For example, the first version of criterion 3 was conceived to recognize elements that are "unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity" (UNESCO, 1977, ART. 7). The expression "great antiquity", which refers specifically to the roots of Western culture, was subsequently replaced by the term "civilization" in 1980. If this term appears to be more inclusive, the Committee went one step further in 1996 by adding the expression "cultural tradition" to broaden the scope of the criterion.

Like any change in the operation of this convention, the movement towards more openness to cultural diversity was not happening only within the Committee. On the contrary, the movement was accompanied, if not preceded, by a broader conversation taking place in the community of experts. In 1994, a conference, co-organized by UNESCO, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, took place in Nara (Japan) to discuss the subject of authenticity. The document that came out of the conference provides additional guidelines on how this critical question should be handled in the framework of this convention. Since 2005, the whole document has even been integrated into the operational guidelines as a reference on the question. Although the document reaffirms the importance of the principles included in

the 1964 Venice Charter (discussed above), it also demonstrates a new sensibility to the question of plurality of cultures, illustrated in the section entitled *Cultural Diversity and Heritage Diversity*. After reaffirming their respect for cultural diversity, the experts gathered in Nara wrote:

> *All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong.*

That is to say, here again, heritage experts temper the totalizing vision of purity and authenticity that is at the root of this convention.

In sum, this review of the evolution of thoughts and ideas in the international community of cultural heritage experts has revealed an interesting paradox that lies at the heart of the operation of this UNESCO program. Indeed, even though the community of experts that drives the selection process presents itself as a group of scientists, they nevertheless base their judgements on criteria that remains vague – like the term "masterpiece" for example – or are defined by tautologies – like the expression "outstanding universal value". These are highly subjective terms open to the interpretation of the analyst, and they seriously jeopardize the alleged objectivity associated with the decision-making process. Moreover, my analysis also clearly shows a general widening process in the interpretation of the key conceptual elements of this international instrument. This is the case with the definition of "cultural heritage" itself, as it is also the case with several selection criteria on which the repertoire is built. However, this opening movement remains limited and has not modified profoundly the architecture of the WHC. The struggle around the universal character of the properties is exemplary of this limitation. If this aspect has

always been problematic in the international context in which UNESCO evolves, the Committee has never called into question the relevance and validity of this overarching standard. For many years, the Committee tended to sidetrack the question by, intentionally, leaving the expression largely undefined. When the Committee finally addressed the situation, it was only to reaffirm a strong universalist position that left many of the difficulties inherent to this position unresolved. Therefore, this attachment to the universal character of the artistic elements to be included in the list perpetuates a traditional vision of culture that establishes Euro-centric culture as universal. If the arts have generally lost ground in the roster of nominations, the history of the constitution of the list has set the standards of artistic quality by which everything else now needs to be evaluated. A very large number of iconic artistic elements situated in Europe and North America entered the WHL in its early years through a consensual approbation granted by a homogeneous community of experts. If these elements have certainly contributed to establishing the prestige of the program, they now constitute the symbolic artistic capital of the list, which encapsulates a certain vision of the artistic distinctiveness of the past. It is now in reference to this repertoire that any other artistic candidate to the list must be situated. The following section will show, through some recent examples, how this repertoire which was constituted in the early years of the WHL continues to have a huge impact on the nomination process.

4. Contemporary struggles to enter the WHL

In this last section, I propose to briefly consider a few recent examples of elements that were presented as candidates to the WHL. Some of them have been accepted

(sometimes at the expense of more or less substantial modifications to the file), others have been rejected. These are all buildings that could be termed "grandeur architecture" since they are all related to a ruler and are incarnations of an ostensible demonstration of power. This type of architecture remains largely prevalent among properties put up for nomination, which, in itself, demonstrates how the original conception of cultural heritage is still largely spread. However, the recent decisions explored in the following section allow me to consider in greater depth how the history of the constitution of the WHL has had a major impact on the vision of the community of experts during the selection process and consequently how UNESCO values and promotes our collective past.

One of the strong mechanisms by which UNESCO perpetuates its initial vision of heritage is the mandatory "comparative analysis" that each nomination proposal must include. Indeed, in 1988, the Committee reworked section 1.B of the operational guidelines in which what a State Party should submit as material for the evaluation of a potential nomination is specified. As part of the material that is requested, the new article 12 clearly indicates that the "State Party should provide a comparative evaluation of the property in relation to other properties of similar type" (UNESCO, 1988, art.12). Such a comparative analysis is still required today as part of the justification section of any file in order to "explain the importance of the nominated property in its national and international context" (UNESCO, 2013, art. 132). With this analysis at hand, experts evaluating the file are able to appreciate the new components this potential nomination would bring to the list (Jokilehto, 2011). The following section shows how this mechanism has played out in recent processes of evaluation of potential nominations.

In 2012, Germany presented a nomination file[74] under the title *Schwetzingen: A Prince Elector's Summer Residence*. Schwetzingen is a palace situated in the city of the same name in the German State of Baden-Württemberg (South-West). It was built mainly in the XVIIIth century as a summer residence for the Prince Elector Palatine of the House of Wittelsbach. The short description of the property reads as follows:

> *The castle and its outbuildings are in the Baroque style; it has one of the oldest Italian-style theatres. Designed in several stages, its gardens express a synthesis of Baroque geometric styles, Rococo influences and the English-style of landscape garden; they include an important ensemble of picturesque follies and statues.* (ICOMOS, 2012a)

In its comparative analysis, the nomination file compares this property to twenty-six royal and princely properties situated in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, eleven of which are already inscribed on the WHL. Throughout this exercise, the state attempts to demonstrate that the ensemble is an authentic and exceptional example of the XVIIIth century palatial summer residence, and that the property is exceptionally well preserved. ICOMOS in its own evaluation acknowledged that Schwetzingen undeniably belongs to a group of "significant" buildings and that its state of conservation and authenticity are excellent. If the two groups of experts agreed that the comparative analysis, as presented in the nomination file, was a suitable ground to evaluate this property, they diverged completely on the value to be attributed to the property based on this analysis. In fact, the experts' readings of the artistic and historical importance of this property led to two widely diverging positions. Whereas the state argued that Schwetzingen is an exceptional example of a "palace of the Age of Enlightenment, conveying its cultural and social values," ICOMOS answered that

[74] The property was first submitted for consideration for the 2009 meeting of the Committee. However, since the ICOMOS evaluation at the time recommended not inscribing the property on the WHL, Germany withdrew the nomination before the meeting of the Committee. It was re-submitted for evaluation in 2012.

there is nothing really unique or exceptional about this ensemble and that this type of building is "already recognized and well represented on the World Heritage List." The same logic prevailed for each of the points put forth by the state as evidence of the exceptional character of the site: the state's file demonstrated how the property is organized around a main central axis, a key trait of the period, but ICOMOS replied that other examples are "considerably grander or more imposing"; the state emphasized the unique blend of Baroque and English-style gardens that shape this unique landscape, but ICOMOS saw nothing exceptional about it since other gardens with similar components are already recognized in the list; for the state, the site witnessed the apogee of the cultural, musical and theatrical life of its period, but for ICOMOS this is only one example of an artistic life that was similar in many other princely courts. Thus, ICOMOS concluded that this property was not suitable for a nomination on the WHL, as it had neither demonstrated that it was of "outstanding universal value", nor that it fulfils any of the criteria under which the property was presented by the State Party. Even if the property met UNESCO's standards as regards integrity and authenticity, it remains significant only at the "national or regional level" and cannot bear the label of "universal" significance (ICOMOS, 2012a). Therefore, ICOMOS recommended that the committee "not inscribe" this property on the WHL, but the Committee decided to defer the nomination in order to allow the State Party to make substantial revisions to the file (UNESCO, 2012b).[75]

This particular case indicates the importance of the historical construction of the WHL. Indeed, the elements that entered the list in its early years – often without the

[75] If the Committee had followed ICOMOS's recommendation and simply rejected the nomination, it would have meant that this property could not be presented again by the state party. By deferring the nomination, the Committee kept this door open. As remarked above, these differences between ICOMOS's recommendation and the final decision are more and more frequent, as diplomatic considerations influence the final decision made by this group of ambassadors.

scrutiny to which contemporary nominations are submitted – nowadays form a strong catalogue that establishes standards against which each new nomination is to be judged. Moreover, some of the comments made by ICOMOS suggest that the first entries to the list now occupy a space that is no longer available for comparable examples of the same type of architecture. Consequently, the new candidates have to prove that they are the grandest in this "grandeur architecture".

The following year, in 2013, it was the turn of Iran to submit the candidacy of a palace for admission on the WHL. The Golestan Palace is one of the oldest complexes in Tehran. It was originally constructed for the Safavid dynasty, but it received "its most characteristic features in the 19th century, when the palace complex was selected as the royal residence and the seat of power by the Qajar ruling family" (ICOMOS, 2013b). The ensemble presented as a potential nomination of the WHL comprises eight palaces surrounding the garden, all of them being used as museums today.

In the comparative analysis, the nomination file first establishes that the Golestan Palace is the only surviving example of a Persian palace of that importance from both a historical and an artistic perspective. Then, the analysis tries to situate the Golestan Palace within a series of royal and princely residences situated in various regions of the world. Some of these palaces are not inscribed on the WHL (Topkapi Palace in Turkey, Windsor Castle in the UK), but a majority of them are: the Forbidden City (China), Versailles (France), Schönbrunn (Austria), the Kremlin (Russia). The latter were all inscribed on the WHL under criterion 1, acknowledging that these properties represent a "masterpiece of human creative genius". The comparison with these sites supports the claim of Iran that the Golestan Palace should be inscribed under the same criterion. This list of palaces provides

us with an interesting sample to examine how this question of "masterpiece" has been treated by the Committee over the last decades. The first of these masterpiece palaces to enter the list was, not surprisingly, Versailles, without much discussion. Indeed, ICOMOS simply wrote in its report that this ensemble of palaces and parks "constitute a unique artistic realisation, by virt[ue] not only of their size but their quality and originality" (ICOMOS, 1979). In fact, by the influence it has had in the history of palatial architecture in Europe, Versailles served as a benchmark by which many other palaces' candidacy to a nomination on the WHL would be evaluated. The Forbidden City for its part entered the WHL in 1987, but only under criteria 3 and 4. It took an extension of the property to include the Imperial Palace of the Qing Dynasty in Shenyang in 2004 to get the ensemble recognized as a masterpiece, with the following justification: "the imperial palaces represent masterpieces in the development of imperial palace architecture in China" (UNESCO, 2004). Our third example, the Kremlin, became a masterpiece of humanity in 1990, ICOMOS writing in its report that the compound includes "within its walls a unique series of masterpieces of architecture and the plastic arts" with some "monuments of exceptional beauty" (ICOMOS, 1990). In the last case – Schönbrunn – the state didn't bother making any proposal in regard to the criteria under which the property should be inscribed. Interestingly, in the comparative analysis, the palace was put in relation to palaces already inscribed on the WHL – among them Versailles – to show that Schönbrunn belongs to a major tradition of palatial architecture that originated with Versailles and which was later interpreted locally in various ways. Here, there was no suspicion from ICOMOS that such a nomination might simply replicate what was already recognized on the list. On the contrary, ICOMOS took the initiative to propose an inscription under criterion 1, since the site

appeared to be the incarnation of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*[76] (ICOMOS, 1996), which was accepted by the Committee.

From this brief review, one can see that criterion 1 has been generally attributed to sites that are perceived to be at the origin of a new style. As such these properties incarnate a "masterpiece of human creative genius" in the sense that they present something never before seen. Versailles is perceived as the most influential palace that has been imitated by royal and princely courts throughout Europe; the Forbidden City is seminal for the development of Chinese imperial architecture; the Kremlin is the incarnation of the Russian imperial architectural style; Schönbrunn is the concretization of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

The original character of the Golestan Palace was precisely the point on which ICOMOS and the state disagreed. Was the Golestan Palace the starting point of a new style or not? Iran argued that the encounter between the Western and Persian artistic traditions gave birth to a new type of architecture, which they call the Qajar School of architecture, in reference to the dynasty in power in Persia from the end of the XVIIIth century to the beginning of the XXth century. The state wrote in the nomination file: "Generally, innovation of Qajar artists and architects has turned Golestan Palace into a peerless masterpiece showcasing the creative ingenuity and artistic sense of human beings" (Islamic Republic of Iran, 2012). In the opinion of ICOMOS, though, the Golestan Palace indeed presented an "intricate" and "high" quality of artistic and craftsmanship realizations, but it didn't justify, "in what way these artistic expressions could be considered outstanding masterpieces of human creative genius". For ICOMOS, the Golestan Palace certainly combines different influences, and this combination was influential in the development of Iranian architecture,

[76] This German term would be translated in English as the "total work of art". This is a term often used by art historians to refer to a work of art that combines different art forms in a single artistic realization.

but it would be an exaggeration to talk about a new type of architecture born on the site (ICOMOS, 2013b). Rather, ICOMOS prefers to see this hybrid style, born from the encounter between the West and the East, under criterion 2 as modified in 1996 specifically to recognize "interchange" between cultures. This choice shows how the purity of style that was a part of the early vision of the WHC is still a key component in the establishment of what counts as the most outstanding artistic realizations of humanity. The example briefly reviewed here tends to suggest that these properties bear the label "masterpiece" because they are perceived as the starting point of a *sui generis* type of architecture or artistic tradition.

For many kings, emperors, princes and other rulers, the use of architecture as a means of affirming their power often goes well beyond the walls of their palaces. A significant part of nominations to the WHL remains closely related to this grandeur architecture. Two recent examples will illustrate this point. In 2011, Turkey submitted a file proposing the nomination of the Selimiye Mosque to the WHL. This temple was commissioned by Sultan Selim II, son of Suleiman the Magnificent, in 1569. In the nomination file, the state claims that the building is incomparable to any other building of the Ottoman Empire as it is described as the "apogee" of this art form. It situates the Selimiye Mosque as the culmination of the work undertaken by Sinan – the official architect of the empire – in two other major mosques in Istanbul: Sehzade and Süleymaniye (both already inscribed on the WHL as part of the Historic Areas of Istanbul). Consequently, the state requested the recognition of this ensemble under criterion 1, describing the work as "a fantastic work of masterpiece" and "the most important architecture of the 16th century when the Ottoman architecture reached its peak and impressed the period" (Republic of

Turkey, 2010). Here, there was no suggestion from ICOMOS that the work might be only of regional or national interest (as in the Schwetzingen file) and no tergiversations concerning influences from outside the region (as in the Golestan Palace file). The advisory body simply agreed with the claim, writing in its own report that the mosque is a "superlative architectural achievement […] widely recognized by architectural historians and is not in dispute" (ICOMOC, 2011).

A similar scenario occurred a year later when Germany presented the file for the nomination of the Bayreuth Opera House. This building was commissioned by the local rulers (Margravine Wilhelmine, wife of Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth) to be the court theatre. It was designed by architect Giuseppe Galli Bibiena, who was at the time the leading European theatre architect. After establishing in the comparative analysis that no theatre of the same period and the same quality has been preserved in such authentic conditions, the state expressed its desire to have this building declared a "masterpiece of human creative genius". To justify this claim, Germany described the Opera House as "the most important and best preserved example of an 18th century court opera building in Europe," commissioned by "the most remarkable woman of the 18th century" and designed by "the most renowned theatre architect" (ICOMOS, 2012b).

These last two examples not only established their unique character through the comparative analysis, but they also built a convincing case that they are the dominant example of a particular type of building. They did that by showing that they are the most richly decorated, the most impressive, the most ingenious, and associated with the most outstanding people of their time. In that sense, these two successful files accorded perfectly with the rhetoric of grandeur that the list imposes on its candidates.

The four examples reviewed in this section constitute only a small sample of the recent nomination files, and the analysis could have been much more developed. Each nomination to the WHL is in itself a story that can be followed through the paper trail of the evaluation process and each of these nominations teaches new things about the evolving vision of cultural heritage that is promoted by this international instrument. Nevertheless, this small sample has already revealed the level of arbitrariness that is involved in the decision-making process, despite all attempts to make it scientific and objective. But more importantly, these examples show how the repertoire of cultural elements already inscribed on the list has a major influence on future nominations. As iconic European buildings and sites populated the WHL in its early years, this repertoire is in itself a powerful gatekeeper mechanism that perpetuates the original vision put in place by the fathers of the Convention. The combined effect of this repertoire and the mandatory comparative analysis seriously hinders all reforms and modifications of criteria that aim to open more widely the WHL to non-European cultural elements.

Conclusion

In an article published in 2001, Bernd von Droste, the founding director of the World Heritage Centre and former Secretary of the Convention, describes the WHL as a contemporary version of the Seven Wonders of the World. In a sense, the analogy is right since the original vision at the heart of this international mechanism was the prolongation of the classical culture in which heritage is incarnated in the built environment of the past. Like the ancient version, the modern incarnation of the list gathers what von Droste (2001) called “the best of the best” in terms of artistic and technical realizations and has become a

reference point in the history of human achievements. As the flagship cultural program of UNESCO, this list proposes an influential vision of what should be valued in our collective past in terms of artistic and aesthetic standards. The major difference from its ancestor though is that the modern list is not closed but rather gains new additions each year. Moreover, as a metacultural ensemble that is said to be representative of the diversity of culture in the world, the list would not be satisfactory if it itemized only elements of the dominant culture.

