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FORGING THE CORPORATE IDENTITY WITH ART: FOUR MONTREAL CORPORATIONS

ALCAN ALUMINIUM LIMITED
MARTINEAU WALKER
BANQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA
LOTO-QUÉBEC

With a Focus on ALCAN

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines why and how art is collected and used by modern corporations. Primarily, the study is focused on Alcan Aluminium Ltd., but for purposes of comparison and illumination, substantial attention is paid to Martineau Walker, Loto-Québec and the Banque Nationale du Canada, all Montreal-based companies that have collected art for at least twenty years.

An historical introduction outlining the relationship between the arts and business - from the Renaissance in Europe to its place of greatest expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; in the U.S.A. as well as in Canada - begins the discussion. An attempt is made to position the activities of modern corporate art collecting between two poles - that of the individual collector and that of the institutional art museum.

Motives for collecting include, among many, the search for distinction and the desire to create a perception in the community of humanitarian standards guiding the corporation. The ways in which corporate motives contribute to the creation of a positive external corporate art identity, and thus a productive business environment, are examined and developed, as are the principal objections of their chief public detractor, artist-writer Hans Haacke.

In three of the four corporations studied, original research on the behavioural and emotional reactions of employees to the corporate art surrounding them has allowed an in-depth analysis of the internal effects of art on employees. Foremost among these are feelings of pride, well-being and the enhancement of self-identity.

Finally, a brief discussion of the role of mediators is offered, in particular that of the corporate curator in the modern art world.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT SOMMAIRE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PREFACE 1

METHODOLOGY 14

CHAPTER 1
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION 28
POSITIONING CORPORATE ART COLLECTING 45
Martineau Walker 50
Banque Nationale du Canada 52
Loto-Québec 55
Alcan 58

CHAPTER 2 ISSUES AFFECTING AN EXTERNAL IDENTITY RELATED TO ART COLLECTING 64

MOTIVES 64
BUILDING ACTIVITIES 75
BELIEF SYSTEMS 86
Hans Haacke and Alcan 101
THE ART COLLECTIONS 110
Alcan 111

Banque Nationale du Canada (BNC) 125 Martineau Walker 129 Loto-Québec 132 Conclusion 136

CHAPTER 3

ISSUES AFFECTING INTERNAL IDENTITY 138

STUDY METHOD 145

RESULTS OF THE STUDY 148

Does the Presence of Art Affect Overt Behaviour? 148
Are There Any Cognitive Effects Due to the Art? 152
How Do Employees "Feel" About the Art? 155
What Employees Like and Dislike and Why 159
How and Why Does an Art Collection Enhance Morale? 166

The Mourning Response 178
Conclusion 181

CHAPTER 4 THE CORPORATE CURATOR AS MEDIATOR 183 MEDIATING WITHIN THE CORPORATION 194 MEDIATION WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD 199

CONCLUSION 204

BIBLIOGRAPHY 213

SOMMAIRE

Cette thèse se penche sur les motifs qui poussent les entreprises modernes à collectionner et à utiliser des oeuvres d'art et les façons qu'elles choisissent pour parvenir à créer une identité corporative avec l'art.

En tout premier lieu, cette étude se concentre sur Alcan Aluminium Itée, mais pour fin de comparaison et d'illustration, nous portons aussi une attention particulière à Martineau Walker, Loto-Québec et la Banque nationale du Canada. Ces compagnies, installées à Montréal, collectionnent depuis au moins vingt ans.

En guise d'amorce, nous faisons un survol historique des relations entre le milieu de l'art et celui des affaires, en débutant par la période de la Renaissance européenne et en allant jusqu'à l'apogée des dites relations, vécues au dix-neuvième siècle et au vingtième siècle aux Etats-Unis et au Canada. Ce faisant, nous essayons de comparer les pratiques de collection d'oeuvres d'art moderne adoptées par ces entreprises, avec celles propres à la constitution des collections individuelles privées et celles des institutions muséales.

Les motifs de bâtir une collection peuvent s'expliquer, parmi d'autres, par la volonté de se distinguer, ou alors par le désir de créer une perception, dans la communauté, des valeurs propres à la culture qui régit l'entreprise. Nous examinons les buts visés par les entreprises dans leur promotion d'une image positive à leur endroit, ce qui engendre un environnement de travail productif. En contrepartie, nous examinons aussi les principales critiques formulées par l'artiste et écrivain Hans Haacke, un des principaux détracteurs des corporations.

Une recherche inédite sur le comportement et les réactions psychologiques des employés de trois des quatre corporations précitées, à la collection d'oeuvres d'art qui les entoure, permet une analyse en profondeur des effets que l'art exerce sur eux. La fierté, le bien-être et le renforcement de l'identité personnelle sont les sentiments les plus mis en évidence.

Nous terminons par une brève discussion sur le rôle des médiateurs et plus particulièrement sur celui de conservateur d'une collection corporative, dans le monde de l'art moderne.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While the writing of a dissertation can be a long and lonely process, it does not happen without the support of many people. This particular thesis would not have been started, let alone finished, without the encouragement and advice of Tom Glen, who not only acted as an academic advisor but also as a friend. Lise Lamarche has by now patiently and wisely guided my efforts through two such endeavours. Roger Krohn, Francine Couture and Christine Ross stimulated my imagination, thrusting me into areas where I had much to learn and much to think about.

I am particularly endebted to two people at Alcan - John Walsh and Phil Gunyon - who provided me with easy access to people and technology. My colleagues - Maurice Forget, Francine Paul and Louis Pelletier - generously gave me of their time and insights.

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My great good friend Alice Gagnon edited my work with expertise, and Hedwidge Asselin translated the abstract. Last but not least, the person most happy to see this work completed is, after myself, my husband Derek. Thank you all.

PREFACE

Art history academe has yet to undertake a serious investigation of modern (post 1970) corporate art collecting. This is surprising, since the sociologist Roseanne Martorella reported in 1990 that, across America, over one thousand corporations held art collections, while approximately six hundred museums predominantly collected, preserved, and exhibited works of fine art. About 80 percent of these companies were in the Fortune 500. Martorella conservatively estimated that about \$300 million was spent in 1988-89 by this group to maintain and acquire works and that the combined value of such art holdings was over \$2 billion.

The extent of corporate art collecting and its potential impact, when considered in these terms, is startling. That this field of inquiry has largely been ignored by art history is also curious, at least in part because the collections of the later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American business barons such as Andrew Mellon, William Randolph Hearst, H.O.H. Havemeyer, Andrew Carnegie, J.P. Morgan, Henry Clay Frick, the Rockefellers and the Guggenheims

¹Roseanne Martorella, *Corporate Art* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990) 3, 129.

²Martorella, Corporate Art, 63.

have endowed all the major American art museums, providing not only many of the fine art treasures now in the public domain but, through their foundations, funding for the arts.

This is, to some degree, also true of Montreal, the primary location for the four corporations studied in this dissertation. There, the flourishing industrialists - Van Horne, Drummond, Ross, Angus and Strathcona - developed reputations for their art collections that gave the city, in the early twentieth century, a cachet as a collecting centre of Old Master and Modern paintings.³ In 1907, a leading London dealer, D. Croal Thomson, wrote:

It is not generally recognized, yet it is a fact which will have considerable worth in the art markets of the world in days to come that after London, Paris and New York, Montreal is the most important centre for the art of the finest quality. For thirty years and more there have been growing in Montreal collections of pictures which can hold their own with the very best.⁴

It would seem, given this history, that a study by an art historian, of what, how and why today's business barons - ensconced in the modern corporate environment - collect, is certainly overdue.

Of course, modern corporations, spearheaded by powerful entrepreneurs, are not simply replicas, but rather the progeny, of nineteenth-century business magnates. Modern corporations collect somewhat differently than their predecessors did, in ways that this thesis demonstrates. While still often

³Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1989) 16.

⁴Brooke, *Discerning Tastes*

reflecting the passions and ambitions of one man in a position of power and leadership, modern corporate art collections must also cater to a heterogeneous, more-or-less educated and essentially captive employee-clientele of tens of thousands of people in structured corporate spaces. The modern corporate collector, because of time and other logistical constraints that are in part due to the global proliferation of the art market, must rely on a network of art-service professionals - mediators - whose participation can significantly influence the outcome of the entrepreneurial collecting instinct.

Art is now bought by modern corporations for two main reasons. The first is to create a stimulating, life-enhancing environment for employees whose principal goals must be the production of goods and services, with its accompanying daily routine stresses. A corporate art collection is perceived by employees to provide positive distractions that relieve this stress in a number of different ways. The author's research shows that employees believe that art - that is, the art that they like or learn to like - contributes to a feeling of well-being. They develop pride in the company and also experience a sense of personal validation - an enhancement of their identity - in an art-rich workplace. This research strongly suggests that art promotes a positive psychological environment in the office. Surely, therefore, a study of this aspect of corporate art collecting represents a necessary, original and worthwhile endeavor.

Internal benefits are, of course, in addition to those more public benefits that accrue to the positive image which the corporation desires to project onto the

outside world in what is hoped to be a mutually productive encounter. Indeed, this is the second and equally important objective of corporate art collecting - the creation of a distinctive image authenticating the corporation as an enlightened corporate group, one that is successful and wealthy, but also one that is a part of and a contributer to both the symbolic and economic lives of the communities in which it operates. Of course, on a more practical level, visitors, in particular clients, can be positively influenced by a choice of art work that represents their interests. Empathy created in this way facilitates business negotiations.

Corporate art collecting reached a zenith in the 1970s and '80s in Canada and the U.S.A. In the U.S.A., corporate collecting accounted for up to 50 percent of sales in galleries outside of New York City and between 20 and 30 percent in the city itself.⁵ In Canada, one Montreal gallery owner, active in the '80s, reports that up to 35 percent of sales were made to corporations.⁶ Such a percentage represented a considerable quantity of art and had an economic impact on the art market; but it also affected museums. One prime example is in Montreal. In the early '90s, when the engineering giant, Lavalin Inc., went bankrupt, the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal received as a gift, and thereby had to catalogue and store, Lavalin's entire art collection

⁵Martorella, Corporate Art, 163.

⁶Gallery Elca London, Montreal, as reported by Mark London in an interview in October 1997.

(numbering some fifteen hundred objects). Because there is an uneven 'museum' quality of the works (as is most often the case with corporate art collections), this was a decidedly mixed blessing. However, to have put it all at once onto the local auction market would have devalued retail prices and hurt the Quebec art community.

Corporate art collecting has had an impact on public perceptions about art, cumulatively touching the lives of millions of people in office spaces who otherwise would not see 'art' at all. Because corporations lend or donate art, it may also reach those who venture into a museum. This thesis looks at some of the effects of this exposure in the corporate setting, as reported by employees.

Corporate art activities continued into the late '90s, although with diminished financial intensity and fewer companies collecting, due to adjustments of economic priorities in a deficit-conscious decade. Nevertheless, there continues to be sufficient activity to justify the need to study the phenomenon more carefully.

As noted above, in 1990 Roseanne Martorella published a general survey of 234 American corporations whose acquisitions exceeded 2,500 or who had a curator. She looked at corporate structures (size, location, product) as they relate to the style and content of the art media collected; the use and meaning of corporate art; the role of the gatekeepers (professional advisors and CEOs);

and marketplace activity.⁷ One of her conclusions was that it is difficult to generalize about corporate art. She concluded that much more work needs to be done and that sociology would benefit from intensive sociological case studies within a select group of corporations.⁸ Martorella also suggested that art history would necessarily be linked in this endeavour. As neither sociologist nor art historian has, since her publication, addressed this subject, I have decided to respond to Martorella's challenge, using my art history background and my field experience as a corporate art curator over a period of eighteen years. This thesis is the result.

The scant attention paid by art history academe to corporate art collecting must be due to the fact that corporate collections are private and documents scarce and difficult to access. However, because of my involvement as Alcan's curator, I am not hampered by these particular obstacles.

Perhaps this lack of attention also reflects the view that the goals of business and of art are seen to be at cross purposes, a political vision radically expressed by artist Hans Haacke.⁹ This thesis also examines these issues.

⁷ Martorella, Corporate Art.

⁸Martorella, *Corporate Art*, 188.

⁹Most notably for my purpose, in *Voici Alcan*, 1983, but he also has criticized Mobil in *MetroMobilitan*, 1985; Exxon in *On Social Grease*, 1975; and Cartier in *Les Must de Rembrandt*, 1986 (and others). These artworks have been commented upon by art critics. The artist himself has written about his views, in particular in a dialogue with Pierre Bourdieu, *Free Exchange* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), but also in other texts.

Yet again, the lack of interest in corporate collecting may well reflect those currents of the contemporary art world that are dominated by the needs and interests of an intellectual elite, whose increasing intellectualization of art both distances and distinguishes them from the grass-roots segments of the art community. This phenomenon is clearly evidenced by the volume of contemporary critical art writing that is obscurantist and often impenetrable. This type of writing, although at its best creative, and within its own parameters insightful, does not and can never define the infinitely more pragmatic world of corporate art collecting.

The time has come, however, to posit a wider discussion of contemporary art practices. Art has many roles and facets - some with greater relevance to the broader public than to the intellectual elite - and it is on this aspect of the public's involvement with the visual arts that this thesis focuses. Corporate art collecting provides us with important, interesting and varied examples of popular involvement with the visual arts.

In the seventeenth century, Baroque artists and the Catholic Church understood the communicative power of art. They attempted to convey the ideology of their religious programme through masters such as Rubens. They aimed to convince both the intelligensia and the populace of the validity of the Catholic faith. But the use of art to promulgate a credo is not restricted to Baroque times. The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries are witnessing a global evolution of the social world within which one predominant

credo is business, with all of its attendant values. Not surprisingly, business, too, is using art to communicate and promote its own purposes and visions. This thesis explores the corporate art-collecting activities of Alcan Aluminium Ltd., comparing it in particular to three other Montreal-based companies: Loto-Québec, Banque Nationale du Canada and the law firm, Martineau Walker. It demonstrates how the art they collect communicates and promotes the varied community roles, visions and self-interests of these companies and thus forges an individual art identity.

Gone are the days when any art-type institution can ignore the call of the practical and popular. Bluntly speaking, the art world (whether it be museums, university art departments or the art press) needs money from many sources from governments, corporations and the members of the general public - all of which require constant encouragement to value art.

How does one achieve this? Certainly the direct experience of art is a significant tool. Daily exposure to art can provoke a multitude of satisfactions: visual excitement, flights of imagination, sensual pleasures and intellectual rewards. It can enhance our mental health by creating an extended identity and structuring the significant rituals of our lives. And it is in these areas of direct humanistic enrichment - to be distinguished from monetary contributions to art organizations - that corporations also have a significant role to play by

introducing into the workplace actual art objects and the animation programmes that often accompany them.¹⁰

Does it matter that the art of a corporate collection is not all of 'museum' quality? Not really. The museum has the socially endorsed mandate to choose and save for posterity the 'best' works of art produced by society. If we can agree that the production of art has a positive value, then what matters to both corporations and museums is that there be a range of 'good' art created. In the capitalist economy of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, this means having artists, agents and consumers in sufficient numbers to support a viable art community. Corporations contribute substantially to this domain by providing money and by hiring art expertise to guide the formation of art collections and by supporting consequent art-related activities.

No one knows exactly what art will stand the test of time. Museum curators and critical art writers, interacting with the market place, significantly contribute to this process in their struggle to determine the specific nature of dominant symbolic capital. Generally speaking, corporations do not. Nor do they wish to be held accountable for introducing or supporting the innovations of the avant-garde. The basic function of corporations is business, not art.

¹⁰And, in fact, professional experience shows that once art is introduced into the employees' working environment, it is impossible to remove it without a spontaneous negative effect.

They do, however, have a role to play in providing a fertile playing field and may, without any direct intention, influence that outcome.¹¹

Nor does it matter that corporations do not devote themselves in a 'purist' manner to the arts or that they use art while engaging in other 'nefarious' activities (as Haacke would have it). 12 One could say the same for the Catholic Church in the seventeenth century. Corporations do what they do for their own larger gain. They forge their own identity, one that both highlights and masks different aspects of their profit-seeking activities. However, this Janus-like face does not preclude a net gain for the art community, for the corporation and for its employees.

Does not the 'art world' also have many faces? Bourdieu brilliantly dissects the illusion - the myth - of economic disinterest that supports the 'pure' values of the artistic field. ¹³ This world is also interested in money and power -

¹¹There are some aggressive exceptions which are generally short-lived. For instance, in 1983, First Bank, Minneapolis, launched an innovative acquisition programme for contemporary, difficult, conceptual and/or controversial art works. The curator, Lynne Sowder, stated in 1986 that there was not one landscape painting in the entire collection. (*Corporate ARTnews*, June 1986, 3). Although Sowder reported that an internal survey had indicated that nearly 70 percent of the employees disliked the art, many in the art community applauded this daring approach, so rare in the corporate world. However, a change in corporate management after 1990 resulted in the dismantling of the collection.

¹²In *Voici Alcan*, 1983, Haacke accuses Alcan of encouraging the South African apartheid regime that resulted in the death of Stephen Biko, while at the same time supporting the Montreal opera company's production of *Lucia di Lammermoor*.

¹³Pierre Bourdieu, "La production de la croyance: contribution à une économie des biens symboliques," (Paris: *Actes de la recherche en sciences*

art persons need to live, are ambitious, wish to succeed and/or dominate within their own fields of endeavour - although the articulated ideology rarely reflects these facts openly. Whatever the definition of 'pure' in art may be, it is certain that moralistic standards have never been relevant to the inclusion of art collectors in the historical record.

The unique advantage that I offer to the history of corporate art collecting is my practical experience within the corporate art world: curator for Alcan Aluminium Ltd., vice-president of the Corporate Art Collectors Association (Montreal), member of NACAM (National Association of Corporate Art Managers, U.S.A. and Canada) and of CACG (Corporate Art Collectors Group in Toronto). It is undeniable that this position, in which one is an insider, is fraught with blindspots and biases - as has been well analysed by Pierre Bourdieu in *Homo Academicus*. ¹⁴ However, the benefits of eighteen years of practical experience in the field, and the potential of an academic analysis based on theories in both the history and sociology of art, combined with serious self-reflection, surely outweigh the disadvantages. The greater error would be not to try. The process will, at the very least, contribute rational analysis of and conclusions about obervations made in the field. It will be for

sociales), No. 13, février 1977, 3-43.

¹⁴Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo academicus* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1984; translation - Peter Collier, Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1988).

other readers to judge the outcome and reinterpret the material in light of the clearly stated biases.

This thesis examines how Alcan Aluminium Ltd. builds, uses and forges an identity with an art collection in ways that interlink the dynamics of its history, corporate goals, management and funding policies, curatorial involvement and employee satisfaction. These aspects are also studied, for the purposes of comparison and elucidation, as they pertain to Loto-Québec, Banque Nationale du Canada and Martineau Walker, all Montreal-based companies chosen because of their differences to each other and to Alcan. They range widely in size and business interests. Alcan is a major Canadian multinational company deriving profits in over twenty countries worldwide from a trade in basic metals. Its employees number in the many tens of thousands. Martineau Walker is an international law firm of much smaller scope worldwide, numbering employees in the many hundreds. The Banque Nationale du Canada is the nation's sixth-largest chartered bank, a conservative multinational institution that focuses on Quebec cultural interests. Loto-Québec is a strictly local, government-owned corporation profiting from gambling activities. All of them have been actively collecting art in Montreal for at least twenty years, which is a measure of their commitment and provides a sufficient time span in which to develop and project an art persona. 15

¹⁵Corporate art collecting often has a precarious life span due to mergers, fluctuating management policy or financial difficulties.

The methods employed are, by necessity, a creative hybrid of practical knowledge, intuition, and research - predominantly in the areas of art history and sociology. The intent is to be both descriptive and analytical. Finally, it is most important to acknowledge from the outset that the author is unabashedly in favour of corporate art collecting, with all its many warts, and wishes others to share this enthusiasm.

METHODOLOGY

Art history theses traditionally depend on a thorough perusal of relevant texts and supporting archival documents. However, with respect to this project, it quickly became apparent that other than academic theses mainly (not exclusively) at the Masters level, ¹⁶ there is only one academic book-length study on corporate art collecting, this by the sociologist Roseanne Martorella. As previously stated in the preface, her book analyses the results of a survey of

¹⁶Julie Beth Korman, "Corporate Art Collecting in Canada" (M.A. thesis, Art History, Concordia University, 1985).

Diane Lewis, "Les collections d'entreprises ou l'art de 9 à 5" (M.A. thesis, département d'histoire de l'art, Université de Montréal, 1987).

Véronique Tomaszewski, "L'art et l'entreprise au Québec. Un phénomène culturel? De quelques élements discursifs d'une 'structure of feeling' québecoise sur des productions artistiques." (M.A. en sociologie, Université de Montréal, 1993).

Jacque Blouin, "La collection d'oeuvres d'art d'entreprise : un outil de communication au profit de l'image corporative : une étude de cas: Alcan Aluminium Ltée"; Mémoire de maitrise, Études des arts, Université de Québec à Montréal, 1992. (This thesis is a general political, economic and cultural history of Alcan and not a specific study of the art collection. Given the above, what is significant is the fact that the art collection was seen by Blouin as sufficiently symbolic of the company identity to be used as the main part of the title.)

Judith A. Barter, "The New Medici: The Rise of Corporate Collecting and Uses of Contemporary Art, 1925-1970" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mass., 1991).

Korman and Lewis have written useful historical documents describing many of the corporate collections in Canada (nineteenth and twentieth centuries) and Québec respectively. Barter provides sociological insights into the reasons that U.S. corporations began collecting 'modern art' after 1925.

234 U.S. corporations whose acquisitions exceeded 2,500 or who had a full-time curator. Her analysis relates corporate structure, size, location, products and image to what is collected. She confirms the influence of economic conditions and the continuing growth of the companies (in particular, growth necessitating the move to new premises) as important factors in collecting. She acknowledges the difficulty involved in generalizing about corporate art collecting and the need for intensive case studies. While her work provides a pertinent and essential analysis touching on all the significant issues, it does not go into depth in any one case and, as a result, does not project a specific art persona-identity for any one company.

There are few other, if any, analytical academic commentaries. What does exist as published material on the subject is mostly in the form of articles in non-scholarly magazines such as *ARTnews*, *Art in America* or *Vie des Arts* (Montréal), which are heavily dependent on advertising.¹⁹

¹⁷Martorella, Corporate Art.

¹⁸For instance, 90 percent of the companies surveyed prefer contemporary art - either international or regional American. The larger firms (over 15,000 employees) were more likely to collect nationally recognized American artists or those of the European avant-garde. Other than in the Northeast, most companies were significant purchasers of regional art, with a substantial number of these collections rivalling those of local museums. Martorella, *Corporate Art*, 65.

¹⁹In May-June, 1984, *ARTnews* began publishing an eight-page newsletter on corporate art activities in the U.S.A. which included some international references.

Very much pro-business and the arts, Marjory Jacobson researched and photographed some forty of the "most aesthetically accomplished corporate programmes" undertaken by corporations in the U.S.A., Europe and Japan. Her survey includes established collections, special exhibitions, corporate museums and joint ventures for public spaces, and the result is a handsome coffee-table book extolling those initiatives. Writing in the very early nineties, Jacobson projects a feeling of euphoria, predicting that corporations would henceforth seek a "revolutionary model for the partnership of art and business." This has not happened.

In Canada, a glossy, colorful, hard-cover catalogue, *Hidden Values*, was published in connection with a video documentary to accompany an exhibition of corporate art works in museums across Canada in 1994-95.²¹ This exhibition was certified by an introduction by Robert Fulford, former art critic for the *Toronto Star* and contributor to the *Globe and Mail* and *National Post* on art and other cultural issues.²² In his brief introductory essay, Fulford confirms that corporate collecting has been largely overlooked by the public, art critics

²⁰Marjory Jacobson, *Art for Work: The New Renaissance in Corporate Collecting* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1993) 8-9.

²¹Musée d'art contemporain, Montréal (Lavalin collection); the McMichael Canadian Art Collection; the Edmonton Art Gallery; and the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.

²²Joan Murray states: "Fulford's ability to think critically about art was fuelled by an ambitious vision equalled by few art historians." *Confessions of a Curator* (Toronto & Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1996) 197.

and cultural historians.²³ The main text in this catalogue is a descriptive historical survey of Canadian corporate collecting by Robert Swain, former director of the Agnes Etherington Art Center in Kingston, Ontario. The project was underwritten by Trimark Mutual Funds and, in the end, represents barely veiled advertising for all the corporations concerned.

The most serious critical attempt to come to terms with the field of corporate involvement in the arts (which is not confined to collecting) is from the visual artist Hans Haacke (and by implication those who review his works). Haacke also writes about his work and ideas.²⁴ He uses his art and the art interests of selected corporations as political tools, attacking in particular issues of hidden censorship and companies whose business endeavours prop up corrupt regimes.²⁵ While Haacke's approach in both the written word and sculptural form can hardly be considered balanced commentary, it raises significant issues and hopes to generate a serious response.²⁶

²³Robert Swain, *Hidden Values: Contemporary Art in Corporate Collections* (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1994) 1.

²⁴See Hans Haacke, "In The Vice," *Art Journal* 50, fall 1991, 49-55; based on a paper Haacke prepared for the College Art Association Panel, 1990, "The Thought Police are Out There."

²⁵E.g. *Helmsboro Country*, 1990; *Les Must de Rembrandt*, 1986 (Cartier); *MetroMobilitan*, 1985 (Mobil); *Voici Alcan*, 1983; *On Social Grease*, 1975.

²⁶One of the most interesting articulations of his thoughts is in *Free Exchange* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), a dialogue with Pierre Bourdieu. This can be considered a serious response on the part of academe, but Haacke personally told me in the early nineties that he had yet to be invited to talk to any member of any of the corporations he has criticized.

Because of the dearth of other serious scholarship on corporate art collecting and the divergent character of the above-mentioned resources, the research for this thesis necessitated a more intuitive approach. The method that emerges is a combination of:

- a. current theories from the sociology of art.
- b. traditional, historically descriptive formats and documentary analysis employed by art historians.
- c. sociological-type methods.

Of most crucial importance is "direct research." This involves:

- 1. collaboration between the art curators of the companies involved and myself.
- 2. knowledge gained from my membership in three professional associations of corporate art managers.
- 3. unlimited access to relevant materials at Alcan.

This activity, in the form of written documents, personal interviews and phone calls, has yielded much relevant information.

The amount of written material pertaining to corporate art collecting within the four companies is limited. Corporate art collecting endeavours (with the possible exception of initial planning and/or legal documents) are not, for the most part, recorded. Agreements are usually reached informally in small meetings with management and evolve over time. They are affected by changes in management, funding, employee reaction and new developments in the art world. Because corporate art collecting is a 'fringe' activity within any

particular company, detailed notes and minutes are not always taken down, let alone kept indefinitely.

Company personnel involved with the art programmes, other than the curators (who are, in Canada, more usually on contract and not full-time employees) come and go over the years and with them many of their files. This means that much of the written material is no longer available and, when existent, is impossible to access without some preliminary knowledge as to what is required and who was responsible at the time.²⁷ Also necessary is special permission from the company, which is the case at Alcan and is enjoyed by this author.

What does exist in written form are the inventories of the art collected. These generally include the names of the artists, the dates of the works and the medium. They can also record technical details such as size, location, price, place of purchase, biography of the artist, state of conservation as well as other comments - facts that are not necessarily publicized, although they are not secret. Very often there are also general written statements, in the form of publicity brochures prepared by the public relations departments to explain both why the company has chosen to collect art and what it collects. Occasionally, too, catalogues or brochures are produced for public exhibitions featuring part

²⁷For instance, over a period of seventeen years at Alcan, I have worked not only with six different chairpersons of the art committee largely representing management (five of whom are no longer there), but also a greater number of secretaries who worked for them. For the past seven years, there has been no art committee.

of a company's collection. Also generally available for perusal are any laudatory or descriptive magazine and newspaper articles accumulated by the art director, although an analysis of these last items indicates that they are not particularly expansive nor necessarily reliable as sources of information. Still, they do provide back-up support and some details describing past activities.

An important tool for this project's research has been personal interviews with the other art curators. These people have, for the most part, overseen the conceptualization, administration and continuity of the art programme for their respective companies for at least ten years and have the best grasp of all aspects of their art collections and related activities.

Such personal interviews have a major disadvantage, however, in that the information given is sometimes imperfectly remembered by the persons whose job it is, in part, to promote the company through the art collection. This compromises the ideal of objectivity from the outset. However, while human memory is fallible and biased, written documents are also subject to varied interpretations for the same reasons. My great advantage remains my access to the 'inside story.'

At Alcan, I undertook extensive oral interviews of forty employees from all salary echelons and widely differing job descriptions in order to determine their subjective reactions to the art collection. This work required and received unequivocal support from management and other staff. The results were first presented by me at McGill University within the context of a graduate seminar

in sociology given by Dr. Roger Krohn in 1996.²⁸ The same questions were asked of ten employees of Martineau Walker and of seventeen at BNC by their respective curators, the numbers being more limited because of the time and logistical complications involved for the other curators and their desire to do it themselves. A complete discussion of the methodology and results informs Chapter 3.

With regard to the intellectual structure of the thesis, I have particularly drawn on the work of five scholars whose theories and observations provide the greatest insights when applied to the subject of corporate art collecting.

- 1) Susan Pearce is the editor of the recent *The Collecting Cultures Series*.

 She is an advocate for the role of collecting in general, and most particularly for the preservation and presentation of objects as the focal part of museum activity.²⁹
- 2) Russell Belk has extensively studied collectors and their behaviour in the modern American consumer society.³⁰

²⁸J. Meade, "The Effects of a Corporate Art Collection on Employees, as Reported by the Employees of Alcan Aluminium Limited," presented April 18, 1996.

²⁹Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Great Britain: Leicester University Press, 1992 & United States: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993); *Collecting in Contemporary Practice* (London: Sage Publications, 1998); as editor, *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World* (London, Washington: Leicester University Press, 1997).

³⁰Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1995). Useful essays on the subject are found in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994).

- 3) Pierre Bourdieu has analysed the dynamics of the system of beliefs that fuel the art world. He has elucidated many ideas that are useful in understanding the dynamics of the art field the interrelationships of people, aesthetic issues and money.³¹
- 4) Howard Becker has devised broad categories for ordering our understanding of different operational networks in the art world, and these from an inherently pragmatic point of view.³²
- 5) The role of mediators as significant influences in the art world has been articulated particularly by Raymonde Moulin, but Antoine Hennion has also written on this topic.³³

Authors from other fields have shaped my thinking on the ways we perceive and assimilate the visual arts, thinking that has been applied to the research in various ways. For instance, the linguist George Lakoff developed

³¹Of particular use for this project are Pierre Bourdieu (translated by Richard Nice) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (United States: President and Fellows of Harvard College and Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1984) originally published in 1979 by Les Editions de Minuit, Paris; Pierre Bourdieu (translated by Richard Nice), *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity Press and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), originally published in 1980 by Les Editions de Minuit, Paris as *Le sens pratique*; and Pierre Bourdieu, "La production de la croyance: contribution à une économie des biens symboliques" in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, No. 13, fév. 1977, 3-43.

³²Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982).

³³Raymonde Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992). Antoine Hennion "La sociologie de l'art est une sociologie du mediateur," in *L'art de la recherche: essais en l'honneur de Raymonde Moulin* (Paris: La documentation française, 1994) 171-188.

a brilliant theory showing that language is based on our bodies' early interaction with our biological, physical and social environment.³⁴ He amply demonstrates this by elaborating on the pervasive physically related metaphors on which we rely to describe our abstract worlds.³⁵ His theories can be taken out of the linguistic context and otherwise deployed, contributing to an understanding of our reactions to the visual impact of figurative and abstract art in a corporate setting, which favours, while not negating, a non-intellectual approach. Such a biologically determined approach to the creation and understanding of art is just beginning to be seriously broached by such authors as Edward O. Wilson, a Pulitzer Prize-winning biologist from Harvard.³⁶

The psychoanalytical approach to collecting is here represented by Werner Muensterberger in *Collecting: An Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives*.³⁷

Jean Baudrillard provided me with significant insights into the symbolic meaning of objects as they relate to the idea of mortality.³⁸

³⁴George Lakoff, Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

³⁵George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

³⁶Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999) copyright 1998.

³⁷Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

³⁸Jean Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death* (London: Sage Publications, 1993), originally published as *L'échange symbolique et la mort* (Editions Gallimard, 1976).

Hans Robert Jauss has analyzed the nature of our aesthetic response experience in terms of poiesis-production, aesthesis-reception and catharsis-communication - categorizations that shed light on employee reactions to corporate art similar to those noted in my research.³⁹

A glance at the bibliography will show that there are significant others who have guided my research, particularly in art history. Of foremost importance is Joseph Alsop, who put fine art collecting into an historical perspective that provided a stable framework for my discussion.⁴⁰ Evelyn Welch and and Michael Baxandall shed much light on the social uses of art in the Italian Renaissance while Svetlana Alpers does the same for the Dutch Baroque.⁴¹ Beverly Whitney Kean outlines the existence and critical importance of Russian merchant patrons of the arts.⁴²

³⁹Hans Robert Jauss (translation from the German by Michael Shaw), *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

⁴⁰Joseph Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared* (Great Britain: Thames and Hudson, 1982).

⁴¹Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500* (Oxford History of Art. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

⁴²Beverly Whitney Kean, *All the Empty Palaces: The Merchant Patrons of Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1983).

