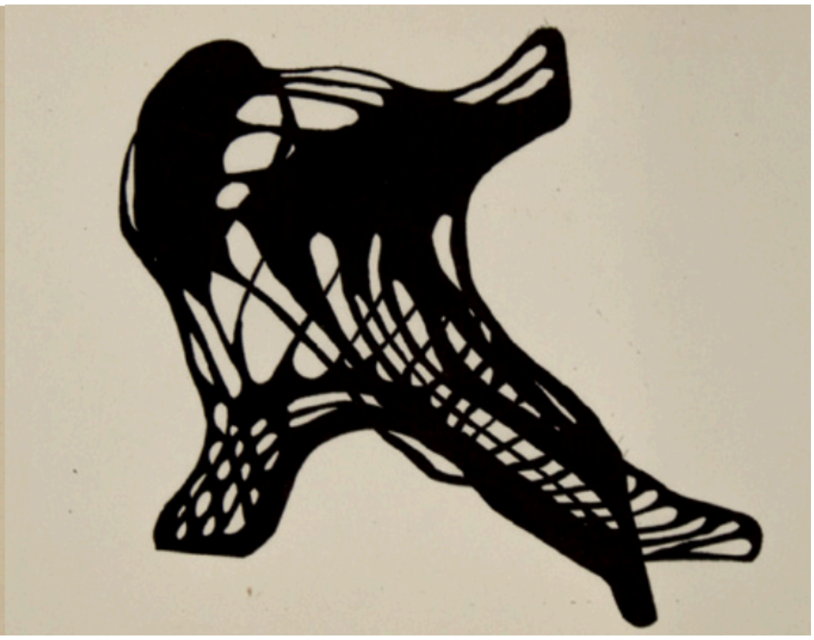
ERASMUS UNIVERSITY ROTTERDAM
ERASMUS SCHOOL OF HISTORY, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

IT'S GALLERY TIME!

OPEN Art | Gallery Weekend Berlin | DC Open

An exploratory study on the development of three gallery weekends in Germany through the lens of project alliancing

Master's Thesis

Theresa Thürer
434806

Master of Arts | Cultural Economics & Entrepreneurship
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam

Supervisor: Dr. Marilena Vecco
August 2017

Vera Henrike Hetzel, ANALOG Siebdrucke, 145x115cm and 150x130cm, Berlin, 2012.

ABSTRACT

Although the image of the gallerists as the 'lone wolf' has been altered by more prominent collaborative manifestations ever since the turn of the century, collaboration among contemporary art galleries remains an opaque field. This thesis seeks to take a first step into the realms of collaboration among contemporary art galleries exploring the phenomena of gallery weekends. Gallery weekends have united the highest numbers of galleries joining forces and thus attracted major attention in the art world over the last years. Approaching this form of interorganisational collaboration as cooperative project-based alliances among organisations within local proximity, the aim is to identify, compare and contrast underlying significant motivations and structural processes.

Following an explorative approach, this comparative multiple-case study employs semi-structured interviews and content analysis as qualitative research methods. Set in the context of Germany, the three gallery weekends OPEN Art in Munich, Gallery Weekend Berlin in Berlin, and DC Open in Cologne and Düsseldorf are investigated. Employing a qualitative research design, data was collected through semi-structured interviews and verified by consulting secondary sources.

Key findings reveal that a unified mask 'gallery weekend' does not and cannot exist due to their specific local and organisational context and relational structure. Their development has to be seen in close relation to primary factors such as galleries participating, internal factors affecting the alliance as well as its local and regional business reality.

KEYWORDS

Commercial art galleries - Contemporary art market - Gallery collaboration - Gallery weekends - Germany - Project alliances

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. MOTIVATION

Collaboration in the art markets is by no means a novelty, when looking at its roots in the joint artistic efforts of artists working mutually towards a common goal – the creation of an artwork and the exploration of shared ideas. In the course of the last three decades, forms of progressive collaborative activities have flourished, almost exploded, among all kinds of stakeholders manoeuvring in the market, and have held a consistent presence (Lind, 2009).

The traditional notion of the galerist has long been one of the 'lone wolf'. Yet, does this metaphor still apply to the contemporary galerist? Despite diverse dynamics, challenges and perspectives, collaborative endeavours among contemporary art galleries have become more prominent ever since the turn of the millennium, gallery weekends leading the way in projecting these efforts. Gallery weekends have emerged on the initiative of galleries, and are collaborative projects among contemporary art galleries who are located in the same urban area. Publically promoting one weekend a year, all participating galleries ideally schedule an opening of exhibitions in their individual gallery space for one specific day, followed by a weekend of programme framing that opening. These occasions have united the highest number of galleries pulling together in one event, and have therefore drawn major attention in the art world over the last years. It is not clear why and how gallerists decide to commit to these project alliances, raising a number of questions regarding the development of gallery weekends. Is it a desire to elude from the contemporary individualism and the capitalistic logics in a commercialised art world? Is it to create room for self-determination in an ever more instrumentalised sphere through self-organisation? Is it the whish to encounter society as a more influential force? Is it about competitive or mere practical advantages, or simply the response to a specific local situation?

Contemporary art galleries can be found in every major city, and contribute significantly to the civic cultural life and cultural economy (Robertson, 2008; Schuetz, 2014). Providing a convening space for the various stakeholders between artists and clients, they form an indispensible intermediary in the art market and act as essential gatekeepers promoting an artist's recognition in the art world. This recognition is linked to the fusion of an economic and cultural valorisation of the artist and the artwork. Manoeuvring in the art market, art galleries take a central role in the commercial sphere of the art world that exhibits idiosyncrasies, which eminently dissociates it from other perfect markets, and bear different logics that might confront galerists with ethical and financial dilemmas (Baia Curioni, 2015; Caves, 2000; Velthuis, 2011). Alongside, the art market is in flux, conveying a number of factors further affecting their behaviour and the manner in which galleries pursue their activities (Lind, 2012; Velthuis, 2012). Interestingly enough, galerists appear to be in the same boat, and at the same time cannot all be tarred with the same brush: There is no unified model ‘contemporary art gallery’ we can follow; quite the contrary, galleries engage as segmented entities in a highly subdivided market, displaying fundamental differences in conducting their business, designing their mission as intermediaries and gatekeepers.

1.2. RELEVANCE

Building a ground for this thesis, the exploration of project alliances between contemporary art galleries can be justified by addressing several reasons of relevance for society and academia in the field of cultural economics.

Larger cities provide an attractive location for contemporary art galleries to settle, where they represent a stance of high societal relevance, contributing to the cities economic development and image side by side with other selected artistic institutions. Galleries create cultural value for society, and other than other cultural institutions they do not charge entrance fees but provide an accessible room for cultural education to the public (Resch, 2011; Wöbken, 2013). Although there are often no distinct official numbers on the contribution of commercial private contemporary art galleries to local economies, and even if the economic contribution might be small and difficult to be expressed numerically, galleries do have a noticeable effect on the image of the cities as other stakeholders in the art system (Resch, 2011; Robertson, 2005; 2008).

In addition, various research gaps can be identified regarding the study of contemporary art galleries and their link to concepts of interorganisational collaboration in the field of cultural economics:
One, considering the central position contemporary art galleries take in the primary market, the majority of theoretical approaches on art galleries are limited sections included in literature studying the art market as a whole (Becker, 2008; Caves, 2000; Findley, 2014). Empirical studies zooming into the realms of contemporary art galleries should contribute to enhancing general knowledge both on the contemporary art market as on art galleries operating it from an intermediary perspective.
Two, more recent studies on art galleries in cultural economics have predominantly revolved around topics dealing with globalisation of art markets and new trajectories related to technological advancements (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013; Baia Curioni, 2012; Hest, 2012; Horowitz, 2011; Lind & Velthuis, 2012; McAndrew, 2012; Quemin, 2006; Robertson, 2005, 2008; Velthuis & Baia Curioni, 2015). Such developments have certainly changed the traditional under-

standing of location. It can however be argued, that the role of place and proximity matters *because* of increasing pressure exerted by globalisation. The present research intends to return to immediate resources, and highlight local opportunities as catalysts for interaction in a global economy.
Three, yet another focus in empirical research has been on aspects of art management, primarily investigated on the account of practitioners (Chong, 2010; Horowitz, 2011; Resch, 2011; Robertson, 2005; 2008; Winkleman, 2009; Zorlini, 2013); only some single academic analytical observations have been published over the last decade. Despite the attention the exploration of collaboration has received in a number of disparate fields, there is a lack on discourses on interorganisational collaboration between art galleries, alliancing in specifically, whereas the research on organisational, business or management related concepts of collaboration between organisations on the other hand abundant. Investigating the subject of collaboration through an organisational lens on project alliances allows galleries to critically assess their collaborative activities and immediate environment. From time to time, insiders float questions like 'do galleries collaborate enough?', yet what collaboration implies in the first place, and in how far a specific concept is applicable to which types of galleries has constantly remained unexplored among scholars as well as practitioners. At hand we take these shallow marginal remarks and wade into a first approach to explaining collaborative phenomena, combining different logics from arts management, cultural economics and organisational theories; a thesis in contribution to empirical studies on this still widely open field of the art market shall in best initiate and motivate further research.

1.3. AIMS & OBJECTIVES

Based on the lack in scientific research, the purpose of this paper will be to analyse the development of collaborative relationships between contemporary art galleries; more specifically, this empirical study will be guided by the following central research question:

Why do contemporary art galleries in Germany develop project alliances in form of gallery weekends?

In order to effectively support the exploration of the main research question, a series of sub-questions have been established, to be explored through qualitative research, aiming at identifying differences between three selected gallery weekends:

1. What are internal and external environmental factors affecting the alliances?
2. What are collaborative objectives pursued?

3. What kind of relational structures are there?

In order to fill the gaps in academic research, the objective will be to identify and contrast the development of project alliances in three different cases. To answer the central research question and its sub-questions, a qualitative research design in form of a multiple case study was implemented. Semi-structured expert interviews were conducted to provide the textual data for the subsequent thematic analysis. The data were enriched by a comprehensive documentary data research to guarantee the additional validity of the research.

It is to be noted that the initial research question of this thesis was a different one, presenting itself as follows: '*How are collaborative ties among Berlin-based contemporary art galleries constituted and how are these structures related to the individual gallery's reputation?'*. The original objective was therefore to follow a quantitative approach measuring the collaborative network ties of Berlin galleries via Social Network Analysis. After conducting the survey, the intended quantitative research design had to not only be modified due to low respondent rate, but was fully abandoned to allow a fresh and more flexible approach to an unexplored umbrella topic investigating interorganisational collaboration between contemporary art galleries in Germany.

By reviewing the existing literature, the structure of this study unfolds as follows: First a comprehensive theoretical review of existing literature is presented. As literature on gallery collaboration and gallery weekends is scarce, literature on the art market and galleries in general is included before zooming into the topic of project alliances. A chapter on the methodological design of the research lays out the steps of selection process, data collection and data analysis, before presenting findings of the exploratory study in the next section. The paper concludes with a discussion on the relevant findings, pointing out similarities and differences among the cases, and provides research limitations along with possible avenues for future research.

DEFINITIONAL NOTE

Two concepts need to be clarified to avoid terminological ambiguities in the following discourse.
To begin with, there are different spheres of art galleries to be distinguished. By definition the term ‘art gallery’ comprises public as well as private or commercial art galleries. When talking about galleries in this paper, it is referred to the latter. Private art galleries are commercial businesses financed by the sale of art with a clear intent to realize profit to support themselves and the artists they represent. Unlike public galleries, i.e. publicly owned museums or other public spaces they do generally not receive funds or other public sponsorships. When we refer to the term ‘art gallery’ or simply ‘gallery’, we relate to private commercial art galleries. Artist cooperatives or artist-run spaces are not included in this type of gallery.
A further explanation is required when turning to the figures of the art dealer and the gallerist. As both are owners of show rooms usually labelled ‘gallery’, the term ‘gallerist’ is often used for both alternatively, obliterating crucial differences between the two: The gallerist deals with artwork that freshly enters the art market, i.e. is artwork that is sold or acquired for the first time, mainly by living artists, whereas the art dealer engages in the resale of artworks after it has been purchased before (Velthuis, 2011). In the paper at hand, the term ‘gallerist’ is used referring to the first definition.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gallery weekends are collaborative projects that emerge from local gallery initiatives, and which have increasingly been established among various western gallery landscapes over the past two to three decades. Private art galleries located in the same urban area annually promote one specific weekend to the public, where all participating galleries ideally schedule the opening of exhibitions in their individual gallery space for the same day, generally accompanied by a supporting programme.

Historical backgrounds to the emergence of gallery weekends have not yet been investigated, just as theoretical approaches to discussing the phenomenon 'gallery weekend' or any other constellation of collaboration between art galleries in general are almost immaculate of academic research. We therefore draw on a notion that gallery weekends arise within three interwoven elements: the contemporary art market, its contemporary art galleries and the concept of interorganisational collaboration. The theoretical foundations of this thesis will build upon these three constituent roots; the review of existing literature is structured accordingly in three main sections.

2.1. THE CONTEMPORARY ART MARKET

Before zooming into the notion of contemporary art and its art market, we should begin by differentiating the overarching arena of the art world. Although distinctions are rarely definite, this first explanation of terms is essential for the subsequent chapters. The art world can be understood as a system formed from two interdependent spheres, whereas one comprises institutions, events and the people working in the non-profit and generally public sector who primarily engage in conveying knowledge and understanding of art to the public, as opposed to a second, commercial and mostly private field, namely the art market (Becker, 2008; Hest, 2012; Horowitz, 2011; Moulin, 1997; Robertson, 2005; Velthuis, 2005). The latter is the marketplace where the artwork is traded, set on by commercial galleries, art fairs or auction houses (DiMaggio, 2006; Savage, 1969; Velthuis, 2005). The market for contemporary art constitutes a specific sector of the art market (Robertson, 2005). As according to Marcel Duchamp anything in principle can be art, an artwork does not exclusively exist when a market is formed around it, the recognition of an artwork as 'contemporary' needs to be approached.

2.1.1. The label 'contemporary art'

The dialectic on the question 'what is contemporary art?' has historically and intellectually been proven diverse, and remains tied to a recurring crux in a terminology that constantly slips away from peremptory definitions (Moulin, 1997, Moureau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012; Resch, 2011). A philosophical debate on how to determine the essence of the 'contemporary' in art goes beyond the scope of this thesis, however, a brief insight shall be given into what Robertson (2005) describes as the 'most abused term in the art world' (Robertson, 2005, p. 19. In the following, we consider approaches applying chronological and aesthetical criteria to understand which art gallery can be labelled a 'contemporary' one.

Temporal classifications of contemporary art as an aesthetical genre range from references to post World War II art, art created after 1960, art created by living artist, or artists born after 1945, hereby singling out only a few reappearing attempts to impose a tangible periodisation on a form of art that historically emerged from an idea afar from any kind of spatio-temporal conformation.[1] With regard to the relational component that constitutes the collaborative relationships, the paper at hand follows the notion of art created by living artists: Reaching back to the aforementioned differentiation between the gallerist and the art dealer, the gallerist supports the artists' career during their lifetime rather than administering an accumulated legacy; the date of birth or the date of origin of an artwork becomes subsidiary to the relationship between artist and gallerist.

Not every work of art created by a living artist necessarily meets the aesthetical criteria that have been developed by actors of the art world and define the genre 'contemporary art' (Hest, 2012). From a perspective viewing vertical classifications of the market indications of qualitative features of the artwork can be made.
First, the qualitative label applies to various artistic categories of the visual arts ranging from painting, drawing, sculpture and photography to digital or conceptual art and others (Hest, 2012; Robertson, 2005). Second, the sector for contemporary art can be further divided in sub-sectors according to the classification of artwork that is traded under further consideration of geographic boundaries and price range. In this context, Robertson (2005) labels artwork as either 'junk', when considered a non-profitable investment, 'cutting-edge', or 'alternative'.[2] Zorloni (2013) introduces a vertical separation of the contemporary art market into four market sections, where instead of referring

[1] Hans Belting (2010) points out the cloud of western perception that casts over such taxonomy and understands the temporal notions of art in this century as ephemeral, just as Hans-Ulrich Obrist (Max, 2014) condemns the pure temporality of the term as a fundamentally deceiving construct to start with, it is, however, not within the scope of this paper to brake loos a philosophical discussion on the discourse.
[2] The latter two differ from each other in the sense of how they are recognised by the public in terms of subsidy; cutting-edge art is funded, alternative art generally not. The alternative market is a national market, a market where already recognised artists are traded, as well as young emerging artists that might have gained some reputation (Robertson, 2005).

to cutting-edge art, she works with the term ‘avant-guard‘, and additionally segments the classic contemporary market.[3] The time-based definition thus needs to be viewed in combination with aesthetical concepts and ideas implemented by the artists within the genre ‘contemporary art’ (Becker, 2008; Hest, 2012; Moureau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012).

In the light of the precedent terminological controversies, the market of contemporary art provides a platform for more detectable definitions. Although various perceptions exist on the subject, they concur in the aspect that the contemporary art market constitutes itself in many sub-markets, making it necessary to give some background on the structure of the art market.

2.1.2. Art market structure

The contemporary art market, as the art market in general, can be seen as a hierarchical system structured around its stakeholders, whose complexity has evoked different approaches to segmenting the market in the literature. Scholars have considered the geographic orientation of the market (Throsby, 1994; Velthuis, 2011) or discerned economic and cultural levels of production, such as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1983). Another fundamental type of segmentation classifies the contemporary art market in distinct sub-markets, of which scholars have proposed different trading levels (Robertson, 2005, 2008; Velthuis, 2011, 2013).

Traditional perspectives distinguish between primary and the secondary market as two separate market places, featuring different characteristics (Robertson, 2005, 2008; Zorloni, 2013).[4] The primary market deals with artwork that is sold and acquired in the market for the first time. Work of artists with yet little market power is provided through art dealers and exhibitions, where the selling price for an artwork is created for the first time. Once, the artwork has been acquired by a first buyer and is set for further sale from here, it enters the secondary or resell market (Robertson, 2005, 2008, Velthuis, 2011, 2013).

[3] Zorlini’s avant-guard market operates on international level, presenting a high number of commercial art dealers, thus significant for the stage of valorisation of an artist’s work after discovery. Adding the classical contemporary art market to the contemporary art system, she discerns ‘historic’ artists whose work has long left the primary market spheres and has been traded excessively on the secondary market. This sector is characterised by high entry barriers and only a few powerful galleries, who operate both on primary and secondary market with a wide network on a global level (Zorlini, 2013).

[4] With regard to this research, the traditional understanding of horizontal market segmentation will be sufficient, as only the primary one will be looked at, although further approaches exist: A different tri-partition, e.g., is undertaken by Throsby (1994). Other than focusing on the commodity sold, he structures the art market according to its geographic scale and market prices achieved in sales. The first market is formed by artists and dealers on local and regional bases, followed by the market for the trade of international recognised artists and dealers, the third market is the market of international auction houses.

Singer and Lynch (1994), on the contrary, suggest to limit the primary market only to artworks sold from artist to dealer, while the secondary market only looks at works sold from dealer to collector. They differentiate a tertiary classification of the art market, whereby the tertiary art market exclusively refers to the auction market. Robertson (2005) later further introduces a fourth market level, namely the market of illicit trade.

The different ways of classifying the art market, make it difficult to discuss only a single art market instead of different art markets (Becker, 2008; Hest, 2012; Velthuis, 2011), and it becomes clear how particular and thus secluded some segments can be from each other, representing ‘different markets and systems with little mutual interaction’ (Zorlini, 2013, p. 36).

