

THE SPECTRUM OF EXCHANGE

An anthropological approach towards economy

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ABSTRACT

The cultural sector and economics are often seen as an incompatible combination. A major part of economic behavior in the cultural sector does not fall under the scope of regular economics. In this thesis, the economy is approached from an anthropological perspective. It allows us to see things we would not have seen before. Economics consists of a variety of exchange mechanisms. These exchanges are embedded in social relationships and generate external values. This research explores the use of the various exchange mechanisms in the cultural sector.

The main research question is: *Of which exchange mechanisms does the economy consist and how do actors in the cultural sector use them?* To answer this question, qualitative research using a case study design was conducted. Pictura, an artist society, and De Universiteit, a learning community, served as organizational cases. Pictura artists and a new generation of artists and creative entrepreneurs resemble two groups of individual cases. The use of, and motives behind, the economic actions of actors are explored with the use of observations, focus group- discussions, and individual conversations.

The theoretical framework elucidates the logic of the spheres and a spectrum of exchange, namely: gift- and barter exchanges and monetary transactions. Pictura and De Universiteit are placed in the logic of the spheres. In both organizations we see a tension between the community in the social sphere and the professional organization in the market sphere. Both Pictura artists are operating for a major part in the social sphere. They are using gift- and barter exchange to facilitate personal development and build relationships. However, they need monetary transactions to mature their work and generate recognition as professional artists. In the end, as all exchange mechanisms depend on each other, it is the art to make fruitful combinations.

Keywords: *Economic exchange, anthropology, logic of the spheres, gift- and barter exchange, monetary transactions, value, relationships.*

PREFACE

The inexhaustible source of knowledge earned in the past might be a trap for researchers. It can lead towards vague conceptual thinking away from reality. A friend made me aware of my preference for abstract thinking rather than realistic thinking. I have read hundreds of books and articles before I started working on this master thesis. My head was filled with texts and words, which made me lose touch of reality. It also frustrated me when I noticed how the real world was somewhat different from the words in my head. After a while I found my own way to make this tension workable. Here is the result, a master thesis that attempts to actually visualize aspects of the economy. Because maybe it is true, that the real world does not allow itself to be captured in words.

I could not have done this project without the help of others. First I would like to thank my supervisor Arjo Klamer for his time and dedication to this thesis even though he was in his sabbatical year. Secondly I want to thank Pictura and especially the exhibition coordinators and caretaker, who helped me in my way around. Moreover I would like to thank all the artists and entrepreneurs who joined the group- or individual conversations. I am also very gratefully to my brother who showed me the mountains in Norway to place the thesis in a broader perspective, and to my father for his intensive feedback during the last weeks. In addition I would like to thank Eric, Dennis, Marij and Jet for their all time presence in the library. Finally I would like to thank everybody in my environment that listened patiently to my ravings on the interesting field of economic anthropology.

Lotte Boonstra, 18 June 2012, Utrecht

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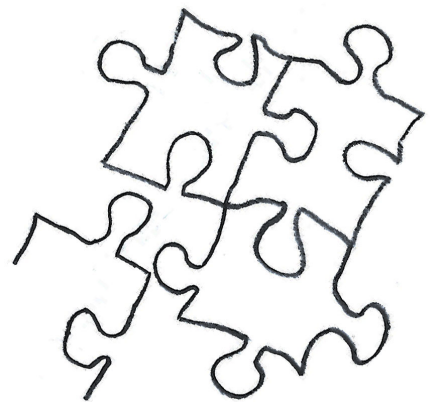
1. INTRODUCTION

People are often surprised when they hear about the field of cultural economics. They see economics and culture as two completely separated worlds. Economics is about numbers while the arts are about aesthetics and images. They use different languages, which makes the communication between the two worlds difficult. When we talk about economics, we often use words such as money, profit, banks, financial systems, capital, and so on. It is not strange that people think the arts and economics are incompatible with this vocabulary. What people do not see is that a major part of economic actions in the cultural sector do not fall under the scope of regular economics. A lot is happening in the cultural sector, people exchanging knowledge, skills, time and materials, often without financial resources. These actions are hard to study with the standard economic approach. How could you explain why an artist would prefer to give an artwork away instead of selling it? Why would a painter exchange wall paintings for free haircuts from a hairdresser? How could you explain why someone is more motivated for a job if he earns nothing than when he earns little money? What is the effect of unpaid work in a community? Perhaps we need another vocabulary to answer these questions.

1.1 THE PUZZLE OF THE ECONOMY

The economy is a complex system concerning humans who are exchanging. It integrates and connects people in the production, distribution, and consumption process of goods. The system consists of various exchange mechanisms. People can exchange without the intervention of money or even without a direct return. Every type of exchange has its own function and operation. In this research I will expose the spectrum of exchange. I will describe how the various exchange mechanisms work, and moreover, analyze their effect on human cultures and values.

The puzzle of the economy is complex. Regular economic theories are not capable of explaining everything that is happening. In this research, I choose to use a different vocabulary. With the use of the anthropological approach I will analyze economic exchanges as phenomena in a social world.



1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this thesis is to broaden the scope of economics. By combining the cultural-, anthropological and economical approach, our knowledge and understanding of economic behavior will be expanded. With this combination I will explore how different exchanges in the economy work. It will provide us with an understanding of human processes in the economy. To fulfill this aim the following research question is posed.

“OF WHICH EXCHANGE MECHANISMS DOES THE ECONOMY CONSIST AND HOW DO ACTORS IN
THE CULTURAL SECTOR USE THEM?”

We can learn from the arts that images are sometimes stronger than words. Illustrations will support written theories in this thesis. This might help in the connection process between arts and economics. Maybe one day people will not be surprised anymore by the combination.

1.3 THESIS CONSTRUCTION

The thesis will start with a chapter on the context. It will describe the social- and economical environment of the cultural sector in the Netherlands. In the third chapter the case studies are introduced. This will be followed by the theoretical framework, in which the most important anthropologic theories about the nature of economics, exchange mechanisms and value are elucidated. Chapter four will be elaborate the conducted research methods and the epistemological position. This will be followed by the empirical part where the economic behavior of the case studies is described and analyzed. In chapter six the most important conclusions are presented and an answer to the main research question will be given. The research will end with some reflections and discussion.

2. THE CONTEXT

2.1 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

This master thesis is written in a time that our society and in particular the economy is changing. Due to the economic crisis we realized financial resources are not unlimited. Furthermore, due to enormous budget reductions by the Dutch government in the cultural field, cultural institutions and artists will receive less money.¹ However this does not mean that there are no resources to make art anymore. Although money is scarce nowadays, the level of time and human resources in the cultural field remains the same. So when there is less money, other exchange mechanisms are used. People have to be creative in finding ways to finance and realize their projects.

Processes like individualization erase old boundaries in the society (Schnabel, 2004). They generate new interactions. In the individualized society people are searching for new social cohesion. If we approach the economy as a social system, it consists of patterns that integrate somehow. New social relationships come about such as colleagues or friendships.

Besides the individualization another process is recognizable. It could be called economization of human life. We tend to make more and more use of economic values instead of other values.² In this time every decision or new policy has to be justified. Most of the time evaluations are based on economic values because they are quantifiable and commonly understandable. Other values like social and cultural values are harder to explain and thus harder to use for justification and balancing. When you are exchanging you do not measure the relationship that is created, you measure the economic value of goods that are exchanged.

On the other side we see a reaction against the economization of human life and individual capitalism. There is a tendency towards more collaborative consumption. It

¹ The Dutch government will reduce the budget for culture with €200 million in the year 2013. <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten-en-publicaties/notas/2011/06/10/meer-dan-kwaliteit-een-nieuwe-visie-op-cultuurbeleid.html>

² The nota: 'Cultuur in Beeld 2011' of the Dutch government illustrates this tendency. In the nota the effect of culture on the Dutch economy is measured. <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/kunst-en-cultuur/documenten-en-publicaties/brochures/2011/05/17/cultuur-in-beeld-2011.html>

means that ownership of something becomes less important than the use or the experience. The access to goods becomes essential (Rifkin, 2000). This enables an economy that is more based on sharing instead of consuming.

2.2 RELEVANCE

Social academic research has more relevance than pursuing the truth. We do not only describe what is happening, it is also our task to raise critical questions. Social research can give us incentives to think differently about subjects. And moreover it can even affect our behavior.

The cultural sector is often labeled as a poor sector with a lack of money. The economical balance sheet only counts for economic value. It is true that the financial resources are limited in the cultural sector. But I think the image of an economically poor sector is wrong. Artists and creative entrepreneurs found their own creative solutions to manage the lack of financial resources. With the use of different interactions and interchanges they are able to realize their projects and generate value. The image of economically poor sector can be revised by visualizing the spectrum of exchange. This thesis will be useful for both people from inside as outside the cultural sector.

Artists and entrepreneurs in the cultural sector will become more aware of their specific economic actions. In the end they can use the knowledge of this research and adjust their work accordingly. They can use all economic exchanges as optimal as possible in order to realize their values. On the other side, this research can inspire people from outside the cultural sector too. In the cultural sector we find a substantive part of non-monetary exchanges, probably more than in other sectors. They creative methods of artists and entrepreneurs can be a source of inspiration for outsiders. They can adjust their economic actions to the values they want to achieve.

Besides a better understanding of economics this thesis can maybe affect the current approach towards value in the society. The previous section described how economic values tend to overrule in our society. Cultural and social values tend to be vague and unworkable and therefore omitted from the economic science. This research will expose all values that are important to people. If they can be made workable we can adapt them in the economic science. One day they might be added to the economic balance sheet and used in economic decision-making. With a better comprehension of values we can improve our use of economics.

The field of cultural economics is ahead of regular economics by acknowledging cultural and social values. Economic anthropologists are ahead of regular economists by seeing the embedding of economic behavior in a social context. Questions can be answered in a way that numbers would never achieve. I do not want to suggest that an anthropological approach to economy is better or should be a replacement of regular economic theory. It just offers another perspective that can complement, correct or sharpen already existing theories.

3. CASE STUDIES

3.1 A TENDENCY IN ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR

In this research I will describe the economic behavior of various actors in the cultural sector. It will be focused on specific cases in order to make an intensive description of their economic actions within the context. Pictura, an artists association located in Dordrecht, is the main case in this research. The case is suitable for this research because the economic actions can be studied both on organizational- as individual level. It gave me the chance to study an organizational culture from inside and to meet a lot of individual artists at the same time. During my fieldwork and the conversations with the Pictura artists I got pointed out the difference between them and the new generation of artists. Pictura artists advised me to talk to a younger generation artists in order to describe their economic behavior too. For this reason I decided to add 'the new generation' as second group of individuals, consisting on young artists and creative entrepreneurs. As second organizational case I added the community 'De Universiteit', which is a relatively young organization.

Economic exchanges are everywhere around us. The variety of combinations in these exchanges is enormous. It is impossible to make one description of economic behavior in the cultural sector because there is no single scenario how actors are operating. We can only say that there might be an overall tendency how the behavior looks like. The case studies in this research will serve as examples for this tendency. I will not pretend that these examples are generalizable for the economic behavior of all actors in the cultural sector. However the combination of the four case groups offers a broad perspective on economic culture in the cultural sector. The four case studies are introduced in the following sections.

3.1.1 DORTSE TEEKENGENOOTSCHAP PICTURA

Pictura is the oldest artist association of the Netherlands, founded in 1779. It is situated in Dordrecht and consists of 140 working members from the region Rotterdam and Dordrecht. It has an identical number of supporting members, the so called 'kunstlievende leden', who are financially supporting Pictura. Pictura has two main tasks. The first task is to preserve the history of the association and secondly to be a platform for contemporary artists. According to their mission statement, Pictura is a stage for contemporary art, a meeting place for a broad art audience and a work- and

think place for cross over projects between visual arts, literature, music and dance, where art and audience merge. 8 to 10 times a year Pictura organizes exhibitions with the work of 2 or 3 contemporary artists. Furthermore they organize a yearly salon where all the working members can exhibit one work. A jury judges all artworks and the Pictura Award is appraised. This is the most important activity for the working members.

3.1.2 PICTURA ARTISTS

The artists that are members of Pictura are working in various disciplines, from sculpting, to painting and design. Half of the members are working and living in Dordrecht, a quarter in Rotterdam and the rest is spread over the country. The ages of the artists varies from 27 till 85; the average age is somewhere between 40 and 50. The group of active members is rather small; only a few of the 140 are visiting Pictura regularly. The focus in this research is both on the active and passive members. The artists who joined the group conversation were both living in Rotterdam and Dordrecht. Most of them were familiar with each other.

3.1.3 THE NEW GENERATION

People labeled under the category 'new generation' are artists and entrepreneurs living and working in Utrecht. Their age varies between 25 and 35. Half of the persons who joined the conversations could be called cultural entrepreneurs. They are organizing cultural events in Utrecht. Examples are pop-up exhibitions, interactive parties and cultural gatherings where various disciplines merge. The other half consists of visual artist, mainly painters and photographers. What they all have in common is that they try to realize their projects in the cultural environment in the 'Randstad', an urban agglomeration in the Netherlands. The artists and entrepreneurs that joined the group conversations almost all knew each other somehow.

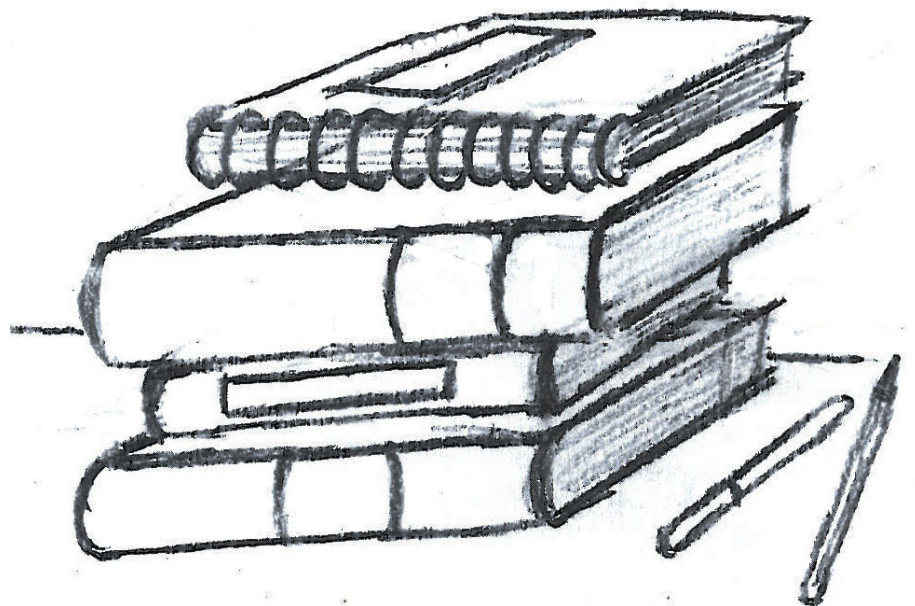
3.1.4 "DE UNIVERSITEIT"

The name of the last case study is a bit confusing. Although it is called De Universiteit it is not connected to a regular university. De Universiteit is a community that wants to facilitate his own learning process. The people of De Universiteit describe their organization as a self regulated-learning environment. The members gather once a week to have education. The evenings consist of workshops, trainings, exercises and reflections. Every time another subject is central in the meeting. Essential in this community is co-creation. Everybody is free to add to the learning process. In practice this implies that every week another member can be the facilitator of the evening. De Universiteit is an initiative of three entrepreneurs in Utrecht. It started in the summer of

2011 and currently the community consists of approximately 80 members. The members have all different backgrounds. The evenings of De Universiteit are freely accessible and the community is open for everyone.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As social researchers we aim to build our research on knowledge that is already known (Kelly, 2004). Research cannot do without prescience, since every time we aim to get one step closer to the truth. In order to analyze the cultural economy a theoretical framework is built upon this knowledge. The framework will help to analyze the collected data and will place it in an academic conversation. The biggest source of knowledge is found in the economic anthropology. Therefore the first section is dedicated to this approach. This is important since economic anthropology forms the basis of the latter sections. The approach will help to understand the social aspects in the economy. The second section will elucidate the concept value. In the third section the distinctive layers and spheres of the economy will be explored. The framework will end with the various exchange mechanisms in section four.



