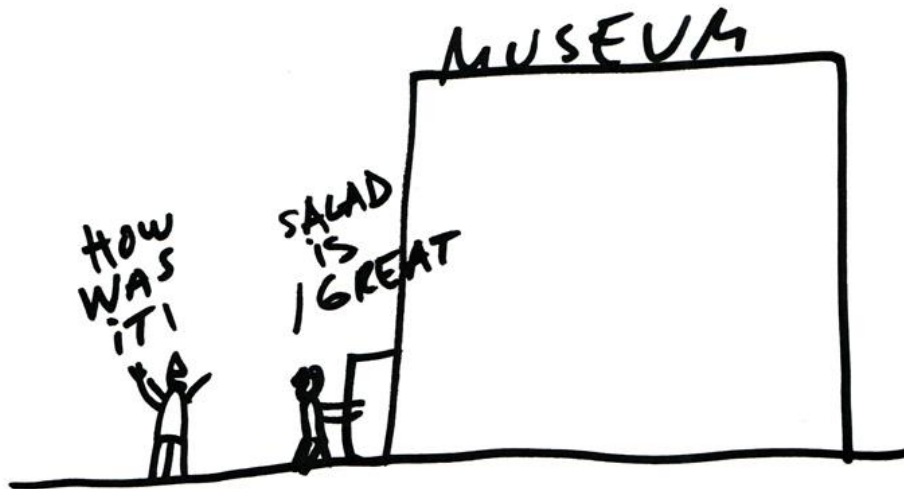


Master thesis

How have democratization and marketization impacted on art institutions' self-assessment ?

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Abstract

This thesis explores the impact of democratization and marketization on art institutions' self-assessment, from 1990 to 2013. Besides displaying and preserving art, museums have been responding to society's broader changes and stakeholders' evolving expectations. On the one hand, democratization contributes to the societal relevance of the arts, as efforts are made to foster engagement with culture among society at large. On the other hand, marketization has been developed in museums' practice as they needed to gather a larger percentage of private income to survive, facing decreasing subsidies. The present research aimed at unveiling how institutions have been coping with these influences and changes and justified their activities towards the plurality of stakeholders they have to report to. Overall, marketization's presence has reinforced throughout the years and entered the museums' rhetoric. Financial figures and sound management are arguments used to legitimize one's relevance in times of economic crisis. With respect to this phenomenon, efforts of democratization tend to be seen in the light of numbers, where a large audience might satisfy institutions' ambitions to reach publics. However, this is a reduction not always acknowledged by museums. In general, the civic mission in the discourse is not necessarily hindered by marketization, but compromising has changed how institutions justify their existence, and focusing on economic success may result in a loss of equilibrium, which leads to tensions.

Keywords: art institutions; democratization; marketization; justification

Introduction

1 Research question

Cultural economists have largely debated the tensions within art organizations, between arguably diverging imperatives: sustaining artistic quality, while still being popular and financially viable. Regarding these tensions, museums are interesting organizations given their nature and the context they have been evolving in. From institutions which main purpose was to preserve a collection to the current multi-output firms that sometimes welcome millions of visitors a year, things have obviously evolved.

Among the various angles one can chose to study museums, I decided to focus on two issues that have led these organizations to recompose their practices. Firstly, art institutions had to keep their relevance among society at large and democratize their activities, since culture is considered as a public good contributing to social welfare and that state support stepped in. Secondly, repeated economic crises have decreased the allocated subsidies and requested museums to increase their percentage of own income. This thesis aims at studying museums in the light of these two phenomena, respectively democratization and marketization. More precisely, the research will base itself on institutions' discourses and explore how they have been justifying and legitimating themselves, with respect to the following imperatives: fulfilling a mission of public duty by handling public goods and being (partly) subsidized for it, while in the same time reaching a certain level of cost-effectiveness and attracting donors.

The traditional analysis of annual reports will constitute the basis of the empirical research. As these documents do not appear and happen in a vacuum, institutions describing their philosophy, activities and accomplishments not only for themselves, these reports will be tackled as justifications emitted by institutions towards their stakeholders, including the public, the government, the private actors sponsoring the museum and the artistic world. The diversity of bodies to satisfy illustrates the difficulty of the rhetoric museums need to articulate,

combining the interests of these parties while still holding on to their mission. Democratization and marketization embody this plurality of influences museums cope with. Discovering how the institutions have created a synergy and a valid discourse throughout the years will be the aim of this thesis.

Accordingly, the research question is formulated as followed:

How have democratization and marketization impacted on art institutions' self-assessment?

The empirical research consisted in a qualitative content analysis of five institutions' annual reports. Five modern and contemporary art museums were chosen, namely the Tate (United Kingdom), the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal (Canada), the Stedelijk Museum van Amsterdam (The Netherlands), the Art Institute of Chicago (the United States of America) and finally the Centre Pompidou Paris (France). In total, 45 reports were analyzed, ranging from 1990 to 2013. The choice of the museums depended on several factors: the respective importance of these institutions within their countries, the availability of annual reports from 1990 to 2013 and finally my familiarity with these languages (French, English and Dutch). Furthermore, contemporary art is an art form more difficult to justify among society at large, when compared with Rembrandt paintings which have entered world heritage. The need for contemporary institutions to justify their efforts to display and preserve artworks which have not yet passed the test of time and popular agreement made them interesting enough to be explored.

Five surveyed countries led me to conduct a comparative analysis, which always helps in contrasting contextual particularities and draw general trends. The chosen time-span responded to a longevity requirement. It is through a period of twenty years that this research could truly ground its analysis and decipher the two trends' impact on institutions' discourse.

In order to analyze these reports, I used the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot (1991), as developed in *On Justification*. They deconstructed the social matrix in six worlds (inspired, civic, market, industrial, domestic and opinion), responding to different orders of worth, each of these worlds tending to a specific common good. In this system, a justification is

not claimed as an individual standpoint, but is part of a bigger realm where the statement is generalizable and relevant because it shares the same idea of common good, in a given world. The justification encompasses a general claim, which is legitimate. This theory helped me thinking the dynamics and tensions through, as it frames the logics behind one's justifications. For the purpose of this research, I related market-based arguments to marketization, and civic-based argument to democratization.

2 Academic and social relevance

This thesis does not differ from other master theses in the sense that it fills a gap in the literature. Indeed, democratization and marketization are concepts that have been only separately explored in the literature. This research intended to study institutions' discourses looking at these two trends not only in parallel, but together, as in how democratization and marketization have been combined, giving birth to the figure of compromise that will be developed throughout the thesis. Furthermore, studying reports along a time span of two decades enabled me to detail longitudinally how democratic and market considerations have been incorporated into museums' justifications, and this longitudinal approach is also missing in the literature.

Additionally, the scope of this thesis echoes other societal issues in the sense that museums are not the only "non-economic" societal organizations to cope with marketization, and that have to combine this with democratization, in its various dimensions. A lot of aspects of this case study can mirror what happens to education, and universities worldwide, for instance. Understanding how these organizations have dealt with external pressures on the long run enables us to observe these apparent tensions with a knowledgeable eye. Conciliation of different natures has kept art institutions strong and relevant, but does it come at the cost of a fragile equilibrium?

3 Overview of the text

The thesis will be divided in four main sections. Chapter one will be dedicated to the literature review. After contextualizing museums in their environment and the broader socio-economic context, I will develop democratization and marketization. Then, I will draw a parallel between these two key concepts and the framework elaborated by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991), the latter focusing on justifications. Chapter two will elaborate on the chosen methodology, namely qualitative content analysis. Besides touching upon the theory of discourse analysis and contextualize the five institutions I worked on, I will mostly describe my method, elaborating on the coding scheme, the implementation of Boltanski and Thévenot's framework and address limitations. Chapter three will discuss the results of the empirical research, in two sub-chapters, drawing on the general impact of democratization and marketization on institutions' discourses first, and then detailing this impact per museum longitudinally. Lastly, chapter four will close the story of this thesis. Besides summarizing the findings that have answered the research question, I will develop some thoughts resulting from the results, address limitations and alternatives to my methodology and suggestions for further research.

Chapter one: literature review

1 Museums: contextualization

Before diving into the two main concepts of this thesis, namely democratization and marketization, I will first quickly draw the broader socio-economic context in which museums have been flourishing. According to Fyfe (2006), ninety percent of the world's museums were created after the World War II. The number of museums exponentially growing, so will this percentage. The second part of this section will introduce the tensions and paradoxes related to museums, between the trade economy and the so-called sacred space of the institution.

Sometimes referred to as the new economy, post-Fordism or cognitive-cultural capitalism, (mostly western) modern economy has shifted over the 1980s and 1990s, passing from industry-based to service-based labor (Scott, 2014). The elimination of standardized work led to a decline in manufacturing employment in what Scott calls advanced capitalist cities (mostly located in the West but not only). Low-wage standardized jobs were off-shored, whereas these advanced agglomerations witnessed the advent of an economy increasingly based on unstandardized products in sectors like technology-intensive production, business, financial and personal services, as well as a wide range of cultural industries (Scott, 2014).

Fyfe (2006) describes further the post-Fordist process as one that gave birth to a large middle class and saw the rise of a consumer society. In this new economy, labor force was able to deploy high-level cognitive and cultural skills, such as technical insight, leadership and communication abilities - so to speak more or less creative capacities (Scott, 2014). As a consequence, economy and culture have fused in a two-fold scheme. Economic outputs are subject to "ever-increasing injections of aesthetic and semiotic meaning, while the culture that is consumed is produced more and more by profit-seeking firms in the commodity form" (Scott, 2014, p.570). This also touches upon the breaching of established boundaries between high and low culture (Fyfe, 2006), where museums also play a role, as we will see later.

If these changes are quite recent in modern history, museums preexisted these

developments. Though one might picture museums as liners slowly moving along the stream, their pre-existence to the advent of the cognitive-cultural capitalism and reinforced actual presence in the cultural landscape offer clues about their capacity of adaptation and responsiveness to society's developments. From institutions aiming to preserve collections and appealed to high-classes, to the current blockbuster museums such as the Rijksmuseum that welcomes 2.5 million visitors a year (a quarter of Le Louvre's yearly attendance), some things have obviously evolved.

The fact that public art museums, in opposition to private collections, have been tied to the rise of democracy, for example in the case of the Louvre and the French revolution (Chong and Bogdan, 2010) has offered legacy to the art museum as an important civic institution. Since their invention, museums have been considered as potential soul elevators, displaying the wonders of human creation, which could benefit to all, and even "belong to all" (Tate annual report 2002-2004). This type of claim, calling to universality and ownership-free, refers to the public good nature of museums (Towse, 2010; Throsby, 2001).

In economics, a public good is non-excludable and non-rival in consumption. Although museums do not exactly meet these conditions, they share characteristics with public goods. Indeed, these sorts of good, along with common resources and artificially scarce goods, are unsuited for efficient management by markets, and "when market don't achieve efficiency, government intervention can improve society's welfare" (Krugman and Wells, 2013, p. 121). Next to the economic definition comes a notion of public good rather characterized by its role towards society and its contribution to the general welfare, which is the orientation I will use in this thesis. According to Towse (2010), the welfare of a society refers to "*the additive function of the satisfaction or utility of each individual member of that society (...) thus the state itself is supposed to have no aims or objectives that are independent of its members*" (Towse, 2010, p. 163). When the market is unable to maximize social welfare, we encounter what has been called a market failure. According to Peacock (1994), the welfare of future generations, in other words "those whose interests cannot be directly expressed at present through the exercise of their own preferences in the market" (p.151), partly constitutes the relevance of the

subsidization of the arts. Other arguments are the assumption that culture and creativity lead to an improvement in quality of life, strengthen ties within societies and engenders economic spillovers (by attracting tourists for instance) (Towse, 2010).

However, governments providing these subsidies have been reducing their help due to repeated economic crises and a shift towards market-oriented rationale (requiring more self-sufficiency from subsidized institutions). Since the first declines in state allocations decades ago, art institutions have learned to adapt and earn their own income, which, more or less slowly, and progressively, increases as state support decreases. Dynamics have been moving, countering traditional thinking, one of a government remote from the market. For instance, Dutch subsidized institutions are asked to gather at least 17, 5% of the running costs themselves in order to receive state support (Cultuurbeleid, 2013). We therefore see that the two sources of income interfere, and the concerned stakeholders to a larger extent.

In the same line of thought, scholars have pointed at the tension between public museums (or at least museums incarnating public good) and their increased reliance on market forces and corporations. This preoccupation somehow assumes that museums could be contaminated by an "impure" market. In this ongoing debate, one tends his ears and will come across critical voices that have challenged the view of a monolith and "pure" art institution. According to Prior (2006), considering institutions as such would fail to capture museums' complexity, characterized by long histories that engendered contradictory forces, such as elitism and populism, public duties and private influences. As Prior explains: "*the museum has always had a dual role – both "church" and "whorehouse," to quote Renzo Piano (Centre Georges Pompidou 2000: 14) (...) contemporary museums are marked by their variety as well as their increasing reflexivity, their residual appeal to connoisseurship as well as their homage to consumer culture, their role in reproducing social inequalities as well as their increasing democratization. This is the contradictory terrain on which museums have adapted for two and half centuries*" (Prior in Macdonald, 2006, p.521).

Post-modernist thinking incarnates this spirit of deconstruction, in the sense that it challenged the so-called neutrality of museums. In museum's practice, a movement was

influenced by this post-modernist effort of deconstruction. It was called the New Museology, in opposition to the Old Museology. I will later elaborate on that when I will tackle democratization (section 2.1).

Similarly, the paradox of museums between public duties and private influences conveys the complexity of the cultural goods museums display. As Kopytoff demonstrated in *Cultural Biography of Things* (1986), objects do not have a static and determinist state. Rather, things bear status, like attributes. In the author's theory, there are two ideal polar types, the world of commodity and the world of singularity. On the one hand, being a non-commodity is being priceless, "ranging from the uniquely valuable to the uniquely worthless" (Kopytoff, 1986, p.75). On the other hand, a commodity is a thing (object or person) which has a use and exchange value. During their social life (or cultural biography), things move from one sphere to the other. This means that there is no permanent state in which the thing is fixed. It can be singular at a moment in time, and then slide to a commodity status.

In an article about MOMA's garage sale, Velthuis (2012) outlines that, while widespread marketization is real, "especially in societies where the government is retrenching" (Velthuis, 2012, p.12), modernity has shown its sacralizing power which removes goods with strong human, cultural or symbolic value from the market. Museums have historically provided a space where commodities rest (artworks ending up in museums were generally sold once through the art market, with exceptions such as artists donations) and glide to a (often) permanent singularity status. Institutions decommoify things by deemphasizing their financial value, for their cultural and historical significance, thanks to the non-commercial quality of their space. Interestingly, while being non-commercial, museums are essential in producing economic value within the art world, serving as certifiers and acknowledging artists' importance.

The relevance of Velthuis' article is that it addresses the growing dissolution of the opposition between the trade economy and the sacred space of the museum. He takes for example the museum shops which locations often force visitors to walk through them, or the display of sponsors' corporate logos, "whereas at one time these logos would have been anathema in a museum space (unless they were part of an artwork)" (p.12). According to

Velthuis, there was a time when art was an object which value could not be measured and when plain commerce would have been considered as taboo. He concludes that museum exhibitions do no longer relate to the trade economy and the non-commercial space antithetically but reciprocally. Nonetheless, while saying that, Velthuis implicitly assumes that there was a time when museums were untouched by the market, their status of sacralized space isolating them from the economy.

In contrast, Mathur (2005) expands on the two examples given by Velthuis, namely the corporate collaborations and the expansion of museums' facilities, and relates them to an old history of "anxiety about the museum's surrender to the forces of commerce, a history that is almost as long as the story of the institution itself"(p.700). Arguing, he quotes Walter Benjamin, for whom the museum was already, in the nineteenth century, enmeshed into the spectacle of commodity culture and which had more in common with the world's fair or a department store.

2 Two main concepts: democratization and commercialization

After a short contextualization, I will now dive into the two main concepts of this research.

The aim of the following part of this chapter is to review how two mechanisms, including commercialization, have arisen and have been recomposed into the museums' discourse. I will first approach democratization and then marketization.

2.1 Democratization

Democratization of art means an increase in number and diversity in the range of people (*dêmos*) engaging with art. Bailey, Miles and Stark (2004) define democratization of art as "a situation in which the arts should be democratically available to as many people as possible (...) it is about opening up the arts to those who would not normally have access to them; it is about enhancing the quality of life for a wider section of the community through the promotion of an appreciation and understanding of artworks" (p. 49). This definition can be nuanced and

enriched. As Génard explains (2011), democratization of culture focuses on the access of the culture, by decentralizing art centers to the provinces (in opposition to the capital) or offering free entrance to particular segments of visitors, such as students, unemployed and elderly people. This idea was amongst others developed by André Malraux in France. In cultural policy, this model is completed by the notion of cultural democracy, which seeks to abolish hierarchies between the arts. Indeed, the democratization of the arts focuses on spreading the content, and not on addressing which content it spreads. By implicitly stating what is good, or not, we have a tendency to discredit one entity. This behavior results in being contemptuous to particular cultures, such as underground or foreign cultures, and ultimately disregards the citizens who practice these cultures (Génard, 2011; Gattinger and Whitehorse, 2011). The idea of cultural democracy praises the individual formation of one's own culture, with as less canons as possible, boosting individual's self-confidence, if one's own culture is represented in a museum. Moreover, "it recognizes the validity of indigenous cultures and seeks to empower those cultures through the facilitation of arts practice; by, in effect, providing those cultures with the springboard from which they can discover their own creativity." (Bailey, Miles and Stark, 2004, p.49).

Booth (2014) underlines three slightly different visions encompassed in the concept of democratization. Firstly, democratization is understood as representative of a given population, where the museum visitor profiles mirror the variety of national profiles. Secondly, the availability and accessibility of the democratization as spreading high culture to all, leading to an assumed improvement in quality of life, is related to Malraux's approach. Thirdly, the cultural democracy approach understands democratization as individuals being offered the freedom to engage with art in their own terms.

Putting aside this last notion of cultural democracy, some assumptions underline the understanding of democratization. One supposition is that cultural engagement is universally valuable and that value creation can be reflected through museums audience figures. However, more diverse (and hence democratized) demographic visitor profile does not necessarily mean an achievement of the political aims of museums. Large and various visitors' figures people of a

given museum do not mean that the message of the museum is delivered or absorbed in the imagined way. This thought is shared by the Tate's director in the Annual Report 2002-2004 (p.4), when he declares that access is about more than numbers "and over the last two years we have made a concerted effort to innovate and share, so that we can enrich the experience we offer, serve our visitors better and enable more people to enjoy art and benefit from our programmes".

A second assumption is that quality of life will increase if people engage with high culture, and that quality of life needs to be improved particularly for certain types of people (Booth, 2014). Furthermore, this assumption means that there is a universal worth linked in high culture, which can be assimilated in the same or similar ways by different sets of people. It also assumes that individuals, irrespective of their background, have the ability to "make some kind of sense of art (particularly contemporary art); that people necessarily place value in such art and place value on any sense that they may make out of it" (p.215).

In the light of the criticism of these assumptions, democratization reveals itself as a concept hard to measure, if we decide to dig deeper than visitor demographics. How to decide if a process of democratization is taking place? How do we operationalize social or political change? How do we study the evolution of life quality which encompasses the role that play art, culture and the institutions in the visitor's everyday life?

Correspondingly, in the last century, publicly funded art museums have experienced changes regarding what is expected of them. Besides displaying and sustaining a collection and playing an educational role, governments have been asking museums to be more socially concerned and act as agents of social change (Belfiore, 2002; Booth, 2014). These requirements also touch upon an instrumentalist approach of cultural policies, where public spending on high-cost art institutions is justified by its positive spillovers on society. The outcomes are various, from economic to societal; and governments therefore demonstrate the value of the injected money, beyond an art for art's sake reasoning. These preoccupations about democratization of art show the long road museums have taken since their creation. Indeed, from museums' prime responsibility to conserve their collection, there is now an almost universal conviction that they

exist to serve the public (Hudson, 1998).

To some extent, it might seem paradoxical to ask these same institutions to actively foster social inclusion, as museums have historically displayed the 'high-end' of culture, and implicitly reinforced social hierarchy. Paraphrasing Bennett (1995), museums have played a role in differentiating the elite from popular classes, because appropriated by these same elites. Furthermore, "modern museums rarely lived up to this egalitarian mission and instead catered predominantly to a small, already well-educated sample of the population" (Sturgess, 2007, p.6). In addition, studies on cultural consumption have shown that the most common type of art museum visitor has a particular socio-economic status. Education and income (or cultural and financial capital) constitute the main gatekeepers of cultural consumption (Diniz, 2011).

There is however a way to solve this paradox. Smithuisjen (1993) quotes Boekman, who, while accepting the fact that not everyone could be sensitive to art or interested in it, remained convinced that "the opportunity to develop interest in art with the help of a consistent cultural policy should be available in equal measure to all classes of society" (Gubbels and Hemel, 1993, p.8). If at the creation of museums, only a portion of the population, approximating 4%, "had an inclination for quiet contemplation", research at that time showed that the figure rose to between 20 and 35% of the population. Accordingly, the recent Economist' special report about museums is demonstrative of the organizations' growing success: American Museums received in 2012 850 million visitors, which is more than all the big-league sporting events and theme parks combined. In Sweden, three out of four adults visit a museum at least once a year and the Louvre in Paris received 10 million visitors in 2012, one million more than in 2011 (arguably, the presence of international tourists dopes the success of democratization one museum might claim).

In order to understand why such cultural policies have been shaped and museums' missions enriched, a brief historical section will follow.

Originally, museums were created with the main aim to protect and display their collection, and they responded to a small and relatively homogeneous constituency base.

Walking hand in hand with this idea, art as an autonomous phenomenon was an assumption inherited from romantic conceptions (Boorsma, 2006). This meant that artistic value was created independently from the viewer, who was the passive receptacle of the artwork. The modernist view considered art as a self-contained phenomenon which could be defined on the basis of intrinsic properties. As I will explain later, the 'post-modern turn' at the second half of the twentieth century departed from this philosophical view about art.

The idea that art could achieve social benefits emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Booth, 2004; Sandell, 1998). By the mid-1800's, art institutions began to be considered as a means to foster progressive social change, which resulted in free admission and open-evenings. For Bennett (1995), the art museum was developed as a pedagogical institution, which could be compared to the model of the prison and the police force: indeed, the aim of the nineteenth century museum was to "instill a sense of morality and good behavior in the hearts and minds of citizens" (Sturgess, 2007, p.6).

Less than a century later, the narrative of "bringing art to the people" was well established, and reflected once again the social potential and moral virtue possibly triggered by art engagement. While this idea was embraced by artists in the first half of the twentieth century, it truly spread and kicked in during the post-world war II economic boom. Interestingly, it is in these circumstances that John Maynard Keynes, the economist and first chairman of the Arts Council of Britain, said "*We look forward to the time when the theatre and the concert-hall and the gallery will be a living element in everyone's upbringing, and regular attendance at the theatre and at concerts a part of organized education*" (Keynes 2000 [1945]) (quoted by Lee, 2005, p.290).

As Sandell explains (1998), the growing middle class, facing the postwar immigration and emerging patterns of social exclusions, viewed the government as a potential key player in the pursuit of culture's social mission. In parallel, the idea that art was autonomous and could exist on its own, detached from its audience, faded away. A relational conception of art arose, where arts started to be seen as a culturally and socially embedded phenomenon and considered the product of social interaction (Boorsma, 2006). This relational view had implications for the

concept of artistic value, because value was created not only in the production of a given artwork, but also at the reception and consumption process. In other words, the museum does not only display a collection in order to reach the most various visitors possible, it can also help building the artistic experience (Lee, 2005; Boorsma and Chiaravalloti, 2010).

This shift towards a relational conception of art was launched thanks to post-modernist criticism, which did more than addressing art and its relationship to the audience: post-modernism also deconstructed museums and how they transmit knowledge and meanings about gender, race and class (Sturgess, 2007). These thoughts led to the emergence of a new type of museology, challenging the old way of thinking of museums. This new practice, called the New Museology, was a “call for change, relevance, curatorial reorientation and redistribution of power” (Sturgess, 2007, p.7), in opposition to the conventional approach that was narrow and focused on method and practice (administration, education, or conservation) instead of the purposes. Re-examining practices, New Museology aimed at underlining the political dimensions of museums and could be seen as "a radical reassessment of the roles of museums in society" (Macdonald, p.26, p.27), of their conceptual foundations and assumptions. For example, this post-modernist museology questioned how African art had been exhibited in Western 'world' museums and addressed the notion of authenticity developed by ethnocentric and fantasy-driven views about African art (Kasfir, 1992; Steiner, 1995). The context of these changes in museum thinking occurred in a period of post-industrial capitalism which I contextualized earlier.