In delineating the market for contemporary art, various segmentation criteria were enlisted ranging from temporal and qualitative features of the commodity sold to its distributive character or the geographical range of the market. The focus of this paper lies on the primary art market for contemporary art, which provides an exemplary platform for the high significance of personal interaction and relation between the stakeholders (Dekker, 2015). One fundamental nodal point contributing to the lifecycle of an artwork in the contemporary art market constitutes itself in the commercial art galleries who – in economic terms – ‘mitigate uncertainty and create value’ among all stakeholders (Klamer, 2014. p. 94).

2.1.3. Is the art market a *market*?

So far we referred to the art *market*; it is necessary, however, to point out that different approaches to explaining this specific market exist.
Porter (1985, 1990) describes an industrial market as a sphere of competitive market forces created by the activity of the main actors on supply and demand side within the market. Such concepts emphasise market transactions; we need to, however, further capture actors besides commercial stakeholders involved in order to cover and connect relational constellations and specific features the art market exhibits (Jyrämä, 2002; Velthuis, 2005, 2012). In this regard, theorists going beyond standard economic approaches following either institutional or network theories can be referenced, having extended the traditional notions of market organisation.
More effectively applied to the art market than the industrial concept could be the broader institutional path (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan. 1977). Both Howard S. Becker (2008) and Pierre Bourdieu (1983) follow this concept in their studies on the art market, viewing the economical system of the art market as an organisational *field* that produces art and creates value of

artists and their art work (Hest, 2012).[5] Based on relationships and interaction between stakeholders, the institutionalist approach allows the consideration of non-commercial stakeholders, whose action is understood to be under the constant influence of market rules, norms and power constellations.
Similar to institutionalists, scholars following network theories have referred to markets as *networks.* According to Granovetter (1985), market activity is rooted in social interaction, and cannot be viewed separately. *Networks* therefore are constituted of relational ties between stakeholders who share not only similar values, believes and norms, but also similar taste and behaviour (Granovetter, 1985).

Although this paper does not take a definite side with either the concept of *fields* or of *networks*, notions of a relational fundament to the art market as an economic system need to be kept in mind when exploring the role of commercial art galleries and market their activities.

2.2. CONTEMPORARY ART GALLERIES

2.2.1. Contemporary art galleries as intermediaries

The existence of contemporary art galleries in the contemporary art market is based on their mediating role that goes hand in hand with their gatekeeping function.[6]
The discourse on a typology of the different types of intermediaries operating in the art markets, the question about what ultimately constitutes an expert, and how the idea of the traditional gatekeeper has changed is a delicate topic. Scholars use the theoretical concepts in different ways implying terms as 'intermediaries', 'gatekeepers', 'experts' or 'connoisseurs', what makes it difficult to pin down a definite differentiation. In his approach to offer an economic method to evaluate the quality of art, Ginsburgh (2003) investigates the role of intermediaries with a critical view to their fallibility. Arora & Vermeylen (2013) shed light on the elementary challenge the 'connoisseur' encounters in the age of digitalisation especially in the context of the art world. At hand we will

[5] Bourdieu (1983) hereby formulates the concept of fields as a response to conflict and competition, whereas Becker (2008) emphasises conventions and consensus in the art worlds.
[6] A gatekeeping function can also be assigned to other market actors including cultural institutions, notably museums, other alternative exhibition spaces to galleries, or art critics (Velthuis, 2011; Zorloni, 2013). When investigating intermediaries in the art market, the role of reputation, standards and certification by cultural institutions, tools such as rankings or awards, but also new types of intermediaries have to be further taken into consideration (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013; Ginsburgh, 2003; Velthuis, 2011; Zorloni, 2013). In how far ranks or awards established to estimate the value of an artwork remain questionable due to the intangible nature of the quality of art (Ginsburgh, 2003).

refer to the terms ‘intermediary’ and ‘gatekeepers’ separately, and use ‘experts’ and ‘connoisseurs’ alternately.

Commercial art galleries are traditionally understood as intermediaries between demand and supply side: Allocating resources by choosing from a broader pool of artists and art works, they reduce information and search costs, reliably communicating taste and a network (Arora & Vermelyen, 2013; Byrnes, 2009; Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012; Noël, 2014; Velthuis, 2011). Exceeding the simple matchmaking role between artists and consumers, galleries act as gatekeepers for various stakeholders to the art world. Considered experts, gallerists hold specialised information, that is not generally accessible to all market stakeholders and to transmit the buyers certain authenticity of the art work (Noël, 2014; Zorloni, 2013). Such information comprises knowledge about promising newcomers, economic and cultural value of an art work, fads and trends in the art world or even specialised preferences of collectors and other market actors (Caves, 2000; Towse 2003).

The gatekeeping activities of a gallery aim at contributing to the artists’ recognition (Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012). Valorisation processes in the art market are complex: constituted through economic and cultural value, the price of an art work that enters the primary market is set by the gallery, and is highly dependent on the recognition of the artist in the field (Velthuis, 2005, 2011; Zorloni, 2013). There are different models describing the career path of artist becoming successful (Hest, 2012). In general, we can reflect the construction of an artistic career in a network of stakeholders, who all hold individual roles, whose influence, however, is interrelated. As intermediaries, art galleries take a central position in this constellation, contributing the artist’s visibility in the art world through supporting sales and exhibitions in public art institutions, raising critical attention of dealers and collectors, art critics, other institutions and the public at large (Hest, 2012; Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012). In consequence, the activities of contemporary art galleries have to be seen in relation to the stakeholders who are involved in process of value creation on the primary market, as presented i

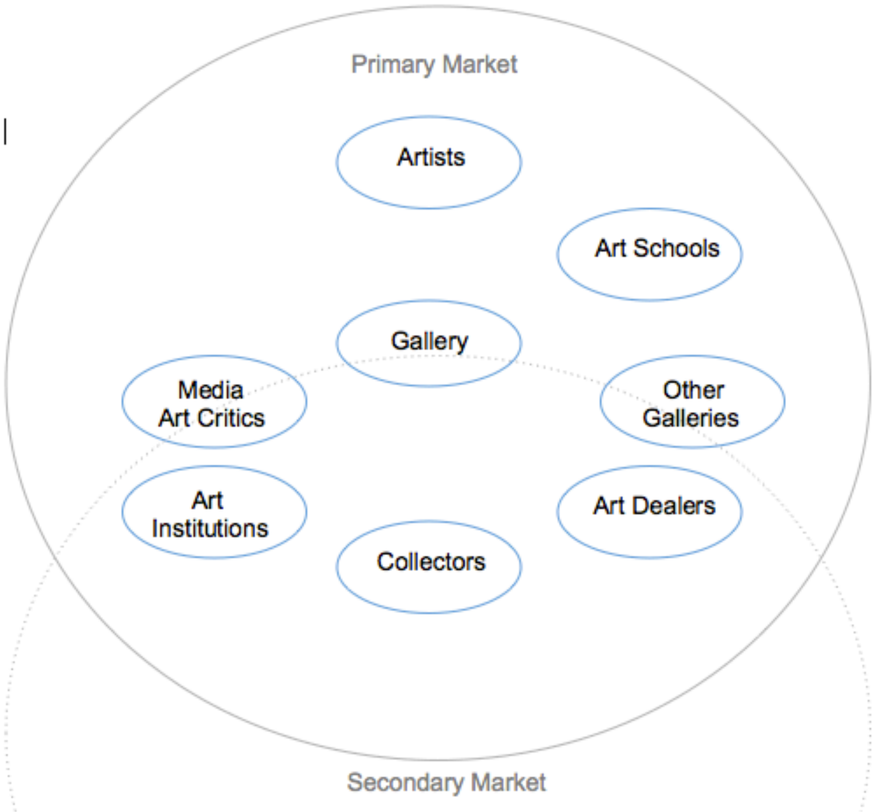


Figure 1: Focal net of art galleries. Own elaboration adapted from Jyrämä (2002) and Resch (2011).

The above constellation represents the smallest group of stakeholders a gallery might interact with on a regular and long-term basis representing a in scenario where relationships are strong (Jyrämä, 2002). The core actors on supply and demand side of the primary market are on production side the artists, on consumer side the collectors; art galleries and art dealers are other commercial intermediaries (Resch, 2011). Collectors are considered private individuals, investors or corporations. Art institutions encompassing museums, public galleries, foundations or other cultural organisations including their curators, directors and managers are conceptual intermediaries belonging to the institutional, non-for-profit realms of the art world (Hest, 2012). Art schools, the art media and critics play another theoretical role as intermediaries.

In sum, contemporary artists need visibility in both the institutional and the private arena of the art world, whereby the primary objective of an art gallery is to promote an artists' career development in the art market through long-term relationships to their artists, representing artists in exhibitions, art fairs and other events in order to bridge between the artist, their work and stakeholders and increase their attention and achieve legitimacy of their art work (Hest, 2012; Jyrämä, 2002).

2.2.2. Segmentation of contemporary art galleries

The ways gallerists operate the market and the structure of their individual network, depend on the respective typology of gallery (Jyrämä, 2002). Different taxonomies have been proposed to classify galleries between profit incentive aspects and product orientation.[7] Within the system of commercial galleries, scholars have predominantly followed categorisations according to the role they take in legitimising an artist's work (Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012).

Moulin (1987) and Bystryn (1978) present the gallery system in a dichotomous division. Peterson (1997) and Jyrämä (2002) expand the segmentation to three categories; Benhamou et al. (2002) and Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux (2012) provide the empirical counterparts to Peterson (1997). Then there are models of four stages, such as elaborated by Resch (2011), Robertson (2005) and Winkleman (2014).[8]

Traditional contemporary art gallery models have focused on the relationship between the gallerists and the artists (Benhamou et al., 2002; Bystryn, 1978; Moulin, 1987; Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux; Peterson, 1997). Jyrämä (2002) stresses the role of status and reputation. With regard to the developments in the contemporary art market, characteristics to classifying galleries have gradually been up-dated by experience-based knowledge of practitioners and market insiders, which is especially relevant in the primary market. Differentiations here are predominantly undertaken according to trading levels (Resch, 2011; Robertson, 2005; Winkleman, 2014). The following table provides an overview over different segmentations of art galleries among theorists and practitioners:

Segmentation	Authors	Segments	Reference points for differentiation
Two-partition	Bystryn, 1978	Experimental and gatekeeping galleries	- Artist-gallery relationship - Distribution of of uncertainty
	Moulin, 1987	Entrepreneurial and negotiating galleries	
Tri-partition	Benhamou et al., 2002; Peterson, 1997	Galleries promoting newcomers, mid-career, or es-	- Gallerists' financial and cultural capital - Distribution of uncertainty

[7] The profit incentive separation of art organisations serves as the primary type of division of art organisations in general, thus distinguishing between profit, i.e. commercial, and non-for-profit organisations (Robertson, 2005).

[8] Peterson (1997) additionally introduces a hybrid category, which shall not be considered an individual segments at hand.

		tablished art-ists	
	Jyrämä, 2002	Elite, quality and other galleries	- Reputation and status - Membership and quality of exhibitions
	Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012	Point-of-sale, promotion and springboard galleries	- Influence of artistic innovation on artists' career path - Artists' involvement in cultural projects
Four-partition	Resch, 2011	Branded, mainstream, high street, vanity galleries	- Gallery management and financial performance - Gallerist's personality and external network - Selection of artists
	Robertson, 2005	Alpha, beta, gamma and delta galleries	- Trendsetting - Prices achieved - Level of promotion - Quality of exhibitions
	Winkleman, 2014	Mega-, top-, mid-level and emerging galleries	- Gallerist's ambition to grow and expand

Table 1: Classification schemes of art galleries among theorists and practitioners. Own elaboration.

As this thesis focuses on commercial art galleries in Germany operating in the primary market, a differentiation of three segments is sufficient, which allows separating out the category of the mega-gallery; Germany does not host mega-galleries like a *Gagosian*, a *David Zwirner* or a *White Cube*. Measured on a bar of European context, art galleries in Germany can then be investigated in top-level, mid-level, and discovery galleries.[9] In consideration of the hierarchical structure of the art market, the subsequent segmentation was developed, taking into account the following core reference points, combining classical theoretical and more recent models proposed by practitioners:

[9] Terminologically we take reference to Winkleman (2014), replacing, however, the term 'emerging' with 'discovery', as it was found more representative in regard to this gallery segment's activities.

- Type of artists represented (artistic career level)
- Level of professionalisation of gallery management
- Size of gallery (number of artists represented)
- Quality and market segment of art traded
- Purview of events attended
- Scope of gallery network (regional, national, international etc.)

We deliberately take no account of figures on financial performance in this general segmentation, as reliable information on annual turnovers among art galleries is commonly difficult to access. The subsequent categorisation is to serve as a reference point rather than a fixed code of conduct regarding a gallery's activities.

2.2.2.1. The top-level gallery

The top-level gallery emerges from theories dealing with the commercial aspects of the artwork and galleries who are highly involved in commercial activities (Bystryn, 1978). Moulin (1987) referred to this type of gallerist as 'entrepreneur', dealing with high quality art work of between 20 to 40 artists whose market has already been established (Winkleman, 2014). The financial failure rate is considered lower compared to galleries dealing with emerging artists; the level of uncertainty decreases with increasing reputation of artists who have already achieved a sound stage of reputation for their artwork and who have a secure at least national clientele (Peterson, 1997; Resch, 2011).[10] Objective of the gallerist, who is considered as personality by clients and artists, is to create and form the market for the artists promoted (Moulin, 1987; Robertson, 2005). The network of these galleries goes beyond the focus of building up the relationship with the artist; for the sake of efficient promotion, ties are fostered to a group of nationwide or international collectors, cultural institutions and critics. Marketing and strong promotion becomes a core task and these galleries show a decent management structure (Resch, 2011). Like the mega-gallery, these galleries may hold international influence, just on a lower lever; they participate at Art Basel with a smaller booth, and other art fairs such as FIAC, ARCO or Art Cologne (Resch, 2011; Winkleman, 2014). These galleries are at least a nationwide brand and trendsetters; the main difference to mega-galleries is that they are not necessarily trying to become one (Winkleman, 2014).

[10] Where demand for artwork exists and dealers can calculate with profitability, trade often takes also place in the secondary market.

2.2.2.2. The mid-level gallery

A middle-range of gallery can be based on the idea of the mid-career artists who form a broad spectrum in the market (Benhamou et al., 2002; Moreau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012; Peterson, 1997). Transferred to the gallery level, mid-level galleries are more than 10 years old, having about 10 to 20 artists in their roster (Winkleman, 2014). Represented are emerging and mid-career artists. The later group comprises artists who have been active in the market for some time, who are not new to the scene anymore, have established a name and built up reputation with their work. The crucial point is that there is room for developing the further career path, room for expansion of demand in all buyers' segments, hence, room for success. The gallerist's task is to nourish and cherish an existing small pool of supporters on the one hand, and to constantly put effort in soliciting new customers, drawing the attention of art critics, art advisors and other stakeholders who may contribute to elevate the artists' profile on the other hand. Partnerships to museums are rather rare. This happens mostly on national or regional level; the management structure is often intuitive (Resch, 2011). Mid-level galleries show only little brand awareness, are not trendsetters, participate in national and satellite fairs.

2.2.2.2. The discovery gallery

The third type of gallery originates from the idea of a gallery engaging with emerging, young artists, fostering creativity and opening the market for them (Bystryn, 1978); Winkleman calls this the most authentic, most traditional form of gallery (Winkleman, 2014). Emerging artists are connected to a high degree of foreseeable uncertainty, not having established a name yet and as a consequence selling to low comparably low prices (Peterson, 1997). Galleries who engage with upcoming artists show a high rate of fluctuation, as it can barely be foreseen which artists will gain a proper foothold (Bystryn, 1978). Less than 10 years old – often being the founder's first gallery - they support a varying number of artists. Personal connections to the artistic community are substantial which makes an intimate relationship between artist and art dealer is characteristic. According to Bystryn (1978), some of these galleries can be artist-run themselves, in which case the gallerist not considered an external promoter, but part of the very community. Moving away from commercial aspects, the overall goal of the artist-oriented gallery is to provide a platform for creativity and cultural exposure in the art world, stimulating the artistic development of an artist. The gallerist takes the role of a 'negotiator', organising their core task is almost exclusively around the artists' promotion (Moulin, 1987; Peterson, 1997). Emerging galleries visit local art fairs and have no management structures.

2.3. PROJECT ALLIANCES BETWEEN GALLERIES

2.3.1. Approaching alliances

2.3.1.1. Collaboration in the arts

Among general gallery activities, collaborative projects have emerged increasingly among contemporary galleries, showing a willingness to embrace new ways of collaborating (Velthuis, 2011, 2012). Collaboration has to be understood as a hypernym that encompasses all those scenarios where different parties consciously engage in working together (Lind, 2009). In the arts, the concept is by no means a new occurrence; practices where different parties consciously engage in working together reach back to various forms organising artistic creation among artists (Lind, 2009; Roberts, 2009).[11] Lind (2009) names collaboration as a ‘central method’, an ‘alternative to the individualism that dominates the art world, or simply a ‘pragmatic choice’ that offers possibilities to shared material resources and practical advantages, such as sharing organisational tasks, technical equipment or venues, but also to knowledge and experiences (Bard, 2015; Gulati, 1998; Lind, 2009, p. 53).
The theory on collaboration is comprehensive, and includes systems of internal and external collaboration. When investigating collaborative phenomena that are primarily based on horizontal relationships between art galleries such as gallery weekends, we proceed in the sphere of the latter, and look at concepts of interorganisational collaboration.[12]

[11] These range from artist groups to friend circles, partnerships and associations to terms such as co-operation, interaction, alliance, participation, and collective action. The lines between the terms are blurred, and they are often used synonymously despite entailing different connotations (Lind, 2009).
[12] In the subsequent text the terms ‚collaboration’ and ‚interorganisational collaboration’ will be used alternatively referring, however, exclusively to the latter.

From here, the remainder of this chapter will unfold hierarchically on the basis of the following conceptual framework:

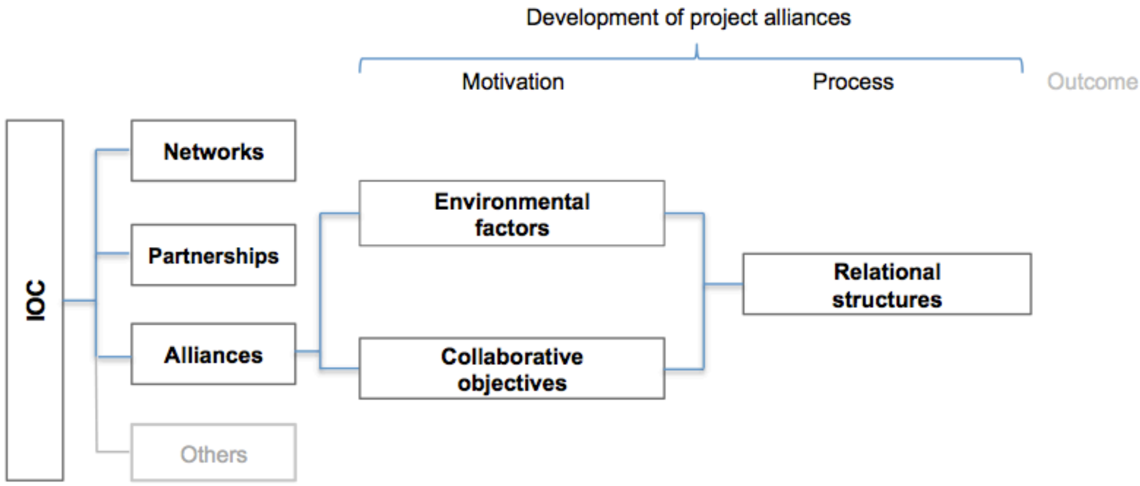


Figure 2: Conceptual basis for approaching the development of project alliances betwen contemporary art galleries. Own elaboration based on Wood & Gray, 1991).