4.1 ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

In research on the operation of the economy it is useful to have some knowledge about the economy. Economic anthropology is the science that approaches the economy as a social system. The name might be self-explaining, as this term is the description and analysis of economic life from an anthropological perspective (Carrier, 2005). Economic life implies all the activities through which people produce, circulate, and consume things (Appadurai, 1968). This concerns both material- and immaterial matters such as labor, services, knowledge, myths, and names. During recent years, more and more economists integrated anthropologic knowledge in their field (Gudeman, 2001; Klamer, 2003). They acknowledged that the economy is embedded in social relationships and cannot be understood in only numbers.

Anthropologic economists have a different perspective from 'regular' economists. They place economic institutions in a broader social perspective to see how they affect each other. According to anthropologic economists, economic life can only be approached in context and in specific cultures, where all human activities are placed in. Economic anthropology is a relatively new field and can be described as collaborative and combative (Carrier, 2005). Just as in other fields there are various scholars with different opinions. This section will describe some main assumptions, which are useful for understanding economic exchanges.

4.1.1 FORMALIST VS. SUBSTANTIVES

The first concern in economic anthropology is the economy itself. Every human in this world has to deal with a form of economy. However, the nature of the economy is not explicit. Most sectors in Western civilizations have price making market systems, but other types of economies exist too. Ethnographic research showed that in historical, tribal, and even industrial societies, economy includes more than markets or market-like exchanges of goods and services (Malinowski, 1926; Mauss, 1945; Dalton, 1965; Sahlin, 1972; Strathern, 1992). Around the 50s, a huge debate around the nature of economy started. Karl Polanyi, who can be seen as one of the founders of anthropologic economy, played a major role in this debate. Polanyi differentiated himself from the current perspective on the economy with his famous distinction between the *formal* and *substantive* meaning of the economy.

"The substantive meaning of economic derives from man's dependence for his living upon nature and his fellows. It refers to the interchange with his natural and

social environment, in so far as this results in supplying him with the means of material want satisfaction” (Polanyi, 1957: 243)

“ The formal meaning of economic derives from the logical character of the means-ends relationship, as apparent in such words as ‘economical’ or ‘economizing’. It refers to a definite situation of choice, namely, that between the different uses of means induced by an insufficiency of those means” (Polanyi, 1957: 243).

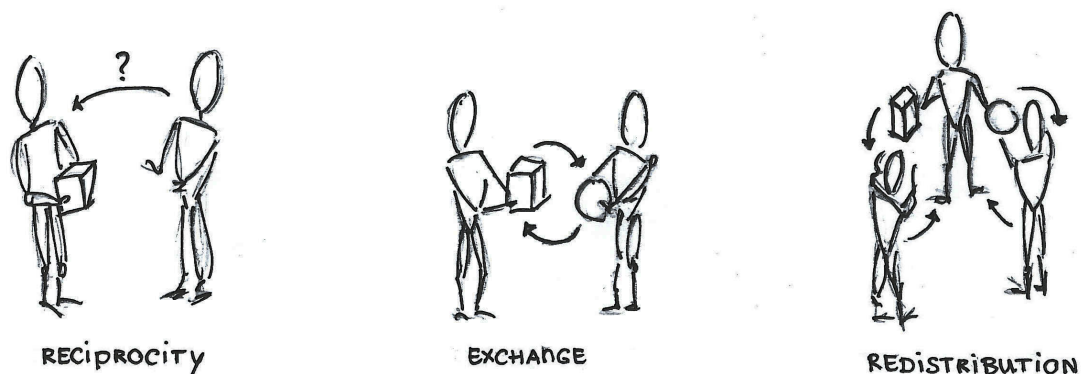
The distinction between these perspectives affects the scope of the subjects and institutions that are studied in economic science. For a long time, the formal perspective has been the leading approach in social science (Firth, 1961; Cook, 1966; Schneider, 1974). According to the famous economist Adam Smith (1776), the origin of the economy lays in human nature. The human is a *homo economicus*, who uses rational choice to allocate scarce resources. This typical human behavior would lead automatically to price making market systems because of the practical advantages. The formal perspective implies that economics is concerned with the economy as aggregate from rational choice making individuals. According to opponents, the neoclassical economic theory is inapplicable to all types of economics as for example primitive and tribal economies (Polanyi, 1957; Bohannan, 1963; Dalton, 1965; Sahlin, 1972). Formal economic theories are developed in the 19th century during factory industrialism and market organization (Dalton, 1965:1). In this time, it looked like the market was the only institution where goods and services were allocated. For this reason, formal economic theories are dedicated to the market as an allocation institution. The act of exchange of participants in this system lent itself for the application of the formal perspective (Polanyi, 1957:244). Supporters of the substantive perspective argue that there are other institutional structures in which goods are provisioned and allocated. If anthropologists refer to ‘economic’ aspects in societies, they usually refer to those institutions which are not necessarily market systems (Dalton, 1965:6).

Polanyi was the first who criticized the formal meaning and confronted it with the substantive perspective. According to him they are on the two opposite directions of the compass, because the formal perspective is about laws of the mind and the substantive perspective is about laws of nature (1957:244). The substantive perspective is concerned with exchange as an institutionalized process rather than individual behavior.

We can learn from this debate that the economy does not only consist of market exchanges. In other institutions, as for example a family household, goods are not allocated on behalf of direct exchange. A father who earns money and provides for his children might illustrate this. In the cultural sector it works similar. Think for example of an artist who is working as a volunteer or of a festival that is financed with public money. The substantive perspective distinguishes three ordering processes in the economy; reciprocity, redistribution, and direct exchange (Polanyi, 1957: 250-256). These ordering mechanisms are related to symmetry and centrality as institutional patterns. In the following section the ordering processes will be elaborated.

4.1.2 PATTERNS OF INTEGRATION

People living in a society have various relations with each other. The range of relationship is enormous and can vary from almost completely anonymous to very intimate. Think of the relationship with your family, friends, and colleagues. It is also possible to think a step further and consider the relationship with your neighbors or even the man working in the grocery store. Although you do not share much with the man working in the grocery store, you do have a relation with him. The orderings processes in the economy work integrative. For this reason Polanyi calls them *patterns of integration* (1957:250-256).



Reciprocity refers to the phenomenon of the return on a gift of something to someone. You do not know when, what and from whom you will get the return (Mauss, 1954). The relationship that comes into existence is a relationship based on reciprocity. An easy example of an economy that is based on reciprocity is the economy of chewing gum. Once in a while everybody has a packet of chewing gum, when you are consuming

one, you are probably sharing with people around you. First we do not make a problem out of this because chewing gum is not that expensive. Second, we are sharing because we know that next time someone else will have the packet. We know that the chewing gum is coming back one day, we just do not know, when, from whom, which brand, which flavor et cetera. Three types of reciprocity are distinguishable (Sahlén, 1972): generalized, balanced or negative. Generalized reciprocity resembles sharing in social context the giver does not expect something concrete or immediate in return. Balanced reciprocity occurs when the giver expects something, but not immediate, in return. With negative reciprocity the giver does not trust the other parties wherefore the giving must be reciprocated immediately (Carrier, 2005).

Redistribution implies that goods are first collected at one central hierarchical point and afterwards distributed amongst people at the local level again (Polanyi, 1957). As pattern of integration it can exist on governmental level or in smaller institutions and social relationships. On state level an example of an economy based on redistribution is the taxes system. Everybody in a country is paying taxes and the government is re-allocating this money amongst sectors. A smaller example of redistribution is a family household with double incomes. The incomes are collected at the top of the family and with this money school tuition fees are paid or clothes are bought.

The last pattern of integration is the *exchange*, which consists of the principles of supply and demand. Goods are exchanged between the hands of people. This can be done with or without the intervention of money. Exchange as pattern of integration creates a short-term relationship. The only moment of relatedness is when the actual transaction is done. It does not create a gift-debt relationship, which lies at the core of the other patterns of integration (Gregory, 1980).

4.2 WHAT IS THE ECONOMY ABOUT?

Value is an important concept in economics. But what is value exactly? If you ask people what is valuable, they will all give you different answers. Someone might answer a diamond, or a sports car or maybe nature. However, the word value can be adjusted to more than tangible artifacts. The relationship with your grandfather, a visit to a museum, a meditation lesson can be valuable too. Value is a judgment of an object made by a subject and therefore never inherent to an object (Simmel, 1907, English translation 1978: 73). It can be given to all kind of things, objects, people, relationships, experiences and so on. To value something is to have a composite of positive attitudes

towards it, governed by distinct standards for perception, emotion, deliberation, desire and conduct (Anderson, 1993: 13).

Talking about value in the anthropological sense implies some kind of symbolic system that defines the world in terms of what is important, meaningful or desirable (Graeber, 2001). Value can be seen as the answer to the question why people act like they do. It is the way in which our actions get meaning in something outside ourselves. Since value is a judgment made by people it is never objective. What is valuable for one person does not necessarily have the same value for another. In communities and groups, people can share the same value system (Graeber, 2001) or regimes of value (Appadurai, 1986:11). In times of globalization and individualization it might be outdated to talk about value systems that are bound to societies and cultures. Value systems of subcultures, organizations or associations will be stronger than shared value systems of national cultures (Graeber, 2001).

The standard economic approach tends to see values as given preferences. According to Klammer (2001) people need to be in conversation with others to discover what they think, believe and value. Values can be unstable and change over time. The process of changing and enhancing values is called valorization. The value of a cultural good can change due to the attention it gets, education, policy, and its mode of financing. The latter will be elaborated in the following section on realizing values. First, value on its own will be operationalized.

4.2.1 VARIOUS VALUES

“Everything that can be counted does not necessarily count; everything that counts cannot necessarily be counted” (Albert Einstein)



Although we see economic values everywhere around us, there are more values, which are maybe less visible but not less important. Other categories of values are cultural, social, spiritual, educational, and transcendental. A major difference between economic values and other values is that the former are measurable

and easy to express whilst the latter is unstable, hard to define and not common understandable. Klamer uses an example to illustrate this. Consider the following situation: You are in a bar with a friend, having a cup of coffee and a good conversation. At the end of the evening the economic value of this meeting will be 4 euro, the price of two coffees. The meeting lasted for 60 minutes, so the value for 60 minutes of friendship would be 4 euro. Obviously the meeting could have had much higher value than 4 euro. The conversation, the feeling of belonging to someone, the jokes, friendship, inspiration et cetera all has extra value, which is not captured in 4 euro. The example seems trivial but its point is important. Some values can simply not be expressed in numbers.

4.2.1.1 INSTRUMENTAL VS. FINAL VALUES

A major classification can be made between instrumental and final values (Korsgaard, 1983; Anderson, 1993; Klamer, 2003). These concepts are self-explanatory. Final or goal values are values that do not serve another end. People want to acquire these values for the sole purpose of that value. Examples are happiness or luck. On the contrary, instrumental values are used to achieve other values. Instrumental values can also be valuable but they will not be the objective (Klamer, 2003). The most used examples of instrumental values are economic values. This distinction may be illustrated by a bank manager who does not want to get rich just for the money; hence he wants to make money to acquire status or fame, which is a social final value. An economic value can never be a goal value, it will always be a means to serve another end (Klamer, 2001).

4.2.1.3 USE VS. EXCHANGE VALUE

Smith made another classification for the concept value, in his famous statement about the 'paradox of value'. He highlights the difference between value in use and value in exchange. "The word value, it is to be observed, had two different meanings, and sometimes expresses the utility of some particular object, and sometimes the power of purchasing other goods which the possession of that object conveys." (Smith, 1776, p. 28) This concerns the difference between the value someone derives from using an object and the value that has power to achieve other objects. For example, rice has high value in use when it stills hunger, while it has a low value in exchange. At least that is the case in the current Western society. Gold on the contrary has a low value in use; you can derive pleasure from watching it, while it has high value in exchange. Another way to approach value lies in the tension between possession and desire. Objects are never hard to acquire because they are valuable; we call those objects valuable that resist our desire to possess them (Simmel, 1907, English translation, 1978).

4.2.1.4 INTRINSIC VS. EXTRINSIC VALUE

As the illustration in the right shows, a third distinction can be made between values, namely between intrinsic and extrinsic value. This classification is easy to confuse with the first the distinction between instrumental and final values. Something is intrinsically valued when it has goodness in itself (Korsgaard, 1993; 170). Extrinsic value is the opposite of intrinsic value and occurs when a thing gets value from another source (Korsgaard, 1993; Anderson, 1993). Intrinsic value exists when an object has value because it is simply there. The value of the object is literally intrinsic. Extrinsic value on the other hand is a judgment from an actor. The object is not valuable by itself, but because someone thinks it is so (Anderson, 1993). Money for example has extrinsic value, because we make it valuable with the use of an outside criterion. Some people argue that art has intrinsic value; nonetheless this claim does not have universal support.



4.2.1.5 SYSTEM OF VALUE

The meaning of value exists in comparative terms (Graeber, 2005). This means that values are measured against each other. For example when we want to know how valuable a friendship is, we compare it with other friendships or relations. Value is represented in a token, This can be anything from a painting to a wedding ring. Most people perceive the token as valuable in it self, hence the value is in the action behind it (Graeber, 2005). What should be mentioned about the system of value is that people are making judgments about everything in order to give meaning to their life. To underline what is important and significant to them. The judgments are made in regimes of value, which are outside us as human being. These regimes are formed in cultures and subcultures. So to recapitulate, people make valuations to give meaning to their life, these valuations are placed and compared in a bigger framework of value, which culturally formed. A difference can be made between producing value and realizing value. The realization of value always happens in the public sphere. Recognition is needed from multiply persons otherwise the value would remain in the head of one

person. The realization of value happens in conversations, where it is placed in the regime of value (Klamer, 2003a). You can only value something in a particular way in a social setting that holds norm for that mode of valuing (Anderson, 1993:13).

4.3 REALIZING VALUES IN THE SPHERES OF THE ECONOMY

How can we connect these theories about value with the economy? Although the neoclassical economics primarily focus on what is happening in the market, the substantive perspective allows us to see more economic layers. In these different layers various values are realized.

4.3.1 MARKET AND COMMUNITY

According to Gudeman (2001:7) the economy consists of two realms, the market and the community. Since we are not fully self-reliant we need some form of economy to fulfill our needs and desires. Even the most anarchistic societies knew some form of economy (Malowinski, 1926; Dalton; 1961; Sahlin; 1972; Strathern; 1992). The community is the place where people preserve, collect and redistribute things. The base of the community is formed by the shared interest of the members. These shared interests can be anything, from extraction of oil in a country to good functioning of a tennis club. Network and relationships are the tights that keep the community together and trough these channels the material and immaterial things are distributed amongst all the members. Communities exist in various shapes and the intensity of the relationships can vary in strength and importance (Gudeman, 2001). The relationships are maintained through the appropriation of things. In other words the movement of things through the community based on reciprocity and redistribution facilitates the relationships.

