

The legitimation of street art in Amsterdam

The role of Street Art Today Museum



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ABSTRACT

Street art is originally a rebellious, illegal and underground practice that emerged on the city walls. Even though this cultural manifestation appeared outside of the art world, it is frequently found in art institutions. Considering that what is placed in such settings is more acknowledged as art, street art is framed by artistic and cultural value when exhibited in art galleries and museums. In such a way, it is moving from the periphery towards a central position in the art world. Due to the anti-institutional discourse that was originally part of street art, there is a controversy regarding its presence in art institutions, since this can be considered a threat to its marginal character.

Currently, the organization Street Art Today is building a museum dedicated exclusively to street art in the city of Amsterdam. Therefore, the present thesis focuses on this case, in order to explore how a formerly rebellious artistic expression can be acknowledged as an art form by the traditional art world, without losing its roots. Thus, the following research question was addressed: *What is the role of Street Art Today museum in the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam?* In order to provide an answer, ten semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with actors from the Amsterdam's street art scene. Also, SAT's website was analyzed as a complementary data.

Altogether this data revealed that street art is losing its rebellious character, due to its commercialization and institutionalization. Moreover, it was possible to infer that SAT's creation was also motivated by trading interests. However, the interviewees of this study don't perceive these aspects as negative, considering that they enable an income to the artists and contribute to the recognition of street art as an art form in Amsterdam. Thus, the respondents are positive about the creation of SAT museum, since they claim that this institution is going to support the legitimation of street art in the city, while preserving some of the main aspects of this cultural manifestation: the engagement with the urban space and the accessibility of its images.

KEYWORDS: art world, legitimation, artistic value, street art, museum

*What art is, in reality, is this
missing link, not the links
which exist. It's not what
you see that is art; art is the
gap. — Marcel Duchamp*

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1. Introduction

Street art is a hybrid cultural manifestation that emerged in the 1970s on the city walls of New York as a rebellious, illegal and underground practice (Schacter, 2013; MacDowall, 2014), grounded on an anti-institutional ideology, often related to social activism and the creation of new cultural discourses (Maric, 2017). Thus, this artistic expression purposely ignored academic theory, by immersing into everyday reality through the use of simple and figurative forms (Anika, 2013). Interestingly, even though street art was born outside the established art world, it subverted the structures and boundaries in this context by bringing art to the public space (Irvine, 2012, p. 18).

Also, another particularity of street art, considering its emergence as outsider art, is that it was almost instantly absorbed by the institutionalized art world, therefore it has always moved between streets and art institutions (Silva, 2015). This situation evolved and nowadays street art's recognition is increasingly shifting from a peripheral to a more central position in the visual arts (Neto, 2011), while street artists have gone from anonymously individuals to acclaimed art stars (Irvine, 2012, p.6). Hence, it is observed the frequent presence of street art in art institutions in cities all over the globe (Cascardo, 2012), such as Amsterdam, where this cultural expression is often part of exhibitions in contemporary art galleries and museums (Snelders, 2012) and established collectors are raising their interest for it (Silva, 2015, p.7).

When exhibited in the institutionalized art world, street art gains artistic and cultural value (Cascardo, 2012). The same is observed with other cultural products that are placed in these environments because the acknowledgment of something as art depends on the boundaries of acceptable art determined by the art world (Becker, 2008 [1982]). For instance, Goodman (1977) points that a stone is normally not perceived as a work of art when it's in the driveway, but it may be when displayed in a museum. Also, it was indicated by several scholars (Danto, 1964; Goodman, 1977; Dickie, 1969; Bourdieu, 1993; Coli, 1995; Baumann, 2007; Becker, 2008 [1982]), that this process is based on social constructions of shared meanings among the members of the art world or art field, in the terms of Bourdieu (1993). In such a way, the recognition by these actors, such as art institutions, curators and critics play an important role in this process (Baumann, 2007; Thornton, 2008; Van Hest, 2012). Therefore, the presence of street art

in the institutionalized art world affects its legitimation, because art galleries and museums hold cultural authority to categorize something as art (Baumann, 2007). The attribution of such meaning to street art is significant, since this category is still going through a struggle for the definition of its cultural significance (Irvine, 2012, p.5; Jarvie, 2012), as well as its artistic value (Neto, 2011; Shapiro & Heinich, 2013). This process is not complete yet, due to the inferior value attributed to street art regarding its popular roots, which is an obstacle to its legitimation, since high-class activities seem to be frequently among the main conditions for the acknowledgment of artistic value. Also, another issue regarding this process are the limitations related to street art's transportability, when placed on the streets (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013, p.14)

Taking into account the origins of street art, there is a polemic regarding its institutionalization and commercialization, as some members of the scene, as well as specialists about the topic consider these facts a threat to its ideology. For instance, Costa (2007, p.181) argues that street art loses its political and interventionist power when placed in art institutions, whereas Barros (2011) claims that street art cannot be named as such in those environments, since it does not preserve its marginal character and Merrill (2015, p. 387) points that this cultural manifestation should remain illegal, ephemeral and anti-capitalist. On the other hand, there are authors who don't perceive the placement of street art in the art world as a relevant shift to its ideology, considering that it preserves its accessibility (Courier, 2014), its style (Snelders, 2012) or its connection with the streets (Irvine, 2012; Silva, 2015).

Therefore, taking into account the controversial regarding the institutionalization of street art, the present thesis aims to study how this formerly rebellious, illegal and anti-institutional artistic expression can be acknowledged as an art form by the traditional art world, without losing its marginal character. Can street art still be framed by its former rebellious ideology, even when placed in the institutionalized art realm? In order to explore this phenomenon, the theoretical framework, which supports this analysis, is the Legitimation Theory by Shyon Baumann (2007), as it points to concrete and symbolic aspects, named as the opportunity space, the resources and the framing, which should be investigated in order to understand how the recognition of an art movement occurs. This theory was chosen as it approaches the recognition of something as art in an ongoing stage, thereby it suits a research focused

on street art, since this art manifestation is going through this process for several years, but it is still not complete (Shapiro & Henich, 2013).

A case concerning the institutionalization of street art, which is taking place at the moment, is the construction of a museum in Amsterdam, destined exclusively to street art, by Street Art Today (SAT), an organization that currently also works as a street art agency. Besides, after the museum is opened, SAT is going to represent the artists that created pieces for its collection. Studying this institution, which according to its founder and curator (Coolen, 2017), is going to be the biggest street art museum in the world, is particularly interesting because street art is placed on its own realm, instead of entering contemporary art institutions, as it is frequently seen (Cascardo, 2012; Snelders, 2012). Thus, SAT is a relevant instance to investigate if it is possible for a cultural institution to legitimate street art, while preserving its former character. Also, it seems pertinent to study a current case about how a street art museum affects street art, due to the fact that this postmodern genre is defined more as a real-time practice than by any theory, considering that street artists work intuitively, refusing to follow academic discourses (Irvine, 2012, p.6). By mobilizing Baumann's conceptual framework, the overarching question that guided this research is: *What is the role of the Street Art Today's museum in the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam?*

Moreover, in order to observe the aspects, which compose the legitimation of street art, the following sub questions were addressed: *What are the factors outside of the art world that affect the legitimation of street art by Street Art Today in Amsterdam?, What are the main resources provided by the Street Art Today museum to legitimate street art in Amsterdam?, How does Street Art Today contributes to frame street art as an art form?, What is the discourse used by Street Art Today in order to frame the works presented at the museum as street art?*

The main data collection method for the analysis entailed ten in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews supported by the interview guide. Therefore, it was possible to obtain answers to the required topics, while there was also space for unexpected findings to emerge (Russel,1994). The interviews were conducted with the team of Street Art Today, street artists that are active in Amsterdam, the staff of art galleries focused on street art, as well as street art facilitators in the city. Also, the website of Street Art Today was analyzed to support the main data set and to provide

insights about the activities performed by this organization. The data from the interviews and the content of SAT's website were analyzed through categorizing, by using a combination of deductive and inductive thematic patterns, which revealed common patterns in these documents. The deductive approach was applied to the main codes, which were based on the theory, while the inductive approach was applied to the sub codes, which were based on the respondents' own words. The codes and sub codes from each interview, as well as the articles from SAT's website enabled common patterns to emerge, leading to the main results of this study. This combination allowed an understanding of the Street Art Today's role in the legitimization of street art in Amsterdam.

Considering the legitimization of street art in the broad sense, it can be said that it exists substantial research about this topic, through different approaches. There are studies that describe the shift of street art from a marginal subculture to its commercialization and relation to art galleries (Costa, 2007; Tavares, 2011; Cascardo, 2012; Snelders, 2012; Silva, 2015), a study that explores the framing of street art as a heritage (Merrill, 2014), other researches that focus on the relation between street art, the city and the street (Cartaxo, 2006; Irvine, 2012), some that explore the rise of street art in specific contexts (Neto, 2011; Ilcheva, 2015; Almansi, 2016) and even a research that connects street art with religion (Vital da Cunha, 2016).

However, this thesis adds to the literature in the field, because it considers the legitimization of street art during the birth of a museum. The previously mentioned studies that encompass art institutions refer to organizations that already exist for several years, thus they hold a certain degree of pre-established cultural authority (Baumann, 2007), differently from SAT. Also, the importance of studying the legitimization during the creation of a museum is that it reflects the circumstances of the time. For instance, the Louvre Museum and Prado Museum were conceived because of the events that were occurring during their creation's period related to their civic nature, such as the State's movement of cumulative and conquering posture (Elias, 1992). In such a way, the understanding of the legitimization performed by the Street Art Today's museum during its formation is also going to enable the awareness of present happenings, which affect street art's presence in the art world.

Moreover, it is observed the existence of several street art museums around the world, such as The Street Museum of Art in New York, U.S.A. (SMoA, 2017), The Museum of Street Art Tahiti in Paupeete, Tahiti (Blond, 2017), the Street Art Museum in Saint Petersburg, Russia (Street Art Museum, 2017). Also, there are going to be created street art museums soon in Berlin, Germany (Neuendorf, 2016) and in Paris, France (Marcus, 2016). However, until the present moment, no researches encompassed museums focused exclusively on street art. Thus, it seems meaningful to conduct a research concentrated on such an institution, because placing street art in a museum exclusively dedicated to it, is a recent phenomenon, as this cultural manifestation is more frequently placed in contemporary art institutions.

Thereby, this research is structured in four subsequent chapters. Chapter 2 presents the contextualization and conceptualization of street art, while also distinguishing it from graffiti. Then it exposes the development of this practice in Amsterdam. Moreover, it introduces the presence of street art in the institutionalized art world, with a focus in the Dutch capital. Thereafter, the Legitimation Theory by Baumann and its aspects are exposed as the theoretical framework that is going to be used in order to provide a foundation for this research project.

Chapter 3 dives into the study's qualitative design, which entailed semi structured, in-depth interviews with actors active in the street art scene in Amsterdam. The interviews explored the participants' perception about the opportunity space, resources and framing of street art in a broad context and in Amsterdam, as well as the role performed by SAT regarding these aspects. Also, SAT's website content was analyzed as an additional data.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the thematic patterns found after the categorizing. Thus, it exposes common aspects that emerged, revealing what are the main perceptions hold by some members of the street art scene in Amsterdam, regarding the meaning of street art and its institutionalization, with a focus on SAT museum. The website's analysis complemented these results. Findings are presented in three sections, each of them focused on one aspect of Baumann's legitimation theory.

After all, chapter 5 comes with the conclusion and discussion that are based on the main results related to the legitimation of street art performed by SAT. Therewithal,

the study's contributions to the field of sociology of art are considered and recommendations for further studies are proposed.

2.Theoretical framework: the acknowledgment of street art as an art form in the art world

Several scholars demonstrated that the idea of what is considered art and who is an artist are social constructions that are not created in the vacuum (Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1969; Goodman, 1977; Bourdieu, 1993; Coli, 1995; Baumann, 2007; Becker, 2008 [1982]). According to Becker (2008 [1982]), this means that art is a collective activity based on shared meanings that exist in an art world, which is defined as a system of production that includes producers, distributors and consumers. These actors operate together, organizing their activities through their shared knowledge and, most importantly, shared conventions that generate artworks that characterize an art world. This leads to the evidence that what constitutes art does not rely exclusively on the aspects of the work, but also on the boundaries of acceptable art determined by the art world (Becker, 2008 [1982]). The acknowledgment and validation of a work as part of the art world, also known as the legitimation process, is defined by the construction of artistic value. This phenomenon depends on the recognition by the actors of the art world, where art institutions, galleries, curators and critics play an important role (Thornton, 2008; Van Hest, 2012).

Street art is a cultural manifestation that was born independently from the established art world (Irvine, 2012; Anika, 2013), which is currently going through the process of obtaining recognition by its members (Neto, 2011). This process is not complete due to various factors, such as the inferior value that is attributed to it because of its popular roots (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013, p.14). Moreover, the underway recognition of street art's status as art illustrates that art worlds tend to repel changes (Becker, 2008 [1982]). Also, the cultural value of street art is not widely accepted, when it is misinterpreted as graffiti and "broken windows" debates arise (Irvine, 2012, p.5). This theory, introduced by Kelling and Wilson (1982), connects urban disorder and criminal activities with graffiti, leading to its negative perception. However, considering that street art is frequently found in museums and art galleries (Irvine, 2012; Snelders, 2012; Shapiro & Heinich, 2013, p.14), it is assigned artistic and cultural value to it by these institutions, since the objects in their spaces are framed and validated by an artistic context (Cascardo, 2012).

Therefore, the presence of street art in museums and art galleries is a good matter to illustrate how members of the art world acknowledge something as an art

form. In order to provide background information to enable the further exploration of this topic, the first section of this chapter (see Section 2.1) introduces the concepts of street art, while clarifying its distinctions from graffiti, considering that the former is understood as an evolution of the latter. Then it continues by presenting the role of street art in the art world, with a focus in the city of Amsterdam.

The second section of this chapter (see Section 2.2) presents an explanation about the legitimation theory proposed by Baumann (2007). This theory seems effective for this research, as it is constituted by three aspects that can be used to clarify how the recognition of street art as an art form occurs in practice. Taken that into account, the legitimation theory is the main theoretical framework of this study, which is going to enable the analysis of the Street Art Today museum's case.

2.1. The contextualization of street art and its distinctions from graffiti

Graffiti started in the beginning of the 70's, when graffiti writers tagged their individual stylized signatures or logos on walls and trains around New York. In such a way, each graffiti writer could be identified, resulting in a competitive activity for recognition in the scene. For instance, the reputation of graffiti writers would increase if the tag was performed in a place that was hard to be accessed, such as trains and subway railcars. Also, it is relevant to mention that graffiti wasn't an isolated phenomenon, since it was part of the hip-hop subculture, as an additional way of expression (Powers, 1996).