Throughout the years of operation of the WHC, the community of experts working on this UNESCO initiative have made the original vision evolve. Indeed, the original vision was quite narrow, and anything that did not match its restricted definition was relegated to the margins. Throughout the evolution, some accommodations have been made with the original definition of cultural heritage and with the selection criteria to successively enlarge the scope of the original vision. Thus, numerous elements coming from all regions of the world have been integrated into the list, which is constantly growing. However, the openness of the WHL to the cultural diversity that is represented by UNESCO members remains limited. The main foundations of the WHC have never been really questioned and a relatively narrow conception of heritage still prevails in the daily operations of this international instrument. The "universal" character of properties to be listed is still a key component of any nomination, although it also remains largely contentious. Despite the difficulty of adopting such a position in the international context in which UNESCO operates, the organization persists in its ambition to find heritage elements that could be relevant for people everywhere on the planet. The accumulated elements that form the list as well as the mandatory comparative analysis continue to situate the canons of Western

culture as the standards against which every candidate must be judged. Therefore, there are a large number of elements that find themselves in the liminal space of this metacultural ensemble. They are now fully integrated to the list, on the same footing as the prestigious European buildings and sites that have populated this list since the early years of the program. However, there is a certain level of "secondariness" surrounding these elements. They are the elements that came after the great representations of Euro-centric architecture of grandeur that gave the program its prestige in the first place. In this way, the core of this program remains centred on a Western vision of art, architecture and history that is now complemented by representations of a diversity of built heritage elements.

Since 2003, several of the most difficult issues raised by the question of cultural diversity in regard to heritage have been "solved" by the adoption of a second convention that proposes a much broader understanding of the notion of heritage. Therefore, a large part of our collective past – called intangible by UNESCO – is now simply side-tracked to this second convention that has proved much more popular outside the Western world.

CHAPTER 5

Fighting for a Place in the Mainstream:

The Future Generation Art Prize

On December 8, 2009, the Ukrainian steel-pipe magnate Victor Pinchuk threw a lavish party at the artsy Gramercy Park Hotel in New York. For him, this was not just another banal high society event among others, but rather a milestone in the development of his philanthropic activity. That night, his foundation launched a new initiative: a prize for contemporary art that has no equivalent in the world. As its name indicates, the Future Generation Art Prize (FGAP) set for itself the goal of identifying the most outstanding and promising young artists under 35 on the planet. A prize designed to encourage a young generation is nothing new, but this one is among the very few prizes that set no limitations in terms of nationality. Through an online process, any artist in the world can enter the competition, no matter what his or her actual location or country of origin may be. Moreover, the bursary that accompanies the prize already situates it in the high-end category. Indeed, Pinchuk has not hesitated to pour important resources into the prize, as the winner receives a generous cheque of US $100,000,[77] which makes the FGAP one of the most well-endowed art prizes in the world.

The prize has no link with New York. It is sponsored by a Ukrainian oligarch. It is administered by the Pinchuk Art Centre, the private museum Pinchuk has established in Kiev. The prize involves a group exhibition by 21 short-listed candidates and a solo exhibition by the winner, both to be presented in Kiev. The award ceremony takes place as

[77] The bursary is in fact constituted of two elements: US $40,000 that goes to the development of a new production and US $60,000 that goes directly to the artist.

well in the Ukrainian capital. Nevertheless, the organizers of the prize are only too aware that Kiev is not necessarily the hottest spot on the planet when it comes to contemporary art. Thus, New York seemed to be a much more appropriate location for a marketing operation that hoped to attract the eyes of the contemporary art milieu. Björn Geldhof, the administrator of the prize for the Pinchuk Art Centre, talks about "the very important launch in New York". He says: "We chose to go to New York because … perhaps we can't say it is THE centre anymore, but it is still one of the leading centres out of many. By making that, I think, a successful event, as we made it, by connecting a very strong board to the prize, we have allowed it to be picked up by the press." The launch party was indeed well attended. Many of Pinchuk's friends and relations in the global art milieu were there. In the photographs of the party provided to the artistic press, one can see Jeff Koons and Andreas Gursky, two artists who are well-represented in Pinchuk's collection, as well as future mentors for the winner of the prize. In addition to these international star artists, representatives of top museums, like Richard Armstrong from the Guggenheim and Jessica Morgan from Tate Modern, were present, as well as the art dealer Jay Jopling from Withe Cube and even someone from the auction house Sotheby's, where Pinchuk is a very good client. Gathering this prestigious crowd representing all segments of the art world was obviously a winning strategy to initiate buzz about the new prize. However, Geldhof is not naïve either when he adds: "and, of course, the generous prize money helped to get the word out!"

Since the launch, three editions of this biennial prize have been held (in 2010, 2012 and 2014). A chronology of the key events that have marked the evolution of the prize can be found in Appendix 4. Each of these editions has been really successful in terms of the

number of submissions received – between 4,000 and 6,000 applications each time. However, as the New York launch suggests, the issue for this newly-born prize was not only to be successful from a quantitative point of view, but also to find its legitimacy in the mainstream contemporary art world, which is, of course, a much more complicated task. To do so, the FGAP has counted on the economic and social capital of its main sponsor, Victor Pinchuk, but also on a vast network of prestigious art personalities who have been associated with the prize at some point in its development. Before further discussing the "glamour" strategy developed by the Pinchuk Foundation to achieve such a goal, two important aspects of the prize must be examined. The first section of this chapter will be dedicated to exploring how the organizers of the FGAP distinguish it in the crowded landscape of art awards by emphasizing the "democratic" character of the prize, which for them comes from the online self-nomination process. Section 2 will turn to Victor Pinchuk himself to see how the philanthropist has developed important economic and social capital that is a key factor in the building of the prize. Then, section 3 will explore how such assets have been used to gather around the prize many big names in contemporary art circles in order to forge a place for the new prize in the select club of international contemporary art circles. And finally, section 4 will consider how a strategy based on contemporary art celebrities has had a major impact on the adjudicating process to select nominees and winners.

1. An Art Prize of the XXIst century

The idea of offering a special reward to outstanding artistic achievements is probably as old as art itself. If these prizes, awards and distinctions have acquired an

economic function today – guiding the consumer among the myriad of artistic products released each year – the art prize also has a seminal cultural value that contributes to establishing a foundational hierarchy in cultural products and their artisans. James English summarizes this double function of the prize as follows: "the prize […] seems constantly to oscillate between a genuinely cultural event (whose participants have only the interests of art at stake) and a sordid display of competitiveness and greed (whose participants are brazenly pursuing their professional and financial self-interests)" (English, 2005, p. 7). The art prize is this strange mix of the economy of gifts, in which considerable fortunes are invested, and the economy of cultural products in which distinctions and awards have major consequences on the life and work of artists receiving the awards, but also on the individuals and institutions sponsoring these prizes.

The prize has served as a legitimizing tool for centuries when it was awarded by official cultural institutions and art academies. However, there is a general consensus in the literature that the establishment of the Nobel prizes in 1901 marked a turning point in the cultural history of such distinctions (English, 2005; Laroche, 2012). Thus, when he wrote his will in which he instructed his estate executors to put almost all his wealth into a new foundation to be set up to award prizes to those who "shall have conferred the greatest benefit on mankind,"[78] Alfred Nobel set a precedent.[79] Indeed, Nobel was the first

[78] Alfred Nobel's testament is reproduced in its entirety on the website of the Nobel Foundation http://www.nobelprize.org/alfred_nobel/will/ (consulted on February 12, 2015).

[79] This decision was widely perceived as an eccentricity in Europe and triggered a number of critiques associating Nobel's testament with prodigality and financial chaos. Indeed, Nobel's will deeply threatened two of the dearest principles of the European bourgeoisie. First, with its international scope and the designation of the Norwegian parliament as the institution responsible for the attribution of the Peace recognition, the Nobel prizes were perceived an unpatriotic. Second, the investment of almost the totality of Nobel's wealth in such an endeavour questioned the principle of the hereditary transmission of capital, one of the pillars of the new industrial class. The Nobel family in fact vehemently contested the validity of the testament until an agreement was reached with the estate's executors (Laroche, 2012, pp. 16-17).

representative of the new industrial bourgeoisie to invest his considerable fortune into the creation of a new kind of recognition. Two main elements constituted the novelty of this recognition. First, the prizes were to be awarded by a private foundation, created explicitly after the death of Nobel, which was at the time a new type of institution that lacked the level of legitimacy enjoyed by state institutions or universities that were more established institutions in the domain of awarding prizes. Consequently, the Nobel Foundation was keen to build alliances with older institutions to enhance its credibility.[80] Second, the new prizes were made up of two main components: in addition to the usual symbolic honour that comes with any distinction, the Nobel prizes were to be accompanied by a substantial bursary, an element that certainly contributed to establishing the reputation of these new awards. With this testament, Alfred Nobel created the archetype of the modern prize, but he also established a new custom that would gain in popularity in the new elite born from the industrial economy.

Therefore, the XXth century witnessed a proliferation of awards and prizes of all kinds, of which the Nobel prizes are often referred to as the model. Thus, a number of prizes have been created to reward outstanding realizations in fields not covered by the Nobel Prizes – such as the Pritzker Prize, often referred to as the Nobel for architecture – while others were created in reaction to the Nobel – such as the Pulitzers created as an American counterweight to the Nobel prize in literature, which was perceived as too Euro-centric. James English (2005) talks about a "logic of proliferation" to characterize this exceptional expansion in the number of prizes and awards in the arts. This phenomenon was certainly

[80] To execute the prizes, the estate's executors created five committees, linked to existing institutions: the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (Prizes in Physics and Chemistry), the Karolinska Institute (Prize in Medicine), the Swedish Academy (Prize in Literature), the Norwegian Parliament (Peace Prize). When the Nobel Prize in Economics was created in 1969 a new committee attached to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences was created to award the new distinction (Laroche, 2012, p. 19).

related to the development of private philanthropy, which also expanded considerably with the rise of the industrial bourgeoisie. Some aspects of modern philanthropy will be explored further in the next section. However, the logic of proliferation is also related the commercial dimension of prizes. Indeed, in the fields of cinema or literature, for example, several prizes are now automatically accompanied by an increase in the sale of the cultural product that receives a prize. The Oscar is probably the quintessential example of this phenomenon, since winning one of these statuettes generally goes hand in hand with economic success and new opportunities for the artists involved (Ginsburgh, 2003).[81] The same is true in the field of literature in France where books that receive one of the major distinctions during "*la saison des prix littéraires*" almost immediately witness a steep increase in sales. In the two previous examples, these artistic awards have even become emblematic of a nation cultural distinctiveness. The Oscars contribute to maintaining Hollywood as the world capital of cinema, whereas the French literary prizes contribute to the prestige of this literature in the world. Yet, the high expectations surrounding these distinctions also contribute to the logic of proliferation since dissatisfaction with the established prize often triggers the creation of alternatives. In the field of French literature, for example, the Prix Femina was created as a reaction to the male-dominated Goncourt, whereas the Renaudot was meant to represent an alternative choice to the latter. Each artistic field is now filled with a plethora of prizes that each of which claims distinctiveness. This proliferation of prizes and awards is certainly not exclusively an artistic phenomenon, as this practice has now invaded almost all fields of human activity. Thus, the international

[81] Boyle and Chiou (2009) have shown the same about the Tony Awards, showing how being the laureate of such distinction has a positive effect on both the profit and the longevity of Broadway productions.

directory of awards, honours, and prizes, compiled by Gale Research every five years, has now reached more than 2,000 pages in three volumes (Miskelly, 2009).

Nevertheless, this logic of proliferation is invariably accompanied by a logic of competition, in which each new prize has to situate itself vis-à-vis the existing ones. The distinction can be made from an aesthetic point of view; this happens when the new prize claims a purer attachment to artistic quality compared to older ones, thought to be too much in thrall to the market, or when the new prize insists on the necessity of valorizing an aesthetic trend left out by the old prizes, often considered too conservative. The distinction can also be made on political grounds, when a new prize claims that a portion of the artistic community (women, people from a certain ethnic community, queers, etc.) are ill-represented by the existing prizes. Finally, geography might also be a factor in the establishment of a new prize, many of new awards simply mimicking the model developed for an existing prize and importing it to another territory. A good example of that is, of course, the reproduction of the Oscar model in almost all Western countries to reward their local cinema industry. These characteristics represent the new prize's attempt to delineate a place for itself in an already crowded landscape of cultural distinctions.

In the field of the visual arts, the phenomenon of prize attribution is fairly recent compared to other artistic disciplines. Of course, distinctions have been attributed by beaux-arts academies for centuries, and some awards related to cultural events are also very old.[82] However, the modern stand-alone prize comparable to what one sees in other artistic disciplines has only appeared in the last decades. In this perspective, the

[82] The Venice Biennale, discussed in chapter 3, provides a good example of that kind of award. This cultural festival has a long tradition of awarding its famous Golden Lion to the best work of art presented in the international exhibition, although the tradition was suspended between 1970 and 1986.

establishment of the Turner Prize in 1984 literally created a genre that has been reproduced many times, even though the original remains by far the most prestigious. The Turner Prize was established by a group of individuals calling themselves "Patrons of the New Art", a group formed originally to help the acquisition of contemporary art at the Tate Gallery in London and more broadly to foster general interest in contemporary art. Consequently, the Turner Prize has always been strongly associated with the Tate. Named after the great British painter, J.M.W Turner (1775-1851), the prize, in its current form, aims at rewarding an outstanding presentation of visual works in the preceding 12 months by an artist (under 50) living in the UK. Each year, an independent jury is formed to constitute a short-list of four artists nominated for the prize. These artists are invited to participate in a collective exhibition held, most of the time[83] at the Tate Britain in London, at the end of which a winner is announced during a well-attended ceremony[84] (Button, 2005). In addition to the visibility offered by the prize, the winner collects a bursary of £25,000. The celebrity of the prize is also strongly linked to the list of its past short-listed artists and recipients. People like Gilbert and George (1986), Anish Kapoor (1991), Damian Hirst (1995), Steve McQueen (1999) and Grayson Perry (2003) have become real stars on the global contemporary art scene.

The Turner Prize has created the genre of visual art prize that can be summarized as follows: the prize is sponsored by a group of wealthy individuals in association with a

[83] On a few occasions, the exhibition of the nominees was held in other locations: in 2007, the exhibition took place at Tate Liverpool (as Liverpool was that year's European Capital of Culture); in 2011 it was held for the first time outside of the Tate network, at the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art at Gateshead (North of England); and in 2013, it was held at Ebrington (Gloucestershire).

[84] The Turner Prize award ceremony is always a jet set glittering party. Of course, this is an annual rendezvous for the London contemporary art milieu, but the prize organisers have often been keen to get celebrities on the stage – Madonna in 2001, Yoko Ono in 2006 or Jude Law in 2012 – as it helps to promote the prize and attract media coverage.

high-profile museum or cultural institution, which presents a group exhibition of artist candidates for the main prize and/or a solo exhibition of the winner, and also stages the awards ceremony during which an important bursary is awarded to the winner, while other candidates receive a smaller amount. The model has been replicated in different countries. For example, in France, l'Association pour la diffusion de l'art français, a group of art collectors, created the Marcel-Duchamp Prize in 2000 and is now associated with the Centre Georges Pompidou. The laureate of this award, which is announced during the Foire international d'art contemporain de Paris (FIAC), receives a cheque of €35,000 and is invited to present a solo exhibition at the Centre Pompidou. Similarly, the Sobey Art Foundation was instituted in Canada in association with the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia and presents a prize to artists aged 40 or under, including a bursary of $50,000 for the winner of the competition.[85]

To find its place in this burgeoning landscape of visual art prizes, the Guggenheim Foundation capitalized on its intrinsic international character to partner with the German fashion brand Hugo Boss to create the first visual arts prize that would go beyond the borders of a particular nation. This operation was consistent with the expansion strategy of the Guggenheim Foundation, which was developing its branch museum in Bilbao, Spain, during the same period. Created in 1996, the Hugo Boss Prize follows the usual model with a generous bursary of US $100,000 and a solo exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York offered to the laureate. Its originality resides in the fact that it does not impose any nomination criteria in terms of age, nationality or medium. Adjudicated by an

[85] The originality of this prize is the nomination process by region. Indeed, the country is divided into 5 regions (West Coast; Prairies and the North; Ontario; Quebec; Atlantic) and one artist represents each region in the short list. In December 2015, the Sobey Art Foundation announced that starting in 2016, the National Gallery of Canada would be the organizing institution of the award.

international jury made up of museum directors, curators, and critics, the prize aims to honour the most outstanding achievement in contemporary art wherever it may come from.

Thus, when Victor Pinchuk created the Future Generation Art Prize (FGAP), he had to determine how he would situate it vis-à-vis the existing prizes. The first idea of the prize came to him after he was asked by Japanese artist Takashi Murakami to serve as a jury member for the Geisai Festival, an art competition for young Japanese artists sponsored by Murakami's company Kaikai Kiki. This experience convinced him of the importance of such recognition in the early stages of the career of a young creator. Thus, shortly afterwards, he created a national award, the Pinchuk Art Centre Prize, a prize for which any Ukrainian visual artist aged 35 or under could apply through an online process. The endeavour was perfectly aligned with the objectives of the Pinchuk Foundation that targets youth for several of its philanthropic activities in the belief that "empowered future generations can be a major driver of change."[86] The creation of the FGAP the following year was an extension of this first prize beyond the borders of Ukraine. The two prizes are in fact closely related, since the winner of the Ukrainian competition is automatically invited to take part in the international competition as the 21st shortlisted artist. The FGAP has the same eligibility parameters except for nationality, which is open. Therefore, any artist 35 or younger in the world is free to apply to the competition through the online application process. In an interview with art journalist Carol Vogel of the *New York Times*, Pinchuk insisted that this is what makes the FGAP different from the Turner or the Hugo Boss Prizes: "We want this to be a totally democratic process," he said (Vogel, 2009). He added,

[86] Vision statement on the website of the Victor Pinchuk Foundation (http://pinchukfund.org/en/about_fund/activity) visited on February 13, 2015.

to another journalist: "This worldwide contemporary art prize will be an important contribution to the open participation of younger artists in the dynamic cultural development of societies in global transition" (Ilnytzky, 2009). This idea, that through the online open call for nominations the prize is a democratic platform open to young artists in every corner of the planet, was also taken up by the director of the Pinchuk Art Centre, Eckhard Schneider, who declared that the prize aims to "reach out to the world's younger artists on a truly democratic basis so that virtually everyone has the opportunity to participate" (Ilnytzky, 2009). In fact, the "democratic" character of the prize is constantly reinforced by the Pinchuk Foundation in almost every one of its communications about the prize, as if that has become its trademark or its distinctiveness in the global art world. Of course, the matter is not innocent for a Foundation that is headquartered in a country where democratic struggles have been at the centre of extremely fierce debates since its independence in 1991.