The sociologist Jack Goody indirectly led me into thinking of corporate art as communicative pictograms similar to the images on the walls of ancient caves.⁴³ The work of Bruno Latour underscores the importance of visualization in learning and its role in communication.⁴⁴

The intuitive and personalized methodological approach guiding this thesis is encouraged and justified in part by John Van Maanen in his survey *Qualitative Methodology*, which synthesizes the research methods of the contributors to his book as follows:

. . . qualitative methods represent a mixture of the rational, serendipitous and intuitive in which the personal experiences of the organizational researcher are often key events to be understood and analysed as data. . . . that such contextual understandings and empathetic objectives are unlikely to be achieved without direct, first hand, and more or less intimate knowledge of a research setting is a most practical assumption that underlies and guides most qualitative study.⁴⁵

The point must be made that the analysis of the direct research was based on description and induction and not prescription and deduction. Henry Mintzberg, an organizational theorist from McGill University, argues that this approach allows us to do away with the fallacies of accepted 'wisdom.' If nothing has to be proved from the outset, the study does not have to be

⁴³Jack Goody, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁴⁴Bruno Latour, "Visualization and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands" in H. Kuklick, ed., *Knowledge and Society; Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present* (Greenwich, Ct.: JAI Press, 1986) V. 6, 1-40.

⁴⁵John Van Maanen, ed., *Qualitative Methodology* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983) 10.

slanted to prove it, and a more accurate picture can possibly emerge. Mintzberg argues for a "simple - in a sense inelegant - methodology" (which, at points, this thesis surely employs) as a way of discovering underlying motivations and practices and not meaningless statistics or patterns. He is against rigidity in thinking and methods. Mintzberg extols the use of induction as follows:

. . . while deduction certainly is a part of science, it is the less interesting, less challenging part. It is discovery that attracts me to this business, not the checking out of what we think we already know. It is exploratory in the best sense of the word and involves some creative leaps to come to some interesting conclusions.⁴⁷

Such a spirit motivated me not only to conduct direct research with employees and colleagues but also to discover how contemporary theories from the sociology of art and art history might be applied to the world of corporate art collecting.

The principal focus of this dissertation is Alcan Aluminium Ltd., but for the purposes of comparison and elucidation, the art collections of Martineau Walker, BNC and Loto-Québec are liberally discussed. Hopefully, the results of

⁴⁶Henry Mintzberg, "An Emerging Strategy of Direct Research," in John Van Maanen, ed., *Qualitative Methodology*, 107. Mintzberg, a professor of management at McGill, has recently published *Strategy Safari: a Guided Tour Through the Wilds of Strategic Management*, (New York: Free Press, 1998), in which he tries to break down the boundaries between the various approaches to strategic management to get managers thinking outside the box. In some ways this thesis is philosophically related to this approach.

⁴⁷Mintzberg, "An Emerging Strategy of Direct Research," 1C8.

this methodology clarify and elucidate the concept of a corporate art identity - what it is, how it evolves and how it is used.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Lest it seem that corporate art collecting is a relatively modern phenomenon, it must be stressed that, historically, since the Renaissance within the western European tradition, businessmen have supported the arts in diverse ways, including the accumulation of art work as collections. Burckhardt's⁴⁸ nineteenth-century position - an historical bench mark accepted now only with reservations, but nonetheless not inaccurate⁴⁹ - is that the rise of individualism, the conscious awareness of oneself which made possible a more specifically objective view of man's relationship to state, church and family, began in Renaissance Italy. If one also adheres to the predominant twentieth-century view that a fundamental cause for the development of this spirit of individualism grew out of the practice of economic enterprise by prominent merchants, bankers, and other businessmen encouraged by the precocious

⁴⁸Jakob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (United States: Harper & Row, 1958).

⁴⁹Evelyn Welch criticizes both Vasari (sixteenth century) and Burckhardt, who provided the principal historical models on which much subsequent commentary on the Renaissance was based, not as being inaccurate but as being incomplete, ignoring Italy's complexity and diversity. E. Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500*, Oxford History of Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 11.

evolution of 'capitalistic' institutions in medieval Italy,⁵⁰ two thoughts follow. The first, simply put, is that the Renaissance explosion in the humanities - man's interest in himself, his cultural history and his natural environment - must itself be linked to the development of this entrepreneurial spirit. The second is that individual businessmen, from the beginning of their emergence as a self-conscious class within western European society, felt the desire to associate themselves with the arts as a way of celebrating this new-found awareness and identity.

Nor are these new concepts. As early as 1938, business historian Miriam Beard noted the growing importance of businessmen involved with the arts during the Renaissance:

The role of the business man in the cultural movement of the Renaissance went beyond that of patron and sympathetic promoter. He was more than a passive nucleus, a merely benevolent giver. A number of business men engaged directly in humanistic pursuits.⁵¹

As individual merchants and their extended families (particularly in the major guilds of cloth and wool and in the banking business)⁵² gained more

⁵⁰Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus, "Introduction" to Jakob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (United States: Harper & Row, 1958), 11. Support for these views can be found (listed in the notes, p. xviii) in the writings of F. Antal, Hans Baron, E.P. Cheyney, Alfred Doren, Arnold Hauser and many others.

⁵¹Miriam Beard, A History of Business: From the Monopolists to the Organization Man (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1938), Vol. 2, 175.

⁵²Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (1360-1429) owned two wool workshops in Florence, as well as banking interests, and Giovanni Rucellai (mid fifteenth-century) made his fortune with the red dye 'oricello.'

wealth, experience, and influence in all of Europe, even the Church had to compromise. It yielded power to this recently emerging, strong upper middle class. St. Antonio, archbishop of Florence in the time of Cosimo de' Medici, responded to these developments - which had materialized gradually in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries - by systematizing business activity and the practice of usury. This was an attempt to restrain the more exorbitant lending rates and practices but, in so doing, it succeeded in giving such business activity, previously theologically unacceptable, some legitimacy. ⁵³ A new formal balance between two powerful protagonists had thus been struck.

Hibbert writes:

Having acquired riches the merchant must not be chary of spending them. He must have a fine palazzo and a commodious family loggia, a pleasant country villa and a private chapel. . . . He must be generous in his donations to the building of churches and convents not only for the glory of God but also for the honour of his descendants and of Florence.⁵⁴

Such socially distinguishing prerequisites stimulated architectural grandeur, decorative excellence and other visual fine arts, providing both the motivation and the venue for the accumulation of personal collections. Many merchants - e.g., Giovanni Rucellai, Giovanni de' Bardi, Palla Strozzi and Cosimo and Lorenzo de Medici - built palaces and filled them with art, often

⁵³Frederick Antal, *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background* (London: Kegan Paul, 1947) 41.

⁵⁴Christopher Hibbert, *The Rise and Fall of the House of Medici* (London: Penguin Books, 1979) 29.

commissioning artists directly⁵⁵ and thereby influencing both style and themes. Renaissance Italy provided a glorious moment in the development of the fine arts, a time in which rich businessmen and their guild associates, as well as princes and popes, played key roles.

Business and the arts were significantly linked in the Netherlands in the mid seventeenth century, a period of cultural efflorescence dominated by merchant wealth and political control, but the tone of the relationship was radically different. At this time, for the most part, the relatively more restrained Dutch businessman eschewed grandiose display and religious fervour in favour of moderation and tolerance. In Holland (the richest and most populated of the United Provinces), the spirit generated by this prosperity found its greatest manifestation in the production of paintings. Merchants often chose to represent themselves largely without artifice, in group or individual portraits, and to decorate their homes with still-life, genre, and landscape paintings with a comprehensive realism.⁵⁶ In fact, it is recorded that all strata of the

⁵⁵The free art market, as it existed in Italy, was mostly comprised of devotional objects. In particular, in Florence, standardized paintings of the Virgin Mary, the Crucifixion and St. John the Baptist began to be made and sold in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the 1370s and 1380s, Francesco Datini regularly exported these paintings to Avignon. However, commissions remained the dominant impetus for art production.

Michael North, "Art and Commerce in the Dutch Republic" in K. Davids and J.

Michael North, "Art and Commerce in the Dutch Republic" in K. Davids and J. Lucassen, eds., *Miracle Mirrored* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 295-296.

⁵⁶One of Rembrandt's greatest group portraits is *The Syndics of the Cloth Drapers' Guild* in Amsterdam, 1661-61. This portrait is a model of restraint, harmony and balance.

population - including butchers, bakers, blacksmiths and cobblers - loved and bought paintings, often spending, relative to their incomes, significant sums of money.⁵⁷ The seventeenth century witnessed the emergence of an unprecedented anonymous art market,⁵⁸ and it is most interesting to note that it was Rembrandt himself, obviously an astute businessman, who bought the 'one hundred guilder print' at auction, thus setting a benchmark price for his own work.⁵⁹

The nineteenth century saw a significant development of business art patrons in France and England. Consequent upon industrialization and the rise of commerce in England from 1800 to 1850 was a shift in patrons from the aristocracy⁶⁰ (who dominated collecting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and who sought out continental talent) to business men. The shift in patrons was accompanied by a change in taste from old masters to

⁵⁷Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive, and E.H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600-1800* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1972), 18-19.

⁵⁸Michael North, "Art and Commerce in the Dutch Republic" 296-297.

⁵⁹Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Alpers also states that a number of Dutch portrait and genre painters and engravers emigrated to England at the end of the seventeenth century when the market there grew rapidly. It then dropped off but remained healthy for much of the eighteenth century.

⁶⁰Ron Harvie, "The Spectre of Buckingham: Art Patronage and Collecting in Early Stuart England" (McGill University, Ph.D dissertation, 1999).

contemporary artists, which approach launched, in the 1830s, a heyday in the patronage of living British artists.⁶¹

French entrepreneurs of the mid nineteenth century - James de Rothschild, Casimir Péreire fils, Achille Seillière, François Delessert, Eugène Schneider, and the brothers Péreire - avidly collected seventeenth-century Dutch paintings as well as those of eighteenth-century France, thereby influencing both contemporary taste and the subsequent artistic production of French landscape artists of their day.⁶²

Less commonly remarked upon is a period from about 1883 to 1917, when a remarkable rush of adrenalin, directed towards both European and Russian art, seized Russian merchants. Bankers, industrialists, railroad magnates, textile manufacturers, and others - Tretyakov, Shchukin, Morosov, Mamontov, Botkin, and Ryabushinsky - many of whom were sons and grandsons of serfs - frenetically capitalized on Western industrialization and became not only entrepreneurs in business, overtaking the state, but also

⁶¹Lyndel Saunders King, *The Industrialization of Taste: Victorian England and the Art Union of London* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985), 24.

⁶²Albert Boime, "Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France," in Edward C. Carter II and others, eds., *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976) 141-160.

entrepreneurs in the arts on a lavish scale. Their activity was for a short time, according to Kean, unparalleled and unequalled anywhere. 63

Since the mid-nineteenth century, however, the lion's share of capitalist art patrons has come from the United States. The list reads from Luman Reed - a wholesale grocer from upstate New York who retired from his business in the 1830s to become an art patron - to later personalities such as J. Pierpont Morgan, H.O.H. Havemeyer, William Randolph Hearst, P.A.B. Widener, and Andrew Mellon. Their collections have since endowed the most important American arts institutions with many European and other classical and ancient masterpieces. ⁶⁴ In fact, as Russell Lynes states clearly:

Patronage of the arts, especially in the collecting sense, was identified in the minds of most Americans with the successful merchant, manufacturer, and financier.⁶⁵

⁶³Two of the most important were Shchukin, a textile emperor who, bucking hostile commentary, assembled the single most important collection of modern art in existence today (now at the Hermitage Museum) and Tretyakov, a self-made, uneducated textile merchant, whose collection forms the basis of the Moscow gallery of Russian art bearing his name. Beverly Whitney Kean, *All the Empty Palaces: The Merchant Patrons of Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1983).

⁶⁴Many of these industrialists looked with an eclectic eye to the European past. John Ringling, for instance, built and adorned his house in Sarasota, Florida, in the Venetian palazzo style; constructed nearby a museum in a Florentine Renaissance palazzo vernacular; adorned its court yard with reproductions of classical statues; and filled the building with European masters, including many important cartoons by Rubens. (Museum brochure)

⁶⁵Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers: The Shaping of American Popular Taste* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), 291.

This relationship of the arts and business was both cemented and expanded in subsidiary ways during the early twentieth century. The modern corporation became involved in direct collaboration with artists, particularly in graphic design and advertising. After the Second World War, the developing economic prosperity brought with it new buildings and consolidated what had been a gradually expanding well-spring of support for contemporary and regional art by increasingly depersonalized major corporations.

This trend was formally acknowledged and advanced at a luncheon at the New York Board of Trade in 1965, for which occasion the theme address bore the title "Is Culture the Business of Business?" It was at this time that the first awards for business support of the arts were conferred on deserving corporations. Here was a conscious awareness that the arts could be a central, rather than a fringe, aspect of a society in which business viewed its role as integral. 66

In 1967, such recognition was further consolidated when David Rockefeller founded the Business Committee for the Arts, which by 1969 comprised one hundred business leaders from across the U.S.A. Its stated goal was to be a non-profit organization committed to arts support, and it encouraged others in the business community to follow suit.

⁶⁶Arnold Gingrich, *Business and the Arts: An Answer to Tomorrow* (New York: Paul S. Eriksson, 1969) 3-4.

In May-June 1984, the activities of corporate art collecting, including the commissioning of art and the sponsoring of corporate galleries and exhibitions, were deemed so significantly important that *ARTnews* began publishing an eight-page newsletter, *Corporate ARTnews*. This move tangibly symbolized the growing importance of business involvement in the art world.⁶⁷ In 1986, this publication, having listed 600 corporations as art collectors, stated:⁶⁸

The great surge in corporate art collecting began in 1960 and there was an 80% increase in the number of corporate art collections during the 1970's, from those begun during the 1960's. From 1980-85 there was a 50% increase in the total number of corporate art collections from those formed during the period from 1970-1980... 60% of the corporate art collections are ongoing (they are being added to). 69

The logistical demands generated by this surge in activity meant that collecting could no longer remain exclusively in the hands of the individual entrepreneur. As Raymonde Moulin so clearly stated, the investment in time

⁶⁷This first edition stated that in 1982 a record \$506 million had been given to the arts by corporations, a figure compiled by the Business Committee for the Arts. This figure is probably low, in that all grants and purchases are not reported. *Corporate ARTnews*, May-June 1984, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1.

⁶⁸27 percent of corporations have commissioned art; 20 percent sponsor an exhibition gallery or area in their corporate facilities for the display of regional artists, their corporate collection or national travelling exhibitions; 16 percent help sponsor museum and travelling exhibitions; 7.5 percent have sponsored art awards or resident artists' programs; 3.5 percent have donated works of art to museums or other non-profit organizations.

⁶⁹Corporate ARTnews letter containing statistics taken from the 1986 edition of the ARTnews Directory of Corporate Art Collections.

can amount, for certain collectors, to a second vocation.70 collectors, artists, galleries and information about art proliferated, and around these activities a group of 'professional' art advisors developed.⁷¹ The arrival on the scene of numbers of these 'intermediaries' or 'mediators' is probably the single biggest change in the nature of corporate collecting. The corporate advisors or art consultants - whose qualifications vary - have become significant within the corporate world. For while the advisors never provide the money for the art and must operate within the general guidelines and budgets provided by company management, such arrangements are most often worked out in collaboration between the company and the advisor and are to a significant degree based on the recommendations of the advisor. Advisors may also influence the outcome of the collecting instinct because they often administer the entire programme - including pre-selecting all the art which requires final approval by a company art committee or management type, or buying it outright. They oversee framing, installation, documentation and any other use to which it may be put. As many collections number in the thousands of objects and are hung thoughout huge premises, the appearance of what is collected can be very much affected by the choices of the art advisor (who may

⁷⁰Raymonde Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992) 219.

⁷¹Welch does point to the existence of scholarly advisors (often household tutors) in the Renaissance. Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500*.

otherwise be called art curator, director, administrator, manager or consultant).⁷²

As a result of the demands of these diverse activities, the National Association for Corporate Art Management was officially formed in 1984.

NACAM is a non-profit association of art-service professionals whose mission is:

- promoting responsible art management;
- maintaining the highest level of technical and ethical practices;
- encouraging the exchange of information among its membership;
- fostering excellence in the art-service professions.⁷³

Two other nationwide associations with similar goals were formed during the decade: the Association of Corporate Art Curators (ACAC) and the Association of Professional Art Advisors.⁷⁴

⁷²There are still impassioned individual entrepreneurs who personally search out and buy the art for their companies, but time constraints indicate that they also must have recourse to professional advisors, e.g., Arnold Steinberg of Cleman, Ludmer, Steinberg Inc. and Bram Garber of Peerless Carpets, Montreal. They assemble smaller, more personalized collections.

⁷³Mission statement as printed in the NACAM Membership Directory, November 1997.

⁷⁴The titles of art curator, manager and director usually refer to similar positions and duties. Most large corporate collectors have at least one person with some degree of on-going, in-house presence, i.e., this person has an office and recourse to support staff within company premises. In Canada, where less money is devoted to this activity than in the U.S.A., such individuals are not usually company employees but technically 'consultants' working part-time on contract. The title of art consultant or advisor often indicates a more varied clientele and a base of operation outside any specific company premises. The establishment of higher standards for this 'profession' continues to be an issue for such organizations as NACAM, which now requires, as a prerequisite for joining, an advanced level of appropriate academic education and/or a significant number of years of 'reputable' professional working experience.

By the end of the 1980s, American corporate art collecting, carried on in the name of the modern, often globally oriented corporation, appeared to have become formally ensconced in corporate life.

Canada's corporate collecting history has taken its principal cues from the United States but has maintained its own character. From its tentative beginnings, with the support by the Hudson's Bay Company of Paul Kane's sketching forays into the hinterlands in the 1840s, Canada has witnessed a less intense (because of smaller fortunes than U.S. industrialists) but nevertheless sustained and gradual evolution of corporate interest in the Canadian arts.

The late nineteenth century was dominated by the substantial excitement generated by William Van Horne of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s. He offered artists free railway passes; where possible, food and accommodation; railway cars in which to work; and additional promises of purchases and financing for future exhibitions. All these benefits were in return for the possible promotional use by the CPR of Canadian landscape paintings, particularly those of the West. No wonder, as Korman notes, "a record of Dominion artists directly or indirectly involved with the CPR reads like a near-complete list of 'who's who' in late nineteenth-century Canadian painting."

For a brief time, the Montreal art world, between 1880 and 1920, benefitted from its exposure to the personal European collecting tastes of a number of important industrial patrons - Van Horne, Angus, Drummond, Ross

⁷⁵Julie Beth Korman, "Corporate Art Collecting in Canada" 46.

and Strathcona - many of whose fortunes were linked, in one way or another, to the CPR railway, and who gave the city an international collecting cachet.⁷⁶

Of particular significance in Canadian corporate art history has been the creation of noteworthy Bank architecture, 77 with concurrent major commissions, particularly in sculpture and the decorative arts (e.g., Bank of Montreal, 1846; Royal Bank in Montreal, 1926; the Bank of Nova Scotia in Halifax, 1929; the Toronto-Dominion Centre in Toronto after 1955), all of which institutions have since established significant art collections, extant today.

Before the Second World War, corporate involvement with the arts was generally directly geared to its promotional use (rather than art collecting for art's sake, although this is usually a question of degree), but exceptions exist. One of the most notable of these is Canada Steamship Lines. W.H. Coverdale, president in the late '20s, began assembling a collection of historical art for the Manoir Richelieu Hotel: paintings, watercolours, drawings, engravings, lithographs and maps that portray a history of Canadian life. This collection, assembled during the '20s, '30s and '40s, eventually numbered over 2,750 items. The art from the Manoir was sold to the federal government in 1970, while some 200 pieces became part of the stellar Power Corporation Collection

⁷⁶Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920*, 16. See Preface, 2.

⁷⁷Susan Wagg, *Money Matters: A Critical Look at Bank Architecture* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1990).

in Montreal due to the fact that Canada Steamships became a subsidiary of Power Corporation.⁷⁸

In a slightly different vein, towards the middle of the century, there was a trend towards creating murals on corporate premises to represent Canadian industry.⁷⁹

By 1974, corporate interest in the arts was such that Canada followed the example of the U.S.A. with the establishment of the Council for the Business and the Arts in Canada (CBAC). Arnold Edinborough was founding president. Although committed (along with the Canada Council founded in 1957), to sustaining the nation's creative minds, CBAC is not a grant-giving nor a fund-raising organization. It is a motivator, conferring awards and providing relevant statistics and advice to its members, who numbered 125 by 1989. Unfortunately, by 1992, the activities of the Council had been substantially cut back because of lack of funding.

In 1979, 40 percent of CBAC member corporations collected art. The CBAC published a report that year to further promote this enthusiastic activity.

⁷⁸Korman, 48-51.

⁷⁹In 1948, Franklin Arbuckle, André Biéler, A.J. Casson, Charles Comfort and Lawren Harris were commissioned to "produce images of the pulp and paper industry"; André Biéler worked, in 1945, for the Aluminum Company of Canada; William Perehudoff, in 1950, for Intercontinental Meat Packers (Saskatoon); Robert Pilot, in 1949, for the Shawinigan Water & Power Company; Adam Sheriff Scott painted for the CPR, Hudson's Bay Company (Winnipeg), Canada Steamship Lines, Royal York Hotel (Toronto) and others; Oscar Cahèn and York Wilson, in 1957, for Imperial Oil (Toronto). Robert Swain, *Hidden Values*, 1994, 20-21.

⁸⁰D.E. Chong, "Business and the (Visual) Arts in Collaboration" (Research Paper, Master of Business Administration, McGill U., 1990) 6.

The 1970s witnessed a 150 percent increase over the 1960s in the number of collections initiated, a statistic that reflects the accelerated pace at which Canadian business was becoming interested in the visual arts.⁸¹

The situation appeared to be so encouraging that a group called the Corporate Art Collectors Group (CACG) was initiated in 1979 in Toronto by Pat James, curator of the Toronto Dominion Bank collection and Linda Beatty of the Royal Bank. The general aims were to learn about each other's collections, to provide encouragement and to share information and support. This is an important function since most art professionals - other than those in the largest U.S. corporations - function alone in their particular corporate environment, except for support staff to whom they may have access.

The number of CACG members provides a relatively good idea of the extent of corporate art collecting in Toronto, site of the most intense activity since the seventies.⁸³ The official membership of CACG, predominantly but not

⁸¹The CBAC report was based on a survey sent to 235 non-member corporations, as well as to the 95 CBAC members. The majority of these 330 companies were in the Financial Post's top 300 corporations in Canada. The response rate was 63 percent. Of those replying, 36 percent reported an interest in art collecting - that is, almost one quarter of the total number of companies surveyed.

⁸²Pat James describes this group as an outgrowth of a male lunch networking group that met to discuss the art market on a regular basis in 1973-74. She and Linda Beatty started the CACG partly as a way to get away from the 'guy's club' idea, to broaden objectives and become more organizationally inclusive. Interestingly, this professional group was formed five years before NACAM in the U.S.A. (Telephone interview, Pat James, Dec. 8, 1997).

⁸³In particular there were a lot of new buildings and empty walls. Interview, Sarah Ihley, former chair of the CACG and current president of the CBAC, October 24, 1997. Another impetus was provided by a conference entitled *Art as an Investment*, sponsored by the CBAC, given that same year.

exclusively from the Toronto area, numbered 38 at its inception, 49 in 1985-86 and some 59 interested parties (as opposed to paid-up members) in the early nineties. The group met several times a year until 1991 to discuss a broad range of issues; since then it has convened only once. Some of the issues discussed, with the advice of invited experts, were copyright law, how to commission arts and crafts, art as a corporate gift, methods and purposes of collecting and the nature of particular collections relevant to Canadian art collecting, as well as a range of topical speakers visible at any given time within the art scene in Toronto.

Alcan, BNC, Loto-Québec and Martineau Walker are all members of the Montreal Corporate Art Collectors Association, formed in 1990 with a nucleus of 19 members under the leadership of Michel Labrosse, a dedicated individual in the department of public affairs at Loto-Québec. In 1997 this group numbered 23. The art curators of the four corporations participating in this study were all founding members and are currently on its executive committee, which meets at least twice a year.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Alcan was also a member of this group. Information from notes and minutes provided in November 1997 by Ed Phillips, vice-chairman, CACG, and curator of Ernst & Young.

⁸⁵The American professional associations, NACAM and ACAC, joined with CACG for a joint conference in 1987 in Toronto. NACAM's 1997 membership lists six representatives of Canadian corporations (three from Calgary, two from Toronto and one from Montreal - Alcan) out of a total of 95, and remains the most active of the corporate art managers' groups.

⁸⁶There was some excitement around corporate art collecting during the heyday of the late seventies and eighties in major cities in the rest of Canada but, with the exception of Calgary, it was never as intense as in Toronto and Montreal, the only cities which sprouted professional associations. Calgary

The stated objectives of the Montreal Association are similar to other such associations, with the additional goal of promoting art in Quebec:

- to facilitate the exchange of information, ideas, experiences, expertise, systems or services, by establishing and maintaining regular and harmonious relations between members;
- to represent the general interests of its members;
- to promote art in Quebec.87

As is usual with most art activities in a consumer-oriented society, corporate art collecting suffered a downturn in the early to mid-nineties due to a flagging economy. Not unexpectedly, the interest level in corporate art associations also dropped. Although existing collections still needed to be maintained, professional service groups did not have the same pressing need to meet if they did not have the funds with which to launch new incentives or acquire new art.⁸⁸ In any case, the fluctuating memberships and interests of these

benefited from oil revenues, so that in 1999, Shell, Petro-Canada and Nova Corporation still have large collections.

⁸⁷Bylaws, July 1990.

⁸⁸It might also be noted that although NACAM remains professionally active, many of its corporate members are now much more involved in maintenance and promotional activities as opposed to acquisitions. Such is the case with some of the former major buyers: Chase Manhattan Bank - a collection of 18,000 works of contemporary multimedia; Forbes - collections of Fabergé, toy soldiers, boats and fine and decorative arts; and Cigna - collections of nineteenth and twentieth century American art, marine paintings and ship models and eighteenth and nineteenth century fire-fighting artifacts.

associations provide good indicators of the issues affecting corporate art collecting and its general state of health at any given time.⁸⁹

The art world has proliferated at a phenomenal rate and corporations have grown globally and dramatically, providing numerous and/or large spaces that, by their very barrenness, can be, and often demand to be, filled with art. As a result, the art collecting activity that formerly resided almost exclusively in the hands of rich and powerful entrepreneurs, for their exclusive use, now also depends on a range of art service professionals. These individuals help shape the needs and interests of increasingly large and depersonalized corporations. The four Montreal corporations included in this thesis reflect such developments in varying degrees.

POSITIONING CORPORATE ART COLLECTING

There are, no doubt, any number of ways in which we can position modern corporate art collecting. However, two authors in particular have provided an interesting framework for our purposes - Joseph Alsop and Russell W. Belk. The former deals globally with the large historical picture of fine art collecting, while the latter explores the collecting phenomenon in general, as evidenced since the nineteenth century in the West. 90

⁸⁹These associations have been useful sources of information for this thesis.

⁹⁰Joseph Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions*; Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*.

Alsop understands art collecting as a product of the development of rare art traditions, of which there are five in world history. One, into which this thesis fits, is the western European tradition that began in the Renaissance.⁹¹ Fine art collecting, according to Alsop, depends on two main factors:

- a. a developed historical sense that enshrines the names of old masters of art in collective memory: and
- b. an idea of compulsive innovation pushing artists to strive for an evolution in artistic techniques, aesthetics and perception. 92

Alsop does not specifically discuss the modern corporate art - collecting phenomenon. However, in general terms, he provides some prerequisites that can usefully be applied to it, at least in the following two ways.

First, the fact that many corporations spend some of their profits on art can be seen in part as a response to a distantly felt drummer that has, over the centuries, enshrined the names of master artists in our collective memory as cultural icons. Collecting art is a link in an historical chain reinforcing and establishing positive cultural values. Many corporations wish to be seen as conscientious participants in this larger cultural evolution. Such a need becomes even more manifest as modern business succeeds in imposing its own norms onto society, both locally and globally. Nor can business remain culturally immune to the values of those it wishes to assimilate into its ken. It

⁹¹The others are those of ancient Greece, China from 200 B.C., Japan and later Islam. Joseph Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions*.

⁹² Alsop, The Rare Art Traditions.

is a fact that art, throughout the ages, in its many forms and in diverse geographies, has been a significant and continuing representative of such values, a communicative device of unparalleled strength. Corporations, if they are to be successful, must, in the process and to some degree, swallow and digest a spectrum of other cultural values in order to evolve harmoniously within the societies in which they hope to generate profits.

Accordingly, in a large sense, art and business are forced inexorably together because, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the intensity of the globalized communication of values - often effectively realized through some form of art - is to an ever-increasing degree fueled by business endeavours.

Second is the idea of striving for that which is newer and 'better' - compulsive innovation. In the contemporary business world technical production is often geared to anticipated obsolescence and innovation is a key motivating word. Artists, at least since the latter half of the nineteenth century, have also been driven by a need for innovative, theoretical revolutions involving both the philosophy of art and the use of new materials.⁹³ Even artists knowingly produce ephemeral works, of which the genre of performance is one example.

⁹³Realism, impressionism, pointillism, fauvism, cubism, constructivism, abstract expressionism, minimalism, pop, conceptual, installation and performance art, etc.

In enlightened moments, business and the arts are dynamic partners forging alliances for the benefit of both, but, at other times, they are active and occasionally angry competitors in the struggle for the dominance of cultural values.⁹⁴

Belk suggests that collecting in general has become a mass phenomenon.⁹⁵ He shows that the present extent of this behavior is related to the materialism and consumerism that began, for a Western culture with increasing democratization and available funds, in the nineteenth century. The prevalence of corporate art collecting is one facet of this phenomenon.

Belk defines the act of collecting as:

... the process of actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences. 96

Belk differentiates personal collecting from that of institutions, while acknowledging that the same psychological processes can be involved in both.⁹⁷ However, it is in the exploration of the dichotomies of his definitions that we can best specifically locate corporate art collecting.

⁹⁴Haacke's artworks are virulent political attacks on corporate involvement in the arts and, at least in the case of *Voici Alcan*, elicited an angry response from Alcan. See Chapter 2.

⁹⁵One study, reported in 1981, showed that over 60 percent of American households had at least one collection of something. Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, 55.

⁹⁶Belk, Collecting in a Consumer Society, 67.

⁹⁷Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, 102.

Belk states that individuals collect whatever they want - from baseball cards to maps of Transylvania - spend what they want, and put their collections anywhere they want. In other words, the individual collector is almost entirely self-defined within the personal constraints of time, place and money. Motives encompassing prestige, self-esteem, identity enhancement, a sense of creative personal control and even the sublimation of sex drives, with their consequent romantic attachments, are all attributed, in varying degrees, to the collecting drive. The results can be as idiosyncratic as the collectors. Most collecting activities, however, are generally considered to be useful both for the individual and for society, although Belk also points to negative extremes as well as those of a more positive nature. 98

Institutional collectors, on the other hand, for instance in the person of a museum curator, while subject to the expression of these same drives, are obliged to modify or redirect whatever personal passions they may have, in the interests of serving others. They must consult with others both within and outside the hierarchy and, to some degree, justify actions according to a set of pre-determined rationalizations and perceived public benefits often answering to vague but historically pertinent precedents.⁹⁹ The results are affected accordingly.

⁹⁸This behavior can embody dysfunctional or addictive traits and attitudes, e.g., a critical misuse of family funds or heroic self-sacrific; e.g., efforts expended in saving historical artifacts from destruction. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*.

⁹⁹Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*.

How does corporate art collecting fit into the above? Martorella's conclusion that it is hard to generalize about corporate art collecting is nowhere more evident than when we try to fit corporate art collecting neatly into any categorical definition. 100 Unlike Belk, I cannot place corporations neatly into the institutional category. Corporate collecting falls along a wide spectrum, all the way from being a quasi-individual pursuit to one that emulates institutional norms. What eventually distinguishes corporate collecting depends on four basic preliminary factors: a concern for the quality of daily life of the employees; the manner in and degree to which a company chooses to respond to the diverse cultural demands emanating from its societal milieu; the size and certainty of annual budgets allocated to art collecting; and the professionalism of those involved in implementing and administering these activities. When art collecting becomes an activity of choice and is supported in an appropriate manner by the presence of the above factors, the possibilities of forging a corporate identity through art are very favorable indeed. The four companies considered in this present study provide us with a good range of corporate collecting behaviour, from an individually motivated approach to that of an institutional nature.

MARTINEAU WALKER

Martineau Walker's collecting strategy can be very closely allied with that of the individual. Martineau Walker has from the outset entrusted its entire

¹⁰⁰ Martorella, Corporate Art, 188.

collecting mandate to one man, Maurice Forget, lawyer, senior partner and current president, who oversees all aspects of its execution. Forget is both the corporate curator/collector and an impassioned personal collector who, in 1997, divested himself of four hundred works by donating them to the Musée de Joliette. ¹⁰¹ Until 1997, much of Forget's personal collection hung indistinguishably and in almost equal numbers beside the corporate collection in office spaces. In 1989 these two collections were inventoried as one by art historians hired by Forget. ¹⁰²

An identical thematic focus guided both Forget's personal collection and that of the law firm. Forget was not obliged to answer directly to anyone else, either for purchasing or hanging. He indulged his own intellectual tastes, which he assiduously developed. He was also able to purchase many more works for his personal collection because he was able to 'store' them, so to speak, on the walls of the company premises.

There were, however, constraints on his collecting activities. When faced with a 'good' potential purchase, the decision as to whether Forget would buy for the company or for himself would involve considerations of taste, ethics and suitability. When spending the annual corporate art budget, approval for the existence of which came from his partners, he would be tacitly obliged to

¹⁰¹Musée d'art de Joliette, *Temps composés: la donation Maurice Forget*, 1998.