The realm of the market is the place where individuals are trying to obtain goods of their desire. Self-interest is not the only motive in the market realm; goods for the community are obtained as well. This implies that a commodity can move from the market sphere into the realm of the community. Besides individuals communities are operating in the market too. Likewise, in the market sphere relationships are constructed. The main difference with the community realm is that relationships are contractual. They are based on mutual exchange. The relationships in the market realm are maintained *for the sake* of the good that is exchanges, while the relationships in the community are maintained *for their own sake* (Gudeman, 2001:10). It is the other way around; the relationships are maintained in order to facilitate exchanges. This entails much more stronger connections in the community sphere than in the market sphere where the contracts are over when the exchange is done.

4.3.2 LOGIC OF THE SPHERES

Another approach to the multiply layers in the economy is given by Klamer and Zuidhof (1998). According to them there are different spheres in which you can finance or realize your projects. Every sphere knows its own rules and logic. The following illustration shows the different spheres of the economy.

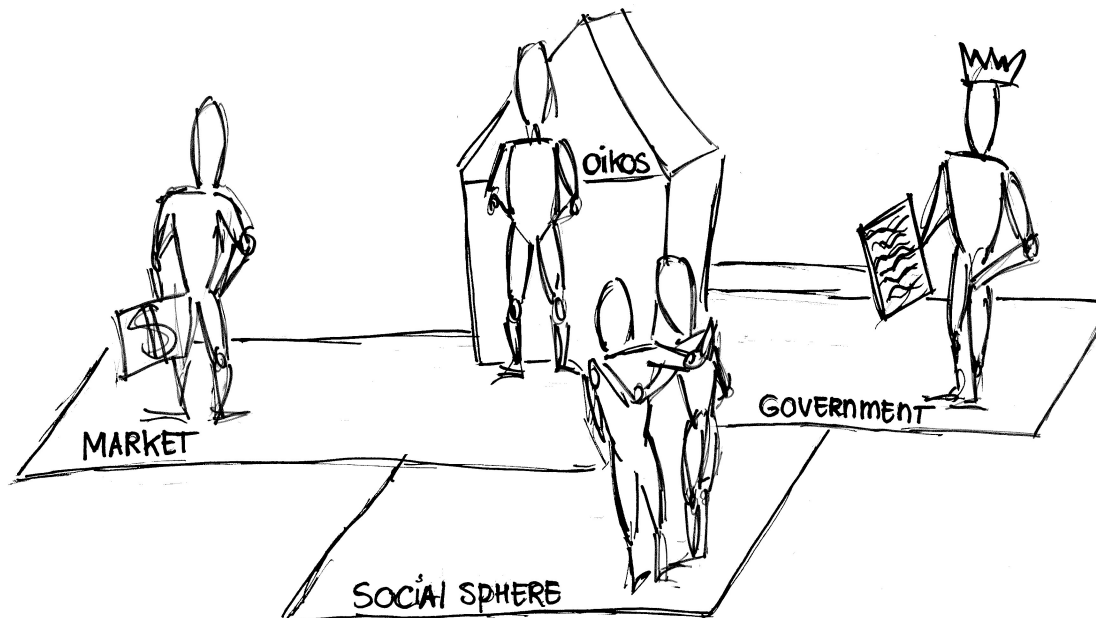


Illustration: Four spheres to finance projects

The *market sphere* is driven by the rules of demand and supply. People can sell their goods and services on the market to others. This can be done with or without the intervention of money. The main pattern of integration is based on direct exchange. In the *governmental sphere*, people or organizations can apply for subsidies. In this sphere tax money and resources are distributed amongst members of a society. The *social sphere* is the sphere where people are working together and where friendships are built. Things are exchanged on the logic of reciprocity. Gifts, donations, volunteer work all happen in the social sphere. The *oikos* is the last sphere and this is the place where people live and share things with each other (Klamer, 2001).

Besides the different efforts you have to make in the various spheres, it does matter in which sphere you are operating. The way of financing can give rise to external value apart from the object of project is self (Klamer, 1998). For example, in the governmental sphere resources are distributed amongst members, this can give rise to feelings of

justice or equity. But it can also raise feelings of dependence or inefficiency by bureaucratic rules. On the contrary operating in the market sphere can generate feelings of independence and freedom but also feelings of commercial or greed. Working in the social sphere will generate relationships and values as commitment, belonging or social recognition. On the other hand it can raise values al subjectivity or dependence too. It is up to every individual whether this is experienced positive or negative.

By way of illustrating the following picture will show examples of various values that can be generated in the four spheres.

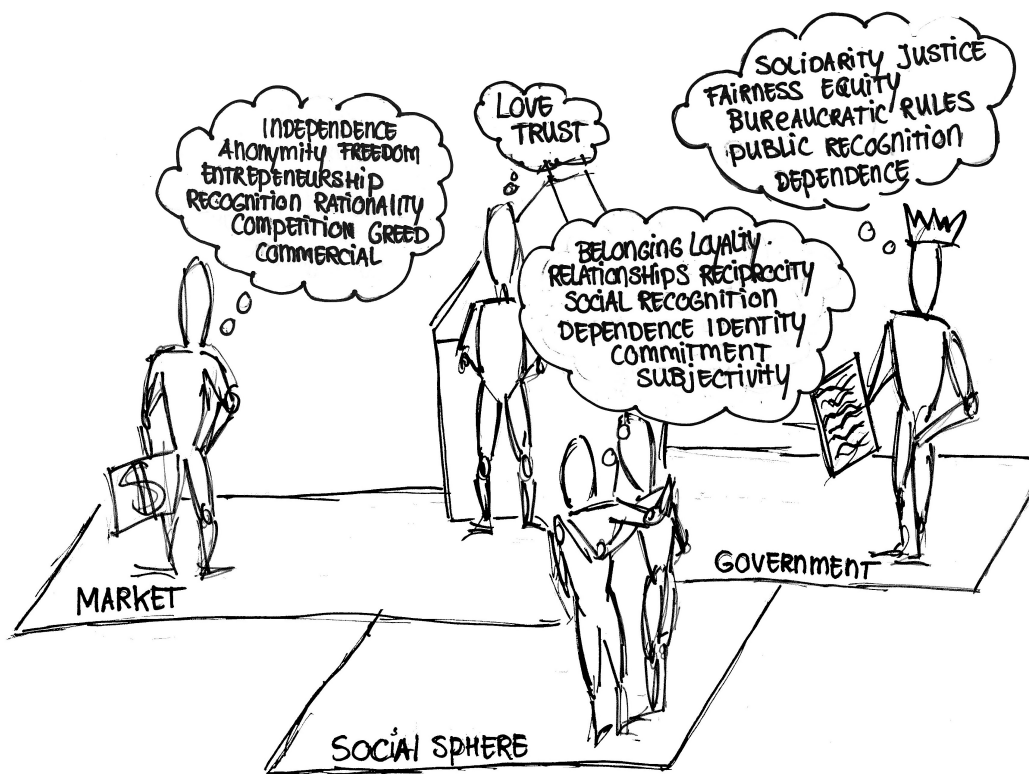


Illustration: Four spheres giving rise to external values

What we learn of this logic and the illustrations is that is it necessary to operate in a particular sphere to generate certain values. It does not only matter *that* something is financed it also matters *how* something is financed.

4.4 ECONOMIC BEHAVIOUR: THE SPECTRUM OF EXCHANGES

Taking all this information about patterns of integration, values and relationships together we come to the point of economic behavior. There are various exchange mechanisms in the economy which all have their own characteristics. In some situations it is hard to distinguish which exchange mechanism is used. The borders between monetary, gift and barter exchanges are rather vague (Zelizer, 1998). Therefore it is difficult and sometimes even undesirable to give clear definitions. However, this chapter will describe some special features of each type of exchange. It is important to note that exchanges have to be understood and analyzed in their social context. The social context and the relation between the actors are part of the exchange. Only because of these relationships we can make the distinction between them (Zelizer, 1998). This chapter will pay attention to the gift economy, barter exchanges, the monetary economy and sharing communities.

4.4.1 THE SPIRIT OF THE GIFT



Gift exchange is probably the exchange that received the most attention in economic anthropology. Giving constitutes a major part of human exchanges. Simply said a gift is the transfer of a good without a direct return or a quid pro quo (Klamer, 2001). It can be

a tangible good or intangible in the form of time, for example as volunteer. In this thesis the gift exchange will be considered as a transfer from one person to another where the nature, the value and the time of the return are unknown at the moment of exchange (Klamer, 2001). The theoretical founding of gift exchange started when Mauss (1954) wrote his famous book, 'The Gift'. According to him the gift consists of three obligations: giving, receiving and returning. Mauss was specifically interested in the power that forces a return gift. He found the answer to this question in the Maori concept 'the hau'. In the Maori exchange system the 'hau' is a part of someone's spiritual essence, which is transferred in a gift exchange. They believe that the object that is transferred carries part of the spirit of the giver. This is called the spirit of the gift.

"One gives away what is in reality a part of one's nature and substance, while to receive something is to receive a part of someone's spiritual essence. To keep this thing is dangerous, not only because it is illicit to do so, but also because it comes morally, physically and spiritually from a person." (Mauss, 1954, pp. 8-9)

The 'hau' that locates itself in the given object should be returned to the legitimate owner, because it is dangerous to keep. The 'hau' can only be transferred in another object or valuable. This forces the receiver to make a return gift. The spirit of the gift generates mutually dependent ties because the giver wants to have the part of his spirit back and the receiver needs to return it. The story about the 'hau' is quite spiritual and the question remains whether a part of someone's spirit is actually transferred. Mauss description of the spirit of the gift activated anthropologists to think about gift exchange. As reaction on the spirit of the gift Malinowski (1926) articulated the principle of reciprocity and as force to return in economic systems.

"The binding force of economic obligations lies in the sanction which either side may invoke to sever the bonds of reciprocity. One gives because of the expectations of return and one returns because of the threat that one's partner may stop giving." (Malinowski, 1926, p. 46)

Whether it is the spirit of the gift or the reciprocal obligations, gift exchange always contains some kind of return. Different than barter and monetary exchange, gift exchange does not happen simultaneously. This generates relationships between the actors. Gregory (1980) calls this gift-debt relations, the relationship will remain until the obligation of the return is done. Gift-debt relations will always consist on a donor, who offers the gift and a recipient who receives.

According to Gregory (1980) there are two kinds of relations that arise in the economy: gift-debt relations and commodity-debt relations. Gift-debt relations are relations between mutually connected persons with inalienable goods. With inalienable goods he means that the property rights are not actual exchanged. The good does not change from owner, it is rather loaned for a while. Gregory uses the example of a tennis ball with an elastic band to illustrate this: 'the owner of the ball may lose possession of it for a time, but the ball will spring back to its owner if the elastic band is given a jerk' (Gregory, in Yan, 2005, p.253). Because the goods are inalienable the gift must be returned. The notion of return establishes personal and qualitative relations between the subjects that are exchanging. In commodity-debt relations the actors are independent and the goods are alienable. This means that with the commodity exchange the property rights are transferred as well. The objects are free to move between actors because they are alienable. This creates not relationships between the actors exchanging but relationships between the objects that are exchange. These relationships are objective and quantitative (Yan, 2005). In this context should be mentioned that the generated gift-debt relations are not only the consequence of reciprocal commitment. It works bilateral; gift exchange is also a consequence of the already existing relationships.

Gift exchange can be used as instrument to serve other ends, as for example to express power distance or to maintain old contacts. Sahlin (1970) distinguishes three variables to determine the nature of a gift exchange: kinship distance, sociability and generosity. It depends on these variables what the effect of the exchange will be. Take for example kinship distance. Sahlin (1970) argues that the obligation of the return makes the giver superior over the receiver until an appropriate gift is returned. This force can be used to express power. When a donor has a hierarchical higher rank and offers an impressive gift the recipient will be transformed into a debtor. In this example an unequal relationship is generated by gift exchange. It is important to note that gift exchange can be used for several purposes since it generates various relationships.

Because of the social embedding of gift exchanges this mechanism is used in the logic of the social sphere and the oikos.

4.4.2 BARTER EXCHANGES



“The image of things moving ‘against’ each other contains its own magic and romance”
(Strathern, 1992, p. 172).

Barter is the term that usually refers to direct exchanges of goods and services without the use of money (Heady, 2005, p. 262). If we want to give a clear definition of barter exchanges some features would be the following: things that are exchanged are different in kind or nature. In the exchange there is no intervention with some other commodity, the actors just simply wants to have the object of the other. Therefore there is no outside criterion that says the two items are equal. The protagonists are essentially free and equal, they can end the deal whenever they want to. And most of the time the transactions are happening simultaneously (Humphrey & Hugh-Jones, 1992). However Humphrey and Hugh-Jones are correctly arguing that attempts to produce a universal definition or model of barter exchanges, involves striping it from its social context and results in imaginary abstractions that have little or no correspondence to reality (1992, p.1).

Using the economic analytic framework we can say some things about barter exchanges. First it needs a double coincidence of wants, as the actors have to exchange simultaneously. You have to make a lot of effort to find someone who has what you aspire and also wants to exchange this for something you possess. The time you spend on searching an exchange partner leads to high opportunity costs. Together with the time you have to spend on traveling it will cause high transaction costs too. Neoclassical economics approached barter as the predecessor of monetary exchanges. The practical problems would inevitably lead towards the rise of monetary economy. The logic sounds reasonable but one question remains unanswered: If money solves the disadvantages of barter exchanges, why are people still using it in contemporary societies?

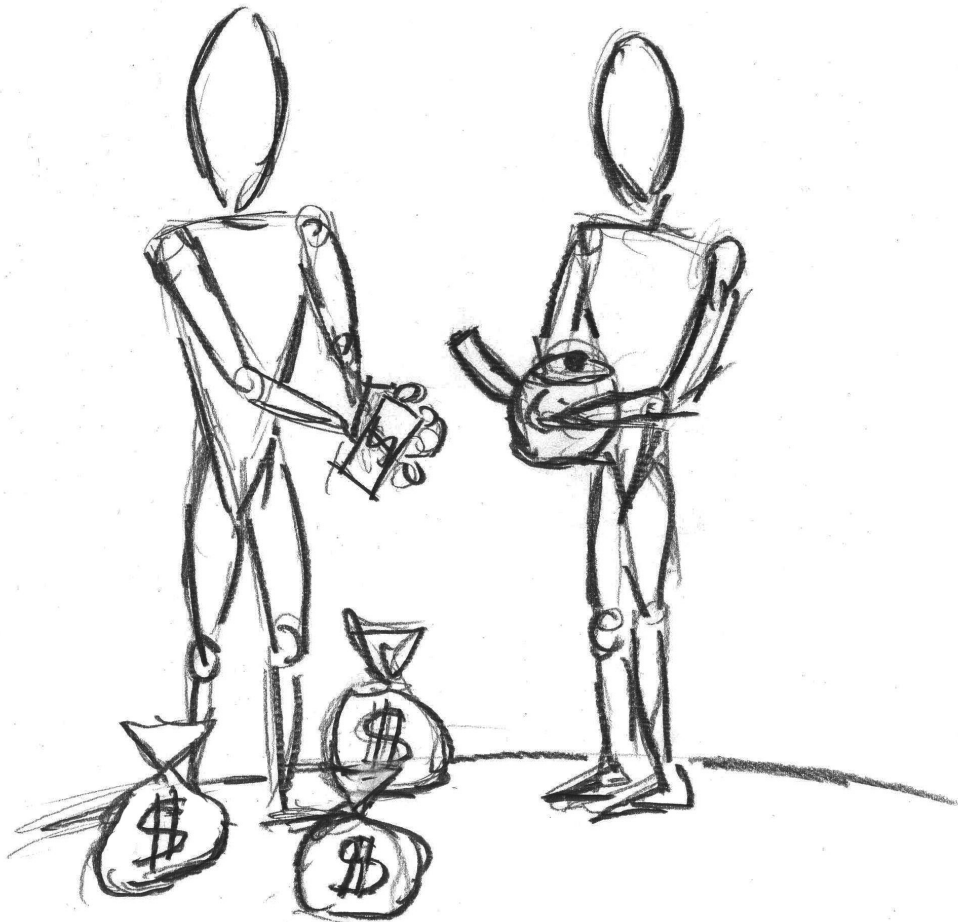
For a long time, anthropologists mainly focused on gift exchange, as it was the discovery of people exchanging things for the sake of something else. Barter was seen as a mechanism where actors were driven by the value of the goods since they are unlike in kind (Gregory, 1980). Barter transactions are one to one, without the use of an exchange commodity or an external exchange rate. According to Appadurai (1957, p.11) barter is the exchange mechanism where the circulation of commodities is the least bound to social, political and cultural norms because of the direct use value of commodities. There is no external judgment on the value than the judgments of the actors. Therefore the actors are able to create their own mutual value sphere. The objects that are exchanged move between the regimes of value and when they meet in the middle the common value sphere is created (Appadurai, 1986). To meet in the middle things that are exchanged should be of *equivalent value* (Humphrey & Hugh-Jones, 1992). However Strathern suggest that the equivalence of the goods is not a precondition, but rather an outcome for the goods being exchanged (1992, p. 170) The question is whether barter is happening because two goods are valued as equal or whether two goods are valued equal in order to make bartering happening? In the same line Strathern is raising question if we still know where we are counting for: Are we valuing the objects to make a trade off for individual gain or are we valuating both objects to come to a mutual agreement. And is it possible that the mutual agreement is more valuable than the individual gain we get out of the barter deal? (1992, p. 171).