2.3.1.2. Defining interorganisational collaboration

There is no commonly accepted definition of interorganisational collaboration, and the attempted definitions circulating in the literature are vast. Scholars investigating the field have approached IOC from different perspectives, among others viewing it as strategic, economic, business or organisational phenomenon (Phillips, 2000; Wood & Gray, 1991). Scholars following the latter, view collaboration as a process concept as opposed to a class concept. In order to encompass the most approaches possible while at the same time separating it from other collective constellations, we set off formulating the subsequent inclusive definition:

'Interorganisational collaboration is the process of forming a relationship between two or more organisations to pursue a common goal, with the aim of combining resources in a way that brings about change that the organisations could not have accomplished separately' (Darnell et al., 2013)

Through an organisational lens, this definition conceptualises interorganisational collaboration as a process of change-oriented horizontal relationships of some duration between two or more parties, who previously worked in parallel (Wood & Gray, 1991). The overall objective is to pursue common goals to achieve mutual benefits by combining diverse resources, and to create an entity of a wider organisational impact rather than working separately (Gray, 1989; Pitsis et al. 2004; Westley & Vredenbrug, 1991).

This process cannot be viewed isolated from other components framing the process of interorganisational collaboration, and collaboration has been approached differently depending on the issues addressed. Drawing on the notions proposed by Donna J. Wood and Barbara Gray (1991) – pioneers in studying the organisational perspectives of collaboration, we can identify three constituent elements of collaboration: One, the motivation that drives stakeholders to collaborate, two, the process through which collaboration occurs, and three, the outcome of the collaboration. When studying the development of a collaborative relationship, we look at the first two components (see Figure 2.2.).

2.3.1.3. Alliances

The above definition captures a rather broad spectrum of the shapes interorganisational collaboration can accommodate, leading to a comprehensive population of inconsistently used terms, 'alliances' being one of them (Darnell et al., 2013; Wood & Gray, 1991). In the need of further specification, one approach has emerged from the notion of 'collective strategy' where organisations collaborate rather than compete, exploring alternative ways in gaining and sustaining advantages (Todeva & Knoke, 2005).[13]
Applying respective classification devices, the following most common terminologies shall be differentiated: networks, partnerships and alliances.[14]

Networks are composed of links between a number of organisation through a set of social, professional, and exchange relationships (Granovetter, 1995), and are designed for enduring, long-term collaboration rather than the realization of a specific project or activity (Gulati, Nohria & Zaheer, 2000). Actors in a partnership, on the other hand, agree on a partnership property, in which assets contributed and acquired pass into the property belonging to the partnership (Shenkar & Reuer, 2006). Other than in partnerships, parties of an alliance remain autonomous organisations. Yoshino & Rangan (1995) explain an alliance as an interorganisational collaboration, where parties remain legally independent entities after formation, while benefits and bureaucratic control are usually shared, and both parties commit to continuous contributions to a strategic area. At hand, we perceive gallery weekends as alliances as this au-

[13] These theories investigate collaboration as a class concept. They focus predominantly on how specific (legal) forms of interorganisational collaboration may contribute to the enhancement of performance. It is not the endeavour of the paper at hand to evaluate the outcomes of a collaborative relationship, this approach, however, is suitable to highlight and distinguish common types of collaborations, which in turn is fundamental preliminary step when zooming into the field of alliances.
[14] Such differentiation relates to the legal architecture of the individual forms, and thus reflects only one common approach to each form among existing classification schemata.

tonomy is a crucial element to their understanding, for gallerists maintain their independent decision-making (Wood & Gray, 1991).

Regardless, however, of how these alliances are constructed, the formation will be based on a conscious decision of participating galleries to enter the collaborative relationship, leading to a necessity exploring the motivation why gallerists commit to establishing them in the first place.
Authors have argued, that alliances can be formed for a number of motivating reasons that may drive the art galleries' decision to enter an alliance (Pansiri,2009). Existing literature produces a complex variety of possible motivational factors.[15] At hand, we seek to first present environmental factors affecting the alliance, and then move on to clarifying possible collaborative objectives.[16]

2.3.2. Environmental factors affecting alliances

Alliances or the galleries participating in an alliance are subject to internal and external environmental factors that affect their behaviour (Evans & Peacock, 1999; Evans, 2011; Faulkner, 1995; Howarth, Gillin & Bayley, 1995; Pansiri, 2009).[17] In order to achieve their objectives, organisational characteristics have to be put in relationship to the galleries' external context (Pansiri, 2009).

2.3.2.1 Internal factors affecting alliances

Alliance formation is directly shaped by an extensive set of internal i.e. organisational factors. These include inherent principles of collaboration itself as well as elements related to gallery characteristics. In the following, we point out factors that may shape and reflect a gallery's collaborative attitudes and activities.

[15] Some researchers have exclusively considered objectives (Van Gils & Zwart, 2009; Zineldin, 2005), others have looked at internal organisational and external environmental factors (Evans & Peacock, 1999; Evans 2011; Faulkner 1995; Howarth, Gillin & Baley, 1995; Pansiri, 2009), or solely environmental factors simply labelled "context" (Sharfman, Gray & Yan, 1991).
[16] The terms „motivation" and „objectives" are used interchangeably and ambiguously in the literature (see e.g. different approaches in Kauser & Shaw, 2003; Hynes & Mollenkopf 2008, Van Gils & Zwart, 2009; Wood & Gray, 1991; Zineldin, 2005). As divergences appear to be a question of terminology as well as focus of research, we draw on the Oxford English Dictionary definitions, and perceive objectives and motivation as two different concepts, where the objective is „a think aimed at or sough; a goal", and motivation the „reason for acting or behaving in a particular way". Yet in order to explain the latter, it is necessary to also include *what* is wanted in the discourse.
[17] Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek (2016) distinguish nuances between determinant and influencing factors. While determinant factors make collaboration necessary, influencing factors affect its efficiency; both can, however, appear in combined form. Factors determining and influencing the alliance are vast, and vary in their degree of intensity depending on both the area of research and the approach followed.

Collaborative principles

The existence and interpretation of collaborative principles among participating galleries is the foundation to any alliance. Based on the nature of collaboration itself, they are mostly related to social and relational links; the long list is lead by crucial aspects such as mutual trust in uncertainty conditions, understanding, commitment and respect or different types of relationships and their relational properties (Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek, 2016; Pitsis et al., 2004). The mere existence of collaborative principles is not sufficient; understanding and practical application may vary among galleries depending how they are interpreted. Interpretation in turn depends on certain elements related to gallery characteristics.

Cultural proximity

Organisational (or corporate) culture encompasses the collective values, believes and principles of an organisation, which sets the basis for the way they operate. The theoretical discourse on the concept is complex, and some scholars view culture as a property that has to be achieved, while others consider culture intrinsic to the existence of an organisation (Iyer, 2003). Regardless of which view one favours, we assume that cultural proximity between galleries fundamentally influences the foundations of any alliance (Felbermayr & Toubal, 2010). Cultural proximity expresses – at the very least - the compatibility of elements related to the concepts of collective values, believes and principles between galleries. Although cultural proximity can be asymmetrically distributed and may change over time, compatibility is not to be confused with harmony (Felbermayr & Toubal, 2010; Pitsis et al., 2004). Nevertheless, cultural proximity can be considered to have a crucial affect on the formation and the stability of alliances.

Investigating the importance of cultural change processes for the effectiveness and success of an organisation, Cameron & Quinn (2011) assess organisational culture in two dimensions - focus and structure - in which they distinguish four cultural types: Clan, adhocracy, hierarchy and market culture. Clan and hierarchical cultures are preoccupied with the internal organisation, and generally adopted by institutional organisations of the art world, such as museums and public galleries. Art galleries function in the market sphere facing external processes, i.e. they will predominantly display adhoc- and market-types of culture. Each types of culture will display different tendencies in core values. Stability in competitiveness and artistic productivity constitutes the core value to galleries with market culture, expressed in a major focus on sale transactions to cherish long-term competitive advantages. Adhocracy of a gallery, on the other hand, implies flexibility and adaptability in artistic production to new opportunities in order to secure competitiveness.

Vision, mission & goals

Although Cameron & Quinn (2011) seek to investigate business performance, this conceptualisation bears implications for the development of alliances: A gallery's culture will be projected in the gallery's overarching vision, mission and goals based on their specific role galleries take as an intermediary in the art market in order to promote artistic careers (Swales & Rogers, 1995).
It is necessary to draw on the earlier undertaken segmentation of art galleries for a more detailed understanding of their mediating role and gatekeeping function and eventually their collaborative approaches to do them justice: Depending on which segment, top-level galleries will more likely exhibit market, experimenting galleries adhoc overall cultural structures. Alliances are thus affected by the size of gallery, the scope of the gallery network, the range of events attended, the type of artists and art represented, the distribution of uncertainty coming along with the respective selection of artists, and the degree of professionalisation of each individual gallery (Bystryn, 1978; Moulin 1987). Professionalisation comprises internal working structures, organisational and professional resources with regard to a gallery's financial, management and cultural capital (Benhamou, 2002; Peterson, 1997; Resch, 2011). Cultural capital includes the personality of a gallerist, their social capital, as well as the willingness and capability to adapt to changing circumstances, developments, regulations or requirements, and the acknowledgement of shared values and norms (Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek, 2016; Wood & Gray, 1991).

The multiplicity of internal organisational properties, which determine, but mostly influence alliancing, is manifested in the diversity of art galleries in the art market (Gulati, 1998; Todeva & Knoke, 2005).

2.3.2.1. External factors affecting alliances

The character of an alliance may further differ according to external factors, which indirectly both determine and influence the collaboration. They are related to sector-specific characteristics of the market, to the nature and common practices of the gallery business, current market developments, as well as the local reality of the business environment in the specific case (Young, 2010).

2.3.2.1.1. Art market characteristics

Traditional economic theory assumes perfect knowledge of actors involved and a system of rational decision-making. The primary art market is characterised by idiosyncrasies, however, which distinguish it significantly from other markets (Klamer, 2014). What is more, the contemporary art market displays

an extreme case of trade due to the heterogeneous nature of the artwork, as contemporary art as an economic commodity is not as indisputably defined as some common other goods (Towse, 2010; Velthuis, 2011). When referring to artistic products, context and attribution has to be taken into consideration.
The nature of the artistic good and the high uncertainty surrounding it affect market transactions and behaviour, which as a result are pervaded by asymmetric information (Towse, 2010; Velthuis, 2011).

The nature of the contemporary artwork

Artwork as a traded object is typically set apart from other commodities as a 'unique' product, and – unless designed for reproduction - in most cases neither imitable nor replaceable by a perfect i.e. identical substitute. In practice, some cases of substitutability exist nevertheless, depending on their purchasing intention of the buyers (Velthuis, 2011). It further shares characteristics with experience and credence goods, and entails a tricky subjective factor (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013; Prinz et al. 2015; Towse, 2010; Velthuis, 2011).

Quality uncertainty

Along with a complex nature comes the uninformed consumers' uncertainty regarding the quality of the commodity itself due to a lack of objectives measures (Beckert, 2009; Dempster, 2014; Yogev, 2010). The contemporary art market thus stands exemplary for a market of high product uncertainty, regarding factors such as authenticity, quality, reliability, consistency or success (Prinz et.al., 2015). Artists themselves and stakeholders such as collectors, critics and other experts contribute to the formation of value of an artwork (Trimarchi, 2011). This is where art galleries as gatekeeping intermediaries have found their place.

Asymmetry of information

It is further characteristic for the primary market that one party has more or at least more valuable knowledge than another. The incomplete distribution of information creates imbalanced or negative transaction scenarios prevailingly on the consumers' side (Trimarchi, 2011, Zorloni, 2013).[18] Controversies arise from the lack of transparency both on supply and demand side.
Due to monopolies of information and gatekeeping issues in the art market, different levels of objectivity and subjective evaluation of information may emerge, leading to various issues. First, the multidimensional nature of art itself leads to the scenario that information about the evaluation of quality of an artwork supplied is difficult to gather. Some stakeholders may have access to

[18] Information asymmetries are lower in the secondary market as market players can consult different sources and are usually better informed about the value of an artwork.

more information (Trimarchi, 2011; Velthuis, 2011; Zorloni, 2013). Quality and value of an artwork cannot be properly estimated, however, without knowledge about its technical aspects and intangible features of aesthetical, social or cultural nature (Zorloni, 2013).[19]

Second, consumer choice is based on limited information. Art as an experience good interferes with the consumers' general aim to acquire a unique good. Here, limited information may reduce the buyers' willingness to pay on the one hand, and on the other hand the risk to purchase an unknown good 'generates increase in the accumulated stock of consumption' (Trimarchi, 2011, p. 56).[20]

In this sense, asymmetries cause adverse selection and moral hazards such as fraud and deceit (Velthuis, 2011).[21]

Credibility & trust

It becomes clear that galleries manoeuvre in a non-transparent market, characterised by advert selection and the lack of price transparency. Valorisation of credence goods is largely a matter of credibility and trust: Prices may serve as an indicator of quality and provide first information about value, even imply further ideas about possible dimensions of social or aesthetical valorisation (Horowitz, 2011; Zorloni, 2013). As the process of price formation remains opaque, information is baseless without trust; in the light of the lack of transparency, information asymmetries and the various opportunities of deceit they entail, trust becomes the fundamental root for meaning in the art market. Trust shall hereby be conceptualised as the confidence in reliability and integrity (Malewicki, 2005). 'Authenticity, lack of provenance, forgery, and attribution' present the greatest threats to credibility and trust (Deloitte & ArtTactic, 2016, p. 20). Credibility and trust emerge from the interaction of various experts who regulate cultural knowledge where this knowledge enables them to assess quality (Bonus & Ronte, 1997). Individual and objective estimation of the value of an artwork is barely possible, and as knowledge is distributed unevenly between the stakeholders, the generation of credibility requires art dealers, artists, critics, and curators (Horowitz, 2011; Trimanchi, 2011; Velthuis, 2005, 2011)

[19] Typical complications comprise the knowledge about authorship, certification of authenticity or provenance (Velthuis, 2011)

[20] Only experienced consumers are less subject to informational advantage of art dealers and the private information they hold on to. Problematic is that when the dealer becomes the main source of information for the consumer, demand may be fully driven by the supplier (Trimarchi, 2011).

[21] Gallerists, in theory, determine prices based on their own opaque calculations of what is best for the artist, their collectors or their own business, sales prices or buyers are not really a matter of public record; undisclosed prices, undisclosed buyers (Paumgarten, 2013). Even though gallery owners often provide pricelists on artworks exhibited on request, the mechanisms of price formation remain not easily comprehensible for the inexperienced consumers, who might tend to consider the monetary price as a substitute for their lack of knowledge.

2.3.2.1.2. Nature and common practices in the gallery business

The understanding of the context of the collaborative relationship requires further more highlighting the intensity of competitive forces affecting the alliance (Sharfman et al.; 1991). For organisations in the private sector, competitiveness is a primary mechanism governing their operations, as well as a precondition to sustain them in the market and to achieve benefits (Porter, 2000). In this context, the gallerist's business is often considered a risky venture for various factors.

First of all, there are no boundaries to starting and running an art gallery. Barriers to entry for new gallerists are low given that there are no specific qualifications requested; professional backgrounds in art history or business administration are recommendations, but are by no means imposed on art market professionals (Deloitte, 2016). Start-up costs are low, as there are no cost disadvantages to acquire licenses or other special capital requirements; neither detected are economies of scale. Anyone who has a vision and who can afford the start-up capital can open a gallery. In this sense, the threat of galleries entering the market is high.

As pointed out before, gallerists tend to represent a limited number of artists, if possible on an exclusive basis, fostering long-term relationships. The economic relationship between artists and gallerists take place on the basis of consignment relationships, usually agreed upon by handshake (Paumgarten, 2013); legally binding contracts are uncommon due to lacking feasibility and informal arrangements are built on loyalty and moral obligation instead. (Caves, 2000; Velthuis, 2011). It depends on the level of gallery and the artists' career stage – the bargaining power of the emerging artists is initially considered to be very low - but in the end, the possibility remains that an artist is tempted by the bank notes and prospective career opportunities another, maybe more successful, gallery offers (Prinz et al. 2015). When more than one gallery represent an artist or the initial gallery 'loses' its artists to another gallery, a gallerists can raise no claim on compensation for the investment undertaken in the course of promotional activities focused on enhancing the value for an artist's artwork.

A similar situation applies for the gallerists-collector relationship. Gallerists work hard on establishing a secure clientele for the artists, to find collectors who confide in their expertise and support the artist's work. Especially the anonymous buyer, however, may also discover an artist and their work in one gallery and then go somewhere else to acquire a work of art by the respective artist. In this regard, galleries not only find themselves in a competitive situation with others of their kind, who operate in the same segment. Temporary project spaces provide new physical platforms for collectors to buy art. Moreover, ever since the establishment of art fairs in the 1960s and their flourishing around the 1980s, they have come to represent the most commercial part of dealing with art, and a platform of the contemporary art market Dominique Lévy clearly describes as ‘it’s about commerce’ or David Zwirner as ‘almost perverse’ (Baia Curioni, 2012; Horowitz, 2012; Paumgarten, 2013; Pogrebin, 2016).

Last but not least, the gallery business is ruled by the factor of time. Fostering relationships with artists, building up a sound network of clients, gathering knowledge and insight to draw a certain degree of recognition are all processes that require long-term investments. Then, as mentioned before, demand emerges also from personal preferences and taste which are closely linked to fads and trends that change over time, giving rise to the question whether a gallerist has to leave with his time when looking at the problems galleries face in transition from generation to generation because of the gallerists’ personal relationship with artists or clients that are hard to pass on (Towse, 2010).

2.3.2.1.3. Amid processes of changing landscapes

The previous factors have to be seen in context with on-going processes of globalisation, digitisation and commercialisation, which have transformed the nature of gallery activities. Unravelling in depth what Lind calls the ‘entanglements of contemporary art and its commercial markets’ (Lind & Velthuis, 2012, p.9), goes beyond the scope of this paper. In the following we can only scratch the surface of the new dynamics that have been observed due to momentous, interrelated transformations of globalisation, digitalisation and commercialisation in the art world.

Signs of globalisations and the understandings of a globalisation of the art markets are many.[22] The extension of the borders of the art market, is reflected in changes in power and influence of stakeholders and their internationalisation, or growing demand. Global pressure of competition has lead to omnipresent cross-border traffic of artists, their artwork and collectors (Horowitz, 2011; Velthuis, 2012). In view of the necessity of international promotion, the increasing significance of art fairs and auction houses the efforts of art galleries towards mobility and flexibility are further challenged (Baia Curioni, 2012, 2015; Forbes, 2016).

[22] The phenomenon is not new per se; Velthuis (2015) recognizes these developments as an on-going diffusion process, when he describes the cyclical characteristic of the art market metaphorically as a carousel. Belting (2010) calls for a new notion of the terminology contemporary art as a ‘global’ one.

In addition to the proliferation of art fairs on a global scale, the digital and commerce era is enjoying strong growth, and influence the practices of traditional art distribution, collecting and valorisation in the age of digitisation (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013; Horowitz, 2012; Velthuis, 2012, 2015).[23] So far, the question of how the role of the gallerist as an expert - the 'connoisseur' - has changed in the light of the technological developments stays within reasonable bounds (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013, p.1). Galleries have shown a long-time resistance, nevertheless, the trend to digitisation of art information manifests itself in the use of new promotion tools galleries have to master in order to keep up with these processes (Arora & Vermeylen, 2013).