The following section will explore further the political and economic context of Ukraine that has turned Pinchuk into an advocate of democracy in his country. However, for now, it is worth noting how this vision encompasses two of the often-repeated myths about the possibilities offered by information and communication technologies in terms of democratic participation. In his study of myths and power in cyberspace, Vincent Mosco (2005) identifies these two recurrent myths as the "end of geography" and the "end of politics".[87] These myths seem to be particularly relevant for analysing the vision borne by the sponsor of the FGAP. These myths fuel the vision of the FGAP, but they reveal at the same time some of the contradictions that are embedded in such a discourse.

[87] In this account, Vincent Mosco also discusses a third myth: the end of history, which I do not discuss in this analysis.

First, by obviating the national limitations attached to most of the visual art prizes – with the notable exception of the Hugo Boss Prize – the Pinchuk Foundation attempts to create a metacultural space, a space that concerns everybody on the planet, a space in which everyone can participate. Thus, the Foundation inscribes its prize in a world without borders in which the physical location of the artist, or where he or she was born, is no longer a consideration in discriminating between artistic productions. In a way, the FGAP therefore surpasses all national prizes that simply attempt to identify the best artist in their country and instead sets for itself the goal of identifying the best artist in the world. In the metacultural space that this prize opens, contenders are compared not only to their national counterparts, but also potentially to any artist in the world. By doing this, the FGAP situates itself on an equal footing with the prestigious Hugo Boss Prize, although differentiating itself by its focus on emerging artists. In that perspective, the FGAP goes beyond all the already well-established and prestigious "national" awards – like the Turner and the Marcel-Duchamp – since all contenders for these national prizes could take part in this competition open to every artist in the world. Here, the FGAP appeals to the narrative of a post-national art world that is widely spread in art circles. Indeed, as was discussed in Chapter 1, the myth of the end of geography is also often taken up by the art sector, which likes to imagine itself as operating in a post-national context in which borders are no longer relevant. In the global art world, this post-national context is a way to reiterate the supremacy of artistic considerations over any other considerations. Therefore, affirming that the global art world is now borderless is a way to affirm that any work of art is to be judged on its artistic qualities and not on nationalistic considerations that are said to belong to another century. This myth of the end of geography goes hand in hand with the rashly

forecast death of the nation-state, which has been a key defining feature of artistic identity for decades. Indeed, when they self-nominate themselves through the online process, artists do not become the representative of their nation, as in the two previous cases studied in this dissertation, but rather stand as individuals. Interestingly though, when it publishes the list of the 21 artists shortlisted for the prize, the Pinchuk Foundation states two matters about these artists: their age and their nationality. It seems that even in this global art world without borders, nationality is still of some utility when it comes to sketching the portrait of an artist. What is more, the country of origin attached to each name serves here as the marker of the diversity represented in the list, a prerequisite to singling out the spread of the competition over five continents. However, it also puts the candidate *de facto* in a position where he or she has to carry the burden of this national affiliation. Similarly, it is worth noting that the organizers of the competition are not state representatives either. As a private foundation whose revenues come from a wealthy individual, the organizers have the agency to put in place such an international competition that has, in theory, no preference with regards to nationality. Yet, the Pinchuk Foundation is not completely neutral when it comes to this question, as the structure of the prize itself reserves a place for a Ukrainian artist in the roster of artists considered for the main prize (i.e. the winner of the previous year's Pinchuk Art Centre Prize). This is in fact a patriotic act on the part of the Foundation that therefore brings back the logic of nationalism. In a way, the Pinchuk Foundation is here taking the place of a weak state that fails to encourage and promote the work of its own citizens.

Second, the self-nominating online system constitutes an important element of the democratic vision of the FGAP as it differentiates the prize from many others – like the

Turner or Hugo Boss Prizes – in which candidates are identified solely by experts. Therefore, the Pinchuk Foundation holds that everybody in the world has an equal chance to participate and an equal chance to have their works considered in the competition. Accordingly, the Foundation constantly reiterates in its communications about the prize that it relies on a totally "democratic" nomination process. For example, in the call for applications in 2014, the Foundation described the prize as follows:

> Launched by the Victor Pinchuk Foundation in 2009, the Prize is open to all artists up to the age of 35 with the aim of acknowledging and giving long-term support to a future generation of artists from all over the world. The Prize is unique because of its global reach and highly democratic form of application via the Internet.

Here, we touch on the other myth identified by Mosco: the end of politics. However, a distancing from Mosco is necessary to identify how this myth is expressed in the discourse of the Pinchuk Foundation. Indeed, Mosco focuses a large part of his analysis on what he calls "the end of insecurity", demonstrating how cyberspace has been said to carry the promise of a more secure society based on horizontal social relations. I would like to suggest another layer embedded in this end-of-politics myth, which has to do more with the end of inequality. Indeed, inequality is at the cradle of politics if one considers that the difference in access to various resources by different social groups has always given birth to struggles and oppositions between these groups, which are mediated by political authority. When they suggest that every artist in the world has an equal chance to participate in this competition because the entry point is an online self-nominating system, the representatives of the FGAP re-enact a common myth that glosses over political struggles that set in opposition different social groups, different economic classes or different

ideological visions. It simply supposes that in a world where everybody is connected,[88] everybody would have the same chance to participate and be heard regardless of the position he or she occupies in society and on the planet. Such a position ignores the key distinction made by Darin Barney (2000) in his account of the relationship between technology and democracy: the difference between the "equality of opportunity" and the "equality of ability". Indeed, if opening the competition to every young artist on the planet provides them all with an opportunity to participate, it doesn't automatically mean that they all have the same chance to be heard. As Barney argues, many factors, like education or wealth, have to be taken into account to guarantee this equality of ability. In the case at hand, there are many factors that determine the capacity of an artist to produce works of art and develop his or her career (training, means of production, venues for presentation, critical reception, etc.). All these elements have a major impact not only on the ability of an artist to participate, but also to be considered for the shortlist or, even more, to win the competition. If the potential candidates for the FGAP may indeed have an equality of opportunity to nominate themselves for this competition, their equality of ability is seriously conditioned by the physical position they occupy on the planet as well as the symbolic position they occupy in the contemporary visual arts world.

I will come back to these elements later in this chapter to consider how this mythology surrounding the democratic vision of the prize enters into conflict with another important goal of the Foundation, which is to forge a place for the FGAP in the mainstream contemporary art scene. However, in order to understand how the Foundation has

[88] Access to information and communication technology (ICT) remains, of course, unevenly distributed around the world. Several authors now talk about a global divide in order to characterize the imbalance in access to ICT between citizens of industrialized and citizens of developing countries (Shade, 2010). This is in itself a barrier that disadvantages the participation of artists located in less well-equipped countries.

developed its strategy to achieve this goal and why this democratic vision is crucial for the Foundation, it is important to turn now to the very complex character at the heart of this endeavour: Victor Pinchuk.

2. Victor Pinchuk: oligarch, philanthropist and art collector

In her recent account about the oligarchs of the former Soviet Union, French journalist Christine Ockrent describes Victor Pinchuk as "*le plus habile, le plus ambigu et le plus sympatique des oligarques ukrainiens*" (Ockrent, 2014, p. 295). To this description, one could add that Pinchuk is probably one of the most discreet Ukrainian oligarchs. Pinchuk has generally managed to stay most of the time out of the media spotlight if one compares him to some of his counterparts like the highly publicized political figure Yulia Tymoshenko or the current president of the country, and "prince of chocolate", Petro Poroshenko. Often presented as the second-richest man in the country, behind his occasional partner Rinat Akhmetov, Pincuk's fortune is estimated by *Forbes* between $3 and 3.2 billion.[89] If Pinchuk has played the mandatory political game to build such a fortune in the former USSR, he has done this without attracting too much attention. In a poll conducted in 2001 in which Ukrainians were asked to identify people that they believed to be oligarchs, the name of Pinchuk was absent (Kuzio, 2007).

Even though Pinchuk refutes the term oligarch as an accurate description of himself and calls for the end of the oligarchic system in Ukraine,[90] his whole life tends to

[89] However, in its last World's Billionaires List, published in March 2015, *Forbes* maintains that Pinchuk's wealth has been seriously injured by the conflict with Russia, once the primary market of his pipeline manufacture. According to the magazine, his fortune is now estimated to be around $1.5 billion.

[90] In an op-ed published in the *Financial Times* of London on December 15, 2014, he writes: "The west should make its support dependent on corruption and oligarchy being brought to an end. […] It may seem strange for someone who is often identified in the west as an oligarch to call for an end to oligarchy. But oligarchy is not

point in the opposite direction as he has followed the usual path of the oligarch in the post-Soviet era. Like any of his peers, there is a grey zone surrounding the life and career of Victor Pinchuk and the origin of his substantial wealth. Born in Kiev in 1960 to a Jewish family, Pinchuk was raised in Dnepropetrovsk in the east of Ukraine. As an ambitious young man, he was already active in the Young Communist League where he built a network that would be very useful in his future career as a businessman. Graduated with a Ph.D. from Ukraine's Metallurgical Institute, he patented a new process to make seamless pipes, just before the fall of the Berlin Wall. He founded Interpipe Corporation to manufacture this new product and managed to count as his clients the giant Russian companies Gazprom and Rosneft. Yet, this was only the beginning of Pinchuk's economic ascent. Following the usual path of the oligarch, Pinchuk seized opportunities brought by the sell-off of big state enterprises after the fall of the communist regime to build his industrial empire; rapidly, he took control of two important privatized plants in the Dnepropetrovsk Region.

As was the case in Russia, the ascension in this newly-born market economy of Ukraine was inseparable from some political involvement. Indeed, the passage from a command economy in which the state controls all businesses to a market economy in which private interests are the driving forces behind businesses gave birth to a strong collusion between the political and economic elites. In Russia, it was during the chaotic years when Boris Yeltsin was in power that a handful of businessmen seized the majority of lucrative state assets to build immense fortunes in a very short time. The process was somewhat slower and more complicated in Ukraine, but reached its apogee during the presidency of Leonid Kuchma (1994-2005). Rosaria Puglisi (2003) describes the emergence of this

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the same as big business. Oligarchy is when big business assumes the power to govern, or exerts influence on political power in opaque ways" (Pinchuk, 2014).

oligarchic system that involves the "mutual dependence of political and economic elites" in which economic benefits are distributed by the incumbents of official functions in exchange of political support. At the end of his first mandate as president, Kuchma sought to consolidate his position at the centre of this system with a series of constitutional reforms aimed at strengthening the executive power vis-à-vis the legislative power. At that time, remote support and financial backing at election time were not enough political involvement, and many supporters took a more active political position. "Wealthy businesspeople, so-called oligarchs, were seen as a central feature of the political system. Connections with the political elites were a key to the success of the oligarchs' business activities. In order to cement these connections, starting in the second half of the 1990s most of the oligarchs became politically active themselves" (Pleines, 2012, p. 128).

Victor Pinchuk formally entered the political arena at the moment President Kuchma was seeking re-election. Pinchuk was himself elected member of parliament in 1998, one year before the presidential election that brought Kuchma his second term in office. Pinchuk stayed in parliament for two mandates (until 2006). His links with the president are undeniable and took on a more public face when Pinchuk married Kuchma's only daughter, Elena, in 2002. Although Kuchma has always denied favouring his son-in-law, arguing that Pinchuk was already rich when he entered politics – which is true – a lucrative deal involving Pinchuk and Akhmetov was cancelled by Tymoshenko – a long-time rival of Pinchuk – as soon as she took office as prime minister in 2005 after the Orange Revolution[91] (Soldak, 2014). Pinchuk left politics in 2006, a little more than a year after his

[91] President Kuchma quickly privatized the steel producer Krivorozhstal, which was bought by Pinchuk and Akhmetov for $800 million, while the asset was estimated to be worth $12.5 billion. Tymoshenko publicly called it "theft" and reversed the nationalist economic policy that restricts foreign investments in the sale of

father-in-law ended his second term, which was dominated by controversies.[92] Pinchuk often repeats that he simply came to the conclusion that business and politics should stay apart from each other.

Nevertheless, during all these years Pinchuk diversified his economic activities. In addition to the steel pipe industry, he acquired businesses in the media industry, notably several TV channels, now grouped in StarLightMedia Corporation, and the Tabloid *Fakty i Kommentarii* published in Kiev. Like many other oligarchs, Pinchuk also created an investment holding, EastOne Group, that is registered in the UK and holds many of his world-wide assets. The Pinchuk couple is now indeed fully integrated into what is often called Londongrad, with their luxurious London residence – reportedly one of the most expensive residences in the world[93] – their charitable activities, and their social network. Pinchuk follows here a common strategy of oligarchs who have tried to internationalize their activity in order to get the protection of lawful society. The political regime in their home country is far too unstable to guarantee their fortune, and the absence of the rule of law exposes them to arbitrary legal problems. In Ukraine, the cases of Yulia Tymoshenko[94]

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national enterprises. Therefore, she sold the company to the Indian steel magnate Lakshmi Mittal for $4.8 billion (Soldak, 2014).

[92] In November 2000, a former bodyguard of president Kuchma released a series of tapes on which private conversations of the president were recorded. Dubbed Kuchmagate by the Ukrainian press, this affair revealed illegal arms sale to Saddam Hussein's regime and suspicions of implications in the murder of a journalist. If president Kuchma survived this affair, it seriously injured his credibility and legitimacy. Kuchma decided not to run for a third term in the 2004 presidential election that was marked by the Orange Revolution. The role of Kuchma in this period remains unclear. Supporting Viktor Yanukovych in the presidential race, Kuchma nevertheless refused to confirm his election after allegations of massive fraud. However, he left the country soon after and remained abroad throughout the Orange Revolution.

[93] In 2008, Elena Pinchuk bought a luxury residence in the Kensington neighbourhood of London for the record price of £80 million, which made it one of the most expensive real estate properties in world at the time. Victor Pinchuk has always maintained that the purchase was made for investment purposes rather than for finding a home in the UK capital.

[94] After the 2010 presidential election during which she finished second, Yulia Tymoshenko was convicted of abuse of power related to a natural gas contract with Russia. In 2011, she was sentenced to seven years in prison. She was released in February 2014 only after pressures from the international community and the Euromaidan protestations beginning in November 2013.

and Dimitro Firtach[95] are resounding examples of the threat that hangs over the head of any Ukrainian oligarch.

This is probably one of the reasons why 2006 marked a turning point in the career of Victor Pinchuk. His withdrawal from active political life coincided with the creation of the Victor Pinchuk Foundation, which is, among other things, active on the political front. Indeed, like his Russian counterparts, Pinchuk funds through his foundation civil society initiatives in order to promote democracy and justice in Ukraine. It seems that many oligarchs have understood that only a stable and open political regime recognizing private property and implementing the rule of law can guarantee their wealth and their own security. Therefore, many of the oligarchs who have benefited tremendously from the lack of a legislative framework to grow their own businesses have turned into convinced democrats. In the context of Ukraine, this has meant that Pinchuk takes a resolutely pro-European stand even though a good part of his economic activity is still strongly linked to Russia. Indeed, for several years, he has organized through his foundation, the Yalta European Strategy (YES), a conference held in the highly symbolic Livadia Palace in Crimea – the place where Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at the end of WWII to draw the new map of Europe. In the past decade, Pinchuk has invited high-profile international political figures – like Hillary and Bill Clinton, Shimon Perez, Kofi Annan and Tony Blair – to this Renaissance-style palace overseeing the Crimean Sea to discuss the future of Europe and to meet with local politicians.

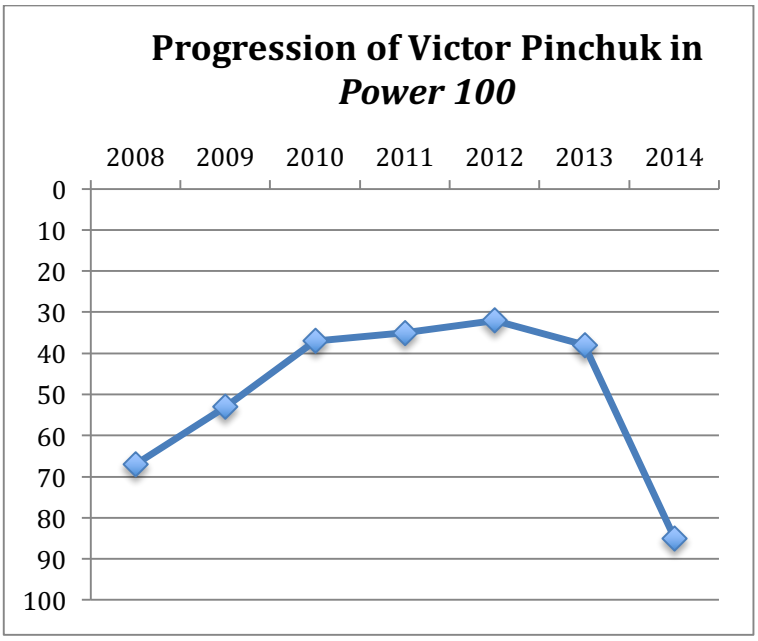
[95] In March 2013, Dimitro Firtach was arrested in Vienna on allegations of his implication with a mafia network connected with president Yanukovych. He was soon freed on bail. "*Au moment où Vladimir Poutine annexe la Crimée, son arrestation prend valeur de premier avertissement adressé aux oligarques proches du Kremlin et du pouvoir pro-russe qui vient d'être renversé à Kiev*" (Ockrent, 2014, p. 294). Firtach is also close to the new president, Porochenko, which in Ukraine is often a position that may guarantee freedom for some time.