Exceptional to barter exchange over monetary exchange is that despite the mutual transaction a relationship is created since it is rare that barter deals happen spontaneously. To make barter exchanges more profitable there is a need to repeat the action (Humphrey, 1992). Another reason for people using barter is the image it has. It

gives rise to a non-commercial sociable image, co-operation, integrity and ongoing relationships (Humphrey & Hugh-Jones, 1992)

Barter exchange has similarities with both gift and commodity exchange (Heady, 2005). On the one hand the participants want to obtain the good for the lowest or reasonable price, just as commodity exchange. But on the other hand they are interested in the maintenance of the social relationship. Heady (2005) argues that we should not make a new category for barter, but rather describe it as consisting of two elements: transfer of goods and services and a sign of the nature of the relationship. This exchange mechanism is used in the logic of the social sphere.

4.4.3 MONETARY TRANSACTIONS



The monetary transaction is the exchange mechanism that predominates the economic science. We are all familiar with the monetary transactions. We are using it when we are doing our groceries or when we receive our monthly salary on our bank account. In this exchange mechanism one person transfers a good or service and the other person transfers money in the opposite direction. It works with the logic of *quid pro quo*, a Latin expression what literary means one thing for another. In monetary transactions

individuals are free and the transaction happens almost always simultaneously. When it occurs that the exchange does not happen simultaneously, contracts are developed in order to ensure that it will be done. This implies that different than in gift exchanges goods are specified beforehand.

Smith distinguishes three aspects of social complexity that characterize monetary transactions namely: contracts, private property and equivalence (Smith, 1776). With contracts he means that actors are making a commitment in a monetary transactions. These contracts can be explicit and protracted or implicit and short standing. Important to remark is that the relationships between the actors in monetary transactions are based on these contracts. The notion of private property suggests that goods are alienable. In a monetary transaction the property rights change from owner as well. When the payment is done the buyer is the new owner of the object. Equivalence is necessary because the goods are exchanged on the moment that they are valued equal. The equivalence makes the transaction possible.

Actors are not completely free and independent in monetary transactions. Monetary transactions cannot exist without the social backing of the market structure. The exchanges are institutionalized within a market. The exchange mechanism one functions because of the rules and agreements we made in the society. We all agree on the value of a currency. There is a huge social agreement and institution behind monetary transactions (Hart, 2005).

4.4.3.1 COMMODITIES

An object will turn into a commodity when it is ready for exchange. Anything intended for exchange can turn into a commodity. In a narrow definition commodities are objects solely intended for exchange under capitalist conditions (Appadurai, 1986). Commodities are objects of economic value. Objects with a higher exchange value than use value are appropriate to be a commodity. Appadurai (1986) uses a broader perspective. According to him commodities are any objects of exchange regardless the exchange mechanism. An object can move in and out the commodity phase.

“The commodity situation in the social life of any ‘thing’ can be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present or future) for some other thing is socially relevant” (Appadurai, 1986, p. 13).

When cultural goods get in the commodity phase, their cultural value can be undermined, or crowded out. Commodities are circulating between the different

regimes of value (Appandurai, 1957). Since the industrialization labor became one of the most important commodities of the Western society (Achterhuis, 2011). Important in this context is that the commodity phase of an object has impact on its value. Being a commodity can hamper the value the object had before. Some objects cannot become a commodity. Other exchange mechanisms are needed in order to exchange these things.

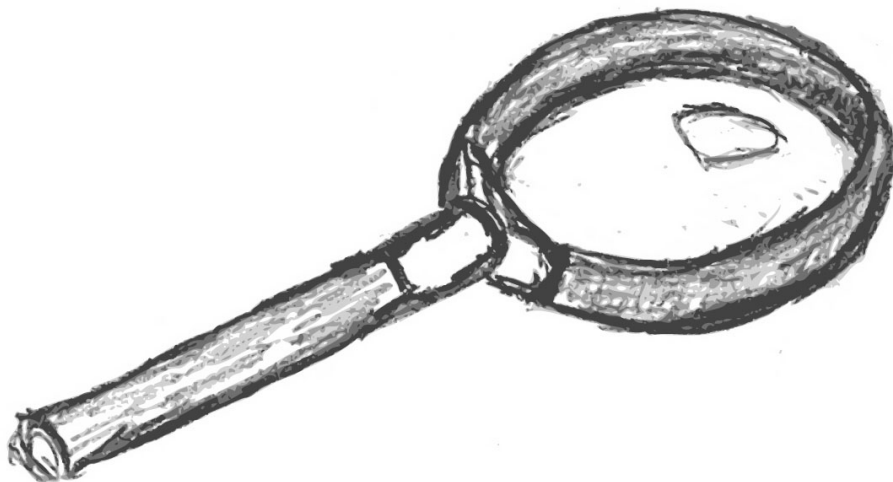
4.4.3.2 CROWDING IN AND CROWDING OUT EFFECTS

Frey (1997) developed a theory about the effects of monetary rewards on the motivation of people to do a task. Identical to the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic value, motivation can be divided into intrinsic and extrinsic too. Intrinsic motivation occurs when you are motivated for a task only by doing the task. Someone is doing the work for the sake of doing the work. External motivation occurs when someone is motivated by an external incentive. The person is not doing the task for the sake of the task but for the sake of the external incentive. This could be a negative or a positive incentive. The motivation crowding theory implies that intrinsic motivation can be undermined by external rewards or punishment (Frey, 2001). The emphasis is on *can* because it depends on the circumstances whether it undermines or strengthens the internal motivation. A famous example is the study of Titmuss (1970) who argued that paying for donating blood would underestimate social responsibility. A monetary reward for donating blood would finally decrease the willingness to donate blood. The situation would change if the monetary reward would be higher. But since governmental resources are scarce the monetary reward has a limit. The feeling of social responsibility, which people enjoy when they are donating blood would never be equalled with the limited monetary reward. This example illustrates that a monetary reward would not automatically lead to better results. The motivation crowding theory is important since it challenges one of the most standard economic rules: monetary incentives would increase supply. In the case of the motivation crowding theory monetary incentives would decrease supply (Frey, 2001).

5. METHODOLOGY

This research will expose the operation of various exchange mechanism and processes in the economy. This is related to values, judgments and interpretations of relevant stakeholders. The aim to get a better understanding of the economy as social system is achieved by observing it through the eyes of the participants. Only by searching for interpretations and motives we can get answers to the question why people are acting like they do. For the exposure of the operation of the economy as social system we need to talk with the relevant stakeholders to look for their interpretations, valuations and judgments. What do they think that is important? How are they exchanging? Why are they behaving like they do? In addition for the argument that exchanges in the economy cannot be understood without their social context. It was even necessary to go in depth to make an intensive description of this social context.

The methodology that is used in this thesis had to be suitable to answer the why question behind human behavior. For this purpose a qualitative research in the design of a case study is conducted. Qualitative research is focused on the understanding of the social world, through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants (Bryman, 2001). This chapter will elaborate the research methods that are used in this master thesis in order to answer the main research question. In section 4.1 the epistemological and ontological positions are taken. This is followed by the used research design and the research method, section 4.2 and 4.3. Afterwards in section 4.4 the data-analysis method is described. Section 4.5 will focus on the reliability and validity



5.1 INTERPRETIVISM

This master thesis aims to understand the economy of artists as a phenomenon in the social world. Therefore *interpretivism* is taken as epistemological position. As social researcher I believe social behavior cannot be studied as objects in the natural science. It requires social researchers to grasp the subjective meaning of social actions (Bryman, 2001). Besides the exposure of the process of value creation this research will help to understand this process. There is a difference between understanding and explanation of social phenomena. Only observing behavior is not sufficient to explain why people are acting like they do. The notion of a non-monetary economy in the cultural sector is not enough to understand these processes. Therefore this research will go in depth and search for more than observable behavior. As the name is self evident, interpretivism focuses less on causality of human action but more on the interpretation behind the actions. Interpretivism originates from a holistic conception of reality. The argument is that social research should not reduce reality to small research units. On the contrary, the reality should be approached as complete as possible. With interpretivism as a position this research will try to analyze the incidents from the interpretation of the actors. Contrary to empirical analytical research, which strives for objectivity, interpretivism seeks for clarification of values.

As an ontological position this thesis has *constructionism*, which states that social phenomena are not only produced through social interaction but they are also in a constant state of revision. Therefore the economy is not assessed isolated from its context.

5.2 CASE STUDY DESIGN

In this research a *case study* is chosen as research design. It enables to make an intensive observation of the subject in a holistic perspective. As argued before the economy cannot be studied without her context. Therefore the case study design is suitable to explore the non-monetary economy in the cultural sector. An important matter of a case study design is the selection of the case. There are several selection criteria and reasons for specific cases. Pictura is chosen as an *exemplifying case*. Although every case is in its nature unique, an exemplifying case implies that Pictura is not an extreme or unusual. Hence it will provide us with a suitable context in order to answer the research questions (Bryman, 2004). In this case study Pictura is the research object in which the subject, non-monetary economy, is studied.

5.3 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION & FOCUS GROUPS

To give a complete answer to the main research question different aspects had to be studied. In order to pay attention to all those aspects of the empirical questions various qualitative research methods are used. By using multiply research methods the description of the reality can be as accurate as possible. The first method that is used in order to give a description *how* artists are exchanging in the cultural sector is *participant observation*. Secondly *focus groups* are used, in order to answer the *why* questions behind respondents behavior. The following sections will elaborate the two research methods. Afterwards the time period of the data collection is described and the actual number of focus group conversations is given, in order to make this research reproducible.

5.3.1 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation is the research method where the researcher integrates into the studied culture. The researcher takes part in the daily activities, conversations, rituals, interactions and events of a group of people in order to understand the explicit and tacit aspects of a culture (Dewalt, 2002). There are different levels of participation varying from non-participation to passive and complete participation. Participant observation is used in the anthropology to make ethnographic descriptions of tribal communities. The research method used to make ethnographic descriptions consists of several aspects. Namely, living in the context for a period of time, learning the language and dialect, participating in daily routine and extraordinary activities, holding daily conversations as informal interview technique, informal observing during leisure activities and recording by making field notes (Dewalt, 2002). Although using participant observations in an organization is somewhat different from using it in a tribal cultural to the extent that the same aspects are used. Instead of living in the context for a period of time I worked in the context for a period of time. By being present at daily activities and special occasions as openings ceremonies and discussions I could intensively observe the culture. By having small talk conversations with the studio residents and the staff, I learned the Pictura language, talking the talk and walking the walk. As participation level I chose to use a *moderate* level. This implies that when at the moments of action I was identifiable as researcher but I did not actively participate but interacted occasionally (Dewalt, 2002). In practice this means that I did not help or participated in the activities of the residents, staff or members. I did not make a painting by myself nor did I help the volunteers with the bar activities. However I was present at the moment the respondents did those activities. Another aspect of

participant observation is informal interviewing. The name might be self evident, a technique without the traditional interviewer respondent setting. It enabled me to talk with artists in a natural setting.

5.3.2 FOCUS GROUPS

A focus group is a suitable research technique to collect data for questions *why* people act and feel the way they do (Bryman, 2011). It has several advantages over regular one to one interviews. A regular interview setting is a kind of unnaturally. The conversation between the interviewer and respondent is one way, the interviewer is posing the questions and the informant is answering. There are different interview techniques that can make the conversation more natural but at the core it remains the same. Unless the effort you can put in making the situation as natural as possible, both the informant and the researcher will always be aware of their role in the conversation. The researcher wants to know something of the informant and the informant has to answer the questions. For this reason there is almost always a single line in the conversation. The interviewer is posing questions and the informant is answering. Because the conversation line is one way, informants tend to answer the question immediately. Focus groups answers to questions are more natural. Participants get the opportunity to test their answers to the vision of other participants. They can also listen to what the others say and agree or disagree with their vision. Just as in real life participants can



interact and react upon each other. If they like they can adjust and correct their answers during the conversation. Their conversation is not single route but going in circles and different directions. Testing their statements to others can raise real interpretations, judgements and visions of informants. In the focus group conversations I posed open-ended questions, raise discussions about cases and made respondents reaction on

statements. In the latter focus groups I asked to react on visions formed in earlier groups. In the appendix the topic list, open-ended questions and cases for the focus groups can be found.

5.4 CONDUCTED METHOD: WHAT DID I DO?

In order to make this research reproducible this section will describe how the previous methods are actually conducted. The following table will give a chronological overview of all the activities during data collection. The informal conversations I had with people working in the cultural sector are not included in this table.

	When	What	Where	Who
1	30/3/12	Introduction conversation	Pictura	Chan, Marijn, Janna,
2	13/4/12	Opening wall for small work, observation and introduction with working members	Pictura	Studio inhabitants Staff,
3	28/4/12	Opening exhibition	Pictura	Members, Staff, Guests, Artists
4	3/5/12	Observation regular day	Pictura	Staff, volunteers
5	8/5/12	Focus group conversation	Rotterdam	Pictura artists
6	8/5/12	Focus group conversation	Rotterdam	Pictura artists
7	10/5/12	Focus group conversation	Pictura	Pictura artists
8	10/5/12	Informal interviewing	Pictura	Staff, Volunteers, artists
9	10/5/12	Board of directors meeting	Pictura	Board of directors, Staff
10	14/5/12	Observation De Universiteit	Utrecht	Community members
11	21/5/12	Observation De Universiteit	Utrecht	Community members
12	25/5/12	Interview "success story"	Utrecht	Elias Tieleman

13	27/5/12	Observation De Universiteit	Utrecht	Community members
14	29/5/12	Focus group conversation new generation entrepreneurs	Utrecht	New Generation artists
15	30/5/12	Interview "success story"	Utrecht	Tijmen, Marien (De Universiteit)
16	30/5/12	Focus group conversation new generation artists	Utrecht	New Generation artists
17	31/5/12	Observation meeting Cult Dealer Informal interviewing	Utrecht	Mariangela, Thomas, Guests

5.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The *grounded theory* will be used in the data analysis. This implies that data collection- analysis- and theory stand in close relation with each other (Bryman, 2001). After every observation or informal conversation I made a report with the most remarkable concerns. After a while I was able to store these concerns under various labels. I transcribed the focus group conversations and some parts of the informal conversations. First I used open coding to find the most significant themes. Afterwards I investigated the correlations between the themes. This made me able to form narratives and descriptions of what is happening.