Commercialisation and professionalisation manifest themselves in many different ways of profit-oriented motives on the art market, motives of dealers, of artists, and of collectors likewise (Lind & Velthuis, 2012).[24] It has to be pointed out, however, that gallerists and art dealers themselves have contributed significantly to the developments, just as commercialisation cannot be criticised isolated from was has been happening among society (Lind & Velthuis, 2012; Velthuis, 2012).

2.3.2.1.4. Local reality of business environment

Factors regarding the wider business environment of galleries include aspects on country-specific local, regional, national or governmental policy shaping action pattern, legal regulations and requirements affecting the formation of alliances, as well possible responses to state intervention, but also the general economic, social and cultural conditions and current developments in a respective area (Todeva & Knoke, 2005; Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek, 2016).

[23] Despite the global slow down of the art market in 2015, the market for online sales is continuing to grow (+ 24%) (Deliotte & ArtTactic, 2016). Online platforms such as Artsy, Artnet, Auctionata – recently consolidated with Paddle8 in 2016 - or Saatchi Art and online galleries provide new purchasing avenues for a new generation of buyers, accustomed to digital technologies, (McAndrew, C., & The European Fine Art Fair Foundation, 2016). An increasing number of artists take advantage of self-marketing platforms, presenting their own artwork on personal websites (Horowitz, 2012). The perspective of a different level of accessibility and transparency is expanding the art market to whole new trading possibilities.

[24] These developments find their also find their expression in management handbooks, such as 'Management of Art Galleries' published by Magnus Resch in 2014, where the author calls for more commercialisation of the arts and introduces a strategic gallery business model – and caused initial furores. High costs tend to easily exceed average galleries' revenues. In addition, commercial galleries appear on the art scene as small business enterprises and are treated as such. Other than other cultural organisations, commercial galleries are neither subsidised, nor do they receive any other kind of of financial support, increasingly justifying statements demanding the thriving of galleries towards 'economic efficiency' (Lind & Velthuis, 2012, p. 8).

Concluding the two preceding sections on internal and external factors affecting alliances, it needs to be kept in mind that their presentation at hand aimed at providing a range of possible conditions determining and/or influencing the development of interorganisational collaboration. It is not the purpose of this paper, to give insight about to what degree they might influence successful outcome of an alliance, as this is not within the scope of this study.

2.3.3. Collaborative objectives

When investigating theoretical constructs to explain behaviour or to investigate what causes or at least develops an inclination for a certain behaviour – here galleries to enter gallery weekends as certain forms of interorganisational collaboration – we cannot omit the goals intended to achieve underlying this behaviour.
There are generally two different levels of objectives that trigger collaborative activities of art galleries: the alliance level, and the individual gallery-level. Crucial here is, that the single objectives pursued by the respective participating galleries might differ within an alliance, while they agree on committing to one collective objective shaping their alliance. Whatever a specific goal of the alliance, fundaments of the greater agreement between the individual galleries will be built on the expectation of collaborative advantages, i.e. the benefits galleries acting individually could not achieve (Foss & Nielsen, 2012; Huxham & Vangen, 2000, 2010; Iyer, 2003; Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek, 2016).
Theoretical notions of collaborative advantage capture a broad scope of objectives; viewing art galleries from a cultural economist perspective, the spectrum of collaborative advantages needs to be narrowed down. In reference to Bourdieu, Velthuis (2005) formulates the art market as a reflection of cultural norms, whereas commercial art galleries can hereby be considered small and medium-sized enterprises that manoeuvre in a cultural ecosystem. As a consequence, advantages have been selected and grouped according to market related, cultural and social interests to sufficiently acknowledge the idiosyncrasies of the artistic field (Throsby, 2011). Such conceptualisation requires a combination of different logics and implies a reference to comprehensive research: Organisational theories following business or management orientations, have considered economic and strategic aspects; literature streams rooting prevailingly in social sciences, have related collaborative advantages to the understanding of cultural and social capital (Foss & Nielse, 2012).

2.3.3.1. Market related advantages

Driving forces to enter an alliance may be linked to the expectation of market related advantages. Researchers in business and management literature have addressed and identified distinct, but, at times, overlapping explanations related to competition and market exchange why organisations enter into an alliance. Especially the opportunities of shaping competition become significant when looking at contemporary art galleries (Bard, 2015; Dyer & Singh, 1998; Gulati, 1998).

Transaction Cost theorists assume that alliances are formed in order to reduce costs, and to achieve economies that economies of scale in order to remain profitable (Hennart, 1988). Resource Dependence Theory suggests that resources of a single firm are not sufficient to survive in the longer term. The aim is to find ways of engaging in exchange relationships with other organisations in order to reduce dependencies and uncertainty (Blodgett, 1991). Within approaches of strategic behaviour on the other hand, theorists argue that alliances are a primary mean to improve competitive position in the market in terms of access to intangible resources, risk reduction and competition shaping (Ohmae, 1989; Porter & Fuller, 1986). Alliances are entered, when they are expected to contribute to its survival or to reduce the level of uncertainty when they are expected to balance or increase competitiveness of an organisation (Gray, 1989; Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek, 2016; Sharfman et al.; 1991, Wood & Gray, 1991).

In the case of contemporary art galleries, manoeuvrings behind market transactions and value creation are complex and not fully explained within traditional economic approaches. Yet, when looking at the development of an alliance, art galleries will either complement or supplement other participants in order to achieve the combined 'strength' proposed by definition of interorganisational collaboration. Complementarity refers to the overcoming of limitations by combining unique, non-overlapping resources while supplementation seeks to enhance visibility and credibility by combining similar resources (Iyer, 2003).

In addition, the aforementioned idea of competition shaping needs to be further highlighted. Theorists consider competition as a driving as well as restraining force. In this sense, alliances between art galleries can be intended to collaborate better but also to compete, which raises the questions how these seemingly antagonist phenomena are balanced, and how such a collaborative relationship may affect the dynamics of competition. Scholars have labelled alliances a combination of collaboration and competition, yet the interplay between the two remains complex, and theory explaining the relationship of alliances and market dynamics is still emerging (Gomes-Casseres, 2006; Porter, 2000). Some literature streams have intended to merge collaboration and competition. Another approach, instead allows to treat the two as coexisting forces, considering the effect of an alliance on different levels (Gomes-Casseres, 2006): one, concerning the relationship between galleries within the alliance, and two, affecting the relationship between participating galleries and stakeholders outside the alliance, including non-participating galleries among others belonging to a gallery's network. The latter level implies a shift from the traditional to a collective notion of competition; the former may reduce competition between galleries in the alliance. In the scenario of "collective competition" the single galleries within the alliance are specialised to a certain sub-segment of the contemporary art market, making the collaboration more competitive to the outside than they would be each by themselves (Gomes-Casseres, 2006).

2.3.3.2. Cultural advantages

Art galleries may further pursue cultural motives behind alliancing with other galleries. The conceptual notion of cultural advantages conveys multiple meanings, yet, at least in principle, refers to knowledge acquired through exchange, resulting in mutual learning and internalisation of skills. In the art market, knowing how, why, what and who, is a fundamental resource to the gallerist's business when promoting an artists' career.
In organisational theories, researchers have underlined the shift from traditional production-based economies towards a knowledge-based economy, where the importance of knowledge and collaboration has increased (Cooke, 2007). One common argument ascribes these developments to the processes of interorganisational collaboration (Bathelt et al., 2004). When organisations of similar economic activity, situated in spatial proximity come together, one fundamental advantage is constituted in the access to locally embedded knowledge (Bathelt et al., 2004). Building on research stemming from learning and knowledge sourcing (Van Tuijl & Carvalho, 2014), we can further take from theories on temporary clusters (Bathelt & Schuldt, 2008; Maskell et al, 2006).[25] Gallery exhibitions as well as art fairs can be understood as professional events, which are fundamental for knowledge exchange and learning in a global knowledge economy (Bathelt & Schuldt, 2008; Maskell et al, 2006; Van Tuijl et al., 2016). The same notion can be applied for alliances among local galleries where face-to-face interaction takes place between galleries within the alliance, as well as between participating and non-participating galleries and other external stakeholders in the art market, thus including competitors, artists, private and institutional collectors, critics and so on (Maskell et al, 2006; Van Tuijl et al., 2016). The manifestation of exchange of knowledge, experience and skill includes the access to latest market information, fads and trends ("global buzz") or the creation of local and global pipelines (Bathelt et al., 2004; Rantisi, 2014), whereas the development of new stakeholder relationships and of a gallery's focal network is crucial (Van Tuijl et al., 2016).

[25] The term "temporary cluster" was first conceptualised by Maskell et al. (2006). Bathelt & Schuldt (2008) later define temporary clusters as "important events that support economic process of interactive learning and knowledge creation (Bathelt & Schuldt, 2008, p. 853).

The present interpretation of cultural advantage refers to an economic notion of cultural capital (Throsby, 2001, 2011), whereas this in sociology, the term relates knowledge and skills to status building (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986). At hand, reputation and status building is considered in the subsequent section as an aspect of social capital.

2.3.3.3. Social advantages

Finally, art galleries may enter an alliance for social reasons. In the primary market, where gallerists promote artists rather than individual artworks, reputation and status become driving social motives to enter collaborative relations (Moureau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012; Velthuis, 2005, 2011; Yogev, 2010). Reaching back to the conceptualisation of social capital, which originates in the idea that social situations within a society, and thus social relations being fundamental to everyone's life (Kim & Aldrich, 2005), social advantage emerges from interaction and communication with others of a similar mind-set (Findley, 2014; Throsby, 2001, 2008).[26] Social relationships are essential to the evaluation process of art, and magnifying an artist's visibility, reputation, legitimisation and authenticity. Where taste and quality are both determined through socially constructed evaluation, the status perspective has to be underlined (Bonus & Ronte, 1997; Iyer, 2003; Moulin, 1992; Velthuis, 2005, 2011; Yogev, 2010), and has been addressed in various studies (Becker, 1992; Bonus & Ronte, 1997; Moulin, 1992; Jyrämä, 2002; Moureau & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2012).

Although a set of market related, cultural and social objectives behind entering into an alliance may be distinguished in theory, and theorists may differ in their focus, it is important to bear in mind that in practice they should be seen as complementary, rather then mutually exclusive (Hynes & Mollenkopf, 2008).

[26] The theoretical origins of the understanding of social capital are extensive, and scholars have come up with numerous programmatic notions and terminologies. 'Social capital' is the term established by Pierre Bourdieu (1986). Investigating the role of societal power relations, Bourdieu extends the idea of capital beyond the notion of material assets, introducing its forms of social, cultural or symbolic nature. This concept of 'social capital' is closely related to Gary Becker's theorisation of 'human capital' (1964) or Ferdinand Tönnie's 'community' (1912), to name only a small number of Marxist related treatises without further in elaboration at the risk of leading to conceptual ambiguities.
The fundamental question remains in how far social capital has to be considered an actual physical 'capital' or taken metaphorically. Bourdieu has been principally criticised for not providing a further elaborated and fully conclusive idea of social capital, but instead having created parallel concepts. Some scholars suggest underlying the term with a more flexible connotation, ensuring to capture its essence as a relational phenomenon (Anderson et al., 2007; Kim & Aldrich, 2005). Todays concept and implementation of the theory of social capital in the field of cultural economics can be understood as a combination of theoretical traditional approaches and has formed the basis for numerous empirical studies in the field.

In addition, an explicitly formulated goal might not always exist, and decisions driving galleries to working in an alliance can be influenced by conscious and unconscious motives (Iyer, 2003; Prins, 2010). This implies possible disunity regarding common objectives within an alliance, as interests can be shared but also differing or even opposing, increasing the likelihood of conflict and ambiguity (Clegg, et al., 2002; Iyer, 2003; Prins, 2010). It may further not always be clear to what extent galleries are motivated by self-interest and to what by a collective interest (Wood & Gray, 1991, p. 155).

Influences on the decision to collaborate emerge from processes affecting galleries from inside and outside. It becomes clear that gallery weekends can be motivated by a broad set of complementary factors, that context and objectives contributing to the engagement may vary from case to case, so that in each case we have to look at the specific circumstances under which an alliance is formed.

In order to fully comprehend the development of alliances and to be able to empirically compare and contrast different cases, it is finally necessary to highlight the processes of relation formation between the galleries participating pointing out different structural variations of alliances.

2.3.4. Relational structure of alliances

Upon plunging into the process of forming relationships among stakeholders, there is some confusion as to what formally constitutes an alliance. The different subdivisions into numerous agreements and types of alliances encountered in the research literature suggest that a uniformly used concept does not exist. Kożuch & Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek (2016) propose to frame alliances according to four collaborative modes - form, motive, scope or structure. Differences can be investigated in various ways depending on which mode is chosen, through identifying its distinct elements. Common classification schemes have related distinguishing elements to activity domain, legal form, organisational design or relationship characteristics (Albers et al, 2016; Casson & Mol, 2006; Darnell et al., 2013).
When explaining the development of alliances, an approach identifying relational features within the structural mode, as suggested by Iyer (2003) is suitable to distinguish different possible variations of alliances. Relational characteristics refer to the rules on which the alliance relationship rests and distinguish manners in which the alliance is structured. Distinctions are therefore undertaken within a set of four elements related to characteristics, which shape the structural patterns of an alliance: One, with reference to the duration of an alliance, we differentiate between project- and activity based alliances. Two, we point to the role the geographic scope of an alliance plays.

Three, we distinguish between alliance either formed on the basis of contractual or cooperative agreements. Here we also look at aspects related to administration and decision-making. Finally, we provide insight into possible constellations of participation.

2.3.4.1. Duration

Based on Wood & Gray's (1991) proposition to use duration as a way of classifying various forms of alliances, we distinguish between project- and activity-alliances, as proposed by Casson & Moll (2006).
Collaboration exists as long as the stakeholders engage in the process intended to result in an action, which can be either a project or an activity (Wood & Gray, 1991). An activity can be permanent, repeated without a necessary finishing time and may comprise a sequence of projects, whereas a project is an activity that is limited in time. It is the nature of a project to be short-lived as it has a start and terminating time; this needs to be kept in mind, when explaining less understood and less routinized operations (Casson & Mol, 2006; Grabher, 2002). We introduce the following specific form of inter-organisational collaboration that we regard to as an alliance: 'In a project alliance, two or more organisations come together to form a separate but temporary entity to complete a specified project,' (Pitsis et al., 2004, p. 48). In this definition, the completion of a project entails the complementary contribution and the sharing of benefits, while parties obtain their independence, as in the definition on alliancing above. Here, however, duration constitutes a decisive characteristic, which introduces the aspect of temporary, project alliances as opposed to long-term, activity-based alliances (Todeva & Knoke, 2005; Wood & Gray, 1991). The study at hand focuses on project alliances as temporary systems, however, under consideration of their cyclical reoccurrence.

2.3.4.2. Geographic scope

Geographic scope can be conceptualised as an 'inter-national' (national, international, global etc.) or an 'intra-national' (local, regional, national) variable (Iyer, 2003). In this thesis, we investigate local potential in the relationship between galleries in Germany. We therefore limit the spatial dimensions to a local level, and look at galleries, which are situated within permanent local proximity in the same urban urban area. In this context the influence of local proximity on the relationship between competitors plays an elementary role.
Global developments in technology and competition have changed the traditional roles of location. Local competitive advantages, however, have at the same time become significant catalysts for interaction, growth and competitiveness of in a global economy for various reasons (Lorentzen, 2008; Porter,

2000).[27] Cooke et al. (1997) argue that the role of place and proximity matters *because* of increasing pressure exerted by globalisation.
Investigating alliances between organisations located near each other, it is necessary to accentuate that although co-location can be considered to increase rivalry, it bears significant competitive advantages. Cluster theories have approached the traditional role of location for competitive advantages within a global economy (Lorentzen, 2008; Porter, 2000; Schmitz, 1998). Other perspectives have explained locational advantages in terms of economies of agglomeration in industrial districts, that is the benefits organisations achieve by locating in close geographic proximity (Harrison et al., 1996). In this context, local diversity among agglomerations of similar economic activity constitutes a key source of agglomeration economies. Diversity stems from the specialisation and differentiation of firms while drawing on common external resources.
Concepts exploring localisation advantages entail aspects related to productivity, organisational learning, innovation or growth. Within the scope of this paper, it shall suffice to highlight that spatial proximity opens new opportunities for organisations to interact, and which bear an effect on attraction and concentration of customers and other demand-side advantages in an area (Harrison et al., 1996; Porter, 2000).

2.3.4.3. Formality

Explaining the formal structure of alliances seeks to address internal administrative arrangements, and can be designed in multiple ways depending on the theoretical starting point chosen (Albers et al., 2016). Legal structures or other binding governance arrangements are not in focus at hand, instead we differentiate contractually or cooperatively governed alliances (Casson & Moll, 2006).
Contractual alliances are based on a legally binding agreement, especially to guarantee the measurability of contributions made and benefits gained. This would apply to the before used description of an alliance in order to distinguish it from other forms of interorganisational collaborations. Cooperative alliances, by contrast, build on mutual commitment, as input and achieved outcomes are difficult to measure, and can therefore not as easily be enforced by law. This explains why cooperative alliances do not necessarily take legal forms, and at the same time again highlights the open-ended character of this interorganisational collaboration as Gray (1989) emphasises. In the present study, the open-endedness has to be understood with regard to the cyclical

[27] It could be argued that a globalised reality, where economic activity is expanded across the globe requires going beyond the local scale; in fact, an entirely locally focused economy is neither feasible nor desirable (Young, 2010). The proposed collaborative condition of a place-based relationship, however, is to be seen independently from the overall orientation of an individual organisation, which can still be regional, national, international or gobal.

repetition, which continues for as long as the parties consider the the mutual commitment necessary to be sustained (Casson & Moll, 2006; Grabher, 2002).

When dealing with a cooperative level of alliance - which may, but does not necessarily encompass legal agreements - administration and decision-making unfolds as follows: With reference to the non-linearity of the interorganisational collaborative process in areas of imperfect knowledge and uncertainty, we do not assume a rational and constant process of decision-making (Pitsis et al., 2004). Scholars have argued that scenarios exist where decisions are made when “solutions, problems, participants, and choices flow around and coincide at a certain point” (Cohen et al, 1972; Lomi & Harrison, 2012; Pitsis et al., 2004, p. 53). An internal structure may result from this garbage can logic while operating the alliance, leading to the gradual development and institutionalisation different administrative bodies possible, concerned with issues of governmentality. Cyclical reoccurrence and permanent spatial co-location play key roles for learning and competence building in the context of institutionalisation of internal administrative structures.

2.3.3.4. Selection

An alliance further requires two or more stakeholders participating. Selection processes may significantly shape structural patterns of alliances, as in multi-party constellations a multiplicity of perspectives, information, power and resources comes together (Gray, 1989; Prins, 2010). If a selection process exists, certain requirements or selection criteria can be considered: With view to galleries in geographic proximity, here, in one local urban area, it is possible that only a selected group of all local galleries is identified and assembled in the alliance (Wood & Gray, 1991). This constellation can take various forms: First, it is possible that despite selection, it is still the majority of galleries in the area or an organised gallery network is involved, such as represented by local or regional gallery associations. Furthermore, stakeholders participating can be the most willing to engage in an alliance, or the collaboration can be constituted of the most influential - often top-level galleries - in the area, as well as those who hold less influence but are yet interested in achieving a common goal. (Sharfman et al., 1991; Wood & Gray, 1991).

In a scenario where not all galleries operating a local gallery landscape are involved in an alliance, a ‘who’s in who’s out effect’ has to be taken into account, as issues of inclusion and exclusion may arise (Westley & Vredenburgh, 1991; Wood & Gray, 1991). The presence or absence of certain galleries may influence the interaction between the both participating galleries and non-participating galleries, as dissent or conflict might arise between the two sides, and stakeholders who remain outside the alliance may even damage the legitimacy of a collaboration (Gray, 1989).