However, more than a political instrument in his home country, philanthropic activities have become for Pinchuk and his wife an essential part of their lives and a formidable tool to build their international network. They have indeed embraced this new role passionately. Pinchuk is the only Ukrainian billionaire to have signed the Giving Pledge, a campaign started by Warren Buffet and Bill Gates that invites the wealthiest people around the world to commit to distribute at least half of their fortune in their lifetime. Therefore, Pinchuk has joined a select club that is more than a group of generous wealthy individuals, but rather a group of individuals who are committed to make the most out of their philanthropic activities in order to have a significant impact on very complex problems. The neologism "philanthrocapitalism", coined first by Matthew Bishop in *The Economist*, is often used to characterize this new attitude towards philanthropy in which former businessmen take a more pro-active attitude in these activities (Moran, 2014).

Pinchuk has been an active member of this community of new philanthropists over the past decade. One of his most visible actions in that spirit is the organization of a yearly roundtable on philanthropy that takes place during the Davos economic summit in Switzerland. Each year, his foundation invites internationally known speakers to discuss how philanthropy may have an influence in a specific area. For example, in 2014 the roundtable explored how philanthropy can maximize its economic and social return with Bill Gates, Richard Branson and Mohammed Yunus on a panel chaired by Tony Blair.

This is only one example of how the Pinchuk couple develops its international network of influential actors through a series of philanthropic activities, which include generous gifts and joint initiatives with the foundations of former world leaders like Bill Clinton and Tony Blair or the Elton John AIDS Foundation.

After 2006, the art sector was also targeted by Pinchuk as a suitable domain to raise his image as a respectable and committed international businessman. His passionate implication in this milieu rapidly gained him a place in the small number of recognized "influential people" in the art world. Pinchuk's ascent is echoed in some of the rankings of powerful figures of the global art world that I evoked in Chapter 1. Indeed, he has successively occupied an always-higher position in the *Power 100*, a list of the most influential people (artists, curators, critics, collectors, etc.) in the contemporary art world, published by the magazine *Art Review* each year. Unknown in art circles at the beginning of the decade, Pinchuk entered the list in 2008 at the 67th rank only to rapidly evolve towards a position between 30 and 40 that he has kept for several years. His recent drop in 2014 was explained by the magazine by the high level of uncertainty that the political situation in Ukraine brought to his various involvements in the arts.



Similarly, Pinchuk is repeatedly mentioned on the list of the top 200 collectors in the world maintained by *ARTnews*. This was in fact the first role that Pinchuk played in the

world of contemporary art. Starting in the middle of the decade, Pinchuk began to invest massively in works of art. According to art journalist Christopher Mooney (2013b), he would have spent in only one year more than $180 million in art galleries in London to acquire works of international stars of contemporary art such as Takashi Murakami, Andrea Gursky, Peter Doig and Olafur Eliasson. Pinchuk is also known in art circles to have paid record prices for works by American artist Jeff Koons (Adam, 2009). Nonetheless, his collection is strongly associated with the name of Damien Hirst, one of the biggest names of the past decades in art circles. Indeed, after he had bought several significant pieces by the artist, Pinchuk wanted something special that could distinguish his collection on the world stage. Therefore, negotiations with Hirst led to a special deal: the artist agreed to produce by himself[96] 25 Prussian-blue paintings in reference to Picasso's blue period, in which he would use his usual iconography (sharks, skulls, butterflies, etc.) to evoke the usual themes of his oeuvre: life, death and art. Pinchuk agreed to purchase the entire series for a reported €25 million. This "wholesale" deal, as it is described by the artist, was negotiated without the intervention of an art dealer and came at the right moment for Hirst, since a series of highly publicized auctions had overexposed his work. Combined with the 2008 downturn in art sales, this oversupply seriously damaged the value of Hirst's works on the art market (D. Thompson, 2014).[97]

[96] Damien Hirst is well-known in art circles for his work with an army of assistants who have produced paintings in series, notably his famous dot paintings. Part of the deal with Pinchuk was that assistants would be involved only for the preparation of canvas and background, but Hirst himself would do the painting.
[97] The series was presented in 2009-2010 at the Wallace Collection, a museum situated in a historical London town house, which usually presents old master paintings, furniture and porcelain. The choice of this unexpected venue for contemporary art was an attempt to establish a connection between the past and the series, according to Hirst himself. The series almost exclusively received very bad reviews in the London artistic press and was even ridiculed by some art critics. A majority of commentators noted Hirst's poor skills as a painter.

Building such a collection certainly fuelled discussions and gossip and provided Pinchuk with a primary legitimacy as an actor in the arts sector. Nevertheless, this was just the beginning of his journey in the art world and Pinchuk rapidly endorsed a second role as a philanthropist and promoter of contemporary art. Therefore, he established in 2006 the Pinchuk Art Centre in downtown Kiev as the first private museum dedicated entirely to contemporary art in the former Soviet Union. Indeed, Pinchuk is a firm believer in the power of contemporary art as a possible vector of social change. He has repeated many times that exposing people, and especially young people, to these works of art, "is a very important tool for us, for modernizing our country" (Soldak, 2014). Accordingly, in 2011, he made this the topic of his Davos roundtable, asking his panellists how philanthropists can modernize societies through contemporary art. To tackle the topic, he invited two top artists represented in his collection, Jeff Koons and Olafur Eliasson, but also the Sheikha Al Mayassa from Qatar who has been especially active in presenting contemporary art in her country, as well as Jean-Jacques Aillagon who has made headlines for controversial presentations of contemporary works of art in Versailles.

Pinchuk himself has been a dedicated promoter of contemporary art in Kiev, organizing at his Centre major exhibitions of internationally known artists like Sam Taylor-Wood (in 2009) or Anish Kapoor (in 2012). Over the years, his Centre has become one of the hippest places in the Ukrainian capital, with its opening nights attended by the local press and art aficionados.

If the programming of the Pinchuk Art Centre has clearly tried to bring to Kiev international contemporary art superstars – although strongly linked to the London art scene – Pinchuk has also been keen to build his image on the international stage. For this,

no place is better than the Venice Biennale, which remains one of the biannual rendezvous of the globalized contemporary art world. Pinchuk literally "burst on the art scene at the Venice Biennale in 2005" (Adam, 2009), where he presented his starting collection in Palazzo Papadopoli as a marketing operation that benefited not only Pinchuk himself but also the Centre he was opening in Kiev. Since then, Pinchuk has been present at each edition of the Venice Biennale. For the two following editions, he was the main sponsor behind the Ukrainian pavilion,[98] deploying many efforts to distinguish his national pavilion in this ocean of contemporary art. Sarah Thornton describes how this "art world new comer and billionaire oligarch" mandated an American curator of Ukrainian descent to concoct an exhibition made of half-Ukrainian and half "relatively well-known Western artists" (Thornton, 2008, p. 244). Since 2011, Pinchuk's presence in Venice has been even stronger with his exhibition of the 21 short-listed artists of his Future Generation Art Prize.

In sum, with this series of philanthropic activities in the art sector, Pinchuk is as it were substituting himself and his Foundation for the state in regard to its artistic policy. Indeed, he has developed a contemporary art collection and opened a museum in the centre of the capital in which he tries to exposes the population to contemporary works of art as an educational tool and a powerful emancipatory force. Furthermore, Pinchuk is also taking care of the international presence of his country in the contemporary art world by sponsoring the official national representation in one of the most important contemporary art competitions. All this takes place in the context of a particularly weak state that has been recently unable to foster a cohesive national identity, which has led to a schism in the

[98] On February 26, 2015, the Pinchuk Foundation announced that the Pinchuk Art Centre would be in charge of the Ukrainian Pavilion for the 56th Venice Biennale. From May to November 2015, the Ukrainian pavilion was installed in a temporary glass structure next to the Grand Canal in Venice.

population. This is almost as if after he has officially left politics, Pinchuk has taken on himself the role of minister of culture and cultural ambassador of his country on the international scene. Indeed, with such activities, Pinchuk has taken over many of the functions that are usually assumed by the state in modern democracies. Therefore, he has forged a very special place for himself in the Ukrainian landscape, a place that gives him a great deal of visibility within the country, but also outside its borders. If all that has been done for charitable considerations, it is also not without having the side effect of enhancing Pinchuk's own security. In a country where both businesspeople and political figures have found themselves in very difficult positions in recent years, Pinchuk has taken the position of a generous philanthropist and cultivated man who brings the light of the arts to his people.

As this section has demonstrated, Pinchuk has accumulated along the way, not only a considerable fortune that allows him to play his role as a wealthy philanthropist, but also a vast network of international relations that will prove very useful in the building of the FGAP. Moreover, both his wealth and his dedication to art have granted him an enviable reputation in the art world as an avid collector and a generous patron that is also a key element in the creation of a prestigious worldwide art prize. It is equipped with this economic and social capital that Victor Pinchuk has been able to raise the international profile of his foundation – and his own by the same token – to catch the attention of the global art world.

3. Glamour as a strategy: building a space for a new art prize

When asked about the involvement of Pinchuk in the prize, Björn Geldhof answered: "He is the founder of the prize. He is a member of the board. And […] he finances, of course, the prize… and that is where it ends!" Geldhof's preoccupation is to emphasize that the prize is independent, which means that Pinchuk is not personally involved in the selection of the nominees and winners. However, Geldhof concedes: "His name is present … his image as a serious collector is present." And this is in fact exactly what the Pinchuk Foundation needed to build the prestige of the prize. Over the past few years, the Foundation has deployed many efforts to make the prize an integral part of the mainstream contemporary art scene. Since one of the main objectives of the prize is to contribute to the recognition of the young artists discovered through the competition, it is key to get the attention of the mainstream contemporary art scene. Indeed, if the FGAP wants to play its role as a springboard, its own position as a credible and legitimate cultural institution needs to remain on a strong footing.

For this, it has followed a path that relies heavily on the economic and social capital accumulated by Victor Pinchuk. Of course, the wealth that Pinchuk has been able to accumulate since the fall of the communist regime is the essential element that enables the creation of one of the most generous art prizes in the world. But more importantly, the social capital which Victor Pinchuk and his wife have accumulated over the past few years through their collecting practice and philanthropic activities have proved critical in the establishment of the prestige of the prize. The international network of the Pinchuk couple encompasses influential economic and political figures, but also celebrities and major trendsetters in the contemporary art world. This is this influential network that Victor

Pinchuk has mobilized to establish the credibility and legitimacy of the prize. Together, his economic and social capital have concurred to provide him with an important symbolic capital that has been used as leverage in the outreach strategy of the foundation to have the prize widely recognized on the mainstream contemporary art scene. This strategy relies heavily on the glamour that surrounds many names and places in art circles to use the power of these celebrities to forge a place for the new prize in the global art world. Three interrelated elements have made up the strategy of the Foundation: the association with "big names" in contemporary art circles, the organization of stunning events in contemporary art centres, and the invitation of major figures of the contemporary art world to Kiev, the hometown of the FGAP.

The first element of this strategy started with the nomination of a board for the prize. It is not a common practice to have a separate board for a prize that is run as a program of an existing organization – as it is in the case of the FGAP. The Turner Prize and the Hugo Boss Prize, which have largely served as models for the FGAP, have no such governing body. It is worth noting, though, that several visual art prizes, like the Turner or Marcel-Duchamp, were created by a group of wealthy art lovers. The creation of a board for the FGAP can be seen therefore as an attempt to mutualize a project born from an individual initiative. Yet, the end result of such an operation is undeniably to have a series of prestigious and influential names associated with the newly-born prize. Thus, the Pinchuk Foundation put together what they call a "distinguished international board", charged with the loosely defined task to "oversee" and "ensure the continuity and development of the Prize". The list of board members was announced at the launch party in New York and has remained unchanged since then, with the only exception of one

withdrawal that hasn't been replaced. First, Pinchuk recruited two of his peers as board members: Eli Broad and Dakis Joannou, wealthy industrialists, art collectors and philanthropists. The board also includes two celebrities, Sir Elton John and Miuccia Prada, who are both presented by the foundation as art collectors,[99] and directors of the world's top museums of contemporary art: Richard Armstrong (Guggenheim Foundation, New York), Alfred Pacquement (Centre Pompidou, Paris), Sir Nicholas Serota (Tate, London) and Glenn D. Lowry (Museum of Modern Art, New York). In fact, the three former are also heading institutions that run their own prestigious art prizes. Finally, the board is completed by four mentor-artists: Damien Hirst, Jeff Koons, Takashi Murakami, and Andreas Gursky. These artists are not only well-represented in Pinchuk's collection, but are also superstars in contemporary art circles. Their works regularly break record prices in auction houses and galleries – Pinchuk has himself contributed to several of these record prices – and the first three are regularly named among the wealthiest living visual artists. Their role as "mentor" seems to bear a light burden since it is only to "provide in-person counsel and support to the prize winner." However, a key task for these four artists is to have their work presented at the Pinchuk Art Centre in an exhibition parallel to the one of the 21 nominees for the Prize. In 2010, this task was accomplished by Takashi Murakami alone. In 2012, it was the turn of Damien Hirst to take on that responsibility. Finally, in 2014, the four mentors contributed pieces to the parallel exhibition. No doubt an exhibition by these superstars of contemporary art has more chances of attracting global attention

[99] The two are indeed committed art collectors and promoters. Sir Elton John is mostly known for his collection of contemporary photography. On her part, Miuccia Prada has invested considerable financial resources in the establishment of her own foundation dedicated to contemporary art. Founded in 1993, the Fondazione Prada presents contemporary art exhibitions in two venues: the historic palazzo Ca' Corner della Regina in Venice and its brand new Milan space designed by the architect Rem Koolhaas.

than that of a group show of newcomers to the field. Therefore, the Foundation makes sure that every edition of its prize is associated with at least one well-known name.

The same method was used in the formation of the juries. Obviously, to establish the credibility and legitimacy of the new prize, the Pinchuk Foundation knew that it needed to be aligned with what is perceived as a rigorous adjudicating process by the mainstream contemporary art world. As it is a common practice for the majority of visual art prizes, an independent jury is thus formed for each edition of the FGAP. The director of the Pinchuk Art Centre, Eckhart Schneider, who represents the Foundation on each of these juries, is perfectly aware of that practice since he himself sat on the jury of the Turner Prize in 2005. At the FGAP, Schneider surrounds himself each time with six other jury-members who have the task of determining a winner among the 21 short-listed candidates.[100] In its communication about the prize, the Foundation always insists that decisions are made by a "respected" or "competent" jury formed of "internationally renowned professionals in contemporary art." To fill these positions, the Foundation calls upon those for whom making judgments on art is a profession: the curators. And who is better situated for such a task than the curators who have headed the most visible biennials in recent years? Therefore, for the past three juries, the Foundation has invited 5 of the last 7 artistic directors of the Venice Biennale and 3 of the last 4 directors of *Documenta*. In fact, in each jury at least 2 members have occupied one of these 2 prestigious positions in recent years. Other jury-members hold curatorial positions in museums around the world and have curated other biennials worldwide. In addition, the FGAP jury always includes a high-profile

[100] Each member of this jury is also asked to nominate one person who sits on the selection committee. This first decision-making body is charged with establishing the list of 20 short-listed candidates who will be invited to participate in an exhibition, from which a winner will be chosen.

international artist. Thus, for example, the 2010 jury was made up of Daniel Birnbaum, who had just curated the Venice Biennale the previous year, and his predecessor Robert Storr, as well as Okwui Enwezor, curator of *Documenta* in 2002 and who also curated the Venice Biennale in 2015. The artist was Ai Weiwei, the dissenting Chinese artist and latest contemporary art superstar, following a series of controversies involving the Chinese government. The Brazilian curator Ivo Mesquita, artistic director of the Sao Paulo Biennial in 2008, and Yuko Hasegawa, chief curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo, completed the jury. Thus, the gathering of such prestigious names to form the jury of each edition of the FGAP enhances the perception that the endeavour relies on an independent and credible judgment-making process made by these incontestably "competent" and "internationally renowned" groups of individuals. But more importantly, this list of names, which is repeatedly highlighted in communications about the prize, allows the FGAP to enhance its own prestige and visibility in the contemporary art world.

The second element of the strategy to establish the FGAP as a component of the mainstream contemporary art world is to make the prize travel to major contemporary art centres. The launch party in New York in 2009 was the first stepping-stone of this effort. In fact, each edition of the FGAP has started with a launching event conceived to reach out to contemporary art centres. For the second edition of the prize, the Foundation organized an event designed in accordance with its globalized and technological character. In February 2012, the Pinchuk Foundation organized a multi-site press conference that gathered prestigious guests through a live streaming channel. However, the event was unfortunately mocked in the specialized press, where it was described as a "bizarro Eurovision-style international video link-up'" in which one could see "these art-world luminaries move from

nervous befuddlement to boredom" ("Artists for Victor Pinchuk," 2012). This is probably part of the reason why the Foundation felt it was necessary to come back to a non-virtual event for the third edition of the prize. The third launch was held in London in October 2013 in the newly opened futurist extension of the Serpentine Gallery designed by star-architect Zaha Hadid.

Similarly, each edition of the prize concludes with a public event intended to show the contemporary art world the result of the competition. In both 2011 and 2013, the Pinchuk Foundation put on an exhibition of the 21 short-listed nominees staged in historic palazzos in Venice as an official collateral event of the prestigious Biennale. The parties held during the official opening days of the Biennale were another occasion to invite the most important figures of the contemporary art world who were all in Italy for this occasion. In fact, each of these parties held outside of the Ukrainian capital is used as a branding opportunity for the young prize. Each time, the personal network of the Pinchuk couple, as well as the network created around the prize, are mobilized to enhance the visibility of the FGAP. Moreover, the Foundation always carefully documents the glamorous crowd gathered at these parties by publishing a photo album made available to the press. In these pictures, one can see Mr. and Ms. Pinchuk in the company of their international artistic relations, but also major artists, art dealers and museum directors among the guests.