5.6 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

In qualitative research the researcher is his own research instrument. It is almost impossible to collect pure objective data. During data collection I am the one who is looking, listening and observing. At some point my own interpretations and referential framework comes into play. This has some consequences for the reliability and validity of this research. As qualitative researcher I did not strive for complete objectivity, however some measures were taken to improve the reliability and validity. First I will give substantial attention to the process of the data collecting. My role as observer and the awareness of my own referential framework are of importance. Secondly I will not attempt that I am perusing the truth in this thesis. It will be a matter of how I perceive the reality.

A point of critique on the case study design is the difficulty to generalize the outcomes of the research. However it is not the main purpose of this research to acquire a generalizable theory about the economy. On the contrary this research emphasizes the uniqueness of every economy and the importance of the context. In this sense the outcomes of the research are reliable since they do not imply to be general. This does not imply that the outcomes of this research are useless. They can be used as example for other cases. We could even argue that aspects that are found will be found in other cases as well.

It should be mentioned that everything that is written in the empirical part is based on my own observations and experiences. I will not pretend that I am presenting the only truth. There are various ways to interpret the data. In the empirical part the concerns I heard, saw and experienced during the research period are presented. I attempt to expose the data as objective as possible. Therefore I will use a narrative style where attention is given to the way I observed things. It will explicitly be mentioned when something is not an observation but my own interpretation.

6. EMPIRICAL STUDY

Now the theoretical framework has been built and methodology is elucidated, we will see what is actually happening in reality. In this part I will describe what I have observed during the research period. The first attempt to reduce exchanges to their purest form and find them in the reality did not work out. Exchanges have to be studied in a holistic perspective within a society or culture. There is not one single form of barter exchange or gift exchange. All exchanges are generally interrelated and embedded in their context. Therefore the economic behavior I have observed will be placed and studied in its own environment. The description of the culture and context is just as important as the actual economic actions. Because the culture affects economic behavior and economic behavior affects the culture in turn. The empirical study will consist on two parts, the organizational cases and the individual cases. In the organizational part I will mainly use the theories about the logic of the spheres. In the individual part more attention will be given to individual actions and the spectrum of exchange. The organizational cases will start with two narratives on the cultures of Pictura and De Universiteit. Afterwards the organizations will be placed in the logic of the spheres. The individual cases will start with a description of Pictura artists and the new generation's behavior in the social sphere of the economy. Attention will be given to the patterns of integration. Subsequently the spectrum of exchanges will be exposed with examples of the informants. In the last section I will explore which values are generated with the described economic behavior.

The findings in the empirical part will be exemplified with illustrations and citations from respondents and informants. The quotations are written in *italic* and behind every line the number of the informant is showed. I translated the quotations from Dutch to English and I tried to stay as close as possible to the original expressions.

6.1 ORGANIZATIONAL CASE: THE CULTURE OF “PICTURA”

Pictura is the oldest ‘Teekengenootschap’ or artists society in the Netherlands, something they like to disseminate their self with. In almost every conversation I had with the staff they somehow mentioned this aspect.

“We are one of the only places in Dordrecht where they show contemporary art AND we are the oldest artists society in the Netherlands.” (Respondent 6.1)



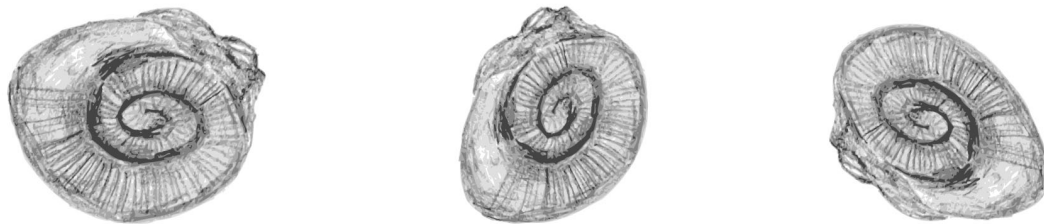
6.1.1 CONCRETE BUILDING

The long history of Pictura can also be seen in the construction of the building. Walking on the Voorstraat in Dordrecht you will come across an impressive building made out of grey stones. Old stairs will lead you towards an immense dark green door. Behind this door the dominion of Pictura begins. Pictura has two main exhibition spaces characterized by a wooden grey floor, white walls with ornaments and an enormous light cupola. When you first enter the door you will come across the office of the exhibition coordinators, who

are also the daily management. At your right hand you can enter the foyer and the bar. Old men from the neighborhood are regularly manning the bar. I remember the big contrast in atmosphere during weekdays and special occasions. People and noise fill the space during opening parties while the emptiness and silence prevail during regular workdays. In the hall big stairs will lead you towards two levels with studios of working members. They are called ‘atelier bewoners’, which means studio inhabitants. All studios have a similar impressive green wooden door as the main entrance. All the doors were closed in the three times I have been upstairs. Artists are working behind those doors. You will find an old garden, now used as garden for the current caretaker and the etchings workshop in the rear of the building. This was the old studio and is now used as common working space. Members of Pictura can work here for the symbolic amount of 1

euro per hour and non-members have to pay 2 euro per hour. Something else I remembered of Pictura was the typical smell in the whole building. One day I asked the exhibition coordinator what the scent was and she answered that it was just musty. The scent and the loud resonance accentuated the old characteristics of the building.

6.2.2 FOSSIL METAPHOR



You might ask yourself why such an intensive description of the building is necessary in a thesis about economics. I think it resembles the culture of Pictura. The building can be seen as the outer presentation of the internal culture. Two oppositions characterize the culture of Pictura: antiquity and liveliness. At the side of the antiquity, the ornaments and marble floor represent a traditional culture. The scent highlighted a long historical culture and the resonance accentuated the calmness and silence. The closed wooden green doors show the individual working culture of the studio residents. On the other side the building represents liveliness. Not so long ago the foyer is renovated and a new colorful bar is built. In this foyer a wall is made where members can sell a small artwork. The wall with the small artworks is a good example how Pictura literally tried to be more accessible by selling work for affordable prices. I think this part of the building represents the transformation towards an open and accessible society with a lively culture.

During the conversations with the board of directors one of them compared Pictura with a fossil. A fossil might be a suitable metaphor for Pictura. Fossils are the preserved remains of organisms, plants and animals from ancient times. The leftovers are isolated and petrified stamps. Pictura is the oldest artist's society in the Netherlands and goes back to 1774. Pictura was founded as community interaction and interchange of knowledge were her foremost tasks. The foyer was a lively place where artists regularly met to study and discuss. Since its foundation Pictura members are creating art and share their knowledge. We can only imagine the amount of works that is produced since 1774. Over time the preservation of this history became an additional task for Pictura,

and it became even its main tasks. Due to processes as individualization and globalization the interchange and interaction amongst the members decreased. Due to globalization the reach of Pictura expanded, members are not only living in Dordrecht but also in Rotterdam and surroundings. Therefore the personal interaction at the society diminished. Due to this development and the new preservation task, Pictura in her current shape can be seen as the remains of a long history. In the metaphor the concrete building can even be approached as an appropriate outer presentation of a petrified fossil. The economic behavior of Pictura changed along with the new functioning and mission of the community. In former times a major part of the economic actions took place in the social sphere and the oikos. At the moment this has been moved to the market and the governmental sphere. I will visualize how Pictura is operating in the logic of the different spheres. Subsequently this will be connected to the culture and values that are generated.

6.1.3 PICTURA IN DE LOGIC OF THE SPHERES

The following illustration will show how Pictura is behaving in the different spheres elaborated in the theoretical framework. The illustration is based on conversations with the staff and the financial budget of the year 2011-2012. It is a momentary illustration since economic behavior can change over time. In the year 2013 the total subsidy will be reduced because of governmental budget reductions. The upcoming years can have a completely different picture.

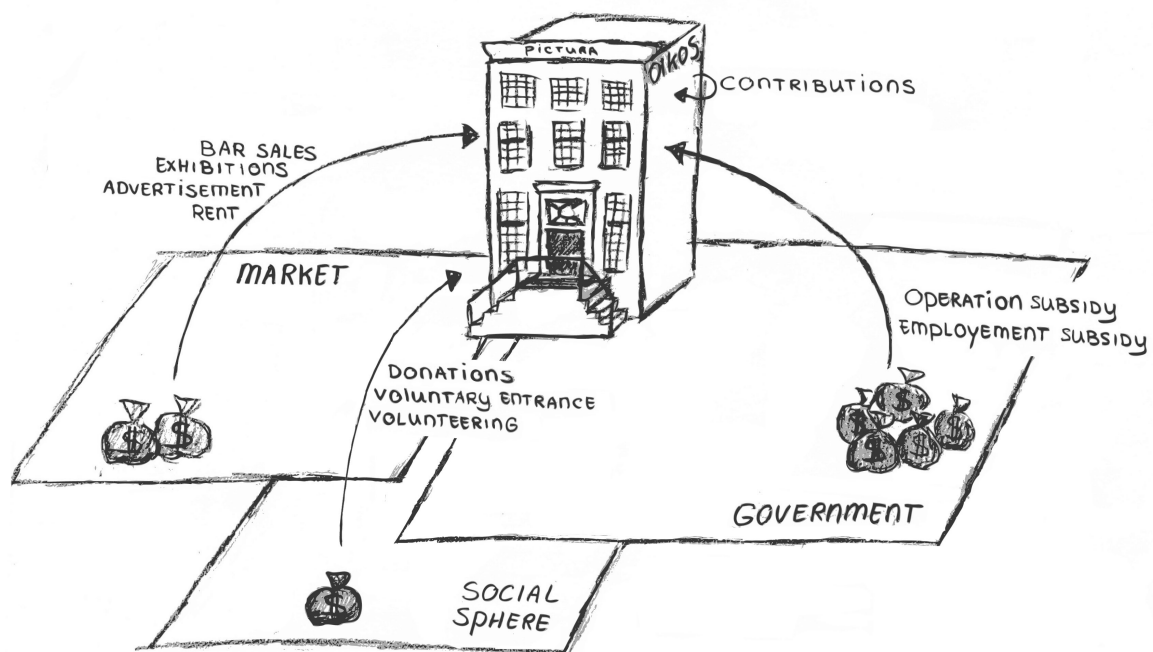


Illustration: Monetary income Pictura 2012

As we can see a substantive part of the income derives from governmental subsidies. In former times this was different. Pictura was a community consisting on members who divided en executed all the responsibilities. Pictura's activities were arranged in the social sphere. The change to the governmental- and market sphere affected the internal culture. In the following section we will see what happened inside Pictura as organization.

6.1.4 FROM COMMUNITY TO PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

“Some time before, nobody was working for Pictura. O yes, there was a caretaker who opened the door... But there was no bar, no supervisor for the exposition room. The guarantee that someone answered the phone did not exist. You could try to call Pictura but it remained a question if someone would answer the phone.” (Respondent 6.3)

In 1995 Pictura made a big transformation. Thanks to governmental policy Pictura was able to recruit three employees: two exhibition coordinators and one caretaker. Presently one exhibition coordinator is working four days and the other two days in a week. Together they are responsible for the management, exhibitions, administration and finance. The caretaker is responsible for the daily affairs in the building and the workshop. In practice its comes down to a variety of odd jobs. The times I have visited Pictura, the caretaker was always there, walking around, talking to someone and handling affairs. He seemed like the most dedicated person to Pictura. Others told me that he is an important symbol and character inside Pictura; some even suggest that he is part of the furniture. The all time presence can be illustrated by the fact that he accumulated three full months of extra holidays as compensation for all his overtime work. In the conversations I had one could really feel his sense of responsibility for the performance of Pictura. Whether a beamer stops working or a studio has a leakage, he will be the first who is alarmed and will solve it. The employment of the three paid workers gave Pictura new opportunities. Organizational affairs could be handled in a more structural manner than before. It increased the accessibility of Pictura and caused a bigger outreach towards artists from Rotterdam. All in all Pictura became a professional organization.

“In former times things were different at Pictura... If the main hall had to be painted, we just did it all together, it was done in a second.” (Respondent 6.3)

Conversely, the economic transformation did not only change organizational affairs. It affected the culture of Pictura too. When there were no paid employees the members of the community had to regulate the work. Various tasks were executed on voluntary basis. If members did not do it, nobody else would have done it, the members were responsible for the functioning of Pictura. Painting walls is a good illustration for this change. Previously the wall of the main exhibition room was painted in collaboration with everybody. In the period I visited Pictura the caretaker and exhibition coordinator did this job. The commission of paid employees diminished the complicity of members. This leads sometimes to frustration at the employed staff.

“I want to have more lifelines and complicity, that people really want build something, together... that we don’t always have to come up with the plans and drag them along. That the artist will come with initiatives to organize projects.” (Respondent 6.2)

What I have noticed during my period at Pictura is that especially the caretaker is taking a lot of responsibility. It might be that there is a correlation between the lack of responsibility of the artists, why should they do it, if someone else is paid for it? And the ones are being paid for it feeling to responsible.

In the case of Pictura, responsibilities moved from the social sphere to the governmental- en market sphere. The caretaker and exhibition coordinators are paid for their work. Labor is directly exchanged against a monthly income. This monetary transaction takes place in the market sphere and the governmental sphere because employment subsidy is used. The monetary transaction generates the value professionalization. In the social sphere this could not have been realized. At the same time the member’s sense of responsibility diminished because the undertakings in the social sphere decreased.

6.2 ORGANIZATIONAL CASE: THE CULTURE OF “DE UNIVERSITEIT”

The first organizational case study visualized what happens if an organization moves from the social sphere into the market- and governmental sphere. As an addition to Pictura, I made a second case study of a relatively young organization, which is primarily operating in the social sphere.

6.2.1 WELCOME TO THE COMMUNITY

The base of De Universiteit is situated in the cellar of the Cult Dealer Enzo. Every Monday the community meets to engender their own learning process. In May I joined three Monday evening meetings. The first time I walked into the cellar I got a surprisingly warm welcome. Everyone gave me a handshake and welcomed me. The meetings are free of charge but to join you have to become a member of the Cult Dealer Enzo. Cult Dealer Enzo is a facilitator for cultural initiatives in Utrecht. It offers a place for creative ideas and projects. You can join all the events in the cult cellar for 5 euro per month. De Universiteit is one of the initiatives, which is using the space. To pay the 5-euro's I had to leave the money into a big blue vase. The initiator of the Cult Dealer is quite strict about this: never give money to her. Everyone should deposit the money in the blue vase and if you have to change you can do it yourself with the money in the cash desk. It works similar for the drinks. You can take whatever you want and simply leave the right amount of money at the pointed place.

“I do not like to receive the money. They should just leave it in the vase. If you want to have a drink and you have five euro and there is written that it cost two euro, so you should take three euro from the cash box. I believe this will cause more human behavior and that is desirable when you are learning.” (Respondent 7.2)

The evening always starts with a small introduction round for both the old and the newcomers. Afterwards one of the initiators explained the beliefs of De Universiteit. De Universiteit is a community based on shared knowledge. The motor behind this process is co-creation. Everybody in the community is equal and can contribute two the learning process. This also implies that everybody can be a facilitator on the Monday evenings, this is not only the role for the initiators.