Establishing a classification, which would delineate structural differences in alliances based on characteristics regarding the relational encounter between galleries was necessary to approach gallery weekends in the empirical section of this study. The following table summarises the features discussed, whereby the ones in empirical focus are presented in bold print:

<table>
<tr><th>Distinguishing aspect</th><th colspan="6">Characteristics</th></tr>
<tr><td>Duration</td><td colspan="3">Temporary (cyclical)</td><td colspan="3">Enduring</td></tr>
<tr><td>Geographic scope</td><td colspan="2">Local</td><td colspan="2">Regional</td><td colspan="2">National</td></tr>
<tr><td>Formality</td><td colspan="3">Cooperative</td><td colspan="3">Contractual</td></tr>
<tr><td>Selection</td><td colspan="3">Yes</td><td colspan="3">No</td></tr>
</table>

Table 2: Classification scheme for the structural study of alliances. Own elaboration.

In the empirical part of this paper, gallery weekends will thus be investigated as cooperative project alliances between selected groups of contemporary art galleries, which are located in geographic proximity.

2.4. CONCLUSION TO THEORETICAL FRAMWORK

Gallery weekends have been established among the highly fragmented field of contemporary art galleries operating the primary market, and can be understood as cooperative project alliances between mostly selected groups of contemporary art galleries, which are located in the same urban area. Such conceptualisation allows taking into account a complex set of objectives and factors affecting the collaborative relationship between galleries, proposing that the same type of alliances cannot be identical to another under the consideration of the complex dynamics in the specific case – a theoretical assumption that leads back to the central research question this thesis seeks to explore: *Why do contemporary contemporary art galleries in Germany develop project alliances in the form of gallery weekends?,* and that remains to be inquired in the course of the subsequent empirical research.

3. METHODS

This thesis builds on the analysis of qualitative research data collected in semi-structured interviews as the primary source of empirical data. The following chapter aims at conveying a transparent documentation of the research processes with regard to the research techniques chosen, the procedures involved in the data collection and analysis.
As originally a quantitative research design was selected for this master's thesis, the first of the following sections reviews the switch from quantitative to qualitative methods. The second section introduces the process of designing a qualitative approach, followed by a third part elaborating the case selection. Next to last, the operationalisation of questions and interviews is described, and finally, in the last section, the methods used to analyse the qualitative data are explained.

3.1. FROM QUANTITATIVE TO QUALITATIVE APPROACH

The initial research of this thesis was dedicated to the question *'How does the collaborative network between Berlin-based contemporary art galleries affect the individual galleries' reputation?'*

The objective was to follow a quantitative approach measuring the collaborative network ties of galleries in a high competitive field via Social Network Analysis (SNA). The geographic perimeter was put on Berlin-based galleries. With the support of the Berlin Gallery Association the population of commercial contemporary art galleries mainly active in the primary market could be defined. A comprehensive online-survey was designed through the online software 1ka to collect data both on general socio-demographic information and general gallery activities, to be able to best classify the galleries according to the categories established in the theoretical framework (see Appendix A). The central focus was then put on the collection of social network data regarding the specific content of collaborative ties between Berlin art galleries. Collaboration was defined as (1) the organisation of joint exhibitions, (2) the organisation of joint attendance to art fairs, (3) other direct gallery co-operations such as open gallery nights or gallery weekends or (4) other the coordination of other collaborative projects. Singe, inconsequential meeting, or occasional advice was exempt from constituting this type of collaboration. The goal was to identify a set of predetermined centrality parameters – degree-, closeness-, betweenness- and eigenvector-centrality – to be analysed in a first analytical step using SNA, with the expected result of a visualisation approaching a representative network in Berlin regarding the gallery-gallery cooperation. In a second step, the separate centrality parameters of each gallery were then to be set in relation to the ‘success’ of artists represented by the respective gallery using artist rankings of Artfacts.net through a hedonic regression analysis.

The quantitative approach met two fundamental challenges upon conducting the survey. The first issue concerned the content of the survey. It is generally critical to acquire sensible data regarding the economic side of a gallery’s business, with the information on turnovers leading the way; SNA additionally required asking for names, which was just as much a sensitive topic, and by some galleries unfortunately even considered an affront. The second dilemma lay in applying this method without any support of insiders on site. Inviting commercial art galleries to participate in a survey lacking personal connections, the support of a well-regarded key institution or any other kind of public platform turned out to be a rather intricate affair in Berlin. After publication, the online-survey was accessible for invited gallerists for three weeks. Among the 382 galleries contacted via email, which were sent a reminder following the first week after the publication of the survey, the first page of the survey was entered only 40 times. Along with the further distribution of a print version of the survey, on-site collected, and contacting galleries by telephone, we generated a total of 23 valid responses, partially completed surveys included.

As the collected sample was too limited to meet the criteria of representativeness, we were obliged to not only modify but also abandon the intended investigation of the aforementioned research question via quantitative SNA. Although it is possible to conduct a SNA using mixed research strategies, and quantitative and qualitative methods are not mutually exclusive in general, such was not an option in the case at hand. This implied to change the methodological approach of the research,

3.2. QUALITATIVE METHODS

3.2.1. Qualitative research design

Alas, a qualitative approach was chosen as it allows a fresh and open approach to the analysis and interpretation of emergent categories (Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton-Nicholls, & Ormston, 2014). The most significant difference to quantitative method at hand was the flexibility and spontaneity this research strategy provided in terms of data collection. The SNA followed fixed statistical assumptions and had promised meaningful results, however, was not adjustable; personal interaction was necessary to gain foothold in a field that is built on social relationships.
In consequence, a new research question had to be determined. The research was rolled back to its initial idea of studying the broad topic of interor-

ganisational collaboration, i.e. collaborative ties, among commercial art galleries on a local level. This is an uninvestigated field, what further justifies that the research had to draw on an exploratory method in order approach a yet unexplored subject for the definite investigation using qualitative interviews. The aim was to identify peculiar topics in the field of gallery collaboration and to delineate a fresh research question of high relevance for the German gallery landscape.
After abandoning the quantitative approach, the empirical steps of the qualitative research unfolded as presented in the figure below:

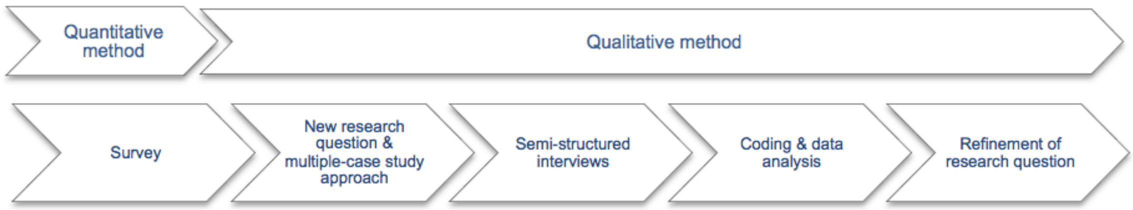


Figure 3. Development of data collection process and analysis.

In preparation of the preceding quantitative approach, gallery weekends had emerged as a prominent recurring theme and presented a more tangible phenomenon to be investigated as the private sphere of individual gallery networks. As public occurrences, they were suitable for determining the new perspective of the research, and to move from a network viewpoint to looking at interorganisational collaborative relationships as alliances. The aim of this research is thus to unveil the following research question: *Why do contemporary art galleries in Germany develop project alliances in the form of gallery weekends?*

In complementation to the leading research question, additional sub-questions were established in order to contrast the events and to understand differences in the models investigated.

1. What are internal and external environmental factors affecting the alliances?
2. What are collaborative objectives pursued?
3. What kind of relational structures are there?

3.2.2. Multiple-case study

A multiple-case study seemed appropriate to be considered and applied, whereby the three formats of gallery weekends chosen can be understood as case studies. Case studies represent one form of qualitative research and are a fitting tool to study complex phenomena in a contextualised manner; the multiple-case study is a specific type of such a case study design (Baxter &

Jack, 2009). This format becomes necessary when a phenomenon cannot be viewed isolated from its context and additional conditions play in, as sometimes the boundaries between context and object of study are blurred (Yin, 2003). This research is investigating project alliances as a specific form of interorganisational collaboration through looking at multiple units of analysis in a different context, i.e. three cases of gallery weekendsc The variety of data sources the three models of collaborative gallery events represent, allows exploring local gallery landscapes and the organisation behind the event through the complex relationships and diverse programs (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). Their juxtaposition ensures that the topic is thoroughly considered from various angles and that the essential aspects of the research are disclosed through the comparative analysis of expert interviews (Baxter & Jack, 2009).

3.2.3. Expert interviews

Interviews allow insight into unexplored fields and provide a suitable technique when sensitive topics are being explored, and are able to give rich textual description of how people experience a certain topic and to identify intangible values that are difficult to grasp (Seidman, 2012). These aspects and the previous test-run of a quantitative research strategy introduce the use interviews as a rather plausible conclusion. What is more, over the course of the prior fieldwork in Berlin and upon conducting the interviews, practitioners repeatedly advised against approaching the gallery scene as an outsider from a quantitative starting point due to the aforementioned precarious points.

Semi-structured interviews, a wide spread technique in the field of expert interviews, were designed in order to ensure a clear focus within the high degree of flexibility upon data collection in qualitative methods (Bryman, 2012). Compared to standardized interviews, semi-structured interviews match the intention to investigate the experts' perspective and the expectation that knowledge and opinions will be transmitted in an immediate and intuitive manner (Flick, 2009). A further decisive factor was the ability of the author to react to different answers provided by the interview and to anticipate further questions to be asked in order to deepen qualitative information and to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon.

The expert interview is one specific type of interview, where interviewees stand representative for expert knowledge and experience in a specific industry or academic field. Thorough preparation of the topic in advance and constant awareness during the interview are therefore essential for expert interviews (Flick, 2009). An interview guide or catalogue with predetermined questions is designed in advanced (Clifford, French, & Valentine, 2010), while the interviewee is still offered the possibility to explore further issues they think of as relevant to the topic (Clifford et al. 2010); providing this option was fundamental for the exploratory nature of the study at hand. The over-all objective is to obtain high-quality interviews while the researcher has to maintain objectivity before, during and after the interview.

3.2.4. Validating findings

In order to support the validity of the study, the data collection was diversified as different data sources enhance the credibility of the research (Yin, 2003). Additional to the exploratory and the subsequent semi-structured expert interviews, documentation of press and critic, as well as web-based research was included. Art critics belong to the focal network of galleries. Contributing to reputation creation through critical reception they represent a significant key player in the art market and are able to provide a different perspective to the galleries' environment (Resch, 2011). The drawing on art critics in the form of press releases was further necessary, as the management of ABC event corporate society – the organisers of the Berlin Gallery Weekend – did not agree into giving an interview on a topic that intended to contrast the Berlin event in juxtaposition with other gallery weekends in Germany. The researcher was explicitly pointed to refer to existing press reviews.
The purpose of qualitative research is not to infer conclusions on a generalised population but to provide an in-depth analysis of a specific sample (Bryman, 2012); concerns of external validity are therefore not as critical as to quantitative research. The qualitative approach at hand is to collect and assess data with an effort to contribute to existing literature on art galleries in line with the aspiration to create a platform for future research in an unexplored academic field.

3.3. CASE SELECTION

In terms of binding the research, a first step was to place boundaries to the research in terms of place and time. The research question geographically focuses on galleries located in Germany, and is temporally limited to the field of contemporary art as defined in the theoretical framework (Baxter & Jack, 2009; Creswell, 2003).

A second step was to sample the context, i.e. to determine cities with a significant gallery landscape that organises a gallery weekend (Bryman, 2012). The following figure indicates the only existing more recent distribution of art galleries in Germany, based of the first national empirical study on the German gallery landscape conducted by the Institute for Strategy Development in cooperation with the Association of German Galleries and Art Dealers (Wöbken, 2013).[28]

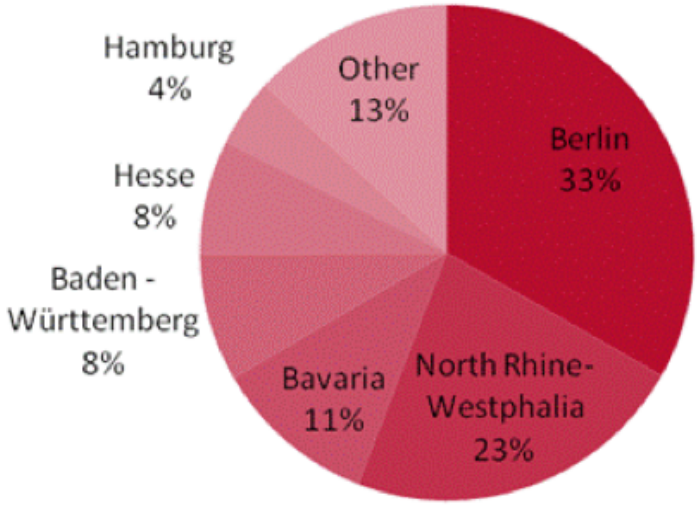


Figure 4: Geographical distribution of contemporary art galleries in Germany, N= 523. (Wöbken, 2013, p. 3)

Looking at the estimation of the geographical gallery distribution in Germany, 33 % of the German galleries are based in Berlin, 23 % in North Rhine-Westphalia with the greatest accumulations in Düsseldorf and Cologne, and 11 % in Bavaria, which are mostly located in Munich, according to the study. It needs to be pointed out, that the limits Wöbken (2013) set to define the population of galleries were by far more confined, as applied in the paper at hand, the relative distribution, however, can be considered to remain applicable. What is more, a numeric indication of changes over time is hardly possible, as the study provides the first and only acknowledged inventory of galleries; assumptions can only be made with regard to historical shifts, the most significant one market by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, after which Berlin gradually became the nations cultural hub, attracting galleries from all over the country and beyond (Wöbken, 2013). Leading criteria applied to acknowledge an alliance as a 'gallery weekend', was that one specific weekend a year was promoted were all participating galleries open their new exhibitions in their in-

[28] Wöbken (2013) established a number of about 700 galleries (of which 523 were eventually considered in the inventory), applying admission criteria of the National Association of German Galleries and Art Dealers (BVDG) and an additional criterion underlying a certain economic activity of a gallery. Criterion Nr. 1 is "[...] that the applicant has hosted changing exhibitions in the past three years (at least four exhibitions each year) in their own gallery space, having sent out invitations or opening their space to the public for at least 20 years a week." (BVDG); Criterion Nr. 2 according to Wöbken (2013) is the participation in at least one of of the contemporary art fairs and ancillary art fairs enlisted in the IFSE survey. To be mentioned here is that galleries with an annual turnover below 17.501 Euros are exempt of the VAT and not recorded in any official monitoring.

dividual gallery space at the same day, and that they do so annually recurring. Accordingly, we identified the following three gallery weekends:

1. **Berlin Gallery Weekend**
   Berlin

2. **DC Open**
   Düsseldorf & Cologne

3. **OPEN art**
   Munich

Figure 5: Cities with the highest gallery density in Germany. Own elaboration based on Wöbken 2013.

Having set the boundaries to the research, a further step was taken to identify suitable experts to be interviewed within each case. In regard to this thesis, a person was considered an expert, when they fulfilled at least one of the following characteristics:

1. People directly operating a gallery business (Local galerists and gallery-employees of galleries both participating and non-participating in the respective gallery weekend)
2. People directly involved in the organisation of the gallery weekends
3. People who held specific knowledge and experiences on gallery activities or art market processes, and served the purpose of this re-

search (e.g. artists, people involved in gallery associations or art critics)

Galleries participating in the specific event were enlisted on the corresponding webpages that were accessible online. In the special case of Berlin, only a small selection of galleries participates in the Berlin Gallery Weekend compared to the total number of galleries situated in the capital. Therefore, also gallerists who were not officially part in the event were included, drawing on the list of Berlin commercial contemporary art galleries mainly active in the primary market provided by the Berlin Gallery Association for the purpose of the previous quantitative approach. Gallerists of non-participating galleries, and experts falling exclusively within the scope of the third group, were important for contextual information on the local art scene and contributed to the understanding of external factors affecting the alliances from yet another perspective.

Galleries open their doors to the public for free; time and information, however are precious, and not as easily accessible for novices to the field. The gallery scene - just as the art market itself - is a market highly built on contacts and networks, sensitive and rather covert to outsiders. The identification of relevant experts according to these criteria has thus to be understood as an evolving process revolving around generic purposive sampling techniques (Bryman, 2012). The fixed sample selection of the initial quantitative approach was not applicable to the subsequent qualitative path taken. It was insofar of ancillary use, however, as the first face-to-face exploratory interviews in Berlin were conducted with some gallerists relevant to the new research approach, who had also filled in the previous online survey. The data collected in the survey allowed a well-aimed interview focused on further specifying the research question and to identify further participants; the researcher also gradually uncovered meaningful gallerists upon recommendation from previews interviewees as well as from many informal conversations with insiders in the course of the investigation. Due to the shift in the research process form quantitative to qualitative the textual data collection had shifted to July and August; scheduling interviews outside the summer holiday month would be more recommendable.

Data were collected in 10 semi-structured interviews held with all together 12 people (8 interviews à 1 person, 2 interviews à 2 people), who fulfilled the aforementioned criteria and could provide a comprehensive expertise. 8 interviews were held face-to-face in Berlin and Munich, 2 per telephone in Düsseldorf and Cologne, whereas one of the latter included also a written response to the questions asked. The conversations lasted 54 minutes on average, and were audio-recorded. A table presenting an overview on the experts selected can be found in the appendix (see Appendix C).

3.4. OPERATIONALISATION OF INTERVIEWS

In the course of this research, a semi-structured interview protocol was developed in line with common research ethics (see Appendix B): An opening set of background questions regarding the interviewee was followed by a section investigating general gallery activities, including structural elements, information on artists represented and collectors, exhibitions organised and art fair participation. This was necessary in order to assign the respective gallery to one of the three gallery categories. The last section was to collect specialised data on the respective gallery weekend.

Research question and sub-questions formed the framework for the interview guide; the structure of the interview was designed accordingly to the specific segments to be investigated. The objective was to understand the participants' point of view and to obtain detailed answers on the distinct case. Questions on the gallery weekends had to generate answers beyond the literature review and were to identify patterns in regard to the sub-questions. In order to guarantee the effectiveness of the interviews and to tap the interviewees' full knowledge and experiences tailored to the research question, time-consuming introductory questions abandoned.

As any other research conducted on society, qualitative researchers have to be aware of research ethics that comprise the conduct between interviewer and interviewee. Individual informed consent is a most significant tool ensuring respect for other people; the research participant has priority over the research question. In this study, no principles for ethical research were harmed.
Prior to the interview, every participant was informed about the aim and objectives as well as about the procedure of the research. Two forms were asked to be signed: One, signed by both parties, to guarantee the interview's confidentiality and a second one to confirm the participants' permission to record and the way of identification (anonymous, by gallery name, by personal name).[29] In addition, the interviewees were offered to be forwarded a transcription of the dialog for subsequent authorisation. Every interviewee was then asked the questions according to the interview guide, whereas the questions were adjusted to the flow of the conversation in terms of order and the specific case.

[29] The complete signed forms are available upon request. Referenced to interviewees who wished to remain anonymous will be made according to numbers allocated to the respective interview: "I." for interviewee, followed by a number (e.g. I.3). In case two people were present and interviewed in the same interview, the interviewee would be quoted e.g. (I.3.a. or I.3.b.).

3.5. DATA ANALYSIS

Data gathered from the interviews were analysed in three major steps: Transcription, coding and analysis.