The corollary of this outreach effort finds its materialization in the third element of the strategy, which is to have some major figures of the contemporary art world travel to Kiev in an effort to insert the Ukrainian capital in the circuit of contemporary art. At the launch of the prize in 2009, Victor Pinchuk declared to a reporter of the *New Yorker* that he was determined to turn Kiev into a "cultural hub" (Mead, 2009). In this perspective, the

Pinchuk Foundation uses every opportunity provided by the prize to attract personalities of the contemporary art world to the Ukrainian capital. Therefore, each edition of the prize is the occasion to bring to Kiev 20 young artists from around the world who are deemed to be the most promising artists under 35 in the world. These foreign young talents spend between a couple of days and a couple of weeks in Kiev to develop a new work to be presented in the FGAP exhibition at the Pinchuk Art Centre. The presence of this group of young artists certainly contributes to galvanizing the local art scene, and the Foundation makes various efforts to favour the exchange between the artists that they bring to town and Ukrainian artists. Björn Geldhof maintains that it has always been in the mission of the FGAP to facilitate this meeting. "We also bring these future generation artists to Ukraine […] to show inside the Ukrainian context what is happening, what their peers are doing at the international level." In the same spirit, there is always a spot reserved for a Ukrainian artist on the list of the 21 nominees. Geldhof maintains that the idea behind this strategy was to show "where the best Ukrainian artist of this period is standing in relation to his peers."

Nevertheless, the Foundation is only too aware that a group show of 21 young artists from around the world who enjoy little, if any, international reputation, as good as it might be, is hardly enough to capture the attention of the international contemporary art world. This is why the foundation asks the mentor-artists to put on a show parallel to the one of the 21 short-listed candidates. This celebrity strategy is also at play during the award ceremony, which constitutes an additional opportunity to stage in the Ukrainian capital an event in which major personalities of the contemporary art world play the central role. Indeed, each award night has so far been the occasion to gather on the same stage a group of influential individuals to present the award to the winner of the competition. Typically,

the prize has been presented by several members of the jury, accompanied by some of the mentor-artists, and a prestigious host of the award ceremony. In this way, the Foundation can embellish its photo album with several pictures of really well-known figures.

As one can see, the three elements of the strategy are clearly oriented towards celebrities of the global art world and the glamour that surrounds art parties and gatherings. P. David Marshall (1997) describes celebrity as "a voice above others". For him, the system of celebrity is made up of two elements: the public individual who has reached celebrity status and can consequently project his or her voice above the masses, and the audience that implicitly recognizes this social power attributed to the celebrity. This system is at the same time stable – there are always celebrities who have influence– and unstable as stars rise and fall. On the one hand, this celebrity status might be a legitimate position when it is perceived as the recognition of successes and achievements resulting from talent and hard work. On the other hand, there is often a suspicion of falsity surrounding celebrity when it is perceived as fabricated and the mere product of fashion. The reality is probably a mix of these two elements.

In its effort to attract global attention and situate the FGAP in the mainstream global art world, the Pinchuk Foundation has demonstrated a clear comprehension of the overall mechanics of this peculiar celebrity system that exists in the global art world. The majority of personalities with whom the prize is associated have built their reputations out of recent achievements. This is the case, of course, of curators that have put together prestigious exhibitions, but also of the mentor artists who have developed a corpus of works well-regarded in the global art world. Some of them do not, however, completely escape the negative perception of celebrity. The most obvious example here is probably

Damian Hirst, whose reputation is now often questioned, in part due to the works made for Pinchuk as we have seen earlier. Nevertheless, all these personalities have the key characteristic the Pinchuk Foundation is looking for: they are stars of the moment in the close circles of contemporary art. Hence, this status gives them the opportunity to speak above the masses in the narrow audience of art circles. This is exactly what the Foundation needs to build the reputation of its new art distinction.

If the advantage for the Foundation seems clear in this strategy, one can ask why all these personalities of the contemporary art world who already enjoy a great level of celebrity in the global art world get involved in this initiative. For James English, the motivation behind such involvement is probably to be found in a complex amalgam of economic and symbolic constraints and opportunities that convince people to embark on that kind of journey. "It is obviously not money that motivates people to do this kind of work but (ideally) the love of art, or (more realistically) a sense of obligation to the individuals or organizations involved, or (more cynically) a desire for the social and symbolic rewards that accrue to judges" (English, 2005, p. 121). In the case at hand, there is probably a variety of reasons that are considered in each individual choice to participate in the FGAP. For some of the individuals, their involvement might be indeed linked to the hope of some immediate benefits or a sense of obligation to Pinchuk and his institution. This is probably the case for Jan Fabre, for example, who had presented a solo exhibition of his recent works at the Pinchuk Art Centre immediately before he sat on the jury. The same kind of context is certainly also at play for the four mentor-artists for whom Pinchuk is an important economic and symbolic agent in the development of their careers. Some of the actors involved have not yet gained a concrete benefit from their relationship with Pinchuk

and his institution, but may keep an eye on potential benefits. This kind of consideration probably has weight in the decisions of other actors to participate, like the museum directors or curators for example, for whom part of their job is to look for generous philanthropists who may help future projects and for prestigious art collectors with whom they may enter into a fruitful partnership. All this brings us back to the important symbolic and economic capital accumulated by Pinchuk, which transforms him into a key player in the organization of such an international competition. If Pinchuk can certainly use his symbolic and economic capital to convince people to join the adventure, this doesn't explain everything.

In fact, there is a symbolic exchange of prestige that is at the heart of this relationship between the personalities of the contemporary art world and the FGAP in which both parties gain a benefit out of this association. On the one hand, the Pinchuk Foundation and the FGAP gain the visibility and respectability that are associated with these names in the global art world, which helps them to develop the prestige of the prize. This is why the rhetoric employed by the Foundation in its communications systematically emphasizes the celebrity status of these individuals with adjectives such as "distinguished", "respected", "renowned", etc. to qualify the board, the jury or the crowd involved in this endeavour. On the other hand, if these personalities contribute to growing the prestige of the prize by associating their names with it, they also benefit from it. Indeed, this association helps to maintain their celebrity status as people who are in the news and associated with an event that discovers and promotes young talents from around the world. As discussed in the first chapter, this image of being someone who is much attuned to the development of artistic practice remains a key element of a reputation in the global art

world. Therefore, the situation reveals the co-constitution of prestige born from an association that reflects on both sides. James English writes about the juries: "the stature of the judges guarantees the stature of the prize […], and the stature of the prize guarantees the honor associated with judging it" (English, 2005, p. 123). In its effort to insert FGAP into the mainstream, the Pinchuk Foundation has succeeded in building a competition that attracts prestigious names to judge it and promote it, which in turn contributes to building the prestige of the prize. Therefore, the FGAP is set on an ascendant curve that may establish an enviable position for itself in the global art world. However, this dynamic is not without consequences on the choice of nominees and winners, since the prestige of the prize is certainly not immune against an embarrassment that may come from a "bad judgment" in the adjudicating process.

4. The selection of "outstanding" candidates

The co-constitution of prestige that characterizes the development of the FGAP can also contribute to explaining, to a large extent, the dynamic at play in the adjudicating process. In the attribution of its award, any prize has to situate itself between two poles: on one side, a prize can play its cards in a conservative fashion by consecrating on an already well-known artistic production that enjoys a great level of authority in a particular field; on the other side, a prize can seek to discover emergent talents that are not yet recognized in order to give them a symbolic – and in many cases an economic – incentive to pursue their activities (Laroche, 2012). In the first case, the equation is largely to the advantage of the prize since part of the prestige associated with an already acclaimed artist is transferred to the institution awarding the prize, which builds its fame through a growing list of

celebrated creators. However, the new recipients also gain some prestige by having their names added to this prestigious list of creators who have been honoured before them. In the latter case, the institution plays a more risky game since it bets on young talents not yet fully recognized by other legitimizing mechanisms. Therefore, the institution invests its own prestige in a young candidate with the hope that this investment will help him reach another level of recognition. If the institution is lucky in its gamble, the bet might pay back, gaining the institution the reputation of being an effective talent scout. Thus, this early association with these young "geniuses" only enhances the prestige of the institution. However, if it fails in its attempt to discover these new outstanding artists, the bet might prove disadvantageous for the institution, which then loses its credibility as a talent-spotter and even ultimately its very raison d'être, if it loses completely the prestige that it uses as a leverage to work on the promotion of these young talents. In all cases, the prestige associated with a prize and its recipients is always strongly linked. In fact, there is a constant back-and-forth exchange of prestige, existing or potential, between the nominees and winners of a competition and the institution awarding the prize.

The FGAP seems to situate itself closer to the pole of rewarding innovative and promising young talents. Indeed, a prize designed to reward emergent artists under 35 is, in essence, more on the risky side of prize awarding. It is in this spirit that Victor Pinchuk declared in 2013 that the prize does not "reward the past, but inspire the future" (Pinchuk Foundation, 2012a). Indeed, the FGAP invests for each of its edition a considerable amount of money to help young artists produce new works but also considerable efforts to make them known on the international art scene. However, as any businessman knows very well, investment is always a question of risk management. The game is always to balance the

capacity to take some risks against the potential profits that such risks may produce over time.

In art, the "test of time" is often considered one of the most infallible indicators of the most outstanding artistic realizations. The argument is that the test of time will invariably distinguish between the merely fashionable pieces that enjoy a quick but ephemeral glory and the masterpieces that are appreciated beyond a given temporal framework. Therefore, true quality in art would only be discernible in the longer run (Ginsburgh & Weyers, 2011; Levinson, 2002). It seems indeed that only time will reveal if the Foundation has been forward-looking in its choices regarding its symbolic investment. This is what Björn Geldhof expresses when he says: "one thing is to claim that we have the Future Generation Art Prize, another thing is to see that we were right!" He uses the example of the Turner Prize to back up his claim, explaining that this prize has become so prestigious because many of its laureates were afterwards very successful. Consequently, for him, the success of the FGAP will ultimately be determined by the individual future success of nominees and winners of the competition. He comments: "That's our hope for the Future Generation Art prize. Let's say in 5 or 10 years, we can say of our shortlisted and perhaps some of the winners, that they are now really the leading artists of their generation."

To achieve such a result, the Pinchuk Foundation needs to create its own opportunity, and this has a series of consequences on the way the Foundation handles the adjudicating process. Indeed, if it wants its protégés to be successful on the mainstream international art scene, the Foundation needs to choose those who have the best chances to

fit in with what is expected by this milieu. Therefore, they have put in place a series of mechanisms that can reduce the risk factor in their symbolic investment.

First of all, the Foundation has done for each edition of the prize a preselection of the candidates to be submitted to the formal adjudicating process. This is justified by the Foundation on the basis of the very large number of submissions – oscillating between 4,000 and 6,000 files for each edition – resulting from the open call issued to any artist under 35. According to the Foundation not all these files are worth considering during the formal adjudicating process. This is probably true, but it nevertheless confers a key gatekeeper power on the people involved in this very first step. James English writes on this subject: "These preliminary, behind-the-scene judges can thus exercise a more definitive power of decision than the judges that are part of the public face of the Prize" (2005, p. 135). At the Pinchuk Foundation, it is Geldhof himself who carries out this fastidious task. He explains that his main preoccupation at this stage is not to judge the works presented in the file but rather to determine if the candidate is professional or if he has "a professional capacity". To do so, Geldhof has developed a three-level procedure to go quickly from one file to the other. He looks first at the exhibition history to see if the candidate has presented his work in professional venues somewhere in the world. Identifying if a place is professional doesn't represent much of a difficulty, according to him. He comments: "obviously as we all travel a lot, we know many institutions, so we recognize it immediately." With only this element, he maintains, "you will immediately be able to say that it is professional or not." If the candidate has no such exhibition history, he will then turn to the discourse that the artist produces on his own work. For him, "from the moment you feel there is again a sort of understandable communication about this, it will go to the

next round." And finally, if the candidate fails to convince him on these first two elements, he will then look at the works themselves to determine if he considers that it is contemporary art or not. With this method, he maintains that "it sorts itself out very automatically." It allows him to put aside what he considers to be amateur files and to keep in the competition only professional propositions, or at least those who have a "real capacity". He adds: "So you go very very quickly between that which is interesting and that which is not interesting. And it is not an artistic judgment; it is a professional judgment."

However, the Foundation has put in place another type of gatekeeper mechanism that allegedly helps to maintain a high level of competition. Since the first edition, the Foundation has created a network of experts and partner platforms to help them spread the word about the prize but also to help them collect what they call "strong" propositions. Thus, these experts were each asked to identify five artists in their region who could be strong candidates for the FGAP. These "recommended artists" were invited to apply to the prize, like any other candidate, only with the certitude that they would automatically pass the preselection procedure to be submitted directly to the selection committee vote.

For the Foundation, this is the difference between two types of communications that they have used in their marketing campaign: what they call the "wide" communication and the "deep" communication. In their attempt to develop attention to the prize on the international scene, the Foundation first focused on the former type of communication with the clear objective of reaching out to as many potential candidates as possible. However, the first edition made them realize that reaching out to a large number of artists does not necessarily guarantee that they will get what they call the "strong" propositions they are looking for. Thus, of the 6,000 applications received for the first edition, only between 400

and 500 were deemed professionals. This is why the Foundation developed its second type of communication – the "deep communication" – that aims rather at reaching those who correspond to the loosely defined status of professionalism. Therefore, they have invested many efforts in the development of their network of partner platforms, which went from 15 partners in 2010 to more than 55 partner platforms spread over five continents in 2014. The result was satisfying in the eyes of the Foundation since for the last edition of the prize, close to 25% of the applications passed the preselection test. If this communication strategy is satisfying for the Foundation, it is not only because it produces a massive influx of applications but more importantly because it brings a greater number of applications that meet their expectation in terms of professionalism. However, a strategy that is built mainly on networking in which actors from inner circles are given a prominent position fosters a form of homology in the recruiting system that favours propositions that are already circulating in this network. In a way, such a strategy short-circuits what the Foundation always labels a "democratic" open call that welcomes any proposition and instead advantages one specific source of incoming propositions and most probably even a certain type of proposition.

The candidates who are successful in this professionalism test are submitted to a first evaluation by the selection committee. Members of the selection committee are invited to consult the database of preselected candidates and vote electronically on the most interesting propositions. The directive given to them is to include everything they think is worth discussing. Those who obtain at least three votes[101] are forwarded to the official selection process during which members of the committee gather in Kiev. Their task during

[101] The "recommended artists" need only two votes to be included in the next round of selection since the Foundation considers that they have already received a vote from the expert recommending them.

these two days of discussion is to pare down this long list of preselected files to a short list of 20 candidates who will be invited to present their work in the official exhibition of the prize.[102] The voting procedure has also proved to the Foundation the accuracy of its "deep" communication strategy since the number of files selected through this procedure is constantly growing, from 250 in 2010 to 600 in 2014. For the Foundation, this is a confirmation that they are attracting each time a stronger cohort of potential candidates. However, this selection method seems to favour artistic propositions that have already been seen in inner contemporary art circles. This is at least what Geldhof suggests in his comments about the selection committee discussion. He says: "it happens very rarely that there is a position that they say: never seen it, never heard of it, it's really strange to me to see it." In this selection committee, which represents different regions of the world, it seems that almost all propositions that make their way to the final discussion always ring a bell to at least one of its members.

Moreover, this very elaborate selection process, as well as the "deep communication" strategy, seems to have had consequences on the result of the competition. The prize often puts the emphasis on the worldwide scope of the competition and, as a corollary, on the diversity of origin of its shortlisted nominees. This line of communication is certainly adequate if one considers that the 62 artists[103] who were shortlisted during the three editions of the prize so far represent 35 different countries. However, the dynamic between the centre and the periphery cannot be ignored in these results if one looks more closely at the trajectory of these young artists. It is worth noting first that the most

[102] The 21st shortlisted candidate is always the Ukrainian artist who was awarded the Pinchuk Art Centre Prize the previous year.
[103] One artist, Mykyta Kadan from Ukraine, has been shortlisted twice: for the 2012 and the 2014 editions.

represented countries are the United Kingdom and the United States of America. If 56% of the shortlisted artists were indeed born outside the European Union and North America (USA and Canada), 25% of them had migrated, at least partially,[104] into some artistic centre of the North at the time of their selection. In fact, Berlin and London alone are now the home city of more than 20% of the artists selected in the three editions of the FGAP. Beyond this North-South dynamic, a closer look at the biography of these 62 artists reveals a more complex centre-periphery dynamic. It is immediately striking to note the number of these artists who have already presented their work in major international biennials. Indeed, if one considers ten of the most prestigious biennials in the world,[105] more than 51% of the artists selected for the FGAP have had the opportunity to participate in such international events. These biennials are not all situated in the North, but all of them have become established events on the contemporary art circuit. The same exercise can be done with exhibitions presented in major museums of contemporary art around the world. If one considers here eight of the most prestigious museums,[106] more than 43% of the shortlisted artists had presented their work in one of these venues at the time they were selected by the FGAP. When combining these two biographical elements, one finds that in fact close to 70% of the artists selected by the FGAP have already presented their work in major contemporary art centres.

In its official discourse, the Foundation gives the example of young artists who were discovered as a result of the prize. Björn Geldhof talks about Nicolae Mircea for

[104] As is now common in contemporary art circles, several artists included in the list claim two cities of residence.
[105] The biennials that are considered in this calculation are: Venice, *Documenta*, *Manifesta*, Sao Paulo, Istanbul, Havana, Lyon, Sharjah, Gwangju, and Liverpool.
[106] These museums are the Guggenheim, Museum of Modern Art & P.S. 1, and the New Museum, all in New York, the Centre Pompidou and the Palais de Tokyo both in Paris, the Tate (both Modern and Britain) in London, and finally the MAXXI in Rome.

example, a young Romanian artist who had created only one exhibition prior to his selection for the FGAP. This is particularly a success story for the Foundation since this artist from Eastern Europe won in 2010 the "special prize", a sort of second prize awarded by the jury. The same is true for Pilar Quinteros, a young artist from Chile, only recently graduated with a Bachelor of Arts (BA), who is still in the very early stages of her career. In 2014, the Foundation invested time, money and communication efforts in this young artist who spent several weeks in the Ukrainian capital to develop a new performance. These examples can be seen as the true raison d'être of the FGAP and are therefore very important for the Foundation. With these successes the prize fulfils its mission to give opportunities to young artists who have not yet emerged on the international scene but have the potential to do it.