Street art is a more recent manifestation, which emerged in the mid 70's, due to an aesthetic exhaustion of modern graffiti and the revival of art techniques, such as spray-painted stencils and paper paste-ups. Regarding its subjects, it can be said that the discourses that are often represented in street art can carry a strong relation to social activism and have a role in the configuration and creation of new cultural discourses (Maric, 2017). Alike graffiti, street art is a broad category that originally invoked artworks located in public spaces, performed illegally and anonymously (Schacter, 2013; MacDowall, 2014). Besides of usually being executed in the urban environment, street art is also inspired by it (Yip, 2010). There is a direct engagement between street art and the postmodern city, as the artists and the works premise dialogic relation with its material and symbolic aspects (Irvine, 2012).

Thus, street art is formerly an ephemeral act, considering the vulnerability that characterizes it when placed on the city walls, its original environment. However, this cultural manifestation does not necessarily need to last for a long period of time, because its action is based on a message that is immediately persuasive and recognizable to a wide audience (Irvine, 2012, p.5). Also, the fact that average people acknowledge it, indicates that street art is a popular cultural expression (Essak, 2014), which can be also understood as a low brow practice (Kordic, 2014). Hence, street art is formed by images that engage easily the public in time bound situations. In order to document this temporal practice, street artists make use of social media, contributing actively to the global web museum (Irvine, 2012, p.10). Besides, social media is a medium to diffuse street art to a vast audience around the world, while also fueling the interest for this art form, building the fame of street artists and raising the value of their works (Courier, 2014).

Furthermore, in order to classify street art, it can be said that it is considered a sub-genre of graffiti, as both of them began as practices related to illegality, anonymity and the use of walls in the streets as “canvas”. There is also a strong connection between these cultural manifestations, considering that street art can be understood as a development of techniques used in graffiti and therefore most of the street artists come originally from the graffiti scene (DeNotto, 2014). However, there are distinctions among them, which consists on the forms and purposes, authorial intent and target audiences. Moreover, another important difference is that street art is frequently understood as aesthetically valuable by the authorities and the society, while graffiti is considered a criminal act and “Broken windows” debates contribute to this perception (Ilcheva, 2015). This connotation can be also noted in the broad media, which usually describes street art as art and graffiti as vandalism (Cascardo, 2012).

To take this matter further, McAuliffe (2012) approaches the discrepancy between street art and graffiti, while not treating them as mutually exclusive. The author states that the latter one is constituted by texts and imagery that are unfamiliar to those who are not part of the graffiti community, thus it can be perceived by the outsiders as an egocentric act. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, street art is composed by a wide range of practices, which communicate messages that are legible to the general public, also because they are less related to subcultural codes (McAuliffe,

2012, p.190). Nevertheless, McAuliffe (2012) points that the two practices remain connected, since street art can be performed by practitioners of graffiti and as claimed by DeNotto (2014), it can be done by individuals who were once part of this scene as well.

Even though street art is usually understandable to the general public, especially when compared to graffiti, there are cases in which the community cannot relate to it and even feel offended by it. For instance, some dwellers of Chosewood Park, a lower income neighborhood in Atlanta, U.S.A., couldn't tolerate a mural created by the Argentinian artist Hyuro. This black and white work depicted a nude woman that in 37 frames turned into a wolf. Part of the residents considered it indecent, mainly because it was located on a wall opposite to a church and a mosque. After all, this piece was buffed over, as the local neighborhood association voted against it. They claimed that street art needs to be something that people can understand, while also representing the community (Jarvie, 2012).



Picture 1: The polemic mural by Hyuro in Atlanta covered by a reaction to it.

Author & source: Creative Loafing.

2.1.1. Graffiti and street art in Amsterdam

Graffiti emerged in Amsterdam in the late 70's, as punk bands began to write their names on the walls (Pone, 2008), hence setting the Dutch city as the first in the old continent to embrace this form of expression (Randal, 2010). Similarly to NY, graffiti was performed in Amsterdam mostly by young men who did it for the thrill, excitement and

status of having their names around the city (Korf, 1983). Also in 1979, the first Dutch Graffiti Association (D. G. A.) was founded at Anus Gallery. Moreover, the site around Waterloo square in the Dutch capital gained international attention and served as a creative ground for graffiti writers from the Netherlands and foreign countries, turning it into a setting for exchange of different styles and techniques (Vermeulen, 2015).

The documentary *Kroonjuwelen - Hard Times, Good Times, Better Times* (Boerdam, 2006) exposes that street art emerged in Amsterdam in the 80's, as some graffiti writers developed their style into a more imagery concept, also by using stencil as a technique to reproduce figures on the walls. In the same decade, the collective United Street Artists (U.S.A.) was created, thus it was the first time in the city that graffiti practitioners named themselves street artists (Boerdam, 2006). In this period, Amsterdam turned into Europe's graffiti and street art capital, since due to the creation of D.G.A. and U.S.A., as well as the raise of the punk movement, these practices flourished around the city (van Loon, 2014), enabled by the municipality's liberal regulations of the time (Randal, 2010). Since then, the Netherlands has cultivated a true street art culture, with several internationally renowned graffiti and street artists (Boerdam, 2006).

Nowadays, however, both graffiti writers and street artists claim that it is becoming increasingly difficult to leave illegal work on the streets, as there is more policing around Amsterdam (Vermeulen, 2015). Nonetheless, the regulation varies throughout the city (van Loon, 2014). For instance, in the city center, around the Canal Ring Area, it is strictly prohibited to perform graffiti or street art, as this site is part of the UNESCO World Heritage List and the government aims for its preservation (UNESCO, 2017). On the other hand, there are areas, such as the Nederlandsche Dok en Scheepsbouw Maatschappij, known as NDSM Warf, a former shipyard that is being redeveloped by the municipality of Amsterdam to be an urban area with housing, creative companies, offices, education and leisure (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017b), where there is a lax regime (van Loon, 2014). As a consequence, a high concentration of graffiti and street art has developed there, forming what is called in the scene as "Hall of Fames" (van Loon, 2014).

2.1.2. The presence of graffiti and street art in art institutions

Although graffiti and street art emerged on the streets as illegal and underground practices, these manifestations are also found for a long time as legal art works in the institutionalized art world, represented by museums, art galleries and art fairs (Cascardo, 2012, Irvine, 2012; Shapiro & Heinich, 2013). Another change is that street artists have gone from usually anonymously individuals to highly recognized art stars who perform commissioned wall murals and museum installations (Irvine, 2012, p.6). Thus, it can be said that street art is increasingly moving from a peripheral position to a more central position in the visual arts (Neto, 2011).

According to Shapiro and Heinich (2013), the presence of street art in the institutionalized art world can be seen as an outcome of the refinement of street art, together with its greater socio demographic reach. The absorption of street art by the institutionalized art world also coincides with its social elevation and the fact that the works were assessed not only in terms of subjective pleasure, but also in terms of beauty, which engenders an aesthetic appreciation (Shapiro and Heinich, 2013). Moreover, Silva (2015, p. 5) claims that the recognition of its aesthetic value, which is a result of transformations in the art world, as well as a consequence of the aesthetic education in society about what is called street art, assigns legitimacy to street art as an art form.

The first exhibitions of graffiti happened in New York during the 80's, one decade after the emergence of this cultural manifestation, as graffiti on canvas became hype in the city's art world (Cooper, 2004). Similarly to graffiti, street art was almost instantly absorbed by the art market in New York. The first exhibition that placed street art in the environment of an art institution also happened in the 80's, as a group exhibition, which included artists such as Jean Michel Basquiat, took place in a contemporary art gallery in NY (Basquiat, 2017). The presence of street art in art galleries is closely related to the art market's interest for street art, which can be understood as an outcome of the increasingly financial value of this art form, characterizing it as an investment both for its buyers and exhibitors (Silva, 2015, p.7). Thus, experienced art buyers are also beginning to open their collections to street art. In such a way, this cultural manifestation is moving from a position where it used to be perceived as vandalism to a sector that trades thousands of dollars a year. Yet, the street art market remains

distinct from the traditional art market because street artists are far less dependent on galleries to build their fame and even to sell their works. This happens because they have always worked more independently, by using internet and social media to promote and sell their art (Courier, 2014). However, considering the museum sphere, the inclusion of this cultural manifestation took a longer period of time in the U.S.A., since the first exhibition that situated street artists in the context of contemporary art history occurred in 2011 at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles (MOCA, 2011).

Regarding Amsterdam, graffiti entered the art galleries of the city in the 80's, likewise it was observed in New York, as gallery owners became aware of the commercial potential of it (Muis and Wessels, 2007). Besides of graffiti, it is also observed the presence of street art in art galleries and museums in Amsterdam since the end of the 80's. One of the first times that street art was placed in a contemporary art institution was in 1988, as an exhibition at The Living Room Gallery introduced works by the Dutch stencil artist Hugo Kaagman (van Gelderen, 2015).

Nowadays, it is still observed the interest of art institutions in Amsterdam for street art, as there are galleries in the city specialized in this art form, such as the Go Gallery, founded in 1997 (Go Gallery, 2017) and Vroom & Varossieau, which exists since 2010 (Vroom&Varossieau, 2017). Also, street art is a growing phenomenon that is often part of exhibitions in contemporary art galleries and museums in the largest Dutch city (Snelders, 2012). For instance, in 2015 there was the art sale exhibition "Keep it real" at Lionel Gallery, which exhibited original works and prints by the British renowned street artist Banksy (Blommer, 2015). Moreover, there was another exhibition of Banksy's works entitled "Laugh Now" that happened until the 29th of March 2017 at the Modern Contemporary Museum Amsterdam (Moco, 2017). Also, the growing presence of street art in the institutionalized art world in Amsterdam is observed, considering the fact that the Street Art Today museum, an institution designated to street art, is being created (Coolen, 2017). This topic is going to be explored in the chapter 3, as it is the main case of this research.

When analyzing street art, an anti-institutional discourse arises as one of its main features. Thus, the presence of street art in art institutions can be considered polemic, due to the shift in this former concept, as it was originally characterized as an illegal visual mark in the public space that reflected a form of non-violent civil disobedience

(Irvine, 2012). Also, Costa (2007) argued that the ideology of street art was tied to its political and interventionist power that had the city as a scenario of intervention and discourse, however, since street art became “gallery art”, it lost these features. The author stated that because street art is absorbed by the art world, it becomes subjected to the control mechanisms of museums, galleries and biennials (Costa, 2007, p.181). Besides, according to Barros (2011), street art is framed for its social value; therefore, it should be on the city walls, to contrast with the grey from capitalism. This is why many street artists are against street art in art galleries and museums. They claim that when street art is produced on canvas and it is charged money for it, it is not street art anymore. So, in order for a work to be considered street art, it should preserve its marginal character (Barros, 2011).

On the other hand, according to Silva (2015), street art remains street art, when placed in institutions, since the streets are still the main source of inspiration to the artists. Also, Courier (2014) claims that even when this art form is commercialized, the street artists maintain its characteristics of being a simple engaging work, accompanied by a strand of rebellion that still persists. Moreover, considering the context of the Netherlands, a study conducted by Snelders (2012) exposed that some Dutch street artists in Amsterdam believe that street art is a matter of style; thus, even in a gallery or a museum, a work performed by street artists, remains street art. Other Dutch street artists in Amsterdam, which took part on the research by Snelders (2012), hold a different point of view. They argue that if street artists present their work in an exhibition at an art institution, their work turns into contemporary art. The artist, on the other hand, remains a street artist, as long as he or she is still active on the streets or has ever been (Snelders, 2012).

Overall, street art is an aesthetic expression that has always moved between streets and galleries (Silva, 2015). The reception of street art in the institutionalized art world is considered a permanent and irreversible fact that remains as an institutional contradiction, since this art form relies on extramural tensions that happen while street artists are working in the urban space, outside of the art world environment. However, according to Irvine (2012) presently, most of the street artists consider that there is no difference between outdoor and indoor street art, as they understand this art category as a short term for various manners of dialoging with the city, through continuous

practices that comprehend street, studio, gallery, museum and the internet. Thus, the city walls turned into an experimentation laboratory and what is discovered there is introduced back in the studio and vice versa (Irvine, 2012). Silva (2015) also reinforces this argument as she claims that street art can be placed not only in the city walls, but also in art galleries, art fairs and private spaces, since the artists have the streets as their main source of inspiration. Therefore, when placed in some art institutions, street art is also acknowledged as urban art and the artists are recognized for their trajectories and experiences in the city (Silva, 2015, p.5).

In order to provide a theoretical framework that enables a detailed analysis of how art institutions contribute to the recognition of street art as an art form, the legitimation theory by Baumann (2007) was used. Thus, the next section presents the concept of artification (Shapiro and Heinich, 2013) and then justifies why the legitimation theory (Baumann, 2007) suits this research better. Afterwards, this theory is explored in details and its main aspects: opportunity space, resources and framing are introduced.

2.2. The Legitimation Theory applied to street art in art institutions

Through a pragmatic perspective, the sociologists Shapiro and Heinich (2013) presented the concept of artification, in order to describe under what circumstances an object becomes perceived as an art work. This vision places the action in the first place, also as a mediator of relevant values and meanings to the actors. Thus, artification occurs through several interrelated levels and it is at the same time symbolical, material and contextual. Therefore, these authors pointed that art emerges as a result of institutional events, day-to-day interactions, technical implementations and attributions of meaning. For instance, they claimed that the modern art system in Europe has been established due to the arising of new institutions focused on arts and the development of the art market (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013).

Even though this phenomenon resembles the legitimation process, they differ from each other as the artification studies a previous stage, where art is not transformed and constituted as art yet. The legitimation, on the other hand, focuses on the later stage, such as the case of marginal artists becoming subsequently recognized as legitimate artists (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013). Considering that street art is departing from

a peripheral position in the art world to a more central one (Neto, 2011), the legitimation theory seems more effective and appropriated as a theoretical framework for the present thesis. Also, it is relevant to mention that Shapiro and Heinich (2013) state that the main limitation of the legitimation approach is that it is exclusively focused on the classification of art products, thus it has difficulties to explain this process. However, the legitimation theory proposed by Shyon Baumann (2007) overcomes this limitation, since it comprehends not only the classification, which he denominates as framing, but also external and internal concrete situations that led to changes in the acknowledgement of an object as art, which he approaches through the concepts of opportunity space and resources. Moreover, considering that the artification and the legitimation are correlated, as the former results in the latter, some notions regarding street art presented by Shapiro & Heinich (2013) are considered in this study.