First, the textual data format was obtained from audiotapes and transcription in German shortly after the interview in order to preserve authenticity of paralinguistic features observed during the conversation.[30] All interviews were conducted in Germany with German native speakers, and therefore transcribed and authorised in German; the researcher herself is German. Relevant quotes identified in the analysis where translated to English on the researcher's own responsibility (see Appendix D).

Following the transcription, it was necessary to classify and categorize data. This was achieved through a data as well as concept driven coding process to connect, compare and contrast the textual data gathered (Berger, 2000; Saltana, 2009; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). A manual a priori coding was followed by a focused coding via the computer-assisted qualitative data software MAXQDA (Gibbs, 2007). The manually developed codes were guided both by theoretical concepts based on the literature review, the interview guide, and on themes emerging from the interviews (Gibbs, 2007). Such combined method oriented on key thematic ideas, and inspirations from open coding guaranteed the understanding of a deeper theoretical level underlying the text, and to remain alert to finding new themes devoid of any presuppositions at the same time. The qualitative data analysis software then enabled a systematic organisation and analysis of data collected and enhanced the validity of the research (Godau, 2004). The codes were hierarchically subsumed under categories and subcategories to prepare them for a constant comparison in the analysis (Saltana, 2009).

Finally, the data analysis was performed via thematic analysis in order to transform the dataset into findings, and systematically compare and contrast identified categories within the three gallery weekends (Berger, 2000; Gibbs, 2007; Saltana, 2009). Thematic analysis focuses on identifying and describing ideas in the dataset (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This method allowed summarising core features or concepts, retrieve thematically related sections, and analysing how categorisations varied among the three cases investigated (Gibbs, 2007). The following chapter presents and discusses the findings of the thematic data analysis obtained from the semi-structured expert interviews conducted.

[30] Individual transcripts are available upon request.

4. RESULTS

The subsequent chapter presents and discusses the findings emerged from the thematic analysis of a total of 10 semi-structured expert interviews among gallerists of contemporary art galleries in Germany operating the primary market. Findings were substantiated through documentary data evaluation of primarily press and art critics.

4.1. SETTING FOR INTERORGANISATIONAL COLLABORATION

4.1.1. A Potpourri of collaborative gallery activities

In his survey, Wöbken (2013) observed a negative correlation between the degree of cooperation and the annual turnover of a gallery. Galleries with a higher sales record thus foster intensive co-operations with private and corporate collections, whereas galleries with a turnover below the 200.000 Euro mark mostly engage with other galleries, public institutions and the member-run art associations. In 2013, about two thirds of the collaborations between galleries took place among galleries located in Germany, not necessarily regional, and half of the galleries engage with galleries in Europe. Oversee collaborations were less common (Wöbken, 2013). The study covered a broad field regarding the economic situation and the cultural role of German contemporary art galleries; room for collaborative aspects remains only in form of a penultimate remark under the meanwhile commonplace headline ‘Do galleries cooperate too little?’ (Wöbken, 2013, p. 10). The answer to what is enough remains open, as well as it does not become clear what aspects, activities or projects ‘co-operation’ according to Wöbken comprises exactly. Another point is that about 60 % of the galleries in Germany generate sales below 200.000 Euro, which implies the need for further differentiation in terms of the respective gallery categories when going deeper into collaboration (Wöbken, 2013).

4.1.2. Interorganisational dimensions

Forms of interorganisational collaboration gallerists may commit to were experienced and met with different attitudes within the three categories of galleries. Along with this, differentiations regarding geographical expansion of the respective network, partnership or alliance appeared.

‘A gallery without a network; that will be challenging. The network is the foundation you need to have, and you have to gradually build up to over time’, so Alexander Levy, owner of the same-named discovery gallery. No matter whether for strategic measures or considered an intuitive behaviour, making new contacts and fostering existing social, professional and exchange relationships emerged as a basic requirement to operate the market among all three gallery categories. This idea of establishing and maintaining enduring relationships and long-term collaborations originating from here is in line with the social aspects of value creation through interaction and communication (Findley, 2014; Velthuis, 2005; 2011; Yogev, 2010).

National partnerships were interesting especially for mother-galleries opening a second branch in a different city. After the fall of the Berlin Wall the city became a popular second location for galleries to engage in younger contemporary art. A long-established gallery for instance, founded in 1967 in Düsseldorf opened an additional space in Berlin in 2007 with the objective to 'extend the gallery's established exhibition programme to younger international artists' (KF, 2016). Partnerships with gallerists abroad were primarily considered among mid-level and top-level galleries to further support an artists career within the realms of a globalised art market. Such kinds of mediations are then arranged based on verbal agreements between the artist and the involved galleries (KF, 2016; Tammen, 2016). Even though economically not always lucrative for the galleries itself, these activities were considered at least 'interesting' or 'lovely' (KF, 2016).

The focus of this study, however, lay in alliances within the same urban or regional area. The subject of developing local or regional alliances through committing to concrete relational structures, and how they might affect the galleries' activities, remains a sensitive and elusive chapter. The crux emerged from the following ambiguity: The galleries' endeavour to position themselves, to offer an exclusive and unique artwork, and the inclination to only work together with whom they know, trust, share a passion, a same taste in art, which would lead to the assumption that galleries would feel the most comfortable just fostering their lone-wolf-existence. In order to pool resources gallerists mentioned they could imagine alliances ranging from joint art fair participation, joint openings and exhibitions or gallery nights. Exchange of artists internationally seemed interesting appeared a desirable project for gallerists in general. Generally gallerists keep themselves covert, when it comes to the selection of artists to be included in a gallery's roster; 'that would be a little bit awkward. Of course, an exchange between the galleries exists, but I don't think regarding the selection of artists […]. Primarily it is more about the curators, art critics and collectors you know on a friendship basis; that is how you meet an artist and how you find out what matters to others' (Levy, 2016). Other activities such as openings and dinners between galleries located in the same district, the same street, the same building, were primarily associated with organisational issues (BF, 2016; Levy, 2016; Spielvogel, 2016).

Gallerists have long organised themselves in over-arching collaborative constructs to balance and bridge complications, including relational ones, encountered in the market; the gallerists interviewed gladly went on to these more tangible and publicly present topics: Gallery associations form one type of long-term organisational tie-up, established on self-initiative of the galleries. The German Gallery Association for instance operates in concordance with The Federation of European Art Galleries Association; in addition separate associations exist in certain cities, regions or federal states. Galleries, which fulfil the admission criteria, can join these associations against certain affiliation fees. Walter Tammen describes the encounter of galleries enlisted in the associations as 'less competitive, there is more contact, more exchange, public attention' and that galleries are 'pulling all in one direction' (Tammen, 2016).

Another temporary initiative has emerged in different formats of gallery weekends, gallerists interviewed constantly referred to. 'Collaboration' turned out to be a keyword that the gallerists associated with these events.

4.2. EXTERNAL CONTEXT AFFECTING GERMAN GALLERIES

Before zooming into the contrasting presentation of the distinctive gallery weekends, we need to provide a set external environmental factors applying for all contemporary art galleries in Germany: The core of external environmental factors may equally influence and/or determine the decision of German contemporary art gallerists to collaborate in form of gallery weekends.

4.2.1. Art market characteristics, nature and common business practices

Professional backgrounds of gallerists interviewed indeed varied from targeted careers designed to becoming a gallerists, to art history, business and management oriented studies or tourism management.
Barriers to entry were considered low, however, concrete struggles with fellow gallerists within the boarders of their city or the federal state they were located in were preferably negated among all three categories of galleries (BC, 2016; Levy, 2016; KF, 2016; Parwane, 2016). Instead it appeared that the gallerists preferred to stress the positive effects on their business that a large agglomeration of galleries entailed (BC, 2016; Levy, 2016; Spielvogel). A Berlin-based discovery gallery dealing with urban contemporary art explains, 'In Berlin there is only one other professional art gallery operating in our field, but even here, the artistic content is a different one. Within Berlin or even Germany, competition does therefore not really exist in that way for us.' (BC Gallery,

2016). Alexander Levy, owner of Alexander Levy founded in Berlin in 2012[31], describes his similar experience as follows:

'I am not offering the same product to a different price or anything. […] I think this whole situation is related to the generations on the one hand, and to how saturated people are through the offer in other galleries. Here, fostering relationships to collectors comes in, trust, and long-term relationships. But an expressive rivalry does not really exist. […] I am in good contact with many galleries here in Berlin. […]. And especially the synergy effects are valuable.'

Levy refers to the galleries belonging to his gallery's category, as an emergent, aspiring gallery. Economic vulnerability is a sensitive subject and not all galleries can be brushed with one stroke. Both Alexander Levy and Walter Tammen stress that the intensity of competition again depends on the category a gallery can be assigned to (Levy, 2016; Tammen, 2016). At hand, the gallerists' remarks do not refer to national or international competition or galleries operating within the same segment or specialisation, where the latter introduces another issue that underlies these statements: Representing the same artist within a city happened, yet 'would be rather unfortunate' (KF, 2016).
Galleries of all categories distinguish themselves through their gallery's programme, where the artists represented and their artwork exhibited form the core peace of attention. The recurring sticking point that 'nobody really knows what contemporary art is anyways' (Müller, 2016) reflects the tricky philosophical dispute on the subject. Although galleries are all offering one type of product, namely 'contemporary art', the artwork itself remains unique. A former employee at one of Berlin's top- 'glitter'- galleries, in his words, attractively located in the brutalist-construction of a former church concurs:

'You might generally ask yourself, 'in how far do galleries even sell the same product? […] You can categorise, but the question remains: to what extent are galleries competing with each other, when in the end, they all represent different artists?' (BF, 2016).

Uniqueness sets the basis for a diversified gallery scene in a city where galleries try not to get in each other's way. 'We are positioning our gallery by forming our image through curation […]: Quality and professionalism.', a gallery manager further elaborates (BC, 2016). Organisational concepts are hereby not necessarily linked to a defined strategy of market segmentation or product positioning, but present themselves rather constituted through the gallerist's personal taste in art (Levy, 2016, BF, 2016).

'I assume that gallerists ask themselves many questions only superficially; you are so busy, there is barely time to bother. Needless to say, they thrive for

[31] Originally founded in 2009 as the Berlin branch of estbliahsed LEVY gallery, Hamburg.

identifying the best strategy for their gallery, yet sometimes this might turn out even a little controversial. It is always so much about the contacts.' (BF, 2016)

The understanding of professionalisation in terms of marketing and promotion in the digital age was also perceived as varying between the generations of gallerists (Tammen, 2016): In the end it all comes down to 'professionalism and the question of generations', so Walter Tammen, 'the gallerists leaves with his generation' (Tammen, 2016). Such a remark not only refers to aspects of globalisation, digitisation and commercialisation gallerists have to adapt to, but also to simple role time plays in personal and professional relationships gallerists foster long-term and sustainable relationships.
We identified the following aspects that gallerists mentioned they felt would contribute to their 'positioning', which were all connected to the galleries' relational and collaborative ties. The discovery and mid-level galleries emphasised the role their relationship with the artists play, and the significance of fostering long-term relationships to the artists represented. Joint activities were expected to reduce the competitive attitudes between the galleries working together; 'you grant others their success' (Tammen, 2016). Relations to collectors formed another elementary node, while the middle-class and top-level of galleries said, they benefitted also significantly from their contact to institutions. On the level of local encounter, the interconnection of the galleries among one another arose rather secondary to top-level galleries. Press and critic were important to all gallerists.

Central themes to the interaction of the galleries independent of the specific scenario or motivation, circled around the existence or absence of a relationship between the gallerists committing to a knowledge exchange in general or collaborative projects in specific.

Referring back to the just above presented remark by Alexander Levy, quality and taste appear both through the socially constructed estimation with other stakeholders, yet not any acquaintances, but contacts on 'friendship basis' (Levy, 2016). Personal and professional network of a gallerist and their gallery was mostly described as intertwined.
If we hold on to the notion of 'friendship', this concept turned out to be a understood as a type of bond that included values such as 'sympathy', 'trust, 'mutual understanding', 'mutual respect', even if other interviewees did not label it 'friendship' but described the relationships to other gallerists as 'you know each other' (KF, 2016). 'We are operating in a market without contractual formalities; there are no exclusive contracts. Somehow it is all consensually resting on loyalty and handshake.' (BC, 2016). In consonance with this, Walter Tammen: 'The relationship must me mutually loyal […]; if this is not the case, the system doesn't work; you may as will split up right away.' (Tammen,

2016). We may take ‘loyalty’ as conforming to the confidence in reliability and integrity, namely trust (Malewicki, 2005).

4.2.2. National reality of business environment

4.2.2.1. The German art market

Before scanning the German art market, it is necessary to look at the art market as a whole. The latest TEFAF Report (McAndrew, C. & The European Fine Art Fair Foundation, 2016) underlines a contraction of the overall global art market in 2015, recording sales of art down 7 % to € 57.1 billion compared to € 61.1 billion in the previous year, and thus the first decline since 2009.[32] It needs to be kept in mind, that ‘the art market’ here is noticeably almost synonymous with sales from leading auction houses. Global art market trends in 2015 and numerous macroeconomic factors that might have an impact on its future development make a clear forecast for the the global art market in 2016 difficult (Deloitte & ArtTactic, 2016). Considering the global context and the global growth forecast published by the OECD in February 2016, the economies of Brazil, Germany and the US were rated as slowing down (Deloitte & ArtTactic, 2016). This affects the European art market in so far as a concomitant risk aversion remains, caused by contagion effects of an increasing volatility of the global stock market and the fear of a new financial crisis.[33] To be noted that 2014, however, marked a highest ever total of global art market sales. The stance for the European art market growth remains neutral after five years of growth.[34] With 45 % share by value, the contemporary art market remains the largest sector by value in Europe; however, down 2% from 2014 no growth could be registered, other than the modern and impressionist art market, which recorded a substantial gain in market share form 27 to 33 % compared to 2014 (Deloitte & ArtTactic, 2016).

In monetary terms, the German art market maintains only a small economic share of the global art market – 2 % in 2015 - as it does in contribution to the national cultural and creative industries in terms of the number of businesses and their turnover (Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy, 2015a, 2015b; McAndrew, C. & The European Fine Art Fair Foundation, 2016). On closes analysis, however, the German art market has been monitored a gradual increase in sales of about 12.5 % between 2009 and 2013, and Forbes

[32] Based on the ArtTactic Art Market Confidence Surveys mainly on evening sales of Christie’s, Sotheby’s and Phillips who account for the lion’s share of the contemporary art categories in Europe (Deloitte & ArtTactic, 2016).

[33] Including factors such as the crisis in the Middle East, competitive devaluation in China economic growth, uncertainty about the UK’s EU referendum and slower growth in the US.

[34] Of the eight regional art markets analysed by Deloitte & Art Tactic (2016), only the Chinese and Russian art market show a negative outlook. Also, a slowdown in contemporary evening sales of Christie’s, Sotheby’s and Phillips’ in London and New York is mostly related to the downfall of sales in New York by 11 % while London sales increased by 8 %.

(2014) daringly calls the German art market 'a sage bet for value retention regardless of economic conditions'. The Artnet ranking presents Gerhard Richter, Georg Baselitz, Andreas Gursky, Thomas Schütte, Anselm Kiefer, Neo Rauch, Günther Uecker, Thomas Struth, Rosemarie Trockel and Albert Oehlen as belong to the living German artists achieving best prices at auction ever; these top auction results that were all recorded after the recession of 2008, to provide the background to Forbes' so dauntless appraisal.

4.2.2.2. The German gallery landscape

As remarked in the theory, the art market is not a unified market, and the performance of auction houses has to be separated from the one of galleries. Talking about 'gallery backroom' sales, reliable data on the primary market for contemporary art barely exist (Forbes, 2016), gallerists interviewed – if at all – referred to Wöbken (2013). This study provides a first inventory on contemporary art galleries in Germany, disclosing that the entire German art market, thus all German art galleries with a turnover of € 450 million generated fewer sales in 2013 than global market leader Larry Gagosian with € 688 million. Estimates on the number of commercial contemporary art galleries located in Germany range from unverified numbers between 200 and 3.000.[35] Germany hosts a variety of art centres, with Berlin undoubtedly as a cultural hub and national production centre. Gallerists interviewed mostly estimated a rough number of galleries in their city.

Walter Tammen, president of the Berlin Gallery Association and owner of the old Berlin-based middleclass gallery Tammen + Partner, classifies galleries according to the three categories when explaining the divergence in the financial situation of German galleries by taking the example of the Berlin landscape. With an average annual turnover of € 145.000, 85 % of the galleries in Germany generate a comparably small portion of the total turnover of galleries, which in turn implies that only an estimated number of 50 galleries among the top-level galleries account for the lion's share of the turnover ranging from sales assumed between € 1 million and 20 million (Tammen, 2016; Wöbken, 2013). Walter Tammen (2016) in contrast points out the precarious situation of emerging galleries with an annual turnover below € 50.000: 'These galleries are operating at a high degree of self-exploitation'.

---

[35] This introduces the pivotal question of how to define an art gallery in the first place. Wöbken (2013) established a number of about 700 galleries, applying admission criteria of the National Association of German Galleries and Art Dealers (BVDG) and an additional criterion underlying a certain economic activity of a gallery. Criterion Nr. 1 is "[...] that the applicant has hosted changing exhibitions in the past three years (at least four exhibitions each year) in their own gallery space, having sent out invitations or opening their space to the public for at least 20 years a week." (BVDG); Criterion Nr. 2 according to Wöbken (2013) is the participation in at least one of of the contemporary art fairs and ancillary art fairs enlisted in the IFSE survey. To be mentioned here is that galleries with an annual turnover below 17.501 Euros are exempt of the VAT and not recorded in any official monitoring.

On this point, it was necessary to outline the embeddedness of the galleries in the German art market and to evaluate their international context to obtain the big picture. The available data on the German art market, however, and therefore the gallery landscape, are not up-to-date for a direct comparison with the most recent TEFAF report on the global art market; upon our inquiry we were informed that the German Federal Ministry of Economics and Energy has not yet been able to invest in a monitoring on 2015; to the federal state of Bavaria for instance it is numbers from 2012 that apply to its regional art market. A new report would be on the cultural and creative industries as a whole, and information on the art market only marginally. Specific 'branch hearings' conducted date back even further, and estimations, statistics are not always conclusive. Single, differentiated marketing reports have been published independently within local investment endeavours promoting a specific urban area as economic and cultural hub, such as a reports like the one by Mertens (2016) on Berlin. The publication of a report gathering comprehensive data on the primary market comparable to Wöbken (2013) is not very likely in the near future as the government has tasted blood in the German start-up scene. Walter Tammen (2016) describes his experience in this context as follows:

'We are an economic factor […]; and we have got to do something about it. We are currently again putting a lot of effort into lobbying in order to preserve political attention. At the moment, tendencies have drifted to supporting the start-up-scene and to the creative industries in principle being slightly outmanoeuvred – if we don't pay attention. That is a political task, a task we have to accomplish, and to constantly and publicly address through the gallery association.'

Nevertheless it becomes clear: Compared to its quantitatively rather weak art market, Germany is host to a high number of contemporary art galleries, providing a fertile ground for competitive alternatives (Reichert, 2013).

4.2.2.3. Recent governmental regulations

Gallerists operating the German art market appeared to be confronted with a number of nationally applying regulations that may affect their behaviour.

EU Value Added Tax (VAT) arrangements
So far adequate tax arrangements compensating the loss caused by EU VAT arrangements for art sales (as for other cultural assets) implemented in 2012 and raised from 7 to 19 percent, have been, and the notably high financial distribution costs of art galleries in Germany lack fiscal embedding, since artworks are not treated as tax-privileged cultural assets anymore (Sturm, 2014; Tammen, 2016, Timm, 2014).