“We provide direct ownership. Nobody is truly the chief. The two of us are sitting here now, but I believe that if we will be hit by a bus tomorrow it will still go on” (Respondent 7.2)

After three weeks De Universiteit had to move to another location because the cellar became too small for the group. They found a place called “De Ruimte”, a place for flex

workers that supports sustainable entrepreneurship. The first Monday at the new location the community decided to have together dinner on forehand. With the help of all members it was settled quite easily. Three members did the shopping and the cooking. While all the others helped with the preparations at the location. It works similar for cleaning the room after a meeting. It is done in a few seconds because everybody helps a bit.

6.2.2 DE UNIVERSITEIT IN THE LOGIC OF THE SPHERES

“Since we are based in De Ruimte we made a total revenue of 15 cent on the drinks, we bought markers with that money. That was the first acquisition of De Universiteit.”
 (Respondent 7.1)

The above quotation shows how cost neutral De Universiteit is. No money circulates in the community. The following illustration visualizes how De Universiteit is operating in the various spheres.

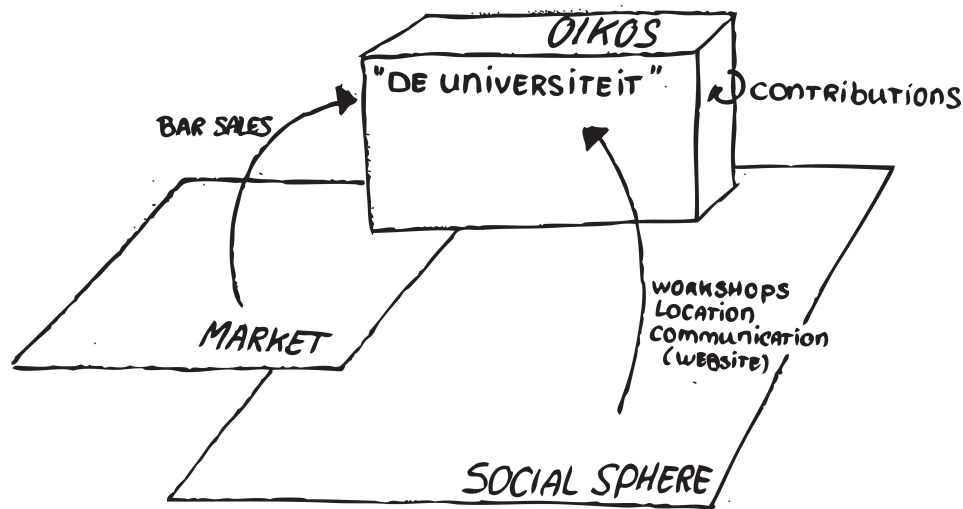


Illustration: De Universiteit in the logic of the spheres

De Universiteit is mainly operating in the social sphere and oikos. I added the market sphere because of the drinks and the pencils. Sometimes a professional from outside the community hosts an evening. De Universiteit is never paying for those guest lectures and workshops. The host donates his or her knowledge in a gift exchange based on balanced reciprocity.

“He could have done the same workshop in a company and earn 200 euro per hour. But he charges us nothing. He simply enjoys doing it and we can help him as well. It already occurred that he found a freelance job thanks to us.” (Respondent 7.2)

To join De Universiteit you have to become a member of the Cult Dealer Enzo. The monthly 5 euro could be seen as a monetary transaction. One person gives 5 euro in exchange for free access to all activities. However, the blue vase transformed the monetary transaction into a kind of gift exchange. You do not get the feeling of paying when you deposit money in the blue vase. It feels more like a voluntary contribution to the community. The initiator of the Cult Dealer moved the transaction out the market sphere and placed it into the social sphere. The blue vase is an important symbol of the operating in the social sphere. Moreover it emits equality. The community becomes a collective good because everyone donates the same amount. The cleaning and cooking examples in the previous section illustrates member’s high sense of responsibility. Everybody should contribute to the community because it is shared property.

6.2.3 FROM COMMUNITY TO PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

The community expanded rapidly since the establishment last summer. The expansion has consequences for the internal culture and the economic behavior. After 6 months the cult cellar became too small for the Monday evenings. The new location had to be arranged in the social sphere because no money circulates in the community.

“The space we are using now should have cost us 300 to 400 euro’s per month. But for the upcoming two months, we can use the space for free to find out what can be the added value from them and for us.” (Respondent 7.2)

The arrangement with De Ruimte is based on *barter exchange*. De Universiteit can use the space for free at the moment. A barter exchange is a combination between commodity and gift exchange. The first free months are a gift transfer from De Ruimte to De Universiteit. However it is not a complete gift because they ask for a return. De Universiteit should think about a return, which is valued equal to the use of the space. The arrangement of the space still takes place in the social sphere due to this barter deal. The initiators of De Universiteit articulated their doubts for how long they are able to manage in the social sphere. For the moment De Universiteit made a barter deal but it is not sure whether this will always be a solution. De Universiteit might have to move some of their activities to the market sphere one day. Besides the practical

considerations the initiators see some advantages in the market sphere too. According to them outsiders do not value free education similar to paid education. Paying for a service generates the image of professional education. Price can be a symbol for its value. De Universiteit offers education that has a high price in the market sphere. By making the education freely accessible the image of quality can be harmed. If De Universiteit wants to create another image or reach companies and become a professional organization they might have to start operating in the market sphere. However the market sphere would not have been appropriate since the community is driven by co-creation and sharing. Everyone adds to the shared knowledge and property of the community. The hosts from outside donate their expensive workshops on the basis of reciprocity. A monetary transaction would have been impossible because it is too expensive and undermines the concept of shared knowledge. Moreover a small monetary reward could have crowded out motivation of the hosts.

The case of De Universiteit visualized the tension between the market sphere and the social sphere again. At the moment De Universiteit is completely operating in the social sphere. It is not sure for how long this is possible and desirable. But moving to the market sphere can have consequences for the internal culture developed in the social sphere.

6.3 INDIVIDUAL CASES: ECONOMIC BEHAVIOIR

The previous section visualized how organizations are operating in the different spheres. The upcoming sections will give attention to individual behavior with emphasize on the spectrum of exchange. It will elucidate how exchange in the spheres actually work. The section will describe the actions artists and entrepreneurs undertake in order to realize their values. I divide this section into sub-paragraphs for gift, barter and monetary exchanges. It is partly unnatural to make such a classification. Every single exchange is part of a bigger network of interactions. For example, one can first work as volunteer based on reciprocity what can lead to a new job with a monetary reward. Different exchanges are interrelated. But the division will help for a better understanding. I will start with a paragraph dedicated to the social sphere.

6.3.1 WHERE IT ALL BEGINS: THE SOCIAL SPHERE

“Last year a friend came to me, he said: I have a stroke of luck with money, we are going to rent a place and build something outrageous! I thought cool, I am in, and that is how Bedford originates.” (Respondent 4.3)

“It started with a group of friends as a kind of joke. We did a lot of stuff, hanging with furniture in the park. Someone else was organizing that water pistol game. Then we thought what if we rethink of a name and connect a kind of brand to our activities... that is how Losse Schroeven came to existence.” (Respondent 4.1)

All most all artist and entrepreneurs start working in the social sphere. The social sphere enjoys both practical considerations as personal preferences. The start in the social sphere affects the economic behavior of the respondents. The social sphere is characterized by gift exchange, personal interaction, barter exchange and sharing. The work projects of the young entrepreneurs started as kind of jokes. The creative activities friends were undertaking resulted in serious work projects. Losse Schroeven, a foundation for creative concepts and Bedford, a pop up gallery are two examples. Friends and family financially supported work projects of the Pictura artists in the beginning. The first circle of acquaintances consists of friends and family. This circle can help with the first step into the work field. The practical considerations have to do with those first steps.



"You need your friends and family in the beginning, it is difficult because your network is built around them, with everybody in your environment." (Respondent 5.2)

A significant part of the respondents showed a clear preference for operating in the social sphere besides the practical considerations. The philosophy behind the pop up gallery Bedford is an example. The initiator preferred to work with his friends. Bedford is not only a pop up gallery but also a platform for friends to develop their talents in addition.

"He has a kind of philosophy behind it. He always asks people in his direct environment who do not know their talent yet. Or know what their talents are, but are afraid of practicing. I was just graduated and did not know exactly what I wanted to do. He thought she can do this but is just not yet doing it, that is the reason why he asked me to organize Bedford with him." (Respondent 4.3)

"Someone else came up with the name, she just had an bad assessment concerning a brand name. So we thought, we will ask you to purpose the name and we are going to use it and it is just going to be awesome." (Respondent 4.3)

Bedford is an appropriate example of a project that resulted out of gift exchange. The initiator asks his friends to donate time and knowledge without a direct return. In the exchange no money is involved. Bedford becomes a collective good because the gift exchange connects them to the project. Moreover social value is generated because the gift exchange tightens social relationships between the friends.

A major part of the work artists and entrepreneurs' do in the beginning of their career is based on gift exchange. They believe that the return of all their voluntary work will come some day.

"It is a kind of investment. You are exploiting a concept for a stage or a festival for very little money or for nothing. Subsequently someone with money will approach you for another job and in the end someone will pay you." (Respondent 5.3)

Gift exchange works bilateral, on one hand it is driven by already existing relationships but on the other hand it strengthens and intensifies new relationships. The start up in the social sphere generates an intimate and personal working culture. It is normal to do odd jobs for each other in this culture.

6.3.2 THE GIFT: VOLUNTEERING

Respondents gave me an indifferent reaction when I asked them about doing favors turns. According to all of them, favors are not remarkable but rather obvious and standard behavior. I think this expresses how integrated voluntary work and gifts are in the cultural economy. Informants are both donors as recipients and the gifts are based on both *generalized-* and *balanced reciprocity*.

In one of the conversations the youngest Pictura member makes a small joke, which is quite essential:

"I always tell everybody that my husband is subsidizing me (laughing)." (Respondent 3.2)

Although she jokes about it, this is an example of a gift exchange based on *generalized reciprocity*. Generalized reciprocity implies giving without any expectation of return. The artists and her husband are sharing in the social context of their marriage. A more substantial part of gift exchange is based on *balanced reciprocity*, which occurs in a less intimate setting. When it comes to balanced reciprocity, actors are not sharing but do expect a return. Friends doing kind turns or volunteering are examples of balanced reciprocity.

"When we did the decoration for 'In Vervoering' (red: Festival in Utrecht) we earned nothing. We spend the entire budget on material and we even had to supply money. However it is our philosophy behind it, we think we should do as much as possible, one day there will come a return point."

(Respondent 4.1)

"I did not receive money for today's photo shoot but it will help to keep my network warm."

(Respondent 5.2)



The above quotations show informant's personal motives to do voluntary work. They believe that a return for their work will come some day. The return is not the only reason behind gift exchange. The informants are driven by personal- and social values. The first value has to do with the development of individual professional skills and the second value concerns investment in relationships.

Gift exchanges based on reciprocity generate and strengthen social relationships. On one hand informants appreciate this informal culture. On the other hand it is frustrating for them as well because the group who is asking for voluntary work is expanding.

“Still I think it is complicated... I really want to help people when they ask for it. But at the moment the group that ask you for favors is expanding. On one hand I see how it can helps us further but and the other hand is it limiting me too. We are demolishing a market. I find it hard, what is the limit? Where is the balance? When should you enroll in such affairs? And when not any longer?” (Respondent 1.4)

After all the group conversations I was able to find a tendency in the deliberations artists have before they enroll in gift exchange. The deliberations are visualized in the following illustration.

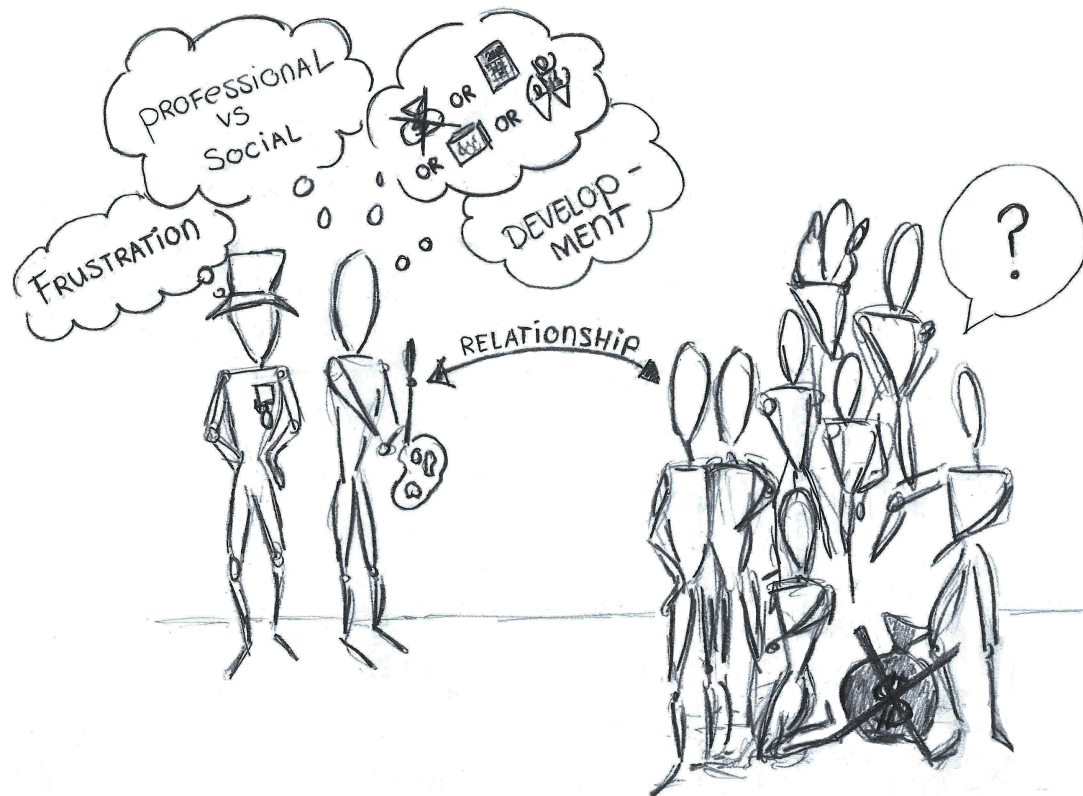


Illustration: Considerations before unpaid work

At the left you see the distinction between profession related and unrelated favors. An example of the latter category is supervising at an exhibition. At the right you see the group of acquaintances, which is expanding. The nature of the relationship is crucial in the deliberation. For informants it is obvious that they do voluntary work in the case of an intimate relation. This gift is based on generalized reciprocity. Social value is generated. When the relationship with the relative is less intimate the artist will make more deliberations. First he will consider if the gift exchange will cause further development. There is a great change that the informant will do it if the voluntary job helps to reach a new audience or offers opportunities for sequels. These gift exchanges

are based on balanced reciprocity. The pleasure artist enjoy in doing their work can be another motive. All informants consider the effect of doing voluntary work on their reputation. It can harm their image of professional artist.

"I think it is sometimes even more professional, to say I am not doing it instead of doing it for free. With that you show that you are making something good and that will cost money"
(Respondent 5.2)

Frustration comes into play at this point too. Artists expressed the feeling that others do not approach their profession seriously when they are asking for too many favors. The frustration shows the tension between socializing and professionalization. This tension will be elaborated in the section on monetary transactions.

6.3.3 BARTER EXCHANGES

It was more difficult to find barter examples than gift- and monetary exchanges. The difficulty could be explained by the *combinational characteristic* of barter exchanges. Barter deals have characteristics of gift- and commodity exchanges. Searching for pure barter exchanges is hard because they are embedded in other exchanges. Isolated barter exchanges are rare to happen. I found the old well-known example of a photographer who made pictures in exchange for a website. One painter of the new generation made a wall painting in exchange for free haircuts at a hairdresser. The caretaker of Pictura once exchanged an artwork for a pile of roof tiles.