Based on the aesthetic philosophy of Arthur Danto and George Dickie, the sociology of art by Howard S. Becker's and the theory of cultural fields by Pierre Bourdieu's, Shyon Baumann introduced the legitimation theory, which exposes the recognition of cultural products as art. By doing an analogy to social movements success, Baumann points to three aspects that together create an art world, which frame cultural objects as art. Those are: "a changing opportunity space outside of the field; the institutionalization of resources and practices within the field; and a legitimating ideology that frames the field as art" (Parker, 2012). Thereby, Baumann (2007) claims that the process of something unaccepted becoming accepted as an art form depends on the consensus among the members of an art world. This consensus is never absolute and only exists in the collective level, thus it can explain variations in the degree of legitimacy of an artwork or art genre. The unanimity is obtained through justification, which is an explanation of why something should be accepted, based on the conformity to existing valid norms, values or rules (Baumann, 2007).

Considering that the legitimation of a cultural product as art is built upon the acknowledgment by members of the art world (Bourdieu, 1993; Baumann, 2007; Becker, 2008 [1982]; Cascardo, 2012; Van Hest, 2012), how does a museum destined exclusively to street art affects it? In order to examine how this process works in practice, the Street Art Today (SAT) museum in Amsterdam was used as an investigation case. This institution is going to open its doors in the summer of 2018 and consists on

an indoor museum, filled by more than 100 works on canvases created by street artists (Coolen, 2017). Moreover, SAT works as a street art agency and there is going to be a small gallery as part of the museum, offering the purchase possibility of small scale works to the visitors (Street.art.today, 2017). The museum is located at NDSM, an old shipyard, which is considered one of the few places in the city where it is accepted to perform graffiti and street art (van Loon, 2014). Thus, this topic is interesting to illustrate how a museum frames street art, considering its roots related to a strong connection to the streets, marginality, ephemerality and anonymity, besides of its accessible character. In order to analyze this particular case, Baumann's (2007) legitimation theory is going to be used as a theoretical framework. Therefore, it leads to the research question *What is the role of Street Art Today museum in the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam?*

2.2.1. The opportunity space around street art

Art is defined by means of reference to its physical and social context (Goodman, 1977, Becker, 2008 [1982]). This happens due to the permeability of the borders in an art world that allows different kinds of relations with other social worlds (Becker, 2008 [1982]). Taking that into account, Baumann (2007) introduced the opportunity space as the first aspect influencing the legitimation of something as an art form. The opportunity space concerns the exogenous factors that influence an art world, thus affecting its legitimation process. These factors are based on various circumstances, such as broad changes in the wider society, as well as policy, market and economic shifts (Baumann, 2007). Thus, these conditions that happen outside the art world set the needed prerequisites to designate an object in aesthetic terms (Parker, 2012, p.4).

For instance, the legitimation of Jazz in the United States was favored by the reduction of the discrimination towards black people (Lopes, 2002). Regarding policy changes that contributed to the legitimation process, the case of art games in the U.S.A. can be mentioned, since it was benefited by the National Endowment for the Arts' decision to extend government funding to not-for-profit digital games (Parker, 2012, p.5). An example of market change is the arrival of television as a lower status entertainment, which granted to cinema a higher legitimation status as an art form

(Baumann, 2001). Talking about economic aspects, the advance of the novel in England can be connected to conditions that established a new reading public (Watt, 2001).

Regarding street art, it can be said that this cultural manifestation has the city as its interlocutor and framework, thus they are inseparable from each other. Also, either in a gallery or in the streets, street art is framed by legal regimes and public policies (Irvine, 2012). Hence, an example of a policy shift involving the legitimization of street art is the Cultural Advice Plan of Rotterdam for the period of 2013-2016, since this document reflected a growing appreciation of urban culture, which included street art. As a result, this incorporation influenced the acknowledgement of street art as an art form in the city of Rotterdam (Almansi, 2016).

Market aspects also compose the opportunity space of street art, considering that private companies are often using it as a promotional tool (Vartanian, 2010; Tavares, 2011). In such a way, since companies perceive street art as trendy, it became part of people's daily lives, in the form of wearable products and advertisements in the media (Costa, 2007). For instance, in March 2017, Mc Donald's launched a campaign in the Netherlands that was based on murals around the country created by street artists from the Bushwick Collective in order to promote a new burger (Beltrone, 2017). However, according to Costa (2007) the use of street art by companies also contributes for the loss of its political and interventionist power that once characterized it, while making it subjected to the control of such enterprises.



Picture 2: Mc Donald's advertisement created by street artists in the Netherlands.

Author & source: Adformatie.

Considering the Street Art Today museum case, the opportunity space seems relevant as the creation period of a museum is closely related to it. This is observed because the decision to create a museum reflects events of this period, as detected in the cases of the foundation of the Louvre Museum in France and the Prado Museum in Spain, since these institutions emerged due to a State's movement of cumulative and conquering posture (Elias, 1992). Besides being closely related to the ongoing events, a museum's creation echoes the prevailing values held by strategic groups during this occasion. For instance, Sant'anna (2008) pointed that the creation of most of the museums in the XX Century in Brazil was influenced not only by processes of urbanization and industrialization that were taking place at the time, but it was also affected by the private interest of the elite. In a similar way, the study of the Street Art Today's museum aims to reveal about the circumstances that led to the museum's creation, as well as the values that are prioritized in this moment.

Furthermore, Dimaggio (1992, p. 44) claims that the existence of competitors can also consist on an opportunity space, since it affects the chances of an object obtaining successful legitimacy. The competition seems to be an issue to museums, as they have to compete with other forms of cultural practices and entertainment, according to the Social Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands (Jonker, 2008). This situation emerged as the public nowadays expects to go through a unique experience when visiting museums, so these institutions should be able to offer an "event" (Verduijn, Van Mil & Verbei, 2001, p. 5).

Thus, a question that develops from the opportunity space is: *What are the factors outside of the art world that affect the legitimation of street art by Street Art Today in Amsterdam?* Based on what was presented above, the first expectation to this question is as following:

Expectation 1: The existence of competitors represents a difficulty to the success of Street Art Today museum.

Moreover, as noted in the case of Rotterdam, the fact that municipality's policies related to street art clearly affect it, leads to the second expectation:

Expectation 2: *Policies by the municipality of Amsterdam can affect the legitimation of street art by Street Art Today in the city.*

2.2.2. Resources provided by art institutions to street art

Becker (2008[1982]) also points that the systems of the art worlds play an important role in the legitimation process. Those systems present tangible and intangible resources, which are endogenous factors that facilitate success. Some examples of resources are money, labor, knowledge, institutionalized relationships, prestige and status (Baumann, 2007). In such a way, resources can be defined as “institutional shifts and transformations within the field that re contextualize the production, distribution and consumption of the product” (Parker, 2012, p.1). Besides, resources encompass people who are not artists, but contribute to the artistic product, such as collaborators, supporters and technical personnel. Hence, they change the perspective from art as a creation of an individual to art as collective action. Therefore, in order to analyze an art world, the workers and the tasks performed by them should be considered (Becker, 2008[1982]).

Mobilization is relevant in order to generate the resources that will support the successfully legitimation of an art production. Thereby, it is important to understand which resources are mobilized and the benefits brought by them. For instance, physical resources, such as settings, venues and equipment contribute to the achievement of practical work, while non-physical resources, such as organizational principles, labor, and status contribute to the achievement of symbolic work. Also, the resources depend on the art world, since each art world relies on different resources. For example, opera demands extensive physical resources, as it requires the building of appropriate venues and the supply of equipment and instruments. On the other hand, poetry relies more on the symbolic work performed by publishers, critics, and scholars involved in the evaluation of this cultural manifestation. Thus, in order to comprehend the nature of cultural production and evaluation, the institutions and social relations of the art world should be analyzed as resources (Baumann, 2007, p.55).

Regarding resources provided by art galleries, it is known that they provide a physical space that gathers works of art, while offering the purchase possibility. Usually, art pieces in a gallery are in an early stage of the consecration process, where the

activities of museums come by the end (Cascardo, 2012). Considering the museums' and galleries' cultural authority to label something as art (Baumann, 2007), it can be said that street art in these environments is more recognized as an art form.

However, according to Shapiro and Heinich (2013, p.14), in spite of street art being found in the institutionalized art world, its recognition process as an art form is a recent phenomenon that is almost complete, but still in progress. This manifestation has limitations related to its transportability, as it is usually performed on the city walls, representing a difficulty in this process. Moreover, there is an inferior value assigned to street art, due to the fact that it's an activity that emerged among members of popular layers. Thus, there is a lower social status attributed to its practitioners and audience, which constitutes an obstacle to its completely acceptance as an art form. In such a way, luxury and high-class activities seem to be frequently among the main conditions for the acknowledgment of artistic value (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013, p.14).

Considering that this study aims to understand the role of the creation of a museum by Street Art Today to the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam, it is important to highlight that this institution provides physical and non-physical resources in the art world (Becker, 2008[1982]). Cultural productions sponsored by art institutions gain the resource of artistic and cultural value, due to the fact that museums and art galleries are understood as more legitimate by other actors in the art world or art field, as well as by the broad art audience (Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1969; Goodman, 1977; Bourdieu, 1993; Baumann, 2007; Becker, 2008[1982]). Also, according to Cascardo (2012), even though a museum is not primarily market oriented, it assigns the resource of status to the art, which can affect the monetary value of the work. The way round is also observed, since an artist that is valued in the art market, can reach easier the museum sphere (Cascardo, 2012).

Therefore, in order to contextualize the concept of resources in relation to SAT museum in Amsterdam, the following sub question emerged: *What are the main resources provided by the Street Art Today museum to legitimate street art in Amsterdam?*

With regard to this question, I ground my expectation in the statement that cultural productions sponsored by art institutions obtain the resource of artistic and cultural value:

Expectation 3: *SAT contributes to establish street art as part of a legitimate and respected sphere of the art world in Amsterdam.*

2.2.3. The framing of street art

An object also arises as art due to the attribution of meaning to it (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013). Considering that, Baumann indicates the framing as part of the legitimation process. The framing is characterized by a structure that orients thinking and interpretation about a concrete issue, condition, event, or object (Baumann, 2007). According to Parker (2012, p.1), framing is understood as “the emergence of a critical discourse around the product that ascribes value and legitimacy to it”. In such a way, frames are relevant because they reveal the attribution of a cognitive value to culture (Van Gorp, 2007).

In order to understand the frame, the ideology behind it should be examined, as it is composed by norms and values that make the framing convincing. Thereby, the ideology enables the understanding of an art world and its norms and values. Moreover, discourses are the basis for the frame and ideology, as they introduce the vocabulary and concepts for the communication (Baumann, 2007). Thus, discourses can be defined as “broad systems of communication that link concepts together in a web of relationships through an underlying logic” (Ferree & Merrill, 2000).

In order to apply the concept of framing to SAT museum’s case, this thesis aims to understand how this institution attributes artistic meaning to street art. Thereby, the following sub question came into light: *How does Street Art Today contributes to frame street art as an art form?*

As mentioned previously, street art when framed by art institutions is validated by an artistic context (Cascardo, 2012). Even though street art differs from contemporary art, since the former refers to images that are figurative and legible to a wide audience, characterizing it as lowbrow art (Kordic, 2014), while the latter is composed by concepts that are familiar to a limited circle of educated people, characterizing it as highbrow art (Anika, 2013), these two art movements obtain artistic value in a similar manner, considering that museums and galleries play a resembling role in their framing process (Moulin, 2007). Also, as mentioned previously, street art can be placed in contemporary art institutions, such as the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los

Angeles (Moca, 2011) and the Modern Contemporary Museum in Amsterdam (Moco, 2017). Moreover, according to the sociologist Neto (2011), street art when situated in art institutions moves from a peripheral zone to a more central position in the art world, a realm that is occupied by contemporary art. Therefore, these factors led to the following expectation:

Expectation 4: *The Street Art Today museum approximates street art with contemporary art.*

Furthermore, considering that it can be questioned if street art in an indoor space is still perceived as street art, another sub question that seems pertinent to this study is: *What is the discourse used by Street Art Today in order to frame the works presented at the museum as street art?*

The expectation to this question assumes that the findings of this study are going to consist with the claims of the participants that took part on Snelders' study (2012).

Expectation 5: *Street art is a matter of style, not of being indoors or on the streets.*

3. Research design

3.1. Case: Street Art Today Museum

This research is focused on the Street Art Today museum in pursuance of understanding how an institution affects the legitimation of street art in practice. The Street Art Today's (SAT) website (Street.art.today, 2017) defines the organization in the "About us" section as the following:

STREET ART TODAY IS A PROMOTION PLATFORM AND FULL-SERVICE URBAN ART AND STREET ART AGENCY. WE ENJOY WORKING WITH GLOBALLY RECOGNIZED URBAN ARTISTS ON AWARD-WINNING PROJECTS AND MURALS.

We are setting up the world's biggest street art museum in Amsterdam while working on mural paintings for our clients and also organise the yearly Kings Spray Street Art Festival.

Clients include Doubletree by Hilton, Rijksmuseum, ING, City of Amsterdam, and many more.

Picture 3: Street Art Today - About us

Source: <http://streetart.today/about-us/>

Considering the online presence of SAT, its website and social media focus on news related to street art in Amsterdam, such as the release of a book with pictures from street art murals in this Dutch city and the Dutch Street Art Awards. Also, SAT organizes street art events and workshops, such as the King Spray Festival, which takes place every year during King's Day (Rees, 2017b). In addition, the urban and street art agency works with a variety of clients, mainly in the field of branding, advertising and events, as well as museums and art galleries (Coolen, 2014). For instance, in March 2017, SAT collaborated with DoubleTree by Hilton Hotel at NDSM Wharf, supported by the acrylic paint brand Liquitex, to produce murals in few rooms of the hotel (Rees, 2017a). Another example to illustrate services provided by SAT is that in September of 2014, this organization produced three murals inspired by works from classical Dutch Masters as a promotional campaign for the Rijksmuseum (Coolen, 2014).

Currently, the Street Art Today main project is the creation of a street art museum in the industrial hall of Lasloods at NDSM Wharf in Amsterdam, which is scheduled to open in the summer of 2018, due to a renovation that is currently taking place in the building. According to the founder and curator of this institution (Coolen, 2017), it is going to be the largest street art museum in the world, both in terms of size, since Lasloods' area is 7,000 m², and also in terms of collection that now counts with around 100 works.