Finally, a last thing to be discussed is the notion of citizenship underlying the concept of democratization. Citizenship refers to the status of a person recognized under the custom or law of a given state. It implies a status of freedom with accompanying responsibilities. Citizenship brings the question of the role of the State in citizens' lives, in the case of welfare states, broadly defined as types of governments in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens (Encyclopedia Britannica). If the State's role is to protect and increase its citizens' well-being public art

museums can function as clear demonstrations of the state's commitment to the principle of equality and as well-being providers (Duncan, 2005).

In parallel, Bennett (1995) considers museums history as a political one, developed as pedagogical institutions. Accordingly, the aim of the nineteenth century museum was to instill a sense of morality and good behavior in the mind of the citizens, such as in prisons and asylums. This view also builds upon an interpretation of the work of Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* and *The Order of Things* (Lord, 2006). In this analysis, museums are instances of state power that categorize, classify and order the world and "whose power to form individuals is exercised through the careful and ordered deployment of knowledge within an institutionally controlled and publicly monitored space" (Lord, 2006, p.2). According to this reading of Foucault, museums represent an example of the "worst sort of Enlightenment tendencies to totalize, categorize and control the world". Meanings and readings are frozen and the citizen becomes a passive receptacle of the State's injunctions; moreover, it controls the representation of a community and some of its "highest truths" (Duncan, 2005).

This echoes two main elements touched upon earlier. Democratization can be more than fostering the access of artworks to a diverse audience. This has been seen as a top-down elitist approach to culture, which ignored cultural expressions and practices outside of the mainstream canon (Gattinger and Whitehorse, 2011). Cultural democracy responds to this criticism made to art institutions as sustaining a monolith representation of culture. The second deconstruction is post-modernism and the development of "New Museology", as it attacks the rigid practices of museums and lack of reinterpretation of what they represent, which meanings and readings they conveys or impose.

This section explored the different understandings and historical developments of democratization. Though difficult to grasp and to operationalize, I will use the following workable definition for the rest of the thesis: democratization as the process through which art institutions render arts available to as many people as possible, and as the reflection about

cultural representativeness in museums. These two acceptations can be taken holistically or exclusively.

While democratization was developed and refined over decades, marketization is a recent phenomenon that can be traced back to the neo-liberalist emergence of the eighties (contextually corresponding to the advent of the post-Fordist era).

As Dicks (2003) explains, “the eighties (...) epitomized the free market’s tightening grip over the sphere of public culture, and bequeathed to the twenty-first-century a climate in which the values of marketing, enterprise, financial management and cost-effectiveness became accepted wisdom” (Dicks, 2003, p.32). This shift from Keynesian welfare forced institutions to dive (more) into the private sphere, in search of alternative sources of funding for instance (Sturgess, 2007). As we will see, if democratization originated from governments' impulse, marketization is not exactly issued from markets only, but also encouraged by governments. The next paragraph will address this phenomenon.

2.2 Marketization

Whereas democratization is quite unequivocal if we exclude the notion of cultural democracy, marketization is a pluralistic concept and encompasses several components, though all the definitions navigate in the same waters. I will first define marketization, then commercialization, which is a phenomenon more specifically linked to museums.

Marketization, as defined by Maurer and Schneider (2011), is the mechanism by which societal sub-systems are subjected to a deliberate policy of economizing. In this case, economizing means an increasing importance of economic considerations for both financial profits and costs, at different scales, from societal sub-systems to the whole society. In other words, marketization is the phenomenon which pressures actors by exposing them to market forces. Are concerned non-economic organisms of society dealing with health care, education, arts and sciences.

Drawing upon the marketization of heritage, Dicks (2003) explains that in the case of

heritage in the UK, marketization does not mean privatization, as it is not the substitution of public sector with private sector funding and control, because public funding is still substantial. However, the funding system turned into a competitive system where the values of entrepreneurialism are promoted. In the UK, the conservative governments of the eighties and the nineties did not privatize cultural funding, although “they instituted a powerful discourse of the market which was used to instill an increasingly orthodox concern with ‘value for money’” (Dicks, 2003, p.33). In the case of heritage, marketization is therefore the combination of private-sector and public-sector interests, reinforced by a rhetoric valuing “partnership” and “enterprise”. Because of the plurality of engaged stakeholders in this hybrid funding, the public sphere makes dual claims: on the one hand, to the ideals of cost-effectiveness, and on the other hand, to the values of public provision, cultural representation and popular access to informal education (Dicks, 2003, p.34).

As addressed earlier, cost-effectiveness and public goods do not constitute a self-evident match. However, this links back to the preoccupation of governments to demonstrate the value of injected money, and also the other way round, where organizations have to be persuasive enough about a project’s future popular acceptance. A small note to keep in mind is that public funding is often not a monolith-entity, as there are often local and national funds implied.

I will now concentrate on a phenomenon resulting from the marketization and search of cost-effectiveness started by museums, called commercialization. As defined by Toepler and Dewees (2005), commercialization is characterized in a museum context as “an increasing reliance on commercial means of financing in relative terms, that is, as a share of total revenues” (p.135). The authors emphasize aspects such as income generation from fees, sales of merchandise or goods that are not directly related to the purpose of the organization, such as the gift shops and restaurants. These facilities represent opportunities to sell large quantities of merchandise. The revenues provided by the shop and the café are, according to Rectanus (2006 in Macdonald) and Alexander (1999), crucial to the survival of the museum.

Indeed, while museums could in the past satisfy themselves with reaching a small and self-selected audience, the institutions nowadays do not only seek to reach larger public and build demand among new groups. They also design the services and offerings that will generate satisfaction and positive outcomes for their visitors, and eventually increase their total benefit (Kotler and Kotler, 2000). Thereupon, beyond the necessity, the advantages for museums to adopt a marketing strategy and a business-like behavior are clear, if it can result in increased own income, which will diminish the financial constraints pressuring art institutions, and may expand their autonomy.

Similarly, Olav Velthuis (2012) considers commercialization as the driving force in the contemporary art market, which he defines as the pursuit of financial gain: “the motives of artists, collectors, and their intermediaries have supposedly become more profit-oriented and less dedicated to creative or artistic goals.” (p.18). As the most important trend, it is also the reflection of broader societal issues, such as neoliberal policies, deregulation, privatization and the fading of cultural hierarchies. Velthuis links the commercialization to almost all the actors of the art market (the auction houses, dealers, collectors and fairs). However, he does not mention the art institutions in this ongoing process, even though they are concerned, art institutions being aspired to commercialization in an almost gravitational mechanism.

However the status of super-star museums of the sample I chose to study for my thesis is arguable, Bruno S. Frey (1998) offers meaningful insights on the commercialization of museums. Super-star museums ideally respond to each of the five following four criteria: they are a must for tourists, they receive a large number of visitors, they have a certain type of architecture, they feature world famous painters and world famous paintings and are commercialized. By ‘commercialized’, Frey means they derive a significant part of their income from the revenue from the bookshop and restaurants and have a major impact on the local economy, which relates to Toepler and Dewees’ definition of commercialization (2005). The competition between these superstar museums is fierce, and museums must make great efforts to stay in that category (Frey, 1998). “*Frantic activities are therefore often undertaken: special exhibitions*

are organized in the hope that they turn out to be blockbusters, visitors' amenities are improved (e.g. a larger variety and fancier restaurants) and new buildings with stunning architectural designs are added (e.g. New York's Museum of Modern Art). The superstar status of a selected group of museums inescapably leads, so it seems, to museums as providers of "total experience" (p.119).

Frey adds that museums are requested to provide for everything, and sometimes tend to resemble entertainment parks or other suppliers of "total experience", with which they actually compete in terms of time and attention. What is interesting in the article of Frey is its emphasis on the strategic orientation of these commercialized museums. The need to provide a "total experience" requires the superstar museums to pay attention and respond to the demands and expectations of these visitors. As a result, superstar museums are forced to shift to a visitor orientation, and conservation and preservation of the collection, as well as research, become activities less central than they used to be. Whereas a lot of visitors might increase the funds allocated to these activities, affairs directly devoted to meeting the demands and expectations of the visitors have come to play an essential role in museum management.

In addition, sponsorship has also been a common means to gather large sums of capital, which have complemented and replaced the donations of wealthy aristocrats and industrialists who were the main donors in the past. Nowadays, sponsorship is an important part of institutions' own income. In the eighties of the United Kingdom, Thatcherite policy encouraged this blend of public and private bodies. This practice was reflected in business-backed arts initiatives to corporations possessing their own curators and art departments (Wu, 2002).

Motivations to sponsor a museum or a blockbuster are multiple. According to Rectanus (2006 in Macdonald) and Wu (2002), sponsoring art is extremely attractive for companies, as it offers instant brand recognition and increases their corporate social responsibility. Accordingly, young contemporary artists and contemporary art museums have a use value, because companies willing to brand themselves as innovative and risk-taking associate themselves with such cutting-edge culture. In the 1999 annual report of the Stedelijk museum of Amsterdam, starting a sponsorship with Audi is debated, as well as the broader issue of art sponsoring,

which demonstrates that it is not a self-evident solution for institutions. In 2005, the annual report officially reveals the partnership with Audi, "a brand that embraces innovation and design (...) Audi will help towards financing the construction of the museum's new wing, and the making of innovative design exhibitions" (p.147).

Rustin addresses transparency in an article about the ethics of sponsorship, taking the example of the Tate Modern that does not disclose sponsorship values because they are "confidential element of individual agreements", the case shedding light on Tate's sponsor BP, a petroleum industry company (Rustin, 2014). Rustin outlines that it is unclear if the Tate declines to reveal details because it might harm its ability to raise funds in the future, as well if privately sponsored art differs from the publicly funded one.

If this is a game, the players are not naïve. Corporate sponsorships are not big gifts, and funding must benefit the sponsor. To what extent is where lies the subtlety. At the end, it is not about direct intervention or censorship. As Alexander (1999) points out, there is no (or, if we relativize, few) examples of corporate funders distorting exhibitions, excluding works that might be controversial or place the sponsor in a bad light.

One direct consequence of funding exhibitions through sponsorships is the choice of exhibition itself. Corporate sponsors, as well as governments, prefer exhibitions that attract a large public, though for different reasons: the government wishes to bring a public good to the many and businesses hope "to increase the advertising potential of the philanthropic dollar" (Alexander, 1999, p.30). In other words, popular exhibitions are easier to finance. Additionally, this also demonstrates that success, as large audience figures, can be perceived the same way from two different stakeholders' standpoints.

Abbing (2002) addresses the relationship between corporate sponsorship and institutions' autonomy, as it is implicitly suggested in the above debate. He approaches the issue as finding an intermediate position between the two extremes of complete autonomy and complete dependency, whereas "in practice, the cut-off point is continuously shifting depending on the prevailing rhetoric" (p.88). According to Abbing, autonomy is a relative concept, and all-or-nothing arguments obstruct discussions about degrees of autonomy, as exemplified by an

Amsterdam city council meeting where politicians successfully argued that Rudi Fuchs, the director of the Stedelijk museum, would surrender his autonomy if the Stedelijk and Audi were to close a sponsorship deal: "In so doing they managed to stifle skeptics or render them suspect by making the skeptics look like they were against autonomy in the arts" (p.88).

In contrast, Abbing argues that autonomy is relative and must be seen under the light of the advantages and disadvantages of the multiple possible options. On the one hand, the Audi deal reduces autonomy in a number of ways: the new wing would be called the Audi Wing and the director would have to occasionally produce an exhibition that referred to Dutch-German relations. On the other hand, the sponsorship would also enhance the museum's autonomy, as more exhibition space would mean more liberty in the curating of exhibitions.

Taking the concept further, another element of marketization is its influence on museums' practice. The appointment of business-oriented museum directors (MBA's versus Phd's) has illustrated the restructuring of the professional practice (Rectanus, 2006; Mathur, 2005). According to Mathur (2005), this depicts the fact that museums are not only being sponsored by corporations, but that their practice are becoming interwoven with a corporate model, looking for growth and internationalization. This results in a two-fold dynamics: time spent with sponsors bleeds onto the organizational practice (Rustin, 2014; Wu, 2002) and diminishes time invested in the core-activities of the museum (Rustin, 2014; Frey, 1998). How have commercialization and marketization exacerbated tensions in museums? Alexander (1999) contributes to the debate, acknowledging that curators have lost power and autonomy, pointing to the sums of money spent to run the commercial services, in comparison to the projects cancelled for lack of funds.

Lastly, Claire Bishop, in her essay *Radical Museology* (2014) advocates against the consequences of museums adopting liberalized practice. She argues that nowadays, museums become less concerned by the collection than being staged on the level of image, where the new, photogenic, super architecture (which becomes the first experience instead of the art itself), economically successful, well-designed, demonstrate the success of a museum. Rectanus (2006) illustrates this trend with the Jewish Museum in Berlin. While it is not an art museum, it

still epitomizes this trend of super architecture: designed by Daniel Libeskind, the institution's building shifted attention to audience interaction with its impressive structure, "as a quasi-touristic experience, rather than engaging the contents" (Rectanus in Macdonald, 2006, p.241).

Bishop also tackles the combination of the pluralistic mission and its financing. The case of the Van Abbemuseum exemplifies the tensions between artistic objectives, financial and public outreach requirements. Because of its low visitors figures and lack of cultural entrepreneurship, the museum was threatened with a 28% cut to its budget, which were eventually reduced to 11% thanks to lobbying and protest among art professionals. Already in 1993, Gubbels and Hemel reflected on the negative consequences of commercialization. According to them, blockbuster exhibitions should be seen in the light of the growing market of museums and a public-oriented attitude. Mega exhibitions are magnets for the public, but they do not bear any relation to the permanent collection and require an enormous dedication from the museum staff, as Frey (2008) also underlined.

The question of the quality of museum experience for blockbuster visitors is also raised: "it looks as if the crisis caused by a lack of interest (...) has turned into a crisis of over-population" (Gubbels and Hemel, 1993, p.12). The 2013 annual report of the Centre Pompidou mirrors this quote, as the director announces that the Parisian museum reached a point where the audience cannot be increased because of traffic, and concludes that they must find growth opportunities somewhere else, calling for internationalization.

In this ongoing debate, many questions arise. How does private funding redefine museums' autonomy? How has marketization changed the perception of success, and according to whom? To the government and the businesses' standpoint, audience figures might be seen as a common denominator for success. According to Rectanus (2006), museum administrators have gradually accepted market rationales as primary indicator of success, instead of the previous predominant normative-based objectives, such as artistic or national, which were problematic in their own rights. Nonetheless, democratization's impact cannot be fully grasped in numbers. The issue of democratization implies a thorough reflection, implying ruminations

about democratizing what (contributing to a democratic culture?), to whom (a more diverse audience?).

In conclusion, museums have to respond to democratization, which has been incorporated to their *raison d'être*, and more recently to marketization. How do we run a public museum in a free-market economy? What is the relationship between marketization and democratization? In other words, has market-oriented practice influenced on museums' democratic mission? Besides the obvious clash of logics, between public and private, what I find more appealing to study is how institutions responded to these changes and built a discourse around these tensions, seeking to create a synergy between the two phenomena.

In order to analyze the co-existence of different logics in society, theoretical frameworks have been developed. This will be the subject of the next section.

3 Deconstructing the world

After reviewing the literature related to my research topic, I will now develop the theory I will use to tackle democratization and marketization's impact on art museums' self-assessment. What is set as a priority for a museum? How does the institution evaluate what is of utmost importance, and does it show through the museums' narratives? In order to analyze how museums have processed marketization and democratization, I will make use of existing theory to frame institutions' discourse. The aim of this section is to elaborate on this framework. The methodology of the empirical research, basing itself on annual reports, will be explored in the next chapter (Chapter two: methodology).

As Lamont and Thévenot (2000) present it, there exist different frameworks of evaluation to choose from. Indeed, multiple authors have developed conceptual instruments that constitute lenses through which one can apprehend such issues. These theories have in common that they decompose the "questioning of the valuable" into various systems of

valuation and elaborate on how they compete with each other. Essentially, it concerns people belonging to a given world/logic/sphere and responding to the rules of this world/logic/sphere (Thornton et al, 2012; Friedland and Alford, 1991; Walzer, 1986; Klamer, 2006). It can be any world conception at any layer of society: political or religious ideologies or rhetoric (moralist or instrumental).

Although labeling world conceptions and creating exclusive categories can reduce the complexity of the world, classifying things responds to a human tendency to make sense of the world (Khaire and Wadhvani, 2010). Confronted with a given complex reality and a nod of mechanisms answering different logics originating from different world views, a framework helps deconstructing the various dynamics at play: their arguments, their common ground, conflicting points and possible compromises. Lamont and Thévenot (2000) point out the practicality of such repertoire of evaluation, and “regard them as elementary grammars that can be available across situations and that pre-exist individuals, although they are transformed and made salient by individuals” (p.5-6).

As introduced earlier, the framework I will choose is the one developed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *On Justification* (1991). The next section will cover the main aspects of the framework and expand on the reasons why I chose this tool as the most appropriate for my research, by relating it to my two main concepts, democratization and marketization.

3.1 On Justification

Originally published in French in 1991, this exploration of the different orders of justifications has had beautiful life so far in terms of academic outreach, as it has been used as a reference and an evaluation tool by many scholars. The research finds itself at the crossroad of sociology and economics, their common denominator in this story being the morality. Stark (2011) incorporates this research in the field of economic sociology; specialization that deals with societal and organizational questions of what is valuable.

Instead of trying to solve a dichotomy of economic value on the one side, and moral

value on the other side, Boltanski and Thévenot fused these in the notion of worth. In their understanding, there is no separation between moral economies and market economies, because all economies are moral economies, responding to their own 'order of worth'.

Departing from this point, the two authors developed modes of justification that respond to different orders of worth, each of them tending to a specific common good. In this system, a justification is not claimed as an individual standpoint, but is part of a bigger realm where the statement is generalizable and relevant because it shares the same idea of common good, in a given world. The justification encompasses a general claim, which is legitimate.

The model comprehends six orders of worth that have different basis for justification and respond to different ways of evaluating what is good, for a common humanity. The six orders of worth are the market performance; industrial efficiency; civic equality and solidarity; domestic trustworthiness; inspiration expression in creativity and "renown" based on public opinion and fame, respectively put in practice in six worlds: the market world, the industrial world, the civic world, the domestic world, the inspired world and the world of opinion.

The different orders of worth are explored and illustrated in two important chapters. Firstly, with the model of the polity: Boltanski and Thévenot chose six treaties ("timeless works of political philosophy" p.17) emphasizing the essential features of the six worlds. For instance, the market world is incarnated in the *Wealth of Nations* of Adam Smith and the civic world is magnified through Rousseau's *Social contract*. The second important chapter explores the common worlds in relation with behavioral handbooks ("highly perishable practical advice"). This enables the abstract imperatives to be practically implemented. The common worlds structure valuation.

Indeed, in the model of Boltanski and Thévenot, one does not find justice through the intermediary of transcendental laws but by following constraints related to practical arrangements that guide the evaluation. In other words, the situation (the relationship between a state and a person) guides the appropriateness of the criteria of evaluation. Moreover, discourse and claims incarnate the process of legitimization (or the search for) and are at the heart of the test: justifications are enunciated and evaluation appears. I will dedicate a section

about discourse in the next chapter, methodology. However, it is important that, in Boltanski and Thévenot's framework, justifications are seen as a test, where the evaluation is embedded.

Out of the six common worlds, three of them are particularly relevant for my research. I will now detail them further:

3.1.1 The market world

The market world apprehends worth in terms of the economic value of goods and services in a competitive market. Justifications related to this world consider the worth of things only in terms of price. If the argument is supported by a evidence (a proof), it can only qualify to market justifications if the evidence can be treated as exchangeable good or service. In this world, qualified human beings are customers, consumers, merchants and sellers. In our case, a market justification legitimizes culture in terms of economic spillovers. I relate this world to the concepts of commercialization and marketization.

3.1.2 The civic world

The civic world considers worth in terms of collective welfare (as the standard of evaluation), equal access and protection of civil rights. Civic justifications are based on civic equality and solidarity. The form of proof is formal and official, and is reflected in rules, regulations, fundamental rights and welfare politics. While the qualified human beings were customers or merchants in the market world, they are here equal citizens. I relate this world to the concept of democratization.

3.1.3 The inspired world

The inspired world sees the worth in terms of grace, singularity and creativity. The judgments are based on inspiration, passion and emotion and often stress the singularity and creativity of a person, object or action. The proof for inspired justifications is the display of an emotion.

Qualified human beings are creative beings. While none of my concepts, whether marketization or democratization, relate to this type of justification, I decided to incorporate it in my analysis because I assumed that, among organizations of all type, art organizations would be the most probable type to use this sort of argument. Inspired world justification might constitute a base to see if a given institution was legitimizing itself using civic or market arguments, more or less mixed due to democratization or marketization.

It is also possible to frame justifications of institutions in other orders of worth, such as the world of opinion (the test being the popularity, audience and recognition) or the domestic world, which arguments are based on tradition and locality (bound to local history and heritage for instance). However, because these are irrelevant for the scope of the research, I will leave them aside when analyzing my data.

3.2 Conflict and compromise

As the literature review outlined, tensions arise from the marketization of art institutions, and commercialization can result in a loss of focus of democratization imperatives, which also creates conflict. Competing orders of worth are addressed in the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot, as this theory allows to analyze internal tensions within complex organizations that simultaneously have to respond to imperatives having different orders of worth. In the case of the museum, being self-sufficient and sealing a partnership with a given brand may not correspond to imperatives of (artistic) autonomy for instance. This illustrates this sort of internal conflict which often leads organizations to compromise. Therefore, compromise denotes cases where justifications root in different types of worth. It also depicts how two orders of worth can be simultaneously invoked, leading to a composed state, where two worlds overlap.

The compromise, seen by Boltanski and Thévenot, does not properly solve the conflict by finding a higher-ranking polity in which the incompatible worlds can converge. It rather suspends the dispute by seeking interpersonal agreement, as a private arrangement between two parties focuses on their mutual satisfaction rather than a general good, although “they are

disposed toward the notion of a common good without actively seeking one” (p.277). Examples of compromise are: civic-industrial “we’re all in this together: increased productivity is good for us all” or inspired-industrial “I had a dream: you got the spirit, and our productivity increased”.

The case of contemporary art galleries demonstrates how two different worlds and their respective modes of justification can co-exist (Velthuis, 2005; Dekker and Kuchar, 2015). On the one hand, the artistic logic prevails in the gallery, focusing on the quality of the artworks and the importance of inspiration and passion. On the other hand, the gallery also uses the economic logic in order to market the artworks and measure their prices. The tension and intricacy between the two modes of valuation underlies the art market, where the gallerist acts as a mediator. Velthuis explores this thought further by explaining the spatial logics of galleries. The artworks are displayed in the exhibition room whereas the deals are made in another room. The two worlds are kept separate. Because it is inappropriate (according to inspired world standards) to market his works, the dealer uses a rhetoric of critic and educator (Velthuis, 2005), arguing extensively for the artistic quality of the work and embodying it in the current art world. These justifications, related to the artistic value of the artworks, will eventually lead to more or less high-prices, the market value following like a shadow the artistic value (*You ought to pay a lot for a great artwork*). The galleries that do not follow these implicit rules and balance differently the compromise of artistic and market logics can be relegated to a lower class of galleries, for instance if the gallerist displays a tag price next to the artwork, highlighting its condition of commodity. The compromise does not only vary according to the gallery's style, it also depends on the context. In art fairs, the tension between the two modes of justification is even more apparent than in a gallery setting, as the booth is the gallery, front and back rooms fused: the dealer is a tightrope walker.

Boltanski and Thévenot themselves stress the strength of this model in organizational studies, because it does not approach organizations as unified entities “characterized in terms of spheres of activity, systems of actors, or fields, but as composite assemblages that include arrangements deriving from different worlds” (p.18). A single framework can play the game of comparison, because the diversity is not encompassed in terms of activities or different fields,

but dispersed through an organization. As they point out, no type of organization can survive if it cannot tolerate situations of differing natures: the various mechanisms derived from the different worlds are responsible for the tensions within organizations. Compromise makes possible the sustainability of beings “whose justification would entail their separation into different worlds subscribing to different orders of generality” (p.18).