Barter exchange works differently from monetary exchange because actors attempt to create a *shared value sphere*. The goods the hairdresser and the artist exchange would not have equal value in the market sphere. The regular price of a wall painting is higher than the price of the haircuts. The artist makes this barter exchange because it generates pleasant feelings. He has sympathy for the hairdresser and enjoys doing the wall painting. And he receives free publicity as second return. In the barter deal social value is created because the hairdresser and artist collaborate. They value their goods as equal for exchange, which generates a shared value sphere. The exchange has gift characteristics because the artist does not get the usual return. A sign of the nature of the relationship is given. It has commodity exchange characteristics too because they exchange directly.



Another example is found in the method by which two Pictura artists realized their exhibition. The artists organized an exhibition with 40 artists in a new cultural hotspot. They did not have enough money for the opening. Therefore they visited all local enterprises in the neighborhood a few weeks before the opening. They told them about the exhibition and asked them to contribute goods and services exchange for publicity. One informant who is an illustrator made a map of the neighborhood with all the venture's locations on it. The man was placed in the exhibition space as return.

"And we got a lot, we eat cake, delicious chicken... really everything! We even got free washes from the local laundry services." (Respondent 1.1)

In this example the artists tried to engage local enterprises in their project. During the group conversation another respondent called this sponsorship project a part of the success.

"I really think this has added value, because it is not us anymore, having our own party. Usually only artists are helping other artists and now outsiders are donating something too. I think it has added value for the whole neighborhood." (Respondent 1.2)

It could be questioned whether the example is a barter exchange or a gift exchange. It could be seen as gift exchange since the local enterprises donated goods and services. But the publication of the map can be seen as a direct return, which makes it a barter exchange. This example shows how difficult it is to categorize exchanges.

The exchange would have other impact if the informants had asked for a monetary contribution. A monetary transaction generates other feelings than donating goods and services. The local enterprises exchanged on personal level. It did not feel as the cultural sector having their party. Everybody contributed his or her specialty. Artists contributed the artworks and the local bakery added the cake, which are both necessary matters. With the barter exchange it felt like organizing the event together.

6.3.4 MONETARY TRANSACTIONS

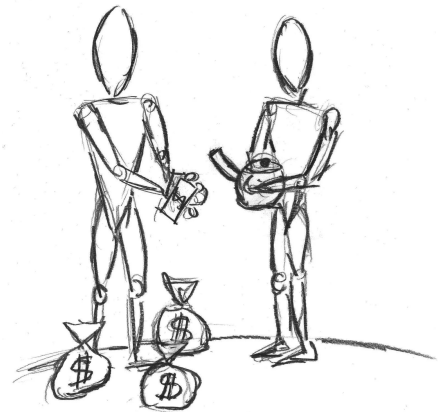
"They prefer to do everything in a barter economy but in Albert Heijn you cannot pay for your butter with a piece of art." (Respondent 7.1)

In our current society it is almost impossible to work without the monetary transaction. Artists and entrepreneurs need money as means for sustenance. I asked how informants earned their money in the beginning of every group conversation. None of them earned his or her living solely as entrepreneur or artist. Pictura artists have additional jobs in

educational or cultural organizations. The newer generation is mainly working in bars and restaurants next to their cultural career. Though, they hope to earn their living with a cultural profession one day. The wages of the informants are relatively low if you compare them with the wages of professionals in other sectors. None of the informants have the intention to become rich; they are satisfied with little money. This is because they approach money as *instrumental value* instead of *goal value*.

"It would be very good if I work full time in my atelier and earn in general a reasonable part time salary. That is something I want to achieve in the future."
(Respondent 3.2)

Some of them are even gratified when they are making no money, but when they can pay for their expenses as artists of entrepreneur.



"I am already very satisfied if I can pay my studio and expenses, and yet that is still excluding my house and food" (Respondent 2.2)

In the first place monetary transactions generate a means of sustenance for artists and entrepreneurs. But it looks like money provokes more. Monetary exchanges engender feelings and values which barter or gift would not succeed. For example, managing your sustenance without an additional job is an important sign for successfulness.

"You do not have to become extremely rich or something, but if you do not need a second job, I think you can call yourself a lucky artist". (Respondent 5.2)

Another value that is attached to monetary transactions is freedom. The informants use money as means for future plans. Artists need to buy materials for new artworks. Monetary transactions offer them the possibility to do this. All informants invest their earned money directly in their work projects.

"Of course, I do want to have money, but it will be only a means for the things I like to do. To ensure that I can do whatever I want to do." (Respondent 5.1)

Money also generates the value certainty, especially for the entrepreneurs. Money can be used to start up new projects or to continue current projects. The money is a safety. Without money it is uncertain whether they are able to realize their projects or not. Thus, monetary transactions connote to new possibilities and development.

“That I can say without any doubt: next year there is another Beford! Now it is still to much calculating, doing difficult, asking money here and there, seeking for sponsors, that kind of stuff... it is to unsecure.” (Respondent 4.3)

“The change to buy new paint is a major advantage of earning money. Walking into Harrolds (red: shop) feels grandiose...” “Throw down a stack of banknotes...” “And pay the bill immediately...” (Respondent 3.1, Respondent 3.2 and Respondent 3.3)

“A major part of our current projects are cost-covering or we need to contribute extra, however slowly but surely we want to do bigger and better projects and for that you will need some money.” (Respondent 4.2)

Besides the means of sustenance and the above-described values, monetary transactions are signs of recognition. Sometimes the need for money as income looked from secondary importance to the sign of recognition. Especially Pictura artists underlined the feelings they got from selling an artwork or being paid for work. The informants reason as following: If someone wants to pay for an artwork it means that he or she really likes it. In a monetary transaction the buyer does not only transfer his or her money but also his appreciation.

“It is a kind of recognition when an unknown person buys something from you. I hope to sell some things now and then, for me it is an important incentive. If nothing is sold for a long period it makes you think about your work...” (Respondent 2.3)

It works the other way around too. We have a culture where it is normal to be paid in monetary terms for your work. All informants had higher education and are working as independent professionals, so why would they not always be paid for their work? Gift- and barter exchanges can generate feelings of refusal for the artist's profession.

“A lot of people want me to join projects, for my opinion. But my opinion is worth something. I do not sit on the couch every evening watching ‘Goede Tijden, Slechte Tijden (red: Dutch television program). No, in the evening I am sitting on the couch reading a book about my profession.” (Respondent 3.2)

“I did already so many small jobs for others, for charity or something, because they think: she is an artists and thus she likes that. I am a tired of that. It is my profession, I am sick of people who think I am doing everything just for fun.” (Respondent 3.2)

“If it is my specialism, I want to be paid for it, I am indeed a professional artist.” (Respondent 2.1)

This informant touches upon a critical point: the value of professionalization lies somewhere between non-monetary and monetary economies. The use of monetary transactions engenders a sense of professionalization. The same tension as in the organizational cases is recognizable.

Just as in barter exchange, monetary transactions generate a shared value sphere. A monetary transaction occurs when two people value a good equal to a monetary value. Different than in barter exchange in monetary transactions the equality is based on an outside criterion. Money has socially constructed *exchange value*, while barter exchange is based on internal constructed *use value*. Selling an artwork is a sign for the shared value sphere in a broader socially context. When a person wants to pay the established price for an artwork it implies that he and the artists share a monetary value sphere. When actors do not share the same value sphere in a monetary transaction it can lead to frustration and crowding out of motivation. Informants told me that when they are working for too less money it frustrates them.

6.4 INDIVIDUAL CASES: WHAT IS THE ECONOMY ABOUT?

"You are making really long hours, for what? People think you are insane" (Respondent 2.2)

"What do you think about all this? Don't you think what a couple of broddlers? You come across them in the 'regular human world', they account you for crazy, because you think this is important..." (Respondent 2.4)

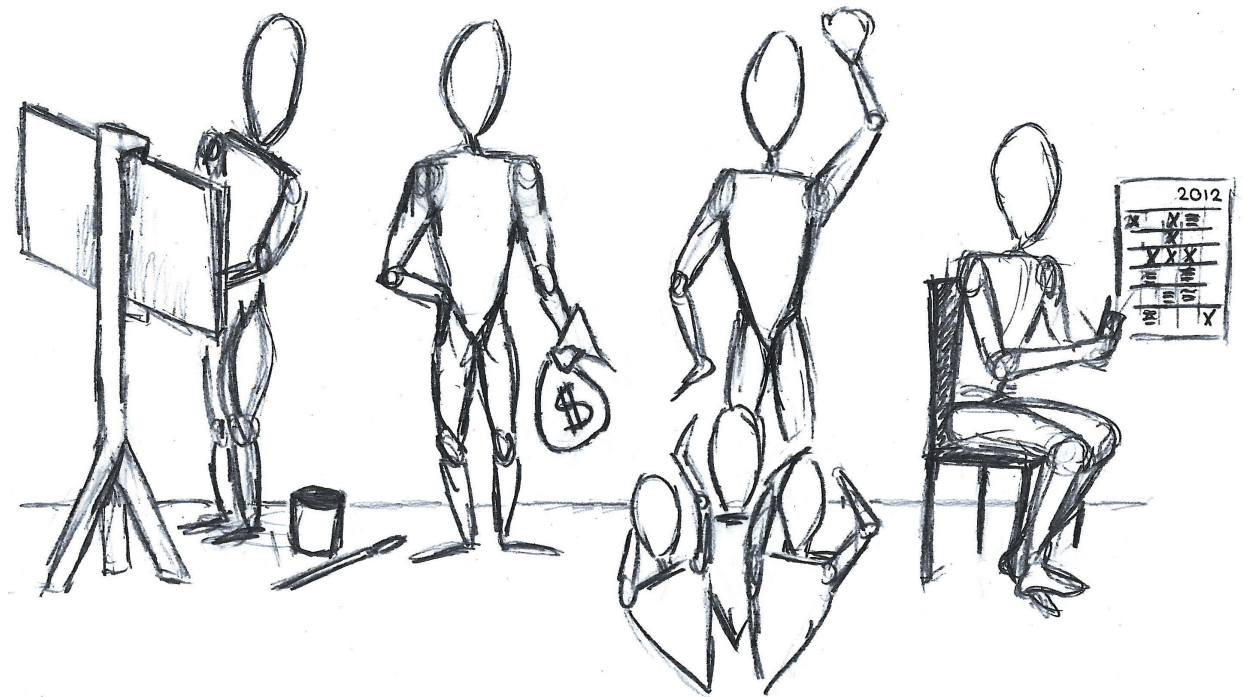
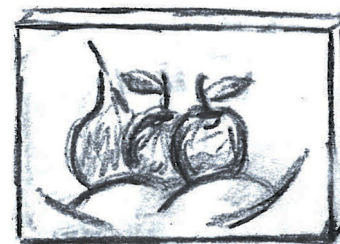


Illustration: Four categories of success (personal, monetary, social, continuation)

In the previous section economic actions of informants are elucidated. This section will reveal the values behind those economic actions. Broadly the motives behind their actions can be divided into four categories. The first category is the internal desire to create, the second category is money which concerns more than its monetary value. The third motive is finding and reaching an audience. The last category is continuation in work.

6.4.1 INTERNAL DESIRE TO CREATE

“Our intrinsic motivation is very strong, we NEED to make that work, it is from secondary importance if there is a market or a buyer for it. We have a drive to make that work and there is no market and no demand. That is insane, very strange... But maybe we do not want to have it differently” (Respondent 3.1)



The internal desire to create is a personal value for the informants. It is important to take notion of this urge because the informants use the different exchange mechanisms in order to facilitate it. For example the monetary reward from a monetary transaction is always used as instrument for future projects. All informants invest all their money directly in their work projects. The additional jobs are another exchange, which facilitate their internal desire to create. Informants have those jobs because it gives them the opportunity to make the art works they want to. Especially the additional jobs that are relatively simply without a lot of responsibility are meant to enable their personal values.

“I make a clear division between making art and making money. For two days in the week I chose the most stupid job I could find. To ensure that I do not have to think about it afterwards then it is just done. I really want to keep that separate.” (Respondent 2.2)

Barter exchanges and gift exchanges are also used in order to fulfill their personal desire to create. Respondents told me that they would do work in gift exchange when it gives them the possibility to make art works.

6.4.2 MONEY

“Two years ago I went to the KvK to register myself as an artist. When I showed my budget the guy from the office was laughing: if you spend that much time on your enterprise and you are earning that little, you are doing something completely wrong!” (Respondent 3.2)



The second category is already extensively elucidated in the section on monetary transactions. Informants have practical and symbolical reasons to earn money. First it gives them a means of sustenance, they need the money to survive in a market economy. But in addition the values professionalization and recognition are attached to money. For this reason informants sometimes prefer monetary transactions to non-monetary exchanges. Money also generates the value freedom, certainty and development.

“Same here! In the winter I earned some money in a paid occupation. With that money I financed this years Bedford. I hope I will cover all my expenses and it would be cool if I can keep some tenner’s.” (Respondent 4.3)

6.4.3 BEING SEEN

“I wouldn’t be able to deal with the fact that my work would never be seen, otherwise I do not know if I would keep on going.” (Respondent 2.4)



The third goal of respondents is reaching an audience. This subject returns in every conversation. The respondents are talking about being seen and about exposure. For them art is a means of communication.

The first value can be found in the production process as personal value. The second value is attached to the communication with the audience as social value.

Informants want to reach an audience as large as possible or the right audience with their economic behavior. Gift exchange is used in order to broaden an audience. When artists are doing things without a monetary reward their network can be expanded and people see them. For a part of the respondents it is more important that an audience sees their work than that it is sold. This might be illustrated by the fact that all informants would prefer to have their work in a museum.

“My work has established prices for which I want to sell it. A museum would be another story. If I do not have a relation with one of the buyers, I would sell it to the highest bidder. It would also be different if it was my favorite writer or something... than I would think of something else.” (Respondent 2.2)

As mentioned before a monetary transaction can generate a shared monetary value sphere. Recognition and understanding are values, which cannot always be transferred via monetary transactions. Informants use gift exchange in order to create a shared value sphere, which is more valuable than a monetary reward. An example is one Pictura artist who gave one of her works in a gift exchange to another artist who she really respected.

“A while ago someone visited my studio. He had seen one of my works at the salon and made compliments about it. He is an artist too... So when he visited my studio I gave him that work as a present. It feels very pleasurable when I think of him enjoying my work in his house.” (Respondent 3.2)

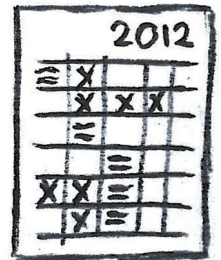
6.4.4 CONTINUATION

"It happens often that you have an exposition or an opening where you are in conversation with people and that is wonderful! But afterwards it goes vrrroooooefff nothing! The big silence" (Respondent 2.2)

Continuation is the last goal informants have in their economic actions. Sequel work projects are symbols for success and recognition. Moreover continuation stills the internal desire to create. Informants especially use gift exchange to ensure continuation. Informants believe that because of the reciprocity principle their actions will get a return. Continuation is one of the reasons why informants enroll in gift exchange.

"I think it is essential that you keep on going. There should be always a sequel because people enjoy the things you do." (Respondent 5.1)

This section revealed the foremost goals of artists and entrepreneurs in their economic actions. It will help us to analyze and understand their economic behavior. These are the goal values they attempt to realize with the use of the economy and money as instrumental value.