Regarding the location of SAT, it can be said that the NDSM is considered a "creative melting point for artists in residence, with ateliers, cultural-related small businesses and the Hall of Fame. The spot is also one of the few remaining free spaces that are tied to subcultures in the commercially changing city of Amsterdam" (NDSM, 2017). Moreover, according to the *Bestemmingsplan NDSM-werf Oost* [Destination's Plan NDSM-yard East] (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017a), the municipality of Amsterdam determines that the building where SAT is located must be employed for cultural purposes, which includes its use as a museum. In such a way, this means that the municipality accepts the presence of a museum in SAT's building.

Moreover, the creation of SAT museum is meaningful since street art is a category that is struggling to acquire cultural and artistic significance (Neto, 2011; Irvine, 2012; Jarvie, 2012). Also, as mentioned previously, according to Shapiro and Heinich (2003), it is not completely recognized as an art form in the art world. Therefore, the

creation of a museum exclusively dedicated to it is relevant, as this institution assigns artistic and cultural value to this artistic manifestation (Cascardo, 2012). Also, it seems pertinent to study how a museum affects street art at the present moment, as according to Irvine (2012, p.1), street art is a postmodern genre, which is defined more as a real-time practice than by any theory.

It is also observed the existence of street art museums in other parts of the world, such as The Graffiti and Street Art museum of Texas in the U.S.A. (The GASAM, 2017), The Street Museum of Art in New York, U.S.A. (SMoA, 2017), The Museum of Street Art Tahiti in Paupeete, Tahiti (Blond, 2017), the Street Art Museum in Saint Petersburg, Russia (Street Art Museum, 2017) and the Millennium Iconoclast Museum of Art in Brussels, Belgium (Blommer, 2017). Furthermore, there is already a street art museum in Amsterdam, however it differs from SAT, as its collection is formed by outside site-specific works (SAMA, 2017). There are also upcoming street art museums in Berlin, Germany (Neuendorf, 2016) and in Paris, France (Marcus, 2016). Comparing to those institutions, it can be said that the Street Art Museum in Saint Petersburg is larger in terms of area, in relation to SAT, since this enterprise occupies more than 11 hectares, which include indoors and outdoors areas (Street Art Museum, 2017). Also, in terms of collection, the Street Art Museum Amsterdam (SAMA, 2017) features 150 works, being thus larger than SAT's present collection. However, SAT differs from these institutions as it proposes to bring the largest collection of street art works concentrated in an enormous indoor space (Coolen, 2017).

The curator of SAT, also highlights that with this collection an era is going to be framed and preserved, while becoming accessible to a wide audience (Coolen, 2017). Preserving an era can be related to Sant'anna's (2008) perception about one of the goals of the creation of modern art museums, which was to preserve the present, thus, being institutions that keep the memory of the future. The protection of street art nonetheless may be perceived as a danger to the authenticity of its traditions related to illegality, anti-commercialism and transience, according to Merrill (2015, p. 387).

Regarding the museum's collection, it encompasses works on canvas by leading street artists from all over the world, such as David Walker (U.K.), Cranio (Brazil) and Hoxhoh (U.S.A.). A differential of SAT is that all these works were made especially for the museum. Also, SAT's curator claims that another differential of this street art

museum is that the sizes of the artworks are bigger, comparing to traditional museums, as the smallest painting in the collection is larger than the Night Watch, by Rembrandt, and the largest one so far is 5 meters wide and 12 meters high. Moreover, the museum's collection aims to present the messages and insights by street artists about our contemporary society (Coolen, 2017).

In order to understand the role of SAT as a museum, the definition by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) is going to be used. According to the ICOM (2017), "a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment." Moreover, according to UNESCO (2003), heritage involves "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills and cultural spaces that are constantly recreated by groups in response to their environment and history, whilst providing a sense of identity and continuity". Therefore, as a museum, SAT contributes to the heritagisation of street art, due to its proposal of protecting it. Also, it can be said that the process of categorizing street art as heritage is identified as a recent phase of its commercialization (Merrill, 2015, p. 374).

3.2. Sampling procedure, data collection and analysis

The primarily methodology of data collection employed was semi structured in-depth qualitative interviews. The reason for this choice is that this type of interview provides a basis to obtain answers to the necessary questions, through the interview guide, while at the same time the interviewer has no excessive control over the informant, so it creates a relaxed atmosphere and also allows unexpected findings to emerge (Russel,1994). Thus, such flexibility suits to expand the reach of the research topics, by taking into account the answers given by the participants, allowing the investigation of relevant matters in-depth (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003, p.148). Therefore, the interview guide was used in practice as a checklist of topics that should be covered, while interviewees had a certain freedom to approach the topics that they considered relevant in their own words.

In the broad sense, the respondents of the in-depth interviews are players in the street art scene in Amsterdam. The importance of holding interviews with members of the art world is that the legitimation process relies on the consensus among these actors (Baumann, 2007). These individuals are also strategic to this research because street art is only perceived as an art form due to the existence of an art world (Becker, 2008[1982]). Thus, the first interviews were conducted with two members of Street Art Today's staff, in order to provide a first impression about SAT's role from insiders' point of view. For the next interviews, a mapping of galleries that work with street art in Amsterdam was elaborated and the staff of these organizations was contacted. This approach resulted in one interview with the creative director of a street art platform and of the Dutch street art awards, who also collaborates with a street art gallery and another interview with the founder and curator of an urban contemporary art gallery in the city. The latter participant introduced the researcher to a street art agent who came to participate in this research. Thus, considering that this initial informant nominated through his social network a person who was eligible to participate in this study, characterizes it as a snowball sampling (Morgan, 2008, p.816). Moreover, the first street artist that was interviewed was selected through a mapping of active renowned street artists in the Netherlands. This person indicated to the researcher two other street artists that are well known and present in the street art scene, who were his fellow students during his formation at the art's academy, thus snowball sampling also applied in this case. It is relevant to point that all these individuals are full time artists, who make their living out of street art. Another interview was conducted with the founder and curator of a contemporary art gallery in the city, which also exposes works from street artists that use the streets as a surface. This participant was also selected through a snowball sampling, since the staff members of Street Art Today recommended her to the researcher. Finally, the last interview of this study was led with the founder and curator of Street Art Today museum.

In such a way, ten interviews were performed, of which the shortest one lasted 48 minutes and the longest one took one hour and 22 minutes, depending on the availability and also on the profile of the respondents. In total the collection procedure generated 11 hours, 18 minutes worth of audio. All participants were interviewed individually, except for one interview that was performed with a street art duo, as a wish

from the artists, since they work as a pair. Seven of the participants live in Amsterdam and three of them inhabit Rotterdam, but have a historical of street art works performed in Amsterdam, enabling them to provide insights about this context. Although gender was not a focus point in the sampling process, it seems relevant to mention that eight of the participants were males, while only two of them were female and neither of them was an artist. This data can be understood as a confirmation to the fact that men dominate the street art scene (Macdonald, 2002). Moreover, all the interviews were conducted face-to-face, giving the advantage of spontaneous answers and personal interaction (Broom, Hand & Tovey, 2009, p.52). All testimonials were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim, meaning that the original language used by the respondents was preserved, thus the answers were neither corrected nor paraphrased, enabling the original meanings to arise, while also assuring the validity of results (Daymon & Holloway, 2011, p.305).

Before the interview started, all the interviewees signed a consent form, which meant that they allowed their answers to be used for this research. Moreover, all the respondents were informed that their identity would remain preserved, in order to give them more freedom of speech. Therefore, this study presents them anonymously and reveals only their occupation, based on how they described it, in the chapter concerning the findings (see Chapter 4). Also, in order to identify and combine them, according to their similar roles, they were given code names: A for street artists, G for gallery or museum owners and curators and S for supporters and promoters of street art, which included the creative director of a street art platform and the Dutch street art awards; a street art agent; a street art producer and project manager and a street art's assistant and professional hand shaker.

The respondents were always asked the same questions, however, the interviews with the staff members of the Street Art Today museum, included some extra questions related to specificities of this institution that only insiders would be able to reply. In general, the interviews concerned the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam, approaching the Street Art Today museum, as well as general art institutions. Considering that the museum is going to open for the public in 2018, it can be said that the answers related to this topic could be based on expectations. Moreover, it is important to mention that even though the selection criteria of the interviewees was

not aiming to select individuals related to SAT, it was found during the interviews that all the participants already knew about the institution and the street artists' duo created a work for SAT's collection, while the two other artists were contacted by this institution to perform a work for the museum. However, until the date of this study, they hadn't accepted this proposal yet.

The interview guides (see Appendix I and II) were elaborated with the help of the main themes that were explored in the theoretical framework. Taking into account that the legitimation theory by Baumann (2007) was used as the main theory for this research, the questions were based on the concepts proposed by him – the opportunity space, resources and framing. Also, supporting introductory, connective and conclusive questions accompanied the theory. Thus, the structure of the interviews resembled the following:

- Background: in order to provide an introduction, the respondents were asked about their occupation, their relation with street art and their current activities. This enabled the understanding of each of these individuals' role in relation to street art.
- The meaning of street art: in this section, questions were elaborated around the perception of the interviewees about street art. Even though this was inspired by the search of the framing, it was part of the introductory block of questions, since it relates to key issues. Firstly, the interviewees were asked about the differences between graffiti and street art, based on the claim by DeNotto (2014). Also, it was asked if there is some sense of identification to the audience in relation to street art (McAuliffe, 2012, p.190). Moreover, the respondents' opinion about the preservation of street art was inquired, aiming to find out if they think that it weakens its ideology (Merrill, 2015, p. 387). To conclude this section, the interviewees were questioned about their perception in relation to the recognition status of street art as an art form. This served as a connective question that led to the main theory.
- The opportunity space of street art: here the opinion of the interviewees about factors external to the art world that affect street art, followed by how they relate to SAT, was demanded. This was based on the points presented

by Goodman (1977), Baumann (2007), Becker, (2008[1982]) and Parker (2012).

- The resources attributed to street art: the questions in this section explored which resources art institutions, with a focus on SAT, provide to the legitimation of street art. This was based on the claim that institutions contribute to make street art more recognized as an art form (Baumann, 2007; Becker, 2008[1982]; Parker, 2012; Shapiro and Heinich, 2013, p.14).
- The framing of street art: the interviewees were asked about their perception of how the framing of street art occurs in cultural institutions, with a focus on SAT, and also how it applied to their selection criteria. Moreover, in this section the respondents were asked whether they consider street art as such in an indoor space, and if the answer would be yes, they were inquired about what contributes to this framing. This is a critical matter since it can be questioned if street art is considered street art when it is not placed in its original context, represented by the streets (Barros, 2011; Snelders, 2012)
- Future: to finalize the interview, interviewees were asked about how they perceive the future of street art in the context of art institutions and what are their expectations in relation to SAT museum.

Finally, the transcribed interviews were analyzed through the categorizing of the testimonials, by using a combination of deductive and inductive thematic patterns. This practice was chosen because it allowed the utilization of predefined labels, as well as the arising of new categories, which were close to participant's own words (King, 2008). The deductive approach was used for the main codes – opportunity space, resources and framing – since they were driven by the legitimation theory (Crabtree, 1999). The inductive approach, on the other hand, was used for the sub codes, since they were strongly linked to the data provided by the respondents (Boyatzis, 1998). By categorizing the patterns, it was possible to find out general constructs that could be easier applied to the theory (Saldaña, 2012).

In the code of the opportunity space, the sub codes were: “Lack of support to street art by the municipality”, “Companies’ interest in street art”, “NDSM as an appropriated environment for the museum” and “Street art as a touristic attraction”. In

relation to the code resources, the sub codes found were the following: “Institutions/SAT as a showcase to street art”, “Collectors’ interest in street art”, “Institutions/SAT make street art more accepted as art”, “Preservation of street art by SAT museum”. Besides, the largest amount of sub codes was found in the code framing: “Street art’s dependence on the context”, “Relevance of quality”, “Impermanence as part of street art”, “People relate to street art”, “Relevance of street art with message”, “Uniqueness of the museum” and “Educational role of the museum”.

The coding and categorizing involved careful reading and proofreading, in order to obtain accurate results (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p.83). First of all, the interviews were coded individually, in order to avoid any bias, by using the software atlas.ti. Then, the patterns found in the different interviews were compared to enable the arising of common sub codes. In this phase, it was necessary to read between the lines, to make sure that the sub-codes could be grouped together. This process was also useful to clarify which sub code was part of each code, requiring the appropriate use of the theory. After all, the common patterns that affect the legitimation of street art by SAT, which were more often encountered during the analysis, entailed the results of this research. Even though the results can present some influences from the unique interpretation of data by the researcher (Patton, 1990), the thematic coding was effective to combine the data from a large data set (Guest, 2012), while enabling categories that answer the research question to emerge.

In order to complement the results of the interviews, all the articles in the website of Street Art Today were analyzed as a secondary data. This online platform was created on the 15th April 2014 and is composed by 51 articles until the present date (15th May 2017). This analysis revealed patterns in the online activities regarding street art performed by SAT, which are part of their role as an institution that legitimates this art category. As well as the interviews, the data analysis of the website consisted on categorizing the articles, by using a combination of deductive and inductive thematic patterns. Likewise, in the interviews, the deductive approach was applied to the code, which derived from the legitimation theory, while the inductive approach was applied to the sub codes, thus allowing natural patterns to evolve. Hence, after comparing the results of the analysis of each article, they were grouped into common sub codes and codes in order to apply the theory (Saldaña, 2012). The main patterns found were the

following: “Street art with a message”, “International renowned artists” and “Companies interest in street art”. Considering that SAT’s website was a secondary data, the main patterns, which resulted from this analysis can be found in the results chapter (see chapter 4), by complementing the results of the interviews.

4. Results

This study intends to expose how the Street Art Today Museum affects the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam by relying on the views of actors active in the street art scene in the city. As mentioned on the theoretical framework, the legitimation theory by Baumann was used in order to accomplish that. Thus, the three concepts introduced by this author to explain the legitimation of something as an art form were encountered during the coding and categorizing analysis of the 10 interviews.

4.1. The opportunity space around the Street Art Today museum in Amsterdam

In order to investigate the opportunity space around SAT in Amsterdam, the following sub question was used: *What are the factors outside of the art world that affect the legitimation of street art by Street Art Today in Amsterdam?* The table below exposes the sub codes under the main code, found after the comparison of the interviews analysis, followed by the number of interviews where they appeared.