4 Conclusion

The first part addressed how democratization has been incorporated in museums' mission, which reflects their connection to welfare economics and the reasons why governments subsidize them. Departing from the basic definition that democratization refers to the enlargement in number and diversity of the range of people engaging with art, we saw that in practice, democratization is not easy to handle. Firstly, with each conception of democratization come assumptions, such as "art benefits to everyone, so we should foster its access". This statement entails a top-down approach, where the idea of cultural democracy is overlooked, for the possibility of art elevating citizens to better selves considered. Secondly, democratization poses methodological complications: how to measure it? Can institutions satisfy themselves with high audience figures and assume that the message was delivered the way they wished? In the background, the issue of museum practices is also pending. If we do not take the political neutrality of museums for granted, how to nuance the practice, deconstruct it and improve it are also keys to politics of democratization. What needs to be kept in mind for the following part is the fact that democratization has these different possible applications and understandings.

The second section of the literature review explored marketization and its implications for art institutions, where cost-effectiveness does not necessarily rhyme with public good in the first place. Marketization was defined as a pressure exerted on non-economical sub-societal groups, which exposes them to market forces. In a nutshell, marketization can be seen under two major facts. First, the commercialization, which encourages museums to diversify their

revenues and earn substantial parts of their income, through sponsorships with corporations and side-activities (such as cafés, room rentals, etc.). While contributing the museum's autonomy to the extent that it becomes less financially constrained, it also has drawbacks, such as a loss in focus in core-activities. The second important aspect of marketization is the adoption of market rationales by art organizations, in terms of practice and also rhetoric. As a result, it redefines what success is, and certainly provokes tension in institutions which are being accused of sell-out.

The last part of the literature review developed the theoretical framework that will be used to tackle the impact of democratization and marketization on art institutions' self-assessment. Because responding to public duties (and more and more, to private bodies), museums are asked to provide justifications about their activities. Boltanski and Thévenot's common worlds help thinking the dynamics through, as the framework aims at explaining the logics behind one's justifications, constrained by practical arrangements, or situations. Analyzing conflicts and tensions is one thing allowed by the framework. However, how museums have adapted and responded to democratization and marketization, and elaborated figures of compromise to create a synergy between the mechanisms is the main objective of the research. More than establishing a trend, it seeks to uncover how institutions have combined a priori contradicting elements and justified their relevance with respect to these phenomena.

Chapter two: methodology

In order to answer my research question - **How have democratization and marketization impacted on art institutions' self-assessment ?** - I will analyze the annual reports of five art institutions, from 1990 to 2013. I will mostly focus on the forewords of these reports, where the justification is the most insisted on. Concerning the sample, I will analyze a report on a three-year frequency (1990, 1993, 1996, etc).

I will elaborate about these different matters in the following section, using former researches as examples. I will also discuss comparative research and assumptions related to discourse analysis, as well as the limitations of my research.

1 Qualitative content analysis

There exist two types of content analysis, qualitative and quantitative. Traditionally, content-analysis was rather a quantitative enquiry (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009; Bryman, 2004). However, qualitative content analysis departs from quantitative content analysis because the latter aims at quantifying content, which guides the coding process. The researcher draws a list of variables and the content to analyze is scanned with a checklist of these variables. This method enables the treatment of data sets by quantifying variables; it is argued that objectivity can be maximized because anyone (human or software) could code the content in the same way.

Qualitative content analysis usually proceeds by looking at the use of words and counting their occurrence, assuming that an important word will appear many times. However, counting the occurrence of certain words might not lead to meaningful findings in the case of this thesis. Indeed, one word can be used with enough emphasis, at a specific place, around a set of decisive words, that the quantitative method will not be able to see it. This is why I turned myself to qualitative content analysis, which rather examines meanings, themes and patterns, in order to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner (Zhang and Wildemuth,

2009). Indeed, qualitative does not mean that the research cannot show systematism. Interpretation of data occurs within a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Concerning the thesis' relationship to the theory, this research is deductive and follows a directed approach (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) because I base my inquiry on existing concepts and hypotheses, democratization and marketization. Furthermore, I do not shape my codes by reading and analyzing the texts and letting themes emerge thanks to a growing familiarity with the content. Instead, I use a specific set of codes which I retrieved from Boltanski and Thévenot's *On Justification* (1991) and will be explained in section.

Once I decided to survey the influence of democratization and marketization on art institutions' self-assessment, the next step was to think about the measurement of these concepts. Annual reports naturally emerged as the most appropriate data I could work on.

The following paragraph will focus on the justification of my data. I will then review the codes used to analyze it.

1.1 The data

While quantitative content analysis uses random sampling for a question of validity, qualitative content analysis makes use of purposively selected texts which can inform the research questions being investigated (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). The choice of this set of annual reports is motivated by several factors.

Firstly, I chose to study a time-span of twenty-five years. This longitudinal approach addresses the evolution of museums' discourse. The argument is that change takes time to be processed, and that democratization and marketization surely did not appear in museums' rhetoric from one day to the other, but rather implemented itself incrementally. One criticism might be a wrong timing. Indeed, democratization took decades to be implemented in museums' discourse and this process started way before the nineties. One might also argue that

it was already strongly rooted in museums' discourse in the nineties. Considering marketization, one might say that neo-liberalism kicked in in the eighties, and that the empirical research could have started earlier. Nonetheless, as one part of my research is to survey if marketization had an impact on democratization, the fact that the latter is already implemented in the nineties does not constitute a problem. Limitations related to the methodology will be further developed in the last chapter.

My willingness to track patterns and justifications across annual reports was confirmed by the existence of a certain number of qualitative content analysis researches basing themselves on such reports as well. Tinker and Neimark's (1987) research is one of them. They investigated gender and class contradictions at General Motors between 1917 and 1976. The authors used annual reports as evidence to study the evolution of managerial ideology towards women over a sixty years time span. At that time, the research grounded itself in a new body of literature called political economy of accounting. It focused on the exploration and assessment of the various ways social actors used accounting information and corporate reporting to "mediate, suppress, mystify and transform social conflict" (p.72). Tinker and Neimark considered reports as displaying General Motors' ideology about women's place in society. This relates to the assumption that corporate reports do not purely relate to cold and neutral statements, but are "ideological instruments for promoting policies, beliefs, attitudes, and practices that perpetuate the inequality of women and other disadvantaged groups" (p.73). The fact that discourses convey meaning will be further explored in section.

As a second and last example, the study of Nørreklit (2011) illustrates the analysis of discourse through a framework of ideal-types. This research explored which symbolic forms were at play in mainstream management models, arguing that the dominant management discourse (focused on a scientific symbolic form) was inadequate to arts organizations, which would win in using an artistic symbolic form of measurement. In order to do so, she enquired into the discourse practice of art as personified by the artistic director of the Royal Danish Opera. Nørreklit's research interestingly shares similarities with this one, in the sense that it also uses a framework of ideal types to examine discourses.

Her framework of symbolic forms is based on Cassirer's work (1946) that decomposed discourse into four different types of ideal orders: science, art, myth and religion. These symbolic forms embody ideologies "in the form of thoughts, ideas and beliefs concerning the question of how you create personal and social identities and how you create knowledge and meaning within the four symbolic forms, which are ideal social domains with ideal discursive practices." (Norreklit, 2011, p.268). While we find all these ideal orders in everyday language, some forms dominate in given discursive practices. Such as in Boltanski and Thévenot's common worlds, real discursive practices draw on and combine symbolic forms in their language use. In this sense, the article emphasizes the inner communicative power of discourses, which transmit world conceptions.

However, the fact that existing research grounds itself on annual reports should not eclipse criticism about the data itself. Indeed, annual reports' quality is quite volatile, since there exists no standardization, unlike corporate management rules about reporting (Christensen and Mohr, 2013). Art organizations basically chose what to include, and an annual report can drastically change from one year to the other in terms of content and format. This is illustrated by Christensen and Mohr's conclusions (2013): the contents of museum annual reports are highly variable, and can range from a few pages describing museum programs to a comprehensive overview of the museum's mission, objectives, and accomplishments. Nonetheless, there is a significant improvement between 1990's annual reports and 2013's, which become more standardized.

A last aspect concerning annual reports is to whom they are addressed. Most of the time, they address an "imaginary" reader. Nonetheless, we can assume that they are implicitly dedicated to stakeholders, and some justifications are more explicitly directed at specific stakeholders (the public, the government, the sponsors).

2 Discourse

I will now briefly examine discourse, as annual reports can be considered as such, and justifications rooted in them.

Fairclough (1993) describes language as “always simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, though with different degrees of salience in different cases” (p.134). This reflects the assumption earlier touched upon, that discourses convey meanings and beliefs. Fairclough (2003) makes a similar description, saying that it is a social practice that represents some part of the (physical, social, psychological) world, and is associated with different groups of people in different social positions.

However, can we postulate for the purity of discourse, simply reflecting one’s social identity and beliefs? According to Moody and Thévenot (2000), social sciences have reduced collective justification into the framework of instrumentality. For instance, “how do we account for the need to make public good justifications along with the need to make tactical moves and create an instrumental plan of action to advance one’s particular goals?” (p.274). This conception underlies pre-existing interests which lead to the manipulation of rhetoric in order to maximize and legitimize one’s goals. However, while acknowledging that action can be guided by specific interests at some level, Moody and Thévenot (2000) expose alternatives to the instrumental view. In their comparative study of environmental disputes, they sought to go beyond the narrow notion of individual interests and analyzed rhetoric as partly creative and instrumental. According to them, the rhetoric is directed through the spectrum of self-interests until a certain point, because the argument is constrained by the cultural repertoire, the requirements of demonstrating relevant proof and the adjustment of the arguments to the context. This approach refers back to the one of institutional logics, where the repertoire of political culture both constrains and enables the use of political rhetoric. Hence, this perspective is not separated from frameworks that look at the dynamics of switching between repertoires

or borrowing logics depending on the situation, such as Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) and Friedland and Alford (1991).

3 The institutions

The choice of the institutions depended on several factors. I opted for the segment of modern and contemporary art museums. I find them interesting because modern and contemporary art are often placed at the center of fiery debates in the agora (“*why would I admire a reversed toilet pot or pile of clothes*”). In terms of democratization, it is an art whose norm and intention are harder to communicate than Renaissance masterpieces. Arguably, as the test of time has not yet consecrated contemporary artists in a Pantheon, historical justification or relevance might be harder to develop. The president of the MACM addresses this issue in the annual report of 2013, while reporting the criticism that contemporary art is abstruse and less popular than other museums.

Once the segment chosen, the choice of the institutions was determined by the language in which the reports were written. Indeed, qualitative content-analysis requires a good knowledge of the language used. From this first bias, I made a selection amongst the biggest museums of modern and contemporary art of these countries. The availability of annual reports, from the nineties, constituted my last requirement, and explains why I chose the Art Institute of Chicago and not the MoMA, for instance.

I will now quickly describe the five institutions I surveyed and contextualize them in regard to their respective countries:

3.1 Tate modern London, UK

The Tate opened in 1897 and displayed at that time a small collection of British artworks in only one site. Since, Tate has expanded to four museums (Tate Modern, Tate Britain, Tate St Ives and Tate Liverpool) and exhibits the national collection of British art from 1500 to the present day as

well as international modern and contemporary art, which includes nearly 70,000 artworks¹. Tate's mission is "to increase public understanding and enjoyment of art, raising funds through sponsorship, donations and legacies to support a wide range of educational and artistic programmes across the UK."

Regarding the funding of Tate, the organization is an exempt charity that receives some of its funding from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. Besides this, it completes the state subsidies through other sources, such as trading, admissions to temporary exhibitions and sponsorship. Around 60% of the income is raised from non-government sources. In 2013, the grant-in-aid income was of approximately 36%, while the rest was self-generated (Annual report 2013, p.97). The report underlines the continued decline in public subsidy, that is likely to continue in the coming period. As it is also the case for other countries, British law offers tax reductions to donators². Lastly, concerning the audience, the visitor figure was of 7 036 490 in 2013, combining the 4 museums (Annual report 2013-2014, p.92).

3.2 The Musée d'Art Contemporain de Montréal (MACM), Canada

The institution is a provincially owned corporation funded by the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec and receives additional funding from the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Canada Council for the Arts³. It was created in 1964 by the Québec government, at the instigation of artists and collectors who wanted to witness the birth of a contemporary art museum in Montreal, able to display works of artists from Montréal, Canada and the rest of the world. The mission of the MACM is "To make known, promote and preserve contemporary Québec art and to ensure a place for international contemporary art through acquisitions, exhibitions and other cultural activities."

¹ <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/who-we-are/funding>

² <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-museums-and-galleries/2010-to-2015-government-policy-museums-and-galleries>

³ <http://www.macm.org/en/the-musee/history/>

The MACM considers itself as a museum for the twenty-first century and is part of Canada's only cultural complex hosting both performing and visual arts. Furthermore, it was also Canada's first museum exclusively dedicated to contemporary art.

Canadian art institutions gather different sources of income. Public funding operates at three levels (federal, provincial and municipal) and is disseminated by governments departments and arts councils (Chong and Bogdan, 2010). Next to public funding, other sources, such as grant from foundations, sponsors from businesses, donations from private individuals and earned income, complete the museums resources. As Chong and Bogdan (2010) underline, public funding is important for Canadian leading art museums, even though the level of direct public subsidy varies. In 2013, the MACM had approximately 70% of its income subsidized by the State (Annual Report 2013, p. 68), and its frequentation's figures were of 193 919 visitors (Annual Report 2013, p.15), which is modest compared to the Centre Pompidou.

3.3 Stedelijk Museum van Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The Stedelijk Museum was founded in 1874 by a group of private citizens in Amsterdam who donated funds and their art collections in order to establish a museum in the capital of the Netherlands that would be devoted to modern art⁴. The Stedelijk's mission is "to provide a home for art, artists and a broad range of publics, where artistic production is actively fostered, presented, protected, reconsidered and renewed"⁵.

Dutch institutions, as in other countries, have diverse financial resources, ranging from the central and local governments' subsidies to own income generated through various means, including sponsorships⁶. The central government funds 48 museums, of which 30 are part of the Basic National Infrastructure (BIS). In 2012, the museums related to the BIS generated in average 29% of their income through their own activities, however the private income of these

⁴ <http://www.stedelijk.nl/en/about-the-stedelijk/history>

⁵ <http://www.stedelijk.nl/>.

⁶ <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/netherlands.php?aid=73>

museums varies a lot. For instance, the Van Gogh Museum generated 70% of its 2012 income through ticket sales, sponsorship, private gifts and commercial activities, while the Stedelijk Museum gathered 26% of own income (Annual report 2012, p.7).

The central government and the municipalities distanced themselves from museums in the nineties: museums were privatized and became foundations which had autonomous management separated from the subsidizing governments. The economic crisis of 2008 required cultural institutions to obtain more private income, and in addition, "it became a general belief that institutions could show their importance (and hence value) and impact by generating additional private funding"⁷. This resulted in a reinforced presence of private initiative and private income at the core of the cultural policy system. The audience figure of 2013 recorded 700 000 visitors (Annual report 2013, pg.9).

3.4 The Art Institute of Chicago, the United States of America

The Art Institute of Chicago was founded as both a museum and a school in 1879, at the time when Chicago was rebuilding itself after the destruction of the city by the Great Fire of 1871. A difference between this Museum and the other surveyed organizations is that the collection does not only cover modern and contemporary art but Chinese bronzes and textiles for instance, which refer to the encyclopedic mission of the Institute. It "collects, preserves, and interprets works of art of the highest quality, representing the world's diverse artistic traditions, for the inspiration and education of the public and in accordance with our profession's highest ethical standards and practices"⁸. Nonetheless, its Modern Wing is the major catalyst of audience (Viera, 2011).

⁷ <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/>

⁸ <http://www.artic.edu/about>

Like most cultural institutions and the majority of museums in the United States, the Art Institute of Chicago is a private and nonprofit corporation. Under U.S. law, that exempts museums from a significant tax burden⁹.

Regarding museums' financing in the United States, it consists in a wide-range of sources. As underlined by a US Embassy report, all American nonprofits organizations were hit by the recession of 2008 which forced museums to display their entrepreneurial side. The four main categories of museum funding are government grants (going downward since 1989, from 38% to 24% in 2013), private donations (38%) which constitutes the largest share of museums' revenue, own income (26%) and investments which benefit enable, among other things, the Museum to purchase artworks (12%). The reliance of museums on the market explains why the recession had such an impact on their income, and is further explained as followed: "a tumbling stock market that reduced the wealth of the corporate and philanthropic foundations, making them less able to contribute to museums; a similar decline in museum endowments; the overall economic trough, resulting in reduced museum memberships; and, perhaps most important, the drop in tax receipts that forced state and local governments to make Draconian budget cuts, with museums and nonprofits first on the chopping block"¹⁰. The attendance was of 1,54 million visitors in 2013 (Johnson, 2014).

3.5 Centre Pompidou Paris, France

The Centre Pompidou Paris is the leading modern and contemporary art museum in France. It was created in 1969 after a decision of President Pompidou to implement in Beaubourg a multidisciplinary cultural center, comprising a public library and a national museum of modern art and a center dedicated to musical creation¹¹. Since 2007, the president of the Centre, Alain

⁹ <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/pamphlet/2012/05/201205155699.html#ixzz3alewRLdF>

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ <https://www.centrepompidou.fr/en/The-Centre-Pompidou#585>

Seban, has been encouraging a strategic approach among the organization. The main focus is to affirm the mission of the Centre as "a platform for exchanges between society and contemporary creation". Besides its activity in Paris, the institution has a national mission of decentralizing, which is translated in the development of its activities countrywide, in order to popularize history of art and make culture accessible to the widest number.

According to a paper of Masclet de Barbarin (2013) about culture's financing, the budget allocation for culture has experienced the most important decrease in 2013 and reflects the Ministry's effort to balance the public accounts. Concerning cultural policy, France contemplates culture as a mission of public service, and hence must contribute to its financing. There are several layers of subsidies, from the Ministry of culture to the territorial collectivity, which budget has become more important than the central ministry of culture. This also reflects on the French policy of decentralization. The legal apparatus fosters donations of private companies or individuals to culture as those donations lead to tax reductions. Lastly, in 2013, the Centre Pompidou hosted 3,746,899 visitors (Annual Report 2013, p.205).

4 The unit of analysis and the coding scheme

As already mentioned, the units of analysis are mostly the forewords of the annual reports. Indeed, I rather sought to analyze pieces of the reports which were the closest to a narrative, and it is the case of forewords. Moreover, coding some parts of the data would bias the results, for instance the descriptions of the exhibitions which have a strong artistic rhetoric. However, it would not mean that the institution specially makes use of an artistic justification. Whereas studying reports' introductions has its reasons, one limitation resulting from this focus has to be underlined. Although they sometimes are the only pieces of discourse in museums' reports (next to financial tables, descriptions of exhibitions or list of donors), grounding my analysis on these forewords might skew conclusions at least in some cases, for instance when a director decides to expand on financial and market-related issues in the foreword, and that a

whole section latter in the report elaborates on democratization.

Concerning the coding system, I put in practice the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) and retrieved three categories from their theory, namely the inspired world, the civic world and the market world. The codes in qualitative inquiry are most often words that symbolically assign an evocative and essence-capturing attribute for a portion of language-based (Salvaña, 2011). I related the inspired world (IW) to artistic justifications; the civic world (CW) to democratic justifications (related to democratization in my concepts) and the market world (MW) to market justifications (related to marketization in my concepts). For more details about the framework, see section.)

The three categories reflect significant (“essence-capturing”) words of the three common worlds:

Inspired world: Inspiration, illumination, experience, transforms, spontaneous, feelings, passions, experienced, devouring, terrifying, enriching, exciting, exalting, fascinating, disturbing, irrational, bizarre, extravagance, strange, mysterious, imaginative, original, unspeakable, unnamable, invisible, desire to create, inspiration, anxiety, doubt, love, unconscious, imaginary, curious, inventive, passionate, uniqueness, original, surpass oneself, mental voyage, awaken, dreams, fantasies, risk, call things into question, devote, failures, accidents, uncontrolled, humility, peculiar, genius, individual liberation, openness, welcoming attitude, alchemy, imprecision, questing state, warmth, creativity, seek encounters, raise questions, wild, adventure, a quest, path, detours, exhilarating promises, masterpiece, suddenly, spontaneously, surpass, appear, flash of genius, spark, illumination, unusual intuition, disturb, strange, impressions, feelings, aura of happiness, vertigo, fear, trembling, signs, images, analogy, metaphor, ideas, images, phantasms, symbols, myths, legends, images, memories, myths, amazement, enthusiasm

Civic world: Collective, all, general will, union of all, collective organization, open to all, social movement, collective action, mass, public space and agencies, public, grouped, common objectives, unitary concept, liberating, recognized, representative, authority, organization,

power, mission, vocation, calling, mandated, representative, legality, legislation, regulations, delegate, validity, eligible, free, representative, official, independence of judgment, freedom of speech, civil rights, participation, policy, common aspiration, break isolation, will of all, general interest, party, elected member, capacity, mobilize common interest, vocation, solidarity, democracy, criteria of representation, code, program, policy, permanence, means of expression and advocacy, resolutions, goals , objectives, policies, lines, orders, decrees, proposals, proclamation, protocol, express, conventions, membership, representation, mandate, solidarity, member, collect, recruit, extend, unify, regroup, implant, reunite, legalize, authorize, initiative, mobilization, cause awareness, discuss, justice, inform, empower, codify, consult, organize, discussion, representative institutions, events, meetings, to be heard

Market world: Desires of individuals, possess, competition, rivalry, competition, price, marketable, strong position, market, rich , value , luxury, high-end, success, successful, be a winner, score, great prospects, international affairs, insecurity, favorable fate, global market, uncertainty, exploit, benefit, opportunism, opportunity , selfishness, profit, sell, ego, satisfaction, individual, free, client, customer, buyer, seller, business, desirable, marketable , salable, to be social/friendly, transaction, freedom, emotional distance, control, take advantage of, listen to others, detachment, distance, sympathy, own, possess, attract , negotiate, deal, pay, compete, buy, sell, reality of desire, negotiate, bargain, face the competition, contract, price, justified value, reasonable and true, profit, result

I coded the documents per paragraph and referred each argument contained in one paragraph to the coding sheet, which is divided per institution first and then per year (See Appendix 1). I reported my assignments in the coding sheet (e.g: p.3, para.2: CW). Because coding is not a precise science but relies on interpretation, I tried to minimize the role of interpretation by justifying in my coding sheet the categories assignment.

If three categories are retrieved from Boltanski and Thévenot's framework, seven categories emerged in the coding sheet in total, the three general categories (IW+CW+MW) receiving the addition of four 'mixed arguments', namely market-inspired world (MIW), market-

civic world (MCW), inspired-civic world (ICW) and finally a mix of the three worlds, an inspired-civic-market world argument (ICMW). A mixed argument occurs when the narrator uses two or more logics to make a point, in the unit of a sentence or a paragraph. This example, retrieved from the 2013 Annual report of the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam, illustrates the matter:

“p.5 para.1: MCW. Combination of two arguments where the MW enables the CW: “In pursuit of our ambition (MW) to be a museum that is open and accessible to all (CW), we stepped up our investment in Marketing and Development (MW).”

5 Comparative research

I assume that annual reports, through the justification of their activities, seek legitimacy and support from their stakeholders. In some cases, institutions address stakeholders quite frankly, such as in this statement made by the MACM director: "It is crucial to demonstrate the importance of supporting culture and the arts for enterprises, but we also need to show them what we offer them in return. We are working on this" (2013 Annual report, p.4 para.2).

Another example lies in the complains of institutions about decreasing subsidies, followed by an emphasis on democratization efforts. In this sort of case, we typically face a defense speech directed to the government.

Moody and Thévenot (2000), after comparing two environmental dispute cases (in France and in the US) concluded that the configuration of public space and the dynamics of discourse depended heavily on the mode of acting privileged in a given political culture (p.239). This refers to what Lamont and Thévenot (2000) emphasize about comparative literature: generalizations concerning national differences can be dangerous because they might lead to overlook variations and the specificity of structured contexts (such as the political culture) in which people use contextual principles of evaluation.