As James English (2005) recalls, it is an often-repeated criticism about artistic prizes that they are, most of the time, awarded to already well-known and recognized artists. In the case of the FGAP, it must be concluded that in the majority of the cases, the shortlist is made up of young creators who already enjoy a certain exposure on the international scene. In some cases, they are even rising stars who have already been noticed in various international forums. For example, Lynette Yiadom-Boakye from the UK, who won the main prize of the 2012 edition, was nominated for the Turner Prize in London that same year. This result is certainly no stranger to the "deep" communication strategy by which the Foundation uses well-established cultural institutions as antennas that channel promising artistic propositions to the competition. Moreover, it is probably also the result of the intricate selection process that favours artistic propositions that fit with a pre-established conception of what constitutes "professional" and "outstanding" contemporary

art practice. This modus operandi of the Foundation doubtless contributes to inducing a form of normalization with respect to the propositions that get selected at each step of this competition, as it heavily relies on wide-spread assumptions about good artistic practices in the global art world. Yet, if the prize wants to pursue its association with a group of influential art personalities it probably needs to keep a high-level of competition. That is to say, to present not only to the prestigious jury that comes to Kiev to pick a winner, but also to the board of the prize or the crowds invited to public events in Venice, New York or London some of what the Foundation always calls "strong" artistic propositions.

However, this normalization that is observable in the selection process doesn't mean that the FGAP has no utility for the artists selected. On the contrary, with its many efforts to insert the prize into the mainstream global art world, the FGAP greatly contributes to the journey of these young artists for whom the road to an international career can be long and fraught with obstacles but also made of a succession of opportunities like the one provided by the FGAP.

Conclusion

Victor Pinchuk knows how to get the contemporary art world's attention despite the jaded attitude that often prevails in this milieu full of extravaganzas. His last coup is the building of a temporary glass structure right on the banks of the Grand Canal in Venice to house the Ukrainian pavilion he sponsored for the 2015 edition of the Biennale. The unmistakable pavilion is a formidable showcase for young Ukrainian artists who would have otherwise been probably ignored in this ocean of contemporary art propositions. The endeavour certainly serves the interest of the young artists presented in the pavilion, but it

also definitely has something to do with the desire of Pinchuk to paint an image of himself as a major player in contemporary art circles. Indeed, the largesse of the philanthropist is not meaningless. It has both personal and collective echoes in a country that has been fighting for democracy and to find a place in the Western world for a couple of decades now.

Like the Ukrainian pavilion, the FGAP is an element in the broader project of a wealthy businessman who integrates contemporary arts in his efforts to transform his home country into a modern democracy looking towards Western Europe. But the matter is not simple or without contradictions. On the one hand, the prize is based on the dream of opening a metacultural space that would be authentically democratic, that is to say that any young artists in the world could participate and have the chance to see their works celebrated, regardless of the symbolic position they occupy in society or their physical location on the planet. On the other hand, the organizers of the prize seem to be aware that their initiative remains in the liminal space of the global art world. Indeed, even though they spare no efforts to work with the most influential people, build associations with mainstream institutions and travel to contemporary art centres, they have not yet succeeded in making their prize part of the mainstream. They are physically on the margins of Europe and the prize remains in the margins of the art world. Thus, they are only too aware that they need to catch the attention of the contemporary art centres and trendsetters if they want the recognition to be significant at all. Yet, the latter imposes a certain number of compromises on the democratic ideal on which the prize is built. The principle of equality that is at the heart of this democratic ideal hardly resists the contemporary art world's common understanding of what is "professionalism" and

"excellence" in this artistic field. But after all, democracy is not only an ideal but also the institutionalization of compromises.

CHAPTER 6

The Struggle for Prestige in the Global Art World

The Venice Biennale, the UNESCO World Heritage List and the Future Generation Art Prize: they all live on prestige. There is a form of worldwide prestige that these global artistic institutions seek to acquire in the first place, to cultivate over the years and to preserve from any damage, as they know that this is the pedestal on which their artistic power is based. Prestige is in fact the central concern of this last chapter in which I propose a discussion articulated around this notion to better understand how prestige functions as a key governance mechanism in the global art world. I argue in the following pages that prestige can be thought of as the strategic dimension of power in the global art world or the element determining the strength of an artistic institution's power.

This concluding chapter will be entirely dedicated to exploring the dialectical position occupied by prestige in the global art world. Before that, it is useful, though, to recall briefly the main findings of each case studied in this dissertation, as these findings will naturally nourish the reflection on prestige and power in the global art world. Thus, this chapter draws some conclusions from the three cases that I have looked at, but also outlines some avenues for future research.

1. Prestige of the global artistic institutions: summary of the key findings

Prestige is an allusive term rather than a strictly defined notion. It generally evokes a widespread respect and admiration that someone or something gains through a certain perception of its qualities or achievements. Individuals or institutions that have been able

to wrap themselves in prestige are consequently regarded as superior because they have elevated themselves above their peers. Prestige is always the result of a value judgment rather than the assessment of a factual reality (Ollivier, 1994). Therefore, this superior status can be generally acknowledged or fiercely contested; it can provoke admiration or envy and even fear, but it is always strongly linked to power. Each of the three institutions that I have studied in this dissertation is highly concerned with the outstanding reputation that makes it a powerful decider in the global art world. However, as the preceding chapter has shown, the prestige developed by global artistic institutions takes different forms.

As the oldest manifestation of its kind, the Venice Biennale has created a genre that has been replicated many times elsewhere. Nevertheless, this history confers on the original model a special status among the numerous biennials that now exist in the world, especially because this old event has managed to remain one of the most influential artistic manifestations in the world. This reputation as the temple of the artistic establishment has been constructed through a carefully maintained national rivalry, but also through a series of scandals, artistic coups, and controversies that tried to destabilize the state of the arts. Every edition of the event brings to the Serenissima the most influential art personalities to see what is always a bigger show than the previous one. To do so, the Venice Biennale pursues an expansionist logic – motivated by the artistic desire to give a more comprehensive image of contemporary creation of the moment as well as a lucrative commercial approach that brings the necessary money to expand the event – which is translated both by an international exhibition that is more and more ambitious and more elaborated and by the constant addition of new national pavilions. Therefore, the event maintains and even grows its reputation as the mainstream (i.e. dominant) rendezvous in

contemporary art circles. Each time, the Venice Biennale exposes the international specialized press that largely covers the event to a vast array of new artistic propositions coming from the different regions of the world. Propositions coming from outside the well-established contemporary art centres have a rare opportunity to be seen by the mainstream and potentially influence the development of the field. To this end, participants have to catch the attention of some of the important art critics who write for the most widely circulating art magazines if they want their propositions to distinguish themeselves in this ocean of contemporary art exhibitions. However, they are also caught up in a set of non-written rules of this artistic temple. The "erudite prestige" in which the practice of art criticism takes place imposes a set of rules that art critics have themselves to respect in order to keep their place in this milieu and increase their own prestige. Therefore, artists who want to be picked by the specialized press have to strike a delicate balance if they are to appropriate for themselves some of the prestige associated with the Venice Biennale and enjoy the great visibility that it provides in the global art world.

In the case of the UNESCO World Heritage List, the prestige of this initiative was propelled by the status of the international organization behind it. Indeed, as a creation of one of the specialized agencies of the UN system, there was no shortage of legitimacy around this instrument put in place by the assembly of all the nation-states. Still, a prestige more closely associated with artistic grandeur and cultural achievements of the past has had to be created. The fast population of this repertoire with some of the most iconic buildings of European culture was a key element in the development of such prestige. In fact, the creation of this instrument, thought to be of universal relevance, was largely designed around European conceptions of culture, history and art, and this has contributed

to constituting a repertoire of the most prestigious cultural properties on the surface of the planet. Thus, UNESCO's program rapidly triggered the eagerness of a large number of countries, which were prepared to spend considerable amounts of time and money to have what they considered their most outstanding built elements added to the prestigious list. Thus, in order to live up to the great humanistic and universalist conceptions that presided over its birth, the program went through a series of modifications of its main definitions and selection criteria to better accommodate alternative visions of heritage and art and what should be valued in our collective past. If a classical definition of heritage and culture may have served the development of the repertoire's prestige, a certain openness to cultural diversity has proved necessary to keep the credibility and legitimacy of this international instrument intended to be of global relevance. However, too much laxity in the selection rules may also degrade the relevance and the prestige of the repertoire, which would therefore lose its very raison d'être by admitting anything and everything.

Finally, the Future Generation Art Prize is a newly-born institution looking for prestige as a key element of its establishment in the mainstream global art world. Moreover, prestige is the necessary condition that enables its action with young artists. Indeed, if a prize for young creators is to be of any relevance, it has to have the capacity to shed light on the work of these young talents to help them insert themselves into the art world. This is possible only if the prize itself and its sponsoring organization enjoy a great level of visibility among the people who count in this milieu. Otherwise, the attribution of the prize would remain unnoticed and would thus lose its leveraging potential. To develop the prestige of the prize, the Pinchuk Foundation has developed a strategy based on the celebrity system that exists in the global art world and the glamour that surrounds many of

its events. Indeed, building mainly on the economic and social capital of its main sponsor, the FGAP has multiplied associations with people who enjoy a great level of visibility in contemporary art circles, travel to contemporary art centres and organize parties and events well-attended by the most influential art personalities. This operation is certainly not innocent. It takes place in a broader political and economic effort that may have important consequences, both from a personal perspective for an oligarch businessman who seeks to raise his own international prestige, and from a collective perspective for a country trapped between two giants: Europe and Russia. Reaching out to big names and big centres in the contemporary art world certainly contributes to moving the organization out of the margins, but it also has a significant impact on the selection of young artists short-listed and awarded a prize by the Foundation. Here, equilibrium must be found between innovative propositions that usually define emerging art and safe values that can guarantee the credibility of this young award in the mainstream global art world.

In sum, all these global artistic institutions have built on a number of elements to develop their own prestige in the global art world. Drawing links with firmly entrenched intellectual traditions or prominent historical elements, building bridges with other prestigious institutions, or appealing to some highly visible individuals in art circles are examples of the methods these institutions have used to enhance their own prestige. Yet, each case is obviously unique and has to find the combination that will best serve its ambitions.

2. Between knowledge and strategy: exercising power in the global art world

In all the cases studied in this dissertation, there is always a wide range of forces that confront each other when it comes to the evaluation of artworks entering these international competitions. These conflicting forces are the symptom of individual desires and ambitions or institutional goals and objectives of all the actors involved in these competitions and can be seen therefore as carrying the self-interests of each of these actors. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this analysis, it is possible to identify in each case a similar pair of movements that goes in opposite directions. The Venice Biennale opens up its exhibition space to new propositions coming from the periphery of the art world in an effort to constantly grow its influence. Yet at the same time, art critics who cover the event produce judgments on these pieces that remain strongly rooted in a Euro-centric intellectual tradition that largely ignores these new propositions, when they are not openly hostile to them. The WHL slowly opened up its repertoire to alternative conceptions of art, heritage and culture, but the Heritage Committee also has acted as a tough watchdog to make sure that the original vision, largely grounded in a Euro-centric conception of art and heritage, is carried forward and only what they consider "outstanding" elements should be admitted to the list. Finally, the creation of the FGAP was based on a wide outreach movement, motivated by democratic ideals, which aims at giving a chance to any young artist in the world. However, the selection process largely closes down this perspective by betting principally on already emerged candidates who have the potential to meet the perceived expectations of the global art world and therefore raise the profile of the newly-born art prize.

Thus, all these organizations follow the same path: they open the competition to a broader pool of artistic propositions coming from all regions of the world, but at the same time the selection process tends to remain strongly anchored in a classical Western vision of art, culture and history. The identification of this double contradictory movement (openness and closure) helps tear down the widely spread myth of the omnipotence of some individuals and institutions in the art world. It instead exposes the strange paradox that characterizes the exercise of power in the global art world and brings us at the heart of the central argument of this final chapter.

As I explained in the first chapter in reference to the theory of power developed by Foucault (1976), the exercise of power in the art world is no doubt based on knowledge. Indeed, it is their status as knowledgeable specialists in the field that underpins the legitimacy and credibility of the experts involved in these judgments. The curator, art critics, heritage experts and jury members whom we have encountered in our journey through the global art world all claim to possess a form of specialized knowledge which is the basis of their authority. Thus, their expert opinion is not merely the expression of a personal preference but rather a practice that takes place in a long tradition of artistic judgment-making that is articulated by a body of knowledge developed mainly by Western art history and aesthetics. Simply put, it can be said that this specialized knowledge confers on the expert the power to perform artistic judgment. By extension, the credibility and legitimacy of the artistic institution explored in this dissertation relies heavily on the experts whom they hire to run the show. It is the work of these experts that makes the artistic institution knowledgeable and consequently capable and entitled to make judgements on artistic propositions. The articulation between the expert and the institution

will be explored in more detail in section 5 below. At present, it is important to recall that we have learned as well from Foucault that there is always a strategic dimension to the exercise of power. In the case of these global artistic institutions, this strategic dimension is largely embodied in prestige. Therefore, prestige can be thought of as the linchpin of artistic power in the global art world. On the one hand, prestige is the element that determines the strength of an artistic institution's power of influence over the career of an artist, and more widely over the development of visual arts on the planet. It is because they are prestigious institutions within the global art world that judgments issued by the institutions I have studied matter for artists and other actors in this milieu. On the other hand, though, each judgment issued by one of these institutions also has an influence on its reputation: it may develop it further or, conversely, degrade it. Indeed, each judgment provides the occasion for an institution to demonstrate to the rest of the global art world that it deserves its reputation as a prestigious artistic institution or, conversely, that it is not as prestigious as it pretends. Thus, the prestige associated with these institutions must be handled with great care. Every use of its artistic power may translate into a slight change in the institution's prestige (either increasing or decreasing) that could affect its position in the global art world and, consequently, its very capacity to produce judgments that matter in the visual art world.

It is in this perspective that prestige can be thought of as a key governance mechanism of the global art world. Indeed, as a sector with no central authority, the global art world is a very complex environment in which a large array of actors may intervene in various ways – sometimes collaborating, sometimes competing with each other – to influence the development of the sector. However, all these actors are not all equal in their

interventions. Some of them are more influential; others are more in the margins. Yet, their degree of influence is never fixed but rather constantly fluctuates following the development of the art sector. Thus, in such context, prestige can be conceived of as a mechanism of auto-regulation of power in the global art world. On the one hand, prestige gives power to actors in the sense that it determines the scope of their influence on the development of the art sector. On the other hand, it also keeps this power in check since any non-judicious use of this power may result in a decrease of prestige of this actor, that is to say, a decrease of its power of influence of the development of the sector. In the following sections I will explore in more detail how this dialectical position that prestige occupies in the global art world can be understood as this kind of mechanism of auto-regulation of power in the global art world by drawing on observations made about the three global artistic institutions studied in this dissertation.

3. The duality of prestige

To go further in the dual function of prestige in the global art world, I propose to turn now to the motivations behind the simultaneous movement of openness and closure identified above. This will help us to understand the forces that condition the exercise of power in these global artistic institutions. This double movement is a key element in the argument of this closing chapter. Therefore, it is worth exploring in detail. The following section will examine first the opening movement by which an always-increasing number of candidates participate in these international artistic competitions. Then, the section will turn to the opposite movement that slams the door of international recognition on many artistic propositions.

3.1 Opening up the competition

The case studies have revealed a number of motivations that may explain why these institutions constantly try to enlarge the scope of the international competitions they run. These motivations take root in artistic, moral and socio-economic ground. First and foremost, there is a fundamental artistic interest behind the movement that makes these institutions look for new artistic propositions. Indeed, there is a constant appetite for novelty in the art world: presenters, like the Venice Biennale, and artistic awards, like the FGAP, are literally fuelled by novelty, as the success of each of their editions relies heavily on their capacity to present new and innovative propositions. In the case of a repertoire of the past, like the WHL, the addition of new elements corresponds more to the need to have a comprehensive and representative collection. Second, for institutions that claim to reach worldwide, there is also a set of moral motivations behind the movement towards a greater openness. Indeed, the global aspirations demand a form of representativeness of the diversity that is to be found in the world. In the case of worldwide competitions, it also requires, at least in appearance, a form of neutrality necessary to foster beliefs in the equality of chances of the participants, regardless of their country of origin. The FGAP case provides an outstanding example of that with its discourse on democracy surrounding the self-nomination online process that postulates this equality of chances. The same kind of rhetoric is to be found in the WHL, where the humanistic vision borne by the organization (UNESCO) also colours the discourse on equality of all cultures. If this can be read as a kind of compulsory step or political correctness, the discourse on diversity that I have evoked in Chapter 1 is nevertheless an important normative discourse that strongly colours the action

of these global artistic institutions. Finally, opening the competition to a larger number of artistic propositions constantly increases the power of the organizers in the form of economic or social capital. Indeed, attracting new participations in these international competitions has economic consequences. The most probative example is certainly the Venice Biennale, where the addition of new national pavilions is undeniably linked to the financial strategy of the organization: in addition to the revenues generated by the long-term lease of exhibition spaces, the always-expanding group of participating countries is also beneficial to a well-oiled marketing strategy to generate more box-office income. Similarly, bringing new participants into these competitions contributes to increasing the influence of these international competitions both inside and outside closed artistic circles. On the one hand, the three cases studied here clearly benefit from the enlargement of their competition by an expanded visibility with close followers (artists, curators, experts, etc.). On the other hand, increasing the size of the competition may also have consequences outside the narrow circle of art followers. The case that I have explored the most from this perspective is the FGAP, where the artistic competition is only one element in the broader strategy of Victor Pinchuk to raise his personal profile, his business profile and his country's profile. Influence outside the art world is also not negligible in the case of the WHL, where the label associated with the program has been carefully transformed into a strong international brand, with the not insignificant economic benefits that come with it.

In sum, the artistic institutions studied here have many incentives to open up their international competitions to a larger group of potential contenders coming from all corners of the world. In each case, there is a unique blend of artistic, moral and socio-economic reasons that push them in that direction. Therefore, this opening movement is

rendered mandatory if these institutions want to grow and maintain their position as world-leader artistic institutions. Their prestige and the outstanding place they occupy in the global art world depend on it.