Table 1: Patterns found during the interviews in relation to the opportunity space of street art in Amsterdam

Code	Sub code	Frequency
Opportunity space	Lack of support to street art by the municipality	9
	Companies' interest in street art	8
	NDSM as an appropriated environment for the museum	7
	Street art as a touristic attraction	7

4.1.1. Lack of support to street art by the municipality

Even though in the NDSM area, the Street Art Today museum is benefited by the lax regime of the municipality (van Loon, 2014), in other parts of Amsterdam, especially in the city center, there is no support to street art, according to nine of the interviewees. They claimed that the municipality doesn't understand about street art and that the system has an excess of bureaucracy. Also, one of the reasons why the municipality usually doesn't allow street art in the city center's canal ring area is because this site is part of the UNESCO World Heritage list. In such a way, UNESCO encourages the protection of this area (UNESCO, 2017). This factor generates an opportunity because the street artists have to look for other surfaces to perform their work, out of the public space. Therefore, the Street Art Today museum represents a different environment for street artists to create and promote their works, considering that it is less affected by the policies of the municipality, when compared to the city walls.

(a) Municipality doesn't understand about street art

Often the interviewees pointed that the municipality of Amsterdam has no knowledge about street art and doesn't accept it as an art form, so this is why they don't support it. The testimonials below illustrate this:

"The city council also doesn't really have an idea, so there is a mural and they think if it's Keith Haring or whatever we need to take it away and they would come to us to ask for advice if it was a work of art or if it was just vandalism or if they could take it away and then we would explain 'no, this is really art and these artists have a long career and they are internationally famous'. But their starting point of knowledge is 0. "(G1, gallery owner and curator)

"And I also think that the municipality is not yet in that position or in the state of mind to productively support street art or graffiti... And they need to get in a process of accepting it as an art form and also making it possible as an art form.

For example, with Kobra [street artist] we had to push and push and push and push before we got the permission.” (S1, producer and project manager)

(b) Bureaucracy in the city

Also, it was pointed that the bureaucracy necessary to obtain permission to perform street art in Amsterdam could be an issue:

“But it's different because if you have a small city you have maybe 5 people working for the government or for the city council and then it's easy to talk with those people and say 'we do this' and they say 'ok, do it'. But if you go to Amsterdam to the city council it's 5000 people and everybody has to say something, so it's so much time and a lot of people and if one guy of the 5000 will say no, then it's no.” (A3, street artists' duo)

(c) Amsterdam is protected due to its value as a heritage

Another reason that makes it harder to get permission from the municipality is that the city center of Amsterdam is a heritage site:

“But the opportunity is not there [to perform street art] because every building is a monument, so they [municipality] have rules and you cannot paint it and I think it's for a good reason, a building like this [cultural heritage] shouldn't be painted, it should stay like this”. (A3, street artists' duo)

4.1.2. Companies' interest in street art

According to the interviewees, private companies are noticing the audience's interest for street art, therefore they are incorporating it in their campaigns. Thus, this fact echoes the claim presented by Vartanian (2010) and Tavares (2011). It can be said that this is also part of the opportunity space because by using street art to promote themselves, companies also contribute to popularize this cultural manifestation.

“I mean it's becoming more mainstream, so you have now big brands and companies that want to associate themselves with street art, this is developing on that. We just had a horrible Mc Donald's commercial. If that's a proof of big brands wanting to connect with street art...” (G1, gallery owner and curator)

Moreover, one of the interviewees pointed that besides the use of street art by companies contributing to make it more often part of people's life, it is positive as it represents a possibility for artists to earn money. On the other hand, this respondent

reinforced the claim by Costa (2007) that the commercialization of street art weakens its initial rebellious ideology:

“Ok, so now maybe there is more companies that hire street artists. I guess so, it’s getting more popular. It’s shitty and good at the same time, it depends on... Is the artist going to profit from that? But they are gonna make it less authentic, you know. If Mc Donald’s is gonna make an add... But for the street artists involved, they are gonna make money from it and they are gonna paint, so I guess it’s cool for him. But it’s like a fucking multinational... They take everything they can take and they fuck it up. So, street art or graffiti was maybe a rebellious thing in the beginning and now they are gonna take this and sell it and I think this a bit shitty, but I guess it’s all about how you are into this. It gets involved with the rest of society because it gets commercialized, you know. But they do this kind of shit. Depends on how anti-capitalist you are.” (A1, street artist)

The absorption of street art by companies is positive for SAT as an agency because it means that more companies tend to support initiatives related to this cultural manifestation. Furthermore, by analyzing SAT's website, it could be confirmed that companies are interested in street art. There are seven articles in the online platform referring to street art initiatives that were supported or sponsored by private companies. The quote below was extracted in an article from September 2014 about a promotion of the Rijksmuseum, which consisted on street art murals produced by SAT and sponsored by the bank ING and the creative agency Brandbase.

“Big up to Brandbase, ING, and Rijksmuseum for giving us the opportunity and making it happen!” (Coolen, 2014)

4.1.3. NDSM as an appropriated environment for the museum

The interviewees exemplified the relevance of the environment in relation to the municipality’s policy, when seven of them highlighted the NDSM Wharf as a suitable location for the museum. As mentioned previously, the NDSM is one of the few places in Amsterdam where the municipality tolerates street art and graffiti. As a consequence, these docs are full of graffiti ‘taggings’ and street art works on the walls. Taking that into consideration, the interviewees exposed that the NDSM provides an appropriated

environment for SAT Museum. The quotations below expose how this topic was approached during the interviews:

“NDSM is getting a hot spot for people to go there, because there is less rules, you can organize a festival or something, there is nobody there to watch graffiti...” (A1, street artist)

“And also a big part of the DNA of the museum is that the building is already one of the biggest legal walls in Amsterdam, that's not really legal, but it's sort of, semi legal, you will not get arrested if you paint the building until a certain height of 3 or 4 meters.” (G2, founder and curator of SAT museum)

4.1.4. Street art as a touristic attraction

Seven of the respondents mentioned that street art can function as a touristic attraction, especially in places that are usually not frequented by tourists. Besides, it was mentioned by a few interviewees that Amsterdam is visited every year by a large number of tourists, who are usually interested in cultural activities. Thus, this also relates to the Street Art Today museum because considering that the museum is not located in the city center, street art can be used as a tool to attract tourists to its area, the NDSM Warf. Also, it could be inferred by the interviews that the tourists in Amsterdam represent a heterogeneous public to street art, which holds more knowledge about it than the city dwellers.

“Because people come to the center as a tourist, but they go outside because there is street art. That you see it in Portugal, you see it in Norway, actually anywhere we go, that we do paintings outside of the city center, sometimes also close to the city center. But people go outside of the city center because it's there.” (A3, street artists' duo)

“The fact that a lot of visitors that come to Amsterdam, we have like 18 million visitors every year I think, I think 60 to 80% also visit one or more museums... So, Amsterdam is a very popular cultural destination, so I think we are in the right time in the right place.” (G2, founder and curator of SAT museum)

“I mean Amsterdam is a bit of a strange city because we have so many tourists here and the tourists might know a lot more than the people from Amsterdam do [about street art].” (G1, gallery owner and curator)

The first expectation of this study was that due to the fact that museums can compete with other leisure options (Jonker, 2008), competitors would be the most relevant aspect in the opportunity space, which affects the Street Art Today museum. However, this expectation wasn't confirmed as most of the interviewees considered that there are no or few competitors to the museum, due to the uniqueness of this institution. This aspect is going to be explored in details in the last section of this chapter, as it is part of the framing (see Section 4.3.). The environment was also mentioned as relevant by seven of the interviewees, since SAT museum is benefited by its location at the NDSM, an area surrounded by graffiti and street art.

The second expectation in relation to the opportunity space was that policies from the municipality of Amsterdam would play an important role in the legitimization of street art by SAT. Yet, the interviewees pointed that there is no policy of the municipality, which directly supports or promotes street art, especially in the city center because this area is a World Heritage Site (UNESCO, 2017). In such a way, this lack of support to street art can be understood as a fact that led to the necessity of an indoor space, less affected by the public policies, destined to this art form, constituting an opportunity for the existence of the Street Art Today museum. Besides tolerating street art at NDSM (van Loon, 2014), the municipality declares that the building where the museum is located is supposed to be used for cultural purposes in the Destination's Plan (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017a). In such a way, even though the municipality doesn't seem to support directly street art in Amsterdam, these factors are positive to SAT, as they facilitate the existence of the museum.

4.2. The main resources provided by Street Art Today to the legitimization of street art in Amsterdam

Since this study contemplates the legitimization of street art by Street Art Today, the resources found during the interviews approach changes in the street art sphere brought by this organization or related to it. In such a way, the following sub question was used to study these aspects: *What are the main resources provided by the Street Art*

Today museum to legitimate street art in Amsterdam? The table below presents the elements that were named most often by the interviewees in this category:

Table 2: Patterns found during the interviews in relation to the resources provided by Street Art Today museum

Code	Sub code	Frequency
Resources	Institutions/SAT as a showcase to street art	7
	Collectors' interest in street art	7
	Institutions/SAT make street art more accepted as art	6
	Preservation of street art by SAT museum	6

4.2.1. Institutions/SAT as a showcase to street art

Seven of the participants of this study stated that institutions, which deal with street art, as well as the Street Art Today museum, work as a showcase to this art form. Hence, they work as a platform, which attracts the general audience who is interested in it, as well as art collectors. This contradicts completely with the claim by Barros (2011) that street art should be on the street walls, as a manner of fighting capitalism, otherwise it is not street art anymore. Also, considering that this cultural product, when placed in art institutions, is usually produced on canvases and it is charged money for it when the artworks are sold, in the case of galleries and also regarding the gallery at SAT museum, some street artists wouldn't consider it street art anymore due to these conditions (Barros, 2011). On the other hand, the interviewees of this study don't see the fact of art institutions working as a platform to street art as negative or as a threat to its authenticity because they believe it is positive for the promotion of this expression. This is how the interviewees mentioned that:

(a) In general cultural institutions

"[Resource that a cultural institution provides to street art is] Promotion, yes, a platform that attracts a bit more of the serious art collectors... And yeah more international audience, more than just if somebody just paints something in the street but that's not picked up by a gallery or presented in an art fair, the

audience is much smaller than when you open it up and hang it in a museum or art fair, it's a bigger international audience." (G1, gallery owner and curator)

(b) In the Street Art Today museum

As mentioned previously, besides functioning as a museum, SAT is also going to hold a gallery in its space, providing thus the purchase possibility of small scale artworks. Moreover, this organization works as a street art agency by representing artists who have their canvases in the museum. Therefore, SAT produces commissioned works by these artists, such as wall murals, in other environments as well. The founder and curator of SAT museum, highlights that by performing these activities, SAT benefits the street artists:

"We [SAT] provide a place where they can show their best work, we also have the gallery inside, so that's where we can promote their other small scale works, we provide a platform where they can sell their books, their screen-prints and we also promote their work through the agency, so that's what I refer to the projects in NY and in Finland." (G2, founder and curator of SAT museum)

According to a street artists' duo, this characterizes the whole museum as a gallery of big dimensions:

"By doing the museum of course, I mean the museum is a poster or is like the stores, they have a display, it's like a big display, it's like a mega gallery, so it's always good. It has mega positive influence." (A3, street artists' duo)

One of the artists, who was part of this study, considers that the activities performed by SAT, including the museum, are motivated by commercial interests. Therefore, he emphasizes that SAT is going to profit with this upcoming institution:

"I think they [SAT] are profiting also a lot about all this commercialization of street art because they are building a fucking museum with street art and they are gonna sell tickets for people to get in, so they are thinking of a way to profit of it as well. So, they are also on a commercial trend, they are gonna profit of it" (S1, street artist)

This interviewee believes that the commercial role of SAT can be positive for the artists if they also profit from it. Thus, he and several interviewees of this study, especially other artists as well, claimed that it is necessary for them to sell their works. They state that the presence of street art works in this institution benefits the street

artists because it represents an opportunity for them to attract collectors and earn money. This confirms that they don't share the perception of Barros (2011) that street art should not be on a canvas to be commercialized. Also, it was pointed that usually the street artists don't get paid for painting outdoor murals or they receive a little amount of money for it, therefore, selling works on canvases enables them to keep working on the streets.

“People who buy paintings, pay for walls because that allows the artist to do what he wants because if you don't get paid or you don't have collectors buying your stuff then you have to work for the supermarket and you have no time to paint walls.” (A3, street artists' duo)

4.2.2. Collectors' interest in street art

Seven of the interviewees confirmed the statements presented by Silva (2015, p.7) and Courier (2014), when they affirmed that collectors are becoming more interested in street art and see it as a form of investment. In such a way, even though this is not a resource provided by Street Art Today museum, it seems relevant to this study because it is an endogenous factor in the art world that can be related to one of the motivations that led to the creation of the museum. As mentioned on the previous sub section, the interviewees believe that SAT is going to function as a showcase to street art, thus by having a gallery in its space and concentrating these art works in one single building, the museum represents a resource to attract collectors (Reyburn, 2015). Moreover, considering that Street Art Today works as an agency, it is going to be possible to hire the artists that have their pieces exposed at the museum to perform other works. Therefore, this organization also profits when acting as the mediator in the hiring or selling process. Thus, those can be understood as resources provided by Street Art Today for collectors to purchase street art, which can contribute to increase the collecting of this art form. The following quoting illustrates a claim made by one of the interviewees regarding the general interest of collectors in street art:

“Specially because we work also in a gallery, so we see a lot of art collectors are getting also more interested in the street art. So, we see a little change.” (S3, creative director of a street art Platform and the Dutch street art awards)

A few interviewees also pointed that collectors' interest for street art is positive for its legitimation:

"I think this is an interesting development to see collectors also opening up their collections to include street art and I think that will help street art in the end to become more recognized as a serious art form instead of vandalism or graffiti."
(G1, gallery owner and curator)

"I think more and more that's happening, that people recognize it as an art form because Banksy is selling a lot, Os Gemeos are now selling a lot. There is more... D*Face, Kaos, you know there are a lot of big street artists that are getting recognized in the art world and selling a lot on auctions." (S2, Street Art Agent)

4.2.3. Institutions/ SAT make street art more accepted as art

Six of the ten interviewees pointed that the main resource provided by art galleries and by SAT Museum to street art is that what is placed inside of them is more recognized as art. This consists with the claim that it is attributed the status of art to objects present in art institutions (Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1969; Goodman, 1977; Bourdieu, 1993; Baumann, 2007; Becker, 2008[1982]), thus they are considered more legitimate, compared to what is not part of this environment. The quotation below resembles how the interviewees expressed that art galleries provide this resource:

"It [street art] gets more acknowledgment because people think galleries have kind of authority on saying what is art and what is not. So if it gets in the galleries, then people think ok, it's art. So in that way a lot of people will say that it's more legit because it's in the galleries." (A3, street artists' duo)

Even though Street Art Today Museum is not opened yet, the interviewees already recognized that it is going to attribute artistic value to the artworks that compose its collection and also to street art in a broader sense, especially in the city of Amsterdam. They pointed that Street Art Today is already active in the street art context by acting as an agency for a couple of years and that the founder and curator of the museum is renown in the scene, thus these facts contribute to the recognition of this institution as a cultural authority. Also, it was stated that because of the use of the museum label, more acknowledgment is guaranteed to the artworks that are part of

SAT's collection. The testimonials below expose the view of some interviewees about this topic:

"I think this is a good push for me to make a work to the street art museum, because it is a good thing for the acceptance of street art in general, in the art scene and in the eyes of normal people, so we have to do that one." (A2, street artist crew)

"I think SAT creates more acknowledgment of street art because it has the label museum, so people will respect it because it carries that name..." (A3, street artists' duo)

"It [SAT museum] really will help is to make the position... It's really good for the place of street art in the art world. I think it will increase, more and more people will get to know the artists and it will get them a better position in the art world." (S2, street art agent)

4.2.4. Preservation of street art by SAT Museum

Another resource that was mentioned during six of the ten interviews is that by building the museum and requesting to the street artists to make the artworks on a canvas, SAT contributes to preserve street art. In relation to the effects of this preservation, it seems relevant to recapture the argument by Merrill (2015, p.387) that even though it supports the heritagisation of street art, this situation threatens the authenticity of its traditions, such as the transience. This matter can be connected to another issue that is perceived by some street artists as inconsistency to the ideology of this cultural manifestation, which is the fact that some street artists don't consider street art inside of an institution as such, because it doesn't sustain its marginal character (Barros, 2011; Snelders, 2012). However, these two factors don't seem to be a big issue to the participants of this research. They consider positive that street art is preserved, by indicating reasons to justify it, which are going to be exposed latter in this sub section. Besides, they still consider street art as street art even when placed inside the space of SAT's museum, due to the characteristics of its building and surroundings, as it was stated in the opportunity space (see sub Section 4.2.1) and also because it builds the right context, as it is exposed in the sub section that approaches the framing (see sub Section 4.2.3).

The following testimonials illustrate how it was usually claimed by the interviewees that SAT provides the resource of preservation to street art:

“But what I love is what the street art museum does is ‘look you can find it on the street, but we preserve it here on canvas’.” (S2, street art agent)

“But what we are doing with the museum, it’s basically like taking big walls and preserving them.” (S4, street artist’s assistant and professional hand shaker)

Moreover, it was also claimed by the interviewees that street artists working on a canvas is not a novelty. This leads to the assumption that being on the streets is not a condition sine qua non to street art, which can be seen as a positive aspect to the museum. Thus, it was stated that street artists are already using canvas a medium to preserve street art:

“I think all street artists are also working on canvas, so it’s naturally preserved I think.” (A2, street artist crew)

Considering the reasons why street art should be preserved, some respondents affirmed that street art should be protected because it is a proper art form. In such a way, this preservation also works the other way round, since it contributes to the acceptance of street art as a legitimate art form.

(a) It is a proper art form

It seems meaningful that the preservation of street art contributes to its recognition as art form, because as claimed by Neto (2011) and Shapiro and Heinich (2013, p.14), this cultural manifestation is still going through the process of being perceived as legitimate art. Also, the fact that at the Street Art Today museum, works are elaborated on a canvas, consists on a solution to the difficulty related to the transportability limitations of street art (Shapiro and Heinich, 2013, p.14). The testimonial below demonstrates how an interviewee stated about the value of protecting street art:

“But what we are doing with the museum, it’s basically like taking big walls and preserving them. And it’s a good thing, because it’s a proper art form. I think people need to see it as a proper art form, instead of hippies or vandals painting walls outside.” (S4, Street artist’s assistant and professional hand shaker)

(b) Historical value

Moreover, one of the respondents pointed that street art, which holds historical relevance should be preserved. This is how it was approached:

“I mean yes that some street art should be preserved because for example let’s take the London Police, if in years and years from now you know, it will become more of history, it will become a story, you wanna keep it, you wanna preserve it, like having a Keith Haring...” (G1, gallery owner and curator)

(c) Due to the quality of the work

Since street art contemplates a wide range of different practices on the streets, varying from small stickers to big dimension murals, it was also mentioned that not all the works on the street can be preserved. Thus, the criteria to decide what should be preserved must be also based on the notion of quality:

“But if an artist from abroad, but even a local artist from here makes very good art on the street, then I guess it should be protected, yes.” (S3, creative director of a street art Platform and the Dutch street art awards)

Interestingly, quality was also constantly mentioned in relation to how street art can be framed as a proper art form. As a consequence, the interviewees of this study pointed that it should be a criterion applied by art institutions to select the street art works that are going to be placed in their spaces. This topic is going to be explored in details in the subsection that is focused on the framing (see Subsection 4.3)

Regarding the third expectation of this study, it can be said that it was confirmed because the interviewees stated that the cultural authority of art institutions is one of the main symbolic resources brought by them, which is also observed in the case of SAT. Thus, the interviewees consider that Street Art Today museum contributes to make street art more recognized as an art form in the art world. The fact that these interviewees pointed that SAT attributes more artistic value to the works that compose its collection, even though this institution is not opened yet, lead to the assumption that they already attribute a certain degree of cultural authority to it. Also by legitimating street art, the Street Art Today museum can affect the monetary value of these art works, hence reinforcing the status of these pieces as investment to art buyers (Cascardo, 2012).

4.3. The framing of street art by Street Art Today

This sub section is going to explore the patterns found in the interviewees' testimonials in relation to the frame that should be applied to street art to make it understood as a proper art form. In order to answer that, the following sub question was used: *How does Street Art Today contributes to frame street art as an art form?*

Moreover, considering that it can be questioned if street art in an indoor space can still be named street art (Costa, 2007; Barros, 2011; Snelders, 2012), the following sub question also composed this research: *What is the discourse used by Street Art Today in order to frame the works presented at the museum as street art?*

Table 3: Patterns found during the interviews in relation to the framing of street art provided by Street Art Today museum

Code	Sub code	Frequency
Framing	Street art's dependence on the context	10
	Relevance of quality	9
	Impermanence as part of street art	8
	People relate to street art	7
	Relevance of street art with message	6
	Uniqueness of the museum	6
	Educational role of the museum	5

4.3.1. Street art's dependence on the context

Street art is tied to the context because the urban environment, where it is located, usually inspires it (Yip, 2010; Irvine, 2012). The most frequent sub code in the framing reinforces this argument, as the interviewees pointed that street art often reflects the urban context. Also, the cultural and social context are taken into account by the interviewees. Furthermore, according to the respondents, the context seems relevant to street art, as it contributes to justify its framing as such, especially in an indoor space. Therefore, this is extremely important to this research, as the art works in SAT museum are going to be in an indoor space and there is a polemic in relation to street art inside of institutions being still classified as street art (Costa, 2007; Barros, 2011; Snelders, 2012).

(a) Context affects street art

Street art when placed on the streets is vulnerable to the context, thus it is characterized as an ephemeral practice. The following statement resembles the positive views of the interviewees about this fact:

“Because the generation passes, then another artist comes by and he makes something new, so that’s the same with Beco do Batman, it’s also not the same the whole time. It is painted over and done again, so yeah I like it.” (S2, street art agent)

(b) Context is reflected on street art

Another way, in which the urban, social and cultural context relate to street art, is that it can be illustrated in the street art works. For instance, a street artwork is going to reflect the characteristics of the place where it was performed or current issues related to the context. This is how some interviewees approached it:

“It’s also, street art is also I think relating to context, context that moment in time, from that specific building, from that specific lookout, so if sometimes a whole area changes but you wanna keep the artwork, the artwork might lose all of its meaning and all of its context because the surroundings are changing” (G1, gallery owner and curator)

“So you always take into account [the context], don't put a Moroccan girl on a Swedish building, it doesn't really make sense, you know?” (A3, street artists' duo)

These testimonials resemble the case exposed by Jarvie (2012) that street art should represent the community, thus the social and cultural context, otherwise they may not appreciate it. Moreover, it seems that the curator of Street Art Today also considers the relevance of the social context, as he claimed that the collection of the museum is going to reflect “the messages and insights by street artists about our contemporary society” (Coolen, 2017).

(c) Context relevance to frame something as street art

The interviewees also pointed to the fact that the context is very relevant in order to frame something as street art when it is placed in an indoor space, such as art galleries and also in the case of the Street Art Today museum. The following respondent

mentioned that street art can be framed as such even in an indoor building, if there is a translation done by the artist, the art gallery or the museum, which is based on an interpretation that provides appropriated context to this cultural production.

“I mean you can [consider street art indoor as street art], depends on how it’s presented and what the information is... I think if an artist does a show in a gallery, the artist also needs to think on how to translate what they do on the street to the walls of the gallery. They have to think about this translation and if it’s done well by artists and by the gallery or by the museum, it can work very well. I don’t think you can just take ok, let’s take this piece from the street and hang it over there, that doesn’t work, there needs to be a translation and that’s and effort of artist and gallery to do that.” (G1, gallery owner and curator)

Moreover, according to the testimonials collected for this study, the context relevance also applies in the framing of street art by Street Art Today. The interviewees claimed that it is possible to frame street art as such in an indoor space if the settings are true to this art movement’s roots, related to the close relation to the urban environment. Thus, this argument echoes the claims by Irvine (2012) and Silva (2015). Considering that, it was pointed that the Street Art Today’s building is appropriated to frame the art works, which compose the museum’s collection, as street art even though it is not outside. The justification for this claim is that the museum is in a huge industrial building, with walls made of bricks, providing a rough ambient, which is close to street art’s original location, the city walls.

“And specifically the location that it’s in... [...] So the space also led itself perfectly to have a street art museum there because it’s rough, it’s industrial... Because that’s always the problem if you have street art at an auction at Christie’s for example and the auction of graffiti, but you see it hanging on this perfect white wall and it’s always a strange contrast, especially with graffiti. And I think this museum with this old building, it gives the right surrounding for this type of works.” (G1, gallery owner and curator)

It was also pointed by one of SAT’s staff member that the building where the museum is located conveys the feeling of being in an outside space, thus providing a similar experience of viewing street art in the streets.

“If you walk in the building it’s not an indoor space. It’s the location and the vibe. When you enter our building [SAT Museum] it feels like ‘is that a museum?’ I call it a painting church. It feels like a big institution that is all meant to be. Because the paintings are really big but you still see the building. So it doesn’t feel like you are in a tiny indoor space. It’s hard to keep it clean. It’s that big. And I think because of the location we are doing the museum in, it all makes it click.” (S4, street artist’s assistant and professional hand shaker)

Besides, as explored in the opportunity space (see Sub section 4.1), the interviewees stated that the graffiti and street art at NDSM characterizes it as an appropriated environment to SAT museum. Thus, it was also mentioned that the NDSM settings together with the feeling provided by SAT’s building contribute to frame street art as such in the museum:

“I think he [founder of SAT museum] has the right building for it, because it's that huge and you get this huge industrial feeling and including the area where it is like I said before it breaths spray paint, so like I said before, it's acceptable over there.” (S3, creative director of street art platform and the Dutch street art awards)

4.3.2. Relevance of quality

Nine of the ten interviewees emphasized the significance of quality in the street art scene. Many of them claimed that this is relevant because if a street artwork has quality it contributes to make it appreciated as an art form. Even though quality was mentioned often by the respondents, it was quite rare that they would justify right away when does an artwork contains it. Considering the subjectivity of this concept, it is relevant to understand what the interviewees meant by quality. Thus, the quotations that refer to this sub code are followed by a description of the criterion used by them to describe it.

The testimonial below expose in the words of the respondents why quality makes street art more accepted:

(a) To make street art accepted as an art form

“If they [street artists] improve their work and improve the quality of the work, it gets in collections and that helps to get it more and more recognized.” (S2, street art agent)

Later on, this interviewee developed briefly what he perceives as a quality work. He mentioned that it should be an eye catcher and hold a message:

“You know and quality is also subjective, everybody has a different opinion about what is quality. But I think for me, for graffiti to be street art, it needs to have those 3 things: I need to stop and see really and not only pass but really see what is on the wall and it needs to have a message and quality, that’s for me.” (S2, street art agent)

(b) In the selection criteria in cultural institutions/ SAT museum

Considering that according to the interviewees quality contributes to the recognition of street art as art, this aspect should also be taken into consideration in the selection criteria of cultural institutions, including the SAT museum. The following interviewee understands quality as a work with style and concept done by an artist that has a reputation in the scene.

“The [selection criteria depends on] quality of the work, you know, just general quality. Style, concept, reputation. I guess those are the main things (A1, street artist)”

Another respondent considered that quality is related to works that illustrate artists’ skills, while also presenting a story:

“Seriously I try to select artists that either have a buffering track record that I respect and admire because of the quality of their work. [...] So, I think that is the essence in what I try to gather is that there are stories, it’s not only about the artwork, the skill it takes, but also the story that you bring, they try to bring some new thoughts or different perspectives at people's minds...” (G2, curator and founder of SAT museum)

(c) *For SAT to be recognized as an institution that holds cultural authority*

In the same way that, according to the respondents, quality contributes to make street art framed as an art form, it also plays an important role in the recognition of Street Art Today museum as an institution that holds cultural authority in the art world. Also, considering that there is no consensus among the interviewees about which

criteria defines quality, the capacity of SAT's curator to select artists that produce quality artworks to be exposed in the museum, contributes to the recognition of this organization as a cultural authority. The following testimonials indicate how this was exposed:

"I think it depends on the work that it's there [at SAT museum], the quality of the work. It's always a matter of the quality of the work. If people go there and they see quality artwork, then they will recognize it. If it's not quality artwork they will not recognize it. This is always the same, if you make crappy music you will never sell music and you will never be a musician. And I think the Street Art Today has very good pieces, anybody has an opinion and I have an opinion as well and I would make a selection but Peter is the director and he will make his selection and I think he has enough quality to work with, to make something that will appeal and will be recognized." (A3, street artists' duo)

Although these artists didn't specify what they meant by quality, after analyzing the whole interview, it was possible to infer that they consider technique as an important criterion. For instance, they mentioned that people in Rotterdam are not interested in street art and they don't consider it as an art form because they never saw a quality work of this cultural manifestation, such as a realistic wall mural.