Social insurance of artists
At the same time, German galleries find themselves in a special situation in Europe regarding the contribution of gallerists to the social insurance of their artists. The percentage is factually adjusted annually and has been scaled up ranging between and 5 – 6 %, additionally challenging the galleries' financial capacity and is seen as 'a further disadvantage in international competition' (Tammen, 2016).

Cultural Asset Protection Law
The most recent ratification of the controversial Cultural Asset Protection Law passed in July 2016, embodies a new legislation regulating export license requirements for works of art, both publicly and privately owned. Artworks more than 50 years of age and a value above 150.000 Euros will require license for the export to non EU-countries.[36] Pieces determined of 'national significance' by newly established agencies will be non-exportable; artists still have the ability to opt out of these export requirements (Forbes, 2014). The initial goal was to impede the trade of illicit cultural property, but a storm of criticism among art dealers, collectors and artists has hailed down and (the big) art dealers fear that German art fairs will suffer a loss in international competitiveness.

The regulative hurdles and lacking measures compensating the dealers' losses have led to a market imbalance both on national and international level that German gallerists have to face in the long run additionally to the aforementioned factors.

4.3. CASE STUDIES: CONTRASTING DEVELOPMENTS

The following chapter focuses on comparing and contrasting the three gallery weekends in Germany in regards to the sub-questions one to three. In each section, gallery weekends are considered in order of their chronological emergence, beginning with the formation of OPEN art in Munich in 1989, followed by Gallery Weekend Berlin in 2005, and DC Open in Düsseldorf and Cologne initiated in 2009.

[36] More 'moderate' regulations concern works of art older than 75 years, which will only require a licence for pieces valued at more than 300.000 Euros; however already for the export from Germany to European countries.

4.3.1. Responses to local reality

Where previously a broad set of common external environmental factors has been considered, the specific local reality puts gallerists in diverging embedding when zooming into the distinctive gallery weekends.

4.3.1.1. Munich: Traditional mind-set

‘Coming soon – Gagosian’, a sign ironically announces the moving in of a Larry Gagosian branch into yet deserted to be gallery facilities in Munich’s museums quarter. Munich as the third-largest city in Germany, following Berlin and Hamburg, is often referred to as a village with a million inhabitants, and joins ranks among international epicentres in the art market (Sachs, 2014). In economic terms, the city’s cultural industry does exceed the one of Berlin yet is the cultural landscape often perceived as lacking ‘a recognisable identity’ (Wiedemann, 2013). The gallery landscape in specific is formed predominantly by long-established mid-level galleries with only a low number of emerging galleries. Florence Baur goes beyond aspect of monetary saturation:

‘This is not about playing off one city against another one, but what everybody struggles with is, that Munich itself – as opposed to cities like Berlin for instance, or Düsseldorf and Cologne – lacks the reputation as a location for contemporary art. At times you might even assume Munich to be yet cemented in the 19th century, Ludwig II of Bavaria and so on. […]‘ (Baur, 2016)

Baur reaches back to a historically rooted and for generations fostered sustainability; an artistic orientation rather backwards than forwards. In this sense, Chris Dercon, former director of Haus der Kunst before moving on to Tate Modern in London, describes the art scene as ‘hermetic’ (Bärnthaler, 2010), and Gudrun Spielvogel admits, that the drive is less, but highlights the greater sustainability within the scene (Spielvogel, 2016). The fluctuation of galleries is low, however, there are also less young galleries emerging. ‘This is certainly also due to the high rents in Munich, which contributes to the fact that there are less emerging galleries here’ (Jahn, 2016). Indeed, according to the latest rent index, rent is the most significant cost factor for galleries in the city.

Regarding collectors, Jahn states ‘We have the advantage of an established clientele over Berlin; in Berlin, this is a slightly complicated matter, as you know’ (Jahn, 2016). Southern Bavaria is an affluent region, ‘To a certain extent, Munich is sufficient in itself’ (Baur, 2016). So far, there is enough capital within the city, which reflects on the local or regional clientele.

Also, the city is confronted with a problematic image alluding to economic landmarks like Oktoberfest and BMW, so fervently fostered by the city until the early 2000s. An outlook to the upcoming Oktoberfest at times seems to be a must for a conclusive art review (so Sachs, 2014). Only recently the city is following a common trend to promote the city as a cultural city, where it is finally willing to adopt another course and to support the planning. [37] 'There is much do to and yet to coordinate; it's really still a long-term project' (Baur, 2016). OPEN art has established itself as an event for knowledge exchange on all levels, and will not be deprived of its idealism. In the view of and on the endeavour of gallerists to provide more sales effective events, both the gallery association as well as separate groups of gallerists have already taken action to meet these more commercial motives. 'In the end, galleries are also economic entities' (Jahn, 2016).

4.3.1.2. Berlin: Artistic production centre

The opinions on Berlin as a location for art and art business are drifting apart. The architecture of the gallery landscape displays enormous divergences between the three different categories of galleries, as well as within the single levels. Physical spaces present themselves either vastly spacious or extremely compact, and the city exhibits a high fluctuation of galleries. On the one hand Berlin frequently goes by as the country's energetic and young 'artistic production centre' (Reichert, 2016; Wöbken, 2013); new galleries and project spaces keep mushrooming, providing experimental spaces for artists, curators, collectors and critics (Oswal, 2016). Isabella Bortolozzi, owner of eponymic Berlin top-level gallery, describes the city as 'a combination of curiosity and rootlessness' when she first opened her gallery in 2004. Since then, the commercialisation and attraction of dealers that took place over the last decade 'a facsimile of change in the global market. […] Let's not be romantic: Berlin is a city like any other, but a little less driven, unfortunately' (Fontolan, 2015). And galerist Johann König replies to the question why he chose Berlin when he left Cologne: 'because the distance Berlin - Cologne is the farthest possible I could get and I didn't want to leave the country' (Kohler, 2015). Due to its diversity and as that aforementioned 'cultural production centre', Berlin draws a high number of young artists, art interested visitors, and students (BF, 2016; KF, 2016).
At the same time galleries disappear, emigrate or close down, exhibiting a shorter life span, than in the other German cities. Sales in Berlin are not as high as in other global art centres, rent prices used to be affordable, but have increased over the last five years. These factors certainly threaten the label 'production centre'. Further more, the city is known as notoriously damp regarding its financial situation and its suffering from an anaemia on collectors.

[37] This new path is lead by Tourismus Initiative Munich (TIM) in cooperation with the city of Munich. Next to numerous other cultural institutions, IGGM is part of this initiative. Intended as an advertising campaign to transregionally promote the cities cultural- and creative sector transregionally.

The German capital is suffering from its long-known historically caused precarious economic situation (Ibrom, 2014). Other than in the Rhineland or Southern Germany Berlin and the Brandenburg area are not home to industry and entrepreneurs. According to BF (2016), 'there is not really any money within the city of Berlin. In my opinion, however, the city is a great place to have as a 'showroom'. The situation the galleries find themselves in in Berlin, is reflected in statements like the one of Maike Curse, who names Gallery Weekend Berlin a 'commercial art event' (Nedo, 2106).

4.3.1.3. The Rhineland: Old-established expertise

Gisela Capitain, founder of Galerie Gisela Capitain and member of the DC OPEN advisory board, catches the developments in the Rhineland area around Cologne and Düsseldorf as follows:

'In the beginning of the 1990s an enormous movement to Berlin became apparent, leaving behind the sensation of a famished city with a gallery scene diminished to two or three fellow gallerists. Fortunately times have changed again over the last years, and young, interesting galleries have emerged again. When the squad of gallerists had moved and resettled in Berlin, I very consciously opted for the Rhineland. The advantage I have here constitutes itself in a highly educated, intellectual clientele, which at the same time is remarkably diverse.' (Würfel, 2013)

The political decentralisation of Germany after World War II was reflected in the geographical distributions of contemporary art. Not only remained the Rhineland with its high concentration of business and industry the industrial powerhouse of the nation, but also the prominent artistic centre in Germany until the early 1990s with Düsseldorf as the location for art production, and Cologne as the main location for distribution. The region benefited from its art-collecting industrialists, as well as from the the regional proximity to neighbouring countries, especially the Benelux countries, which exhibit strong traditions in collecting art originated in aristocracy and later bourgeoisie, and guaranteed good attendances and sales despite increasing competitiveness on the art market. With Art Cologne founded in 1984, the region hosts one of the worldwide oldest art fairs for modern and contemporary art.
The drift to Berlin after the German reunification Capitain refers to above, marked a significant shift in the German art scene, and was accompanied by the gallerists' need to meet the desire of their artists, and innumerable galleries emigrated or set up an additional branch in Berlin (KF; 2016). Especially for young and emergent artists it seems to be of great interest to be represented in the capital. Events like Gallery Weekend Berlin - 'the most important German event attracting collectors. International collectors!' (KF, 2016) contribute to this as indispensible perceived obligation to settle in Berlin, as a gal-

lerist who aims at internationally promoting their artists, and to provide a platform for younger ones.

‘The temporary notable focus on the capital Berlin as a global market location for art and the gallery scene cannot be denied, neither the losses the local artistic and cultural supply suffered during that time. Nevertheless, the Rhineland was able to maintain its market position, moreover: Recent estimations are anticipating a strong return to the local traditional marketplaces with their rich tradition in collecting art.’ (Danch & Radlovic, 2016)

Recently the Rhineland is experienced to have regained its position by taking action and initiating counter events such as DC Open to Gallery Weekend Berlin (KF, 2016).

4.3.2. Manifestation of collaborative objectives

As pointed out before, collaborative objectives may in practice not be as clearly distinguishable from each other as in theory. Nevertheless, different primary orientations in terms of targeted collaborative advantages to be achieved could be discerned among gallerists. The programmes and attitudes towards it gave a first seminal impression on the motivational base line driving the galleries to participate.

4.3.2.1. OPEN art: “open” knowledge exchange and learning

In addition to opening their doors and mostly scheduling an exhibition opening for the weekend, the programme of OPEN art includes guided gallery tours, a visitor’s centre, a catalogue and a map. The opening event and the following opening party are public. In this sense, it is still consistent with the first programme in 1989, when the decisive collaborative objective had been to collectively offer a public tour through the galleries and a holistic listing of current exhibitions with a clear site plan, combining existing separate leaflets on the different gallery districts in the city. A taxi shuttle service has been tested but abandoned due to low demand. In addition to the galleries, a varying number of cultural institutions, such as museums, public galleries and art schools contribute to the OPEN art programme, offering special exhibitions, art projects or joint podium discussions.
In his opening speech on the occasion of the 25th OPEN art anniversary in 2013, art critic Wilhelm Warning formulates the gallerists’ objectives underlying the event as follows:

‘Ab initio, it was not the aspect of marketing that lingered at the forefront of our thinking, that is, the idea of promoting art as a commodity. Instead, it was about communicating a genuine understanding of art.’ (Warning, 2013, p. 4)

In this sense, Gudrun Spielvogel explains the roots of the Munich gallery weekend as the manifestation of a common ‘us’:

‘Open arts, open galleries, open doors, opening and democratising art, an outward representation, that was the seminal idea. This illustrates the origins of the title OPEN art; the term is copyrighted. […] We have been keeping with this motto up to today.‘ (Spielvogel, 2016)

What comes to the fore is a thriving towards predominantly cultural advantages: OPEN art represents an opportunity to socialise and make new contacts among artists, gallerists, collectors or curators (Spielvogel, 2016). Spielvogel stresses the informational essence the event holds for the public: to inform about what a gallery is to begin with, and to provide an informal insight about what is going on in the local gallery scene. A collaborative event like OPEN art also draws more attention than a single gallery exhibition. Matthias Jahn, owner of Galerie Jahn, founded in 2010, stresses the knowledge exchange between the different stakeholders the event attracts during that weekend. Economically, the gallery weekend is not as significant to Jahn as another more recently emerged gallery event, the Art Weekend, which represents an independent initiative organised by a small separate group of Munich galleries with a larger promotional budget, and to meet the economic aspect. The latter indicates an undeniable transformation among the respective gallerists, namely a market driven behaviour. When Spielvogel remarks: ‘It used to be more inspired by an artistic and united notion’ – a hint to endeavours towards more economic effectiveness and the confrontation the original open-art concept with a more purpose-driven thinking – which, however has to be seen in context with common developments in the art market.

4.3.2.2. Gallery Weekend Berlin: International market orientation

Maak (2014) describes the scenery of the Gallery Weekend Berlin as follows: ‘When you find queues of black stretch limousines parked outside of tiny shops or in front of rear buildings, you know that the Mafia is in session. When the same scenario occurs in Berlin, it is the gallery weekend.’ Despite the melodramatic undertone resonating here, such comment reflects prestigious packing the programming intends to convey: In addition to the openings of the upper segment of top-level participating galleries, the official agenda comprises an extensive VIP programme, including private views and previews for collectors, an opening gala dinner hosting about 1000 bidden guests, or a limousine shuttle service. A catalogue enlisting the exhibitions of participating galleries is on display for visitors in all respective galleries.

When Gallery Weekend Berlin was first brought into being, Berlin galleries were represented on art fairs throughout the world, however, no international

clientele seemed to be willing to set out for the city itself. The original idea to get together as a small group of galleries, and to draw the attention of international collectors and curators has not changed ever since (Maak, 2014). As early as in 2009, Matthias Arndt, owner of Arendt Gallery, labelled the Gallery Weekend Berlin a 'market indicator' (Gropp, 2009). In this sense, the primary motivation of galleries to participate in the event is to promote Berlin as an international art market, to appeal to an international clientele, bring together their protagonists and to encourage their eagerness to buy art.
This predominant endeavour is reflected in the visitors Gallery Weekend Berlin generates. It has long constituted an 'international gathering of collectors' (Karich, 2013). According to gallerists and press, the two and a half days register the highest number of international collectors, ranging from almost all continents, so Maike Curse (Nedo, 2016).
During the gallery weekend each gallery separately promotes its own exhibition programme as usual, showing their annual highlights through all artistic genres, which contributes to the event at times being perceived as a marathon among gallerists (KF, 2016; Karich, 2013):

'You meet up for that gala dinner, but other than that…no, and you neither visit the others' exhibitions; there's no time to. […] You've got thousands of people being pushed through the gallery. That is extremely exhausting. I didn't even manage to see the galleries' exhibitions here in the building; it's simply not possible. In the closer neighbourhood, nothing, I saw nothing, simply nothing. There are really so many people you have to take care of. […] I mean, of course, on the other hand you run into some befriended galerists at that gala dinner, and you're happy about it. I think this was somehow also part of the original intention: that galleries establish some sort of partnerships; but you just don't manage to time-wise. […] You would love to, but there's no time.' (KF, 2016)

Besides the marathon aspect for all parties involved, there appears to be no time for the expected fierce top-level gallery competition, at least it is unapparent in this comment.[38]

Above all, the gallery weekend is expected to entail collaborative prevailingly market-related advantages for the participating galleries by complementing each other in uniqueness, and can be seen as the networking-format for a sales event to reach international attention, and to contribute to the local market (BF, 2016, KF, 2016, Levy, 2016, Tammen, 2016). Attracting international clients and generate increases in sales stand in the foreground. To the mostly top-level galleries participating, individual marketing and promotion of their

[38] Incidents like the one regarding galerist Giti Nourbakhsch's exclusion from the event in 2011, and her subsequent non-admission to Art Basel that year sheds a different light. Three GWB associates also belonged to the Art Basel jury in charge of the admission to the art fair; a connection was denied, nevertheless, this embodies what Walter Tammen calls a ‚Hauen und Stechen' – a fierce competition on top level in form of social exclusion (Tammen, 2016).

artists remains a core task rooting in their professionalisation; the alliance thus seems compatible in so far as they each pursue their own individual objectives in order to create and form a market for their artists.

4.3.2.3. DC Open: Maintaining status and reputation

The DC Open programme of mostly local top but also a number of mid-level galleries goes ‘without experiments but focused’ (Jung, 2013), that is, the Rhineland gallery weekend is intended to be an opening-oriented event with focus on ‘high quality exhibitions’, so that additional side-events are kept low (Meixner, 2013). Collectors enjoy a shuttle-service as well as an opening ‘Collectors Dinner’. Further, there is an additional bus-service, which runs between Düsseldorf and Cologne, public guided tours through the galleries, and a map listing participating galleries.

‘With DC Open, we have attained a solid interconnectedness among the galleries, which leads to a sustainable strengthening of the entire local market place, and thus realises positive effects on the local art market.’ (Danch & Radlovic, 2016)

Ljiljana Radlovic and Robert Danch, the two DC Open organisers in office in Düsseldorf and Cologne, outline the strategic bases underlying the gallerists’ willingness to participate in DC Open. The endeavour to strengthen the local art market, has to be seen against the historical backdrop of the obstacles the gallery scene encountered over since the 1990s and the weakening of the area due to extreme emigration of galleries to Berlin in the years following the German reunification. Historically, the established German collectors have always been located in the affluent Rhineland, i.e. in the Cologne, Düsseldorf region (KF, 2016). This manifests itself in the concentrated group of collectors the DC Open generates, which comprises regional collectors as well as international collectors arriving from the neighbouring countries, prevailingly, from Belgium, France and the Netherlands. The primary objectives therefore revolve around holding the line in status and reputation in order to provide a counter-reaction to the Berlin art scene, to reactivate and combine regional factors and similar resources in term of collectors, to draw attention with the final goal to boost economic profitability within the gallery landscape, and the local art market as a whole.
With the idea of competition shaping in mind, the special situation of a gallery-collaboration across two historically rivalling cities has to be highlighted. A collective notion of competition comes to the fore:

‘DC Open unveils what Rhineland gallerists and art dealers have come to realize after a long and with reckless abandon fostered competition between

Düsseldorf and Cologne: Regional isolation is no longer charming but highly hazardous for the business.' (Meixner, 2013).

4.3.3. Structural variations

4.3.3.1. OPEN Art: The local gallery scene

When explaining the structural characteristics regarding the gallery constellation of OPEN art, we have to reach back to its historic roots. The pioneer OPEN art in Munich took place in 1989 as the first gallery weekend in Germany, and paved the ways to an until then non-existent gallery initiative. The collaborative objectives and the development of a first local art journal published by the gallerists, lead to the foundation of the Initiative of German Art Galleries in Munich (IGGM) in 1988 (Spielvogel, 2016). 'Much had happened in the preliminary stages; it was a thorough networking that preceded all that', so Gudrun Spielvogel on the formation the IGGM and the OPEN art (2016). The 65 galleries enlisted in the initiative then got together for the first gallery weekend; the latest OPEN art edition in 2016 counted the same number of participators. The promotional budget is narrow, and the event is regionally advertised through new media and classic advertisement. Additional sponsors and supporters are the city of Munich and varying cultural institutions.
All galleries in the association are allowed and encouraged to participate in the event without any additional cost but the monthly membership fee in the amount of 60 € incurred.[39] Selection exists in so far as a small number of emerging galleries that are too young to fulfil the admission criteria to IGGM are not officially participating. Issues may arise mostly internally in the course of the decision-making process of the programme; this has to be seen against the backdrop of the immense diversity of artistic orientation in terms of vertical segmentation:

If 65 galleries get together, you've got a most diverse crowd of personalities, highly different gallery profiles; organising a programme like the one for OPEN art barely goes without complications when it comes to a democratic decision-making among such a disparity of opinions. […] You have to somehow compromise.' (Baur, 2016)

Divergences arise mostly in the field of marketing and promotion, so Baur, but common denominators are found and agreements are met 'democratically' (Baur, 2016; Spielvogel, 2016). Gallerists describe the Munich gallery landscape as cultivated and interested (Baur, 2016; Jahn, 2016):

[39] The membership fee is invested sustaining the office and marketing activities (Jahn, 2016; Spielvogel, 2016).