3.2 Closing off the competition

Let us now turn to the motivations behind the contrary movement that attempts to keep a strong grip over the artistic vision carried in the framework of these global artistic institutions. As I mentioned in the first chapter, according to Howard Becker (2008), an art world is always defined by a certain vision of art that is shared by all those who self-identify with this art world. In a way, this vision represents the cement of this group of individuals since it facilitates the conversation on art among members of this art world, but it also provides the artist with a set of expectations with which he has to deal. The work of art historians has shown how these sets of expectations have varied over time – between classical, modern and contemporary art – so that there is now a more or less clearly established periodization of the evolution of these sets of expectations. Moreover, within these large periods, rival sets of expectations may coexist; they are even at the origin of multiple disputes and competition between artistic groups.

The study of each of these global institutions has revealed how the competition that each runs is based on a more or less defined vision of art. The most significant example is unquestionably the WHL. Created by a homogeneous group of European specialists on built heritage in a particular geopolitical context, the Convention bore at its inception, a clear and coherent system that corresponded to a Euro-centric vision of architecture, monumentality and grandeur. This traditional vision was articulated around a body of knowledge drawn

from the pioneers of built-heritage studies, which was developed mainly by Europeans starting in the XIXth century. Throughout the history of the program, this original vision was confronted by alternative visions of what should be valued in our collective past. Consequently, the perimeter of the convention was successively enlarged to integrate some elements of these alternative visions, but not without some resistance from people attached to the original vision. After long discussions, some amendments were made to accommodate the vision of countries that are in the immediate periphery of Europe (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia), which wanted to integrate certain elements of the landscape into this definition of heritage. However, this enlargement process reached a limit when the argument was pushed forward – mostly by non-Western countries – to question the materiality of the concept of heritage. Such an enlargement was unacceptable, maybe even unthinkable, in the framework of this particular Convention as it touches on one of its essential foundations. The body of knowledge used to evaluate, study, and classify monuments in the framework of this instrument was not adaptable to this kind of extension. Thus, the solution prioritized by UNESCO was to push this immaterial heritage outside the perimeter of the WHC with the creation a sister convention, with exactly the same architecture that would establish another repertoire populated predominantly by cultural elements coming from non-Western countries.

Clearly in this example, we have an institution that has reached the limit of its openness, a limit that cannot be trespassed without sacrificing the original vision on which this institution was founded. Ultimately, such a step would denature the perceived essence of the institution and potentially jeopardize its credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the narrow circle of built-heritage experts. Despite a few enlargements of the perimeter of the

Convention, UNESCO still maintains the core of its original vision and continues to accept or refuse elements according to a set of standards embodied in a repertoire populated mainly by classical "masterpieces of human creative genius".

If the materiality of heritage offers an accurate example of the limits this institution was not prepared to cross, most of the time limits to the openness of these artistic institutions remains much vaguer and more implicit. However, each case studied here operates in an environment more or less strictly marked-off by a set of expectations that should be met by artistic propositions presented in the framework of these international competitions. Even if the dynamics are somewhat different in each case, the same preoccupation can be found in the other two institutions studied here. In the case of the FGAP, the whole undertaking is precisely to find a way to introduce new and innovative propositions, which nevertheless have the potential to meet the set of expectations of the mainstream contemporary art world. In itself, this simple goal seriously limits the kinds of propositions that the Foundation is prepared to consider. Even if the Foundation is keen to gather artistic propositions coming from the five continents, only propositions that meet the set of perceived expectations of the contemporary art world are seriously considered in the competition. Here, the label of professionalism serves as the overarching theme to encompass this set of expectations and as a powerful justification strategy for the *modus operandi* of the Foundation during the pre-selection process. This set of expectations is of upmost importance for the Foundation, and it in fact forms the backbone of the whole selection process. The prestigious personalities who are invited to take part in the final steps of the adjudicating process also base their judgment on a body of knowledge and a set of expectations that frame their judgment on the candidates but also on the seriousness of

the FGAP. Indeed, the Foundation needs to present a roster of candidates who meet this set of expectations to establish itself as a credible player in the global art world. Moreover, what the Foundation considers "strong" candidates seem to have more chances to gain favourable expert opinions in the future and thus contribute to the reputation and the visibility of the prize in mainstream contemporary art circles.

At the Venice Biennale, the closure movement does not really come from the event itself, since its expansionist effort is officially open to any country that is willing to invest the appropriate amount of money. Similarly, the event does not dictate to these countries what they should present in their own national pavilions. As I have analysed it, the closure movement rather comes from the critical reception of these works. With its more than 130 exhibitions presented at the same time in the same city, a large number of the pieces presented during the event remain unnoticed or largely ignored by art critics and commentators; that is to say, they are mostly invisible in the global art world. As the title of this chapter suggests, there is therefore a veritable fight for global attention and visibility going on each time in Venice. To engage, artists present their best artistic propositions to this well-versed crowd in the hope that they can arouse interest. Here again, we find this horizon of expectations with which these artists have to deal. As my analysis has shown, this horizon of expectations is built on a long tradition of commentary and criticism that is rooted in a body of knowledge developed by art historians and aestheticians. So, art critics who write for the most read art magazines in the world have to base their own arguments on this body of knowledge and to situate their own work in this long tradition. In this way, they also have to deal with a more or less established set of expectations. In other words, they do not have the power to impose a whole new set of expectations, but they still have to

deal with the existing set of expectations in relation to the artistic propositions they comment on. The most they can hope for is to slightly modify this set of expectations along the way. It is, in fact, their own reputation and the reputation of the magazine they write for that is at stake here. Both the critic and the magazine have to demonstrate their seriousness by displaying their command of the necessary knowledge, yet at the same time they have to show their ability to foresee where the contemporary art world is heading. Therefore, each edition of the Venice Biennale is in a way a microcosm of the global art world in which the set of expectations is collectively negotiated by the most influential actors in contemporary art circles. And this is exactly what the organizers of this international competition aim for: that each edition contributes to growing and maintaining its reputation as the temple of the artistic establishment.

Our three cases suggest a number of additional reasons that explain this closure movement. I merely single them out hereafter as they are more peripheral to this study and more research would be required for further elaboration. First, we have come across a form of aesthetic conservatism that is characterized by an attachment to a traditional definition of key concepts and the establishment of standards of quality in relation to these traditional concepts. The most striking example of this is certainly the WHL, where the core definitions of the Convention have remained unchanged over the years. However, a similar dynamic is observable in the two other cases, where the historical weight of traditions and knowledge about art seriously conditions the appreciation of the new work. Historically, the discourse on art has been dominated by Western conceptions, and standards of quality have been established in relation to these conceptions. This past has left a durable trace on the way we look at and judge works of art today. In our three cases, alternative or oppositional forms of

critical discourse on art remain weak or marginalized. A compelling example is provided by my examination of the reviews of the Venice Biennale. As the most read art magazines are almost exclusively situated in the artistic centres, the discourse produced by writers from the periphery or about work from the periphery is constantly treated as second-class content. This also reveals more broadly the centre-periphery dynamic that is still largely prevalent in the global art world. Any new development in art still largely arises from the centre and the periphery is condemned to react to it. The most resounding example here is probably the FGAP, which is more preoccupied with being accepted by the mainstream art world than proposing new standards of quality or a new vision of art. However, a study of alternative art spaces that exist in global art world (as, for example, the burgeoning biennials in the global South) would certainly enrich this list of elements.

What is key to my demonstration, however, is the common preoccupation in the three institutions studied here with producing audacious but thoughtful judgments on the pieces that are proposed to them. They know that these judgments are an opportunity to find or keep their place in the global art world as key arbiters of taste. Yet, they also know that they need to take good care of their own reputations in so doing. Therefore, the closing movement is in a way rendered mandatory if these institutions want to keep their credibility and legitimacy in the global art world. The loss, or even the mere degradation, of their prestige and the outstanding place they occupy in the global art world would seriously injure their power and influence. Nevertheless, this closing movement forces into the liminal space of the global art world many of the artistic propositions that do not fit with the perceived set of expectations. These artistic propositions, which often come from outside the well-established contemporary art centres, are still admitted to these

competitions. They even contribute to growing and maintaining the reputation of these competitions as truly global initiatives and to fuelling the narrative of pluralism as a dominant paradigm of the global art world. Indeed, all the competitions studied in this dissertation are always keen to point out the diversity of artistic propositions coming from all corners of the planet. However, the closing movement that I have just outlined confines these "diverse" propositions to the margins of the large international competitions. Thus, these artistic propositions rarely reach the mainstream space of these metacultural ensembles but rather stay in the shadow, unnoticed among the plethora of propositions.

4. The archaic, the emergent and the mainstream

Raymond Williams' model described in Chapter 2 can be helpful to better understand how these two opposite forces – opening and closing – come together in the cases studied in this dissertation and how the position occupied by these organizations was constructed in reaction to these movements. In my presentation of Williams' model, I intentionally left open the categorization of the three cases studied in regard with this model so that it could serve as a guiding question for the analysis. Now that the analysis has been completed, it is time to come back to this question.

If I consider first the WHL, I am now in a position to say that the program has been constructed as a repertoire of archaic elements as opposed to residual elements. Indeed, in Raymond Williams' vocabulary, the archaic corresponds to elements of the dominant culture that have survived until now and are still fully integrated in this dominant culture. In their conception of the WHL, the European experts involved seem to have envisioned only one single possible meaning of the past, a meaning that is inherited from the classical

humanistic tradition. Throughout the history of the program, a series of oppositional views were presented with the aim of altering this original vision put forth by a small group of experts belonging to the dominant culture. Even though the repertoire now encompasses a significant number of elements coming from non-Western countries, it is still, to a large extent, a repertoire of archaic elements that itemize the official culture sponsored by the nation-state where it is situated. The resistance to more radical views in the form of aesthetic conservatism that this case has revealed is probably explained in large part by the architecture of the program that places the establishment of rules as well as the selection of its components in the hands of the official representatives of each member-state aided by the evaluations from a rather homogeneous group of experts.

Second, the FGAP brands itself as an institution dedicated to the emergent in the visual arts sector. The term emergence has become a widely used one to designate young creators in general; and the term is generally associated with new and innovative, but also contesting propositions, that shake old orthodoxies in a specific domain. In Williams' vocabulary, the term designates exclusively alternative and oppositional views to the dominant culture. In that sense, my reading of this case shows that the Foundation works in a certain way against emergence, as it tends to eliminate these alternative or oppositional views to encourage instead what Williams calls merely new iterations of the dominant culture. Indeed, it seems that the eagerness of the Foundation to find a place for its prize in the mainstream art world has made it sacrifice its dedication to the emergent. From a different angle, one can also argue that the primary goal of the Foundation is not really to change the dominant culture, as the term emergence might suggest, but to use its influence to allow young artists to be integrated into the dominant culture as it is.

Finally, I postulated in the design of this research that the Venice Biennale represents an element of the dominant culture. My analysis seems to confirm that hypothesis as it has clearly shown how this manifestation remains, with each of its editions, the meeting point of all influential actors in the global art world. Williams' model is also useful here to understand the nature of this dominant culture. Indeed, Williams proposes that the dominant culture is made up of a selection of possible meanings, practices and values from a whole array of different possibilities. The Venice case shows that the Biennale is a meeting point where artists, experts and institutions come together to collectively negotiate this dominant culture (and its set of expectations). Artists propose a whole range of possible avenues, individual experts make their choices and write about them, and these choices are picked up or not by the community of art world actors. The following section will give more details on the articulation between the artist, the expert, and the institutions.

In sum, each of these cases reveals that the two opposite movements – opening and closing – identified earlier are at the heart of a permanent redefinition of the set of expectations and standards of quality that is happening within these international competitions. The following section will look more closely at this process by adding some considerations on the power relations between the three types of actors involved.

5. The circulation of prestige between the artist, the expert and the institution

This dissertation has been dedicated to the analysis of artistic power at the level of the institution. It has allowed me to propose that prestige is a key governance mechanism in the global art world. Yet, this governance mechanism does not concern only the power of artistic institutions, but can be extended to other types of actors in the global art world. In

fact, the prestige of artistic institutions is inseparable from the prestige of two other types of actors that have occupied an important place as well in this dissertation: the artist and the expert. Here, I would like to propose that prestige in the global art world is in fact co-constituted by the exchange that occurs between the institution, the expert and the artist or a body of works. The prestige of all of them can potentially benefit from their association, but may also be degraded by this association.

Indeed, in the cases that I have studied, there is always a symbolic exchange of prestige between the artist (or the work in the UNESCO case) and the artistic institution. Undeniably, the artist appropriates some of the prestige of the institution by winning the competition it organizes or, even in some cases, by a simple participation in these competitions. It is customary for artists to register the different elements that constitute their own prestige in the form of a long list of participations in prestigious exhibitions or prizes they have been awarded. The same is true for the works that are represented in the WHL. These heritage elements appropriate some of the prestige of the program and register it with commemorative plaques, mentions in brochures, etc. In reverse, though, the prestige of an organization is built on the long list of prestigious artists they have exhibited, discussed, collected, rewarded, protected, etc. Similarly, a large part of the prestige of the WHL comes from the long list of prestigious buildings and sites it encompasses. Therefore, the accumulation of prestigious winners and participants in these competitions, remembered through history and by collective memory, contributes to growing the prestige of these institutions.

As this dissertation has clearly illustrated, a third element must be added to the equation: the expert who always serves as the intermediary between the artist or his work

and the institution. Yet, the expert is also engaged in a similar symbolic exchange of prestige with both parties. The expert is hired by the institution to make the artistic choices, but more importantly to give them a form of legitimacy. In this task, his personal prestige is not a negligible element of the process. As James English (2005) remarks about the art prize: the prestige of a given prize allows it to attract prestigious judges to adjudicate it; but these prestigious judges guarantee, in return, the prestige of the prize. The same reasoning could be extended to all global artistic institutions studied in this dissertation. The heritage expert contributes to establishing the reputation of the WHL as a solid institution; but in turn, his own reputation is enhanced by his participation in the prestigious international program. The curator who goes to Venice is honoured to have a chance to organize one of the most influential shows on earth. His name is added to a long list of predecessors who contribute to the prestige of the event. Furthermore, the prestige of an expert in the art world is often strongly related to the prestige of artists or a body of works. The biography of an expert is always filled with a list of prestigious artists he has advised, curated, written about, etc. It is not rare that the career of an expert is built in relation to the work of one artist or a group of artists. This is the case for example of Massimiliano Giono, the curator of the 55th Venice Biennale, whose trajectory is inseparable from the work of Maurizio Cattelan.

Thus, the three protagonists form a triangle of symbolic exchange of prestige. Every association of a protagonist with one or the other, or with both of the actors forming this triangle is, of course, a strategic move that can benefit or conversely harm his reputation and ultimately his position in the global art world. Additional research on the life trajectories of these different protagonists would be useful to better understand the conditions under which of these associations were either beneficial or damaging.

Nevertheless, for now, it is possible to elaborate further on the dynamics that characterize the relationship between the three points of the triangle.

Most of the grand theories on art are exclusively interested works of art that have provoked a rupture in the evolution of artistic forms, works that have given birth to a new school or a new trend, works that have pushed back the limits of art making, in short, works that are at the origin of an artistic revolution, be it large or small. French sociologist Nathalie Heinich provides us with a good example of this with her theory on the ontology of contemporary art (Heinich, 1998). Her theory is based on the transgression of the pre-established borders of art. In her account, she analyses a series of famous provocations made by artists who challenged the very definition of art by trying to trespass some of the borders (borders of art itself, borders of the museum, borders of authenticity, moral borders and legal borders). According to Heinich's theory, all these transgressions are direct challenges addressed to art critics and art historians who have the capacity to legitimize them and in so doing modify the established borders. She writes: "*le moindre « coup » avant-gardiste est un défi à la critique, opérateur de légitimité qui à son tour doit relever le gant : de sorte que les plus avancés des spécialistes, en autorisant la dernière transgression, obligent les artistes à risquer la prochaine*" (Heinich, 1998, p. 52). And this is how she explains how the perimeter of artistic practice is constantly enlarged to integrate various practices and objects. This theory indeed explains brilliantly how the world of possibilities in art has been successively expanded in the last decades and how the horizon of expectations has been constantly pushed back by a series of mini-revolutions. However, the theory concerns only a very small number of works produced by artists who have been able to create a game-changing element. A majority of artists active in today's global art

world operate within the accepted paradigm. More importantly, Heinich's theory neglects to pay close attention to the real power of art experts. In a sense, she gives them all power when she makes them the only figures capable of legitimizing any transgression and enlarging the scope of accepted practices. However, she also makes them powerless figures since they have no choice but to integrate the new provocations made by these dissenting artists and therefore expand the artistic field. Indeed, she reports no case where art experts would have ultimately refused such transgressions. Her theory certainly considers some resistance aimed at protecting a more conservative vision of art, but in the end, the most permissive art expert invariably overcomes these resistances to legitimize the new horizon proposed by the provocative artist. Therefore, she neglects to consider the complex strategic environment in which the discourse on art is elaborated.

If we consider that most of works of art are constituted of slight variations on the set of pre-established expectations, we leave the terrain of grand totalizing theory that characterizes so many theories on the art sector[107] to enter the terrain of everyday life in art circles. This perspective changes the focus from an overarching point of view that considers only the artistic propositions that were successful in their attempt to change the rules of the art world to studying instead how discourse is produced on a daily basis in global artistic institutions. Thus, my research suggests that the producers of this discourse are themselves caught in a strategic game involving all other actors of the global art world, a form of dithering or a terrain of struggle that makes them negotiate what is valuable as artistic production and what, on the contrary, will remain ignored. Expert judgment cannot

[107] Nathalie Heinich is certainly not the only example of theorists who merely consider canonical works of art in their construction of theories to explain how the art world functions. The theories developed by Arthur Danto or George Dickie that I discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation are other examples

be reduced to a rubberstamp of any artistic proposition presented by a provocative artist, as Heinich's model suggests. Experts produce numerous judgments on individual pieces throughout their careers, and a single event like the Venice Biennale alone inspires hundreds of these expert judgments. It is through this series of judgments that experts, artists and institutions negotiate the value of art and trace new normative avenues that should be followed in the future. Indeed, in any major artistic competition, there are hundreds of artistic propositions that remain unnoticed by artistic judges and forgotten soon afterwards, while only a small number of them are chosen, discussed and rewarded.