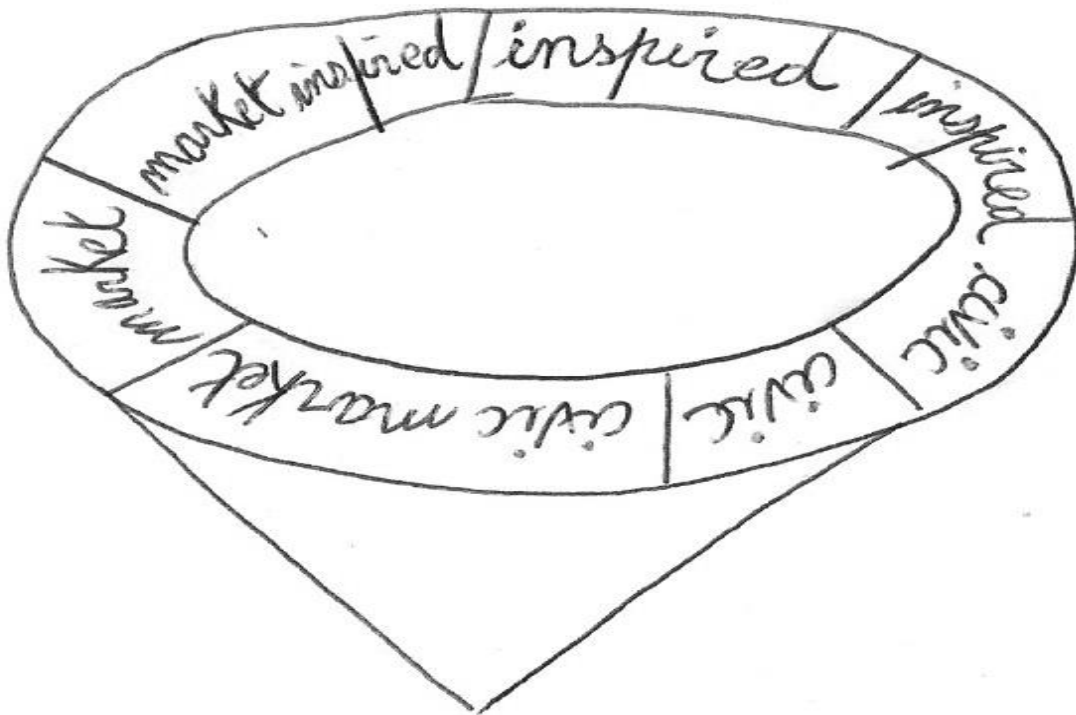
This will be kept in mind during the discussion following the data analysis, in order to correctly track trends without denaturalizing them from their context. One limitation of this research is therefore the impossibility to generalize the conclusions for every contemporary art

museum, or all the museums in a given country.

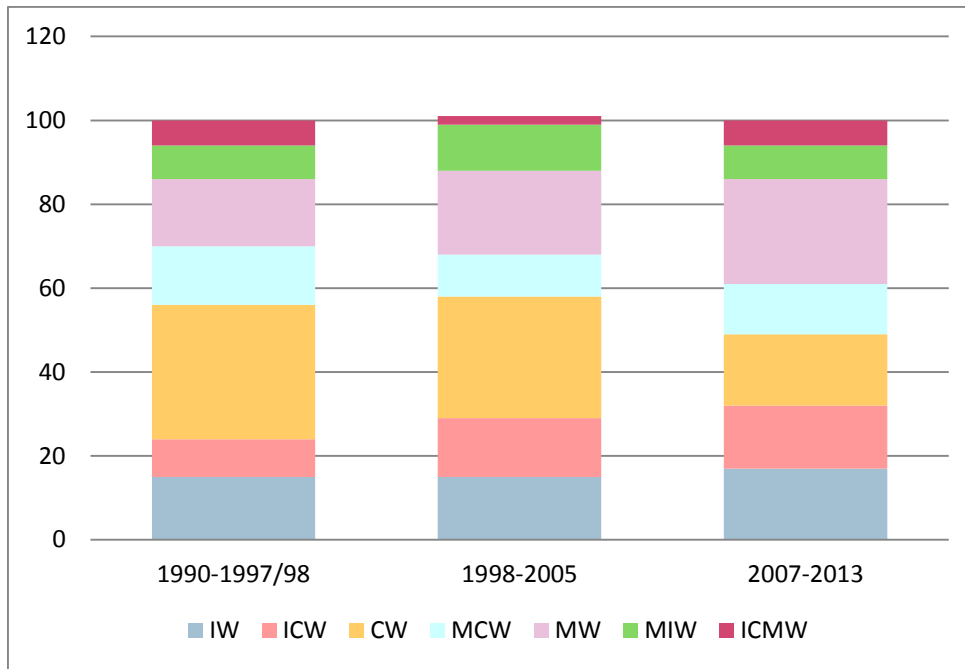
As a final note, an important advantage of the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) allows comparison of the various methods of compromise presented by different organizations, while respecting the uniqueness of the local configurations.

Chapter three: results

Telling the story of the impact of democratization and marketization on museums' annual reports is the aim of the empirical research. I will expose here the results of the qualitative content analysis, occasionally helped with the support of quantitative calculations. In order to draw my conclusions, I firstly reorganized the coding sheets (See Appendix 1, reorganized data), grouping the arguments linearly (see illustration above).



This spinning-top has the advantage of fluently incorporating the singled arguments (IW, CW, MW) with the compromised arguments (ICW, MCW, MIW). The most used rhetoric has the most weight, making the spinning-top lean in its direction. This metaphor will later occur, in order to help the reader visualize the impact of democratization and marketization.



These three bars display the repartition of the different types of arguments across the institutions' annual reports, as I divided the surveyed time span in three periods (from 1900-1997/1998; 1998-2005; 2007-2013). It shows the progression in the use of justifications in percentages, with on the one hand a decrease in civic world arguments (32%, 29% and 17%) and on the other hand an increase in market world arguments (16%, 20% and 25%). We also see the use of compromise across time (See Appendix 2 for the complete table). In other words, this is the picture of the trends' impact on institutions' self-assessment, from a distance.

However handy, grouping arguments in three periods cruelly simplifies the dynamics of discourse of art institutions and does not exactly reflect the trends' evolution, which is more complex than increasing and decreasing lines, for several reasons. Adding up values and grouping them in three periods erase important details, such as the fact that democratization and marketization is neither linear nor equally processed by the five institutions.

In order to narrate a story that embraces reality at the maximum, in respect to the data I gathered and the methodology I chose, I will depart from a bigger perspective and dive into the

smaller, in two main sub-chapters.

Firstly, I will describe the trend emerging (more or less fluently) from the annual reports. In this section, I will take time span and evolutions into account. Then, I will reflect on Boltanski and Thévenot's framework, as I will address the three worlds (inspired, civic and market) and the most common strategies (or justifications) used by museums to justify their relevance.

Secondly, I will expose a longitudinal analysis per museum and draw on their deviations from the general conclusion about the trends' impact, and elaborate on the figure of compromise. I will make use of quantitative calculations (as in Appendix 2) to assist my analysis.

1. General trend

1.1 Overall picture of the impact of democratization and marketization on museums' justifications

Marketization has the most obvious impact on institutions' annual reports, and it did not appear in a vacuum. Interestingly enough, 4 out of the 5 surveyed museums (all except the Centre Pompidou) already had in the early nineties a discourse related to the market. For instance, in 1990, the Stedelijk Museum sees itself as a firm producing exhibitions and exporting them and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Montreal (MACM) wishes to be entrepreneurial and already talks about its visitors as a clientele. Nonetheless, between the 1990 and 2007, marketization's impact on museums' justifications is sporadic and irregular, in an embryonic stage. While considerations towards the market have been more or less expressed by most of the institutions for a long time, 2007-2008 constitutes a breach, where marketization starts to be more limpid and diffuse.

All the museums do not react to this phenomenon as a monolith. Whereas the MACM, the Stedelijk Museum and the Center Pompidou give up compromise in their latest report (2013), the Tate, which has a history of repeatedly using civic justifications, still emphasizes its societal relevance, even if private support has taken over state support.

From 2007-2008 to 2013, reports clearly reflect trends explored by the literature. More

than being preoccupied about their own income and processing the necessity of commercialization, institutions borrow market rhetoric and corporate practice. Efficiency and competition are at the heart of the reports: "Tate is one of the most efficient of the national museums and galleries" (2013 report, p.3 para.2); "the Stedelijk Museum once again ranks among the world's leading art institutions." (2013 report, p.4 para.2); "(...) and find international resources which will enable us to keep our rank, one of the first in the world" (2013 report, p.4 para.3). As we will see later, organizational restructuring is another important element of museums discourse, and somehow addresses a specific type of stakeholder.

The two following examples amplify the marketization trend. The MACM, in its 2013 Annual report, states that "It is crucial to demonstrate the importance of supporting culture and the arts for enterprises, but we also need to show them what we offer them in return. We are working on this" (2013 Annual report, p.4 para.2). It is not a case of compromise such as in Boltanski and Thévenot's framework, where a compromise between different worlds means meeting at a crossroad of interest. Here, the MACM expresses its willingness to step towards the firm's interest, losing bits of its own.

In the same vein, in its latest report, the Center Pompidou, which implemented a strategic reorientation in 2007, makes the following claim at the beginning of the report: "The Center is proud to have been in 2013 the first large western museum to have exhibited modern art in Saudi Arabia and to have become a privileged partner of this great strategic country for the future of the world" (2013 Annual Report, p.4 para.2). This statement illustrates how this sort of strategic partnership counts for the institution, and calls in the drive for competition and internationalization.

Institutions also opt for less extreme formulas, trying to achieve balance and legitimizing marketization through the support they bring. If museums accept grants from private bodies (corporations, individuals), this support is mostly outlined as serving educational purposes. Thereupon, we see that the use of figures of compromise is important in the legitimization of

the commercialization process. The overall conclusion is that marketization has been incorporated in museums' rhetoric, as a priority, and something that matters. It is especially clear in the years following the 2008 financial crisis.

What about democratization? Is this phenomenon inversely dependent of marketization? My response would be nuanced: it has an impact, but it does not necessarily hinder the institutions' efforts to democratize. Whereas the bar chart might indicate a straight-forward correlation between an increase in marketization and a decrease in democratization, looking into the details does not exactly match this impression.

First of all, institutions interpret and apply differently democratization. The number and percentage of civic arguments vary so much from a year to another, so that I could not detect a growing or declining trend, even if there seems to have a decrease in focus, for the Stedelijk and the Center Pompidou for instance. In their cases, an increase in MW arguments might reflect a loss in democratization; however the fact that I analyzed the forewords of the reports and not the whole reports plays a role here. In the foreword, generally the director speaks and offers his/her vision substantially, as introductions must be kept concise.

In contrast, the civic argument is not taken over by the market argument in the Tate's discourse. In its latest report, democratization is widely explored, in a variety of ways: whether as decentralization policy, invoking cultural democracy, or remembering that the museum costs the public purse just £4.17 per visitor (2013 Annual Report, p.3 para.2).

Therefore, it seems that democratization depends more on the local context and ways to approach it than on the impact of marketization. Though 2013 shows a decline in civic world arguments, for a reinforced presence of market world arguments, one year is not significant enough to draw a definite conclusion.

1.2 Typical strategies for the worlds

I will now develop the classic arguments used by museums in annual reports, referring to Boltanski and Thévenot's framework. The three next sections will expand on the typical strategies of the three worlds of justifications, namely the inspired world, the civic world and the market world. A limitation of this section is that it neglects time and hence, the longitudinal approach. However, it enables us to develop each class of justifications in depth.

1.2.1 The inspired world

The inspired world as described by Boltanski and Thévenot, sees value in grace, singularity and creativity. Even though the two key concepts of the thesis do not directly relate to the inspired world, museums unsurprisingly use inspired justifications when addressing the imaginary stakeholder. Moreover, the inspired world can be seen in opposition to the market world, to the extent that it juggles with the uniquely valuable and unquantifiable, whereas market logics deals with commodities and the quantifiable.

Inspired arguments appeal to the ability of museums to challenge and inspire its visitors. It is an important aspect of the art organizations' mission and is frequently used. The rhetoric of love is present, such as the new building has already become a much-loved landmark (as for the Tate), or that the public will find back its beloved artworks at the reopening of the Museum. In this case, the imaginary stakeholder takes the shape of a frequent visitor, a faithful aficionado who knows the place.

To continue with, artworks bring inspiring encounters, and furthermore challenge us to think again. They are a force for reflection, growth and change. Art is not only celebrated for the emotions and discoveries it brings but also for the race to modernity it contributes to. In the inspired world, legitimization of the museum's existence lies in its power to enable forward-thinking, maturing and intellectual realization. This somehow connects the inspired world to the civic rhetoric. As touched upon earlier, museums were acknowledged as soul elevators entities, which ability to raise minds could benefit to all.

Likewise, the worth of innovation and experimentation is emphasized through the inspired world rhetoric. It concerns as well the curatorial practice of museums and the content it exhibits as the room the museum leaves to creativity. For instance, the Centre Pompidou was seen as lacking innovation. This criticism was taken seriously and because it diminished the integrity of the institution. A new strategy was implemented, aiming at repositioning creative movement at the heart of the organization. Lack of innovation is seen as a loss of quality.

Additionally, dedication to artistic goals can sometimes be a value in and for itself. The director of the Stedelijk incarnates this kind of opinion, when in 2008, responding to requests made by the government about the social relevance of the museum, declared: “Art is about society, and museums are relevant simply because they reflect and present the latest developments in the art world”. We see that this sort of justification places art on a podium, where it does not have to answer to anything else than itself.

Finally, inspired discourse is also used by organizations when it comes to donors. They are described as extraordinary and moved by an amazing philanthropy and an unparalleled generosity. Depending on the museum, this figure of rhetoric is more or less present. In opposition to the market where everything is quantifiable, the care and love of donors for the museum is incommensurable.

1.2.2 The civic world

The civic world considers worth in terms of collective welfare, equal access and protection of civil rights. As explained earlier, I combined this world with democratization, civic justifications being based on civic equality.

Whether museums are private (such as the Art Institute of Chicago or the Stedelijk Museum) or public (such as the Centre Pompidou, the Tate or the MACM), they all emphasize their societal role throughout the annual reports. In addition, there seems to have no correlation between being a public institution and embracing more its public duty, in comparison with a private non-profit institution.

To begin with, the most common figure of legitimization lies in the museums' efforts to raise the accessibility of culture to broader audiences and foster a feeling of belonging. The argument can be further developed and some segments of the population defined, such as the youth, the African-American community, disabled people or even "audiences excluded from culture". Ways to demonstrate a successful democratization vary, from numbers to extensive lists of outreach programmes, through politics of decentralization, nomadic exhibitions and displays in schools. Closely related to this argument is the mandate in education and is also asserted through a listing of educational programmes.

Beyond touching a wider audience, museums also define themselves as organizations of public interest, which refers to the welfare component of their existence. Indeed, museums often reiterate that they preserve art works for the sake of future generations, and emphasize their ability to elevate citizens' minds. Even, they "civilize the expanding population of the modern, immigrant city", which somehow calls in the disciplinary tendency Bennett (1995) and (interpretations of) Foucault explored.

Together with, art organizations also sometimes address citizens in their annual reports, for instance by highlighting their awareness of the difficult socio-economical climate and its pressure on the population (MACM), or the cost the museum bears on the citizen's wallet (Tate and Stedelijk). While these justifications illustrate the general conception of democratization (as a search to increase the number and diversity of the range of people engaging with art), cultural democracy (as a better representativeness of other cultures next to the "canon" museums traditionally represent) is present too.

Another key point is that museums outline their democratic organizational practice, which approaches Boltanski and Thévenot's acceptance of the civic world. Being a mirror of the civil society is a preoccupation and art organizations must be reflectors of the civic apparatus: the presence of dialogue between the hierarchy and the employees is mentioned, as well as a culture of debate, the existence of syndicates and the representativeness within the museums' staff. While it does not a priori match democratization as we intended, justifications of this order reinforce the "public mission" of the museums, which themselves strive to correspond to

a democratic model at all levels possible, as this statement of the Art Institute of Chicago shows: "It is time to review the museum's mission and reaffirm our commitment to the goal of striving for diversity within our governance and staff, our audience, and our permanent collections. As a museum, we must aspire to the inclusive impulse at the heart of the American identity" (Annual Report 1999).

1.2.3 The market world

The market world apprehends worth in terms of the economic value of goods and services in a competitive market. Things are valued with regard to price and qualified human beings are customers, consumers, merchants and sellers. We will now see how this type of legitimization is most commonly used by institutions and how they relate to marketization.

First of all, the performance of the museums is important enough to be quickly mentioned and underlined in the reports. Financial stability, excellent figures and commercial success are arguments used to show that the institution is doing well. The fact that the institutions have gone through economic cycles makes them enduring, and even constitutes for the Art Institute of Chicago a "testament to the Art Institute's continued relevance as a cultural center". In this regard, an institution financially struggling would lose of its relevance.

More than insuring financial strength, museums are keen to compare themselves to other institutions, as in a competition: the Tate is a leader in earning and gathering financial support for its activities and earns twice as much as other institutions, while the MACM, compared to other museums of contemporary art in the world, is in excellent position and very competitive. All the organizations stress their position of leader "on the market" in respect to their competitors.

Similarly, institutions emphasize their efforts in improving their organizational structure throughout the years in order to be more efficient and productive. This implies explanations of the following sort: reorganization of the staff, development of management and leadership skills, project management capacities, fund raising abilities and increase the efficiency of the

resources. The Stedelijk, for instance, elaborated a risk management and risk control system, while the Centre Pompidou designed a new strategic-orientation. Special attention is given to these elements and are often considered as key priorities. Growth is also a concern, as illustrated by the willingness of building new aisles, to improve visitor amenities which will increase the museum's revenues, or internationalize.

In this situation, numbers are handy tools to proof the accuracy of these statements, such as audience figures, % increase in own income, "box-office block-buster" resulting in "the most successful exhibition in the Gallery's history". Though audience numbers are not easy to classify because they reveal the success of democratization policy to some extent, the fact that audience figures are considered under the angle of a performance shifts the argument towards the market world. Accordingly, museums may tend to consider visitors as consumers, potentially increasing their own income through the entrance fees and the use of their side-services, such as restaurants and shops. Commercialization is more than elsewhere explicit here. Once the visitor is seen as a consumer, the museum also enacts a marketing scheme, where audience expectations have to be met, and sometimes the product shaped accordingly. Brand awareness is something also taken into consideration.

The last sort of argument is related to both the market and the civic world. Indeed, in this category, museums are not legitimized for their activities per se, but for the economic spillovers they engender: for example, which impact the Gallery had on the economy and non-seasonal businesses of this region, how many jobs it created and how much money per year it brought to the city.

As annual reports address imaginary stakeholders, we can still imagine that such arguments appeal to potential and actual sponsors or donors, who constitute an essential source of income for organizations. Nonetheless, as we saw in the literature review, governments also encourage this cost-effectiveness, when it sometimes becomes a prerequisite. In this logic, subsidies are handled if the organization gathers enough own income and is "successful", with the polysemic character it encompasses.

2. Longitudinal analysis per museum and figures of compromise

In this section, I will dive deeper into the details of each museum's evolution and explore their use of figures of compromise. The tables display the absolute numbers and percentages of the different arguments' use.

2.1 Tate

	90	Total %	94-96	Total %	98-00	Total %	00-02	Total %	02-04	Total %	07	Total %	08	Total %	11	Total %	13	Total %
IW	2	17%	0	0%	1	8%	1	9%	1	11%	1	11%	2	18%	1	8%	0	0%
ICW	1	8%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	33%	0	0%	2	18%	4	33%	1	13%
CW	3	25%	4	36%	3	25%	1	9%	1	11%	5	56%	1	9%	2	17%	3	38%
MCW	3	25%	3	27%	3	25%	3	27%	0	0%	1	11%	4	36%	2	17%	1	13%
MW	1	8%	3	27%	3	25%	4	36%	3	33%	1	11%	2	18%	0	0%	1	13%
MIW	1	8%	1	9%	2	17%	2	18%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	2	17%	0	0%
ICMW	1	8%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%	1	8%	2	25%
Total	12	100%	11	100%	12	100%	11	100%	9	100%	9	100%	11	100%	12	100%	8	100%

From the early nineties on, public financial support is already dropping, and this gap in funding is filled by private bodies. The director emphasizes the importance of this private help, enabling the museum to fulfill its civic duty. The government subsidies will keep on decreasing along the years. Calling for the government's help, inspired arguments are firstly used to convince. Later on, audience numbers, as well as market-oriented arguments (such as the figures of the economic impact of the Tate on the region as well as its excellent results in achieving own income) are displayed in order to convince stakeholders.

The most common legitimizations are civic or market-civic. This also echoes the government's request for success and imperatives of own income, which illustrate the tense position held by the public museum and the government encouraging marketization. The notion of success is ambiguous and leaves room for interpretation: is it meant as a commercial success or a democratization success? In one of the reports, the director recalls their effort to develop 'unsponsorable' exhibitions (because not popular enough).

Raising private funds and creating new business partnerships are very often associated with educational programs. Commercialization is nuanced, as cafés and bookshops are enhanced, but in combination with extended educational facilities. The Tate's justification dynamics is to relate audience engagement with entrepreneurial developments (quoted as an important value in 2007). The public and civic responsibility coupled with being an efficient organization makes the Tate a good partner for corporations' image, as explored in the literature review.

In terms of quantification, civic arguments are a majority, whether used alone or coupled with inspired or market arguments, rather than market-based arguments. Except between 2000 and 2004, the market does not stand alone, but is always escorted, mostly by civic justifications.

Compared to the other institutions, the Tate's discourse resists marketization. While, according to the 'general trend', the last reports should be the most bathed in market arguments, they are in fact still focused on the civic aspect. Moreover, market-inspired rhetoric was more present before 2000. One explanation can be that their commercial success has freed them from using market justifications, a civic-centered strategy benefiting both the government and market-actors anyway. In this case, we see an application of the relativity of institutions' autonomy. Another interpretation is that using market-arguments alone might not be accepted.

2.2 MACM

	90	Total %	93	Total %	96	Total %	99	Total %	02	Total %	05	Total %	08	Total %	11	Total %	13	Total %
IW	0	0%	1	20%	3	33%	1	11%	2	20%	2	20%	1	10%	2	12%	2	14%
ICW	1	13%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%	5	50%	1	10%	1	10%	4	24%	2	14%
CW	4	50%	0	0%	1	11%	3	33%	3	30%	5	50%	1	10%	4	24%	3	21%
MCW	0	0%	2	40%	1	11%	2	22%	0	0%	0	0%	3	30%	1	6%	0	0%
MW	3	38%	0	0%	2	22%	1	11%	0	0%	2	20%	3	30%	4	24%	6	43%
MIW	0	0%	0	0%	1	11%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%
ICMW	0	0%	1	20%	1	11%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	1	10%	1	6%	1	7%
Total	8	100%	5	100%	9	100%	9	100%	10	100%	10	100%	10	100%	17	100%	14	100%

Back in the nineties, the museum was already using a market-oriented discourse, in the sense that it aimed at being entrepreneurial and sometimes considered the public as a clientele. However, it remained at a small frequency. Democratization is at that time an important matter and will be most emphasized between 2002 and 2005.

From 2008, there is a radical change. Where the market was beforehand quite discreet, it is now apparent. The most obvious reason is that the government decreased its subsidies and the museum must rely more on own income. The need to attract market-based stakeholders will guide the discourse. We see that this shift is not self-evident, and justifications navigate between two waters. The Museum chose not to use the figure of comprise which interests us, namely the market-civic-argument, but rather a superposition of civic and market arguments. For instance, the director addresses the audience as a clientele first, and then wishes a more diverse visitor profile; or talks about the organization's performance and then about the Wednesdays free admissions.

In 2013, the struggle of the Museum is the clearest. The director, justifying low audience figures compared to other museums, admits he understands that corporations need to receive a valuable counterpart from their donations to the museum. While the Tate would always relate private sponsorship with generosity and pure philanthropy, the director of the MACM does not

push market actors out of the market world, nor does he use a figure of compromise. In this case, marketization is expressed, at the expense of democratization, which does not appear as a clear priority anymore.