¹⁰²The Martineau Walker Collection, introduction by Joyce Millar and Nancy Skelly, 1989.

consider the tastes of his colleagues and the scale and nature of the art work in relation to the office environment. Forget states that he could not buy with the same 'purity' for the corporation as he would for himself, i.e., as regards purely conceptual art which is considered less 'accessible' by a majority of employees. 103 He did, however, acquire slightly larger works for the corporation than for his own domestic use. Nor could Forget absolutely control the existence of the art budget. For example, the budget for art at Martineau Walker was \$5,000 in 1977 and rose to \$25,000 in 1989. However, for economic reasons, there were no purchases made by Martineau Walker from 1989 through 1995. The budget has since been restored and is renewed annually at \$25,000.

What the future holds for the on-going collecting activities of Martineau Walker after Forget retires is anyone's guess. Although there are corporate limitations imposed on Forget, his is a highly individually motivated endeavour. The result is that the impact of the corporate collection has been substantively due to the impact that Maurice Forget has forged as a private collector. 104

BANQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA

BNC falls at the other end of the spectrum, following more closely the mores of an institutional collector. The person presently in charge of the BNC

¹⁰³Interview, Oct. 10, 1997.

¹⁰⁴ All the information was derived from a personal interview with Forget on Oct. 10, 1997, as well as from many subsequent phone calls and written documentation supplied by him.

art collection is Francine Paul - B.A., political science and M.A., history of art - who had, prior to 1989, worked extensively in Montreal art galleries. She took over in 1989 from Jean-Réné Ostiguy, who had come to the Bank from the position of curator of Canadian art at the National Gallery of Canada. Earlier, the late Pierre W. Desjardins, an art historian, travelled and made acquisitions for the Bank. In the early seventies François-Marc Gagnon, scholar and professor of art history at the Université de Montréal, acted as an advisor regarding a collection of prints for the Banque Provinciale, now part of the BNC.

The Bank, from the moment it took its collecting activities seriously, has had recourse to professionals, whose expertise derives solely from the art world and who were hired for the express purpose of building and directing the BNC collection. Their credentials are similar to those of museum curators. The use of museum-type accredited personnel reinforces the Bank's aim to behave like a 'serious' institutional collector.

The long history of the Bank, the origins of which date to 1874, and its adherence to conservative traditions - gradual evolution and growth with stability - have created an institutional environment that has led successive Bank presidents (even those without any personal interest in art) to endorse the collecting programme and the required budgets in an uninterrupted manner over a twenty-year period. The Bank regularly buys not only contemporary works

¹⁰⁵All information, unless otherwise noted, is taken from an interview with Francine Paul on Nov. 19, 1997, and subsequent phone calls. She also kindly provided all her files for my perusal.

by Quebec artists but, as a separate and distinct policy, those of historical importance, both by living and deceased artists. BNC aims to fill the holes that exist within its own collection of important Québec artists and to develop an indepth representation for each one. In so doing, it emphasizes its own stability and longevity and one of the roles it hopes to play in Québec culture - that of preserving the past and present through art. This self-designated cultural mandate is closer to that of an art museum than to that of an individual. The Bank's policies are expected to continue despite changes to senior management and curatorial personnel, or financial vacillations, thus contributing to making its collection, presently consisting of some 5,000 works, one of the largest and most institutionalized of Canadian corporate collections.

However, the Bank is not an art institution. The BNC curator, Francine Paul, although educated in a manner similar to her museum counterparts, does not function within an art-oriented environment. She periodically curates and mounts shows, but uses only the Bank's works to show the BNC to best advantage. She reports directly to upper management for major purchases, but many executives have not had any previous art education or experience. And in her numerous lesser purchases she must implicitly respond to a practical mandate - that of 'decorating' the many offices and public spaces of Bank employees. This tacit code shifts the balance in the number and type

of contemporary works purchased toward the more 'accessible' - figurative or colorful - and those of appropriate size. 106

Paul commented that while the budget relating to art is secure annually, it comes from several sources: for major purchases, from a special presidential fund; for contemporary or more decorative works, from the construction department; and for her salary, from the public relations department. Paul would not divulge the figures. Diversifying financial sources and keeping the amounts secret are safeguards in the always-precarious world of corporate art collecting - even in the most committed of institutions. Art collecting is always an option and not a necessity in the corporate world.

All things considered, however, the BNC - due to its ongoing financial commitment to collecting, its reliance on traditionally accredited curatorial art expertise and its acquisition policy that includes buying historically important Québec art in depth - operates within a framework much closer to that of an institution than to that of an individual.

LOTO-QUÉBEC

Although the Loto-Québec collection was officially inaugurated in 1985 due to the enthusiasm of the late head of public relations, Michel Labrosse, it is now largely the result of the specific curatorial work of Louis Pelletier, who

¹⁰⁶Sex, violence and other obviously disturbing subject matter are not considered appropriate for viewing during the working day. Sculpture and installation art can take up too much space.

has been present since Loto began acquiring works in 1979. Pelletier is a graphic artist of some accomplishment and not an academically educated curator, who was first introduced to Labrosse to execute an art project for the company.¹⁰⁷ It was Pelletier who was instrumental in influencing Labrosse to begin the permanent collection.¹⁰⁸

Pelletier essentially works alone in his capacity. There is little influence from top management, and although Pelletier must get a signature for single expenditures of \$15,000 or more, purchases of this size are not common occurrences, and Pelletier has learned how to manoeuvre. Loto-Québec is a government corporation, and there is usually a new president named after each Québec election. Because of other priorities in learning about and expanding a company, these presidents do not have time to pursue long-term or personalized art agendas.

Loto-Québec buys art previously approved by committees of interested volunteer employees. While this appears very democratic, in fact, Pelletier preselects all the art and, when faced with the situation of a favored piece not being approved, convenes another committee that will approve it. Pelletier's

¹⁰⁷This was the commission of an edition of eighty prints, each put in a binding with a text entitled "Blanche de Beaumont" - a story of Percé Rock in the Gaspé. The prints were given as corporate gifts. One was kept for the company and is considered the first collected artwork. Louis Pelletier, interview, November 1997.

¹⁰⁸All information is from an interview with Louis Pelletier in November 1997, from subsequent phone calls with him and from documentation produced by Loto Québec.

influence is also individual in that he selects for purchase many works of emerging artists, oft-times not yet accredited in any way by the larger art world. He favours fine works from the graphic media, often buying large series, but he also collects all manner of other media. Loto-Québec collects only Quebec artists working after 1950, and until recently did not buy established stars (unlike the BNC).

Fortunately for Pelletier, from the beginning, his predecessor, Labrosse, understood the vagaries of corporate commitment to the arts and had the foresight to inscribe officially in the company policies, and in perpetuity, a budget structure for art. ¹⁰⁹ This was to be one percent of one percent of Loto's annual gross revenues before sales tax. The amount was \$74,000 in 1985 and \$260,000 in 1998. To date, this formula has proved successful in guaranteeing the art collecting programme. The collection is rapidly expanding and, as of 1998, numbered more than 1,500 works.

Because Pelletier is a graphic artist by profession, and not an academically educated curator in the museological sense, and because he does not have to answer in any specific way to upper management, he wields considerable idiosyncratic influence on the choice of artworks purchased. Loto-Québec has, nevertheless, officially committed to an art collection for the long term, with substantial amounts of money (last year's budget was bigger than that of the Musée du Québec) and related imaginative programmes for art

¹⁰⁹Personal conversations with Michel Labrosse in the early nineties.

development in the community (to be discussed in a later chapter). All of these factors make Loto-Québec's collecting behaviour more closely akin to an institutional format than that of Martineau Walker's but perhaps not quite as much so as the collecting behaviour of the Bank. It is still early to predict in what manner Loto's art collecting will continue, because Pelletier, whose passion and individuality spurred its creation, has been the only curator to date. Also pertinent is the fact that Loto-Québec is a government-owned gambling company of relatively recent formation, and even an officially inscribed budget for art can be deleted by a government anxious for funds.

ALCAN

Alcan presents us with an entirely different scenario. It is the only company in Canada that collects arts and crafts from around the world. At its height, Alcan operated in over one hundred countries worldwide; today, the company has a presence in about twenty. The present collection inventories over one thousand works and is the final amalgamation under one roof and under one administration of five different lines of collecting:

- the ad hoc and random purchasing and gifts of art received by Alcan Aluminium Ltd. international management (about 40 items) before the mid seventies.
- 2. the conscious collecting by S.E.C.A.L. (a Canadian operating division) of significant modern art of the late seventies and early eighties, largely from Montreal and Toronto and favoring colorfield, relying on the advice of art historian Karen Wilkin (about 80 items).
- 3. 40-odd works purchased by Jeannine Veralta, secretary to the president of the Aluminum Company of Canada (the main Canadian

- operating arm of Alcan Aluminium Ltd.) for the purpose of decorating new premises.
- 4. those acquired (some 700 by 1999) by me or received as gifts (about 44) since the 1982 start of the new head office complex that opened in 1983.
- 5. antique furniture, bought to decorate the old houses, by Jim Woolven, architect-decorator for the new complex.

While Alcan has, since 1982, seen fit to build and maintain a collection with the help of an art historian (myself), it does not have a worldwide company policy concerning art.

All the above purchasing was predicated on decorating new office space, an approach that, given the absence of any new building activity, contributes to making the continued existence of the programme precarious and subject to debate by top management every time there is a change in the company's economic fortunes or in its presidents. There have been three presidents in office since 1982, and although all three have risen through the ranks of Alcan, lobbying was often required, by the curator and those committed to the idea of art, to keep the programme going. The first art endowment came as a result of a voluntary commitment of the then-president, David Culver, to follow the guideline of the one-percent-for-art-in-architecture programme introduced by the Québec government for its own buildings. This amounted to one percent of \$40 million U.S. spent on a new complex in 1983. Yearly acquisition budgets were subsequently negotiated and added. The budgets for art acquisition have ranged from an initial generous \$400,000 allocation that lasted about three

years, to \$100,000 a year, then to \$50,000 and subsequently to \$10,000. In the early to mid-nineties there was no budget.

The art programme, while extremely popular both within and without company premises, still cannot be considered to be firmly institutionalized. However, because of the evident and continuing public popularity of 'La Maison Alcan,' moral suasion has in fact played a significant role in Alcan's collecting history since the opening of the new building in 1983. The art collection is very much integrated into the architectural complex, which won several awards at the outset, in large part for the innovative restoration of three nineteenthand one early twentieth-century brick and limestone buildings that are linked to a new seven-story building. The point of view of visual impact, the art and architecture, in both the public lobbies and the interior corridors, cannot be totally separated.

Because of the phenomenal interest in the project, students in art history and architecture were hired as guides to give tours to visitors at their request - some four to five thousand annually for the first three to four years! These tours continue, although at a significantly reduced rate.

¹¹⁰As James M. Little, Managing Director, Corporate Affairs, Alcan, said; "Image has become as important a metric as a company's ROE or growth strategy. . . . If you lose money I'll be understanding, but if you lose reputation I'll be ruthless." James M. Little, "Corporate Reputation," *Montreal Business Magazine*, March 1998, 80.

Prix d'Excellence en Architecture, 1984
Prix Crédit Foncier, 1984
Prix Thomas-Baillairgé, 1989

For the first eight years, the Alcan curator answered to an art committee of five or six members composed primarily of volunteers from top management interested in art. There have been six chairmen of this committee during the present curator's tenure, all of whom have left the company for one reason or another, thus making the curator the key link in historical continuity. Initially, acquisitions were made from works pre-selected by the curator and shown to the committee either through slides or a presentation of the works themselves. The committee could veto an artwork but could not oblige the curator to buy anything against her will. At least three-quarters of the artwork presented (my own estimate) was accepted. This gave the curator a lot of leeway as to the choice of art but left the ultimate control in the hands of the committee. There is no longer an art committee. The curator buys what she wants (albeit with a small budget) with the possiblility of a veto from her boss. All corporate curators tacitly know that they must respect certain norms regarding appropriateness of subject matter (e.g., no sex or overt violence), employee taste limitations (less rather than more purely conceptual work) and size and appropriateness for the space.

The purpose of the art collection was to decorate the new head office in a manner conducive to showing the breadth of Alcan's involvement in the world and to create an environment of which employees could be proud. At least one memo reiterates clearly two basic objectives underlying the creation of this International Head Office:

- 1. The creation of a first class international headquarters for Alcan completely separate from the operating divisions and in which employees take considerable pride and feel it is their permanent home.
- 2. The creation of a work environment to enhance performance and employees attitudes.¹¹²

While David Culver, when president, did not specifically express any abstract intellectual goals concerning the relationship of the architecture or art to be collected and the vision of Alcan, rationalizations to this effect have since been made by the curator for various purposes.¹¹³

Alcan runs the collection professionally, owns significant international artworks and has designated serious money over the years both to the acquisition and presentation of art. However, there is no consistency or security, either for art budgets or for the art curator, who has been there for eighteen years but with vastly varying time commitments (from a high of four days a week for the first eight years, to a low of one day a month for two years in the mid-nineties).

¹¹²Memo sent to Mr. D.H. Ladd, Mr. H. Corrigan, Mr. H.S. Ladd by Winston Redman, March 26, 1981. Archives, Maison Alcan.

¹¹³Note the introduction by JoAnn Meade to a catalogue produced to accompany an exhibition of Alcan's artworks in Quebec city, *Oeuvres de la collection Alcan* (1987) to raise funds for the Quebec symphony.

[&]quot;Innovation, excellence, particularité, valeur, conscience globale, efficacité en matière de couts et diversification: voilà les notions clés de la mission globale d'Alcan. Ces notions nous éclairent également sur le principe inhérent à la collection de la Maison Alcan."

Alcan collects very eclectically, with the primary purpose of representing its own geographic world in an 'obviously' referential visual form, and this in order to create an enriched aesthetic experience in the office environment. Within this context, the curator strives to create a sense of celebration, showing the diversity and value of art expressions around the world and at many levels of societal implication. The goal has never been to establish an independent, intellectually coherent, serialized art collection based on museum norms. As a result, when Alcan lends its art for independent exhibitions, which it has done at the request of regional museums located in areas in which the company operates in Quebec, the result is not altogether successful.

For all the above reasons, Alcan can be situated more towards the center of the spectrum that separates individual from institutional collecting.

From the above four studies, it is clear that, for many different reasons, corporate art collecting falls into many locations on the spectrum of norms that classify and separate individual and institutional collecting. The pervasiveness of modern art collecting is a by-product of the intrusion and impact of corporate culture and increased consumerism in all aspects of life. However, its particular character and the nature of its functioning vary widely. I have used some general indices of 'institutional' versus 'individual' collecting, as posited by Belk, 114 and as they pertain to four companies, to show aspects of this diversity.

¹¹⁴Belk, Collecting in a Consumer Society.

CHAPTER 2

ISSUES AFFECTING AN EXTERNAL IDENTITY RELATED TO ART COLLECTING

MOTIVES

A preliminary discussion of the motives of collectors in general is necessary, as these motives can be the same as those that underlie the collecting of art by individuals and, with modifications, by institutions. Institutional collections are directly intended for the perusal of others, but are nonetheless developed by individuals with passions that must be constrained to conform to collective norms involving perceived public benefits. As we have seen, corporate art collecting falls into many positions - between the extremes of individual and institutional collecting - sometimes resulting in a rather idiosyncratic blend of the two. For, while underlying motivations can be similar, style and circumstances are never identical, giving each corporate collector a separate identity.

Many scholars, using different perspectives, have looked at these motives.

As noted in Chapter 1, Belk refers to issues of self-identity, self-esteem, prestige, the satisfactions to be derived from a sense of creative personal control, and the sublimation of sex drives.¹¹⁵

Muensterberger analyses motives from a psychoanalytic point of view and focusses in particular on those of passionate, obsessive collectors (probably a question of degree), stating:

Observing collectors, one soon discovers an unrelenting need, even hunger, for acquisitions. This ongoing search is a core element of their personality. It is linked to far deeper roots. It turns out to be a tendency which derives from a not immediately discernible sense memory of deprivation or loss or vulnerability and a subsequent longing for substitution. 116

Susan Pearce centers the psychological roots of collecting on the identity of the extended self, the notion of play and the quest for immortality. She lists a number of different motivations that can be linked - aesthetics, competition, risk, fantasy, a sense of community, prestige, domination, sensual gratification, sexual foreplay, the desire to reframe objects, the pleasing rhythm of sameness and difference, an ideal of perfection and body and gender affirmation.¹¹⁷

Baudrillard reinforces the idea of creative control in the face of human vulnerability by defining the notion of immortality as it relates to collecting:

¹¹⁵Belk, Collecting in a Consumer Society.

¹¹⁶Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 3.

¹¹⁷Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Great Britain: Leicester University Press, 1992 and Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).

What man wants from objects is not the assurance that he can somehow outlive himself, but the sense that from now on he can live out his life uninterruptedly and in a cyclical mode, and thereby symbolically transcend the realities of an existence before whose irreversibility and contingency he remains powerless.¹¹⁸

Many of the theoretical factors mentioned above may simultaneously come into play in the quest for creative control over one's environment - psychic and physical, internal and external - and can affect the art-collecting process in corporations. Often it is desirable to reframe the company image - an image that can continually be reframed to reveal different aspects of the corporation - to create an ideal of perfection or of sameness and difference.

Corporations are designated by the law as 'legal persons,' or more expressively in French as 'personnes morales'; we can understand that the notion of creative control over life's uncertainties can ultimately trigger a response which is the creation of a satisfying extended identity for both the individual and the corporation. A sense of vulnerability or loss and related fears accompanied by a concurrent desire for substitution and fulfillment may drive the personnel who run corporations. These needs are met by using art to manipulate the corporate image to fill perceived lacunae. In attempting to recreate the appearance of a corporation from one that is purely profit-making into one that includes a deeper appreciation of human values, the corporation hopes to enhance its status by filling what is perceived as a void. Through a

¹¹⁸Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting" in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1994) 17.

symbiosis with art, the corporation can achieve a more effective extended identity. The art collection plays a key role in visually consolidating complex humanistic ideals. It is more difficult to isolate and condemn the results of profit-making activities that are not favorable to community interests when presented with tangible symbols of lasting cultural value - objects of aesthetic beauty and historical or intellectual importance. Such objects are present in the corporation because of those very profits and are 'seen' to prove that the corporate body also has humanistic aspirations and is a viable member of the community. The myriad sensual and intellectual gratifications which can accrue to individuals in the presence of art facilitate this process. They fill a gap. The art collection becomes a kind of metonomy, standing in for and representing the company itself.¹¹⁹ As a result, the corporation increases its visibility, credibility and legitimacy - its right to do what it does.

To whatever degree deemed useful, the corporation can play, take risks, compete and dominate in the arena of art collecting, using the results to legitimize its economic dominance or to help achieve it.

¹¹⁹This is shown in the M.A. thesis title of Jacque Blouin. See footnote 16, page 14.

Alain-Dominique Perrin, president of Cartier, France, ¹²⁰ sums up in precise business language the external ways in which corporations hope to benefit from art-based activities:

- 1. Above all, it is the assertion of an image for market domination.
- 2. It is the development of the image to increase market share.
- 3. It is the integration into the sociocultural environment so as to establish the legitimacy that is necessary for expansion.
- 4. It is the introduction into a geographic region for the development of new markets. 121

Perrin further believes that:

It is a matter of asserting one's existence, to secure credibility, and to reassure the business environment. . . . In order to neutralize critics from consumer or environmental organizations, a business tries to create for itself a positive image. 122

The candid and canny Monsieur Perrin touches on four essential motives that apply to corporate art collecting: identity, credibility, legitimacy and domination. He omits the idea of philanthropy entirely, and although in North

Paris. This foundation sponsors exhibitions and an artist-in-residence programme; it also houses an art collection. In 1989 Perrin commissioned Jean Nouvel, a leading architect, to build a new museum in Paris to house the collection, numbering about 500 works. The 1988 acquisition budget was \$560,000 U.S. The museum also has an international programme. *Corporate ARTnews*, October 1989, 3.

¹²¹Alain-Dominique Perrin, *Mécénat français*. Synthesis of a report presented to François Léotard, Minister of Culture and Communication, Paris, 1986, 44-45. Translation taken from Hans Haacke, "In the Vice," *Art Journal*, fall, 1991, V. 50, 49, and verified by the author.

¹²²Perrin, *Mécénat français*

America the perception by the public of philanthropy on the part of a corporation can increase status and can be distinguishing, Perrin understands this approach as being Anglo-Saxon and not pertinent to France. For Perrin, Americans confuse public and private interests in the pursuit of social status. Nevertheless, however one wishes to define enlightened self-interest, it is clear that all philanthropic-type corporate involvement (which, in the broad sense, includes art collecting) in today's business world must be strategically tied to corporate self-interest and be seen by management to be so.

Perrin attempted to convince the French government (at its request) to introduce measures to encourage corporate support of the arts. He presents clever marketing strategies with a global overview particularly pertinent to an international business which he runs and which is based on the decorative arts. Perrin wants to convince governments that it makes good cultural sense to support business and persuade business that it makes good business sense to support culture. In so doing, the personal passion for art, which genuinely belies such positions, is obscured by ultra-rationalized business policies.

The quest for distinction and legitimacy through cultural appropriation (thoughts which Perrin himself articulates) was analysed by Pierre Bourdieu:

Because the appropriation of cultural products presupposes dispositions and competences which are not distributed universally (although they have the appearance of innateness), these products are subject to exclusive appropriation, material or symbolic, and, functioning as cultural capital (objectified or internalized), they yield a profit in distinction, proportionate to the rarity of the means required to appropriate them, and a profit in legitimacy, the profit

par excellence, which consists in the fact of feeling justified in being (what one is), being what it is right to be. 123

The competence that produces effective extrinsic benefits that accrue to a positive corporate art identity is invariably closely linked to the competencies of the individuals involved and the potential intrinsic benefits that push them to initiate and/or pursue art-collecting activities within the corporation. One cannot be done effectively without the other. The art collection is assembled within a larger context, encompassing a network of other factors including, but not restricted to, the habitus of the other players pursuing the activity in the corporate field as well as the perceptions of the target audiences, both the employees and the public. In practical terms this means that there must be 'art sensitive' individuals within a corporation who must interact with others within that entity, as well as with significant others outside it, to achieve maximum and long-lasting effectiveness. Again, Pierre Bourdieu:

To account for the infinite diversity of practices in a way that is both unitary and specific one has to break with linear thinking, which only recognizes the simple ordinal structures of direct determination, and endeavour to reconstruct the networks of interrelated relationships which are present in each of the factors.

. . . through each of the factors is exerted the efficacy of all the others. 124

Analysing all the possible relationships of individuals to each other and to the given fields is impossible to do in any absolute sense because all

¹²³Pierre Bourdieu, Trans. Richard Nice, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984) 228.

¹²⁴Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, 107.

structures are both structured and structuring with a 'multiplicity of determinations' at any given point. They are constantly subject to the pressure of change. And while the 'art sensitive' individuals who exercise power within the corporation can create the structure of an art identity, they are rarely alone in doing so and must always operate within an implicitly understood context of cultural, economic and social capital that exists within and without the corporation. The other holders of this capital respond, in various ways, to the projected art identity, either confirming or denying the hope for gains. Their response is informally projected back to the art managers, who modify the programme in small, or occasionally large, ways.

When a company wishes to succeed in establishing an art identity that lends it a distinctive character in the public forum, the 'doxa' must be congruent with what it intends to do. There must be mutually understood (although not necessarily consciously understood) cultural, social and economic values that provide a background against which the distinctive art manoeuvre can stand out. In other words, to a significant degree, the context must be implicitly understood so that a particular act can be both understood and appreciated as distinguishing, i.e., related to, but different from, the norm. According to Pierre Bourdieu:

One of the most important effects of the correspondence between real divisions and practical principles of division, between social structures and mental structures, is undoubtedly the fact that primary experience of the social world is that of doxa, an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably both the real world and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident. 125

The desire for creative control and the quest for extended self-identity which result in status, credibility, legitimacy and a sense of immortality, as well as the desire to enhance societal norms by using art to stimulate profits, is not new. These motives have been expressed in other terms that communicate over the centuries.

Baxandall tells us that Giovanni Rucellai, the Florentine fifteenth-century merchant, surrounded himself in his house with the works of Domenico Veneziano, Filippo Lippi, Verocchio, Pollaiuolo, Andrea del Castagno, and Paolo Ucello (names that have become enshrined in art history) because the pleasure of owning what was good was obvious. When speaking of his lavish expenditures on building and decorating churches and houses, Rucellai referred to the glory of God, the honour of the city, and the commemoration of himself, adding at one point that there is pleasure and virtue in spending money well, greater than the already-substantial one of making money.

Baxandall summarizes the motives of the fifteenth-century merchant art patron in the following terms:

The pleasure of possession, an active piety, civic consciousness of one or another kind, self-commemoration and perhaps self-advertisement, the rich man's necessary virtue and pleasure of reparation, a taste for pictures: in fact, the client need not analyse his own motives much because he generally worked through institutional forms - the altarpiece, the frescoed chapel, the Madonna in the bedroom, the cultured wall - furniture in the

¹²⁵Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique*, 471.

study - which implicitly rationalized his motives for him, usually in quite flattering ways . . . they were designed for the client and people he esteemed, to look at, with a view to receiving pleasing and memorable and even profitable stimulations. 126

Although Baxandall could be describing the basic motivations for modern corporate art activities, some twentieth-century intellectual and practical nuances can be added. Today, to be effective, serious art collecting in corporations must be mediated by specialized art and/or public relations personnel and be accompanied by some form of self-advertisement - brochures, catalogues, books, public relations events and/or multi-media exposure - all of which connect to market-directed strategies. However, market and media strategies are not always developed and launched by people who know the arts. A large gap can exist between the personal impetus to collect generated by one inspired corporate CEO and/or his advisor and the resulting corporate image - a gap also affected by more generalized corporate public relations strategies and variable economic necessities. There must be a priority given to the art and a real synchronicity among all the players to be maximally effective, and this cannot always happen.

For example, at Alcan in 1987, a last-minute decision was taken by a public relations manager to raise money to support a symphony in Québec city with a display of the art collection. This had to be accomplished for an opening within six weeks and included the packing, shipping and display of some sixty

¹²⁶Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 3.

fragile art works, sent from Montreal to Québec city and, more significantly, the production of a catalogue with colour photos of all works and a popular text in two languages. Although the result was satisfactory, such frantic, last-minute timetables do not favour the creation of a refined intellectual approach to art. Nevertheless, since that exhibition, the catalogue has been used or distributed often, providing the main image of the Alcan art collection to the outside world.

An external art image can seduce outsiders in other practical ways. Because art titillates the imagination and requires a certain open-mindedness, businesses that collect art can hope to attract into their own ranks talented people who value progressive thinking.¹²⁷ On a personal level, many people, given a choice, are swayed by the quality of life and would prefer an aesthetically pleasing environment at work.¹²⁸ Phil Gunyon, the general manager and head of the art committee at Alcan in the early nineties, put it this way:

The other aspect is the architectural treatment. This is more like an art gallery or a museum. The place doesn't look like an office. I like the way the Europeans live and work. They are more impractical and emphasize the beauty, although I've been in tacky European offices too. Our company can afford to have a head

¹²⁷The fact of having an art collection at all, not necessarily collecting avantgarde art, is considered progressive.

¹²⁸In most corporations top executives have the first choice of the available artwork - one of their perks and a sign of status.

office that reflects the better things in life, It's part of my compensation package. 129

Being innovative in a rapidly evolving, globally oriented marketplace involves varying strategies. The creation of an art identity is one them.

Despite the increasing complexity of the field of players and other intermediary factors affecting the nature and exposure of the corporate art collection in the modern corporate environment, the basic motives of collecting by businessmen have changed little since the Renaissance. The expansive and 'feel good' motivations that generated Rucellai's sense of virtue, honour and glory are still there, but they now undergo a range of rational and strategic 'market' modifications before reaching concrete form.

BUILDING ACTIVITIES

By far the most important practical motivation for starting a corporate art collection is building activity, predicated on being a 'rich enough' company. 130 It is true for Alcan, Martineau Walker, Loto and the BNC, which were directly spurred by a new building and/or a move to new spaces requiring renovations. Alcan's renovation of office space in Place Ville-Marie inspired the first Société d'électrolyse et de chimie Alcan Ltée (S.E.C.A.L) collection, while the new building on Sherbrooke Street launched the second. Maurice Forget

¹²⁹Phil Gunyon, engineer, general manager of Maison Alcan, interview, March 1996. He has travelled a good deal and lived six years in Japan and two years in England.

¹³⁰Martorella, Corporate Art, supports this view.

of Martineau Walker has always bought art for his own use and hung it in the company corridors, but a move to new premises in 1977 inspired the first official corporate collection, and a second expansion and renovation in 1999 has been inspiring the formation of a second phase. BNC has twice moved to new skyscrapers - in 1968, into a 32-story tower on Place D'Armes and in the 1980s to a 27-story skyscraper on La Gauchetière. Loto-Québec, launched in 1970, now has three casinos, a head office in Montreal and nine regional offices across Quebec, all of which need 'decoration.'

Alcan's art collection, however, is by far the most intimately linked with architectural endeavours in the grand style. And the architectural project has been the greatest publicity coup of the company's history. From the outset, Alcan incorporated commissions of art directly into the architectural scheme, which included a sophisticated programme linking late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century buildings with a new, aluminium-clad, seven-story structure, with specific wall spaces designed to be art friendly. ¹³³ It was an original and ambitious project, the inspiration for which came from David Culver, then chief executive officer (1979-89), in conjunction with Ray Affleck, the architect.

¹³¹Especially after his gift to the Musée of Joliette in 1998 left bare walls.

¹³²Which it owns, but of which it occupies 13 floors.

¹³³While the first official collection, that of S.E.C.A.L, was started to complement a post-modern renovation in rented premises in Place Ville Marie in the late seventies, the genesis of what is now considered the Alcan collection was the launching in 1983 of the new head office building on Sherbrooke Street.

Having grown up in the affluent surroundings in the immediate area of the new building, Culver, president and chief executive officer from 1979-89, was happy to be moving to Sherbrooke Street, an avenue which he both knew and loved. David Culver had both a practical and upper-class education - a graduate of the army, McGill University, Harvard Business School and the Centre d'études industrielles, Switzerland. He married the daughter of a high-ranking Alcan executive. This 'habitus' 134 provided Culver with the required social, cultural, educational and economic capital to proceed with the necessary confidence and flair. He decided, after the fear caused by the unsettling Québec election of 1976 (which elected a Parti Québecois government favoring the separation of Québec from Canada), and in a burst of enthusiasm, civic spiritedness and enlightened self-interest, that he needed to convince the powers that be - his employees and the government of Québec - that Alcan was not going to move out of the province. 135 And, to set a precedent in Alcan's history, he also wanted to own, rather than to rent, the head office space.

On May 29, 1980, he sent a memo to all Montreal employees, outlining what was initially a \$20 million U.S. architectural project for a world

¹³⁴ Family, education and experience. See Pierre Bourdieu, Les règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992).

¹³⁵Importantly, Alcan's principal resources of cheap water power and production plants with access to international waterways are in Québec. Culver reported that the board of directors was not particularly thrilled with the idea but didn't choose to stop him. Interview, April 7, 1993.

headquarters that would house and identify the international management team. ¹³⁶ The 54-year-old company, with some 50,000 employees worldwide, would now own its head office space, an idea that generated a sense of pride and reflected its accomplishments. This move would distinguish the company leaders in a highly visible manner by using the 'art' of architecture and the decorative and fine arts.

Alcan had quietly and gradually purchased, over a nine-month period, for the bargain price of just under \$5 million (on land stretching along Sherbrooke Street¹³⁷ between Stanley and Drummond), three nineteenth-century houses and one early twentieth-century hotel (from east to west, these were the Atholstan House, Béique House, Berkeley Hotel, and the Holland House) which would be renovated for office use. ¹³⁸ An additional seven-story structure would eventually be built and joined to the complex via a glass baffled atrium and elevated glass walkways. A bulletin outlining the project was issued to the press. ¹³⁹

¹³⁶Archives, Maison Alcan.

¹³⁷ The arrangements also involved the purchase of land belonging to the Salvation Army, in exchange for which Alcan was to renovate the Army's citadel and construct a new building for it adjacent to the Alcan project.

¹³⁸ Because the Atholstan House lies within 500 feet of the Mount Royal Club, which is historically protected by legislation, Alcan had no choice but to renovate.

¹³⁹May 29, 1980. Archives Maison Alcan. In the initial project, the old buildings were joined to a new building of four stories, enclosing a pedestrian mall animated by restaurants and boutiques and possibly having direct access to an underground subway.

Ray Affleck, architect of the project, chosen in part because of his love of Sherbrooke Street, 140 was quoted in the above documents as emphasizing the theme that would continue to dominate the project and give it its cachet:

Nowhere else in the city has there been an attempt to incorporate existing historically valuable buildings with new structures to this extent. To the greatest degree possible we are endeavouring to preserve and enhance the older structures while adding compatible contemporary architecture and animation.¹⁴¹

The more intimate, low-rise concept and the idea of recycling old buildings - incorporating old and new architecture in an atmosphere that linked nature and building in both a dramatic and welcoming way - ran counter to the architectural fashion of the day and distinguished both the company and the architect. This was both a novel concept for the time and also one based on an understanding of past values to which many could relate.

Culver himself offered the additional thought:

We expect our plans will meet with the approval of the people of Montreal. 143

¹⁴⁰Interview with David Culver, April 7, 1993. Culver mentioned that although Affleck's name was well down in a list of proposed architects, the fact that he was known as Mr. Sherbrooke Street influenced Alcan's choice.