Therefore, my research suggests a different model that I would like to propose in the following paragraph. If this model is based on the three cases studied in this dissertation, it nevertheless requires some small adaptations for the UNESCO case. I will first expose the general model that can be conceptualized mainly in relation to the first and third cases. I will then outline how this model sheds some light as well on the dynamics at play in the UNESCO case. My model is as follows.

An artist produces an artistic proposition in relation to his own perception of the existing set of expectations. This proposition may choose to question or contest this set of expectations or simply to operate within it. From the vast array of artistic propositions that surface in any artistic milieu, a selection must be made. Therefore, as soon as it leaves the artist's studio, the artistic proposition is the object of a series of expert judgments that will determine its fate: whether or not it will be included in an exhibition, be commented on in a magazine, enter into a collection, receive an award, etc. At each of these steps, the artistic proposition may be completely ignored by experts or be the object of expert judgments. If this judgment is favourable to the artistic proposition, the expert provides it with a form of

endorsement (an agreement with the direction in which this piece is going). Hence, the expert associates his name and own prestige with the avenue proposed by the artist. However, if this judgment is unfavourable, the expert dissociates his name from this proposition, disapproves the avenue proposed by the artist and generally points to another direction that should be followed. Most of these expert judgments are made in public spaces and the artistic institution is the public venue where this action takes place. However, these institutions are not neutral; they also try to build their own reputations through their associations with artists and experts. Yet, just as the artistic proposition has no guarantee to catch the attention of the expert, there is no guarantee that an expert judgment will be noticed in the profusion of artistic opinions issued every day. Each expert judgment is always in itself a proposition made by an individual expert to cast the light on a certain artistic proposition or to propose a new avenue for the development of art. This individual judgment acquires some strength only when the community of experts takes it up, approves the choices made by this individual expert and even amplifies this choice by replicating it. If the proposition made by an individual expert is always based on his knowledge of this form of art, the approval or refusal of his proposition by the community of experts corresponds to the strategic component of judgment-making in the art world. The power of an individual expert is thus closely related to his successes and failures to have his aesthetic choices validated by the community of experts. This level of success determines the expert's relative position in the global art world and, consequently, his personal capacity to influence the development of art. A similar dynamic is at play in determining the reputation of an institution. Its capacity to become and remain the public venue where audacious artistic propositions are presented and discussed by influential art experts is key to its

being considered a prestigious and influential artistic institutions that sets artistic standards.

The WHL case also presents a complex dynamic in which various expert judgements confront each other in relation to a set of expectations and this confrontation also has consequences on the prestige of both the experts and the institution involved. Obviously, in this case instead of new creations coming out of the artist's studio, we are dealing with a set of existing realizations which are, in the majority of the cases, very old. Hence, artists who created these pieces are generally not involved in the competition studied in this dissertation. In a way, this simplifies the dynamic of judgment-making and the circulation of prestige in this case. Here, the proposition at the origin of the competition is rather made by a first group of experts who make the claim that a selected element is suitable for recognition with respect to the set of expectations. As with the other cases, this original expert judgment is either accepted or refused by the community of heritage experts. Ultimately, the approval or disapproval of this proposition has a direct consequence on the prestige of the element that is the object of this proposal, but also on the prestige of both the experts and the institution involved. As is proposed in the general model, the reputation of the heritage expert is related to his successes and failures to have his own judgment validated by the community of experts, just like any of the experts in the global art world. As I have argued on several occasions in this dissertation, reputation is inseparable from the power of an expert, that is to say, his capacity to influence the development of the sector. Moreover, the prestige of the list is without doubt associated with its capacity to remain a key venue where the most advanced discussion on heritage is

taking place, while itemizing the most prestigious built elements standing on the surface of the planet.

Finally, the model that I propose is intentionally aligned with the theory of selective matching developed by Pierre-Michel Menger (2009) that I described in Chapter 1. A closer dialogue with this theory would eventually open the door to a larger perspective on the co-constitution of prestige between the artist, the expert and the artistic institution. Indeed, every association between these actors is a strategic move that has the potential – if the association is successful – to improve the reputation of all actors involved and therefore their capacity to be influential in the global art world. Every successful association opens the doors to new possible associations with actors that are higher in this hierarchy of prestige.

6. Geopolitics of artistic prestige

As a final comment on this dissertation, it is necessary to note that prestige is obviously not equally distributed in the global art world. As was noted in the first chapter, Menger bases his model on the assumption of a quasi-equality of chances at the beginning of artistic trajectories. Yet, such a claim is unsustainable in a global context. As this dissertation has shown on several occasions, there is still a strong dichotomy between centres and peripheries in the global art world. Thus, the place of origin of artists, experts and institutions remains non-negligible in the constitution of their prestige.

Despite the official discourse on pluralism and diversity in the global art world, the constitution of metacultural ensembles in the global art world remains strongly structured by hierarchies. Indeed, if artistic propositions coming from the peripheries of the global art

world are regularly offered an “equality of opportunity” to participate in these international artistic competitions, this doesn’t necessarily mean that they enjoy an “equality of ability” (Barney, 2000) to take part in the definition of art – and more importantly in the definition of good art. As this dissertation has illustrated in various ways, there is still a whole range of forces that condemn certain artistic propositions to the liminal space of metacultural ensembles. The diversity of these ensembles is often a surface diversity that provides these competitions with a global image without removing the most important barriers that curb the trajectory of a large number of artistic actors on the globe.

Historical, political and economic factors have contributed to forging a complicated geopolitics of prestige in the global art world that has a major influence on the definition of art and the standards of quality by which it is judged. Such profound international dynamics that condition the appreciation of art in the global context must be the object of close attention in the future if we are to collectively understand power relations in the global art world.

APPENDIX 1
List of the 40 exhibition reviews of the 55th edition of the Venice Biennale analysed in Chapter 3

Ambrosio, Daniela. (2013a, Jul-Sept 2013). Venice inside out: Kamikaze Loggia: The Georgian pavilion. *Flash Art International,* 77-78.

Ambrosio, Daniela. (2013b, Jul-Sept 2013). Venice inside out: Tavares Strachan, Bahamas pavilion. *Flash Art International,* 72-73.

Azimi, Negar. (2013, September 2013). Home away from Home. *Artforum International, 52,* 334-335.

Bickers, Patricia. (2013, Jul/Aug 2013). Venice INISDE OUT. *Art Monthly,* 13-16.

Birnbaum, Daniel. (2013, September 2013). Garden States. *Artforum International, 52*.

Bishop, Claire. (2013, September 2013). Now you See it. *Artforum International, 52,* 318-319.

Blood, Anne. (2013, September 2013). Venice Biennale 2013. *The Burlington Magazine, 155,* 647-649.

Buchloh, Benjamin H. (2013, September 2013). The Entropic Encyclopedia. *Artforum International, 52,* 310-317.

Casavecchia, Barbara. (2013, September 2013). The Italian Pavilion. *Frieze,* 110.

Cembalest, Robin. (2013, Summer 2013). Review: The 55th Venice Biennale. *ARTnews, 112,* 123-124.

Clarke, Chris. (2013, Jul/Aug 2013). 55th Venice Biennale: The Encyclopedic Palace - Exhibition Review. *Art Monthly,* 24-25.

Cooke, Lynne. (2013, September 2013). World of Interiors. *Artforum International, 52,* 302-305.

Crow, Thomas. (2013, September 2013). Head Trip. *Artforum International, 52,* 320-325.

Cutler, Randy Lee. (2013, Autumn 2013). Il Palazzo Enciclopedico: The 55th International Art Exhibition. *C Magazine,* 24-28.

DeSaive, Pierre-Yves. (2013, Jul-Sept 2013). Venice inside out: When Attitudes Become Form: Bern 1969 / Venice 2013. *Flash Art International,* 74-75.

Durand, Régis. (2013, September 2013). Palais encyclopédique. *Art Press,* 8-10.

Editorial. (2013, Jul/Aug 2013). *Art Monthly, 368*.

Enwezor, Okwui. (2013, September 2013). Predicaments of Culture. *Artforum International, 52,* 326-329.

Fontana, Emi. (2013, Jul-Sept 2013). The Encyclopedic Palace. *Flash Art International,* 67-71.

Fox, Dan. (2013, September 2013). The U.S. Pavilion. *Frieze,* 108.

Garcia-Anton, Katya. (2013, Juil-Sept 2013). Venice inside out: Shirazeh Houshiary, Torre di Porta Nuova, Arsenale. *Flash Art International,* 73-74.

Heiser, Jörg. (2013, September 2013). The Film Essay. *Frieze,* 107.

Higgie, Jennifer. (2013, September 2013). Welcome to Iraq. *Frieze,* 106.

Humphries, Oscar. (2013). Do look now. *Apollo, 177,* 84-85.

Jiménez, Carlos. (2013, September-November 2013). Venice: The Biennalization Biennial. *ArtNexus, 12,* 62-68.

Lee, Pamela M. (2013, September 2013). The Whole Earth is Heavy. *Artforum International, 52*, 306-309.
Madoff, Steven Henry. (2013, October 2013). Venice in the Age of Abstraction: The 55th Biennale. *Modern Painters, 25,* 88-93.
Millet, Catherine. (2013, September 2013). Quelques gros mots: frontières, critères, hiérarchies. *Art Press,* 5.
Mohammad, Arsalan. (2013, Jul-Sept 2013). Venice inside out: The Middle East Pavilions: Kuwait, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, Lebanon, Turkey, Bahrain, Syria, Egypt, Azerbaijan, Iran. *Flash Art International,* 75-77.
Mooney, Christopher. (2013, Summer2013). Anri Sala. *Art Review,* 110-113.
Morton, Tom. (2013, September 2013). The British Pavilion. *Frieze,* 109.
O'Toole, Sean. (2013, September 2013). Africa in Venice. *Frieze,* 111.
Pigeat, Anaël. (2013, September 2013). Pavillons et événements collatéraux. *Art Press,* 11-12.
Remes, Outi. (2013, September/October 2013). Floating above the Waterline. *Afterimage, 41,* 4-6.
Swastika, Alia. (2013, Jul-Sept 2013). Venise inside out: Asian Pavilions at the Venice Biennale: Studies in Collaboration: Japan, Indonesia, Taiwan, Korea, Thailand. *Flash Art International,* 78-79.
Thorne, Sam. (2013, September 2013). The Encyclopedic Palace. *Frieze*.
Üstek, Fatos. (2013, September/October 2013). oO: The Cyprus/Lithuania Pavilions, Venice, Italy. *Art Papers, 37,* 63.
Verhagen, Erik. (2013a, Septembre 2013). Le monde d'hier. *Art Press,* 14-16.
Verhagen, Erik. (2013b). Les Giardini à l'ère postnationale. *Art Press,* 13-14.
Vetrocq, Marcia E. (2013, September 2013). 55th Venice Biennale. *Art in America, 101,* 139-141.

APPENDIX 2
List of main institutional structures of World Heritage

World Heritage Convention (WHC)

The Convention is the founding text of UNESCO's program in natural and cultural heritage. It was adopted in 1972.

World Heritage List (WHL)

The World Heritage List is the main mechanism by which the Convention recognizes outstanding cultural and natural heritage properties in the world. All states parties to the Convention can propose to the World Heritage Committee a property situated on its territory for inclusion in the List.

General Assembly of the States Parties

The General Assembly of States Parties is the supreme authority of the Convention. There are currently 191 countries that are members of the Convention. General Assemblies are held every two years during the General Conference of UNESCO.

World Heritage Committee

The World Heritage Committee is the executive body of the Convention. It is formed of 21 states parties elected by the General Assembly for a mandate of six years. The Committee is in charge of all nominations to the WHL. The Committee holds its meeting generally once a year.

World Heritage Centre

The World Heritage Centre is the administrative body of the Convention. As the secretariat to the World Heritage Committee, it organizes meetings, implements decisions and coordinates all the nomination process to the WHL.

International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)

The International Council of Monuments and Sites is one of the three advisory bodies of the Convention. ICOMOS has the responsibility to evaluate all cultural properties proposed for nomination to the WHL.

International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)

The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property is one of the three advisory bodies to the Convention. ICCROM is in charge of

conducting research, providing documentation and technical assistance, as well as developing training and public awareness programs.

International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)

The International Union for Conservation of Nature is one of the three advisory bodies to the Convention. IUCN has the responsibility to conduct evaluations of all natural properties proposed for nomination to the WHL.

APPENDIX 3
List of policy documents analysed in Chapter 4

Operational Guidelines

UNESCO. (1977). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1978). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1980). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1983). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1984). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1987). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1988). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1992). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1994). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1996). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1997). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (1999). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (2002). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO. (2005). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO

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APPENDIX 4
Chronology – Future Generation Art Prize

FGAP 2010 (1st Edition)

8 December 2009	Launch of the Prize in New York
18 January 2010	Opening of the application process online (18 April 2010) 6000 applications received
22 June 2010	21 short-listed artists announced • Ziad Antar (Lebanon) • Fikret Atay (Turkey) • Fei Cao (China) • Keren Cytter (Israel) • Nathalie Djurberg (Sewden) • Simon Fujiwara (United Kingdom) • Nicholas Hlobo (South Africa) • Clemens Hollerer (Austria) • Runo Lagomarsino (Sweden) • Cinthia Marcelle (Brazil) • Nicolae Mircea (Romania) • Gareth Moore (Canada) • Ruben Ochoa (USA) • Wilfredo Prieto (Cuba) • Katerina Seda (Czech Republic) • Guido van der Werve (Netherlands) • Nico Vascellari (Italy) • Jorinde Voigt (Germany) • Artem Volokytin (Ukraine) • Emily Wardill (United Kingdom) • Hector Zamora (Mexico)
1 November 2010	Opening of the exhibition of the 21 shortlisted artists at the Pinchuk Art Centre in Kiev Exhibition runs from 30 October 2010 to 9 January 2011
10 December 2010	Award ceremony at Ivan Franko Theatre in Kiev Winner: Cinthia Marcelle Special prize winner: Mircea Nicolae
1-3 June 2011	Opening of the exhibition FGAP at Palazzo Papadopoli in Venice (during the 54th Venice Biennale)

29 October 2011	Opening of the solo exhibition of Cinthia Marcelle at the Pinchuk Art Centre in Kiev Exhibition runs from 29 October 2011 to 8 January 2012

FGAP 2012 (2nd Edition)

6 February 2012	Launch of the second edition of FGAP in a live-streamed press conference from Kiev
6 February 2012	Opening of the application process online (until 6 May 2012) 4200 applications received
25 June 2012	21 short-listed artists announced • Jonathas de Andrade (Brazil) • Meris Angioletti (Italy) • Marwa Arsanios (Lebanon) • Micol Assael (Italy) • Abigail DeVille (USA) • Aurélien Froment (France) • Mykyta Kadan (Ukraine) • Meiro Koizumi (Japan) • Andre Komatsu (Brazil) • Eva Kotatkova (Czech Republic) • Tala Madani (Iran) • Basim Magdy (Egypt) • Ahmet Öğüt (Turkey) • Amalia Pica (Argentina) • Agnieszka Polska (Poland) • Emily Roysdon (USA) • Rayyane Tabet (Lebanon) • Xing Yan (China) • Lynette Yiadom-Boakye (United Kingdom) • Gusmao+Paiva (Portugal) • Revolutionary experimental space (REP) (Ukraine)
3 November 2012	Opening of the exhibition of the 21 shortlisted artists at the Pinchuk Art Centre in Kiev Exhibition runs from 3 November 2012 to 13 January 2013
7 December 2012	Award Ceremony at the Planetarium in Kiev Winner: Lynette Yiadom-Boakye Special prize winners: Jonathas de Andrade, Marwa Arsanios, Micol Assaël, Ahmet Öğüt, Rayyane Tabet

30-31 may 2013	Opening FGAP exhibition at Palazzo Contarini Polignac in Venice (during the 55th Venice Biennale)
2 November 2013	Opening of the solo exhibition of Lynette Yiadom-Boakye at the Pinchuk Art Centre in Kiev Exhibition runs from 2 November 2013 to 5 January 2014

<u>FGAP 2014 (3rd Edition)</u>

18 October 2013	Launch of the third edition of FGAP at Serpentine Sackler Gallery in London
13 January 2014	Opening of the application process online (until 12 April 2014) 5500 applications received
19 June 2014	21 short-listed artists announced • Neïl Beloufa (France/Algeria) • Rossella Biscotti (Italy) • James Bridle (United Kingdom) • Kudzanai Chiurai (Zimbabwe) • Cécile B. Evans (USA/Belgium) • Aslan Gaisumov (Russia) • Ximena Garrido-Lecca (Peru) • He Xiangyu (China) • Jia Aili (China) • Mykyta Kadan (Ukraine) • Zhanna Kadyrova (Ukraine) • Mauricio Limon (Mexico) • Adiran Melis (Cuba) • Nástio Mosquito (Angola) • Carlso Motta (Clombia) • Pilar Quinteros (Chile) • Jon Rafman (Canada) • Cally Spooner (United Kingdom) • Allyson Vieira (USA • GCC (Arabian Gulf Region) • Public Movement (Israel)
25 October 2014	Opening of the exhibition of the 21 shortlisted artists at the Pinchuk Art Centre in Kiev Exhibition runs from 25 October 2014 to April 2015

7 December 2014	Award ceremony at the Pinchuk Art Centre in Kiev Winners (ex aequo): Nástio Mosquito, Carlos Motta Special Prize Winners: Aslan Gaisumov, Mykyta Kadan, Zhanna Kadyrova

APPENDIX 5
List of documents published by the Pinchuk Foundation

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Interview

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