2.3 Stedelijk Museum

	90	Total %	93	Total %	95	Total %	99	Total %	02	Total %	05	Total %	08	Total %	11	Total %	13	Total %
IW	0	0%	0	0%	2	33%	0	0%	1	20%	3	38%	8	47%	3	23%	4	21%
ICW	0	0%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	4	24%	1	8%	1	5%
CW	0	0%	0	0%	3	50%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	2	12%	1	8%	1	5%
MCW	0	0%	1	25%	1	17%	1	50%	1	20%	3	38%	0	0%	4	31%	3	16%
MW	1	50%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	2	12%	1	8%	10	53%
MIW	1	50%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	2	25%	1	6%	2	15%	0	0%
ICMW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	8%	0	0%
Total	2	100%	4	100%	6	100%	2	100%	5	100%	8	100%	17	100%	13	100%	19	100%

Annual reports of the Stedelijk reflect instability and fluctuations, whether in substance or format, and therefore make it complicated to discern linear impacts of democratization and commercialization. The inspired world rhetoric is quite strong, due to the general directors' styles.

In 1990, the museum is already seen as a firm that produces goods and services. The fact that the institution changed its status a couple of years later, from a Kunsthal to a museum, resulted in a shift towards inspired and civic justifications. Different stakeholders mean different types of legitimization. This competitive system, which was acknowledged earlier in the nineties, is contested: the Museum should not play by the rule of who shows what first, rather it should develop a deeper and more sustainable vision.

However, commercialization seemed to have entered the realms of the organization, but too much: according to the director, the museum lost its focus providing side-services. It also concerns a lack of vision and innovation (such as for the Centre Pompidou). The director reassures: the future will concentrate more on a content-based approach. Additionally, he also underlines what he sees as the positive side of a market strategy, which enables the museum to

be opened to social change and not being recluse. Further on, we see a struggle to find a balance between economic and artistic goals. In 2005, the museum wonders if it is acceptable to have Audi as a sponsor. This will be finally decided and justified by the innovation Audi brings. Similarly, Rabobank's sponsorship is legitimized by the funds it brings to educational programs. We therefore see that figures of compromise (market-civic argument especially) are used instead of pure market arguments.

It is ambiguous to determine the audience approach of the Stedelijk. Indeed, it "lures new segments of the market" and seeks "to have a popular appeal", next to being productive. Furthermore, democratizing as spreading content to a diverse audience does not contrast as much as in other institutions' reports. Rather, the civic justifications lie in the fostered culture of debate. The Stedelijk also addresses its faithful audience, and how art has a societal relevance because it is embedded in society, which corresponds more to an inspired world logics.

In the last report I analyzed, marketization's impact is the strongest, and a market-oriented rhetoric took the lead. The success is economic and justifications concern the good management of the organization, taking risks and achieving.

Once again, a changing organization appears through the reports. Marketization's marks, based on market arguments, are prominent in 2013. In parallel, democratization does not constitute, by its ambiguity (audience figures constituting a weak argument), a main component of the discourse. I would not affirm that democratization has been vacuumed up by marketization, as it did not clearly appear as a central issue beforehand. However, the room taken by market justifications has indirect effects on the presence or not of civic arguments, as it becomes the number one preoccupation.

2.4 Art Institute Chicago

	90	Total %	93	Total %	96	Total %	99	Total %	02	Total %	05	Total %	06	Total %	08	Total %	10	Total %
IW	0	0%	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	1	13%	2	22%	1	10%	0	0%	2	25%
ICW	1	20%	0	0%	1	17%	1	17%	3	38%	0	0%	0	0%	3	43%	1	13%
CW	2	40%	3	38%	3	50%	4	67%	0	0%	0	0%	4	40%	0	0%	2	25%
MCW	0	0%	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
MW	1	20%	1	13%	1	17%	1	17%	2	25%	5	56%	1	10%	2	29%	3	38%
MIW	0	0%	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	2	25%	2	22%	3	30%	2	29%	0	0%
ICMW	1	20%	1	13%	1	17%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	10%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	100%	8	100%	6	100%	6	100%	8	100%	9	100%	10	100%	7	100%	8	100%

Compared to its fellow organizations, the annual reports' forewords of the Art Institute of Chicago are quite steady (and short). Except in 2005, a large part of the relevance of the institution points out its outreach policy and care of representativeness. Since the beginning and throughout the analyzed time span, the Institute declares stable financials despite the economic crisis, and sometimes experiences a surplus. The approach to the market, is mainly depicted through single market-arguments, rather than figures of compromise with the civic world. Commercialization is present. The most used compromise is market-inspired, when talking about extraordinary leadership for instance. The idea of finding a balance between socio-economic objectives (finding its place in Chicago) and artistic quality is well present, as well as the experience and enjoyment that art brings.

Quantitatively, grouping civic arguments and market arguments, we see a slight drop in the use of civic argument. However, this is not outweighed by market arguments. For the three last reports, civic arguments occurrences are of 40%, 43% and 38%, while market arguments have a percentage of 40, 57 and 38. Democratization is addressed, and we can corroborate their praxis to the literature: not only outreach programs are designed in order to foster the citizens' involvement with the arts, but the old idea that art can 'civilize' and 'elevate' is used.

The particularity of this organization is its regularity. Marketization does not seem to have an impact on the museums' justifications, nor to hinder democratization's aims of the

Institute. The institution's stable finances are reiterated, in order to reassure the stakeholders, since the nineties. Private donors and corporations' input is explained as one story of philanthropy. Because of its American context, one would assume that the Museum had a more-corporate practice than its European colleagues. Nonetheless, except the fact that the organization has an investment fund and has a history of private support reliance, annual reports do not put this side of the coin forward, such as the Stedelijk Museum or the Centre Pompidou in their latest year.

One reason explaining this might be that the last report I could consult dated of 2010. This unfortunately illustrates the dependency of my research to the availability of sources. Concerning this museum, it seems it stopped publishing forewords in 2010, favoring annual financial reports and tax return sheets, which may also be significant in showing the marketization's impact.

2.5 Centre Pompidou

	92-93	Total %	96	Total %	97	Total %	98	Total %	99	Total %	05	Total %	09	Total %	10	Total %	13	Total %
IW	3	75%	1	20%	2	29%	0	0%	0	0%	1	25%	3	38%	0	0%	0	0%
ICW	0	0%	0	0%	3	43%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%
CW	1	25%	4	80%	2	29%	3	60%	3	60%	3	75%	0	0%	4	44%	0	0%
MCW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	13%	1	11%	0	0%
MW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	1	20%	0	0%	3	38%	0	0%	4	100%
MIW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	22%	0	0%
ICMW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	13%	1	11%	0	0%
Total	4	100%	5	100%	7	100%	5	100%	5	100%	4	100%	8	100%	9	100%	4	100%

The Centre Pompidou is an interesting case in the sense that it incarnates the largest impact of marketization, at the expense of democratization, in a French context where culture is a public mission. From the nineties until 2005, the Center has two preoccupations, namely the audience (diverse and regional) and the creation. The representation of the civic and inspired worlds is omnipresent and monopolizes the discourse. Unlike its fellow institutions, there is not even mention of the market until 1998. Then, shy appearances arrive and fluctuate (40%, 20%, 0%, 50%), using single arguments or figures of compromise. Nonetheless, civic justification is the most common legitimization, and there is a strong focus in decentralizing the museums' artworks and widen the audience.

From 2007 onward, a shift is engaged, implemented by the new director, under the shape of a new strategic orientation. This results in a rise of market justifications, for instance the success of the increase of own income, competition (being the leader as a modern and contemporary art institution) and growth prospects. Entire paragraphs are dedicated to internalization and necessity to expand beyond the French frontiers in order to espouse art globalization. This third and last period is unstable. The spinning-top leans towards the market world, then towards the civic world, to finally fall on the market world. Looking back to the earlier reports, the foreword of 2013 is one of a contrast. After mentioning the success of exhibitions, the director announces a partnership with Saudi Arabia "a great strategic country for the future of the world". Furthermore, the rhetoric revolves around brand awareness and

growth. In the same paragraph, mention of the brand Georges Pompidou (before its collection and expertise).

Referring back once more to the general picture of the marketization and democratization's impacts on art institutions' reports, the Centre Pompidou closely matches the bar charts, in an extreme way: marketization did not outweigh civic world justifications, it completely obscured it.

I could access the financial data of the Centre Pompidou and compare the percentages of public grants and private income (See Appendix 2). From 1996 to 2013, the balance changes. State support passes from 87% of its total revenue to 67% in 2013. These dates also correlate the new strategic orientation. From a 19% own income in 2005, the Centre Pompidou increased it to 28% in 2009. In 2013, it was of 33%.

3 Further discussion

In this debate about art institutions' discourses, inspired world justifications are intentionally excluded, for two main reasons. First of all, it falls beyond the scope of this thesis. While artistic quality and art for art's sake certainly compose museums' relevance, the aim of this research was not to elaborate too much on this matter. Secondly, as outlined in the literature review, it becomes difficult for art institutions to legitimate themselves as responding to the art world only. A lack of social relevance (or a perception that museums do not make efforts big enough) may lead to a punishment, as the case of the Van Abbemuseum showed. In times of financial crisis and public economies, conveying the impression of displaying art for an elite suits less than ever public institutions' profiles (or non-profit organizations having a public mission).

Building upon this, the duality of art institutions appears, caught between elitism and populism, in terms of content. In this matter, a two-fold preoccupation comes to the mind. Should the institution lower the barriers of access (by making exhibitions accessible, in other words intelligible by a large audience) or is it rather in charge of elevating all visitors' to the art (via intense mediation and the idealistic assumption that anyone has the ability to decipher

curatorial codes and works' complex implicit context)? Reflecting the issue with another non-economic group, in this case the educational sector, helps. Can universities pretend to be opened to everyone and in the same time sustain high expectations? Or, has the barrier been lowered, partly due to market rationales adopted by universities, where the number of graduated students counts at least as much as the process of reflection at stake during the academic year, more difficult to measure?

In addition, what emerges is that the answer of this thesis is not only a matter of marketization hindering democratization but that ideas about democratization can also foster a commercial/popular culture among art organizations. For instance, blockbusters attract a wide audience and spread culture through the social fabric. Hence, they are favored by public bodies. The next (somewhat rhetorical) question is to wonder if blockbusters are easy to access, or if institutions have elevated visitors' to the art.

Chapter four: conclusion

1 Answering the research question, what to draw from the results

How have democratization and marketization impacted on art institutions' self-assessment?

In the first part of the text, I presented a literature review which gave me tools to explore the research question. The two main concepts of the thesis, democratization and marketization, were discussed and contextualized to the museum's sector. On the one hand, democratization developed along decades and was incorporated in institutions' mission, on the basis that museums exist to serve the public and spread art among society, in opposition to the past activities focusing on preserving a collection. Other standpoints were brought in order to nuance this monolithic view of democratization. The museum as an authoritarian institution acting in a top-down approach towards society was tackled, and the movement New Museology taken as an example of deconstruction. On the other hand, marketization of art institutions was explored with respect to a context of decreasing subsidies (resulting from liberal government practices and economic crisis) and development of own income strategies, leading to commercialization and the adoption of market-based practice. The superstar museum incarnated this shift.

In regard to the research problem, five important modern and contemporary art institutions served as the basis of the inquiry. Annual reports over two decades were investigated in the light of the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot, as I could relate marketization to their conception of market world and democratization to their civic world. In addition, I also explored the figure of compromise used by museums, blending market world arguments to civic world arguments to ease the tone and legitimize the cohabitation of *a priori* conflicting worlds.

The results of the qualitative content analysis, discussed in the former chapter, enabled me to answer my research question. Overall, marketization has an impact on art institution's

self-assessment. As explored throughout the results, institutions are nowadays keen to display financial results to prove themselves. Towards the last analyzed reports, market arguments are well used. Art museums stand strong, facing the economic crisis thanks to their ability to raise private support, reach cost-effectiveness and sound management. Explicitly announced by the Art Institute of Chicago, financial sustainability confirms the relevance of the institution. Museums partly legitimize themselves by their commercial success and market rationales.

However, as it has been outlined, museums' activities and *raison d'être* cannot be broken down to numbers only. The sole fact that democratization's success can only be partly reflected with socio-demographic figures illustrates the paradox of the uneasy cohabiting of different orders of worth. Referring to Boltanski and Thévenot, this situation depicts the difficulty of compromising, of suspending the conflict in order to find a mutual satisfaction, which entails a reference to an unspecified principle. The fragility of compromise lies here: although such situations keep the general interest in view, "they remain composite; a compromise will often be described as not entirely defensible in logical terms, even though it may be preferable to any other solution" (p.278).

As we studied, marketization did not necessarily hinder democratization views of institutions, though the newest reports showed an increased presence of market arguments, sometimes at the expense of civic-based justifications. The figure of compromise epitomized a strategy where democratization is not erased, and rather supports market-based arguments.

Furthermore, the entanglement between democratization and marketization - we saw that they could share the same views on success, at least at a surface level - tends to converge the legitimization towards measurable indicators, which results in turning visitors into numbers. An important aspect to keep in mind here is that what stakeholders expect from museums will eventually influence how they will legitimate themselves. If governments or private bodies ask numbers, museums will show numbers. How have democratization and marketization impacted on art institutions' self-assessment could be hence rephrased into how have institutions adapted to stakeholders' requirements?

Correspondingly, how democratization came to be expressed in numbers makes me

wonder: has this thesis put the cart before the horse? Indeed, I realize that embodying marketization in the market world and democratization in the civic world on the one hand, and trying to understand the relationship between the two phenomena on the other hand, was somehow reducing. The current system is more complicated than my application of the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot. If governments require a certain commercial success (percentage of own income, audience figures, etc) from museums so that they can receive subsidies, how is this translated in Boltanski and Thévenot's rationale? It seems that the civic world came to use market referent as well, which indicates an overlap between two common worlds which logics should be separate. In a nutshell, should I have tackled this research by wondering first how marketization has impacted on the public discourse, rather than surveying democratization and marketization as two phenomena remote from each other, supposedly belonging to two different worlds? In this case, the hypothesis should be as followed: marketization has influenced the civic world's dynamics, and democratization, which started as a governmental impetus, has in turn been influenced by marketization.

Witnessing the rise in private support's percentage in museums' funding leads to another discussion: what if, after all, museums were able to sustain themselves, and hence, alienate themselves from their public good nature? While we are still far from a scenario where public subsidies would be absent from the picture (though the individual situations vary, from the 60% of own income of the Tate to the 30% of the Pompidou for instance), is it unimaginable to think of a world where art institutions (at least, superstar museums) could solve the market failure? Or, in other words, is it possible to imagine a world where markets achieve efficiency and are able to maximize social welfare in this case? One aspect to remember is the inadequacy of qualifying art museums and artworks public goods. As we have seen by studying policies of democratization, artworks are not exactly street lights or oxygen. In this sense, art is not a perfect public good, because it is possible to exclude individuals from its use. Indeed, besides the possible entrance fee, there exists a socio-economic glass ceiling which exempts a part of the population from consuming it. Coupling this aspect to the economic success of museums

with a fading market failure, could it be possible to rethink the public good attribute of art, with the negative and positive aspects it entails?

2 Reflections on the methodology: limitations and alternatives

I would now like to address several limitations, complemented by solutions and alternatives. Firstly, the data can certainly be improved, if given more time and resources. It could start by expanding the time-span and the number of reports, the current conclusion basing itself on 45 annual reports, meaning 9 reports per institution, on a three-year frequency, starting from 1990. As we saw, from this time already, market-oriented considerations were present. It would be interesting to start at a moment in time where market considerations are absent, or explore if they were even absent at some point. We could therefore nuance or give empirical foundations to the claim that art institutions were once uncontaminated, like it has been sometimes implicitly assumed in the literature. Considering the political economy of modern times, starting the analysis in the eighties, corresponding to the rise of neo-liberal practices, could slightly influence the conclusion. However, only slightly, because it may "just" nuance the arrival of the marketization or market rhetoric.

An additional improvement would be to analyze more reports per institution (on a two-year or annual frequency), as it would add depth to the evolution's description of the trends and their impact on institutions' self-assessment. Likewise, annual reports' utility would be maximized if thoroughly analyzed: not only the forewords, but the integrality of the documents. Indeed, as already mentioned, focusing on forewords (which are sometimes the sole place given to discourse in institutions' reports, next to financial tables, descriptions of exhibitions or list of donors) might skew conclusions, in the sense that a 170-pages report might actually leave a large place to democratization, that the director might decide to emphasize a market-oriented rhetoric in the introduction. Obviously, this sort of situation twists the results. Nonetheless, one (somehow simplistic, I agree) reasoning is that introductions of such condensed, sometimes indigestible reports, represent the take-home message and straight-forward bullet points

stakeholders hold on to, reinforcing the power of meaning of these specific parts.

More importantly, more institutions would have been welcomed in the analysis. Although five important art museums constitute a consistent basis to draw conclusions, more institutions would have enabled me to enrich the findings, aim at a more solid generalization, while understanding in smaller detail the different dynamics at stake, in a national context firstly, and in an international context secondly. As alternatives, other segments of museums could be explored. In other words, not only modern and contemporary art museums; but other more "traditional" art museums, such as the Rijksmuseum or the Louvre. Lastly, this thesis covered Western museums, which creates an ethnocentric bias when drawing conclusions about a general trend. It would be certainly enriching to replicate the same study, analyzing reports of non-Western art institutions.

3 Suggestions for further research

As rightly suggested by my supervisor, discourse analysis could have been complemented by the financials of annual reports, as it sheds a clearer light on the context in which each institution evolves. I could therefore reinforce my conclusions on the marketization's and democratization's impact by correlating the evolution of the trends on the institutions' justifications with the change in stakeholders' financial involvement. By lack of time and resources, I was only able to compare the discourse and the percentage in public support/own income for the Pompidou. Unsurprisingly considering the discourse analysis, the financials corresponded to the fierce market-based justification, as the subsidies decreased with the increasing private support. Correspondingly, I do not know to what extent it might enrich the results, as the annual reports already more or less explicitly address the fading public grant and heavier reliance on private support.

For further research, the topic of marketization and democratization could be tackled differently. Indeed, it is one thing to study the discourse of institutions and trace the impact of given trends, and study the trends themselves. I found democratization and marketization both

interesting subjects to explore. However, my knowledge is grounded, and somewhat limited, on the existing literature about these phenomena themselves. As already mentioned, the impact of marketization on public discourse, before it arrives under the shape of government requirements and influences how democratization is perceived, can be a first step. Moreover, further research can also take a specific aspect of marketization, for instance the corporate practice that museums adopt. The Centre Pompidou sealing a "strategic partnership" with Saudi Arabia (more precisely, Aramco, a national oil company, owning almost entirety of oil resources of the country, which opened the King Abdulaziz Center for World Culture) could be a start, in analyzing once more the figure compromise: to what extent can public institutions of that kind, dealing every day with freedom of artistic expression and, at the end, values and human rights (as demonstrated by democratization), legitimately bind with such companies. More than justification (which brings me back to the topic of this thesis), it would explore the economic relationships between museums and other bodies, and what they imply. It also somehow refers to the fragile equilibrium and relative autonomy one needs to find.

Another path that further research could develop is a comparative study between museums and other non-economic sub-groups of society: how democratization and marketization have been recomposed in universities' and art institutions' realities for instance. Studying in parallel these two phenomena would allow to contrast what differed and how compromise was elaborated. As democratization is a public affair, the results could aim at helping policies and museums to find an equilibrium.

The equilibrium is the last notion I would like to touch upon before closing down this chapter. The annual reports more or less all reflected a search to find a balance, between financial and 'ontological' necessities (arguably sustaining the arts and fostering democratization). In order to arrive to this point, in constraining economic times, institutions compromise and legitimize actions which could be seen as objectionable. Once again, Abbing's (2002) wise note on the degrees of autonomy is helpful. All-or-nothing arguments obstruct discussions. Rather, relativity enables autonomy to be seen under the light of the advantages and disadvantages of the multiple possible options. As demonstrated along the thesis, how to

cope with tensions is far from being answered. Nonetheless, I like to see this under the following perspective: an unanswered question is not *per se* a failure, as long as it nourishes a discussion. This way of doing, coupling pragmatism and reflection, mirrors the complex and changing reality in which art institutions evolve.

As a word of end,

“For my own personal life I most sincerely hope that somewhere, perhaps in the narrow changing field of art and museums, some islands will remain where visitors are not forced into the role of consumers and where I – and you if you want- can experience a real confrontation with real, that means really concerned and really significant, art” (Vaessen in Gubbels and Hemel, 1993)

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Appendixes

1 Organized data

1.1 Tate

1990-1992

p.8 para.6: IW. "Enjoyment, discovery tempered by a sense of loss, which we share" because they changed the display

p.9 para.3: IW. Provide fresh insights into the art of the past and to provide a frame for the art of the present.

p.8 para.4: ICW. Justification "we believe that the Gallery has demonstrated an energetic commitment (IW) to "improving understanding, enjoyment (IW) and access for all its visitors (CW)" emphasis on these two points.

p.9 para.5: CW. Paragraph about the role of the government. Idea that future generations should be able to enjoy the objects of the Tate.

p.8 para.2: CW. Prospect of deficit and plea for additional funding, "partial response by Government" which lead the Institution to do things (such as reducing the number of regional loans) "counter to the Trustees' philosophy of improved access to the national collections". Willingness to be a societal actor but the Government did not provide enough.

p.9 para.1: CW. Sharing the collection with regional audiences.

p.8 para.1: MCW. About the achievements, mention of the "continuing high level of interest in Tate Gallery Liverpool, including its challenging educational programs" and the "steady increase in private sector support for the Gallery". The two achievements are in the same sentence: developing educational programs would not be possible without resources. The trustees follow by expressing their gratitude for the gifts and donations.

p.8 para.4: MCW. To build this achievement: "We look forward to working with the Government (CW), the private sector and individuals"

p.10 para.2: MCW. About funding acquisitions, the Government says that "purchase grants have now fallen so far behind the market that there is no point in increasing them", the Museum says that doubling the actual grant would bring within reach important British paintings" (still on the argument that future generations should enjoy it). Market sets the price but government has to keep up.

p.8 para.4:MW. Emphasis on the fact that there has been a reorganization of the staff, an increase in efficiency and productivity.

p.8 para.7: MIW. The most immediate concern of the Trustees is to secure the resources required to support the program. "As a gallery which collects the art of our time (IW), there is a natural need for the institution to grow (MW)". Growth justified by artistic quality.

p.9 para.4: ICMW. Achieving these goals demands "careful planning (...) the support of the private sector (MW). But for a museum in public ownership (CW) it depends crucially on an enlightened (IW) response from the Government in establishing a climate in which imagination and endeavor can prosper (IW)" the three worlds are intricately: governmental and private supports are needed to enable the arts

1994-1996

p.9 para.2: CW. "Absolute necessity of maintaining all the core functions of the Gallery (...) for the huge numbers of present visitors and for future generations"

p.9 para.3: CW. Call for the government's acknowledgment of the place that galleries and museums hold in the national life and educational provision for future generations. "role within the community (...) places of shared civic and educational enjoyment"

p.10 para.1: CW. "allow the widest access to its expertise"

p.8 para.8: CW. Note about the further development in the Gallery's education work.

p.9 para.2: "the Tate's very success seems to cause it to be penalized in terms of public funding"

p.9 para.1: MCW. Despite the success of the Museum, the board "feels so dismayed by the cut in public expenditure commitment announced in November 95. Repeated promises that success in programme and in private sector funding will not be rewarded by cuts in public funding" The Government asked success and input from the private sector.

p.10 para.2: MCW. Request for a balanced partnership between the public (CW) and the private sector (MW)

p.8 para.5: MCW. "Highest number of visitors with a record annual attendance figure" this could encourage both the private sector and the government to fund the Museum.

p.8 para.1: MW. Challenge and opportunity. "the most successful exhibition in the Gallery's history (...) huge and unprecedented demand" the trustees notify that there has been a reduction in government grand-in-aid.

p.8 para.2: MW. "The success of the exhibition and its associated publishing sales has allowed Trustees to invest further..." despite the cut in government subsidies, the market fills the gap.

p.8 para.10: MW. Measurable impact of the Gallery: "at least 2% on the economy of Cornwall, and more than 5% on the non-seasonal businesses in the town the St Ives"

p.10 para.2: MIW. About the future "the Gallery currently has the energy, the vision and the drive to create (IW) (...) and this developments will create economic benefit for the nation (MW), but the primary purpose is to recognize the important part played by the visual arts in shaping our culture (...) that audiences here should have an opportunity to experience (IW)"

1998-2000

p.2 para.1: IW. New display "exciting and forward-looking vision of art"

p.3 para.2: CW. Organization of events to "encourage a very broad public to regard the two new galleries as their own"

p.4 para.4: CW. Paragraph about developing access. "This period ahead will pay even greater attention to the role that its four galleries can play in introducing a wider public (...) substantial funds will be required to extend opening hours, to establish greater access to the Tate store, to build wider research programmes, to create memorable but not necessarily sponsorable exhibitions of all periods (!) and to find new ways of offering educational programmes at the Tate" Important note about making "unsponsorable" exhibitions.

p.5 para.1: CW. Idea of long-term public benefit.

p.3 para.3: MCW. Reorganization of the organization. Improvement of the culture of work at Tate, create development opportunities for individual members of staff (MW) and acknowledge the contribution that everyone can make to the change process (CW)

p.1 para.3: MCW. The additional funds "make it possible to preserve and extend free entry (...), to develop widening access to all Tate galleries" (CW) additional funds come from the additional investment of public funds and an increased earned income and private sector support (MW)

p.1 para.4: MCW. The two worlds walk hand in hand in the Museum's rhetoric: the new café, bookshop AND extended educational facilities

p.1 para.2: MW. Recent and successful changes "tested Tate's project management capacities and its ability to raise funds"

p.2 para.4: MW. A whole section about fundraising, relatively in the beginning of the report.

p.4 para.1: MW. Paragraph dedicated to the performance of the restaurant, shops and publishing activities of the Tate.

p.2 para.3: MIW. Launch of Tate Modern "brilliant success". The public showed "infectious delight" (IW) and enthusiasm, notably for the Turbine Hall exhibition, specially sponsored by Unilever. One million visitors in the first six weeks (MW). Impressive figure. Idea of commercial and artistic success.

p.6 para.2: MIW. Inspiring (IW) leadership (MW) of one chairman.