¹⁴¹Press Bulletin, May 29, 1980. Alcan Archives.

¹⁴²Affleck had worked on Place Ville Marie with I.M. Pei and had been disappointed in the giant highrise cruciform construction and the wind-swept plaza, which was not user-friendly. He felt that the building was like a conqueror who had gone too far - a huge building standing on a table top. *The Globe and Mail*, Saturday, April 17, 1982.

¹⁴³Press Release Bulletin, May 29, 1980. Archives, Maison Alcan.

This turned out to be an understatement. The reaction from all quarters (even before the first sod was turned) was enthusiastically favorable, with many testimonies to the imagination, courage and civic mindedness of this patron.

The first announcement elicited the following response from Denis Vaugeois, Minister of Cultural Affairs, Québec:

... j'ai le plaisir d'exprimer à la Société Alcan et à ses architectes mon admiration pour ce projet et mes félicitations pour cette décision. . . . En effet, le parti de conservation et de réutilisation des batiments patrimoniaux est ici habilement articulé sur la réaction de structures modernes d'une facture harmonieuse procurant les espaces additionnels requis. D'autre part, le projet tranche par son orientation respectueuse de l'échelle humaine de la personnalité architecturale montréalaise, spécialement au centre-ville et marque, espérons-nous, un point marquant du changement d'attitude en train de se produire à cet égard. Il est, sur ce point, exemplaire. 144

By preserving architectural patrimony, Culver had touched the chord of nationalism in Québec - and at the right moment. The proposed human scale directly addressed the sense of isolation and anonymity generated by randomly developed highrises on a street formerly referred to as the Champs Elysées of Montreal, as well as the implicit lack of personal control that such buildings suggest to their occupants.

That Culver had touched a note of civic pride and was prepared to press his advantage is further evidenced by Alcan's response to a request for information directly from the mayor's office. A special leather-bound volume with photographs of the activities on Sherbrooke Street was presented to the

¹⁴⁴Letter from the minister to David Culver, June 18, 1980. Archives, Maison Alcan.

mayor. An accompanying letter, dated March 9, 1982, reiterated Alcan's good will:

Pour Alcan, c'est l'occasion de témoigner sa gratitude à une ville qui nous a beaucoup donné au cours des années écoulées. 145

The files at Alcan are also replete with personal letters of admiration from socially prominent citizens in varied domains, ranging from Charles Bronfman, deputy chairman of the Seagram Company, June 2, 1980:

What a superb thing you are doing! Everything about the new scheme sounds terrific. Every aspect of it has a very lovely ring.

to that of Conrad Harrington, Chancellor of McGill University, June 4, 1980:

This decision like all really big ones, showed courage and vision. . . . will put new heart into all Montrealers . . . serves notice that Montreal remains a force to be reckoned with . . . aesthetically the plans will conserve a key section in a very beautiful old street which has been jeopardized by unimaginative developers in recent years. 146

Others from outside the province saw the move as a refreshing departure from current architectural preoccupations. *Maclean's Magazine*, a national publication, wrote:

The humanized dimensions of Maison Alcan typify the changing spirit of Canadian architecture as it breaks out of the sterile parameters of international style modernism - the glass box in the windswept plaza. 147

¹⁴⁵Archives, Maison Alcan. A glowing press release on the presentation to the mayor was issued by Alcan on April 1, 1982.

¹⁴⁶Archives, Maison Alcan.

¹⁴⁷Maclean's Magazine, December 21, 1981.

From seemingly all perspectives, even before the opening, Affleck, Culver and Alcan had received a universal mark of distinction.

Doubling in scope to \$40 million U.S. by the official opening day, the project had evolved to include five, rather than four, old buildings linked via a glass baffled atrium to one new seven-storied, champagne-colored, aluminium-clad building, harbouring the projected pedestrian mall (but without subway access).

The interior of the new seven-story post-modern Davis building was conceived in a spirit of classical harmony with a subtly graduated palette of 22 pale, grey-green-beige colours per floor, recessed ceilings, perspectival vistas using adjoined pilasters and columns in the corridors and carrefours, and including niches intended for art.

The old houses were decorated with (among other more mundane items) reproduction nineteenth-century wallpapers and silk moiré wall coverings; original hand-painted wall stencils; restored woodwork and lavishly complex Victorian ceiling mouldings; antique chandeliers, fireplaces, mirrors and furniture; rugs woven especially in India; and historically reminiscent draperies and upholstery chosen in a rich range of contrasting colours or the muted, pale tones of neo-classical inspiration.

By opening day, other visual arts were an integral part of the complex.

Two specific art doorways were created - "Whirling Vortex," an aluminium

work by Yves Trudeau¹⁴⁸ to serve as an entry way to the lobby and "Terra Nova," in pine and aluminium, by Lucie Laporte¹⁴⁹, for the main conference room in the Davis building. Four large commissions were installed in the lobby. Norman Laliberté created a 36-foot-long banner - in bold shapes of brightly colored wool - of the flora, fauna and native motifs of the provinces and territories of Canada and an equally colorful, 25-foot wooden totem representing the Canadian people. A monumental 4,000-pound grey soapstone sculpture of the Inuit myth of the "Ascension of Man" was fashioned by Abraham Anghik. Tony Hunt, a Kwagiulth artist, made a sun mask and a large carving of a killer whale in cedar for placement over the reception desk. These artworks animated a dramatic lobby of grey brick, cement and granite, with gardens fashioned of stone and Norfolk pine and windows onto outside greenery. The interior heights ranged from two to five stories.

¹⁴⁸Yves Trudeau is a prominent Montreal sculptor who has also worked abroad.

¹⁴⁹Lucie Laporte, prematurely deceased, was at the time a promising young printmaker and painter living in Montreal.

of Design, Chicago; and the Crambrook Academy of Arts, Michigan; as well as at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. His work is represented in more than sixty museums and in corporate and private collections around the world.

¹⁵¹Anghik is a Canadian Inuit artist from Paulutuk, NWT, a village of about eighty people. He studied at the University of Alaska and works in Vancouver.

¹⁵²Tony Hunt is from a line of many generations of carvers from the same family from Victoria, British Columbia. His work is in major museums around the world.

In addition, as a result of a letter sent to Alcan's world-wide affiliates requesting gifts of art representing their territories, to be available for display on opening day, some 44 international objects of a surprising variety were hung throughout the complex. A number of other artworks had also been purchased and hung. On the first floor was African art; on the second, art of the Pacific rim, Australia and New Zealand; on the third, art of the Far East (China, Korea and Japan); on the fourth, Europe; on the fifth, Latin America and the Carribean; on the sixth, Canada; and on the seventh, the U.S.A.

Such was the ambiance when Alcan offically launched the building on September 14, 1983. The effect of the whole complex was startling and impressive, and an important array of officials was invited and came some distance to share the moment - all Alcan senior executives; senior diplomatic representatives in Canada from the countries in which Alcan operates; the heads and selected ministers of the federal, provincial and municipal governments; a selected group of religious leaders; selected senior business men from Canada and the U.S.A.; customers, distributors and suppliers; heritage and architectural groups; architects, building contractors, consultants; and the press. That Alcan sought to create an image of distinction is clear enough, but that it sought to invite groups from government, religious constituencies, business, the arts and the press, indicates a recognition of the

¹⁵³Letter sent by Murray Lester to each of the eight vice-presidents of the Alcan regions, May 14, 1982.

¹⁵⁴Planning documents, Archives, Maison Alcan.

many cultural issues that impact on the life of the modern multinational corporation. Alcan desired to be perceived as a sensitized and viable leader in this domain, reinforcing a dominant status. And the arts in the largest sense - architecture and the decorative and fine arts - provided an important vehicle of communication for which word of mouth and the press did the rest.

C'est antique et moderne, ça ressemble à une maison, à un bureau et à une place publique en même temps, il y a des oeuvres d'art partout et toutes sortes de couleurs sur les murs, les meubles ont un 'look' du tonnerre et les tapis sont épais comme ça!

C'est presque trop beau pour être vrai: une multinationale qui affirme de manière éloquente son désir de demeurer à Montréal, un complexe architectural audacieux qui intègre (après les avoir magnifiquement restaurés) quatre vieux édifices, un concept de siège social qui tourne autour de l'idée de maison 'home', une decoration intérieure d'une qualité esceptionnelle . . . Et pourtant, ça existe. C'est le building le plus 'in' en ville: la Maison Alcan. 155

Alcan had orchestrated and achieved one of its greatest public relations coups.

Historian Duncan Campbell notes the comments of one astute observer:

It would seem . . . that Culver got a \$43 million building and \$43 million of free publicity or \$43 million of publicity and a free building. 156

One is reminded of Goldwaithe's comments on the consequences of urban development in the Renaissance: 157

¹⁵⁵Lucie Dumoulin, "Le building le plus 'in' en ville." *L'Actualité*, novembre 1983, 98.

¹⁵⁶Duncan C. Campbell, *Global Mission: The Story of Alcan* (Montreal: private publisher, 1990), Vol. III, 1177.

¹⁵⁷He points out just how important commissioned buildings were in terms of direct and ensuing expenditures and in determining the nature of consumer demand for all sorts of luxury items, including art. This is true today, and certainly the impetus for modern corporate art collecting resides therein.

Architecture thus became the principal means by which Italians staked out their claim to grandeur and magnificence. Architecture as Alberti observed, is pre-eminently an urban art form: and, as virtually every Renaissance treatise on architecture asserts - and as most architectural historians ever since repeat - architecture is also pre-eminently an expression of power.¹⁵⁸

Alcan would stay in Montreal.

BELIEF SYSTEMS

The requirement for business to be involved in the community in a productive manner is in part stimulated by the democratization of a population that is increasingly educated and affluent and both able and willing to make such demands and judgements. To some degree, all corporations must respond to moral and ethical issues reflected in the general population, which is more specifically represented in their own shareholders and employees. The idea of active piety, which can be linked to the rich man's necessary virtue and pleasure of reparation, to which Baxandall refers when discussing the fifteenth century, 159 has become an expectation of corporate ethical behaviour. If a corporation has reaped profit in the community, public pressure is applied to the

¹⁵⁸Richard Goldthwaite, "The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy," in Kent and Simons, eds., *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, 1987) 166-167.

¹⁵⁹Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 3.

corporation to repay this 'host' by spending some of those profits in the community's interest. 160

That particular Alcan executives understood the role of public perception is well illustrated by the behaviour of Nathanael V. Davis, chief executive officer from 1947 (at thirty-two years of age) until 1979; Mr. Davis led the company in its greatest period of growth. He oversaw the production of a document called "Alcan, Its Purpose, Objectives and Policies," which outlined ethical business practices for its worldwide operations. Nathanael Davis's proactive stance in the recognition of such demands are in part due to his 'habitus,' which included an upbringing in a family with strong educational and moral roots, in particular a grandfather who was a minister and a father who

¹⁶⁰Alcan is a member of IMAGINE, an organization of businesses which support the community by vowing to contribute one percent of net Canadian profits (based on an average over the last ten years) to community interests. For Alcan, in 1998, this amounted to \$2 million Canadian, of which \$118,000 went to culture and much of the rest to education and youth (the 1999 president of Alcan is in his forties and has young children). Alcan also has a sponsorship budget for Québec, which in 1999 was \$1,900,000 and for 2000 is \$900,000, of which \$140,000 is allocated to culture (the entire amount in Québec city). The rest goes to science, technology, metal promotion and the environment. In the eighties Alcan contributed to cultural events such as the Jazz festival in Montreal, which involved indirect and direct financing of up to \$500,000 annually. But priorities have changed, and all donations-sponsorships must, in 1999, be strategically aligned to the specific business environment and goals of Alcan. The regions develop their own programmes and guidelines. Interview, Eric Gagnon, project officer - sponsorships, September 9, 1999.

The best year of international net profit for Alcan was 1988, in which it earned \$901 million U.S.; the worst year was 1992, with a scant \$135 million U.S. Lucie Dion, chief librarian, Alcan, September 8, 1999.

was a graduate in the arts from Harvard. Davis also partly crafted this document as a defense, because he felt that large corporations were being unfairly criticized in the media, certainly as far as Alcan was concerned. He recognized that the close personal relationships that had governed management in the past and the direct, hands-on communication of the ethical principles "which were burned into the hearts of management when the company was formed" were no longer possible in the rapidly expanding company. In the introduction Davis states:

It is not, of course, possible to prescribe specific responses to every industrial and social problem that will arise in a widespread international enterprise. I have confidence however, that the publication of this statement, and the continuing efforts of Alcan personnel to meet these standards, will enable the Company to continue to merit public understanding and trust. 163

Item four of Alcan's five objectives states:

4. Balance the interests of our shareholders, employees, customers and suppliers, as well as governments and the public at large, while achieving Alcan's business objectives, taking into account the differing social, economic and environmental aspirations of the communities in which we operate.

¹⁶¹ His grandfather was the Reverend Pearly Bacon Davis, and his father, Edward, a graduate of Harvard in 1903 in classics and languages. Nor did Edward have a physically distant relationship with his grandfather, as his childhood chores included mowing the church lawn and pumping the organ. One may assume that, in this way, he picked up some rudimentary practical ideas about morality at an early age.

¹⁶²Duncan Campbell, Global Mission: The Story of Alcan, V. 3, 757.

¹⁶³This statement was updated and reproduced in 1991, a fourth printing, by the chairman and chief executive officer, David Morton. The underlining is mine.

Item five states:

5. Demonstrate high standards of integrity in all phases of our business.

This document was updated in October 1991 but not essentially changed. Copies were framed and continue to hang in the corridors at head office. The international art collection can be understood as a visual incarnation of Item 4.

Although the collecting policy came to fruition during the Culver era, a moral groundwork had been laid by N.V. Davis. He also set a visual tone by displaying some forty artworks, many received as gifts from prominent clients and political figures. Such items included a bronze sculpture by Belloni, *Oxen and Wagon*, presented as a gesture of goodwill and friendship by the President of Uruguay; an eighteenth-century, six-fold Japanese screen, given by Nippon Light Metal Company, Japan; a set of ornate peacock gates and a floral mirror commissioned in aluminium by A.V. Davis while living in Italy c. 1930 (in an attempt to encourage the use of aluminium for ornamental purposes); and a large Inuit sculpture from Povungnituk, Québec (the first Eskimo cooperative for art).

¹⁶⁴Pearce discusses at some length the notion of gifts in relation to collectors, a factor that she considers significant, not only in terms of received gifts but as regards the idea that collectors buy themselves 'gifts.' Susan M. Pearce, *Collecting in Contemporary Practice* (London: Sage Publications, 1998) 85-91.

The above-mentioned works, whether gifts, commissions or purchases, reflect the growing international status and increasing cultural sophistication of the Davis family, as well as the evolving moral economy. In "The Gift Economy," Cheal (1988), argues that gift-giving marks off what he calls the 'moral economy' from the cash nexus of the market place. These gifts were among the first items in what has become the official collection.

At Alcan, those first forty items carry with them the weight of the early history of the company, which was founded expressly in Canada to develop an international market for aluminium. This new company came into being with the distinct purpose of distinguishing itself from Alcoa¹⁶⁷, which dominated the burgeoning American market. The objects are the visible reminder of the past.

The visual display of an international art collection on the walls of the head office reminds employees and visitors of the "differing social, economic

¹⁶⁵ Quoted by Pearce, Collecting in Contemporary Practice, 89.

¹⁶⁶Bal refers to the development of a collection as a narrative, a subjectively presented sequence of events with a plot and actors but always having uncertain beginnings:

Only retrospectively, through a narrative manipulation of the sequence of events, can the accidental acquisition of the first object become the beginning of a collection.

Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects, A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 101.

However, the beginnings of the art collection at Alcan are clear enough, and the plot continues to be written.

¹⁶⁷The Canadian company, Aluminium Ltd., was founded as a separate company in 1928 by Edward K. Davis, youngest brother of Arthur Vining Davis, head of Alcoa.

and environmental aspirations of the communities in which we operate," ¹⁶⁸ in a way that encourages positive value judgements and the respect required for the conduct of good business, without imposing direct moralizing. It strives to generate understanding and thus public trust, which leads to good business. That it works (at least some of the time) is proved by a letter of thanks from the project manager of the Canada-China Trade Council after a tour of the Alcan international art collection in 1988 given for the chiefs of the Special Economic Zones of China. This letter included the following comment:

The group and I were very impressed with your company's commitment to detail and its sensitivity to the strength of its international partners.¹⁶⁹

How such an impression might affect future business negotiations is impossible to quantify; however, in a close competitive race, it could make a difference. It is difficult, if not impossible, to show a specific result on the economic bottom line. This having been said, however, the positive potential of art is recognized by some Alcan executives. After the curator made a trip to South America to buy art for the company, a senior officer in Brazil called specifically to say that he had thought it significant to mention this visit in a recent business negotiation there.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸From Alcan's fourth objective, 1991.

¹⁶⁹Letter to the author dated September 21, 1988.

¹⁷⁰Geraldo Nogueira de Aguiar, chief financial officer and director, Alcan Aluminio do Brazil, 1988.

Other executives have also elaborated on the art collection in ways that support its effectiveness in illuminating Alcan's goals.

The artworks are very relevant to the areas where we operate. This group travels a lot and . . . you are a little less stupid, you know what there is, it rings a bell, you have an idea . . . It is a reflection of Alcan and interaction with other countries with which we operate. Dr. Jean-Pierre Riffaud (Engineer, Raw Materials Technology, March 1996).

To me an organization that has an art collection and keeps it alive, shares it with people, is definitely an organization that is world-class, no matter the domain, if it is sensitive to the soft issues. Culture to me is the basis for success in an organization. Once you betray that, any sort of cultural life, it is the decline of what you are as an organization or an individual. Jacques Gagnon (Engineer, top executive management, March 1996).

We have to think of the problems we have in other countries. The fact that we have beautiful things helps us to balance things out in our view of these countries. It is an excellent idea and has an impact impossible to quantify. . . . It's much better to have these things here than in a museum. Alcan has elevated standards and wants to. The fact of having these artworks creates the climate or culture here. Claude Chamberlin (Engineer, top executive management, March 1996).

In the work, I use it when we have visitors from different parts of the world. They are quite interested in what represents their country. That has been very useful. There have been various pieces of art that I have discussed with people - either pro or con. Bruce Heister (Engineer, top executive management, March 1996).

Achieving some form of spiritual awareness is becoming fashionable in the corporate world. Richard Barrett, former 'values coordinator' for the World Bank, suggests that he is trying to bring spirituality to corporations through the back door.

The work I do is about helping leaders to change the corporate culture to (one) that cares about employees, cares about

customers, cares about the local community, cares about the environment. The research I have done shows quite clearly that the most successful companies are the ones that care about all those things.¹⁷¹

He believes that no one comes to work just for a paycheque. Art collecting can contribute to this larger goal.

Buying art and supporting other art-based activities can be considered a lofty and even spiritually redeeming goal by both the corporation and society. In a major article, "La production de la croyance: contribution à une économie des biens symboliques," (1977), Bourdieu analyses the dynamics of the interrelationship between the creation of symbolic and economic capital using, among others, the following sub headings:

Qui crée le "créateur"?
Le cercle de la croyance
Foi et mauvaise foi
Sacrilèges rituels
Le pouvoir de la conviction
Orthodoxie et hérésie¹⁷²

Bourdieu's liberal use of religious terminology is intended to reinforce his theory that art is forged within and contributes to creating and modifying a system of beliefs that are experienced and/or expressed with something akin to convictions of a more obvious spiritual nature. Corporations, or rather those

¹⁷¹Spirituality in the Workplace conference, Toronto, as reported by Elizabeth Church, *The Globe and Mail*, June 11, 1999, "Report on Business," 1.

¹⁷²Pierre Bourdieu, "La production de la croyance: contribution à une économie des biens symboliques." *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 13, février 1977, 3-43.

individuals within corporations who make the leap to art collecting, are not immune to these beliefs. The greater the intensity of conviction on the part of these individuals, and the more that these beliefs are communicated and shared, the more effective the art collecting programme will be.

Experience at Alcan offers evidence of this. In 1989, the chief executive officer at Alcan, David Culver, retired. Culver had supported the art programme without reservation; however, the new president expressed an active dislike of the art collection (perhaps because he did not have the same "habitus" as Culver), creating a need to proselytize the value of art in order to find converts in management who would stand up for this pursuit and had the power to implement ideas (at least to some degree). The keywords were linked to intangibles - a belief in humanistic values and the 'quality of life.' In fact, the head of the art committee at Alcan is also responsible for the quality of life in the building, a programme that includes physical fitness (exercise and nutrition) and a medical center, as well as art. While the effort did not immediately result in an acquisition budget for art, a mutual compact was adopted by three believers in art173 who at least kept the collection at Alcan breathing (gleaning money for maintenance and a part-time curator), during a period of several years of severe, economic downturn for the company and yet another change of chief executive officer (who was not actively against art but not for it either).

¹⁷³By Phil Gunyon, John Walsh (in charge of building services) and myself, with some implicit support from the vice-president, legal, P.K. Pal, who controlled the overall budget.

And nothing was ever sold, although there were rumours to the effect that the whole complex would be sold, as the value of the buildings and the collection had grown substantially.¹⁷⁴

After this period, in 1996, a small art activities budget and an acquisition budget were restored (the latter covertly, i.e., the expenditures were hidden in other budgets). Art acquisition had become a secret, cult-like activity practiced by the two devotees, John Walsh and JoAnn Meade.¹⁷⁵

The practical is ever entwined with the ideological, as Bourdieu would rightly point out, and in Alcan's case, the curator's desire to continue in this job, supported by the fact that she could afford to work part time; the desire of her boss to protect that portion of his job; and the desire of the company to maintain its already substantial symbolic capital - all were fundamental to the programme's survival.

Art collecting can become a part of the greater ideological vision that is now considered by many to be a necessary asset if a company is to succeed in the long term. James C. Collins and Jerry I. Porras in *Built to Last:*

¹⁷⁴One artwork had increased in value from a purchase price of \$3,240 Canadian to over \$300,000 U.S. - Eric Fischl *Christian Retreat*, 1980, oil on canvas. This amount would not be significant in international monetary terms for a company that, in a great year, made a profit of over \$900 million U.S.

¹⁷⁵Even in the good old days, 1982-83, when specific monies had been allotted to be spent on art, Winston Redman, head of the new building project, hid extra money for art in other budgets.

Successful Habits of Visionary Companies, have analysed the 'ultracompanies' - the ones that have made an imprint on the world. They conclude:

The critical issue is not whether a company has the right core ideology or a likable core ideology but rather whether it has a core ideology . . . that gives guidance and inspiration to people inside that company. 176

Art collecting is an ideological activity. Brian Wallis, adjunct curator at the New Museum of Contemporary Art, views corporate ideology on art matters as being at one with that of museums and not one that is based on the benefits of tax deductions for cultural welfare. He understands the collaboration of corporations and museums (the paradigm of art collectors) as a mutual pact based on shared values - those of liberal humanism and idealized moral values, abstracted from everyday application. These values, he says, stress:

. . . the importance of the unique individual . . . abstract notions of freedom and democracy . . . purified aesthetics divorced from politics. 178

In the case of business and taken one by one, these are indeed ideal prerequisites for entrepreneurial achievement although, in practice, they can be difficult to grasp. Common sense alone dictates that business would prefer to operate as it wishes, in an orderly, peaceful environment in which products are

¹⁷⁶James C. Collins and Jerry I. Porras, "Built to Last: Successful Habits of Visionary Companies," reviewed in *Business Magazine*, September 1995, 38.

¹⁷⁷Although small tax incentives have existed over the years, Alcan has never collected for this reason.

¹⁷⁸Brian Wallis, "Museum Blockbusters: The Art of Big Business," *Art in America*, V. 74, June 1986, 28-33. This is an article on Hans Haacke.

freely manufactured, sold and paid for. Political neutrality or democratic acceptance of difference is as much a paradigm for big business as it is for an art museum. However, reality dictates that ideal conditions are rarely in place long term, and business learns to profit in and from adverse conditions. An interesting but extreme example of this is the picture of the chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, Richard Grasso, in the Columbian jungle, warmly embracing Raul Reyes, commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, who is dressed in camouflage and has a machine gun over his shoulder. 179

In June 2000, the magazine for the worldwide employees of the Alcan group featured the celebration of the 50th year of the listing of Alcan stock on the NYSE. The leading photo was of the same Richard Grasso, surrounded by past and present top Alcan executives, followed by pictures of the general festivities highlighting acts by the "Cirque de Soleil," the world-acclaimed 'art' circus produced by Quebecers. 180

Richard Grasso appears to move freely around a world which is not politically neutral except when it comes to money, and Alcan promotes itself and to a degree polishes its own image in such a world by its association with cultural accomplishments in the arts.

¹⁷⁹It is estimated that the rebel group's revenues for 1998 were \$320 million U.S., coming mostly from the traffic in narcotics, extortion, kidnapping, cattle rustling and bank robberies. *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, July 1, 1999.

¹⁸⁰Compass, June 2000, special edition, 2 ff.

Art can be a form of social lubricant, mediating between ideological tenets and practical realities. In an interesting doctoral thesis, Judith Barter demonstrates that abstract expressionism was chosen as a primary art style by American corporations, particularly in New York (which had become the centre of the art world after World War II), because it was politically safe. The persecution of modernists by the Nazis led to an association of democracy and abstraction in the U.S.A. Social realism was rejected because it was considered to be communist-related. Abstraction would attract attention, make the corporation seem to be up-to-date, diverse and individual. Other patrons, however, supported other forms of contemporary American art because diversity was essential to freedom and democracy.¹⁸¹

Of course, beliefs or ideologies never really veil the profit-making goals of the corporation nor its desire for economic dominance, particularly when it comes to art. Corporate art-collecting activities elevate the status of the corporation by co-opting a portion of the already-established or in-the process-of-being-established symbolic capital market, giving a corporation both symbolic and economic status. There is a transference of capital from the purely economic to the symbolic, hopefully resulting, in the long run, in a general increase in both forms of capital. The corporation generally (not always) sticks more closely to the orthodox in these matters and buys art that is, for the most

¹⁸¹Judith A. Barter, "The New Medici: The Rise of Corporate Collecting and Uses of Contemporary Art," 1925-1970 (University of Mass. Ph.D. dissertation, 1991).

part, accepted or about to be accepted. As Baxandall noted regarding the fifteenth-century merchant, Rucellai, corporations support art that has already been "socially rationalized" to some degree. They are interested in achieving or reinforcing a dominant status and do not wish to wage an ideological war with the avant-garde for the establishment of new symbolic values.

There are times when the idea of the 'avant-garde' becomes fashionable (if, at such a point, it can still be considered avant-garde), pushing some companies to buy more difficult contemporary art so that they can benefit from the increased symbolic/economic value of being associated with what is modern and innovative. Different approaches do exist in the corporate art world, but the long-lasting programmes generally have a conservative base. 183

¹⁸²Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style, 3.

¹⁸³The U.S.-based Progressive Auto Insurance Company prides itself on its 'progressive approach' and is now sponsoring PULSE, a new series of contemporary exhibitions of young artists of leading-edge art at the AGO (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto). The fact that this sponsorship is happening and is published in the journal of the AGO shows that the company wishes to be seen as progressive but well within the established venues of art. Members Journal of the Art Gallery of Ontario, summer, 1999, V. 7, No. 4, 9.

Nevertheless, they have a creative approach. I cite the frontispiece of the annual report for 1989, which states:

We commissioned eight artists to do a piece inspired by the reality of drunk and drugged driving in America. We present their work in this report. We hope these images will challenge all of us to change the way we think about drinking and driving.

Such subject matter is particular to their purposes and is not typical of corporate tastes.

If corporations buy emerging artists, it is more often because they are good value economically, decoratively or symbolically - and not because corporations have a direct interest in establishing a new trend. It is a truism that most companies buy 'middle of the road' art and support sure-bet, blockbuster events, thus avoiding uncomfortable issues such as sex, political unrest, violence etc. - issues with which they do not wish to be overtly linked. For the most part, corporations support art that ideologically will be implicitly comforting and reassuring to the broadest possible audience.

Modern corporate art collecting fits into a larger ideological framework that purports to espouse secular humanism in an attempt to woo an increasingly diverse and demanding audience with evolving moralities. In the above context, it links itself to the desire for greater profitability. In detailed, day-to-day, practical terms, however, art collecting is not about making money. Not surprisingly, not one of the four Montreal companies under discussion has ever suggested that they buy art for investment purposes or for a tax break, nor has one of them ever sold an artwork to realize a profit (although this happens periodically in the corporate art world). Nevertheless, not all business personnel or shareholders in companies that are committed to collecting are convinced of the advantages of art, and investment talk is a useful selling point

¹⁸⁴In November 1998, the Reader's Digest collection of Impressionist and Modern works, assembled through the forties to the sixties, was sold at auction because of financial pressures. Some 200 other works remain at global heaquarters in Pleasantville, New York. IBM and CBS also sold off part of their collections at a profit in recent years. NACAM newsletter, fall 1998.

to convince those who are reluctant that buying art can be justified on several fronts, including economics. Everybody, including the curators, likes to think that they may make money.¹⁸⁵

Arnold Edinborough, former president of the Canadian Council for Business and the Arts, expresses in simple terms an ideal perception of the relationship between the arts and business:

The alliance . . . not only reflects the good taste and good judgement of the corporation, it shows it is concerned with the quality of life in every sense, and supports activity.¹⁸⁶

This is a euphemistic perception and not everyone agrees, as the following section shows.

HANS HAACKE and ALCAN

The use of wealth to purchase symbolic capital, even if 'well done,' antagonizes that fraction of the avant-garde art world that, without any economic power, struggles to create and establish new symbolic norms that will in the long run dominate the cultural domain. An inevitable struggle between the avant-garde and the art establishment currently enjoying the fruits of recognition ensues and becomes part of the process to determine what will endure as symbolic capital and what won't. Should corporations ever decide

¹⁸⁵Martorella makes the following point: "Gallery owners and advisors alike agree that they have never met a corporate executive who was oblivious to the dollar appreciation of art, in spite of the fact that less than one percent actually claim they collect for investment." Martorella, *Corporate Art*, 1990, 48.

¹⁸⁶Arnold Edinborough, "The Role that Business Plays in Canadian Art," Canadian Speeches, December 1987, 9.

to enter the fray by consistently spending a lot of money on the arts, the balance of economic power would be lopsidedly in favour of the corporations; it is in this sense not entirely surprising that the subject of art and corporations has been largely ignored by the art and cultural critics and historians. In the past, within their own domain, these individuals have always operated independently, and they would no doubt prefer to continue doing so in the future. In any case, large corporations do not specifically target the artistic or intellectual portion of the public (although corporations would be happy to seduce all publics). They primarily wish to communicate their position to a broad segment of the population including, but not restricted to, their own employees, shareholders and clients. Withal, one artist, Hans Haacke, has responded directly and at length to corporate activity in the arts.

The legitimacy of the alliance between art and corporations and the resulting distinguished, socially acceptable positions that allow them, according to Haacke, "to bask in the glow of culture, at peace with the world," is exactly what Haacke questions. He conveys a message to the art-aware public by his art, underlining the 'politically unacceptable,' even morally reprehensible, activities of corporations - activities that an alliance with art may attempt to camouflage. Haacke creates art that could never be bought by a corporation to ease the malaise of unpleasant realities or to enhance standing in a community. He points directly to these unpleasant realities. His art is a

¹⁸⁷Hans Haacke, "In the Vice," Art Journal, 1991, V. 50: 51.

political tool, hopefully as potentially effective for Haacke as that of the corporations who buy or sponsor art to seduce the public for their own purposes. Haacke hopes to have a political effect, and although he realizes that his art is a token and is likely to be ignored by the corporations he assails, he does not consider himself impotent. Haacke undermines the very art identity that Alcan hopes to create. The game is shown to be well understood by both parties.

In Voici Alcan, 1983, 189 Haacke produced three aluminium panels displaying at the top of each the Alcan logo that the company proudly uses to proclaim its identity. Beneath the logo on the central panel is a picture of the mangled dead body of Stephen Biko, a prominent martyred labour leader of the South African apartheid regime, during whose tenure Alcan had conducted business in that country. The adjacent two panels feature opera scenes. The panels of this triptych (the origins of which paradoxically can be found in portable religious altarpieces) have texts that read from left to right as follows:

"Lucia di Lammermoor," produced by the Montreal Opera company with funding from Alcan. Alcan's South African affiliate is the most important producer of aluminum and the only fabricator of aluminum sheet in South Africa. From a nonwhite

¹⁸⁸Interview with Hans Haacke in *Parachute*, (Montreal), No. 23, 1981, 12-17, as reprinted in *Hans Haacke. Volume II/Works 1978-1983* (The Tate Gallery, London and Van Abbemuseum, Eindoven, 1984) 104.

¹⁸⁹Photographs with plastic letraset, glass and aluminum, logos of paper on plexiglas, typewritten text on aluminium foil; three panels, each 86-1/2" by 41"; first shown at Galerie France Morin, Montreal; presently in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada.

work force of 2,300, the company has trained eight skilled workers.

Stephen Biko, black leader, died from head wounds received during his detention by the South African police. Alcan's South African affiliate sells to the South African government semifinished products which can be used in police and military equipment. The company does not recognize the trade union of its black workers.

"Norma," produced by the Montreal Opera Company with funding from Alcan. Alcan's South African affiliate has been designated a 'key point industry' by the South African government. The company's black workers went on strike in 1981.¹⁹⁰

The implications of the visual and written messages did not need clarification, and Alcan management was upset. Possible legal action was considered and then dropped when the National Gallery of Canada seemed to add insult to injury by lending the work to the Tate Gallery in London in 1984. The legal issues were partly based on the blatant use of the Alcan name and logo, copywrited property.¹⁹¹ At one point representatives from Alcan were

¹⁹⁰Taken from the translation on the label for the artwork at the National Gallery of Canada.