"I think it has to do with the quality of the work [for a street art work to be recognized as art] [...] But they [people from Rotterdam] never saw a realistic painting or a figurative painting of like a portrait or something else, like impressionistic or cubistic or whatever, they never saw anything in reference to that name street art I think here... And that's why most people still think 'hmmm, street art...'" (A3, street artists' duo)

4.3.3. Impermanence as part of street art

Interestingly, even though the interviewees often pointed that the preservation of street art is a resource offered by Street Art Today museum, eight of them affirmed that street art, when placed on the streets, should be ephemeral, so the impermanence is part of its nature. The fact that street art can be there one day and on the other one it can disappear, is seen as something positive by the interviewees because it enables

the evolution of this art form. This can lead to the interpretation that preserving street art works is dispensable, when considering the roots of this art manifestation.

However, it seems that the respondents believe that when street artists use canvas as a medium, the preservation becomes something positive to it, as it contributes to its recognition as an art form. In a way, it confirms again that street art evolved and is not so tied to impermanence, as well as the rebellion, as it used to be on its shaping years (Merrill, 2015, p.387).

Also, the impermanence affects street art that is outside because the streets are always exposed to a living environment. This was also explained on the first sub code of the framing section, the street art's dependence on the context. For instance, a tag can be done on a street art work or the municipality can paint over it. The following testimonials expose that:

"It's interesting because in general the nature of street art is that it's here today and it can be gone tomorrow... That's the nature and that also adds to the charm of it. So, you will find something that you like and maybe the next day or the next week or the next month, it's gone. Either cleaned or buffed by the municipality or somebody else painted over it." (G2, founder and curator of SAT museum)

"People [street artists] fight about a certain spot and it gets repainted or some artist has claimed a certain spot and it gets repainted every couple of months and that's what I like, it's a nice evolution..." (S4, Street artist's assistant and professional hand shaker)

"I think there is gonna be someone painting over it [street art work on the streets] and a year later someone putting a tag on it and I really like that actually, that it's living... If you preserve it from that moment, then you stop time or something and time is not stopping, it's going further and further... On the street I think it shouldn't be preserved..." (A2, street artist crew)

4.3.4. People relate to street art

People's identification with street art generates a wide audience to this art form, which according to the interviewees of the present study, is larger than the audience of traditional museums. Also, an important factor that contributes to the feeling of identification, which arose during the interviews, is that street art is figurative and

accessible, thus more people can understand it, relate to it and feel attracted by it, confirming the claim by McAuliffe (2012, p.190) and Anika (2013).

(a) Street art is accessible

Frequently, the testimonials that emerged to justify why people relate themselves to street art addressed that this art form is very accessible. It is more figurative, due to the fact that it depicts characters that are familiar to a wide audience, so more people can relate to it. Moreover, as mentioned previously, according to the interviewees, the cultural and social context of the communities where the works are performed, are usually considered by the street artists, thus this also facilitates the feeling of identification, as exposed in the case of Atlanta presented by Jarvie (2012). The following quotations are examples of how this was expressed by the interviewees:

“[People identify with street art] Because in the street art it's more figurative, like I said street art is more the character side of graffiti, so it's not necessarily the letters because regular people cannot identify with letters or names of other people, but they can if you make a portrait, then they identify with it and they recognize it, and then they like it because they understand it and I think that's how it works. If you understand it and if it's easy to digest, everybody likes a burger and a portrait is the equivalent, because a portrait everyone understands a face... So yeah, I think everybody identifies with street art, yeah definitely.”

(A3, street artists' duo)

“Street art is very popular, it's very accessible also, people get it immediately...”

(G2, founder and curator of SAT museum)

(b) Also because it is in the public space

According to some interviewees, this sense of identification is related to the context relevance as well. The following testimonials expose that people relate to street art as it is placed in public space, thus being part of their daily lives:

“It usually is low entry art. It has a lot of simple concepts, like lowbrow art. So I guess you reach more than people who deal with unpayable work that are gonna be in the museum and that you can only see in the museum. I guess that's also the power of stuff that gets made in the public place, you know. It's for free, so everybody can see it. (A1, street artist)”

Thus, it could be inferred that the interviewees pointed to the accessible character of street art and to its integration in daily life, as essential parts of its framing, even classifying it as lowbrow art. These factors indicate that SAT does not approximate street art with contemporary art, since the latter is legible to a limited circle of educated people, while the former is legible to a wide audience (Anika, 2013) and the interviewees didn't express intentions of changing this aspect, neither they pointed that SAT is going to do so.

4.3.5. Relevance of street art with message

The relevance of street art with a message was mentioned in six of the interviews. Basically, the respondents invoked that the works, which hold a deeper meaning, usually related to current issues, get highlighted in art institutions thus being more acknowledged as art in comparison to others that are based exclusively on aesthetics. This confirms Irvine's (2012, p.5) claim that street art's attitude is based on the message that it carries. Interestingly, this perception contrasts with the claim by Shapiro and Heinich (2013), as these authors pointed that the aesthetic appreciation of street art contributed to its absorption by the art world.

(a) To differentiate it /attribute more value to it

A message or a story behind the artwork can attribute more value to street art, thus making it more attractive:

"Because you have a story behind the exhibition... If there would be a Cranio comes to Amsterdam 'oh, nice'... Cranio shows his work in Amsterdam. But Cranio shows Amazonian diet, his criticism against deforestation, you know, it changes because if you read it you think 'yeah, that's cool, let me go there'. But if I see 'oh another artist has some work, I don't care'." (S2, street art agent)

(b) In the selection criteria of Street Art Today Museum

Considering the higher value attributed to artworks with a message, some respondents of this study claimed that the existence of a deeper meaning behind the artworks is used in the selection criteria of SAT museum.

"Cause it's all the works [in the collection of SAT] there is some deeper message and that's also one of the things that the collection shows the current zeitgeists

because there is always a part of it that is critical on social or economic or global issues or environmental issues.” (S1, producer and project manager)

“In the collection [at SAT], there is always a lot of messages or that the artist wants to bring out to the public and you see that as well in the collection. In the works there are a lot of comments on society, how we as humans deal with nature, how we deal with each other and that’s very much the sign of the time, that there is a couple of works about the refugee crisis, as we are experiencing today, so the artists comment on that and they reflect... And that’s by building that collection I try to preserve what is happening today” (G2, curator and founder of SAT museum)

Also, the relevance of message could be found on SAT’s website, as fifteen of the articles presented an explanation of a message or a theme behind a street art piece. In such a way, it enabled an interpretation of these works, beyond its aesthetic features. The quote below exposes how this was mentioned in one of these articles:

“‘False Memories’ centers around the psychological phenomenon of people recalling memories of events that did not actually occurred. SKAN depicts this phenomenon by a distortion of the human form.” (Coolen, 2016b)

4.3.6. Uniqueness of the museum

The interviewees also emphasized the uniqueness of Street Art Today museum, due to the proportions both of its building and artworks. The particularity of SAT museum also refers to the attitude that is expected from the visitors. For instance, it was said that at SAT, visitors are not supposed to be quiet and they are allowed to take pictures, differently than in many traditional museums. Also, the founder and curator of the museum stated that there will be street artists performing their works live at SAT, giving the visitors the opportunity to watch them paint. Another differential of this upcoming institution, which was expressed by him, is that it will be opened for an extended period when compared to other museums, which usually close at 6pm. Moreover, in this museum, the artworks won’t be on a white and clean wall, they are actually going to be hanging on an enormous brick wall, which can be considered more similar to outside walls. Furthermore, the founder and curator of SAT pointed that this institution is going to work as an agency to the artists that have their works at the

museum, by organizing commissioned works. This was pointed as another aspect that is not done by traditional museums.

Those were the arguments of the interviewees to justify the unique character of SAT museum:

“But I think in its size and its appeal and its attractiveness I think nothing can match it. Like all the galleries, you can go to a gallery and get a small painting. Yes, it's cool but it's a normal format and this is not a normal format, it's very unique.” (A3, street artists' duo)

“We are not a conditioned white space, where you have the... So the space is full of the raw energy that was there from building the ships and the shipyard, the energy that you get from seeing these huge paintings and so many of them in the same space, you will not know where to look, it will be mind blowing, while museum while focuses on let's say... A white wall and they put one painting in the middle and then we are gonna stand the and 'shh.. be silent'. You know so that's a total different approach, from what we do we bring people in, they can see the artists working, they will be painting there, they will be painting the pieces... So, when you come on Monday you will see them start the sketch and when you come on Friday the piece is finished and we celebrate and then there is a big party going on, so it's this the main difference. [...] And we are gonna be opened in the evening, every evening. Probably until 10pm or 11pm, we still have to put the details... But traditional museums they close at 5pm or 6pm you know? What is the point? I mean people have jobs you know...” (G2, curator and founder of SAT)

Interestingly, one of the interviewees considers SAT so different from traditional ones, that he even claimed it cannot be considered a museum. He exposed this perception because he understands traditional museums as rigid institutions that present high art and require a certain behavior from the visitors, whereas SAT presents low brow art, tied to a marginal subculture and thus the visitors have more freedom in this environment.

“No, I don't think there is gonna be [competitors to the museum], I don't think so... Because I don't see this as a visit to a museum, this is just visiting a certain street culture and if I go to a museum, then I go to the Van Gogh, then I will be

quite... 'You can't take pictures here'. (S2, creative director of a street art Platform and of Dutch Street Art Awards)

Moreover, another differential of SAT is that at the museum there should be a connection between the inside and outside, also as a form to educate the audience about the street art on the streets.

“So, my focus is not only in the museum on the inside but also on the outside. So, there is a strong connection with what is happening in the street and what is happening inside the museum. So, it should feel natural, there shouldn't be any difference in level... I got the highest quality inside the museum and also the projects we do outside to also be high quality projects, that people can enjoy and take lesson from or get inspired by.” (G2, curator and founder of SAT museum)

4.3.7. Educational role of the museum

The educational role of the museum is an element that is going to be provided by SAT to frame street art, which was mentioned frequently. According to SAT's staff, the museum is going to offer educational programs and workshops that will teach about the history of street art, as well as the skills and techniques needed to perform it.

(a) About the cultural meaning of street art

Most of the respondents pointed that by educating and informing the audience about street art, the museum is going to raise the awareness of the cultural meaning attributed to it. In such a way, it also contributes to make street art more recognized as an art form. This is relevant because as mentioned previously the artistic and cultural value of street is not widely acknowledged (Neto, 2011; Jarvie, 2012; Shapiro & Heinich, 2013, p.14). By educating people about the value of street art, SAT plays an important role on changing the fact that it is attributed a lower status to this practice, its practitioners and its audience (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013, p.14). However, as mentioned previously, street art should maintain its accessible character even if it is attributed a higher artistic value to it.

The following testimonial exposes how the respondents stated this:

“I want to have more acceptance for street art [with SAT museum], specially in Amsterdam and actually since we are now going to be the biggest street art museum in the world, I think we will have a worldwide audience and to show

people the diversity and the true beauty, what is there in the streets that normally they might not really take care of looking at it closely or taking time to understand what they see, there is a lot of people that are into it, but still a lot more people that say 'street art, graffiti is all the same, you know, this illegal stuff, kids do at night'. Now there is a world of beauty within the street art I see, so that's what I want to bring out and show people." (G2, founder and curator of SAT museum)

(b) About the correct place for street art

According to SAT staff members, the educational role also concerns redefining the concept of a museum. This applies in the sense of presenting as appropriated to have street art works inside of a museum, as well as making people conscious about the street art works, which are placed on the streets, specially in the NDSM area:

"But also people who have been inside give the possibility to experience it outside in its original context. So I think in that sense it really help in redefining the concept of either museum or opening up people's mind to more forms of art then in a defined and set and easily accessible context." (S1, producer and project manager)

Considering the fourth expectation of this study, in relation to SAT approximating street art with contemporary art, it could be inferred by the interviews, that the respondents don't believe this would happen and also don't have intentions to change it. They claimed that street art, even when placed in SAT or any art institution, is still characterized as low brow art due to its legibility and accessibility. The interviewees pointed that these facts are extremely positive because people get identified and feel attracted by it, as claimed by McAuliffe (2012, p.190) and Anika (2013). Therefore, there is a large audience to street art, which is a supporting aspect to the SAT museum, since it means that there is a potential public interested in the museum.

Instead of claiming that street art is a matter of style, as it was stated in the fifth expectation, the uniqueness of the museum was highlighted by the interviewees as the main reason why street art can be framed as such inside of SAT. The uniqueness of this institution is related to the rough characteristics of SAT's building, which resemble the street walls, the original location of street art. Thus, it echoes the argument by Irvine

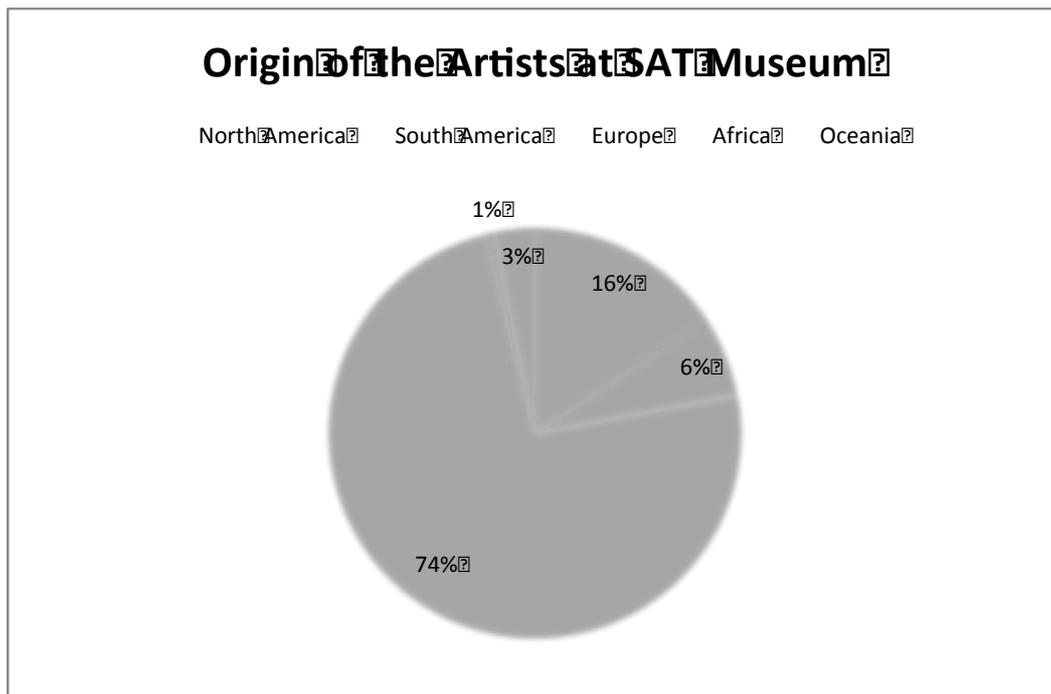
(2012) that the main aspect in the framing of street art is its close engagement with the urban environment, even when it is performed on a canvas. Moreover, taking into consideration that SAT's collection is formed by a popular type of art (Essak, 2014), it makes sense that the museum presents some singular attributes compared to traditional museums, as these institutions usually present high art (Dimaggio,1982, p.33).