2000-2002

p.7 para.2: IW. "The displays (...) provoked controversy but also delight, and the building itself has already become a much-loved landmark"

p.10 para.2: CW. Mention of tours and special services for disabled visitors; notably tours created for visually impaired people.

p.8 para.3: MCW. About the website, it emerged as an important means of making Tate "accessible to those who cannot visit as well as of encouraging visits (CW)"; the website is supported by BT, the Heritage Lottery Fund, the New Opportunities Fund and BTopenworld. The list of private sponsors underlines what the Tate would not be able to do without. The next paragraph mentions the fact that the reluctance of the Government to increase funds available for acquisitions resulted in several significant lost opportunities.

p.6 para.2: MCW. Partnership scheme, one the one hand through its education program (CW) and through the fundraising activities, which forged an ever broader range of partnerships with business, charities and private supporters. Also, creation of a Tate American Fund (MW). Educational partnerships and more 'business-oriented' partnerships in the same paragraph.

p.6 para.7: MCW. The government announced of additional revenue support for Tate. These funds were used to preserve free entrance (CW). The next sentence concerns the fact that the Tate increased its own income thanks to private sector support, and emphasized the fact that "Tate is a leader among national museums in earning and gathering financial support for its activities" (MW). Rhetoric of competition where they are on the podium.

p.6 para.5: MW. "Tate has also turned its attention to serving its existing audience even better"

p.7 para.1: MW. Development of new sources of income, "both from new audiences and those already close to us". The audience is not seen in terms of outreach or diversity or free entrance but as a consumer, possibly enabling the Tate to earn more.

p.7 para.2: MW. The Tate Modern's extraordinary success is seen through the economic spillovers. "In spite of the economic downturn and reduction in tourism it nevertheless attracted close to four million visitors (...) it created 3000 jobs in London and brought £100 million per annum of economic benefit to the city"

p.8 para.2: MW. About an international programme of the collection, besides raising awareness of the collection, it "will also produce revenue".

p.6 para.6: MIW "the Center is the most recent symbol of the continuing generosity (IW) and support that Tate attracts (MW)". A blend of inspired and market world rhetoric: symbols and generosity but also attraction in the sense of power legitimization.

p.9 para.2: MIW. Expression of "enormous gratitude for the individuals who supported the Tate (...) of particular note is (...) the staging of spectacular opening events for both galleries (arguably IW)" then

later, note about the Founding Corporate Partners scheme and its ambitious target and an increase in Tate membership (MW).

2002-2004

p.2 para.2: IW. Importance of innovation

p.2 para.1: ICW. After the opening of the Tate Modern and Tate Britain, "to enlarge and find new audiences (CW). As well as adjusting to unprecedented change, we continue to develop and innovate (IW)" innovation and large audience constitute the start of the report

p.4 para.2: ICW. "However, access is about more than numbers, and over the last two years we have made a concerted effort to innovate (IW) and share, so that we can enrich the experience we offer (IW), serve our visitors better and enable more people (CW) to enjoy art (IW) and benefit from our programmes."

p.5 para.1: ICW. "The Collection is the centre of Tate and belongs to everyone – a universal asset (CW) that has unique meaning to each person who discovers it. A first encounter with a work of art can be a revelation (IW)"

p.4 para.1: CW. Development of the galleries to "display more of the national collection to ever broader audiences"

p.2 para.4: MW. The Tate can face the future thanks to "a restructured and reinvigorated senior management team"

p.2 para.5: MW. Note about the economic situation and the low government subsidies compared to other institutions of the same size. "We have worked very hard to supplement this funding with self-generated income and a National Audit Report of national museums showed that Tate earned twice as much as any other institution in 2002–03." the Tate's ability to gather funds shows its strength and resourcefulness, also the fact that private individuals contribute to it justifies its existence.

p.2 para.6: MW. The government abandoned funds for acquisitions. One priority: "to achieve a more stable financial position and to find ways to enhance our Collection, the root from which all our programmes grow." Private funds will lead a chain-reaction which will benefit the museum.

p.3 para.1: MIW. The achievements of the Tate thanks to "the extraordinary leadership and energy of Tate's Director": as for the Art Institute of Chicago, blend of the two qualities lead to success.

p.4 para.3: Popular success, ambiguous " Our exhibition programme has again produced major popular and critical successes."

p.2 para.3: Ambiguous "Tate is thriving, but of course success creates its own challenges."

2007

p.3 para.2: IW. Engage and inspire audiences, through the assets of the collection, the building and the staff.

p.5: a whole section about reaching audiences: CW; to reinforce the societal relevance of the institution.

para.2: detail about the programme and its outreach, for instance taking "high- profile exhibition to audiences in the north for the first time."

para.3: At Tate St Ives a focus on community initiatives

para.4: "to take Tate to a more international and diverse audience. The site continues to attract huge numbers of visitors (...) to ensure that we are reaching audiences"

para.5: "In other projects beyond our walls we seek to reach much smaller groups with special needs."

p.7 para.1: CW. Justification about public funding and private funds in uncertain economic environment: the funds "will enable us to totally transform the way we programme, the work we commission and display, and the way we welcome and engage our audiences in the 21st century."

p.7 para.2: MCW. Twist of the civic argument for the market argument? the master plan for Tate Britain is focused on improving visitors' amenities. Market-move? Customer satisfaction?

p.7 para.4: MW. "One of our key priorities over the last year has been to develop management and leadership skills within the organization to help foster future talent" entrepreneurial spirit

p.3 para.1: ICMW. About the clear vision of the Tate "We spoke of a programme that will embrace new voices and ideas (IW), welcome new audiences (CW) and make full use of new technology." I find the entrepreneurial idea in the "This Report explains how we are beginning to turn our vision into a reality (MW)". Tool to achieve IW and CW.

2008

p.3 para.1: IW. "Art challenges us to think again and is a force for reflection, growth and change."

p.3 para.3: IW. The evolution of the collection is due to the vision and extraordinary generosity of artists, etc.

p.3 para.3: ICW. "Tate promotes discussion about art and ideas (IW). We want to engage with audiences in our galleries, but also beyond: we do this through community and educational programmes (CW) and, increasingly, the innovative (IW) use of partnerships and new media." The artistic is put in perspective with the public.

p.7 para.2: ICW. Working with the audience in order to amaze them and create a debate; "Each of these exhibitions surprised audiences and sparked lively debate about art and ideas today."

p.3 para.2: CW. The focus on the research in order to understand the collection better is emphasized by the positive spillovers on the programme by “adding to the depth and range of information available to our audiences.

p.3 para.2: MCW. “We are committed to extending public engagement (CW) with the visual arts and aim to become more collaborative, inclusive, open, global and entrepreneurial in the way we work (MW). We also seek to stimulate discussion with – and among – our audiences (CW).” The future developments are seen in the light of audience engagement and entrepreneurial development, integrated.

p.3 para.1: MCW. Public fundraising campaign in order to acquire a painting. The public chose it by demonstrating their willingness to pay, legitimizing this acquisition.

p.3 para.5: MCW. A success is seen in relation with the audience: “A successful programme (MW) of exhibitions across the four galleries drew interest from a wide range of audiences (CW)”

p.7 para.3: MCW. The economic development of the Museum is fostered and due to public engagement, one is a reaction to the other: “Public engagement with the visual arts continues to grow and makes welcome demands on our programme (...) our capital development plans aim to address this.”

p.7 para.4: MW. Same stress: “Raising funds in an uncertain economic environment is a challenge. But we believe that we must continue to change and develop to meet audience expectations.” The Museum responds to the public. Marketing way of thinking, activities being funded, developed and shaped accordingly to the audience. Economic development and audience are interrelated.

p.7 para.5: MW. Development of the Tate in parallel with ‘regeneration for the area’ and possible economic/social spillovers (CW)?

2011

p.6 para.2: IW. “Heritage is the culture of the past, and through our creative response to it, we create the culture of the present, which in turn will become the heritage of the future.” Focused.

p.4 para.1: ICW. Start of the intro by mentioning the creation of a platform where a diverse audience “all questioning, inquiring and creative (IW). They are part of a community (CW) that explores artists’ ideas.”

p.4 para.3: ICW. The Tate defines its mission as a service to the public, to promote the understanding and enjoyment of art (IW)

p.4 para.4: ICW. Building from the belief that art is a conversation between values and ideas, artists and movements (IW), Tate wants to open up this conversation to as many people as possible. “It is the responsibility that comes with building and protecting the nation’s collection (CW) and giving as many as possible the chance to experience it (IW).”

p.4 para.5: ICW. Same discourse. “Exploring what art (IW) means in society (CW)”. Also, willingness to reach different ears and audiences.

p.4 para.2: CW. The collecting strategy of the Museum is civic grounded “Tate continues to collect and care for on behalf of the nation, ensuring that it is accessible today and will remain so for future generations.”

p.7 para.2: CW. “Tate’s expertise belongs to the nation and we are committed to sharing it.”

p.6 para.2: MCW. “With funds successfully raised, the Tate Britain Millbank Project will see the renovation of the public spaces” same dynamics.

p.6 para.3: MCW. Developing the organization and building partnerships yes but which enable learning progress.

p.6 para.1: MIW. Longstanding ambition to open new spaces. The market argument is never mentioned on its own, always used to support a civic or artistic mission: there is no mention of side-activities in the fore-word of the report.

p.7 para.2: MIW. Important paragraph where the Institution’s success is put in perspective with the crisis. Private donations are thanked and justified with an inspired world conception. The money contributes to the greater good “Their commitment is testimony to the cause that Tate represents: championing the importance of the visual arts. Alongside the understanding that the arts provide, it is important not to underestimate the enjoyment that they give, especially in difficult times.” Moreover, each side-service, such as the products in the shop or the coffee in the café (related to commercialization) helps to “encourage people to connect with the art it holds and shows.” Once again the market is never used on its own but as a combination.

p.7 para.2: ICMW. Again, they justify their collaboration with external partners by the opportunities it offers to the public. Moreover here, idea of cultural democracy “collaboration gives our public in the galleries and online the chance to enjoy modern and contemporary art from around the world and experience the different viewpoints that it represents.”

2013

p.4 para.3: ICW. Intricacy of the two worlds “Paintings conservator (...) have applied their talents and dedication to ensure that this important work can once again be enjoyed by the millions who visit Tate’s galleries every year.”

p.3 para.1: CW. The painting will be displayed in several regions in England (// democratization) and will be supported by educational programmes.

p.4 para.2: CW. Idea of cultural democracy “featured works from beyond the canon of European and North American art (...) the diversity that will characterize the new building”

p.4 para.4: CW. “Tate is proud to serve the nation as a whole, not just the capital (...) but also a model of how to integrate a new institution into an existing community.”

p.3 para.2: MCW. “We have a public duty to care for and maintain the collection, provide access and education to all those who desire it, and to engage in cultural diplomacy on behalf of the United Kingdom. We do that with pride, but rely increasingly on private money to fulfill our public duties (MW) (...) Tate is one of the most efficient of the national museums and galleries, costing the public purse just £4.17 per visitor (CW). We now rely more heavily on the generosity of private donors to implement our long-term plans, and those donors and corporations sponsor our day-to-day operations (MW).” The Museum, in order to pursue its public duty, must rely more on private sponsors and extend its influence in the market sphere, which has positive spillovers on the public.

p.3 para.2: MW. Emphasis on the funds gathered through private means and the impact “without their unstinting support, we would be unable to do those things which are documented in this report.” Without it, inability to perform.

p.4 para.1: ICMW. “The social, educational and artistic spaces of the new Tate Britain are achievements of private philanthropy, testament to the innate generosity of mankind.” Once again, the social and artistic activities of the Tate would not exist without private funding. Intricacy of the three worlds which hold hands.

p.3 para.1: ICMW. Private donations have enabled the Museum to purchase a painting which will “remain in the UK and accessible to people across the country (IW). Art enriches the lives of individuals (IW), communities and nations (CW)”. Without the private support, they would have not been able to add civic and artistic value.

1.2 MACM

1990

p.9 para.3: ICW. CW (“accessibility of a more diverse audience”) and IW (museum will rise again, ‘vital and creative’). In this case, some reasons, including a more diverse audience, will lead to the museum’s creative and vital development.

p.10 para.4: CW (“museum takes great care of its obligations related to its mission and as being part of a public organ”)

CW (the museum, during its move, will close its door to the public as less as possible; request from the government)

p.11 para.3: CW (“the museum is aware of the difficult socio-economical climate and its pressure on the population. (...) we would like to offer to Montreal this new museum of contemporary art”). Moving the museum to a new place was scheduled a long time ago, but the government, due to the crisis, is not fulfilling its financial obligations towards the museum, that needs funds. CW argument to show understanding/empathize to the population’s economic struggle. The museum addresses the audience.

p.11 para.4: CW. Improvement of the educational services offered to the public. Creation of a new department dedicated to this task.

p.11 para.5: CW. Mention of the syndicate of employees. Importance of the workers' rights.

p.11 para.1: MW ("to be museum director or employee, one needs to be optimistic, persistent and have a certain taste for the risk"). While insecurity is a notion both used in the IW and the MW, I decide to classify this argument in the MW, because it denotes an entrepreneurial spirit.

p.14 para.1: MW. Research about exclusive products for the Museum shop started and "look promising"

p.14 para.2: MW. List of some challenges "which will mobilize the energy of the director and his team" for the next year, and one of the biggest challenges will be the success of its financing campaign. Besides the emphasis, it is significant that, looking to the future, the museum speaks of its finances and practical matters related to the relocation, rather than other things.

1993

p.5 para.6: IW. Importance of opening itself to the world and the Quebecois society: openness and welcoming attitude.

p.5 para.3: ICW. "Being a public service dedicated to education" and "our role comprises exploration, observation, (...) contemplation".

Emphasis on both being excellent and broadening the accessibility of the institution.

p.4 para.1: MCW. "This year has achieved a success of esteem and a high audience (...) and this success was recognized", and this mirrors "one of the missions of the museum, which is to make the institution united with the public". Followed by an announcement that Wednesday nights are still free. Success walking hand in hand with fulfilling its responsibilities towards an audience.

p.5 para.5: MCW. The new location brought a more numerous and diverse (CW) clientele (MW) than the museum used to have.

p.4 para.3: ICMW. The museum takes care of the public (CW), is creative and engaged in all its projects (IW). "It is therefore not surprising that these 2 commitments lead to an exceptional growth (MW) (...) which could be implemented thanks to employees and the audience". We see here a blend of three arguments, all intricate, with the three orders of worths achieved: creation of economic value (MW), inspiration and creation valued (IW) and the idea of a collective welfare ("united with the public") (CW)

The rest of the paragraph leaves out 'clientele' for the word 'public' (CW) and also makes use of IW argument (ICW). By reflecting the human experience (IW), it aims at creating (IW) a feeling of belonging and insists on the democratization of an evolving society (CW).

1996

p.7 para.3: IW. Programming aims at provoking emotions and discoveries.

p.6 para.2: IW. "Aesthetic (...), vitality of contemporary art (...) artists who deeply influenced an era"

p.7 para.7: IW. "Inside the walls of the museum, the risk of creation"

p.7 para.4: CW. The director makes a parallel between the work of an artist who sought to democratize contemporary art and make it accessible to the largest amount of people possible; and the high audience numbers of the exhibition of this artist.

p.7 para.9: MCW. Mixture of CW arguments ("reinforcement of services offered to the public with the creation of workshops and tour guides"), MCW arguments ("the creation of these workshops enables economic spillovers and jobs creation") and MW arguments ("We had 15 000 visitors at the Mediatheque, which constitutes a great performance")

p.7 para.1: MW. The text starts by a paragraph only dedicated to MW justifications. It goes about performance, being efficient in its management, increasing the satisfaction of the visitor, increasing efficiency of the resources.

p.7 para.2: MW. The museum declares it took the turn of a more commercial approach. While using it as a tool to sustain the museum's activities, "it will be used as a dynamic and stimulating approach with which we can better answer the expectations of our customers"

p.6 para.3 : MIW. Success of the organization is explained by two factors: administrative (it refers to the economies) and artistic choices. Case of compromise.

p.6 para.1: ICMW. The paragraph starts by "We are proud of the museum's performance". The justification of the museum's performance (MW) is embedded in the ongoing audience frequentation (CW) "the frequentation of the museums comes from 3 sets of activities. Each of these activities are promoted by campaigns (MW) where imagination (IW) is 'being taken advantage of' (mise à profit) (MW) and led to awaited results (MW). In this case, the inspired world contributes (is instrumentalized?) to the success (MW) and audience outreach (CW)

1999

p.9 para.1: IW ("innovative presentations (...) first exhibition to present this type of lecture (...) far from being a traditional summarize, the exhibition presented an exploration of the new ways traced by artists nowadays"). Emphasis on the innovative and creative curation of the museum.

p.10 para.4: CW. Creation of a website to host archives of the collection, for educational purposes (schools and the public) and is free of access.

p.11 para.3: CW. Creation of nomadic exhibition to reach a broader audience from different backgrounds in order to sensitize a new audience to contemporary art.

p.13 para.3: CW. Announcement that the museum went on with its democratizing mission.

p.8 para.2.1: MCW. Some programs are created in order to reach a larger 'clientele': the visitor is seen as a customer (MW); it also enables a more diverse visitor profile, from different horizons. There is here a sandwich of MW and CW arguments.

p.12 para.1: MCW. Workshops and tour guides are not free anymore but have sustained their popularity. One activity especially is combining "artistic education and a financial success"

p.13 para.1: MW. Launching the website answers a growing demand concerning the taste of the public. "To answer to the imperative of competition, it is essential to detain data about the profile and interests of the clientele" (MW). The website is a "precious marketing tool". Goal to reach out a new audience.

p.8 para.2.2: MIW. Creation of a website to "find its most interested clientele" (MW). Along with this comes the idea of "risk of the visual creation" (IW). The risk could be either market-oriented, either inspired-oriented. Because it is used with "visual creation", I decided to incorporate it in an inspired justification.

p.8 para.2.3: ICMW. New and upcoming parallel activities (rental of rooms for events to families and corporations) (MW) enables the museum to reach a diverse audience (CW) which would not have been sensitized to the issues of contemporary art otherwise (IW). The sentence would make me conclude that rental of rooms aims at finding new audiences and constitute a democratization strategy through the market.

2002

p.6 para.5: IW. "for residencies of artists, I must underline the joy (IW) we had to receive the Canadian artist (...) who charmed us (IW) by both the quality of his work and his kindness"

p.7 para.4: IW. "Numerous set of activities enabled thousands of contemporary art aficionados to develop their knowledge in this universe"

p.7 para.8: ICW. Iteration of the two missions of the museum, to make accessible to a large audience (CW) one of most extraordinary expressions of contemporary art (IW).

p.5 para.1: ICW. In the introduction, the president emphasizes the blossoming of the Museum and its dedication to art (IW). The existence of the museum enables art discoveries to the population of Montreal (CW)

p.6 para.1: ICW. The mission of the museum is to foster the discovery (IW) of contemporary art and its “wealth”, in its priceless sense (IW), to the largest audience possible (ICW).

p.6 para.2: ICW. The exhibition gathered artworks which marked the artistic expression of their time (IW). This exhibition was enabled by subventions from the government (CW). The rich artistic expression is the IW justification of displaying such an exhibition; and the subsidies from the minister justify its ‘civil’ legitimacy (CW).

p.6 para.4: ICW. More than 160 000 people from different backgrounds (CW) could admire the work of emerging artists (IW).

p.5 para.3: CW. Mention that the employees come from diverse horizons (representativeness!) and that they could take the pulse of the society and offer a quality programming. It is though unclear if the program follows their analysis of the pulse of society.

p.5 para.5: CW. The museum is a “democratic institution, deeply entangled in the Montreal civil society” Very strong emphasis on a museum mirroring the “civil society”

p.7 para.2: CW. “Facilitating the access of contemporary art was another aspect of the development of the museum (...). Thanks to the help of the Ministry, we could reach an audience which would otherwise not have had the chance to see so many striking works”

2005

p.9 para.2: IW. Building a new extension to the Museum (“exciting project to create a new aisle to the Museum”) in order to show the “wealth of its collection”. Vocabulary of the passion and the value of art.

p.9 para.7: IW. “I invite you to pay us a visit, because I am convinced that the rich and diverse universe of contemporary art will please you”

p.9 para.4: ICW. (opening a new aisle) “is an idea we cherish (IW) and is among the most important issues of the history of the Museum. Indeed, while we ardently (IW) want to make the collection, jewel of the Québécois heritage, more accessible (CW)...”

p.9 para.1: CW. Improvements of the Museum’s service to its population, and this led to higher visiting figures. “We think that we entered a new era concerning this educative and unique cultural tool”

p.9 para.5: CW. “The collection of the Museum is a public good and we need to assure its diffusion and interpretation to the largest number of visitors”

p.9 para.6: CW. Even if the project does not turn out, “we we go on researching, because it is essential to exhibit our collection on the public square”

p.7 para.9: CW. “The employees could enable the Museum to position the Museum as a democratic institution, opened and engaged in the Québécois society”

p.7 para.1: CW. Appointment of five new employees by the Government.

p.7 para.5: MW. One of the main exercise this year was restructuring the financial activities, “in order to increase the own income of the Museum, willingness to expand. The Museum shop is now handled by the foundation”

p.7 para.6: MW. “The museum prides itself on the quality of its programming” and this is argued in numbers, the success of the exhibition being quantified in numbers of visitors. The exhibition was extended. If the exhibition is good, the public will respond positively. Market dynamics?

2008

p.8 para.4: IW. This year enabled the “discovery and rediscovery” (IW) of contemporary art artists.

p.9 para.5: ICW. Concerning the Mediatheque, the opening hours were extended on the free Wednesdays to broaden the public (CW) (not increase but broaden) (...). The documentation aims at reaching the greatest number of researchers and contemporary art aficionados”. I would place this last quote in the IW, as it does not concern the audience in a large sense but specified to people passionate about art.

p.9 para.1: CW. The off-site programming could reach 80000 persons outside the museum.

p.8 para.2: MCW. Same report than the president: the performance of the Museum is underlined, and emphasized by comparing it to the last year (9% of increase) (MW). The argument is also civic, because it is mentioned that 30000 people could access the Museum for free on Wednesday nights (CW). If the first point was more financial (a lot of visitors bring revenues for the museum), the argument is tempered by a note about the free access. Moreover, the educational activities have interested visitors from a wide-range of age.

p.9 para.6: MCW. Still the same emphasis on reaching a larger audience (CW), and this could be helped thanks to the communication and marketing department, with a “targeted promotion” (MW)

p.9 para.3: MCW. “The multimedia creations reached a large public (CW) (...) and the Nocturnes enabled us to broaden our clientele (MW) and propose a new way of visiting the Museum”

p.7 para.1: MW. Exceptional financial assessment for this year, there is an “increase in 9% compared to last year. The museum experiences the best performance of its history in terms of audience figures”

p.7 para.2: MW. Numbers about the audience figures, for three big exhibitions. It is not certain if the success is commercial or in terms of audience reach or both. Nonetheless, I decided to classify it in MW because it follows the argument of the Museum performance and does not underline CW arguments such as in p.8 para.2.

p.8 para.1: MW. “The annual report can make a very positive yearly financial assessment”. The report starts with a financial statement.

p.9 para.4: ICMW. “Education is at the heart of our preoccupation (CW)... Our vast range of services aim to broaden our public (CW) and to make our clientele (MW) discover the art (IW).