¹⁹¹Various letters and memos from the Alcan archives illustrate the malaise created at Alcan.

Jake Warren (vice-chairman of the Bank of Montreal and former High Commissioner to London) wrote on August 27, 1984, on behalf of Alcan to Sylvia Ostry (then Deputy Minister of International Trade and Co-ordinator, International Economic Relations) to ask for an explanation as to why *Voici Alcan*, "such an unbalanced representation," would "enjoy official Canadian support" and be lent to the Tate. He received a reply from the Minister on October 10, 1984, stating that the government had an arm's-length relationship with its culturally sponsored institutions and did not want to interfere with official curatorial decisions.

On the subject of legal action, the following memos are pertinent. To Mr. G. Katsuyama from Brian Sherman, December 4, 1984:

You will note the extremely negative (if not defamatory)

stationed beside the work in the National Gallery of Canada to assess public reaction and to determine whether the work was a destructive influence. ¹⁹² I called the then-director, Shirley Thompson, to discuss the negative implications for Alcan - in particular the visually suggestive and misleading direct link between the company and the death of Stephen Biko. ¹⁹³ All of this proved to be to no avail because the higher order of the moment was artistic liberty - at the very least, freedom from direct corporate censorship. ¹⁹⁴

representation portrayed through the artist's juxtapositions. . . . The public relations department . . . have solicited the help of the legal department and, in my view, is entitled to rely upon an aggressive legal intervention at this time. . . . you are considered to be the person most qualified to protect the unauthorized use of Alcan's name, logo, etc.

Return memo, December 7, 1984.

... I have taken up the Haacke matter with Mr. Art Bruneau who in turn discussed it with Mike Miller and it was decided to leave things as they are and not to create a fuss. As you are probably aware this same approach was taken when the exhibition was on display in Montreal. . .

¹⁹²Information from Lorne Walls, public relations officer for Alcan at this time, 1985.

¹⁹³This was the view taken and later characterized as "unsupported innuendos and veiled, undocumented allegations of wrong doing" by John Bentley Mays, art critic, in an article in *The Globe and Mail*, June 14, 1988. Mays' article was rebutted in a letter to the editor of *The Globe and Mail* on June 20, 1988, by Ann Thomas, Assistant Curator of Photographs, National Gallery of Canada, which defended the seriousness and art historical legitimacy of the artist's work. Other letters ensued.

¹⁹⁴Phillipe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan Museum, while actively soliciting corporate sponsorship, commented that corporate sponsorship is an "inherent, insidious, hidden form of censorship." Haacke, "In the Vice," 1990, 51.

Haacke perceived that Thompson to some degree agreed with Montebello as a letter, dated July 21, 1988, from Haacke to Thompson, (on the subject of

The museum had become a site of struggle; mandated to protect and exhibit the arts but dependent on funding from the public, government and corporations, it was uncomfortable in the middle. Haacke addresses this development directly in *MetroMobilitan* 1985, which both highlights Mobil's sponsoring of the show "Treasures of Ancient Nigeria" at the Metropolitan Museum in New York and Mobil's activity in South Africa. In it he suggests that the museum has become a site used for corporate public relations. The fact that Alcan reacted as it did indicates that it also considered the museum as such a site and feared its potential power.

The idealized values of uniqueness, democracy and freedom from politics are tested effectively by Haacke in the museum venue, using the museum site itself as a subject of political comment. Haacke exposes, for the perusal of consumers of art, the moral riddles and ethical paradoxes inherent in art endeavours by corporations and also the museums that collaborate with them.

At the time of the creation of *Voici Alca*n in 1983, Alcan was a 24 percent silent minority shareholder in a South African affiliate. By early 1986,

a letter regarding *Voici Alcan* sent to *The Ottawa Citizen* by Thompson), suggests:

I was pleased to sense, in your letter, an alertness to the potential for conflict between sponsors and sponsored institutions. You probably know that I am weary of this combination. I believe that it can have damaging longterm effects on the arts as well as on the political culture of a democratic society.

From the National Gallery files.

¹⁹⁵See Brian Wallis, "Museum Blockbusters: The Art of Big Business," *Art in America*, V. 74, June 1986, 28-33.

however, Alcan had divested itself of its 24 percent interest in that affiliate and of all interests in South Africa and eleven other countries because of the difficulties of working conditions. And while this is true (and, in any case, not within our purview to analyze), it is also a fact that world opinion had been gradually moving toward a boycott of the apartheid regime for moral reasons (a position formally adopted by the Canadian government). There had also been popular demonstrations in Montreal by students and prominent clergy. One group of particularly vocal critics in Canada represented a coalition of churches and Alcan shareholders who at first called themselves the Inter-Faith Task Force on "The Churches and Corporate Responsibilty." Some came personally to meet C.E.O. Culver in the Alcan boardroom.

Both Haacke's work and Alcan's response are evidence of their mutual awareness of a newly emerging, globally oriented moral and cultural sensibility - an evolving Western political doxa in which corporations are key players.

In the short term, neither Haacke nor Alcan gave up the struggle for 'appropriate' symbolic recognition - a struggle on both sides for legitimacy which eventually centered around the information on *Voici Alcan's* label. In October 1986, Alcan sent a short one-paragraph letter to the National Gallery requesting that the information concerning Alcan's divestment in South Africa

¹⁹⁶Interview, David Culver, April 7, 1993.

¹⁹⁷Culver was also Chancellor of McGill University.

¹⁹⁸Duncan Campbell, Global Mission, V. 3., 1990.

be added to the label. Presumably this was done. However, given that the museum was closed for renovations between 1986 and May 1988, Haacke had time to reply, and by March 1989 the museum label read as follows:

Alcan sold its 24% interest in its South African affiliate in early 1986. Notwithstanding this divestment, Alcan continued business relations with this and another South African company, providing technical assistance and retaining supply agreements with the one and purchasing from the other.

- as reported by the Investors Responsibility Research Centre, Washington, October 1987.

The artwork labelling had become part of the process of the artwork and was itself in process.²⁰⁰

There are seven letters and the transcript of one radio show interview on file at the National Gallery which refer to the subject of Haacke and Alcan.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹Chief Registrar's opinion, June 30, 1993.

²⁰⁰See Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "The Label Show," *Art in America*, V. 82, No. 10, October 1994, 51 ff., which analyses the role of museum labelling.

²⁰¹To Diana Nemiroff, Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art, National Gallery of Canada, from Jeffrey Skelton, Vice-President, Government Relations, Alcan, October 24, 1986.

To the Editor, *The Wall Street Journal*, from Hans Haacke, June 30, 1988.

To Diana Nemiroff, from Hans Haacke, July 1, 1988.

To Shirley Thompson, Director of the National Gallery of Canada, from Hans Haacke, July 21, 1988.

To the Editor, The Globe and Mail, from Hans Haacke, July 30, 1988.

To Norman Webster, Editor-in-Chief, *The Globe and Mail*, from Hans Haacke, August 2, 1988.

To the Editor, *The Globe and Mail*, from Diana Nemiroff, August 8, 1988. Radio transcript from *CBC*, *Good Morning*, June 8, 1988.

To the editor of *The Globe and Mail*, from Ann Thomas, Assistant Curator of Photographs, National Gallery, June 20, 1988.

Issues concerning *Voici Alcan* were aired in three major newspapers - *The Globe and Mail*, *The Ottawa Citizen* and *The Wall Street Journal*.²⁰² The museum was a site of struggle involving the power of a corporation, the demands of an artist, the museum's desire to exercise its own authority and public perception.

Voici Alcan is no longer constantly on view because of the fugitive nature of its medium and other museum issues;²⁰³ however, the museum keeps a thick file on the subject in the office, although not all of the correspondence is available to the public.²⁰⁴ Alcan has long since dropped the matter. In any case, the apartheid regime has been defeated, and the work has lost its immediate political significance. Haacke has personally expressed regret that, as previously noted, not one of the companies that he has singled out for commentary has ever offered to meet him personally.²⁰⁵ In this sense, the

The Ottawa Citizen, June 8, 1988, published a letter from Shirley Thompson, referred to in the previous footnote.

William Mathewson, *The Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 1988, reported that an Alcan spokesperson, Fernard Leclerc, had said that the artwork should be removed because it was no longer relevant.

²⁰³And not because of pressure - emphatically stated by Janice Seline, Assistant Curator, National Gallery of Canada, telephone interview, May 25, 1993.

²⁰⁴This private file requires special permission under the 'access to information act' according to Dave Willson, National Gallery, September 9, 1999.

²⁰⁵Private conversation between Hans Haacke and JoAnn Meade at the opening of the Contemporary Art Museum in Montreal, 1992. In fact, after this meeting, Phil Gunyon, general manager, Alcan. did agree to meet with him, but

struggle has been somewhat confined to, but nevertheless well promoted on, the general terrain of the art world.²⁰⁶ Haacke has continued to use the Voici Alcan controversy in other international art shows.²⁰⁷

Since the retirement of David Culver in 1989, Alcan has ceased to be a major supporter of the arts; this has nothing to do with Haacke and everything to do with diminishing profits and new management.

THE ART COLLECTIONS

What a company collects provides a basic identity. What it does with the collection promotes this identity. The involvement of diverse media, both advertent and inadvertent, helps to create or to reinforce this external image.²⁰⁸

other activities prevailed and this did not happen.

²⁰⁶ Haacke moved on to other projects but maintains his political stance. In 1990, he addressed the College Art Association in a panel *The Thought Police are Out There*, tackling the rights of artists under the First Amendment. In a particularly interesting move, he published a conversation with Pierre Bourdieu in the U.S.A. in 1995, *Free Exchange* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), originally published as *Libre-Échange* (Éditions du Seuil: Les Presses du Réel) in 1994 and then in English in 1995 (Polity Press: Cambridge, England).

²⁰⁷ Artfairismes, exhibition catalogue, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1990, 48, in which comments from Alcan's executives culled from the *The Wall Street Journal* and other Canadian press are quoted.

²⁰⁸Perrin particularly emphasizes the necessary cooperation between the media and sponsoring. "The media must become partners. Sponsoring is media-oriented (. . .) . It is part of the media, and it uses media as a support."

As reported by Haacke in "In The Vice," 50, and verified by me in the synthesis of the original French-language report.

ALCAN

Alcan is a major multinational company, the second largest aluminium company in the world (after Alcoa). The Alcan collection is <u>very</u> eclectic, in part because its partners and clients are from all over the world, but also because the affiliates were invited to send gifts of art for opening day, a move that resulted in an array of objects which, in and of themselves, would initially never have been considered by either the management or the curator in Montreal as possible art purchases.²⁰⁹ Without attempting to exhaust the list, these corporate gifts included a nineteenth-century saddle with embossed silver mounts accompanied by knives and a lasso from Uruguay; an amethyst geode (a several-hundred-pound chunk of stone in which are found amethyst crystals)

²⁰⁹Murray Lester, chairman of the art committee, vice-president of Energy and Resources, sent a letter dated May 14, 1982, to the eight vice-presidents of the regions with the following proposals concerning gifts of art, which are reproduced here in part:

^{...} Where a country or an area is well-known for a certain art style, we would therefore like a representative work. In other cases, where the art scene is basically international, work by one of the leading artists would be appropriate.

For the figure noted above (\$5,000.00) we are not likely to acquire outstanding paintings or sculpture . . . more probably . . . drawings or prints from top ranked artists. These would be signed and numbered (in the case of prints). Mass produced reproductions would not be of interest. Tapestries could certainly be considered We are making no distinction between figurative and abstract styles - the criterion should be good art. Incidentally it would be quite appropriate to consider including primitive art or handicrafts.

It is clear from the above that Lester (an amateur collector of Canadian Inuit art) had some knowledge of the art field and a conception of an eclectic international collection, for which he had sown the first seeds several months before hiring a curator in September of 1982.

and a feather headdress from Brazil; paper kites from Malaysia; puppets from Indonesia; dancing dolls from Thailand; and a four-foot-tall brass ceremonial oil lamp from India. So much excitement was generated within the company by some forty-four gifts of such widely varying character that it was tacitly decided by the curator that the idea of 'art collection' could and was henceforth to be very broadly interpreted and could occasionally include natural objects.²¹⁰

Subsequent rationalizations were developed to that effect. The general tone of the developing rhetoric observed that the creation of what we come to value as art results from celebratory and ritualized acts of life - the need to create, adorn, embellish, explain and control - ultimately to imbue our lives with meaning. Such activities are pursued by people from all cultures and take many forms. Unlike much contemporary art destined for the art market, art need not be highly intellectual in nature and can be utilitarian in origin. The distinctions between the fine and decorative arts were therefore acknowledged, but not emphasized, by those determining the nature of the collection. Although this rhetoric can hardly be called an aesthetic theory of art, the fact that the curator felt obliged to create a rationale into which could be fit the 'art' collection, to justify its existence and distinctiveness, follows the typical sequence of events in the professional art world. Becker discusses the fact that the aestheticians of the art world develop their theories after the art has been created, and this

²¹⁰In some senses, this approach goes back to the origins of the museum concept in the Cabinet of Curiosities, which largely included rare natural objects.

in order to justify, explain, and sell the art in the face of competing camps of interest.²¹¹

The definition of the Alcan art collection must perforce be that final summation by Pearce, the one that rejects the notions of the seriality of interrelated objects, systems and order as absolute criteria, and finally resorts to a subjective yardstick - "a collection exists if its owner thinks it does." 212

The Alcan collection numbered some 1,000 items in 1999.²¹³ A computer inventory system was developed by the curator and a company archivist. Various museum guidelines were used, as well as the results of informal research with corporations but, in the long run, Alcan had to develop its own categorical index because of the eclecticism of the collection. The following list of categories of objects owned, illustrates the latter point well:

Architecture door, gate

Arms and Armour armour, helmet, shield, weapon

Containers bag, basketry, ceramic, gourd, jug, vase

Costumes and Accessories belt, footwear, gaucho equipment, hat,

jewelry, skirt, dress

²¹¹Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1982) 131-164.

²¹²Pearce, Collecting in Contemporary Practice, 3.

²¹³A complete inventory of the collection exists. Anyone requiring information may call Alcan.

Dinner Ware dishes, pouring and drinking vessels,

utensils

Dolls and Puppets

Drawings

Flora and Fauna

Furniture armoire, chair, chest, clock, desk, lamp,

mirror, table

Minerals and Fossils

Multi-Media

Paintings including fan, screen or box as support

Photography

Prints also manuscripts, documents and antique

posters

Recreational Objects kite, game

Sculpture including award plaques, bowl, ceramic,

funerary, mask, panel

Textiles batik, blanket, carpet, costume, funerary,

loom, rug, wall hanging

The philosophy of eclecticism also led Alcan to use many different approaches to purchasing. Becker categorizes art via the different organizational networks (or lack thereof) and the different ideologies that guide the artists within them, consciously or unconsciously. He highlights:

- 1. professionals who understand and use conventional ideology and distribution networks.
- 2. mavericks who understand such thinking and networks but eschew their use

- 3. naive or folk artists who do not purport to do either directly
- members of arts and crafts groups who have their own standards and networks but can be invaded by other artists who aspire to turn craft into art (although the boundaries are often blurred and the terms are relative to the networks involved).²¹⁴

Alcan's collection incorporates art from each of the above-mentioned organizational collectives.²¹⁵

One of the results of this collecting method at Alcan is a 'sense' of democracy that prevails through its art. The regional affiliates are directly represented because they were implicated in the choice of art from the beginning. The floors themselves are divided into geographic regions for the purposes of displaying the pertinent art, the objective being to create an obviously different geographical and decorative ambiance on every floor. The eclecticism of the collection permits this in a way that a collection of international paintings would not.²¹⁶

The theme of the geographic separation of objects was worked out between the head of the art committee and the curator and had nothing to do with specifically located business functions in the head office or the relative

²¹⁴Becker, Art Worlds, 1982.

²¹⁵The curator also went to the odd garage sale.

²¹⁶If we had followed the current trends and used 'international style' abstract art, only an art historian with prior knowledge would be able to distinguish geographic regions, and this we wished to avoid.

importance of the areas represented.²¹⁷ For each floor, visual cohesion and aesthetic appeal are the chief operating principles. These concepts, however, are realized within an intellectual framework guiding the purchase of both arts and crafts.

The Alcan collection does have guidelines for the purchase of artworks.

An artwork must:

- 1. be of excellent quality.
- 2. possess either aesthetic or decorative qualities.
- 3. reflect particular regional or ethnic characteristics.
- 4. contribute to a recognition of the diversity of artistic techniques.
- 5. and/or manifest certain intellectually pertinent or historically particular positions. 218

All manner of employees and visitors from all classes of international society respond positively to the stimulation provided by this diversity.²¹⁹ Their positive responses focus on the originality of presenting such obviously diverse

²¹⁷For instance, African art was given and remains on one floor, although African-related business endeavours were never of equal importance to those of Canada, which also fills one floor. The idea of representation itself is therefore generally, and not specifically, symbolic.

²¹⁸These criteria were isolated and articulated by JoAnn Meade later in the programme, after reflecting on the nature of the objects that had been received as gifts and those that had been purchased, the latter being at that point the larger number.

²¹⁹People from many different walks of life have requested tours of Maison Alcan, e.g. Margaret Atwood (Canadian author), Edmund de Rothschild (British financier), Y.A.M. Tunku Imran ibni Tuanku Ja'afar (Indonesian prince) and workers from Québec's aluminium factories.

and seductive objects in the work environment, as well as on its overall sensual, intellectual and decorative appeal.

Citing just one arrangement of objects will illustrate this diversity. Standing in the center of a carrefour on the floor dedicated to Latin America are, within eyesight of a turn of the head: to the left - a limited edition, contemporary, art box of real butterflies from Puerto Rico facing a colorful, six-foot hooked rug of a jungle scene from Brazil; to the right - a wall display box of eighteenth-to-nineteenth-century silver maté drinking vessels with a silver straw (Argentina), two contemporary prints of Mexican women by Zuniga from Mexico and a several-million-year-old fish fossil, mounted in a plexiglas wall box from Brazil. Straight ahead, on a plexi-box pedestal, is an ancient (1200-1600 A.D.) ceramic tomb figure of a 'Coca Chewer' (Columbia) whose silhouette is reflected in a contemporary oil painting, in glowing Renaissance colours, of a male in profile, by Benjamin Lire of Chile. Nearby is a textile fragment from a Peruvian tomb (800 -1200 A.D.).

While historically specific cultural legends and histories pertain to most objects and are clearly so labelled, people from all classes and cultures can relate to dolls, puppets, saddles and kites in some essential way, thus bridging other gaps and creating a sense of universality. Taken as a whole, the 'art' is not threatening because much of it does not demand special knowledge; it does not exclude people. Craft works are hung cheek by jowl with art that resonates on more complex intellectual levels. In this way a visual hierarchy of art values

is eliminated and, by implication, does not place those who do understand difficult art on a higher level than those who do not. All the art is carefully framed or boxed with an eye to presentation effect, giving each item a specific and valued aura, regardless of its monetary value or intellectual importance - a tactic ultimately aimed at highlighting a particular geographic region with aesthetic, decorative and sensual pleasure. To give an equal importance to all the displayed objects from crafts to rare works suggests - to employees and visitors of varying education, classes and cultures - that all are equally valued and are to be distinguished as such, at this moment, by this viewing experience. The overwhelmingly enthusiastic response from the general public shows that this strategy works.

What displeases some connoisseurs, however, is exactly what pleases the general public - the mix of objects (including those that they would not qualify as art) and the lack of seriality - a seeming lack of intellectual order. Elite art critics exercise judgement according to a hierarchy of values prominent, at any given moment, in the art world collective in which they operate - values in which they 'implicitly believe.' Their expertise (and professional survival) is often and perforce confined to specific areas of the intellectual map, and some are not comfortable when presented with a conscious disordering of that world. Nor would it be relevant to bring Western intellectual values to bear on the

diverse elements, for instance, of the African collection.²²⁰ Intellectually, one must be able to change worlds rapidly at Alcan or to enjoy the sensual experience without undue rationalizing.

However, art afficionados can find many works by names that have a 'reputation,' - a cardinal ingredient of longevity. 221 A good general knowledge of the international art world is necessary in order to recognize the following - Magdalena Abakanowicz (Poland); laacov Agam (Israel); Robert Rauschenberg, Eric Fischl, Claes Oldenburg, George Segal, Elizabeth Murray, Romare Bearden, Roy Lichenstein, Christo (U.S.A.); Jack Bush, Alex Colville, Riopelle, Christopher Pratt, David Blackwood (Canada); Alphonse Mucha, Mimmo Paladino, Gerhard Merz, A.R. Pencke, Pierre Alechinsky, Karl Appel, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (Europe); Yoshitoshi Mori, Kunesada (Japan); Francisco Zuniga (Mexico); Benjamin Lire (Chile); Kapo (Jamaica) and others.

The general response from visitors to Alcan is a high regard for a company that makes the effort and spends the money to create a stimulating work environment for its employees. The values of liberal humanism are seductive. Symbolically, this collecting and presentation approach highlights originality and democracy and is good business - every point of view has merit,

²²⁰These observations were made by me when the International Art Critics Association, on a convention in Montreal, requested a visit to the collection.

²²¹Becker, Art Worlds, 365.

the individual customer and employee counts and the best company knows it.

The probabilities of profit are effectively teased!

While this particular art collecting strategy has worked well for the sitespecific geographic floors in the head office - it has not worked as well for the purposes of external exhibitions, four of which Alcan agreed to support in Quebec locales in which the company has plants. Alcan provided funds and a selection of some sixty works and a catalogue. The exhibitions were intended to represent the nature of the Alcan collection, underline the extent of Alcan's global interests, and demonstrate the company's willingness to share and participate at the local community level. However, in my view, the visual and intellectual eclecticism did not lend itself to any coherence when the artworks were displayed together, perforce piecemeal, by local curators in large exhibition halls. Nevertheless, reaction to the exhibitions was favorable. The events created pride in local employees and others by the very fact that their locality hosted a multinational collection, not to mention the social allure of the vernissage (and successive receptions) to which many were invited.²²² The expression of pride generated by the art that belongs to the company for which one works is borne out in the studies of employees' reactions in Chapter 3.

²²² Québec city:

Musée du Séminaire, 1987.

Chicoutimi:

Musée du Saguenay, Lac St. Jean, (November

1984 - January 1985).

Shawinigan:

Centre Culturel, June 21 - August 23, 1986.

Grande Baie:

Musée de La Grande Baie, 1988.

These are the regions in which Alcan is most active in Quebec.

The most successful of the efforts to achieve an external identity has come through the avenue of guided tours to the public within the complex. These began because of word of mouth due to the initial publicity and were given because of public demand (some 4,000 to 5,000 requests annually for many years). There are still, eighteen years later, some twenty-five to fifty tours given each year to interested art and business groups from Montreal and abroad.²²³ Many more requests are not filled due to budget cuts and a continously evolving management mentality.²²⁴ The public interest became too much of a good thing. This is, after all, a business.

With Lavalin, Alcan ventured into the art exhibition arena in 1989 by mounting an art show featuring monumental art in aluminium from Canada, the U.S.A. and Europe.²²⁵ Wide-ranging and diverse works by artists of international renown and intellectual rigor as well as those of less significant artists were chosen by the two curators with the sole purpose of suggesting the almost limitless ways in which aluminum can be used in art. The exhibition was primarily intended to entertain, educate and inspire the general population,

²²³In 2000, Alcan received the 'Friends of the Art Institute of Chicago' and 'Friends of the Oakland Museum of Art, California.'

official Montreal tourist guide book. The artwork in the atrium, however, does appear in several art pamphlets published over the years, encouraging visitors to walk through the public areas of the Maison Alcan complex.

²²⁵Artluminium, 1989.

not necessarily the intellectual elite, although in some ways it did that also.²²⁶ Those particular corporate aims - to show the versatility of aluminium and to create popular appeal - were well reflected in the media response of the mass-circulation press in both Montreal and Toronto. The following lead-lines are indicative:

"Ca bouge en ville! un vent de culture. . . . Une exposition pour flâner: Artluminium"²²⁷

"Artluminium et Blickpunkte : Deux grosses expositions: une pour le 'vrai Monde', l'autre pour les initiés" 228

"Upbeat, Inventive Metal Molding"²²⁹

It was the art critic of the *Montreal Mirror*, an independent newsweekly, who, in many ways, most accurately interpreted the predispositions and intentions of this curator, writing:

²²⁶There was an extremely negative review in an influential intellectual newspaper in Montreal. The lead-line read "Artluminium: une exposition mal menée," Claire Gravel, *Le Devoir*, Les Arts Visuels, 23 sept. 1989. However, a lead-line by an unidentified author, in the same newspaper, published a week earlier, read "Une exposition époustouflante," *Le Devoir*, Les Arts Visuels, Cahier 2, 15 sept. 1989.

²²⁷La Presse, 1 octobre 1989, c 3. Jocelyne Lepage wrote:

Je ne sais pas si cela fera vendre ledit produit, mais l'exposition . . . réussit là où d'autres expositions d'art contemporain échouent souvent: elle peut séduire le grand public, y compris les enfants. La Presse, 15 septembre, 1989, Weekend, 1.

²²⁸Jocelyne Lepage, title of the article in *La Presse*, 23 septembre 1989, D 14.

²²⁹Stephen Godfrey, "Upbeat, Inventive Metal Molding," *The Globe and Mail*, Arts Section, October 6, 1989.

Sculpture dominates, with a wide variety of approaches represented, from formalism to figurative, kinetic to contemplative. Such diversity is unusual even for a group show, but the resulting artistic polyglot is a virtual feast for the right side of the brain.

Much of the elite art currently gaining attention of dealers and curators is made for stimulating everything left of the corpus callosum. For the general population and the vast majority of artists, the resulting aesthetic void creates an atmosphere of boredom surpassed only by seminars on hermeneutics. The pressure against a visually appealing art, for the sake of the conceptual, has become so strong that the artistic hierarchy seems to be founded on the degree of inacessibilty of the art in question.

It is this attitude that will prevent the Artluminium show from being seriously considered by the elite. However, by demonstrating the plurality of ongoing artistic production, the exhibition provides a more accurate picture of contemporary cultural activity. . . . While not every piece in the show is an artistic gem, many of the works combine signs of intelligence with an overt concern for visual appeal.²³⁰

In this endeavour, Alcan and Lavalin, a major Quebec engineering firm, joined forces. Lavalin was the most active supporter of art in Québec at the time, having an art director (Rosshandler), a gallery with a curator on its premises, a collection and a general annual art budget that one year reached \$600,000 Canadian.²³¹ The aluminium works were shown in the Lavalin gallery and on their outdoor premises, as well as indoors and outdoors on Alcan premises. The show ran for six weeks and a beautiful catalogue was produced.

²³⁰Brenda Newman, "Tin Foil - New Respect for an Old Rap," *The Montreal Mirror*, V. 5, No. 10, September 29 - October 6, 1989, 26.

²³¹Figure provided via telephone interview on October 20, 1999, with Leo Rosshandler, former Director of Art for Lavalin.

Ironically, Lavalin went bankrupt shortly after the show and never did pay for its full share of expenses.

While this was an exciting endeavour for the curator, the company, and the Montreal population and generated positive reinforcement for Alcan and Lavalin, the amount of money spent (in excess of \$500,000) did not equal the kind of exposure generated. And although the catalogue was given to many of the estimated 20,000 plus visitors; was sent to major museums and galleries in Canada, the U.S.A. and Europe; and is still distributed upon request remaining an eloquent testimony to this effort - these are not the principal target groups of the aluminium company. In the deficit-conscious climate of the nineties and early 2000s, in which all monetary resources are allocated strategically (including those destined for the art world), this could not happen again. Art support has now to serve a very specific purpose - one that can be rationally defended in precise business terms.

²³²Nevertheless, the show was reviewed in *Revue Suisse de l'aluminium*, 1989 and in a Polish magazine featuring aluminium. As well, a supportive letter was received by the curator from the Aluminium Federation of South Africa. Alcan Uruguay followed suit with its own successful aluminium art show, "Aluarte" in 1991.

However, the most laudatory letters were received from galleries, artists, and societies of sculptors, including one from the prestigious International Sculpture Center in Washington, D.C. As the files are replete with art reviews and commentaries concerning the event, it can be argued that Alcan and Lavalin got their money's worth in publicity in the art arena - however, evidently not enough of the kind that sells much basic aluminium.

²³³In the nineties, Alcan also dropped its substantial annual support (in excess of \$500,000, all things considered) of the Montreal Jazz Festival.

BANQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA (BNC)

The global viewpoint of Alcan's collection differs quite radically from that of the BNC, although it is also a major Canadian multinational with a presence, as early as 1974, in some seventy-five countries worldwide and now Canada's sixth-largest chartered bank. The BNC houses one of Canada's largest corporate art collections, some 5,000 works, called Canadian, but with 98 percent of the works from Quebec. The focus on Quebec art nourishes the Bank's historical roots and an on-going identity that is of considerable importance to it. Although the current BNC is the result of a number of significant mergers within the Québec-Canadian banking system, its Québec origins have fashioned its collecting policies. The BNC genealogy can be traced to the Banque Nationale (Québec) in 1859. In 1924, it merged with the Banque d'Hochelaga (founded in 1874 and whose name is associated with that first settlement of Indians that Jacques Cartier came across in 1535 on the island that later became Montreal) and located itself in the hub of activity in the old city. Benefitting from a burgeoning population and economic growth, the Bank, then named Banque Canadienne Nationale, became the bank with the largest volume of business administered by francophone Québecers.²³⁴ It merged in 1979 with the Banque Provinciale du Canada to assume its present format.

²³⁴All information from *1874-1974, Bank Canadian National*, commemorative history of 122 pages.

Although the Banque Nationale had, since its inception, bought Canadian-Québec artworks to embellish various offices on an ad hoc basis²³⁵ (the oldest work dates from 1895, a landscape of Murray Bay by Joseph Franchère) systematic collecting began in 1971 at the Banque Provinciale du Canada (merger with BNC in 1979) with a collection of Québec prints.²³⁶ The Banque Nationale du Canada (BNC) now owns 4,307 original artworks, of which 67 percent are prints, 24 percent paintings, 7 percent drawings, 1 percent sculptures, 1 percent photography. The rest, some 700, are reproductions. The collection is shown in a traditional manner in corridors and offices in major office buildings and branches across Canada and abroad, thus diffusing Québec culture.

The Bank's art collection distinguishes itself by an allusion to stable values - security and longevity - values likely to attract the average non-risk investor. It tends toward the intellectually conservative. The Bank buys historically important artists from Québec, those whose overall value is likely to be maintained or increased over time. And the Bank not only consistently and gradually augments the number of established artists represented, but also

²³⁵This stage is not well documented.

²³⁶This was due both to the initiative of an outsider, A. André Bachand, an impassioned personal collector, public relations officer and director of development for the University of Montreal, and Elzéar Lavoie, president of the Bank. They proceeded with the advice of François-Marc Gagnon, professor of art history at the Université de Montréal, whose personal expertise included work on Paul-Emile Borduas and Les Automatistes, the avant-garde artists of the forties and fifties.

adds works to the oeuvre of each, to provide an interesting historical perspective. Artists representing significant art movements are highlighted. The criteria for the selection of any particular work are its formal attributes - originality, exemplary quality and historical importance - or the significance of the artist. As the resulting collection is more thematically coherent than that of Alcan, it is of more potential interest to local art historians.

The Bank does not have public tours, but it does lend art to museums (as do all the other corporations discussed in this thesis), while the public relations department regularly organizes exhibitions in order to enhance its visibility. In the 1970s, an exhibition consisting primarily of landscapes was held in France and the United States. In 1984-85, an exhibition of fine prints travelled throughout Québec to other parts of Canada and to the United States. ²³⁸ From 1989-92, an exhibition entitled "Nature as Seen Through the National Bank's Collection" toured Québec, Ontario and Manitoba. The most recent exhibition, entitled "Moments Choisis" (1995), included 43 of the Bank's most prominent works and was first shown at the Robert McLaughlin Gallery in Oshawa. This is the first time, according to the brochure (written by Francine Paul, the curator, and produced by the public relations department), that a "major exhibition in the Metro Toronto area has been devoted exclusively to the

²³⁷Of course, many lesser works - originals and prints of less wellestablished artists and reproductions - are also bought to decorate the many offices.

²³⁸To celebrate the 125th anniversary of its founding.

National Bank's collection."²³⁹ That the collection had been recognized by an official art institution in a major Canadian center was important to the Bank, giving it credibility and legitimacy. An association with symbolic values that are historically significant and stable reflect and enhance the Bank's self-image. "Moments Choisis" was also exhibited at the Université de Québec à Montréal and in Québec city at the garden museum of Domaine Cataraqui (1997). A particularly heartfelt review was written by Pierre-Paul Noreau in Québec city. This review overtly expressed nationalist Québecois pride, a love of being distinguished and the quasi-sacred resonance that pertains to recognizing the names of artists enshrined in history:

L'occasion est rare, et de ce fait, précieuse. Il est effectivement exceptionnel de voir alignés en un même lieu, et en toute simplicité, autant de signatures prestigieuses, autant de noms évocateurs de la grande richesse artistique québecoise du siècle présent.²⁴⁰

Art as an issue of national identity has become as important in French Québec as it was in the mid-century (and to some degree still is) with the Group of Seven for Canada as a whole. The Bank chooses to forge an art identity in conjunction with its pride in its Québec heritage, although it is a Canadian multinational Bank.²⁴¹

²³⁹Francine Paul, *Moments Choisis*, Banque Nationale du Canada, 1995.

²⁴⁰Pierre-Paul Noreau, "Les enfants d'un siécle fou," *Le Soleil*, Québec, 22 mars, 1997.