Even though mentioned rarely during the interviews, by analyzing SAT's website, a sub code that arose with a high frequency is that the artists were 'internationally renowned'. These articles, introduced street artists' works, while emphasizing their presence in the international scene. The fact that they are active around the world seems to suggest that they are more renowned. The quotes below summarize how this was usually stated:

"Fabio de Oliveira Parnaiba (1982), also known as Cranio, has an international reputation for his murals. He grew up in Sao Paulo. In 1998, he decided that the drab grey walls of his city could use a boost. Later on, he did the same in cities like Barcelona, Berlin, London, Los Angeles, Miami and Paris." (Coolen, 2016a)

Moreover, the curator of SAT's museum also highlighted the presence of artists from all over the world in the collection, reinforcing the relevance of internationality in the street art scene. The graphic below illustrates the continents from where the artists who have works in SAT's collection come from, confirming their origin from different parts of the globe.

Graphic 1: Origin of the artists who created works for Street Art Today museum's collection.
Source: Information provided by SAT's staff to the researcher.



5. Conclusion and discussion

Through its presence in the institutionalized art world, it can be said that street art is becoming more recognized as an art form (Cascardo, 2012). The same is observed with other art categories, as it is attributed the status of art to objects present in art institutions (Danto, 1964; Dickie, 1969; Bourdieu, 1993; Baumann, 2007; Becker, 2008[1982]). In such a way, the participants of this study expect that the Street Art Today museum is going to contribute to the recognition of street art as an art form. However, it is important to recapture that street art differs from other art forms present in institutions, considering that it emerged out of the art world and there is a polemic related to its placement in this context (Costa, 2007; Snelders, 2012; Irvine, 2012; Silva, 2015).

The steps followed in this study reveal other characteristics in the legitimation process, which go beyond the artistic acknowledgment that is attributed to objects by cultural institutions. With a focus in the case of Street Art Today museum and the use of the legitimation theory (Baumann, 2007) as a framework, this research exposed the perceptions of members of the street art scene in Amsterdam about the opportunity space to street art in the city, the resources provided by SAT and the framing applied by this institution.

According to the interviewees, the most relevant fact in relation to the opportunities that are external to the art world, which affects street art in Amsterdam, is that there is no support or incentive by the municipality to this cultural expression. Thus, it generates the need of an indoor private space destined to this art form, such as the Street Art Today museum, where there is less dependence on public policies. Moreover, it is observed that Amsterdam's city council accepts the presence of a museum in SAT's building, according to the *Bestemmingsplan NDSM-werf Oost* [Destination's Plan NDSM-yard East] (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017a). Therefore, the municipality allows the existence of SAT and this organization emerges as an answer to fulfill the demand for more street art in the city of Amsterdam.

Furthermore, regarding the role of Street Art Today, it is observed that its activities go beyond the purposes of study, education and enjoyment that are stated in the ICOM's definition of museum (ICOM, 2017), since this organization works additionally as a street art agency, by representing the artists who have their pieces in its collection and there is going to be an art gallery in its space. Thus, these facts combined with the data analysis' findings regarding collectors (Silva, 2015, p.7; Courier, 2014) and companies (Vatanian, 2010; Tavares, 2011) interest in street art, led to the assumption that SAT's creation is also tied to commercial motivations. Hence, it can be said that street art is becoming more distant from its initial rebellious discourse (Costa, 2007), which was grounded on illegality (MacDowall, 2014), impermanence, its presence in the public space and its anti-commercialism ideology (Merrill, 2015, p. 387). However, the respondents of this study do not perceive negatively the aspects related to the trading of street art by SAT, as well as its presence inside this indoor museum, since they are optimistic about its contribution to the promotion of this artistic product and the perception of it as a legit art form. Also, they perceive the commercialization of street art as an extremely good factor, since it enables street artists to make a living from their art. In such a way, it seems that the perception about the correct place of street art and the means that it should be used for is shifting into something more mainstream and directed to the art world.

Considering that the framing was the code with the highest amount of sub codes, it is possible to conclude that it is the most important aspect in the legitimation of street art by SAT, due to fact that it plays a key role in naming street art as such in an indoor

space, while attributing the art status to it. The respondents claimed that if SAT museum presents quality art works, it is going to contribute to make street art more recognized as an art form. Also, it was pointed that quality works raise collectors' interest and as a consequence this cultural practice is perceived as more legitimate. Quality had different meanings to different interviewees, varying from aspects related to the work itself such as the appeal, story, concept, skills, and technique to the reputation of the artist. In such a way, the capacity of SAT's curator to select artists that produce 'quality' artworks to be exposed in the museum, is going to contribute to make this organization acknowledged for its cultural authority.

The present study revealed that, according to the respondents, street art can be framed as such inside of SAT, since the close relation to the urban context, which is part of its former ideology, is maintained, thus reinforcing the arguments by Irvine (2012) and Silva (2015). This is possible at SAT because of its unique environment, composed by its surroundings, which are replete of graffiti and street art and by its building, which resembles the city walls. Also, the data pointed that this organization still preserves another main characteristic of street art: its simple and accessible forms and content (McAuliffe, 2012, p.190). Therefore, its low brow features are maintained, even when it is placed in the art world. These findings confirm the inference by Irvine (2012) that street art is a matter of a concept inspired by the city that can be performed on different surfaces.

Moreover, it seems relevant to mention that all gallery owners, curators, supporters and promoters of street art that were part of this study are involved with street art in art institutions. Regarding the artists who participated in this research, they were selected based on their fame in the Dutch scene, on being active in the streets and on the criteria of making their living income exclusively from street art. Surprisingly, all of these artists also paint on canvases and commercialize them because, as it was exposed during the interviews, the income that these individuals obtain from working only on commissioned walls in the streets is not enough to pay for their basic needs. Furthermore, still considering the artists that participated in this thesis, the street artists' duo performed a piece for SAT museum, while the other two artists were contacted by this institution to perform a work for its collection, however they hadn't accepted this proposal during the period when this research was conducted. Thus, it

could be said that the close relation of all interviewees to street art on a canvas and its presence in art institutions can have contributed to their positive perception about it.

Finally, this research has substantiated the value of Baumann's legitimation theory, as this framework enabled the observation of symbolic and concrete aspects, both outside and inside the art world that affect the acknowledgment of artistic value and meaning to street art by Street Art Today in Amsterdam. Also, the fact that one concept of the theory contemplates the framing, proved to suit this research, specially concerning the need to investigate how street art could maintain its main characteristics and still be named as such, when placed inside an art institution. Altogether, these factors exposed the role of SAT museum in relation to street art's legitimation process in Amsterdam, by answering the research question, as well as the sub questions. Thus, there are several possible paths for future research offered by this study, which can also use Baumann's legitimation theory as a framework. Considering that the recognition of an object as art is not a static process, since it is actually dynamic and opened to possibilities (Shapiro & Heinich, 2013, p.15), it seems relevant to study the legitimation of street art in different periods of time. This would enable an understanding of how the perception of street art as an art form evolved and if this process is already concluded. Moreover, considering that there are other street art museums around the world, in locations such as Saint Petersburg, New York and Paris, it would be interesting to apply the legitimation theory in these environments. Thus, it would be possible to note if the same aspects that relate to the case of a street art museum in Amsterdam, also apply in different settings.

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Appendix I. General Interview guide

Interview Guide – Master Thesis

The Legitimation of Street Art in Amsterdam

The role of Street Art Today Museum

Good afternoon! First of all, I would like to explain you a little bit about my research. My research topic is the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam, which means basically the process of street art being recognized as an art production. I am going to focus on the role of Street Art Today Museum, a street art museum that is going to be opened in 2018 in the city. Thus, I am conducting interviews with players of the street art scene to know their opinion about my research topic. As I told you before, your identity is going to remain anonymous.

1. Could you tell me about yourself? What is your occupation? How did you start working with this?
2. *What is your relation with street art? (Artist, curator...) Why and when did it start?*
3. Could you tell me more about your current activities? What is the concept?
4. How do you define street art? What about graffiti? What do you consider the main differences between them?

5. Do you think that street art provides to the audience a sense of identity? For example, do you think they feel identified with these works? Why?
6. How do you think that street art should be preserved for the posterity? Do you think this is important? Why?
7. Do you think street art is already recognized as an art form? How? Or why?
8. How do you think that public policies of the municipality of Amsterdam affect the production and promotion of street art in the city? How does it relate to you?
9. How do you think that the collecting of artworks affects the production and promotion of street art?
10. How do you think that economic or social factors affect street art in Amsterdam as well? How does it relate to you?
11. As mentioned previously, Street Art Today is a street art platform based in Amsterdam, which is currently working on the construction of a street art museum. Considering that, which public policies, market, economic or social factors do you think that affect or are going to affect them? *What do you think that are the main values that led to the creation of SAT museum? What do you think that is the target group? Who do you think that are the competitors?*
12. Street Art is becoming more frequently part of the institutionalized art world. That means that street art is more often found in art galleries, museums and art fairs. What is your opinion about it?
13. Do you consider street art inside of an institution as street art?
14. In your opinion, what is the relevance of the commercializing of street art? Who is the audience that buys it? What are the main destinations of these works?
15. Which resources do you think that a cultural institution provides to street art? These can be physical or non-physical (Collaborators, supporters, technical personnel, physical space, cultural authority...). Which benefits do they bring to street art? *Are these also observed at gallery X?*
16. How do you perceive the cultural authority of SAT museum as a new cultural institution? Which factors do you think that led to the construction of this museum? Which resources do you think that SAT provide to street art's legitimation?
17. In general, how do you think that cultural institutions focused on street art choose the artists/artworks? For example, what do you expect to see when you go to a street art

exhibition? Which factors do you think that are or should be prioritized in the selection criteria? Do you think there is a connection between the artworks? If yes, how? *How many artworks compose gallery X collection?*

18. What about SAT? How do you think it is their selection criteria?
19. How is it possible to exhibit street art in an indoor space without allowing it to lose its original character?
20. How do you think that this is going to be done at SAT? (Street art on canvas, in an indoor space)
21. What are your expectations about SAT museum? Do you think it is going to be a success? Why?
22. Finally, how do you perceive the future of street art in the institutionalized art world?
23. Is there something else that you want to ask or is there something you want to add that can be important for my research?

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix II. Interview guide to SAT's staff

Interview Guide – Master Thesis

The Legitimation of Street Art in Amsterdam

The role of Street Art Today Museum

Good afternoon! First of all, I would like to explain you a little bit about my research. My research topic is the legitimation of street art in Amsterdam, which means basically the process of street art being recognized as an art production. I am going to focus on the role of Street Art Today Museum, a street art museum that is going to be opened in 2018 in the city. Thus, I am conducting interviews with players of the street art scene to know their opinion about my research topic.

As I told you before, your identity is going to remain anonymous.

1. *Could you tell me about yourself? What is your occupation? How did you start working with this?*
2. *What is your relation with street art? (Artist, curator...) When did you start it?*
3. *Could you tell me more about your current activities? What is the concept?*
4. *How do you define street art? What about graffiti? What do you consider the main differences between them?*
5. *Do you think street art provides a sense of shared identity?*

6. How do you think that street art should be preserved for the posterity? Do you think this is important? Why?
7. How do you think that public policies of the municipality of Amsterdam affect the production and promotion of street art in the city? How does it relate to you?
8. How do you think that the collecting of artworks affects the production and promotion of street art?
9. Do you think there are economic or social factors that affect street art in Amsterdam as well? How does it relate to you?
10. Which public policies, market, economic or social factors do you think that affect or are going to affect SAT museum?
11. *What are the main values that led to the creation of SAT museum? What is the target group? What are the competitors?*
12. Street Art is becoming more frequently part of the institutionalized art world. That means that street art is more often found in art galleries, museums and art fairs. What is your opinion about it? Do you consider street art inside of an institution as street art?
13. In your opinion, what is the relevance of the commercialization of street art? Who is the audience that buys it? What are the main destinations of these works?
14. Which resources do you think that a cultural institution provides to street art? These can be physical or non-physical (Collaborators, supporters, technical personnel, physical space, cultural authority...). Which benefits do they bring to street art?
15. How do you perceive the cultural authority of SAT museum as a new cultural institution? Which factors do you think that led to the construction of this museum? Which resources do you think that SAT provide to street art's legitimation?
16. How do you think that cultural institutions focused on street art choose the artists/artworks? Which factors do you think that are or should be prioritized in the selection criteria? Do you think there is a connection between the artworks? If yes, how? How many artworks compose SATs collection?
17. What is SAT museum selection criteria? Is there a connection between the art works?
18. What are the arguments used by cultural institutions in order to promote street art inside of them as street art? (Out of the street) What are their motivations for that?
19. How is this going to be done at SAT? (Street art on canvas, in an indoor space)

20. What are your expectations about SAT museum? Do you think it is going to be a success? Why?
21. Finally, how do you perceive the future of street art in the institutionalized art world?
22. Is there something else that you want to ask or is there something you want to add that can be important for my research?

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix III. Respondents' overview

Table 4: Respondents' overview

Coded name	Occupation	Gender	Place of residence
A1	Street artist	Male	Rotterdam
A2	Street artist crew	Male	Amsterdam
A3	Street artists' duo	Male	Rotterdam
G1	Gallery owner and curator	Female	Amsterdam
G2	Founder and curator of SAT museum	Male	Amsterdam
G3	Gallery owner and curator	Male	Amsterdam
S1	Producer and project manager	Female	Amsterdam
S2	Street art agent	Male	Rotterdam
S3	Creative director of a street art Platform and the Dutch street art awards	Male	Amsterdam
S4	Street artist's assistant and professional hand shaker	Male	Amsterdam