2011

p.7 para.3: IW. The Museum proposed multimedia creations which were “innovative and unique in their style in Montreal”; “the presentation of this artwork enabled the visitor to take contact with the artistic possibilities of virtual reality technologies”.

p.6 para.7: IW. “The vitality and dynamism of the Museum could reflect the creative energy the artists’ work embody” “(...) spontaneity in the contemporary art discourse”

p.5 para.7: ICW. Speaking of the modernization of the Museum, justification: “in order to participate to the cultural development of the city”: cultural development both could be framed in the IW and IC.

p.6 para.1.1: ICW. By supporting the contemporary creation, the Museum “contributes to its vitality (IW) and to offer its access to the greatest number (CW)”

p.6 para.2.1: ICW. “More accessible and more visible (...) the Museum could present its collection and develop its educational service better” (CW). “Art is the product of a vision. It is a way to address essential issues, an attempt to change things, a means to help us achieve things. That is why the Museum is so important” (IW). “My foremost preoccupation is the responsibility of the Museum towards its public, so that it can benefit the collection” (CW)

p.9 para.2: ICW. “The interactive visits of the Museum and the mediation (...) escorts (CW) the visitors in their experience of contemporary art (IW); “Other educative programs are elaborated and offered (...) (CW) in order to propose an enriching discovery of contemporary art (IW)”

p.13 para.2: CW. “The Museum could position itself as a first-class cultural institution and could therefore contribute to the rise and well-being of all the collectivity”

p.7 para.1: CW. “The audience figure for the education department set a record. The Triennale attracted a young audience mostly composed by students from the secondary school”

p.11 para.2+p.12 para.1: CW. The Museum underlines its willingness to collaborate with syndicates and to make sure of the income equity.

p.12 para.3: CW. The Museum responds to the government’s action plan by stimulating the participation of all in Québec development.

p.10 para.2: MCW. Here, the distinction is made between audience in a democratization aim and audience in terms of clientele: “The event Triennale québécoise was not only a success in audience figures (in this context, CW) but also a success in terms of clientele development (MW).”

p.6 para.1.2: MW. Strongest MW paragraph of all the reports so far. “The museum reached the audience figures objectives, with an increase compared to last year”; “Comparing the Museum to other institutions of contemporary art in the world, the Museum is in excellent position and very competitive”; “the Museum is very active in social medias, in order to answer the needs of the young clientele (...) the

Museum created a mobile version of the website (...) the number of subscriptions kept on increasing”. If one paragraph makes one point, this paragraph has 3 MW justifications.

p.11 para.3: MW. The Museum develops its brand by creating a logo for its marketing campaign, “a corporative signature”

p.12 para.1: MIW. The Museum had to reduce its budget and therefore had to seek “private financing from different sources (...) to be able to sustain our activities”. Commercialization is here clear, and sort of forced “This has effects (...), and we need to demonstrate a lot of creativity (IW) in order to sustain the level of quality of the programming with less resources”

Note: Market YES but not their choice and combined with IW rhetoric.

p.13 para.1: ICMW. “I am glad to see with what enthusiasm (IW) dynamic actors (MW) of our society (CW) became important partners of the Museum in the course of this year (...) Our principal partner being Loto-Québec (...) and Hydro-Québec (MW) with whom we developed creative partnerships (IW) which impact on the visual art world and on the whole community (CW).

“Creative workshops (IW) offered (CW) by Hydro-Québec (MW) to scholar groups issued from defavorised neighborhoods (CW)”.

Note: Hydro-Québec and Loto-Québec are state-owned companies.

2013

p.5 para.1: IW. “The Museum keeps on surpassing itself”

p.6 para.3: IW. The Museum wants to work in a synergy spirit instead of competitive with sister institutions. “This formula enables the plurality of know-how, a strong artistic vision and a bigger influence for research and contemporary art creation”.

p.7 para.1: ICW. “The museum wants to be an incubator of ideas and reflection, a living space where aesthetic or intellectual realization is reached and celebrated (IW). It is smart, rigorous and opened to different forms of contemporary art, and aims at fostering the love and understanding of that type of art to a large audience (CW)”

p.7 para.2 : ICW. An exhibition enabled the meeting between the rich creations and a very large audience.

p.10 para.1: CW. The different activities of the educational department experienced a rise in visitors, thanks to the programming but also the government request to make the access free to some visitors.

p.14 para.14: CW. Once again, the Museum could hold on its missions (education, collection or diffusion) “for a public of all horizons”

p.4 para.4: CW. The president mentions the criticism that contemporary art is abstruse, and “less popular, only explanation to justify the lower audience figures than other Museums”. He says that he is convinced that the Museum has the possibility to be as popular as other Museums (...) “without

compromising quality and seriousness of the programming”. The claim is that the Museum must aim at being more popular: the contrary means a Museum which cannot ‘popularize’ its content or make it accessible, and it is seen as insulting. Once again, the audience figure is an argument at the boarder of the MW.

Note: Can audience figure reflect an educational program? Can a ticket reflect the Museum’s success in democratization?

p.4 para.1: MW. From the start, commercialization as a preoccupation “It is essential pour our survival, in a context of decreasing subsidies, that we develop more our own income.”

p.4 para.2: MW. “It is crucial to demonstrate the importance of supporting culture for enterprises, but we also need to show them what we offer them in return. We are working on this”. Strong compromise.

p.4 para.3: MW. “It is thanks to the own income gathered thanks to tickets and subscriptions that the Museum will survive”; “Increase in performance (...) astonishing progress in the number of subscriptions but still too shy for us”

p.4 para.6: MW. Goal to increase the own income percentage.

p.6 para.4: MW. An exhibition had a big success, “as much for the critique than the clientele (MW) of the Museum”

p.6 para.5: MW. The Museum building is going to be extended. Several justifications are used: more space to exhibit more artworks, open itself to the Square and increase its services to visitors. While increasing space for artworks is not exactly financial, the rest of the justifications are embedded in a market strategy: “the future Museum will be able to increase significantly its own income thanks to a higher audience and a new organization of its services (restaurants, shop and library).”

Commercialization.

p.4 para.5: ICMW. About public financing, the justifications are economic, civic and inspired: “The importance of culture as economic fuel does not need to be demonstrated anymore (MW). Not only does culture have direct economic spillovers (MW), but leads to a chain reaction (...) for instance, the rate of scholar failure drops when children enter in contact with culture (CW). The population (CW) is happier when feeding its soul and spirit (IW) and therefore society improves (CW)”. Integration of the three orders of worth.

1.3 Stedelijk museum

1990

p.2 para.4: MW. “The Museum has become a specialized firm” For instance, the surveillance team has been professionalized and a lot of sections have been automatized.

p.2 para.2-3: MIW. “The firm is the product of our artistic and scientific nature (IW)”, “The Stedelijk Museum produces and exports exhibitions (...) there is no standard product that we make, the curators

create it (IW), the art installations are made possible thanks to the exceptional knowledge, experience and inventiveness of the technicians”.

p.3 para.1: A lot of visitors justify the interest of the Municipality for the Museum.

1993

p.6 para.4: ICW. The Museum does not have to be popular; otherwise it would lose its position of serious and leading Museum: “Who comes inside deals with modern art, which can sometimes be difficult”. Popularity is seen as something possibly harming the Museum’s programming.

p.6 para.5: MCW. Because the level wants to be kept high, the Museum will go hard work on the educational department (CW) and public outreach will be developed thanks to the new Marketing and Communication department (MW) “the Museum (...) must be attractive to sponsors, tour operators and other groups (...) We will also strive to develop contracts with sponsors” (MW). However, the director emphasizes in the next paragraph that in no case will the Museum adapt itself to the market. The organization uses market tools until a certain extent.

p.7 para.1: MW. The director says that the museum, in order to be strong, must make investments along years in order to be a “modern firm”. He mentions the competition, namely the Rijksmuseum and the Van Gogh museum, which developed their finances to the point that they can afford one year deficit and earn more the next year “We will stay behind in our development (also commercial) if we do not also find such a solution”

p.7 para.2: MIW. “Finally I would like to thank all the employees for their exemplary input, in a firm (MW) where work must be done with love (IW), sometimes in impossible hours, and often with a lot of fantasy (IW)”

1995

p.6 para.2. IW. The Museum has to stay opened to the latest developments of contemporary art (idea of Avant-Garde)

p.6 para.2: IW. The fame and the quality of the Museum will be earned thanks to the imagination and vigor of the process.

p.6 para.2: CW. Prepare the public to these changes.

p.5-6 para.2: CW. Because of the orientation of the Stedelijk towards being a museum, some ‘sacrifices’ have to be done, for instance less time for research and more time building educative programs. Reorganization needed.

p.6 para.2: CW. Culture of debate on how to “musealize” the Stedelijk. Discussions with the Raadscommissie Cultuur.

p.6 para.2: MCW. The next step is to focus on a sustainable educational programming (CW) and strategic advertising (MW). The two actions will lead to the Museum's successful development.

1999

Para.6: IW. Mention of the fantasy and intelligence of the public.

Para.1 : CW. Success of the Museum underlined by first mentioning the audience, especially young visitors, half of them ranging from 20 to 34. Other CW note about the fact that the visitors could also find their way to the Bureau Amserdam.

Para.5: MCW? Culture of the debate: public discussion about a partnership with Audi about art sponsoring.

Para.6: Against MW conception. The art world requires an unhealthy competition of who shows what first, however the museum must aim at a deeper and more sustainable vision.

2002

Para.2: IW. Experimentations and dedication.

Para.3: ICW. About the former director: "this artistic face (IW) managed to make contemporary art accessible to a wide audience in the museum (CW)"

Para.1: MCW: the general manager of the Dutch Institute for cultural heritage urged the museum to focus on telling a story (IW) INSTEAD of engaging in "shallow marginal phenomena such as parties in museums" (MW). The response of the director is that they "were on their guard against the doom of the museum as a theme park, but in the same time did not wish to be recluse (MW) and wanted to be open to social change (CW)". The Museum's position is that commercialization (in this case, organizing parties for instance) enables them not to be recluse and open to social change (CW). Mixture of civic and market argument; where the market helps them achieving a relevance in society.

p.3 para.1: MW. Exhibition relatively successful. Not in terms of audience outreach but quantified.

Para.1: MIW. Long term ambitions of the Museum (...) "not only encompasses a vision (IW) of the Stedelijk's ambitions including the corresponding expansion, the possible privatization of the department and the organization's future management structure"

p.3 para.2: about the privatization: "it is no longer fitting that a museum of such international importance is entirely dependent on the municipality for its funding"

the Museum is less good than it used to be: 'communicative (CW) and vision (IW)-less'

Note: future of the Museum unclear and troubled year with funds and plans of renovation.

2005

Note: foreword emphasizing the help of the private sector (// commercialization) “In the meantime sponsoring for museums has become fully accepted and even essential for major projects and exhibitions” accepted and essential!

p.151 para.5: IW. Search to restore the Museum’s innovative character.

p.153 para.7: IW. The Museum regrets the death of a former director, and emphasizes his talents “De Wilde indefatigably placed the accent on the subjective experience of the artist in his approach to visual reality and underlined the role of the viewer to grasp that vision”

p.146 para.4: IW. The museum has begun to experiment (IW) with presentations of exhibitions.

p.147 para.4: MCW. The privatization (MW) is completed through a process of trade union consultation and the personnel agreement (CW).

p.154 para.2: MCW. About attracting a public, still ambiguity “This annual event (...) encouraged 42 museums to open their door to lure new segments (MW) of the public (CW)”

p.146 para.2: MIW “Under the motto that sales (MW) continue throughout the renovations”; “The exhibition program was revived (IW)... and this in turn attracted new sponsors eager to work with the Stedelijk (MW)”

p.147 para.5: MIW. Audi becomes a sponsor of the Museum “As a brand that embraces innovation and design, Audi is dedicated (IW) to supporting the Museum” “Audi will help towards financing the construction of the museum’s new wing, and the making of innovative (IW) design exhibitions”

p.154 para.1: MIW. About the renovation of the building, “A museum of this level is not only precious to the art-loving public (IW), it is also an invaluable resource, promoting tourism and the economy of Amsterdam (MW)”

2008

p.4 para.2: IW. “The creation of a wonderful, new, state-of-the-art Stedelijk Museum”

p.4 para.3: IW. “The move took only a fortnight thanks to the enormous dedication of so many members of the staff”

p.4 para.4: IW “Which brought to an end an extraordinary and outstanding period in the museum’s history”. Strong emphasis on its role of “platform for contemporary art” and inspired rhetoric.

p.66 para.1: IW. “Van Tuyl draws attention to the museum’s quest (IW) for a distinct identity and function” responding to the Minister of Culture about the Museum finding a meaningful position in society (CW), the director responds with a IW justification of the museum’s relevance “Art is about society, and museums are relevant simply because they reflect and present the latest developments in the art world”. Democratization is not an issue; society is encompassed because of the artworks

reflecting the world, which is a different thing. He also stresses out the “experiments” (IW) started by the Museum.

p.66 para.8: IW. The Stedelijk “creates a significant place for art that reflects on our society. Socially engaged, not because that is a political requisite or because it is what a director is looking for. It must always come from the artist, otherwise it is not authentic art”. Strong IW rhetoric. Once again, art is social in its content but nothing on the mediation or a diverse public.

p.69 para.1: IW. About the cultural diversity incentive prize, the director claims it is a waste of money “Ethnicity isn’t important, art is what matters, not social factors. And we have no intention of being politically correct”. We see here that, whether cultural diversity is meant in terms of the artists’ or audience’s ethnicity, “art is what matters”. Once again, art is at the core of the discourse. There is no compromise.

p.74 para.1: IW. The exhibition policy of the museum is to function “primarily as a platform for contemporary art”, as a springboard for artistic expression.

p.4 para.1.2: ICW. “An exciting (IW) and important part of the Stedelijk goes to town is the new website, designed as a modern, interactive platform. Now visitors can (...) give their comments and reactions (CW)”. Note of a culture of the debate?

p.73 para.10: ICW. A unique and creative (IW) educational project: eye-openers, “will create fresh ideas (IW) about attracting young people to museums during their free time (CW)”

p.73 para.16: ICW. “The Stedelijk took an inventive (IW) approach to exploring contemporary art, opening up new avenues and ways of presenting art and its interrelationship with today’s society (CW). These insights will certainly continue to inspire (IW) the museum in the future” Here, the justification is not that art mirrors the society so it is relevant, but the discourse is more about the art and its relationship (with an earlier mention of 1 million visitors) with society, which I hence classify as a CW justification.

p.74 para.14: ICW. Quite paradoxical statement. Against mega exhibitions, the director says that the emphasis of the museum is on “content, content, content (IW). And those shows also have a mass appeal”. Focus on creative expression which can attract a large pool of people.

p.73 para.5: CW. Mention of an educational program (first mention) in September

p.74 para.2: CW. Note about the willingness of the museum to maintain its public (CW) presence, and creation of a place for “visitors (...) to share ideas and making suggestions for the museum” culture of the debate.

p.66 para.3: MW. “Clocking up over 124000 visitors it was a true box-office block-buster that gathered considerable enthusiastic media coverage” visitors are more seen in terms of block buster affluence than a success in democratization.

MW. The director “firstly wants to make sure that the Stedelijk is a household name in Holland, attracting at least 600000 visitors annually with at least one blockbuster a year”. Preoccupations about the popularity of the museum. Household name refers to a certain “brand awareness”.

p.4 para.1.1: MIW. About the closing of the museum, “a moment that was seized (MW) to tour the city and meet its residents (...) which pursued a dual strategy (MW)”. When explaining the strategy (=the tool), IW arguments arise: “it is about discovering what moves the people of Amsterdam”

p.74 para.4: Anti-CW. About the acquisition fund, the director claims that the museum should be able to decide “without a bureaucratic layer higher in the hierarchy” Neglect of the bureaucracy, anti-civic according to the framework.

2011

p.2 para.2.2: IW. “The public finally got to see beloved works (IW)(...) as well as other key masterpieces (IW) (...) For many visitors, reuniting with their favorites was an emotional experience (IW)”

p.2 para.10: IW. “The Stedelijk is enthusiastically (IW) preparing (...) incisive and pioneering (IW) exhibitions of work by contemporary artists (...) We eagerly anticipate the many inspiring (IW) encounters to come.”

p.2 para.3: IW. “In a richly varied program (...) but also featured provocative(IW) reconstructions of past exhibitions that are still influential today”

p.3 para.5: ICW. The Museum, besides exhibiting art, “provided a space in which to talk about art and society (CW) where people met kindred spirits (IW) and forged new connections.”. Once again, we see a culture of debate, feature of the CW. The superposition of the Museum’s tasks, namely the art in itself and art in the society makes the argument ICW.

p.2 para.1.2: CW? “Most gratifying, however, is the certainty that the new Stedelijk Museum will be opening its doors to the public in September 2012.” Giving back the Museum to the public. Not necessarily means a wider audience, could also mean its faithful audience.

p.2 para.2.1: MCW. “The year 2011 was also remarkably productive (MW)” Could also be an industrial world argument. The fact that activities of the Museum were ‘productive’ is good, and this is coupled to the fact they had “popular appeal”. The success is two-fold.

p.2 para.8: MCW. Blend of two worlds in one paragraph. “One of the Stedelijk’s main missions is to forge bridges between art and the general public. (CW)” The educational program was funded, amongst others thanks to Rabobank, which “affiliated itself with the Stedelijk Museum as our primary sponsor.” Once again an inclusion of the market is legit because it helps funding educational programs, in a sort of “one makes the other acceptable” justification.

p.3 para.3: MCW. The board, describing its tasks: it speaks with the local government (CW) and takes steps to “strengthen ties with companies and private individuals” (MW). This argument is surrounded by CW points, the following argument being that the board has a culture of debates (//democracy).

p.3 para.8: MCW. Emphasis on the museum's financial future (MW), legitimized by a CW argument: "The Board feels a sense of responsibility toward all those who have contributed so much – in gifts, time and energy, and as taxpayers –" acknowledgment of the citizen's contribution (CW).

p.3 para.10: MW. "We have a superb museum that possesses a renowned collection and is led by an ambitious staff (MW), in a city that shares this ambition (MW) and helps to fulfill it." Entrepreneurial spirit.

p.3 para.7: MIW. Two main discussions are led: "detailed discussions about matters such as artistic vision (IW), organizational structure, personnel policy, finances, and policy on fundraising, communication, and marketing", the last part reflecting MW preoccupations.

p. 2 para.1.1: MIW. The past year was a turbulent (IW) and productive one (MW). Paragraph is mainly about claiming sane financials after troubled times; and this enabled the inauguration of the "innovative, futuristic facade of the new building".

p.2 para.4: ICMW. "The public was delighted (IW) to see the Stedelijk back (...). Temporary Stedelijk 2 attracted (MW/IW?) more than 131,000 visitors in less than eight months. Such figures prove (MW) how greatly the museum had been missed (IW) during its long hiatus." Missing the Museum is an IW argument. Attracting a large public can be both a CW point (// popular appeal) and MW (commercial success). I relate it also to the MW because figures and quantification are used as justification.

2013

p.4 para.1: IW. About reopening the Museum: "there is only one word to describe it: exhilarating"

p.4 para.2.1: IW. "I was deeply touched by the response of so many people who expressed their delight at having the Stedelijk Museum back in their lives."

p.8 para.4: IW. Speaking of Ann Goldstein "Her art-centered vision, her passion for the artists, and her belief in the museum as a lively institution has enriched the Stedelijk."

p.6 para.3: IW. "We thank Ann Goldstein for her vision and dedication"

p.6 para.4: ICW. "We look forward with renewed energy (IW) to inspiring (IW) and actively involving our publics in our mission (CW): advocacy for the vital role played by artists, art, and culture (IW) in society (CW)."

p.5 para.1: CW. "One of the Stedelijk's main mandates is education, and the museum has an ongoing commitment to developing new educational initiatives." The justification is backed up by numbers, of visitors and of educational programs. To what extent is it a MW argument?

p.6 para.1: MCW. "The museum has been able to connect with new audiences (CW) thanks to the ambitious (MW) Public Program (CW)"

p.4 para.1: MCW. "To reach out to the widest possible audience, we mounted both historical surveys of classic modern art (MW) and presentations of work by younger generations of artists." We see here that the programming is influenced by the possible success of a given exhibition, the classic modern art probably reaching a wide audience, which balances the lower visitor figures of younger artists' exhibitions. Once more, 'widest' audience is ambiguous, visitor or consumer? But democratizing also means benefiting the largest audience, so I will consider this part as a blend of civic and market world's justifications.

p.5 para.1: MCW. Combination of two arguments where the MW enables the CW: "In pursuit of our ambition (MW) to be a museum that is open and accessible to all (CW), we stepped up our investment in Marketing and Development (MW). We focused on optimizing our website and intensifying our social media efforts (MW)"

p.4 para.3: MW. "The museum also brought 2013 to a close on a positive financial note. With the achievements of the last twelve months, 2013 was not only a momentous year, but the greatest in the history of the Stedelijk Museum." Financial success is part of the success in the institution's justification.

p.4 para.2: MW. "Topping the year's high points was our biggest box-office success and most important exhibition"; "the Stedelijk Museum once again ranks among the world's leading art institutions." The Museum positions itself among the "winners"

p.4 para.1: MW. Underlines the importance of the sponsors.

p.5 para.1: MW. This paragraph denotes an increase in customer-care: "The organization dedicated its efforts to optimizing the new environment and focusing on visitor welfare. A number of improvements were made to the entrance area in an effort to regulate visitor flows."

p.7 para.3: MW. Ambiguous. After having underlined the "success" of the reopening, "Greeted with equal enthusiasm was our program of exhibitions that attracted 700,000 people, making 2013 a record year for visitor attendance." The fact that there is no other occurrence of CW arguments in this report makes me go for MW, visitor attendance being a commercial success in this context.

p.7 para.5: MW. "One of the main priorities in 2013 was to keep operating expenses and revenue in alignment. In this regard, we gave special attention to the ambitious (MW) Malevich exhibition which posed a considerable budgetary challenge, and achieved excellent results (MW)." Idea of risk and achievement.

p.7 para.9: MW. Commercialization. "in the interests of boosting the museum's self-generated revenue, the Supervisory Board mobilized its network in support of the activities of the Development Department."
"

p.8 para.2: MW. Charter and regulations, "explaining why the museum deviates from them"; "The museum also operates and actively applies a risk management and risk control system." Strong emphasis on control to make the Museum a sane organization.

p.8 para.6: MW. "Special attention was given to sound business management and creating an efficient organizational structure for the museum."

p.4 para.2.2: MIW. "Our commitment to providing a great visitor experience (IW) was richly rewarded with record-level attendance. With 700,000 visitors, 2013 was the most successful year in the museum's history". Once again, the attendance rate poses a problem of ambiguity, is the argument in the CW or MW? However, I will here consider that being successful is market world rhetoric (besides the lexical field belonging to the market).

1. 4 Art Institute Chicago

1990

Para.2: ICW. Justifying the relevance and the "potential" of the Museum "the centrality of art and personal expression to a free society has been repeatedly demonstrated"

Para.3: CW. Opening after renovation of the modern art gallery, "again available to the public"

Para.6: CW. Last paragraph on the appointment of a new director for the educational department who will be "essential in meeting the challenges of the nineties": the education is seen as a pillar.

CW. Vague idea of cultural democracy "Important works in virtually every medium and spanning much of the history of art"

Para.1: MW. Opening of the report by an emphasis on the effort to reduce operating costs.