²⁴¹A listing of the artists in the "Moments Choisis" exhibition shows what the Bank considers important in its holdings, including a more-than-representative sampling of Ontario artists because of the Ontario location:

MARTINEAU WALKER

Martineau Walker is a law firm with 150 lawyers and 325 support staff (in 1998). It occupies 80,000 square feet of space in the Stock Exchange Building in Montreal²⁴² and also has branches in London, England and Québec city. It is the tenth-largest firm in Canada and the second largest in Montreal. A significant part of its business comes from legal matters pertaining to the art world, but the firm does not earn its living from this speciality.

Martineau Walker's collection - now some 210 works - reflects the company's Canadian and international base, as well as its Québec head office.

Paintings, watercolours, gouaches, mixed media:

Joseph Franchère, William Brymner, Marc-Aurèle Fortin, Suzor-Coté, Jacques de Tonnancour, Albert Dumouchel, Jean-Paul Lemieux, Alfred Pellan, Paul-Émile Borduas, Agnès Lefort, Pierre Gauvreau, Fernand Leduc, Jean-Paul Riopelle, Marcelle Ferron, Rita Letendre, Edmund Alleyn, Jacques Hurtubise, Gershon Iskowitz, Charles Gagnon, Kittie Bruneau, Luc Béland, Jacques Payette, Susan Scott, Jean McEwen, Ulysse Comtois, Robert Wolfe, Monique Régimbald-Zeiber, Robert Savoie, Jacky Lafargue and Marc Garneau.

Drawings, Pastels:

Fritz Brandtner, Ozias Leduc, Joseph St. Charles, Betty Goodwin, Claude Tousignant, Maurice Cullen, Roland Giguère, Jocelyn Jean, Serge Lemoyne, Renée Van Halm, Brigette Radecki, Louise Robert, Denis Juneau.

Prints:

Adrien Hébert, Guido Molinari, Yves Gaucher, René Derouin, Henry Saxe, Greg Curnoe, Lucio de Heusch, Pierre-Léon Tétrault, Claude Tousignant, Serge Tousignant and Paul Béliveau.

Sculptures:

Louis-Philippe Hébert, Charles Daudelin, Andrew Dutkewytch, André Fournelle, David Moore, Jean-Pierre Morin and Francine Larivée.

Photography:

Irene F. Whittome, Michel Leclair and Roberto Pellegrinuzzi.

Notably absent are any members of the Group of Seven.

²⁴²As of 1999, it has added another floor.

More significantly, as previously discussed, it reflects the passion and intellectual sophistication of the collector and head partner, Maurice Forget, part of whose personal collection, until 1998, always adorned the walls of the corporation and was inventoried with those purchased for the firm. His perceptive attention to, and knowledge of, art matters is reflected by the fact that the Musée de Joliette accepted his entire personal collection of some 400 works (a donation that left 165 empty spaces at Martineau Walker) and elicited this tribute from the museum:

Rares sont les collectioneurs qui, à travers l'accumulation des oeuvres, ont cherché à dépeindre un milieu culturel et se sont employés à en reconstituer - de manière systématique - les principales tendances de même que les nuances les plus fines.²⁴³

According to the introductory text of the Martineau Walker 1989 inventory, the main focus of the collection is on Quebec art of the 1950s and '60s - "a period of serious artistic exploration"; however, "the scope of the Canadian representation spans the country from east to west." Major art movements of the twentieth century are manifested by European and American works in the collection. The national breakdown of artists was as follows:

40 Canadian artists (other than Québec); 81 Québec artists; 23 European artists; 6 American artists; 1 Asian; 2 native/Inuit.²⁴⁵

²⁴³Back cover, *Temps Composés: La Donation Maurice Forget*, catalogue of the exhibition, 14 juin - 27 septembre, 1998, Musée de Joliette.

²⁴⁴Joyce Millar and Nancy Skelly, catalogue inventory introduction, 1989.

²⁴⁵Alfred Pellan, Fernand Leduc, Marcel Barbeau, Guido Molinari, Claude Tousignant, Kittie Bruneau, Betty Goodwin, Michel Lagacé, Jean-Francois Houle, Michel Goulet, Daniel Oxley, Michèle Assal - Quebec; Ted Godwin,

At that time there were:

116 figurative works; 119 non-figurative; 50 oils; 34 works on paper; 21 watercolours or gouaches; 73 lithographs/serigraphs;

11 etchings/engravings; 7 wood/stonecuts; 17 mixed media;

14 photography; 4 sculpture free-standing/relief; 4 other. 246

In 1998, after the museum gift and the addition of subsequent purchases, there were:

28 photographs; 35 works on paper; 48 paintings; 5 sculptures; 1 tapestry; 93 prints.²⁴⁷

Forget comments that visitors to Martineau Walker do not spend time looking at the art, attributing this to the pressure of legal activities and hourly billing practices that do not encourage wasting time. The firm does have an external image pertaining to its art, but this is achieved mostly by Maître Forget himself, certainly because of the intellectual rigor of his collecting passion revealed in the office presentation, but also because of his involvement in a significant number of art and other organizations. His curriculum vitae lists memberships in twelve professional associations, seven business directorships and volunteer positions of some authority with forty different organizations

Claude Breeze, Jack Shadbolt, Norval Morrisseau, Pitseolak, David Blackwood, Jack Humphrey, Dennis Burton, Jack Bush, William Perehudoff - Canada; Ossip Zadkine (Cubist) - France; Vladmir Lebedev (constructivist) - Russia; Antoine Pevsner, Albert Flocon (Bauhaus) - Germany; Man Ray (Dada), Motherwell (abstract expression), Jim Dine (pop)- U.S.A.

²⁴⁶Joyce Millar and Nancy Skelly, inventory catalogue, 1989.

²⁴⁷Figures provided by Maurice Forget, March 6, 1998.

²⁴⁸Interview, Forget, October 10, 1997.

ranging from art, theatre, dance and music to education and mental health. He is his firm's best publicity effort.

In the case of Martineau Walker, the external identity forged by the art collection for the firm is really that established by the sophistication of Maurice Forget, individual collector, and its diffusion in larger community circles is in part due to the broader interests of this peripatetic, philanthropic individual. Forget is good at collecting, does not contravene company standards and enhances the company image as intellectually adroit, enlightened and modern.

LOTO-QUÉBEC

Although there had been commissions to artists since 1979, the art collection of Loto-Québec started in earnest in 1985. By December of 1997, the inventory included some 1,450 works of contemporary Quebec artists dating from the year 1950. Loto buys from artists living in Québec at the time of purchase. The collection is displayed in the head office (650 employees), nine regional offices and three casinos, in all for the benefit of some 5,000 employees. What is unusual about Loto-Québec is the degree of interest in art at the grassroots level. The company's reach extends into all the regions of the

²⁴⁹Most recently a new category of significant older art has been added because of the wishes of the new president. Interview, Louis Pelletier, March 1998.

province and includes many purchases of fledgling artists.²⁵⁰ In this regard it is the most adventurous of Quebec companies.

As of December 1997, the inventory listed 529 artists, of whom seven are represented by between 24 and 42 works each; twenty are represented by 10-24 works each; and 26 are represented by 6-9 works. The remaining 476 other artists are represented by 5 works or less.²⁵¹

The majority of works collected are by print makers²⁵² (all except two who, nevertheless, make prints seriously). This is clearly a preference of the curator, Louis Pelletier, an accomplished etcher/engraver who has won international prizes. While prints are collected by all companies (because they are a cheaper way to have good art), Pelletier brings his own well-developed sensibility to this domain. More than half the collection are prints, followed in number by originals on paper, and then by original oils, acrylics and mixed media. Also included are 25 sculptures, 35 ceramics and a few tapestries and photographs. Until recently, Loto did not seek out established art stars.²⁵³

²⁵⁰For instance, Yves Boucher, Pier Chartrand, Elaine Boily and Carole Pilon.

²⁵¹Loto-Québec has copies of the art inventory available in-house, *Liste des oeuvres: par ordre alphabétique*.

²⁵²The most-collected artists, in descending order, are (starting at the top with 42 works and ending with 14): Gérard Tremblay, Roland Giguère, Paul Clouthier, René Derouin, Louis Muhlstock, Janine Leroux-Guillaume, Nicole Malenfant, Francine Simonin, Kittie Bruneau, Francois Vincent, Daniel April, Norman Laliberté, Francoise Lavoie, JoAnn Lanneville and Albert Dumouchel.

²⁵³In a complicated \$750,000 purchase arrangement with the Musée de Québec and a tax deduction for the artist of \$1,200,000 from the Québec government, two major Riopelles were purchased. One of these, *Rosa*

As the company derives its income from all levels of society across the province, and significantly from the working class (selling games of chance - lotteries, slot machines and video games) it is quite appropriate that the artists in the art collection reflect this broadly-based group of grassroots Quebec clients.²⁵⁴

However, the most imaginative use of art for the deployment of the company image externally is the development of art events in the regions. This takes several forms but is based on a collaboration between Loto and regional museums and cultural centers. In one format, sales exhibitions (three or four a year) are organized, from which Loto buys works and for which the company pays for small juries (two or three people) of employees to travel to choose the desired objects. The company has also organized some sixty exhibitions for regional art centers featuring some 25 of their best or most representative works.²⁵⁵

In addition, the company also sponsors two competitions. One is an annual print contest for professional and student artists; the other, a biennial

Luxembourg, was lent to the Casino in Hull and has since been returned.

²⁵⁴31 percent of casino clients earn more than \$60,000; 25 percent between \$40,000 and \$60,000; 28 percent between \$20,00 and \$40,000; and 16 percent less than \$20,000. *Renseignements Généraux*, Direction de l'information, novembre 1996. This indicates that in excess of 20 percent of casino clients are below the poverty line.

²⁵⁵All information is from Louis Pelletier, interview, March 1998, supported by a brochure produced by the company in 1995 to celebrate its official collection.

of small-format sculpture. In the case of the former, the winning entry is printed in a limited edition and given as a corporate gift (with one remaining in the company collection);²⁵⁶ the winning sculpture is created in a limited edition and given to people retiring from Loto.

Loto is also regularly and specifically identifiable in several sponsorship activities: la Biennale de dessin, d'estampe et de papier d'Alma (since 1989), le Symposium de la jeune peinture de Baie-Saint-Paul (since 1990); and latterly le Festival international des films sur l'art in Montreal. They contribute, as well, to numerous other art groups.²⁵⁷

Art collecting activities legitimize a company whose proceeds derive from gambling in a way no other rhetoric could. It neutralizes, under the blanket of cultural heritage protection - always a prime image-maker for the Quebec government - the stigma of its inducement to gaming, as well as governmental greed. Support of its own culture is always a sentiment popular in Québec, no matter which party (federalist or nationalist) is in power. The theme of art also speaks to the idea of an intellectual elite, while the pervasive grass roots approach addresses the demographic distribution of the clientele of Loto-

²⁵⁶There are now two yearly winners who are given \$10,000 each to produce 80 prints from the winning image. The annual budget is \$30,000, and the contest is announced in all the art magazines and universities. The image must be developed around a poem chosen from Quebec literature, this being a particular innovation of Pelletier, after LaBrosse retired. Interview, Louis Pelletier, March 1998.

²⁵⁷Pelletier estimates the total overall visual arts budget to be \$700,000, with \$135,000 going to sponsorships. Ibid.

Québec and the symbolic importance of the collectivity, a distinguishing factor of Quebec culture.

Conclusion

The above four corporate art profiles reflect the nature of their businesses and bases of operation. Alcan plays in a highly competitive, international arena, and the art purchased by head office is predominantly for the head office ²⁵⁸ and reflects this international position by focusing on arts and crafts with a specific regional identity. The art budgets at Alcan must be justified in the minds of the managers, a continually evolving group that in a broad sense reports to shareholders; and these budgets are relative to the highly cyclical profits in this industry. As a result, budgets for art at Alcan are more sporadic than their counterparts at either Loto or the BNC, which budgets have enjoyed a more sustained growth. The overall impression of the art and architecture at Alcan is one of sophistication and cultural awareness, underpinning an image of global business acumen.

Because Loto-Québec is a local government-owned company, it does not have to compete, nor does it pay taxes. It has extended its tentacles throughout its Quebec territory, reaching out to many young and promising artists and distributing their art works throughout its own offices and local art

²⁵⁸Some art has been lent to plants in Kingston. Other affiliates have bought artworks for their offices that are not inventoried in the main collection. Some records of these purchases, not at all complete, are kept at head office.

centers. Loto-Québec encourages the participation of its employees in numerous art committees and juries and annually injects significant money and interest into the visual arts community. It is populist in nature and exclusively regional in approach, reflecting the clientele it hopes to reach.

BNC, although a major Canadian multinational, focuses on the local scene by buying contemporary and historically important Quebec artists in depth and disseminating them within and without Québec. However, because the Bank does not buy non-established artists, it is more conservative and elite than Loto. The Bank is populist to the extent that it preserves Quebec patrimony for Quebecers (among its most important clients), promoting this idea but embossing it all with a stamp of elite cultural distinction. The Bank projects an image of stability, security, loyalty to its Quebec roots and trustworthiness.

Martineau Walker's collection reflects the personal collecting habits of Maurice Forget. It is a small intellectually focused collection with international boundaries, predicated on ideological developments in art history in the twentieth century. It is geared towards educated employees with a potential appreciation of art. That Martineau Walker's profile, intellectually enlightened and modern, be singlehandedly created by one man, is in keeping with the independent nature of articulate and aggressive lawyers in an international law firm.

CHAPTER 3

ISSUES AFFECTING INTERNAL IDENTITY

We have now looked at many of the issues concerning corporate art collecting. Mostly, they have had to do with potential benefits to the company, which promotes itself to its client base via the creation of an ideology related to an art persona. However, the people who are the most affected on a daily basis by the art collection are the employees. The following studies show that art has an impact upon employees at all levels of the hierarchy. While numbers have been used to provide general guidelines, to establish samples or to indicate patterns of response, it must be stressed that this is a qualitative study and not a precise, quantitative, statistical analysis. The results create a general picture, rather than a statistical blueprint, of the impact of art on corporate walls from the employees' point of view.

The above having been said, the conclusions are nevertheless clear. The vast majority of employees like having art at work. At least 75 percent stop regularly to look at it - some changing routes in order to do so; they discuss it - expressing both positive and negative feelings; they encourage others to visit; they are inspired to learn more about art outside of work; and they express strong feelings of loss when asked to imagine its potential disappearance from the workplace. That the presence of art in the corporate environment creates

feelings of emotional involvement and well-being is undeniable. This translates directly into pride in the company - which pride is expressed by employees at all levels - as well as into a visual enhancement of the company identity from within. Also manifested is the perception of the work environment as enlightened, and hence an aid to performance. Such views are articulated best by executives who actively use and interpret the art within the business context. From the diversity of employee responses, we can legitimately infer that the stimulation of the creative and imaginative faculties of all workers subtly contributes to the success of a range of corporate endeavours. Of particular significance for the art world is the impact of corporate art on the creation of an art-responsive public.

It warrants repeating that my approach was inspired by the "out-of-the box" thinking of Henry Mintzberg, and my research format was constructed and the results analyzed on the basis of intuitive and inductive (not deductive) reasoning. In Mintzberg's words, I would like to think that the research was "exploratory in the best sense of the word and involved some creative leaps to come to some interesting conclusions." Mintzberg suggests guidelines that shaped and justified my thinking:

 that the research has to be systematic in nature but not detached - it has to be in a real relationship to the organizational structure;

²⁵⁹Mintzberg, "An Emerging Strategy of Direct Research" 108.

- 2. the systematic research should be supported by anecdotal data;
- 3. and the research ought to synthesize, to integrate diverse elements into configurations of ideal types - pattern recognition - and ought not to compare a few variables as though they are constant and unaffected by other variables, in part, because issues are always complex and changing.²⁶⁰

The above guidelines were followed by:

- 1. interviewing people at all levels of the organizational structure at Alcan.
- 2. creating a questionnaire that allowed employees to speak anecdotally rather than imposing series of questions based on predetermined variables.
- 3. and only afterwards, analyzing any patterns that emerged as a result of the collected data.²⁶¹

This study is (also in Mintzberg's words and not intended to be disparaging) "simple and inelegant."

In this study, no attempt has been made to isolate these factors (if, indeed, it is possible to do so, as people are often unaware of what makes them feel a certain way in a particular space). When analyzing the data, however, such considerations must be remembered and must form part of what are always complex and often unaccounted-for variables.

²⁶⁰Mintzberg, "An Emerging Strategy of Direct Research" 106-115.

Other variables are of potential significance at Alcan when trying to assess the effect of the art, because the impact of the architecture itself is dramatic and intentioned by the architects to receive art, which itself sets a positive tone for the reception of the art. As well, factors such as the organization of space and the amount of light in relation to the corporate hierarchy and management style can affect environmental aesthetics and people's feelings. For instance, at Alcan, executives are, by-and-large, located in luxurious reconverted nineteenth-century buildings or in large corner offices filled with light; however, the art is liberally dispersed throughout the entire complex.

The research assumed the following:

The influence exerted by the environment is indirect: i.e., the environment acts to influence people's emotional states, which, in turn, mediates their overt behavior.²⁶²

Therefore, the study focused on assessing the practical habits, overt behaviour, feelings and emotional states of this captive audience towards corporate art, as expressed in their own terms.

Pertaining to behaviour, there were several conceptually oriented questions that theoretically required a "yes," "no" or "I don't know" answer. As a result, subsequent clarification enquiries were added. As an example, in order to faciliate responses to the potentially complex question of "Are you aware, and often we are not aware, of any impact that the art may have on you at work?," other questions were asked as prompters:

For instance, do you ever talk about the art? Do you ever change routes to look at the art? Do you ever encourage others to visit? Do you use it in your work?

This technique encouraged people to respond to the questions to which they most related but did not make each question a prerogative. The phrasing was intended to reduce any discomfort about "not knowing" what was expected, or the fear of "not knowing" art well enough, and also to leave room for individual reactions - although few ventured beyond these questions.

²⁶²Russell Veitch and Daniel Arkkelin, *Environmental Psychology: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1995) 35.

Other questions assessed feelings and preferences directly without any prompting, thus leaving employees entirely free to express themselves on their own terms: "Is there any art that you specifically like and why?"

The last questions were biographical (art and other education, country of origin and position) and were placed last in order not to intimidate people into thinking they were being tested.

A simple and open-ended questionnaire with a preamble was devised.

Preamble

I am taking a doctorate at McGill University and am conducting research for my dissertation. Some scholars have written about corporate art, but largely from the point of view of corporate goals - prestige, civic responsibility, investment, etc. No one, to my knowledge, has ever asked employees how they feel about being surrounded by art at work. I am looking for your personal reactions. There is no right or wrong answer, nor does this have anything to do with Alcan policy. I appreciate your agreeing to help me. Please feel free to be honest.

Questions

- 1. Do you ever stop to look at the artwork in the various buildings?
- 2. Are you aware, and sometimes we are not aware, of any impact that this artwork may have had on you at work? For instance, do you ever change routes as a result? Do you talk about it? Do you encourage others to visit? Do you use it in your work?
- 3. Does it affect your mood?
- 4. If it were taken away overnight, never to appear again, how would you feel?
- 5. Has it affected your perceptions or activities outside of work? For instance, do you notice artwork elsewhere? Do you go to museums more? Do you decorate your house differently? Do you read about art? Are you generally more aware of art matters?

- 6. Are there any artworks that you specifically like and why?
- 7. Are there any artworks that you specifically dislike and why?
- 8. Have you formed any impressions about the geographic regions in which Alcan operates because of the art displayed here?²⁶³
- 9. Do you have artwork in your home?
- 10. Have you had art courses or an art-type education?
- 11. What is your educational background? Country of origin? Position at Alcan?
- 12. Have you any additional comments that you would like to make?

The research was conducted at Alcan, BNC and Martineau Walker. Forty interviews were done at Alcan, seventeen at BNC and ten at Martineau Walker. The survey at Alcan was the most complete, involving roughly 10 percent of the head office population via taped verbal interviews conducted by me. Time and other logistical constraints discouraged the curators at BNC and Martineau Walker from doing either as many interviews relative to their employee populations or as much coverage in a verbal format. However, both Maurice Forget (Martineau Walker) and Francine Paul (BNC) agreed to hand out written questionnaires using the same wording as that in the verbal interview. The results from Alcan are therefore the most complete and are here analysed in the most depth.

²⁶³If they were having difficulty saying anything, I offered a 'for instance': "What do you think of Africa as a result of seeing African art here?"

²⁶⁴I offered to go in and do the research, but my offer was declined.

It is recognized that my position as curator at Alcan (and similarly that of my counterparts at BNC and Martineau Walker) has a strong disadvantage, in that I could not separate myself from the ebb and flow of the corporate art culture in which the research took place and in which I continue to play a key role. In particular, as art curators are fairly high-status people within the corporation, some people would want to please me. The very fact of doing research on employee reaction to the art appeared to be reinforcing, in and of itself, the very corporate art culture being studied, adding to the corporate validation an additional layer of academic interest and value. This was deduced because of the enthusiastic support of the project, from the outset, by the company hierarchy and continuing enquiries of others on the topic.

I acknowledge these contradictions in objectivity. However, I have attempted to take some intellectual distance by structuring the phrasing of the preamble to indicate that the research had nothing to do with Alcan or its art policy. However, kind employees would still want to help me out. Some academic solace for the above may be found in John Van Maanen's analysis of qualitative methodology, which analysis bears repeating at this point:

As demonstrated by several of the research accounts in this issue, qualitative methods represent a mixture of the rational, serendipitous and intuitive in which the personal experiences of the organizational researcher are often key events to be understood and analysed as data. . . . That such contextual understandings and empathetic objectives are unlikely to be achieved without direct, first hand, and more or less intimate

knowledge of a research setting is a most practical assumption that underlies and guides most qualitative study.²⁶⁵

While my intimate knowledge of the research setting precluded a degree of objectivity, logistically it also allowed me to operate freely and effectively within the organization and to enjoy a measure of comfort and trust from the interviewees that encouraged them to speak openly. In fact, most were delighted to talk about the art.

STUDY METHOD

Of 412 employees, 40 were interviewed from the four officially inscribed levels of salaries at Alcan: 7 from Level 4; 11 from Level 3; 8 from Level 2; and 14 from Level 1.²⁶⁶ Both men and women are represented in roughly equal proportions where they are employed in roughly equal numbers (i.e., not at upper-management levels). Some of the candidates were known to the interviewer and others not. The list was developed by Phil Gunyon and myself to include positions at Alcan covering as many different activities as possible mail room, recycling, moving, library, maintenance, reception, systems, communications, finance, tax, legal, sales, purchasing, shareholders' services,

No people fall between categories 19 and 34.

²⁶⁵John Van Maanen, ed., *Qualitative Methodology*, 10.

²⁶⁶ LEVEL 1 (Levels 1-11) - clerical and administrative -161 people LEVEL 2 (Levels 12-18) - professional - 85 people LEVEL 3 (Levels 35-42) - middle management -134 people LEVEL 4 (Levels 43 up) - top management - 32 people These guidelines are established and used by Alcan's personnel department.

public relations and executive administration.²⁶⁷ An attempt was made to limit, fairly, the inclusion of people who had been known to show an active interest in art over the years.²⁶⁸ The resulting 40 names were considered to be a sufficiently balanced sample for this study.

It was decided to conduct direct taped interviews, in that people would be less likely to take the time to fill out a lengthy written questionnaire²⁶⁹ but would be inclined to chat, especially if they were allowed to do so during working hours.²⁷⁰ The interview took from ten minutes to half an hour, depending on the degree of articulateness of the interviewee. Most people were taped in their own office space. However, five employees came to my office because they wanted privacy or felt it was easier, the choice being theirs. The candidates were invited to participate by phone or in person. Initially four people refused. A switchboard operator said that she could not take half an hour off from her work; a secretary said she did not know enough about art; a female accountant said "she liked some things and not others but wasn't really interested enough to do it" and that she was too busy. The secretary and the

²⁶⁷Phil Gunyon as general manager, Maison Alcan, 1996, kept lists of the different departments and their personnel.

²⁶⁸e.g., members of the art committee.

²⁶⁹It took Maurice Forget of Martineau Walker over 18 months to get 10 written responses.

²⁷⁰Where necessary, permission for this study was granted by Phil Gunyon. Allowing employees to respond on company time must be considered an inducement to participate.

accountant changed their minds, the former as a result of coaxing from the curator, who felt that the study ought to include people who were obviously unenthusiastic; the latter called back herself. I had the impression from the accountant that word had spread and it had become the thing to do.

The fourth person, a LEVEL 1 employee, was approached in her office and said she did not want to be interviewed, had no use for art and did not care if the walls were bare. Noticing that she had a picture hanging in her office, I asked her if she would object if this art were given to someone else, as we are always short of pictures. The reply was adamant. She <u>certainly would mind</u>. She had visitors to her office and needed it for them. The author was reminded of the observations in C.M. Deasy in which he states that people want the norm even if they do not personally like it - the use of physical artifacts to affirm a person's status being a habit as old as architecture itself.²⁷¹

All other respondents were enthusiastic from the outset, particularly upper management, although the interview process involved more complicated scheduling, as many were travelling or otherwise busy in meetings.²⁷²

²⁷¹C.M. Deasy, *Designing Places for People* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1985) 24.

²⁷²Three people on the initial list of interviewees were not interviewed because one was sick, one was always running late and one went away for an extended period. Suitable substitutes were found.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Does the Presence of Art Affect Overt Behaviour?

The first two questions assess basic behaviour. Do people in fact pay any attention to the art in the office?

Question 1: Do you ever stop to look at the artwork in the office?

ALCAN (Sample 40 people)

29 people definitely or frequently stop to look at the art

8 occasionally stop

3 people do not stop

BNC (Sample 17 people)

13 people stop to look at the art 4 people do not, or rarely, or briefly stop

MARTINEAU WALKER (Sample 10 people)

10 people stop to look at the art

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of people stop to look at the art work in an office setting. The visual environment of art is arresting!

Question 2: Are you aware, and sometimes we are not aware, of any impact that this artwork may have had on you at work? For instance, do you ever change routes as a result? Do you talk about the artwork? Do you encourage others to visit? Do you use the art in your work?

ALCAN

- 26 people reported that it had an impact on them.
- 11 people were not sure of the meaning of impact.
- 3 people reported no impact.
- 5 people changed routes to look at art that they like.
- 10 people discussed it with others.
- 21 people have encouraged others to visit.
- 14 people use it as a working tool.

Most Alcan employees think that art has an impact on them, and about 10 percent actually change routes to look at art that they like. A majority of people encouraged others to visit. Over 25 percent use it as a working tool and talk about it.

Most revelatory are the comments of five of the seven executives interviewed; they consider the art to be a working tool and significant in various ways - as education, a work benefit, the expression of an ideology and an aid to communication:

The artworks are very relevant to the areas where we operate. This group travels a lot and you feel a little less stupid, you know what there is, it rings a bell, you have an idea. (Engineer, Raw Materials Technology)

Our company can afford to have a head office that reflects the better things in life. It's part of my compensation package. (Engineer, General Manager)

To me, an organization that has an art collection and keeps it alive, shares it with people, is definitely an organization that is world-class, no matter the domain, if it is sensitive to the soft issues. Culture to me is the basis for success in an organization. Once you betray that, any sort of cultural life, it is the decline of what you are as an organization or an individual. (Engineer, top executive management)

We have to think of the problems we have in other countries. The fact that we have beautiful things helps us to balance things out in our view of these countries. It is an excellent idea and has an impact impossible to quantify. It's much better to have these things here than in a museum. Alcan has elevated standards and wants to. The fact of having these artworks creates the climate or culture here. (Engineer, top executive management)

In the work, I use it when we have visitors from different parts of the world. They are quite interested in what represents their country. That has been very useful. (Engineer, top executive management)

The above comments suggest a cognitive impact that results in a world view which takes pride in, and identifies with, the higher aspirations pertaining to company goals and culture as outlined in Chapter 2. This sense of pride in the corporate cultural identity can plausibly be inferred from the majority of other employees (21 of 40) who, while often less articulate and having less power in the company hierarchy, nevertheless encourage others to visit. This, as an activity, in and of itself, has become an important part of Alcan culture. At Alcan, the art provides opportunities for communication within and without the corporation and also bridges cultural gaps.

MARTINEAU WALKER

- 9 people reported that art has an impact on them.
- 10 people talked about it.
- 3 had others visit.

BNC

- 9 reported that art has an impact on them at work.
- 8 said it did not.
- 7 talked about it.
- 5 have changed routes to look at the art.
- 1 person encouraged visits from others.

The interviewees at Martineau Walker are very aware of the impact art has on them, as is most clearly reflected by the fact that all of them talk about it with clients and/or with each other. This is perhaps not surprising for a legal firm! This is partly due to the fact that the number of employees and the space at Martineau Walker is relatively small, and employees often come face to face with large and challenging works. They are undoubtedly encouraged by the knowledge that the collection has a good reputation in the Montreal contemporary art world and that it warrants discussion.²⁷³

In all three companies, the art is discussed by a significant number of people, thus providing an opportunity for socialization and the communication of - and this must be emphasized - both positive and negative feelings. People with different educational experiences and job descriptions said the following:

I talk to people that I know, how good looking the art is. People that don't work here . . . I discover one every day; every day I discover one . . . I enjoy them all the time. (man in charge of recycling refuse; education secondary 5, Alcan)

Elles jouent un rôle. Elles permettent souvent des échanges, commentaires, discussions, de connaître même nos collègues. (lawyer, Martineau Walker)

²⁷³At BNC, a larger space with more employees, two of the interviewees stated that there is no artwork in their area.

Are There Any Cognitive Effects Due to the Art?

Art is original and can create a novel environment. Veitch and Arkkelin have established categories for describing possible responses to unusual environments in terms of the cognitive processes induced.

- affect a heightened degree of awareness and arousal occasioned by the need to know, to predict and to feel in control;
- 2. orientation actively seeking to find a personal "niche";
- 3. categorization evaluating the environment and imposing a personal meaning on various aspects of it;
- 4. systemization organization into a more meaningful, complex structure;
- 5. manipulation achievement of a sense of order and understanding which generates predictability and can ultimately work to a personal advantage;
- encoding in order to communicate with others, to thinktravel through the environment, there has to be some agreement about symbols.²⁷⁴

All of the above processes of cognitive structuring can be seen to be happening, some simultaneously, as employees attempt (at times struggle) to assign meaning to the art and to identify the art that they particularly like or dislike. Such cognitive effects are also manifested in the results by the differing interpretations of the use of art as a working tool, as expressed by Alcan

²⁷⁴Russell Veitch and Daniel Arkkelin, *Environmental Psychology: an Interdisciplinary Perspective* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1995) 88-89.

executives and by the significant numbers of people talking about art at all three companies.

Cognitive structuring is particularly suggested in the responses to Question 8 given at Alcan: "Have you formed any impressions about the geographical regions in which Alcan operates because of the art displayed here?" 275

It helps, like photography, on the seventh floor, a lot of Jamaican paintings, you can see the geographical and human environment but it has to come from personal experience. . . . it is a complement to that . . . it goes back to back. (Engineer, Consultant Raw Materials Technology)

Here we can see categorization and manipulation.

Understanding of each country . . . as primitive as Africa can be, it is really more complex than it looks if you look at the art. All the flat Japanese faces . . . really different from Africa, amazing. (Plan Administrator, Shareholders Services) Here we see systemization and manipulation.

Have wanderlust, love travelling, want to find out more . . . it creates an interest and excitement, that's why I like the foreign parts more than North America. (Director, Management and Executive Development)

Here is orientation.

Impressed by the complexity of African art which I used to think was a formula thing that didn't have a lot to it, kind of simple. Now I think that there is more to those cultures than I thought before, not quite as simply organized as I thought. (Alcan inhouse doctor)

This is systemization.

It's made me appreciate the art from those regions. For instance, after you came back from South America, I've never been there,

²⁷⁵I prompted some hesitant employees with the question "What do you think of Africa as a result of seeing African art here?"

I saw that there was all sorts of interesting stuff going on there, not just revolutions and inflation. It enlarged my horizons. It's made me a little less narrow in outlook about that part of the world. It's not just the art, you also showed me catalogues and slides. (General Manager, Maison Alcan, then head of the art committee)

Here is categorization, manipulation and systemization.

It does bring strong memories of places I've been . . . But it's more than memory lane; it represents the people and the geography we work with. systemization, encoding and orientation. (Director of Technology for Fabricating Services) This is systemization, encoding and orientation.

Yes, that is the intention and it gives the impression to visitors that Alcan is more of an international than they think. (Executive Vice-President)

This is an example of systemization and manipulation.

The beaded necklaces and everything, it shows you the talent that is there, every nation has their particular traits and it is coming out and enlightening us here. They are doing such intricate and fine work with it. (secretary)

The foregoing is orientation and categorization.

A majority of employees have formed impressions about Alcan's geographical presence because of the art, but some have not.

- 17 people said they hadn't formed any impressions.
- 21 people said they had formed an impression.
 - 2 people said they hadn't formed any impressions because they form impressions by travelling themselves.

While the cognitive processes suggested by Veitch and Arrkelin are seen to be present, the results do not point to the creation of a highly structured point of view. Impressions are very general and always show a personal slant.²⁷⁶ The result of cognitive structuring due to the art at Alcan has resulted

²⁷⁶The other companies were not polled on this question because they do not have the same display of international art.

in the fostering of a positive outlook and pride in the company, rather than in the implementation of any well-defined corporate philosophy or point of view.

How Do Employees "Feel" About the Art?