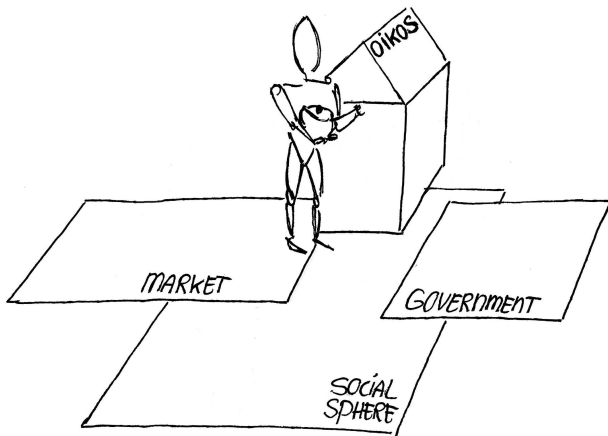
7. CONCLUSIONS

This research started with a question to people around me if they were using barter exchanges in their profession. I got loads of enthusiastic reactions of people telling me that it happened for sure a lot. The only problem was that nobody could tell me exactly what was happening, who was bartering and with what kind of commodities. The example of a web designer who builds a webpage for a photographer in exchange for pictures was cited over and over again. It looked like it was the only example people could come up with. It was strange: a lot of people suggesting that barter exchanges are quite common, but nobody who could come up with good examples. Did the lack of evidence showed that barter exchanges are a rare phenomenon? With the use of some regular economic explanations we could have argued this is true. Barter exchanges are not of frequent occurrence because they are time consuming and have a lot of practical problems. However as economic anthropologist I was not satisfied with this answer. The lack of barter evidence did not correspond with enthusiastic reactions people gave me in conversations. Maybe I was asking the wrong people or maybe my conceptualization of barter exchanges was too narrow. During the past months I noticed it was hard to find exchanges in their purest form in the real world that I was studying. For example, should you describe delivering work for a too small monetary reward as a monetary transaction or a gift exchange? When someone got partly paid in goods and partly in money is it still a barter exchange? I found that economic exchanges are part of a bigger network of interactions between people in a social context. Exchanges are interrelated with and squalled to each other. At the following page the various exchange mechanisms are elucidated in the logic of the spheres. Afterwards the economic behavior of the actors in the cultural sector will be described, to answer the main research question:

“OF WHICH EXCHANGE MECHANISMS DOES THE ECONOMY CONSIST AND HOW DO ACTORS IN
THE CULTURAL SECTOR USE THEM?”

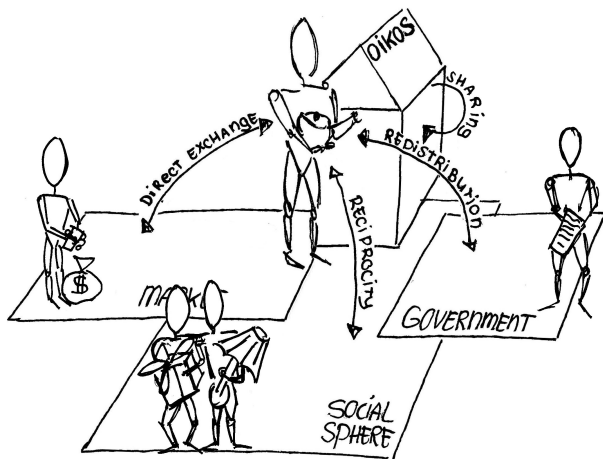
THE SPECTRUM OF EXCHANGE

I: THE LOGIC OF THE SPHERES



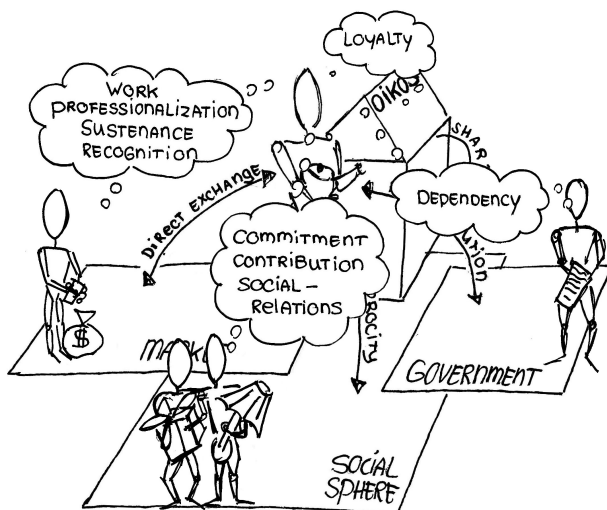
The economy consists of various spheres in which actors present their economic behavior. A substantial social sphere and oikos characterize the cultural sector. Over time the market- and governmental sphere always accompany the social sphere.

II: EXCHANGE AND PATTERNS OF INTEGRATION



In the four spheres actors use various exchange mechanisms based on patterns of integration. Monetary transactions take place in the market sphere and gift- and barter exchanges in the social sphere. The patterns of integration are presented in their most common appearance, but are not strictly bounded to these spheres.

III: VALUES IN THE ECONOMY



The use of the different exchange mechanisms generates external values apart from economic values. Exchange mechanisms can also crowd out certain values.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR?

Elucidating the different exchange mechanisms allows us to see the richness in the economy in the cultural sector. We can see that a significant part of economic actions in the cultural sector take place in the social sphere. People collaborate with close acquaintances in an informal setting, in particular at the starting phase of organizations and personal careers. All artists and creative entrepreneurs are doing work on voluntary basis in this phase. Most voluntary work is a gift exchange based on balanced reciprocity. Artists and entrepreneurs are doing work for free for the moment, but they expect a return one-day. The vast amount of gift exchanges generates a culture where it is normal to do favors for each other. This is useful when artists and entrepreneurs want to start a new project or need some help. The strong force of reciprocity causes that there will be always someone to give a hand. This might also be an explanation why barter exchanges are harder to distinguish in the cultural sector. In the strict barter definition actors have to exchange directly. In the cultural sector actors are not always in need of a direct return because they know or believe the return will come another time. Barter- and gift exchanges are in particular used to engender personal development and to agitate relationships. In the intensified and new generated relationships social values are constructed. The 'gift culture' can also lead towards frustration. The group of acquaintances is expanding thanks to reciprocity as pattern of integration. More and more persons are asking the artists and entrepreneurs for favors. Sometimes they decide not to enroll in these affairs anymore. Besides the lack of time, some artists limit their non-monetary exchanges at a certain point, because it undermines their identity as a professional artist. They need a monetary transaction to be recognized as a professional. When artists want to develop or mature themselves they move to the market sphere. Especially the young entrepreneurs and artists attach feelings of professionalization and development to money. Monetary transaction in the market sphere generates feelings of recognition in which the social sphere would never succeed. This might be a logical consequence of our culture in which it is the standard to reward professionals in monetary terms. The movements to the market sphere can harm social values achieved in the social sphere. As we have seen in the case of Pictura, their member's sense of complicity shrunk at the moment they moved from the social- to the market sphere. Although they were able to professionalize and expand their accessibility they lost the internal sense of community. A wall in the exhibition room was not painted as easy as it was before. The trivial example represent diminished social values in Pictura as a society. Different than Pictura, De Universiteit is a relatively young organization. The two are incomparable on an organizational level. However they are

dealing with the same frictions between monetary and non-monetary economies. A major advantage of monetary transactions is that it leads toward freedom and development. Money can be used to start new projects; actors are less dependent on the good will of other people. It generates new possibilities. On the other hand money can crowd out internal motivation and internal sense of community. Non-monetary exchanges appeal to values as collaboration, cooperation, equality and personal contribution. But they diminish values as professionalization and recognition. At some point every organization or individual has to deal with the tension between the market- and the social sphere. In particular when organizations or work projects are expanding and growing it is often hard to keep operating in the social sphere.

The cultural sector is characterized by a lack of money. This brings about non-monetary exchanges. In almost all conversations artists were making jokes or complaining about the lack of money. It looked like some gift exchanges are not done for the sake of the gift but simply because there is no money. Artists would have preferred a monetary transaction if the money was available. The question rises what would happen if there were more financial resources. In the research we saw that non-monetary exchanges generate a pleasant informal working culture, which is socially valuable. Moreover the non-monetary exchanges generate and strengthen relationships in the cultural sector. Would it be different if there were more money? Would it diminish social relationships and crowd out internal motivations in the cultural sector? It is almost impossible to answer this question but we can say that a lack of money may not be that bad at all.

This research showed that the different types of economies do not only exist next to each other, they cannot survive without each other. Every exchange mechanism has its own strengths and weaknesses. A barter exchange is not better than a gift exchange and a gift does not surpass a monetary transaction. It is the challenge to make fruitful combinations.

Reflection

"Analytic work begins with material provided by our vision of things, and this vision is ideological almost by definition. It embodies the picture of things as we see them, and wherever there is any possible motive for wishing to see them in a given rather than another light, the way in which we see things can hardly be distinguished from the way in which we wish to see them. The more honest and naive our vision is, the more dangerous it is to the eventual emergence of anything for which general validity can be claimed. The inference for the social sciences is obvious, and it is not even true that he who hates a social system will form an objectively more correct vision of it than he who loves it. For love distorts indeed, but hate distorts still more." (Joseph Schumpeter)

The first attempt to find exchanges in their purest form in the real world did not work out. I was maybe searching for something that I wished to see. There is not one entrepreneur who is bartering all the time or an artist who earns his money in the gift economy. The examples I found of barter exchanges, gift economies and sharing communities were always limited by the requirements of the regular economy. In the end we all have to earn our money to pay for our food or the electricity bill. We all have to deal with the market economy anyhow. However this does not make the use non-monetary exchanges less important. They can generate feelings, relationships and values where monetary exchanges would never succeed in.

The purpose of this master thesis was maybe a bit steeped with activism. I intended to resist the economization of our society. I wanted to show that there are alternative economies, which we can use instead of the monetary market system. During the research period I realized that all exchange mechanisms have their own advantages. They cannot survive without each other. In this research I hoped to broaden the scope of economics and show the importance of a good use of the spectrum of exchange. I believe these insights can improve our use of economics in the cultural field and other sectors.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONS FOCUSGROUP CONVERSATIONS

WAT?

- Waar zijn jullie op dit moment mee bezig?
- Wat biedt jij te koop aan, waarvoor kunnen mensen jou betalen?
- Waarmee kan jij collega's in de culturele sector mee helpen/van dienst zijn?
- Waarmee kan jij mensen buiten de culturele sector van dienst zijn?
- Wat kunnen jullie betekenen voor de samenleving/maatschappij?
- Wat wissel je uit met anderen om te bereiken wat jij belangrijk vindt?
- Wat is het grootste offer dat je hebt gemaakt om je werk te realiseren?
- Wat is het grootste op, professioneel gebied gezien, wat je ooit aan iemand hebt gegeven?

WAAROM?

- Wanneer zijn jullie succesvol?
- Wanneer zijn jullie als ondernemers succesvol?
- Waar zijn jullie het meest trots op?
- Wat geeft jullie voldoening?
- Wat vind je belangrijk in je werk?

HOE?

- Wie heb je nodig om betekenis te geven aan je werk?
- Hoe zou jullie ideale werk situatie er uit zien?
- Wat voor gevoel geeft het om je werk te verkopen?
- Wie zijn de mensen met wie je samenwerkt op dit moment? Met wie zou je

willen samenwerken?

- Wat voor soort werkzaamheden verricht je zonder dat je er geld voor krijgt?
- Wanneer hebben jullie voor het laatst een onbetaalde opdracht uitgevoerd?
- Wat voor gevoel geeft het je om subsidie van de overheid te krijgen?

CASUSSEN

Jullie worden gevraagd een groot werk te maken in de publieke ruimte in Utrecht, er is echter geen budget zouden jullie dit doen? En onder welke voorwaarden?

Stel jullie hebben een werk gemaakt een directeur van een groot farmacie bedrijf hem kopen voor 2500 euro om hem boven zijn bureau op zijn kantoor te hangen. Een bekende kunsthistoricus wil hem ook van je kopen maar heeft een kleiner budget en biedt 500 euro. Wat zouden jullie doen?

Zou dit ook het geval zijn wanneer dit ging om een goede vriend die geen geld heeft maar zeer gehecht is aan het schilderij?

Je bent bezig met het voorbereiden van een expositie maar je komt tijd te kort voor de opbouw, hoe zouden jullie dit oplossen?

Je bent bezig met het opzetten van een nieuw project/nieuw werk maar je hebt geen geld voor de benodigde materialen, hoe lossen jullie dit op? En waarom?

Wanneer er wel geld was geweest hadden jullie het dan anders gedaan?

TOPICS

Vrienden diensten

Geschenken

Betalingen

Vrijwilligerswerk

Prijs voor werken

Salaris

Samenwerken
Iets doen voor een ander
Verkopen
Motieven voor klussen
Buiten je werktijd
Thuis situatie
Ruilen/uitwisselen
Geld
Helpen
Scheiding werk/privé
Motivatie
Relaties
Levensonderhoud

APPENDIX 2: ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS: NEW GENERATION

ONDERNEMING

- Waar zijn jullie op dit moment mee bezig?

Hoe hebben jullie Bedford/Losse schroeven/van Plan/SHMLSS opgericht?

- Hoeveel tijd zit hier in?
- Welke partijen hebben jullie hierbij geholpen?
- Met wie hebben jullie hierin samengewerkt?
- Doen jullie wel eens wat met geld van de gemeente?
- Kunnen jullie rondkomen van deze bezigheden?

SUCCES

- Wanneer zijn jullie als ondernemer succesvol?
- Wanneer heeft een expositie/festival/werk zijn waarde behaald?
- Wie zijn daar voor nodig?

ERKENNING

- De oudere generatie gaf aan dat geld een belangrijk middel van erkenning is voor hun kunstwerken en projecten. Hoe zien jullie dit? Zijn er ook andere bronnen van erkenning?

SAMENWERKING

- Wie zijn de mensen met wie je samenwerkt op dit moment? Met wie zou je willen samenwerken?
- Wat vinden jullie belangrijk in de samenwerking met andere mensen?

VRIJWILLIG

- Wanneer hebben jullie voor het laatst een onbetaalde opdracht uitgevoerd? Waarom?
- Wat voor soort werkzaamheden verricht je zonder dat je er geld voor krijgt?
- Wanneer je wat vrijwillig doet wat houd je er dan aan over? Wat levert het je op?

RUILHANDEL

- Doen jullie wel eens aan ruilhandel, zo ja hoe werkt dat dan?
- Wat bieden jullie te koop aan, waarvoor kunnen mensen jullie betalen?

IDEAAL

- Hoe ziet jullie ideale werksituatie er uit?

APPENDIX 3: RESPONDENT NUMBERS

Pictura artists

Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
1.1	Janna Kool	2.1	Vera Harmsen	3.1	Wim van Broekhoven
1.2	Ron Blom	2.2	Christina de Vos	3.2	Bibian Melisse
1.3	Jack de Deugd	2.3	Karin de Visser	3.3	Ad Koomans
1.4	Erika Blikman	2.4	Mia van der Burg		

The new generation

Group 4		Group 5	
4.1	John Pauw Kraan	5.1	Patrick van Vliet
4.2	Michiel Lancee	5.2	Mijke Rummens
4.3	Kim de Haas	5.3	Jonathan Kraayenveld

Pictura Staff

6.1	Marijn Willmes	Daily control
6.2	Chan mi Schouten	Daily control
6.3	Frank Storm	Caretaker

Organizational cases

De Universiteit		Orgacom		Cult dealer enzo	
7.1	Tijmen Rumke		Elias Tieleman		Mariangela de Lorenzo
7.2	Marien Baerveldt				Thomas Hamming

Pictura Board of directors

8.1	Bert te Kiefte	President
8.2	Henri van Nes	General member
8.3	Nathanael Veldhuijsen	Secretary

8.4	Lynda Edens	Treasurer
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