Para.3: ICMW. "Long range planning continues to offer practical and visionary shape (IW) for our future. Innovative projects (IW) include exciting educational outreach programs (CW) (...) and the development of new satellite retail shops (MW)". We see that the Museum's creativeness is first exemplified through education (CW); but also how to gather private fund. Moreover, the future is considered through IW and MW action.

1993

Para.4: IW. The audience was given the opportunity to "expand their horizons and enjoy extraordinary works of art"

Para.1: CW. First paragraph dedicated to the educational challenge "the museum is involved in an extensive outreach effort to increase audiences, particularly members of the African American community and young families"

Para.5: CW. Justifying important contributions from donors by placement of reproductions of the museum in all the public elementary and middle schools of Chicago.

Para.2: CW. "Education and scholarship are central to our purpose"

Para.6: MCW. Again emphasis on education and "how the museum could best meet the needs of its changing audience" market approach will help realizing the audience outreach; next to the question "of what an art museum can and should provide in our society".

Para.1: MW. Emphasis on the entrepreneurial side of the museum. Even though the pace of activity or growth has slackened, the institute wants to reassure (its stakeholders): if there was no growth, it is because the institute worked on reducing costs. Furthermore, there is no question about the "strength of its foundations and the promise of its future" (//entrepreneurship)

Para.6: MIW. Blend of IW and MW, the two reinforcing each other: outstanding leadership (MW) and dedication of all the members of the institute provide with a foundation (MW) and a vision (IW) for the years to come. The Institute looks forward to growth (MW) and hope the visitors will "avail of the many experiences of art offered"

Para.6: ICMW. The success of the institution will be to find a balance between the "competing, aesthetic, scholarly, social and political demands" (what about the use of the term 'demand' and 'success'?)

1996

Para.1: ICW. The year was outstanding due to the cultural offerings and the educational outreach, the Chairman adds also that the Institute inspired him.

Para.2: CW. Stress on the development of programs to engage visitors in "our ever-widening family"

Para.5: CW. Again mention of the pursuit of outreach efforts.

Para.1: CW. Expansion of the educational program and a growing involvement with the public school system and the African-American community.

Para.5: MW. Last paragraph dedicated to the financial stability, thanks, among other things, to the large audience and membership figures. The museum "with a solid financial foundation" will enable the board to reassess the mission and the needs coming for the twenty first century.

Para.1: ICMW. The institution, besides contributing to the city's economic well-being (MW), also contributes to its cultural (IW) an educational resources and its sense of civic identity (CW). The three arguments make the Institute a relevant place. The market is not used on its own.

1999

Para.1: ICW. The institution as a major cultural (IW) and educational (IW) force.

Para.2: CW. Provide the public with excellent exhibitions and educational programs, reaching wider and more diverse audience.

Para.5: CW. Description of educational programs "attended by families and participants from citywide organizations in underserved communities"

Para.3: CW. "Never had the need for museums to demonstrate their commitment to ethical and professional practices and their operation in the public interest (CW) been more clear" CW justification "more important than never" according to the director.

Para.6: CW. Again, emphasis. Refers a lot to democratization, in a plurality of senses: "time to review the museum's mission and reaffirm our commitment to the goal of striving for diversity within our governance and staff, our audience, and our permanent collections. As a museum, we must aspire to the inclusive impulse at the heart of the American identity"

Para.7: MW. Last paragraph emphasizing the finances: because the institute aims at growing, necessity to ensure financial strength, and the "Art Institute family will commit itself to this goal". Condition to the Institution's success, after a report based mainly on CW justifications.

2002

p.1 para.2: IW. Vision is a key in the Art Institute's pursuit of excellence.

p.2 para.1: ICW. Talking about the accomplishment of a board and using a staircase as a metaphor "Many of our visitors of all generations have entered (CW) and enjoyed this museum (IW)" enjoyment and democratic participation.

p.1 para.2: ICW. About the main commitment "the exchange of ideas and works of art (IW) that is one of the hallmarks of an open society (CW) and its corollary values of tolerance, curiosity and freedom of expression"

p.2 para.2: ICW. Talking about this board's strength, the chairman wishes to recognize especially the "singular dedication (IW) of the Woman's board to developing and sustaining educational programs". Out of the many contributions, the educational focus is the one emphasized.

p.2 para.3: MW. The Museum had a good fiscal year.

p.1 para.1: MW. Word about the finances and the three-year cost-reduction plan. "The staff will be setting priorities to assure that we maintain the excellence of our core programs"

p.2 para.4: MIW. The Museum would not be able to make it without the extraordinary help and philanthropic support (IW) of the private donators. While in the other report, the tax change was notified (which encouraged donors to give), here it is their IW qualities which are emphasized.

p.2 para.5: MIW. The two qualities are underlined: "balanced sensitive (IW) leadership (MW)"

2005

p.1 para.3: IW. "The exciting new installation provides a fresh look at many of our best-loved works"

p.2 para.1: IW. Long paragraph about the artistic relevance of the Museum (against ignorance, superstition and prejudice" and the installations "emphasize the full range of the beauty and cultural significance of our collections."

p.2 para.1: MW. "The School of the Art Institute has also enjoyed great success over the last year (...) sustained solid growth in student enrollment. In addition, the School posted strong financial results, achieving its goal of a breakeven operating position two years ahead of our initial expectations."

p.2 para.3: MW. "As you will see in the Treasurer's report, the financial results for the year were extremely favorable. The Art Institute finished the year with an operating surplus of \$3.5 million, our best financial result since fiscal year 2002."

p.2 para.4: MW. This paragraph echoes the latter "The Art Institute continues to benefit from an extraordinary level of philanthropic support for the School and the museum." This argument follows the positive financial results. Encouragements to donate because the Art Institute is successful.

p.1 para.2: MW. The directors talks about developing the potential of the Museum and move forward with the expansion.

p.1 para.3: MW. Justifying the creation of a bridge "an attraction for the public, who upon arrival at the museum by way of the bridge could choose between an eating facility and a sculpture terrace with views back on to the park" Implementation of a strategy to attract more audience (via a beautiful eating facility); the aim being to attract people in the Museum itself after.

p.1 para.4: MIW. About the construction of a bridge "will provide an important practical and symbolic link with the extraordinarily art-centered environment of Millennium Park, inviting visitors on either side to enjoy the full measure of cultural offerings in a revitalized lakefront area." Cultural offerings and enjoyment are a mixture of market and inspired world rhetoric. Besides enhancing this artistic area (IW), the bridge will contribute to the revitalization of the lakefront (MW).

p.2 para.4: MIW. "Our ambitious plans (MW) for the School and the museum are assured of success as a result of more than a century-long tradition of leadership and extraordinary philanthropic support (IW)". This last paragraph reflects the entrepreneurial spirit which enables the Institute to achieve its "ambitious plans" (MW), along with the extraordinary support of its stakeholders. Later, he qualifies the support as tremendous and devoted (IW).

p.1 para.2: ICMW. The director, about the past year "had an exciting (IW) and productive (MW) first year. With his leadership and guidance (...) we renewed the museum's commitment to scholarship (CW), exhibitions, and educational programming of the highest quality (CW)". Exciting and productive are the two words describing the past year. The IW and MW come together to realize the museums' commitment, the first one being quoted is scholarship, also educational programming, stressing the social relevance of the Museum.

2006

p.1 para.4: IW. "Once again I am delighted to report that we have many exciting acquisitions (...) an extraordinary drawing (...) a rare and delightful work"

p.1 para.1: CW. The museum is seen as a civic institution, which "civilizes the expanding population of the modern, immigrant city. In turn, these recent arrivals to our city brought new and diverse cultural forms from their native lands." Cultural democracy and idea that art elevates

p.1 para.2: CW. A new wing will be opened thanks to the civic spirit of a group of donators. The social contribution is the reason behind the donation.

p.1 para.2: CW. This paragraph is a long enumeration of some acquisitions, and they reflect diversity (// cultural democracy + encyclopedic aim of the Museum)

p.2 para.3: CW. Emphasis on the public mission of the museum and employees' task to "tirelessly introduce our public to their collections"

p.2 para.6: MW. Last paragraph about the "solid financial performance."

p.2 para.3: MIW. The director of the fundraising campaign could achieve results thanks to its "invaluable leadership": while leadership is a market attribute, invaluable refers to an inspired justification (market justifications, as in B&T's framework, use prices as standard evaluation).

p.1 para.1: MIW. Intricacy of market and inspired worlds rhetoric: "an extraordinary period of dynamism, optimism, and growth at the Art Institute."

p.1 para.2: MIW. The richness of Chicago is a blend of thriving commerce and diverse industry, and museums. The duality of 'worth' is here encapsulated.

p.2 para.4: ICMW. "A museum like the Art Institute is essentially a collaboration among private donors, dedicated employees (IW), and an eager public (CW). And nowhere in the world is there a more productive (MW) such collaboration than here at the Art Institute." The Institute's productiveness is due to the dedication of its employees and the input of the public. The three worlds intersect.

2008

p.2 para.1: ICW. The programs of the Institute "emphasized the richness (IW) and diversity (CW) of artistic responses to life in the U.S. In this respect, the Art Institute is a place where one experiences (IW)". Diversity is here related to a notion of representativeness, close to a civic world ideal.

p.2 para.2: ICW. Exemplifying the matter with an example of the program: "The depth and liveliness (IW) of the presentations and conversation, and the size and engagement of the audience (CW)"

p.3 para.4: ICW. Blend of two arguments, for a better civic society and preservation of artistic legacy "The range of just these five objects suggests the diversity and vitality of our collections, and the promise

of museums like the Art Institute to preserve for the public representative examples of the world's artistic legacy for the promotion of inquiry into and tolerance of the world. "

p.2 para.3: MW. The school's success is quantified: "the School's consistent ranking among the top graduate fine arts programs in the country in U.S. News & World Report; the doubling of the student body; the inauguration of sixteen new academic programs; and the School's growing investment in the cultural and physical space" with a nuance in the last sentence, as the investment is coupled to something more intangible (cultural space).

p.2: para.5: MW. Last paragraph about the health of the finances, despite the crisis (// Tate Modern which relates this to the CW).

p.2 para.4: MIW. About the school's new director, same dialectic than with the Trustee. The two qualities are seen as a self-reinforcing asset "great excitement to the leadership (MW) and vision (IW)"

p.2 para.2: MIW. About a life trustee "deep dedication and leadership". The two worlds are often invoked, as if they reinforced each other.

2010

p.1 para.1: IW. They could achieve the opening of the Modern Wing by "through the unparalleled generosity of Chicago's philanthropic community and the heroic efforts of the museum's staff" inspired rhetoric. Unparalleled (//unvaluable), heroic.

p.1 para.1: IW. Inspired justification of the spending "masterful, indeed magical, Alsdorf Galleries"

p.1 para.3: ICW. The Institute underlines the new aisle opening as a message that "that Chicago can still dream big and deliver on those dreams. (IW)". Moreover, a lot of people attended the opening, and "came to claim the new building as their own." The fact that citizens warmly welcomed the opening is legitimizing.

p.1 para.2: CW. The opening of the new aisle privileged civic duty as one of the first groups of visitors "Chicago school children and their teachers in the Ryan Education Center". This mirrors the Institution's willingness to educate and find a societal relevance.

p.1 para.3: MW. However the economic crisis, a "capable management" could enable the Institute not to short fall, "have buffered the Art Institute from the deeper impact felt by many of our peer institutions".

p.1 para.4: MW. About the new extension: "it is an "enduring" building, befitting an institution that has itself endured economic cycles. We can all look back on the achievement of the Modern Wing as a testament to the Art Institute's continued relevance as a cultural center". The economic success of the Institute, despite the crisis, justifies its relevance.

p.2 para.1: MW. Satisfaction that the Modern wing was fully paid; and plans to grow again.

1.5 Centre Pompidou

1992 - 1993

p.3 para.1: IW. Introductory paragraph has an inspired focus "Culture is one and indivisible", singularity of the arts, creation of the century,... The ambition of the Center is to gather arts in one place and make them discuss.

p.3 para.4: IW. Idea of vitality and affirmation of the Center's strength

p.3 para.2: IW. The year 1992 can be summarized by a wealth of activities and actions, proving the intense vitality of this institution.

p.3 para.3: CW. Mention of the duty of mediation and transmission of the art and knowledge by the Center.

1996

p.2 para.3: IW. Next to the heritage mission of the Center, reflection about the coherence of the many missions it holds. Thoughts about the creation of a department created to explore contemporaneity in all its diversity and expression.

p.3 para.1: CW. Ambition to spread its mission on the national territory, in a policy of decentralization.

p.2 para.2: CW. In order to meet these objectives, "a deep solidarity coming from all the institution" will enable the Center to fulfill its "mission of public service". Emphasis on the societal duty of the Center.

p.2 para.5: CW. Importance of the social dialogue inside the Institution. The quality of this conversation is essential. Idea that everyone who contributes to the Center is determinant and that peacefulness and cohesion must appear.

p.2 para.6: CW. Again, mention of the "mission of public service" of the Institution.

1997

p.2 para.1: IW. Emphasis on the novelty and dynamism of the institution, willing to enter the new century with curiosity, vitality and ambition (ambiguous, used before already- entrepreneurial spirit?)

p.2 para.2: IW. A public which manifests its attachment to the Center, and which manifests its expectations and hopes for the future in its "a quest to modernity in the field of intellectual and artistic creation"

p.2 para.3: ICW. The director wants the Center to stay groundbreaker and, next to its faithful public, opened to explore other audiences ("a public to conquer"). Difference between two groups of audiences.

p.3 para.2: ICW. Unclear, but reaffirmation of the Center's mission of artistic diffusion.

p.3 para.5: ICW. At the turn of a new century, "ambition to serve the creation (IW) and the public, the ambition to become again (...) a place of living, plural (CW) and generous culture" the CW argument is underlined, beyond the "serve its public", through the idea of "plural culture"

p.3 para.3: CW. Institution as "decentralization center". Willingness to have a regional outreach.

p.3 para.4: CW. Diffusion of the collections to the largest audience.

1998

p.2 para 1: CW. Though the Center is closing due to renovation, it kept in mind its responsibility towards regional institutions in order to outreach a new audience.

p.3 para.1: CW. Project and cultural ambition for 2000 is action towards the acquired audience, but also new visitors, and especially specific audiences (children, teachers, disabled people,...) and audiences excluded from culture.

p.3 para. 4: CW. Regional outreach (// decentralization)

p.3 para.1: MW. Still about the reorganization in order to improve the cultural diffusion: "willingness of coherence, efficiency and adaptation"

p.2 para.3: MIW. "The Center Pompidou took action to reorganize its services (MW) to make them fit to its cultural project for 2000" idea of entrepreneurship

1999

p.3 para.1:ICW. Enthusiasm of the public even before the reopening. Public success. This is followed by a CW paragraph.

p.1 para.3: CW. Societal relevance of the mission, as a decentralization central, to make the artworks it keeps as accessible as possible to the largest audience.

p.2 para.1: CW. During the closing of the Center, regional exhibitions, which could reach a new and wider audience

p.3 para.2: CW. The director of the Center underlines the important contribution of the State which took care of most of the financing.

p.3 para.3: MW. Discrete note about private donors, by thanking a Committee within the Pompidou which handled the relationship with the "world of business"

2005

p.1 para.7: IW. Last paragraph of this short foreword on the ongoing momentum/enthusiasm of the Center.

p.1 para.2+para.3: CW. Note about the success of events or exhibitions.

p.1 para.4: CW. Events conceived to draw bridges with students, "crucial issue for the future"

p.1 para.6: CW. Carefulness about the life conditions of the employees, start of a housing policy for those in difficult situations.

2009

p.4 para.1: IW. "Often perceived as less innovative as before" followed by a justification that they are working on it.

p.4 para.4: IW. "The Center must be closer to the creative movement, and this implies to find, at the heart of the institution (...) a laboratory opened to the most diverse experiences (...) at the service of the desires of the current creators"

p.5 para.4: IW. "Actually it is a new Center Pompidou we are inventing (...) best way to summarize the utopia which animates this institution since its beginning"

p.5 para.1: MCW. Third objective is the public outreach, further from the restricted circle of the aficionados, "and some of our strategic projects contribute to that"

p.4 para.3: MW. Speaking of their 3 priorities, the director mentions first their universal ambition.

p.5 para.2: MW. The development projects are financed through private funds and raised of 50% in three years.

p.5 para.3: MW. Despite the economic downturn and the constraints on public financing, the "Center gives itself all the means in order to go on the path of success"

p.4 para.2: ICMW. "This diagnostic led us to define, at the end of 2007, a strategic project (MW) for the five years to come. At the heart of this project, the founding vision of Pompidou (IW): the ambition to create an interface between society and creation (CW), with the conviction that a nation opened to the art of its time is more creative and stronger"

2010

p.4 para.4: ICW. Justifying a program, the director recalls the two missions of the Museum, namely its vocation of cultural innovation (IW) and mission of public outreach (CW).

p.4 para.1: CW. Again, the Center as "decentralization power plant", the "politic and cultural phenomenon of the XXth century", is evoked as Pompidou opens a satellite in Metz (//democratization)

p. 4 para.2: CW. Willingness to root the Centre Pompidou-Metz in the regional fabric and encourage the appropriation of the Museum by the local population.

p.5 para.3: CW. Mention that a program was free.

p.6 para.2: CW. Note about the public outreach.

p.5 para.1: MCW. Financial detail in the foreword and the increasing own income, with a 50% increase in 4 years. In parallel, the government, undertaking a revision plan of its public policy, asked the Museum to restructure, and these reforms were achieved with "social dialogue" (CW). Here, the State is encouraging the Center to be entrepreneurial, more efficient.

p.5 para.4/p.6 para.1: MIW. First part of the argument concerns the fact that the Center was a pioneer in understanding the artistic globalization issue (IW). Then, the director relates this with the fact that the Center ranks among the three best institutions of modern and contemporary art in the world, and must keep it; which is close to the idea of competition.

p.5 para.4: MIW. "The coherence of our strategic approach galvanizes the whole institution (MW) and enables it to go forward and passionately look towards the future (...) with a visionary strength (IW)". The entrepreneurial spirit contributes to the missions' realization.

p.4 para.3: ICMW. The creation of the Pompidou-Metz was an enormous success: it was witnessed with an "extraordinary enthusiasm (IW) (...) and deeply changed the image of Metz and its region, helping it to find a new momentum (MW)". Moreover, regional outreach was a success as half of the visitors came from Metz or the region.

2013

p.4 para.2: MW. Second paragraph, following one on the success of exhibitions "The Center is proud to have been in 2013 the first large western museum to have exhibited modern art in Saudi Arabia and to have become a privileged partner of this great strategic country for the future of the world". In the same paragraph, mention of the brand Georges Pompidou (before its collection and expertise).

p.4 para.3: MW. The fundamental issue for the Center is internationalization: it aims at raising awareness of the global character of artistic creation, and "increase our presence on all the theatres of contemporary art (...) and find international resources which will enable us to keep our rank, one of the first in the world". Idea of competition and conquering markets.

p.4 para.4: MW."I wished to launch a new model of development to take the international issue into account and offer a new momentum for the dynamism of our own income resources started in 2007". Later in the paragraph, mention of the Pompidou brand, then only the possibility of audience outreach is mentioned. Idea of "strategic orientation". Strong market-oriented rhetoric.

p.5 para.1: MW. "Most of the own income resources depend on the audience figure of the Parisian Center, and more precisely of the temporary exhibitions". The Center reached a point where the audience is too large: the director concludes that they must find growth opportunity somewhere else, especially abroad

2 Table sheet: quantitative results

TATE	1990	Total%	94-96	Total%	98-00	Total%	2000-20	Total%	2002-20	Total%	2007	Total%	2008	Total%	2011	Total%	2013	Total%
Iw	2	17%	0	0%	1	8%	1	9%	1	11%	1	11%	2	18%	1	8%	0	0%
ICW	1	8%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	33%	0	0%	2	18%	4	33%	1	13%
CW	3	25%	4	36%	3	25%	1	9%	1	11%	5	56%	1	9%	2	17%	3	38%
MCW	3	25%	3	27%	3	25%	3	27%	0	0%	1	11%	4	36%	2	17%	1	13%
MW	1	8%	3	27%	3	25%	4	36%	3	33%	1	11%	2	18%	0	0%	1	13%
MIW	1	8%	1	9%	2	17%	2	18%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	2	17%	0	0%
ICMW	1	8%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%	1	8%	2	25%
Total	12	100%	11	100%	12	100%	11	100%	9	100%	9	100%	11	100%	12	100%	8	100%
MACM	1990	Total%	1993	Total%	1996	Total%	1999	Total%	2002	Total%	2005	Total%	2008	Total%	2011	Total%	2013	Total%
Iw	0	0%	1	20%	3	33%	1	11%	2	20%	2	20%	1	10%	2	12%	2	14%
ICW	1	13%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%	5	50%	1	10%	1	10%	4	24%	2	14%
CW	4	50%	0	0%	1	11%	3	33%	3	30%	5	50%	1	10%	4	24%	3	21%
MCW	0	0%	2	40%	1	11%	2	22%	0	0%	0	0%	3	30%	1	6%	0	0%
MW	3	38%	0	0%	2	22%	1	11%	0	0%	2	20%	3	30%	4	24%	6	43%
MIW	0	0%	0	0%	1	11%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%
ICMW	0	0%	1	20%	1	11%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	1	10%	1	6%	1	7%
Total	8	100%	5	100%	9	100%	9	100%	10	100%	10	100%	10	100%	17	100%	14	100%
STEDELI	1990	Total%	1993	Total%	1995	Total%	1999	Total%	2002	Total%	2005	Total%	2008	Total%	2011	Total%	2013	Total%
Iw	0	0%	0	0%	2	33%	0	0%	1	20%	3	38%	8	47%	3	23%	4	21%
ICW	0	0%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	4	24%	1	8%	1	5%
CW	0	0%	0	0%	3	50%	1	50%	0	0%	2	12%	1	8%	1	8%	1	5%
MCW	0	0%	1	25%	1	17%	1	50%	1	20%	3	38%	0	0%	4	31%	3	16%
MW	1	50%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	2	12%	1	8%	10	53%
MIW	1	50%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	2	25%	1	6%	2	15%	0	0%
ICMW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	8%	0	0%
Total	2	100%	4	100%	6	100%	2	100%	5	100%	8	100%	17	100%	13	100%	19	100%
AIC	1990	Total%	1993	Total%	1996	Total%	1999	Total%	2002	Total%	2005	Total%	2006	Total%	2008	Total%	2010	Total%
Iw	0	0%	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	1	13%	2	22%	1	10%	0	0%	2	25%
ICW	1	20%	0	0%	1	17%	1	17%	3	38%	0	0%	0	0%	3	43%	1	13%
CW	2	40%	3	38%	3	50%	4	67%	0	0%	0	0%	4	40%	0	0%	2	25%
MCW	0	0%	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
MW	1	20%	1	13%	1	17%	1	17%	2	25%	5	56%	1	10%	2	23%	3	38%
MIW	0	0%	1	13%	0	0%	0	0%	2	25%	2	22%	3	30%	2	23%	0	0%
ICMW	1	20%	1	13%	1	17%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	10%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	100%	8	100%	6	100%	6	100%	8	100%	9	100%	10	100%	7	100%	8	100%
IMPIDOU	1992-1993	Total%	1996	Total%	1997	Total%	1998	Total%	1999	Total%	2005	Total%	2009	Total%	2010	Total%	2013	Total%
Iw	3	75%	1	20%	2	29%	0	0%	0	0%	1	25%	3	38%	0	0%	0	0%
ICW	0	0%	0	0%	3	43%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%	1	11%	0	0%
CW	1	25%	4	80%	2	29%	3	60%	3	60%	3	75%	0	0%	4	44%	0	0%
MCW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	13%	1	11%	0	0%
MW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	1	20%	0	0%	3	38%	0	0%	4	100%
MIW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	22%	0	0%
ICMW	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	13%	1	11%	0	0%
Total	4	100%	5	100%	7	100%	5	100%	5	100%	4	100%	8	100%	9	100%	4	100%
subsidies			601014	87%			477408	86%	506176	85%	77,42	81%	77,6	72%	80	73%	87	67%
Own income			90284	13%			80684	14%	88664	15%	18	19%	30	28%	29,6	27%	43	33%
			691298	100%			558092	100%	594840	100%	95,42	100%	107,6	100%	109,6	100%	130	100%