Questions 3 and 4 invited a direct, affective response. 'Affect' can be defined as:

emotion expressed in language and the affective quality of the molar physical environment as the emotion-inducing quality that persons attribute to that place.²⁷⁷

Art can be a major modifier of the affective quality of the environment, and it produces good and bad feelings. Nevertheless, "feelings" persuant to exposure to the aesthetic qualities of the environment are only beginning to be understood as significant topics for study. This is borne out by at least one writer, Arthur E. Stamps III, whose article, "Are Environmental Aesthetics Worth Studying?," elicited substantial controversy while still in the review process.²⁷⁸

Stamps writes:

I suggest that we think in terms of how the visual qualities of environments might affect one of a user's needs: the need to have good feelings. Reconciliation of the split between environmental social scientists and environmental designers would be achieved

²⁷⁷James A. Russell and Geraldine Pratt, "A Description of the Affective Quality Attributed to Environments," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1980, 311-312.

²⁷⁸See Geoffrey Broadbent, "Comment on: 'Are Environmental Aesthetics Worth Studying'?" *Journal of Architectural Planning and Research*, Vol. 6, No. 4, winter 1989, 356.

by accepting that people's feelings are legitimate design goals. Under this reformulation, we could find out if we can make people feel better through environmental design, and if those feelings have any other identifiable effect on those people's lives. . . . The first case is the simple one that aesthetic environments make people feel more pleasant. 279

That aesthetic environments make people feel more positively has been proved by at least one experiment which showed that people sitting in a "beautiful room" invest faces in pictures with a greater sense of well-being and energy than do people, looking at the same faces, who are sitting in either an aesthetically average room or an ugly room. Moreover, there was a statistically greater significant difference in positive attributions reported between those in a beautiful room and those in an aesthetically average room than there was between those in an aesthetically average room and an ugly room. In a follow-up study, similar effects were shown to be existent three weeks later, even as regards the examiners. As observed by Mintz, reporting on people's reactions in beautiful ("B") as against those in ugly ("U") rooms:

Observational notes showed that in the "U" room the examiners had such reactions as monotony, fatigue, headache, sleep, discontent, irritability, hostility, and avoidance of the room; while

²⁷⁹Arthur E. Stamps, "Are Environmental Aesthetics Worth Studying?" Journal of Architectural Planning and Research, Vol. 6, No. 4, winter 1989, 346 & 348.

²⁸⁰A.H. Maslow and N.L. Mintz, "Effects of Esthetic Surroundings: I. Initial Effects of Three Esthetic Conditions Upon Perceiving Energy and Well-being in Faces." *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 41, 1956, 247-254.

in the "B" room they had feelings of comfort, pleasure, enjoyment, importance, energy and a desire to continue their activity.²⁸¹

Such experiments suggest that people are positively affected by a beautiful environment in ways that alter their mood and, subsequently, the ways in which they perceive other people. If beautiful art enhances the environment, it can impact on work attitudes, particularly those most affected by interpersonal relationships.

Does the presence of art produce good or bad feelings? Answers to Question 3 respond to that point.

Question 3: Does it affect your mood?

ALCAN

24 people reported that art affected their mood.

7 people reported that certain pictures depressed them.

16 reported that it did not affect their mood at all - other things did, i.e., whether they had had a fight with their wife, work problems, etc.

Positive comments:

sense of peace	2
soothing	2
calming	1
relaxing	3
feels good	2
clears your mind/a good distraction	4
helps get in touch with your inner being	2

²⁸¹Norbett L. Mintz, "Effects of Esthetic Surroundings: II. Prolonged and Repeated Experience in a Beautiful and an Ugly Room," *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 41, 1956, 459-466.

BNC

10 people reported that it affected their mood 5 said it did, especially if it was ugly 7 people said it did not affect them

Positive comments:

like novelty (rotation of art)	2
calming	1
helps concentration	1

MARTINEAU WALKER

5 reported a positive impact on mood

2 didn't know

3 reported no impact

Positive comments:

warm atmosphere	1
calming	2
moment of distraction	2
surprise (novelty)	1

Most employees state that art has an impact on their mood. When it is positive, it calms and soothes them, providing a distraction from the demands of working. People also like novelty and variation in the art presented to them. However, many employees are affected negatively by art that they do not like, although the effect of art on mood is relative and can be superseded by the demands of work and/or other personal issues. This is particularly demonstrated by the responses of Martineau Walker employees, all of whom reported talking about the art, but only five of whom said that this constituted an impact on mood.

What Employees Like and Dislike and Why

The replies as to what employees like in art and why they do so are as follows, indicating strong patterns.²⁸²

Question 6. Are there any artworks that you specifically like and why?

ALCAN

variety (dislike monotony)	10
creates pride	14
beautiful, pretty	14
nice	1:
sets a good atmosphere	11
evocative of personal memories	10
tongue in cheek, chuckle	9
dislike abstract	9
colorful	7
uplifting	6
life-giving	6
love the art	6
like traditional art	6
like art gallery atmosphere	5
homelike	4
happy	3
bright	3
excitement	3
sense of discovery	3
image building	2

²⁸²All the verbal interviews were transcribed to paper by the author and analysed. The author tabulated both the words used and the ideas expressed by each person in the following manner. If a person used "interesting" four times in the course of the verbal answer, it was recorded as one. Certain ideas were grouped as one concept, e.g., "reminds me of" and other nostalgia-related declarations were designated "evocative of personal memories." Because of the necessity of interpretation and good sense, the results are not statistically infallible, but they are accurate for our purposes and indicate strong patterns.

1 each

ALCAN (continued)

attractive stimulation soft meaningful flowing, impeccable, delicate, graceful, historical, useful, fascinating, wonderful,	2 2 2 2
welcoming, pleasant, cheerful, lighthearted, everlasting, well done, like repetition, sense of belonging to Alcan global community	1 each
BNC	
sculpture painting landscapes representational surrealism stimulates the imagination full of life bright colours, dynamism, gaiety, relaxing, calm, real portraits, flowers, theatre, music, dance, a look, a balance, refreshing, feeling the people (joyful or angry), scenes of city, weavings, pastels, drawings, serigraphs, watercolours	5 5 4 4 2 2 2 2
MARTINEAU WALKER	
the work and its location colours - vibrant, joyous calms - soothes, serene Cosgrove photographs portrait (light hair tied with clips and	4 2 2 2 2

shy smile), originality, humour, fantasy,

whimsy, beauty, mood, tastes change and develop,

Pellan, Martineau, joie de vivre, sun and light

What emerges from the above results, above all else, is the importance of the aesthetic response as explored by Hans Robert Jauss. Jauss summarizes aesthetic reception as follows:

On the receptive side, the aesthetic experience differs from other functions in the world of the everyday by a temporality peculiar to it: it permits us to "see anew" and offers through this function of discovery the pleasure of a fulfilled present. It takes us into other worlds of the imagination and thereby abolishes the constraint of time in time. It anticipates future experience and thus discloses the scope of possible action. It allows recognition of what is past or suppressed and thus makes possible both the curious role distance of the beholder and the playful identification with what he ought or would like to be: it permits the enjoyment of what may be unattainable or difficult to bear in life; it provides the exemplary frame of reference for situations and roles that may be adopted in naive imitation but also in feely elected emulation. It offers, finally, in a detachment from roles and situations, the chance to understand the realization of one's self as a process of aesthetic education.²⁸³

With Jauss's qualifications, we can group all the employee responses. The desire for variety and discovery - to "see anew"; the stimulation of imagination and the evocation of personal memories - to "abolish the constraint of time in time"; the enjoyment of the effects of beauty and the natural world - "distractions from the daily difficulties of life"; a desire to be uplifted and inspired - "freely elected emulation"; the love of variety through different forms of art and the willingness to learn - "the realization of one's self as a process of aesthetic education."

²⁸³Hans Robert Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, 10.

Jauss also elaborates on ways that are pertinent to the role of art in a working day:

In contemporary linguistic usage, pleasure is opposed to work and also differentiated from cognition and action. Pleasure and work do indeed constitute an old opposition which has been part of the aesthetic experience since antiquity. To the extent that aesthetic pleasure frees one from the practical compulsion of work and the natural needs of the everyday world, it grounds a social function which has characterized aesthetic experience from the very beginning.²⁸⁴

The pleasure of the aesthetic experience as a distinguishing feature of a working day is valued, thus creating a welcome distraction. That employees relate positively to an aesthetic experience predicated on enjoyment is clear from the numbers and kinds of different descriptive adjectives they used to describe the art that they do like and by the fact that they are much more effusive when describing that art. However, further proof of this is offered by their responses to what they do not like.

Question 7. Are there any artworks that you specifically dislike and why?

ALCAN

29 people said there were artworks they did not like.

7 said there were none they did not like

4 said, not really, it was just a matter of taste.

²⁸⁴Jauss, Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics, 30.

Employee comments regarding the types of art they dislike and why:²⁸⁵

ALCAN

abstract dark depressing inappropriate for the office hard to understand only artisanat, not art no meaning no life, dead doesn't tell a story, dull, not my taste, loud, heavy, industrial, too much, leaves me cold, horrible, evil, terrible, depicts hate, doesn't inspire me, not pretty up close, not artistic, not pleasing to look at	9 7 7 5 4 3 2 2
BNC	
modern, abstract, experimental no types of artwork they did not like no reply portraits, geometric, dark colours, macabre scenes	7 6 2 1 each
MARTINEAU WALKER	
no response out of place in office offensive, politics, violence, sex, dark, sad, all collages, being made fun of, Andy Warhol,	3 2
soupcan art, boring, uninteresting, unfunny, personal taste, no reason	1 each

The above responses illustrate that employees want a positive experience from art but that this experience does not result from any one type of artwork,

²⁸⁵The following descriptions are in some cases interpretations of why they did not like the artwork and were culled from answers to both Questions 6 and 7.

although there are predictable patterns of likes and dislikes. At Alcan, individuals disliked (as well as abstract or depressing art) all manner of different artworks ranging from a silk rug; folkloric art; a figurative tapestry; a marionette; paintings of women, men, a bull, a steer, a 'chaise longue' by a pool; and sculptures of ducks.

The results from all companies converge on the fact that many employees do not like abstract or modern art. Nor do they like art that is dark, disturbing or depressing, whether by virtue of colour or subject matter. Occasionally they state that this art is inappropriate for an office. They want to be pleasured by the art; they want to enjoy an aesthetic experience.

Jauss makes the point that aesthetic experience is present before cognition or interpretation of the significance of the work²⁸⁶ and is directly linked to enjoyment which cannot be sacrificed even when a judging process is also taking place.²⁸⁷ If a judgement is in effect, there must be a positive balance between that assessment and the sense of enjoyment if the aesthetic exerience is to emerge.²⁸⁸ Employees who do not like a particular artwork or art form may judge it so negatively at the outset (and this for any number of reasons - lack of understanding, personal experiences, etc.) that the pleasure

²⁸⁶Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, Preface, xxix.

²⁸⁷ Jauss uses a Goethe aphorism: "There are three kinds of reader: one, which enjoys without judgement, a third, which judges without enjoyment, and the one in the middle which judges as it enjoys and enjoys as it judges. This latter kind really reproduces the work of art anew." Ibid., 36.

²⁸⁸Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience*, 36.

of an aesthetic experience is blocked. The role of individual judgement in the aesthetic experience explains the diverse range of art works considered enjoyable and why the same artwork can be both 'hated' by some and 'loved' by others.²⁸⁹

Overall, it is clear that employees are not looking to the office art for a full reflection of life experience, angst and all, nor for a difficult and involved learning experience. Rather, they want aesthetic enjoyment. Even those employees who are otherwise interested in difficult art do not necessarily want it at work. One Alcan employee was very explicit:

In the workplace I don't attempt to engage with the art in the same way as going to a gallery. I simply want to enjoy the colours or forms etc. - easy to take. Perhaps the ones I don't like were done by people who intended to express something that it takes a lot of time to understand. (Personnel Director, Master's degree in the liberal arts)

The generally positive tone of all the responses regarding the presence of art in the workplace strongly suggests that art provides a range of satisfying emotional experiences that employees are pleased to articulate. It can be conjectured that, in this context, even the stimulation of some negative reactions has a psychological role to play in the relief of stress and provision of enjoyment in the course of a working day.

²⁸⁹At Alcan three employees stated that artisanat is not art; five employees "hate" and four employees "love" that work with the "cows" on the sixth floor - Joe Fafard, *Freedom*, oil on canvas (66 x 172cm), 1984.

How and Why Does an Art Collection Enhance Morale?

Although the employees are not the active collectors of the corporate art, the emotional impact of being surrounded by art is in some respects similar to that experienced by collectors. One of Pearce's basic observations (and one that we are likely to ignore in the intellectual world of symbols) is that the human body, from its earliest beginnings, is oriented to the world in terms of its materiality and the use of the five senses. Three-dimensional art objects or those with the illusion of such reflect this primary sensual experience of our physical relationship to the world. They mirror us and are, as a consequence, alluring to us.²⁹⁰ This is undoubtedly why many employees do not like abstract art.

Pearce, borrowing the language of semiotics, talks about objects as being both metonomic (standing in for something else) and metaphoric (representing something else). The collected art objects, in the first instance, stand in for our direct, organic intrinsic experience. Having been selectively chosen (taken out of the embedded matrix), they become representative of a whole set of individual and very personal experiences and develop accrued meanings.²⁹¹ This is in part demonstrated by the unwieldy range of objects particularly liked

²⁹⁰ Jauss also discusses art as the mirror of the self and the recovery of the past of the self (Proust's aesthetics). *Aesthetic Experience*, 12.

²⁹¹Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Great Britain: Leicester University Press, 1992 and Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993) 38.

and/or disliked by Alcan employees. Within the context of 'a nice environment and liking to be surrounded by the art,' they focus on certain objects that resonate with their own life experiences.

Pearce's thinking bears a relationship to that of the linguist Lakoff, who relates the whole development of language to concrete, early, sensual body experiences which inform the capacities of our bodies to respond physically, mentally and imaginatively, in a direct experiential relationship, to the external world. This sets up an 'interactive' formative structure that promotes its own logic in the dynamics of human survival and development. Lakoff believes these primary physical interactions to be the basis for all human reasoning, which by various devices in language, such as metaphor and metonymy, can become increasingly abstract and complex, thus enabling us to define sophisticated intellectual concepts.

I would posit that the production of objects that incorporate both sensual and symbolic objectives are a natural evolution in this process - one facet of which culminates in objects that we choose to label as art. The art objects themselves become the physical basis for arcane dialogue in a metonomic exchange with the body and its experiences.

²⁹²George Lakoff, Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987). Also George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Metaphors We Live By (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

Liberally based on the thinking of both Pearce and Lakoff, it is my view that all artworks strike up a resonance with the viewer in three ways. They do so first from their own inherent physicality - they have line, shape and form, symmetries and other geometries, light and colour, surface tension and weight, and the suggestions of hidden dimensions, as do our own bodies. We 'know' these dimensions well from personal experience and find the reflection of them in external objects alluring and satisfying. Second, they derive meaning from the culturally constructed forms they inhabit - from pots to textiles, to paintings to videos. These forms evoke socio-cultural associations - functional, decorative, ritual, spiritual, beautiful, etc., associations which most people find in some way relevant to their own lives. Only after these first two referential phases are processed do objects derive meaning from other more complex and abstract symbolic interpretations. Some art objects actively seek to reduce the effect of the first two responses and thus attract a more limited audience. Some art incorporates both complex abstract messages and sensual attractions. On the first two levels, many employees are seduced and pleasured by the art; on the third, more abstract level, many are frustrated. It is clear that to maximize communicative potential with the employees of a corporation, (a captive and heterogeneous audience) artworks must include liberal references at the first two levels of direct sensual and cultural experience, as well as the more intellectual digressions that can provide a focus for, and/or expand and elevate, the discussion.

Bruno Latour makes a similar point in other ways. He speaks of the deflation of grandiose schemes into graphic images close to the eyes and hands. While Latour is arguing for the importance of reproduction imaging in science, he makes statements that are equally valid for the communicative potential of two- and three-dimensional artworks. Artworks that 'deflate' the macrocosm, bringing us a 'sense' of simplicity, have more immediate impact and are more easily grasped. They allow us to incorporate the world in visual and mental images that seem tangible. Latour analyses the development of linear and aerial perspective to show how we can transmit images through time and space, disseminating information which, for many, would otherwise be difficult to decipher or impossible to have.²⁹³ In obvious and simple ways, the grandiose scheme of Alcan's global economic involvement has been reduced into tangible and visual images by the art. Employee responses testify to the positive, albeit imprecise, impact of these diverse objects:

It gives me a sense of the globalness of Alcan, even though I haven't been to Africa and Asia; it is almost as if I can picture Alcan's presence there or the symbols of its presence. It reminds you in a much more vivid way than the flags in the atrium. When you see the bust of the black negro man, it is a very vivid reminder of an African presence. I have been to South America, so I feel kind of familiar with the style that is there. (counsel, Alcan).

²⁹³Bruno Latour, "Visualisation and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands" in H. Kuklick, ed., *Knowledge and Society; Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, 1-40.

Putting art on the walls helps us to escape from the flatland of abstraction, (the modern world of computer imaging and texts), by creating density, complexity, dimensionality and beauty in our architectural environment, ²⁹⁴ an experience that may be metaphorically transferred into other areas of the working experience.

Pearce investigates the common inward or private reasons for collecting the notions of play, the identity of the extended self and the quest for
immortality being paramount.²⁹⁵ These notions also shed light on the
satisfactions that the corporate collection can engender for employees, even
though they are not the collectors.

The notion of play alludes to the modern idea of leisure time having a philosophical dimension of its own, which can incorporate many activities, including those producing feelings of thrill and discovery, prowess and competition, fantasy building and the positive and negative sides of dominance and control. While the collector himself may experience these rewards intensely, the employees also experience a more diffuse but nevertheless significant version of such rewards by living with an art collection. The majority of employees value moments of leisure and a relief from tension in the working

²⁹⁴See Edward R. Tufte, *Envisioning Information* (Cheshire, Connecticut: Graphics Press, 1990) 33.

[&]quot;Still, all the history of information displays and statistical graphics - <u>indeed of any communication device</u> - is entirely a progress of methods for enhancing density, complexity, dimensionality, and even sometimes beauty."

²⁹⁵Pearce, On Collecting.

day - a form of play - provoked by the art, which evokes laughter, aesthetic pleasure, fantasies, personal memories and even the thrill of discovery. The lengthy list of adjectives used by employees to describe these effects appears earlier in this text. Manifestations of anger and the need for control, however, are also at play. All curators report that employees will argue to have an artwork they hate removed from their sight or, conversely, struggle to keep one they have come to love. Aggression, teamwork and prowess were present when all the women on one floor at Alcan circulated a petition to have a particular artwork removed. They won!

Issues of identity are important. The idea of the extended self almost invariably includes an idea of who the 'working' person is. If that person is gifted via the workplace with the enhancing attributes of an experience in and knowledge of art, there is a net gain in self esteem and pride, even social prestige.²⁹⁶

I don't change routes (to look at the art) but I sometimes point out the fact that we have a collection which is well known. (lawyer, Martineau Walker)

The very fact that a company provides art acknowledges the view that a person has needs and an identity other than that of worker, and this alone is a form of personal validation.

²⁹⁶At Alcan 14 people report 'pride' in the artwork - the second largest number of particular responses - while 21 report encouraging others to visit the collection.

At Alcan the art has also created a sense of belonging to a larger community that can extend around the globe. This is another possible adjunct of an extended identity.²⁹⁷ The potential strength of this identification and the nature of its interaction, both internal and external, is best articulated by one Alcan employee in response to Question 4, which addresses the imagined effect of the removal of the art:

Violated. You couldn't do that here. The building would look naked. It is so much a part of Maison Alcan. I talk to people regularly and everyone enjoys it. My wife is an artist and she loves coming in. Jacques Bougie (president of Alcan) even asked me about the artwork and said he had to learn more because everyone outside asks him about it and says how beautiful it is. If people were saying that, you can imagine what they would say if one day it wasn't there. (Building and Operations Manager)

Because it is difficult to be specific about the nature of any extended self-identity created by the art, I feel very comfortable using Goody's observations of paintings on cave walls as a metaphor for the effect of corporate art on employees. As in caves, corporate walls have a series of differing images embodying a significance of some sort. The images, 'pictograms' if you will, are more loosely than tightly structured and are primarily deciphered separately. But they also, collectively, represent a point of view, although not with semiotic coherence. According to Jack Goody:

²⁹⁷At Martineau Walker, 3 of the 10 sample employees mentioned bringing in visitors, responses which show the pride in the collection. At BNC no one reported bringing in outside visitors, but one employee said she had suggested having guided visits, for other employees, of the art on the executive floors.

Even though elementary graphic signs are thought by some authors to be part of a more elaborate system, a true semiotic, such a degree of structuring seems unlikely: the communicative or expressive aspects of such art appear to be general rather than specific, loosely rather than tightly structured.²⁹⁸

Modern artworks, like pictograms, are graphic signs that can stand alone, physically and morphologically, and do not have to stand in "opposition to or in conjunction with other signs." They are, at root, vehicles of communication and expression. They depend for their interpretation on their own graphic signs, which range from the iconographic (figurative) to the arbitrary (abstract). But, overall, they present a very generalized corporate viewpoint. Employees accept or reject the art that is presented to them, 'hating' or 'loving' individual works; but by interpreting and taking from them what they need or want, they craft the whole into an experience that reinforces and enhances their own identity, as well as how they perceive that of the company. This happens, nevertheless, in a loose and unstructured way, but

²⁹⁸ Jack Goody, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 10-11.

²⁹⁹Goody, The Interface Between the Written and the Oral, 8

³⁰⁰Albeit at the point of creation, a monologue.

³⁰¹Goody, The Interface Between the Written and the Oral, 4.

³⁰²The subjective layerings and fantasies that can inform both the presentation and reception of a public display of art are discussed in articles such as Robert Mahoney, "Enunciating the Enunciator," *C Magazine*, spring, No. 37, 1993, 33; and Lynne Tillman, "Madame Realism in Freud's Dreamland," *Art in America*, Vol. 79, No. 1, 1991, 88 ff.

it appears to be a satisfying effort for the employees and a productive one for the company.

Another important dimension with respect to the issue of extended identity emerges from the responses to Question 5, which attempts to assess the impact of corporate art on the level of art awareness in activities outside of work. In general, those who already 'liked' art professed to be non-affected by the art at work. But many others stated that it had impacted on them, particularly at Alcan and Martineau Walker.³⁰³

Question 5. Has it (the art collection) affected your perceptions or activities outside of work? For instance, do you notice artwork elsewhere? Do you go to museums more? Do you decorate your house differently? Do you read about art? Are you generally more aware about art matters?

For some, this proved to be a difficult question to answer.

ALCAN

definitely or probably yes	16
maybe, its hard to tell yes and no	8
no	9
no - always liked art	7
more aware of particular artists and visited museums	4
decorated or bought art in some way differently	4
more aware of other corporate collections	3
noticed art more everywhere	2
received a subscription to an art magazine	1
bought an art book	1
noticed decorations more	1

³⁰³To the impact of the collection must be added the influence of the other art programmes that are provided at Alcan, but not at the other companies.

The employees speak for themselves:

I notice artworks more and I recognize names. My friends bought me a subscription to *Magazine Art*. Some of the artists mentioned we have here, so I went back and looked more closely - a gradual understanding. (Senior Communications Consultant)

Definitely. Some of the paintings here gave me a different perspective. At the beginning, at PVM, the open houses we had with tours and explanations, it was a very enlightening experience for me personally and probably for others. My wife has taken some courses at university after visiting Maison Alcan, trying to establish a link between civilization and art. This is an indirect effect. The walls at home are now well decorated, not with expensive artists - I invest my money in other things. One day I will buy something that I really want to have - local - Riopelle, Richard and Lemieux. (Vice-president Communications S.E.C.A.L.-also public relations).

It has heightened my interest in art. . . . I go to museums and look at some artists that would not have interested me before. There is something to be learned. In my home I have tried to improve what I have, better pieces, to decorate tastefully. We carry the influence from here with us. (Personnel Manager)

This place has subtly helped me at home - different themes carried through - the feeling from certain styles and colours. (Claims Administrator, Insurance Department)

Yes, I definitely notice art elsewhere as compared to before, because I didn't know much about art, as much as now. When I do see an Eskimo carving or a tapestry, I do notice it. I went on a South American trip last year and bought a few pieces for my home. (Receptionist, lobby)

Not to a great extent, but when I do go to other offices, I notice how cold it is and what the difference is, but whether it has piqued my interest in art, I'm not sure. (Director of Technology Services, S.E.C.A.L)

MARTINEAU WALKER

yes, there was an impact	7
has increased their awareness of art	7
no (always liked art)	2
went to museums more	2
no	1
read about art	1
go to lectures	1

The employees speak:

Oui, je suis plus curieux qu'avant à cet égard et j'aimerais éventuellement acquérir quelques oeuvres. (avocat)

Mes premiers contacts avec l'art ont eu lieu au bureau et m'ont permis de découvrir un monde étranger et "étrange". Je crois sincèrement que cela m'a permis de m'épanouir d'avantage d'une certain facon. . . . (avocat)

BNC

no	8
yes	3
maybe	3
no (always liked art)	3

The most positive response from BNC is the following:

Oui, je remarque les oeuvres ailleurs et je trouve que nos succursales ne sont pas gâtées. Je vais au musée 2 ou 3 fois par année. En voyage j'aime bien faire quelques visites. (conseiller, administration et finance)

Employees who pursue extra-curricular art activities at museums or in any form elsewhere are building an extended identity in a number of different ways (the numerous precise pathways of which are not the purpose of this thesis to investigate). It is important to state clearly that the corporate art collection can facilitate this process, particularly for those who have had no

previous experience of art. This suggests the possibility of fruitful collaborations between museums and corporations within and on corporate walls (as well as the reverse). Art organizations would be well advised to be the ones to take some of the initiative.

Benjamin Schneider argues that there are numerous climates at work in any one organization, all of which affect perception. Art would be one of these environments. He suggests:

The environments of art are not only more vivid and memorable than most of those elicited by observation or questionnaires, they are also more meaningful. . . . Aesthetic representations sift out and dispose of empty spaces and trivial events, heightening the meaningful clusters of experience. 304

The effect of art has to be considered in conjunction with other quality-of-life adjuncts to the working day (adequate salary, amount of personal space, workload, etc.); however, if these factors are adequately present, the addition of art can heighten positive perception. Comments by several Alcan employees bear this out:

"I feel so lucky to work here, compared with my friends." or even stronger:

"I say thank you in my prayers at night for being able to work in such a nice environment as Alcan." 305

³⁰⁴Benjamin Schneider, "Work Climates: An Interactionist Perspective," 125-126 in Nickolaus R. Feiner and E. Scott Geller, eds., *Environmental Psychology: Directions and Perspectives*, (N.Y.C.: Praeger, 1983).

 $^{^{\}rm 305} \rm Reported$ after the formal interview was completed and the tape turned off.

2

2

"I don't mind staying late or coming in on the weekend partly because it is such a nice environment."

Even the most jaded company executives would be happy to hear these comments.

The Mourning Response

By far the most interesting and powerful emotional responses were elicited by:

Question 4: How would you feel if the art were taken away overnight, never to appear again?

ALCAN

sad

sense of loss wouldn't like it

would miss discussions

bereft, empty, depressed (nourishes the soul),

disappointed, hard to imagine, boring,

barren	16
naked feeling	16
sad	9
sense of loss	9
disappointment	3
sorry, hard to imagine, angry, terrible,	
irritation, violated	1 each
BNC	
BIAC	
sense of loss	6
poor company image	3
ordinary and boring	3
sad, empty, need them for creation and	
reflection, why would you?, depends	1 each
MARTINEAU WALKER	

would miss distraction, loss of sense of life not much, depends if I like it

1 each

Many of the feelings expressed are quite acute and resemble a sense of mourning. The intensity of the responses are somewhat surprising, in that the loss of such objects does not relate to the termination of any personalized collecting process that yields specific, ongoing, and individually structured benefits. Rather, the vast majority of employees are the recipients, never the agents, of that process. The potential of mourning must therefore relate to the absence of objects that have assumed a very real symbolic significance and in which imagination plays a key role. Baudrillard offers an appropriate insight:

The symbolic is neither a concept, an agency, nor a 'structure', but an act of exchange and a social relation which puts an end to the real, which resolves the real, and, at the same time, puts an end to the opposition between the real and the imaginary.³⁰⁶

The corporate art collection can be understood as the symbol of a social interaction between the company and the employees, an exchange that plays a role in transcending, via the imagination, the ultimate and irreversible dualities of employer and employee, work and leisure, and even life and death (for the living, death can only be approached in the imagination). The meaning attached to the symbolic significance residing in art objects, which can be achieved through this social exchange, is a kind of utopia:

The symbolic is what puts an end to this dysjunctive code and to separated terms. It is the u-topia that puts an end to the topologies of the soul and the body, man and nature, the real and

³⁰⁶Jean Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, trans. Iain Hamilton Grant (London: Sage Publications, 1993) 133, originally published as *L'échange symbolique et la mort* (Éditions Gallimard, 1976).

the non-real, birth and death. In the symbolic operation, the two terms lose their reality.³⁰⁷

On some levels, the art collection offers simple pleasure, escapism, nostalgia or identity reinforcement, but in more profound ways it appears to reflect the basic issues of birth/life and death embedded in our individual and collective unconscious.³⁰⁸ The terms suggested by the employees themselves (it must be emphasized, without any prompting) - "nourishes the soul (if on the walls; barren, naked, loss of life and sadness if removed" - reflect these deeper realities. The question "How would you feel if the art were to disappear overnight, never to appear again?" tapped an emotional reaction to deeper issues both in the wording of the question and the symbolism of the art. This was a surprise. Seen in this light, the art collection is perceived as having to do with life in general, the divergent realities of which and to which we are all inevitably responding. The simple and/or calculated projection of a business image, in order to sell products, appears trite in comparison. Once again, we are presented with an idealized conjunction of the role of art both in the corporation and in the museum - the role of art in life, the perpetually oblique reference to our own immortality.

³⁰⁷Baudrillard, Symbolic Exchange and Death, 133.

³⁰⁸For issues related to the impulse of collecting and mourning see also Stephan Bann, "Shrines, Curiosities and the Rhetoric of Display," in Lynne Cooke and Peter Wollen, eds., *Visual Display: Culture Beyond Appearances*, Dia Center for the Arts, Discussions in Contemporary Culture, No. 10 (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995) 14-29.

Conclusion

While the results of these interviews are as much suggestive as they are conclusive, many things become clear. The overwhelming majority of corporate personnel, at all levels in the hierarchy, enjoy art in the working environment. They look at it and talk about it. The particular satisfactions that accrue individually to employees - those pertaining to the reduction of stress, including the notions of play, the stimulation of the aesthetic sense, the enhancement of an extended self-identity and the reflections of immortality - are projected onto a positive company image. Art creates pride and better morale. Employees are distressed imagining its potential loss. While art contributes to the fostering of good feelings and to pride in the company, this happens in a loose, unstructured way, leaving much room for the idiosyncracies of personal imagination. It is important to state, however, that for maximum effect, respect must be paid to the divergencies of life experience and to the limitations and whims of taste within the heterogeneous corporate milieu. Ideally, the art should include a variety of colourful, two- and three-dimensional objects and figurative representations, particularly those with optimistic references that respond to cultural expectations and/or create excitement. Much of the art must directly reflect basic levels of sensual and biological experience. Employees in general do not respond well to dark colours, total abstraction, violence, sexual innuendoes or otherwise disturbing subject matter that can be construed as depressing. Significantly, not only the corporation but also the art

world benefits from new converts who have been exposed to art at work on a daily basis.

The intrinsic rewards for employees in corporations that collect art are numerous and varied. But none supersedes the chief benefit - the brief pleasure of escaping from the particularities of the corporate niche by seizing for a fleeting moment the spiritual comforts of the universal. All but the most cynical among us are reassured by glimpsing this horizon.

CHAPTER 4

THE CORPORATE CURATOR AS MEDIATOR

The growth of the associations of art advisors and their role in the development of corporate art programmes has been noted in an earlier chapter. They have become the principal mediators between the corporation and the art world, and thus have become significant in the fashioning of a corporate art persona.

Hennion has attempted to analyse and to summarize the concept of mediation within the sociology of art and culture, a notion to which has been ascribed diverse meanings and roles by various theorists but which, by and large, removes from the object its innate significance. To whatever degree one subscribes to the latter conclusion is a matter of personal analysis and judgement; but what is clear is that mediation has an important role to play in the production and use of art in society. Of particular relevance, for our purposes, is the work of Raymonde Moulin, who has elaborated on the mediators of the contemporary art market in France using critical analysis,

³⁰⁹Antoine Hennion, "La sociologie de l'art est une sociologie du médiateur," L'art de la recherche: Essais en l'honneur de Raymonde Moulin (Paris: La documentation française, 1994) 169-188.

theory, description and the role of personalities.³¹⁰ Within this framework Hennion writes on Moulin:

Après la thèse des White, qui diagnostiquaient le passage de l'âge des mécènes et des académies à l'âge des critiques et des salons à la fin du XIX siècle, elle (Moulin) analyse le passage à l'âge des marchands et des collectionneurs.³¹¹

The latter is, of course, our own age, one in which the mediators have come to assume a critical importance.

For Moulin, the significance of mediators lies in their power to establish both aesthetic and economic values within the often-unclear parameters of the contemporary artworld. The mediators are the critics, curators and agents - people who proselytize the acceptance and/or acquisition of particular artworks by vigorous interpretation and/or negotiation with artists, dealers, auctioneers and collectors. The mediators, and by implication those with whom they interact, both positively and negatively, cumulatively establish the artistic and economic value of an artist's oeuvre at any given time, but not in any precise way; furthermore, they do not themselves necessarily understand the operant motivations or principles guiding particular transactions. The various issues are not always clear.

³¹⁰Raymonde Moulin, *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992).

³¹¹Antoine Hennion, "La sociologie de l'art est une sociologie du médiateur," 180.

³¹²And each mediator may potentially play diversified roles - i.e., a critic may also act as an agent or a curator.

Moulin's idea of mediation is, in broad terms, consistent with Becker's notions of the functional roles of organizational collectives in the art world.³¹³ Becker accentuates the confusion of values that affect any transaction:

En somme, Moulin arrive à la conclusion que tout ce qui peut être dit à propos des valeurs, en elles-mêmes ou en tant qu'explications des conduites, est suspect, à moins que la discussion ne soit très nuancée. Dans leurs actes, les gens se réfèrent à des valeurs, mais ils ne peuvent jamais être certains, et nous non plus par voie de conséquence, d'agir pour telle ou telle raison. Non qu'ils aient l'esprit confus ou qu'ils soient particulièrement stupides, mais parce que les situations où ils se trouvent ne leur donnent pas la possibilité de savoir avec précision à quelles motivations ils obéissent.³¹⁴

Becker's thinking is not particular to the sociology of art. Social scientist Immanuel Wallerstein writes:

There are no distinctively economic phenomena, distinguishable from political and social phenomena: the whole is a seamless skein.

No one subjectively has three segregated motivations - economic, political, and socio-cultural. And there are no real institutions that are, in fact exclusively in one arena.³¹⁵

While the theoretical relevancy of the above statements is one endorsed by this author, there are important nuances that differentiate the actions of the corporate curator from those of the museum curator and which affect the

³¹³Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982).

³¹⁴Howard S. Becker, "La confusion des valeurs," *L'art de la recherche: Essais en l'honneur de Raymonde Moulin* (La documentation Française, 1994) 27.

³¹⁵Immanuel Wallerstein, *Unthinking Social Science: the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 264.

impact that at least these two types of curators can have on the symbolic/economic value of art.

In particular, corporate curators are not directly dependent for their economic livelihood on the organizational networks of the artworld. Corporate curators are paid by the corporation that also supplies their acquisition money. The initial decision to collect art is made outside of artworld networks and remains in the hands of businessmen who often have diverse agendas unrelated to art, who may (and do) change their minds at any time and whose mandate is to make money, not to collect art.

The result is that the corporate curator answers to the corporation for approval and not to the various agencies of the artworld in which he or she is, nonetheless, invariably implicated. Although the support of the art world is positive for any corporation, it is not, in and of itself, an essential element in the existence of the collection. The corporation collects what it wants for its own reasons, possibly complementary to those of the artworld, but with a different purpose - the well-being of the corporation as it is perceived by the clients and employees of that entity, who may or may not be clients of the artworld.

These dynamics are different from those underlying the appointment of a museum curator, who occupies a position that is mandated and paid for by an art institution. Such a curator is hired specifically to represent the art interests of a larger community and continues in that role for that purpose alone over the long term. The museum curator is answerable aesthetically and

of the curator, are to promote aesthetic values within that particular economic/aesthetic context. ³¹⁶ If the objective of the board, at any given point, is to make money, it is to do so in order to better support the arts of its own institution, a goal directly contrary to that of the profit-making corporation. In the museum setting, aesthetic debates, of which there are many, happen within the context of the efficacy of the art for the long-term survival of the museum.

Professional corporate curators, on the other hand, while they perforce feed into the museum network for direction, do so on the margins. The economic roots are different and so is the potential symbolic influence of the corporate curator who, unlike his/her museum counterpart, does not have to exercise the same competitive cutting edge in symbolic, interpretative art issues in order to earn a living. Nor does this mean that an ambitious corporate curator would not like to be well perceived in this domain.

As Moulin has pointed out, artworld curators can have varying credentials and often assume different roles, activities that affect their individual

asilary, which comes from the economics of the artworld - derived from government, private, corporate and public funding. The extent of funding derives directly from the museum's ability to attract the necessary attention from the appropriate audiences - including the government, the general public, collectors, corporations, critical media, artists, galleries, art historians, etc. - for art shows that are mounted using available and desirable art from artists, galleries and other museums, etc. that will generate future funding. The museum curator operates within a network of critical mutual interdependence on both symbolic and economic levels; but this network is under the aegis of those linked to the role of art in the community and is not controlled by corporations for their own purposes.

influence. This is also true of the corporate art curator and further defines the nature of the corporate mediating role vis-à-vis that of a museum counterpart. Although art museum curators, art professors and art critics are called upon to act as corporate art personnel, either as advisors or in running art acquisition programmes, so also are dealers, artists, interior designers, secretaries and, even occasionally, wives of CEOs. Too often there is no clearly defined institutional image of expertise to guide the formation of a corporate collection complementary to museum standards. As the field abounds with self-styled corporate art consultants (in reality sales agents, working on the basis of commissions) who hustle corporate business, many corporations are none the wiser. While the curators of companies that collect over the long term usually have an education in the fine arts, work on contract and do not accept commissions, the absence of uniform curatorial standards in the field in general reduces the net symbolic impact of corporate art buying. The four corporate curators in our study represent a case in point. As a group, they have a more varied, less institutionalized and academic background in art than would be found for professional curators in the museum world. And none are actively

³¹⁷Maurice Forget is a lawyer and self-educated in the arts; Louis Pelletier is a graphic artist by training and profession; Francine Paul has a B.A. in political science, an M.A. in art history and varied working experience in the art gallery world; I have a B.A. in psychology, a B.A. in art history, experience as a volunteer guide and only later an M.A. in art history - and had little professional experience when I was hired by Alcan for the first phase of the development of its art programme.

involved in publicly debating art issues or creating critical perspectives in the art press nor in mounting art exhibitions unrelated to corporate needs.

The lack of corporate impact on symbolic issues affecting the avantgarde of art is, however, the result of many factors. Perhaps foremost among
them is the fact that while, cumulatively, corporations have spent significant
amounts of money on art, individual companies do not spend consistently
enough over the long term and in specifically maintained innovative ways.
They do not take big intellectual risks, having nothing to gain and much to lose
with their shareholders and employees who, overall, value increased profits
above artistic experimentation.³¹⁸ And even in the case of new artists whose
work is conservative enough, the price of such work, if an artist is successful,
often escalates well out of the reach of any corporation (unlike personal
collectors) that must justify its expenditures both to shareholders and to others

³¹⁸One of the galleries with the most corporate business across Canada is Galerie de Bellefeuille, an elegant, reputable, and very successful yet conservative Montreal gallery. M. Bellefeuille states that only about 15 percent of their annual business in the nineties - a slack period - was from corporations, a welcome sum, but not enough to keep a gallery going. Interview with M. Bellefeuille, October 19, 1999.

Leo Rosshandler, former art director of Lavalin during the 1980s, a period of intense corporate art activity in Montreal, estimates that the annual acquisition budget ranged from about \$150,000 Canadian to a very occasional top of \$325,000 - \$350,000, depending on special purchases. This is not an enormous sum given that Lavalin was the city's biggest corporate supporter of art at the time. Lavalin went bankrupt in the early nineties, underscoring the volatility of corporate art collecting. Interview with Leo Rosshandler, October 19, 1999.

in the company hierarchy who are not inclined towards art. As well, corporations (unlike museums) do not attract valuable donations of art which encourage the building of period collections that lead to comparison and reflection, analysis and interpretation, and further buying. Some corporations run out of suitable wall space and, because of the expense, are not interested in keeping works in storage or having rotating exhibitions. They choose not to accommodate installations or unwieldy works that require extra space, special handling or display techniques, all of which cost time and money. Nor do they invite public scrutiny of their private holdings. Given that businesses are concerned in the main with their own business and not art, it is hard to imagine, given all of the above, that this scenario will ever change and that corporations or their mediators will become significant arbiters in the symbolic artworld.

Corporate influence resides in providing dollars to the art community and, because companies lean generally towards a more populist taste, its dollars may contribute to an increase in the number of artworks produced and sold of more aesthetically pleasing and figurative art. But this happens particularly in the regions where the effect of an art intelligentsia focused on the new or conceptual is less significant in any case. Prices for the artworks of good regional artists may, as a result of corporate demand, be positively affected.

³¹⁹Alcan bought Eric Fischl, *Christian Retreat*, oil on canvas, 1980, for \$3,240 Canadian in 1981. This picture was evaluated in 1991 by Sidney Janis Gallery, New York, at \$300,000 U.S. Alcan would never have even considered such a purchase at this price.

Artists benefit from adding the names of corporate collectors to their curriculum vitae. In these ways corporate mediators play a role in the support of regional artists.

Generally speaking, corporate support of the arts creates a sense of optimism that cannot be measured solely in dollars. Such support is productive psychologically and spiritually in the artworld, reinforcing the need for, and appreciation of, art and artists in society in general.

Of the corporations discussed in this thesis - Alcan, Martineau Walker, BNC and Loto-Québec - it is particularly Loto-Québec that provides us with the best example of in-depth, comprehensive, regional patronage, but all four corporations buy local artists regularly and as a priority. Montreal itself is considered an important regional art center.

Martorella confirms the importance of regional activity in the United States, stating that the corporation is an important alternative for regional art nationwide. She also confirms that corporations do not have a significant impact on the museum-quality or avant-garde art market in the Northeast, wherein lies the pulse of the international artworld, even though these companies do the most avant-garde and the least regional buying.³²⁰

Of course, some curators wield more weight as regional mediators than others - because of the size of their budget, their willingness to take some risks and the degree of their implication in the artworld. This would be true of art

³²⁰ Martorella, Corporate Art, 172-173.

director Leo Rosshandler of the now-defunct Lavalin, a multinational engineering firm in Montreal that was run by Bernard Lamarre, an avid personal collector who is still serving (in 1999 - after more than a decade) as Chairman of the Board and President of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. As already noted, Rosshandler (who had worked as a curator at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts before joining Lavalin) administered an annual budget of up to \$600,000 Canadian; this budget covered purchases, an art gallery with a second curator and access to a graphic design department for publishing art catalogues and other publicity, all on corporate premises. The extended art support services built up the significance of the art collection, providing an incentive for participating artists, while also creating and reinforcing an image for Lavalin. The implication of Lamarre in the artworld network as president of the museum and as an avid personal collector also shifted power towards Rosshandler.

When Lavalin went bankrupt, the collection was accepted by the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal with some controversy because of the public expense generated by the number of works - some 1,500 - which would need cataloguing and permanent storing and, in part, because of what was considered the uneven artistic quality of the collection. It was recognized that

³²¹Estimates (as the paperwork no longer exists) of the budget given by Leo Rosshandler, October 19, 1999.

³²²Private corporate art galleries with curators are not typical in the corporate art world. The absence of such a network means that there is little basis for comparison or evaluation. Loto-Québec opened a gallery in the late 1980s but gave it up due to time and financial constraints.

to 'dump' all this art at once onto the local art market - the only viable potential market - would have created havoc with regional retail prices. This is an admittedly rare but nevertheless potent example of the possible long-term economic and aesthetic effects, both positive and negative, that corporate collectors can have on the regional scene of pricing and museum collecting.³²³

The corporate curators of Alcan, Martineau Walker, Loto-Québec and BNC are not critically implicated in organizational artworld networks because of a dependence on money from those sources; nor by on-going independent contributions to the art critical press that can be publicly debated; nor by curatorial activities outside of their corporate domains; therefore, their power to affect symbolic issues within the museum-based network is limited (although their status may not be), even when they have money to spend. Corporate art curators contribute to the establishment of the symbolic value of art to the degree that, by purchasing one art work and not another, they confirm or deny values being debated in the artworld, but only insofar as those values are seen

³²³No such controversy, however, accompanied the donation of the smaller, more select, Forget Collection to the Musée de Joliette.

³²⁴Status is affected, in part, by voluntary, extra-curricular commitments to artworld organizations that seek to use their administrative, fund-raising skills and networking capabilities in accordance with the prestige of the collections they represent. Maurice Forget, in particular, has achieved prominence in this domain. As noted earlier, he has served on the following boards or fund-raising committees: Montreal Museum of Decorative Arts, Montreal Museum of Contemporary Art, Montreal International Center of Contemporary Art, Vie des Arts, Parachute, Espace, Les Femmeuses (women's art show), UQAM (university) art acquisition committee and is now President of the Montreal Urban Arts Council (CACUM).

to relate to the needs and interests of the modern corporation as assessed by its mediator and ultimately agreed upon by corporate management.³²⁵ Nevertheless, the economic impact of, and the moral support generated by, corporate art collecting can be significant in regional art markets where there is less concentration on leading-edge art.

MEDIATING WITHIN THE CORPORATION

The critical role of the corporate curator as mediator rests mainly within the corporation. The curator must often strive to convince reluctant employees and management that any art at all has symbolic and economic value. Unlike in the museum and gallery artworld, this is not an underlying assumption for all members of a corporation.

As most curators operate alone in the corporation (apart from the help of some support staff), they must be versatile. Promoting unfamiliar art to the uninitiated may involve many performances simultaneously - those of an administrator, salesperson, art critic, educator, designer/decorator, diplomat and politician. As corporate curators are the official links between the corporation and the artworld, they must, in a positive way, bring their knowledge of art and their particular convictions into the corporation via mediation with management and other employees. In effect, they must warm them up to the whole idea of art, as well as to particular artworks. This mediating role can be sensitive and

³²⁵Private, family-run corporations, in which the chief executive is an art collector who buys what he wants, are the exceptions.

critical to the long-term existence and success of a programme. One of the most important assets of a corporate curator is a sense of personal commitment involving entrenched belief in the collection, especially during hard times when support and money are not readily available.

Mediation that takes place inside the corporation is both formal and informal. The art curator in a corporation is a high-status person within that corporation, ³²⁶ because she/he is associated with art, the presence of which, among its other assets, brings pleasure and pride into the work environment. Most employees know him or her by name, and it is important to be friendly and accessible. Informally, employees stop to talk, questioning the value of certain artworks, their position and relevance or expressing their appreciation or distaste. Some ask questions about art issues outside of work. In this way, informal education is a continuing component of the job. The freedom to have informal contact is important both for the curator, who must assess the limits of taste in the employee response to the art, and for the employees, who thereby become indirectly involved in the art selection process. Part of a curator's job is to try to lead employees to an appreciation of the value of 'good/elite/new' art, but he/she must also know when to compromise.

A comical episode at Alcan illustrates this job requirement. A humourous artwork from Argentina, featuring a plump lady in a sturdy, unrevealing blue bathing suit, sitting in the surf and clearly enjoying herself, aroused such fury

³²⁶Also recognized by Martorella, *Corporate Art*.

from women on the fifth floor that they signed a petition to have it removed. They stated that pictures of women in bathing suits should not be allowed in the workplace and, furthermore, she was fat. These were sure signs that their feminist rights were not being respected. The artwork was moved to another location, and I used the opportunity to give a lunch-hour lecture on the negative public reactions to art that resulted in the Salon des Réfusés. This lecture hopefully palliated their anger somewhat by placing their rejection in a chain of historical precedence, while at the same time providing some art education at a time when passions were high.

There are a number of formal ways in which mediation is done at Alcan.

One is that employees choose the art from the available pieces (although there is never much available) for their own offices.³²⁷ This creates a sense of personal choice and identity reinforcement. This is also done at BNC and Loto.

Another is the use of the art committee. At Alcan, the art committee consisted of five or six volunteers from upper management who had expressed an interest in art.³²⁸ While a certain amount of information was shared at these meetings and votes taken on possible purchases (presented by the curator through slides or objects), an important objective was always to keep the meeting good humored and entertaining as well as educational, particularly when presenting more difficult art. The art programme at Alcan is not there to

³²⁷Works in the public and para-public spaces are hung by the art curator.

³²⁸As noted, the committee has not been active since 1993.

drag those who are reluctant, kicking and screaming, into an appreciation of obtuse art, nor to create a future generation of art historians. A large dose of political 'know-how' is an important element in the job of a corporate curator who must, to achieve any measure of long-term success, both assess and respect the limits of taste and intellectual debate in a heterogeneous population.

Loto Québec is the only other company in this study³²⁹ to use volunteer committees. However, they are not composed of high-ranking management; rather, Loto Québec encourages a broad participation by the employee base. Although the general goals of the committee are the same at Loto Québec as at Alcan, there is no particular need to solicit and keep support from the 'Top,' as the art programme is officially secure. Loto art committees are popular meetings. Forget (Martineau Walker) and Paul (BNC) buy art without consultation, except for special purchases.

Employees at Alcan are offered tours of the collection but are also encouraged to value the art collection indirectly by exposure to other programmes of artistic activity over the lunch hour. This is an added dimension of mediation.³³⁰ Alcan pays an hourly wage for an instructor and

³²⁹Other companies, such as Teleglobe and Pratt and Whitney, located in Montreal, have made extensive use of employee committees and art-buying sorties.

³³⁰These have included a ten-week course on the history of art (Pyramids to Picasso); a Japanese month - featuring calligraphy demonstrations, a tea ceremony and a presentation of the arts of Bonsai and Ikebana (so popular that we ran Ikebana courses for a number of years); an African month - illustrated lectures and a tasting of Ethiopian food; "Let's go for Baroque" - live musical

provides a space - a slight investment for a multinational company for a programme that is perceived to relieve stress and has received positive feedback. These programmes are popular, having over 300 registrations per year - fall, winter and spring.³³¹ The following employee comments suggest the success of the programme:

I use them as a stress release. I enjoy learning something. I like some better than others. I would like something harder. (Arlene-transportation analyst)³³²

It's really a good way to break up the stress of the day. It gets your mind going on something other than work. They are fun and relaxing. (Robin - mailroom supervisor)³³³

Employees like being the 'artist' and pay for their own materials and have had their own vernissage on company premises. By introducing the concept of artist/craftsperson directly, the mediator expands the perceptions of those involved, offering them divergent roles to play, which roles enrich their lives both inside and outside of the corporate environment and contribute to good company morale.³³⁴ Reinforcing the advantages of art in life also reinforces the desirability of art collecting.

performances and art lectures; making Christmas decorations (on-going and over-subscribed every year); special-interest guest lectures; and a range of craft courses (tole painting, dry flower arranging, jewelry making).

³³¹The population of head office varies between about 400-450.

³³²October 18, 1999.

³³³October 18, 1999.

³³⁴One instructor, Micheline Chan, has, as a result of the Alcan programme, successfully introduced the concept to other companies. Alcan, however, is the only one of our four subject companies to offer these options.

All the above activities, both formal and informal, accentuate the value of art and expand upon the idea of the quality of life within corporate walls. The corporate curator can, if adequately motivated and supported by management, create a place for, and a long-term recognition of the value of, art in the working environment, which approach expands the role of art in the broader sociological context. This is the most important mediation effected by the corporate curator.

MEDIATION WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Mediation outside the company also takes place formally and informally but can be further divided into that which is actively solicited by the curator and that which he/she does not solicit but must deal with.

Formal and informal mediation happens when the curator attends art museums, commercial art galleries, artists' studios or auctions to gather information about the art world and available and/or desirable works for purchase. Information must also be actively gathered about insurance needs, rights of artists, conservation techniques, transportation facilities, framing and display possibilities, labelling, art translation, catalogue production and a host of other issues that present themselves in corporate art life.³³⁵ The network, including but not restricted to other corporate curators and the suppliers

³³⁵Many corporations aspire to follow museum guidelines in technical matters - lighting, conservation materials, display labelling, etc., but are not always able to do so because of different practical working realities, including budgets.

themselves, operates to provide many of these potential resources by word of mouth, disseminating and receiving information about what is being done. Each member thereby participates in defining current standards.³³⁶

Corporations are potential clients in the artworld. Therefore, curators receive a volume of unsolicited communications by phone, fax and mail.³³⁷ In addition to direct solicitations, a plethora of printed material on available art appears in the form of magazine articles, museum and gallery publications and advertising. No curator would ever have the time to read all of this information completely, let alone personally investigate the art objects.

The communication network about art has become huge and unwieldy.

Although dependent on the artist and the artwork without which it has no meaning, this network has become a separate entity, often robbing the physical

Collectors Association of Montreal in which the subject of possible fees to be paid to artists by corporations, when lending one of their works to a museum or other public showplace, was discussed. Various information was shared as to how one could avoid this financial and administrative nuisance by having artists sign, at the time of purchase, a contract voiding all corporate obligations in this regard. Examples of such contracts already in use were distributed. Works of artists who refused to sign would not be considered for purchase. Such forums contribute to the subsequent effectiveness or lack thereof of emerging standards in the artworld.

³³⁷These principally relate to announcements of vernissages, requests for meetings, catalogue and slide presentations of art works and offerings of art services of all kinds. But they also include all types of requests - for art loans and donations; for jobs; for advertising dollars; for tours of the collection; and for personal interviews to provide information for articles and television documentaries, or for students writing academic papers.

artwork of its immediacy and potency.³³⁸ The corporate curator must make many preliminary selections based on the nature and quality of the exposure provided by the art media. This phenomenon adds a new dimension to corporate mediation, making the analysis of other art mediation itself a separate objective to be pursued. Corporate purchases are recorded in the curriculum vitae of an artist, often in a separate corporate section, and become part of this reputation-communication-advertising babble. The curriculum vitae is sent out to and analysed by other interested buyers.

While corporate art curators are often out and about in the artworld visiting exhibitions or purchasing art works, their role is primarily to promote the significance of the corporation that is doing the collecting. In order to do this effectively in the artworld, they must create a collection that is in some way interesting to that establishment. But they do not try to redefine art (although some have latched onto and have played with this idea). The essential message that the corporate curator, as mediator, must impart to the general public is a validation of the importance of art to a corporation and, by implication, the symbolic and economic value of the corporation that buys and

³³⁸Anne Cauquelin discusses this phenomenon in *L'art contemporain* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, Que-sais-je, 1992).

³³⁹The cosmetic company Coty has launched a collection of perfume bottles featuring creations by Lalique; these are artfully displayed at the head office in New York City. It has also produced an elegant accompanying brochure emphasizing the theme "We're changing the way the world sees beauty."

promotes art - not necessarily the art. This is the role of the corporate art curator as mediator.

In the late nineties, the corporate curator must have the business interests of the corporation as a priority, while continuing to demonstrate the value of art in business to business itself. This is amply demonstrated by the most recent NACAM conference entitled "Strategies for the Art Program in the New Business Environment." The morning panel discussed "integrating collections into a company's operating strategy: principles, techniques, service and value to the company." The afternoon session discussed "marketing and communication strategies for the art programme." There was little or no discussion of the merits of the art itself.

It can be argued that the fact that corporations spend money at all on art for the common workplace (to be distinguished from executive offices) is in itself a kind of innovation in that environment, although the specific art displayed there may not be. The inherent value of art comes to be taken for granted by many people in the captive corporate population who may never have had any significant, let alone daily, exposure to its seductive charms. If one 'believes' in the value of art, this is a good thing. That this phenomenon also has some positive economic ramifications for the artworld is clear, but the aesthetic and intellectual implications are not. Suffice it to say that even art

³⁴⁰November 5, 1999, New York City.

museums must now answer to popular demand, as the nature of those institutions is being called into question by economic challenges as well as by those of a more intellectual nature that pertain to the need for broadly-based public programming.³⁴¹

Corporate curators, in their role as mediators between the artworld and the diverse demographies of corporate culture, share these dilemmas, although they do not have to exercise the same cutting edge in art matters. In the corporate context, demonstrable economic responsibilty and potential social benefit is married to a world of varied, but nevertheless limited, aesthetic and conceptual possibilities. Defining and balancing the two in imaginative ways is the specific challenge for the corporate art curator as mediator. The success of the corporate art programme in forging a corporate art identity in the eyes of management, the employees and the public can depend upon the intelligence and efficacy of this mediation.

³⁴¹For a radical view, see Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T Press, 1993).

The preface of Pearce's book, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, 1992, makes clear that she is responding to this challenge, expressing the need to defend and clarify the historical and theoretical role of the museum and its collections of objects within the European cultural tradition that is evolving within a context of new popular demands.

CONCLUSION

Because this thesis has often found itself usefully informed by comparisons of museological functioning with that of art-collecting corporations, it is very tempting to conclude - regarding the fashioning of a corporate art identity - by evoking the words of two museum directors. They are separated in time by more than one hundred years, but both speak on behalf of one of the greatest of North American cultural institutions, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and address themselves directly to their business patrons. In 1890, at the opening of the new building in Central Park, Joseph C. Choate encouraged New York businessmen, in the most straightforward of terms, to do the following:

. . . convert pork into porcelain, grain and produce into priceless pottery, the rude ores of commerce into sculptured marble, and railroad shares and mining stocks - things which perish without the using, and which in the next financial panic shall surely shrivel like parched scrolls - into the glorified canvas of the world's masters . . . ours is the higher ambition to convert your useless gold into things of living beauty that shall be a joy to a whole people for a thousand years.³⁴²

³⁴²Quoted in Paul Mattick Jr., "The Old Age of Art and Money," in Jody Berland and Shelley Hornstein, eds., *Capital Culture: A Reader on Modernist Legacies, State Institutions, and the Value(s) of Art*, (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) 66.

That some business people followed suit is acknowledged by Philippe de Montebello in the Director's Note in the first Bulletin of the museum, in the year 2000. Significantly, the inaugural issue of the millenium is devoted to one of the museum's greatest benefactors and a dominating figure in American finance, J. Pierpont Morgan. Montebello praises his collecting acumen, his generosity and his grasp of the potential greatness of this institution. Morgan was associated with the museum for over four decades and served as president from 1904 until his death in 1913. However, he made no definite plans in his will for his art collection. His sole expression of desire on the subject was that it serve the education and pleasure of the public, a goal eventually realized by his son, who gave a large part of the collection to the Metropolitan Museum. 343

In a sense, although not necessarily in the way intended by Morgan, the modern corporate collector has realized this ambition by filling the halls of the corporation with artworks. While the vibrant art of contemporary generations has largely replaced that of the hallowed old masters, a wealth of education and pleasure has been introduced to a large and heterogeneous clientele, the public of the 'corporation,' its employees and clients and the community at large. The art-collecting corporation now, to some degree, attempts to imitate the behaviour of the art museum.³⁴⁴ It chooses to substantiate its ongoing status

³⁴³ Philippe de Montebello, Director's Note for Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan: Financier and Collector," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Winter 2000, 2.

³⁴⁴The public perception is that sometimes they succeed. One Montreal newspaper headline reads: Renée Rowan, "Les nouveaux musées s'appellent Alcan, Lavalin, Téléglobe, Bell . . . " *Le Devoir*, 18 avril, 1987, C-1.

in the community by cashing in on those values traditionally attached to the art museum - values which symbolically are humanistic and highminded and historically justified as such.

The collecting instinct, the individual expression of which was so powerfully enjoyed by past entrepreneurs, has been modified in the context of the modern and/or global corporation to incorporate the democratic values of contemporary life and to cater, to a degree greater than ever before, to popular taste. Because of the proliferation of art, the agencies of art and the role and expansion of the corporation itself, groups of professional mediators/curators have arisen whose roles are influential within the corporate art world. Their primary responsibility is to promote the corporate art identity for the purposes of business. While their job is to mediate between the business world and that of art, they do not compete with museum curators to establish symbolic values. However, the art identity that a corporation forges for itself, with the help of a curator, continues to be used, as does that of a museum, to enhance a sense of ethical behaviour and good will in the community, as well as to create prestige - values which are historically contiguous and have always been compatible with increased productivity and the accumulation of profits.

lvan Karp, an art gallery owner, writes of museums as "places for defining who people are and how they should act and as places for challenging

that definition."345 So, too, is a corporation a crucible for defining who people are.

The relatively new but burgeoning idea that specific communities gender or ethnic groups - now have some power to negotiate how they are to be represented within a museum also reflects the challenges the modern corporation must face when responding to the diverse profiles of both clients and personnel. Identities must be respected and yet, to a degree, are manipulated if productivity is to remain strong and products are to be sold. Businesses must determine what to produce, where, at what price, and how to advertise. Of course, such decisions depend on the research of management, but this activity is linked to tacit and direct negotiations with a target public that will or will not buy and will praise or criticize the product or the company. Potential clients may do this not only on the basis of their perception of the product,346 but also of the status and the ideological commitments of the corporation. An art collection can help to fashion a positive, multi-faceted corporate identity, one that can become a powerful social lubricant in the expression and resolution of the search for corporate differentiation, visibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the various member groups of the community it

³⁴⁵Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Levine, eds., *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992) 4.

³⁴⁶It is clear that the amount of time and money spent developing visual imagery in the form of logos, advertisements, eye-catching packaging and the like reflects the ideological importance of 'art' in general, albeit loosely defined.

hopes to serve, as well as in the eyes of its own employees. The ideology of art is used by corporations, in part, to mitigate the nature of greed and the unsavory associations in which modern global corporations engage in order to ensure profits. Hans Haacke speaks clearly on these points.

Art mirrors its time, and the struggle for the validation of human diversity, as well as the search for its universal components, is a core value of our globally connected epoch. Such diversity is reflected not only by the fact that art is collected by many different kinds of corporations - from banks to the producers of base-metal, gambling establishments, and law firms - but also by the diversity of objects called art that are collected and concurrently the many different ways in which an art collection is created and used to communicate the corporate vision. The four companies discussed in this thesis, ranging in approach from quasi-institutional to quasi-individual, demonstrate this variety.

Loto-Québec, always in search of more gamblers and money for the government from all levels of society, polishes its image by penetrating into the main centers and many of the outlying geographical regions of Québec with innovative art programs and continually expanding budgets as profits rise. Loto primarily purchases the works of emerging (often unknown) and reputable Quebec artists working after mid-century, rather than historically established stars, and regularly lends its art collection to local art centers within the boundaries of the province.

The Banque Nationale du Canada is looking to preserve and enhance the nation's wealth and its own. The Bank is building an historical perspective of Quebec art by committing itself to regularly purchasing artworks in depth by living and deceased, historically important Quebec artists, and disseminating them within and without its Quebec borders. The implication is that the Bank is stable, trustworthy, and loyal to its Quebec roots - and that it will invest our money well in the long term.

Alcan is forever strategizing to maintain or achieve a more significant role in the highly competitive global aluminium market. The company demonstrates visually by its elaborate head office that it is worldly, sophisticated and very much the equal of any multinational company. Alcan's international collection of arts and crafts suggests an idea of wide-ranging humanitarian and cultural interests and underpins a vision of corporate strength through cultural awareness, thereby suggesting potential business acumen.

Maurice Forget has fashioned an art identity for Martineau Walker with Canadian and international art that is predicated on twentieth-century historical ideological developments. This image reflects the enlightenment of a group of intellectual lawyers working internationally. He, however, as an individual collector and peripatetic volunteer, is the best ambassador for his firm.

Corporate art collecting stimulates the aesthetic senses of employees in a variety of ways, providing needed moments of leisurely distraction in the working day and thereby promoting feelings of well-being. The result is the enhancement of an extended personal identity and pride in that of the corporation. Art embellishes the corporate identity from within and can affect what is projected by company personnel to the outside world.

For many employees, the artwork comes to assume a symbolic significance over and above the effects of its daily attributes, the idea of its potential removal invoking dramatic responses of loss similar to feelings of mourning. These were the most passionate reactions recorded in the study.

In order to achieve its maximum effect, however, the art collection must be constituted in such a way as to respect the divergencies of life experiences and limitations of taste within the corporate group. This will usually involve the inclusion of many different types of artworks in colourful, two and three-dimensional forms that appeal to our basic sensual and biological orientations and cultural expectations. In general, employees do not, particularly at work, respond well to dark colours, formal abstraction, violence, sexual innuendoes, otherwise disturbing subject matter or difficult conceptual art.

Nevertheless, on-site corporate art collections can introduce visual subjects to the viewers in ways that universal education in the pursuit of literacy cannot. Many messages can be displayed on the walls of corporations, ones that provoke debate and provide intellectual hurdles, as well as aesthetic enjoyment. Thus, artworks can provide daily opportunities for meaningful communication, both positive and negative, between employees themselves and their corporate visitors. Art is a celebration of that specific identity which

is the human spirit and can be an important antidote to the relentless invasion of technology.

While much beautiful and museum-quality art is present in corporations and does eventually find its way into museums, much does not. It remains on corporate walls, inaccessible to the public or, in some cases, is sold. And it is clear that a lot of money is spent on less serious art due to both financial and decorative considerations guiding corporate purchases. This situation is unlikely to change and in a cumulative sense removes corporations from any societally mandated task of buying and preserving the best art of our time for subsequent generations, even though some do contribute to this process.

Other than the obvious benefits of injections of money, what then is the primary role and value to the larger community of corporate art collecting? Foremost, it exposes millions of people not only to the art but to the idea of art as being significant. A corporation has a role to play at the grassroots level by expanding horizons and by stimulating and educating tastes through simple daily exposure. Corporations that are active collectors push the boundaries of possibilities for the producers, sellers and consumers of many different kinds of art objects at many different levels of sophistication and in different organizational collectives. The presence of a variety of art in a wide range of corporations both challenges and encourages our understanding and respect for the radical diversity of artistic expression and artists and provides much needed fertilizer for the art world.

Corporate mandates are about forging their own identity with art in aid of business profitability. Because such activities are crucially vulnerable to the vagaries of economics and changes in management, corporate partnerships with the arts are likely to remain somewhat loose, unstructured and subject to fickleness in the long term. This, however, does not reduce their overall importance as supporting players in the larger art drama.

In any case, in what more positive way can we, in a workplace setting, on a daily basis, begin to look into both the eyes of others and our own souls? When measured in these terms, the value of corporate art collecting cannot be assessed on the bottom line, whether it be economic or academic. It would appear that the majority of employees surveyed in this study passionately agree.

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