‘I sense a fairly good community spirit; and to comprehend that you don’t get anywhere if everybody thinks of nothing but oneself, instead that especially in this city it is necessary to see things as a community in order to attract notice.’ (Baur, 2016)

4.3.3.2. Gallery Weekend Berlin: The top of the tops

When the first Gallery Weekend Berlin took place in May 2005, a general discontent among certain galleries had been evident due to the dissolution of the Art Forum, the city’s contemporary art fair then – ‘replaced’ by Art Berlin Contemporary in 2008. A group of 21 galleries initiated the event. Now the event is organised by the abc GWB Veranstaltungs UG, an association of Berlin galleries, supported by the Board of Berlin Galleries and the Honorary Advisory Board, also in charce of the art fair abc Art Berlin Contemporary taking place in September. Since then, the number has gradually increased; in 2016 54 officially participating galleries defined the hard core of the event (Gropp, 2015; Reichert, 2016). In the Talking Gallery Session of 2014, Jochen Meyer, founder of gallery Meyer Riegger, Gallery Weekend Berlin and abc fair said, the number should not exceed 50 galleries due to organisational complications; Maike Curse, director in office to the two events elevated the red line to the now 54 galleries (Nedo, 2016).
Gallery Weekend Berlin runs on initiative of the galleries, fully independent of the Berlin Gallery Association, and is not subsidised by public funding. Each of the galleries contributes with a participation fee, this year amounting to € 7.500. In addition, the organisers enter partnerships to private businesses to financially guarantee the high-class inlay of the event. In 2016, sponsors were BMW, who also operated the shuttle service, and Audemars Piget, a Swizz luxury brand for watch manufacturing. The common denominator according to Maike Cruse constitutes itself in ‘high quality standards, and high appreciation of art’ (Oswal, 2016). Participation fee and sponsoring primarily support promotional activities and the VIP programme of the event.
The structure of Gallery Weekend Berlin is based on selection processes. A number of only 14 % of Berlin-based galleries participated in Gallery Weekend Berlin 2016 – annually on invitation; there is no application process. As of late, a number of single young galleries has been accepted. Selection criteria remain and requirements remain an opaque field; Maike Cruse explains: ‘We are selecting according to the individual gallery programme and the sustainability of that programme; mostly the group of participating galleries remains the same, we do, however, also accept younger galleries.’ (Nedo, 2016). The organisers of Gallery Weekend Berlin did not consent to give any information for the purpose of this research, and art critics have yet not come any further in illuminating the selection process, but to refer the ‘chosen ones’ (Gropp, 2009; Karich, 2007), thus criteria which top-level galleries are not admitted and why remain subject to further investigation. The small circle of participat-

ing galleries is an explicit announcement of elite choice; matters of inclusion and exclusion prevail as indisputably rooted in the nature of such selection processes, yet take a backseat in the light of commercial success and international attention.
An untracked number of other Berlin galleries schedule their opening for that weekend and open their doors to the public. Grasping an overview over these so called ‘unofficially participating’ galleries is difficult (Karich, 2013). Gropp (2010) characterises the relationship between the officially and unofficially participating camps as ‘direct democratic’. (BF, 2016; BC, 2016; Levy, 2016). The galleries in the city jumping on the bandwagon and opening their doors that weekend, do not seem to interfere with the pool of selected galleries – as mostly operating in different spheres of gallery categories.

4.3.3.3. DC Open: An established circle

The formation of DC Open took place on initiative of a hand full of top- and mid-level established galerists in 2009, and followed the global financial crisis in 2008 that had left its marks on the art markets. A liaison between the neighbouring cities of Düsseldorf and Cologne, located in 44 km distance along the river Rhine would have been unlikely if the two years earlier incorporated contemporary art fair Düsseldorf Contemporary – established as a counter reaction and competing event to the long established Art Cologne fair – had survived its infancy; the failure contributed to the first edition of DC Open, then comprising a number of 80 galleries located in both cities (Achenbach, 2011; Leske, 2009). The number of participating galleries has since been reduced and currently varies around a number of 50 galleries: In 2016 Düsseldorf contributed with 20 galleries and Cologne with 37 galleries – the quantitative imbalance has to be seen in relation to the cities’ sizes.
Run by the Düsseldorf Cologne Veranstaltungs GbR, private gallery initiative, operating independent of the local gallery associations, galleries financially contribute with a participation fee of about € 2.000 (Meister, 2012), which to a big part is to finance the opening dinner. In addition to private business sponsoring, the event is funded by the federal ministry of economics and the cities of Düsseldorf and Cologne. Artsy and two art magazines were primary media partners in 2016 (Danch & Radlovic, 2016).
Next to the 57 officially participating galleries in 2016, various not officially participating galleries open their doors for that weekend. The organisators reserved their right to not reveal any information about both the selection process of galleries and possible issues arising from the exclusion of the majority of the other galleries. Regarding the relationship between the galleries during the event, Ljiljana Radlovic and Robert Danch keep themselves covert and diplomatically describe the encounter in the following words: ‘The region is known for a highly cooperative and collegial atmosphere among its galleries’

(Danch & Radlovic, 2016). This does not reveal how single galleries meet each other in reality, but describes the expected decorum within the scope of a collaborative event such as DC Open. Press sources disclose occasional discrepancies between single gallerists – participating and non-participating - regarding selection processes, individual gallery programmes or the spending of participation fees (Meister, 2012).

4.4. THREE FORMATS OF GALLERY WEEKENDS

The anterior chapter aimed at comparing and contrasting gallery weekends in the three German urban areas that displayed the highest agglomeration of art galleries in the country.

All three formats of gallery weekends present cooperative project alliances where selected galleries located in geographic proximity commit to working together, established on private initiative of the participating galleries, and have over time been institutionalised. From a Friday evening on, between 50 and 60 galleries open their doors to the public for the following two and a half days, organising openings, prevailingly ‘high quality exhibitions’, i.e. presenting their annual highlights; the artworks exhibited range from all vertical segments. The programmes primarily involve a common promotional campaign, including maps or small catalogues enlisting the participating galleries. All events are privately sponsored and display art related media-partners. Alongside, all galleries present and promote their individual gallery programme as usual.
Additionally considering a vast number of external environmental factors seemingly affecting contemporary art galleries in Germany to an equal degree, one could be tempted to expect these similar findings across the cases to serve as a definitional approach to a collaborative project alliance ‘gallery weekend’. In terms of motivation and processes of forming a collaborative relationship in form of gallery weekends, three different formats that are not completely mutually incompatible, yet not imitable either came to the fore.

The overarching ambition that could be detected among all gallery weekends was the wish to get together and form an influential force for the sake of a common goal. The crucial divergence manifests itself in the latter, separating the cases in two camps according to their primary objectives pursued. OPEN art in the South declares itself as an informational platform for knowledge exchange, while Gallery Weekend Berlin and DC Open constitute two commercially oriented events, which can be further distinguished in themselves: Gallery Weekend Berlin is driven by the motivation to internationalise the local art market and to generate sales. Prevalent in Düsseldorf and Cologne on the other hand, is the endeavour to revitalise their historically rooted market resources. In this sense, we detected more common features between the Rhineland and the Berlin-event; at the same time, it needs to be pointed out that DC Open is also to counteract the Gallery Weekend Berlin, which hauls out bigger guns, and is widely perceived as the most recognised sales event to bring international collectors to the country. As a pure informational platform, OPEN art stands for itself in the triad. Besides the common goal to appear on the scene as a collective, it is the fundamentally different motives that prompt the galleries to join forces in these gallery weekends.

Further considering relational structures, the alliances have been institutionalised in different legal entities; other than DC Open and Gallery Weekend Berlin, OPEN art is lead by the local gallery association, while the other two events operate independently.

This is also reflected in the varying selection processes followed. While OPEN art in Munich is open for free to all gallery categories belonging to the local gallery association, Gallery Weekend Berlin and DC Open grant participation on invitation only. The selection processes here are intransparent, and it can only be assumed that a gallery's network, and its reputation might play in as decisive factors here. What we see in the resulting programme is a fundamental difference in the categories of galleries participating in the different collaborative projects. Selective proceedings demonstrate the uncompromising intentions regarding the official line-up appearance: Berlin exclusively presents its personal 'best-of' on top-level galleries, experimental gallery programmes welcomed, the Rhineland introduces top- and mid-level galleries with a stronger focus on established art in the comfort scene. Moreover, both events have recently admitted a marginal number of emerging galleries into their programmes.

The implementations of participation fees have different implications for the respective programmes and promotional activities. The budget in Munich is limited; there are no VIP extensions, all events are open to the public, cooperating institutions provide additional access to exhibitions, and promotion is confined to a local and regional audience (Baur, 2016). In contrast, Berlin, Düsseldorf and Cologne offer VIP programmes, including shuttle services and an opening dinner for collectors. To be noted is, that Berlin is the only event exempt of public funding. The VIP in Berlin, however, needs to be emphasised; the Gallery Weekend Berlin programme presents itself far more expansive and in a far more elite and glitter aura than the Rhineland (BF, 2016; KF, 2016). Media coverage is both internationally oriented, with DC Open showing a strong focus on European, especially neighbouring countries, and Gallery Weekend Berlin additionally nations overseas.

When it comes to galleries belonging to a certain gallery category, the compatibility of cultural proximity among participating galleries also explains possible internal discrepancies, which appeared especially in the course of decision-making regarding promotional aspects. In Düsseldorf, Cologne and Munich, where a more diverse group of galleries in terms of the galleries' individual exhibition programme is involved, dissensus regarding artistic quality was part of the discussion. Smaller or emerging galleries were welcomed by the higher categories, keeping in mind that the actual admission in Berlin and the Rhineland might be due to aspects of programme diversification. Delicate situations emerging from issues of inclusion and exclusion arose when it came to sorting out established galleries within the top-level both in DC Open and Gallery Weekend Berlin.

The driving factors and structural formations cannot be explained without taking into consideration the composition in terms of gallery categories participating and the consequent internal factors affecting them, as well as the local and regional external influences on the respective gallery scene. They thus have to be understood in close relation to the specific local and organisational context of each event, which makes them not fully mutually incompatible, yet barely imitable.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1. IMPLICATION OF FINDINGS

The aim of this research was to identify motivations driving contemporary art galleries in Germany to participate in Gallery Weekends and to highlight their structural processes by taking and contrasting three specific cases of gallery weekends that have emerged in cities with the highest density of galleries. In order to answer the central research question and its propositions, a qualitative research was designed. The results of the study rest on exploratory investigation of a multiple case study. Before this backdrop we shall return to the central research question that navigated this paper: *Why do contemporary contemporary art galleries in Germany develop project alliances in form of gallery weekends?* This central research question was accompanied by a set of sub-questions to guide the analysis of data, to present the findings, and to approach an answer to the leading research question.

The empirical analysis brought to the fore a set of three in their development distinct formats of gallery weekends. When we initially proposed the question regarding a possible expression of withdrawal from capitalistic logics in the commercialised art world, it controversially turned out, that two gallery weekends were mainly driven by economic endeavours, while only one tried to preserve its sense of idealism as a platform for exchange and knowledge sharing, yet was in fact confronted with the emerging request among gallerists to offer more economically effective paths. A retraction from the individualism in the contemporary art world? Within the organisational framework of the project alliances, galleries pushed their individual programme to preserve an image of uniqueness; moreover, the charisma of each event was manifested through the galleries' individual tags. A complete withdrawal from exclusive identification would not even be viable - not for a gallery, not for the event – as the image effect is intrinsic to intrinsic to the cultural value of the artwork itself. This, however, is not meant to justify the notion of the gallerist as a 'lone wolf'. When considering gallery weekends, the myth deserves a further differentiation: Although the events differed significantly from each other, we identified one overarching motive that encouraged gallerists to collaborate, namely to encounter their environment as a more influential force. In difficult times, galleries appear to discover their love for the collective.

Upon examining the major differences across the events, it became evident, that the differences why gallerists got together in a gallery weekend need to be seen in relation to the immediate external conditions of the respective gallery scene: Each alliance emerged as a response to its individual local situation in addition to the entirety. We saw that galleries are by no means all in one boat; if some are at all, than in a local context, which is the boat, that takes the individualist neighbours towards collaborative activities such as a gallery weekend.

5.2. LIMITATIONS

Upon the completion of this study several limitations to this research surfaced. First, it is necessary to point out that this paper is not an attempt to pin down definite models of gallery weekends on a black and white wall. Qualitative research methods bear their limitations, as ‘the truth is relative and it is dependent on one’s perspective’ (Baxter, 2009, p. 545); generalisations are therefor not possible and we have to keep in mind the subjectivity of gallerists and organisers interviewed, where a great number also kept themselves rather covert besides few exceptions (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003).

Second, due to the exploratory nature of this paper, a comprehensive field of the primary art market was investigated, which might be reasonably considered too far-reaching for the scope of a master’s thesis. However, it was necessary to highlight the environment commercial art galleries operate in to set the ground for a sound understanding of the uninvestigated topic approaching gallery collaboration.

Third, pursuing the format of a multiple case study and conducting expert interviews allowed the researcher to understand and connect complex concepts and environments that might not have been attained through other study approaches. Once a certain number of interviews had been accomplished, recurring themes emerged both during the exploratory phase and the interviews conducted on the case studies, yet it needs to be pointed out, that each case has room for further investigation in itself.

We investigated a form of collaborative relationships in the gallery business. The intention of gaining insight as an outsider into a field where connections formed the basis to knowledge exchange, there was potential to further extend the interview partners. Resources were also confined in terms of being able to provide the gallerists a public platform implies significant restraints to this research. In order to counterbalance and supplement substance and content of the limited number of interviews, further secondary data retrieved form press and nation-wide renowned art critics was consulted and included in the analysis.

5.3. AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As pointed out in the conceptual framework, avenues for future research include approaches considering distinct collaborative objectives. One would be to assessing and comparing the outcome of the gallery weekends. With the alliance remaining the unit of analysis, such research could deal with investigating factors influencing the success of the gallery weekends, investigate the degree of influence certain internal and external environmental factors take on the alliance, and to find ways to measure its effectiveness in order to provide an indication about whether and in how far the gallery weekends are successful or not.

Moreover, the scope of the research could be expanded geographically, in order to guarantee the comparison among similar units, that is similar gallery weekends in terms of motivational and structural elements. Especially for top-level galleries, but even for mid-level and emerging galleries, in is interesting to draw on resources other than local ones in order to access pools located in other countries with special regard to matters of learning and knowledge creation.

From the individual organisations' point of view it might be interesting to examine the effect a gallery weekend holds on the performance of individual galleries participating. Employing a quantitative research design, taking for instance a social network perspective, which suggests that economic actions are affected by the social context in which they are embedded and the positioning of the individual stakeholder within a social network (Gulati, 1998). Instead of studying gallery weekends within the field of alliances, such research would require an approach considering a different organisational form, namely a network.

Another suggestion encompasses tackling gallery weekends as temporary spatial clustering of economic activity (Bathelt & Schuldt, 2008; Maskell, 2006). Such temporary clusters deal with trade fairs, exhibitions and other professional events seminal to knowledge exchange and learning via face-to-face contact with stakeholders.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albers, S., Wohlgezogen, F., & Zajac, E. J. (2016). Strategic Alliance Structures: An Organization Design Perspective. *Journal Of Management*, *42* (3), 582.

Arora, P., & Vermeylen, F. (2013). The end of the connoisseur? Experts and knowledge production in the visual arts in the digital age. *Information, Communication & Society*, *16* (2), 194-214.

Baia Curioni, S. (2012). A fairy tail - The art system, globalisation, and the fair movement. In Lind, M. & Velthuis, O. (Eds.), *Contemporary art and its commercial markets: A report on current conditions and future scenarios* (pp. 115-151). Berlin: Spanga Sternberg Press; Tensta Konsthall.

Baia Curioni, S., Forti, L., & Leone, L. (2015). Making visible: Artists and galleries in the global art system. In Velthuis, O., & Baia Curioni, S., *Cosmopolitan canvases: The globalization of markets for contemporary art* (pp. 55-77). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baia Curioni, S., & Rizzi, E. M. R. (2016). Two realms in confrontation: consensus or discontinuity? An exploratory study on the convergence of critical assessment and market evaluation in the contemporary art system. *Museum Management And Curatorship*, *31* (5), 440-459.

Bathelt, H., Malmberg, A., & Maskell, P. (2004). Clusters and knowledge: Local buzz, global pipelines and the process of knowledge creation. *Progress In Human Geography*, *28* (1), 31-56.

Bathelt, H., & Schuldt, N. (2008). Between Luminaires and Meat Grinders: International Trade Fairs as Temporary Clusters. *Regional Studies*, *42* (6), 853.

Baumol, W. J. (1992). Horizontal Collusion and Innovation. *The Economic Journal*, *102* (410), 129-137.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13 (4), 544- 559. Retrieved from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/baxter.pdf

Becker, H. S. (2008). *Art worlds* (25th edition). Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press.

Belting, H. (2010, May 20). Was heißt bitte ‘contemporary’? Modern oder zeitgenössisch: Die Globalisierung führt zu einer Verwirrung des Kunstbegriffs [What is ‘contemporary’ supposed to mean? Modern or contemporary: Globalisation has infused the concept of art with confusion]. *Die Zeit*, 21. Retrieved from http://www.zeit.de/2010/21/Global-Art/seite-2

Benhamou, F., Moureau, N., & Sagot-Duvauroux, D. (2002). Opening the Black Box of the White Cube: a survey of French contemporary art

galleries at the turn of the millenium. *Poetics*, *30* (4), 263-280.
Berger, A. A., (2000). *Media and communication research methods. An introduction to qualitative and quantitative approaches* (5th edition). London: Sage Publications.
Bourdieu, P. (1983). The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed. *Poetics*, *12* (4-5), 311-356.
Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Bystryn, M. (1978). Art galleries as gatekeepers: The case of the abstract expressionists. *Social Research, 45* (2), 390-408.
Cameron, K., & Quinn, R. (2011). *Diagnosing and Changing Organizational Culture Based on the Competing Values Framework* (3nd edition, pp. 1-54). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
Casson, M. & Mol, M. (2006). Strategic alliances. A survey on issure from an entrepreneurial perspective. In Shenkar, O., & Reuer, J. J., *Handbook of strategic alliances* (pp. 17 – 38). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Caves, R. E. (2000). *Creative industries : Contracts between art and commerce*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Chong, D. (2010). *Arts management* (2nd edition). London: Routledge.
Clegg, S. R., Pitsis, T. S., & Rura-Polley, T. (2002). Governmentality matters: Designing an alliance culture of inter-organizational collaboration for managing projects. *Organization Studies*, *23* (3), 317-337.
Clifford, N., French, S., & Valentine, G. (2010). *Key Methods in Geography* (2ndedition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Cohen, M. D., March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1972). A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *17* (1), 1-25.
Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Creswell, J. W. (2003*). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Cummings, T. G., & Worley, C. G. (2015). *Organization development and change* (10th edition). Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning.
Darnell, A. J., Barile, J. P., Weaver, S. R., Harper, C. R., Kuperminc, G. P., & Emshoff, J. G. (2013). Testing Effects of Community Collaboration on Rates of Low Infant Birthweight at the County Level. *American Journal Of Community Psychology*, *51* (3-4), 398-406.
Dekker, E. (2015). Two approaches to study the value of art and culture, and the emergence of a third. *Journal of Cultural Economics: Published in Cooperation with the Association for Cultural Economics International, 39* (4), 309-326.
Deloitte & ArtTactic (2016). *Art and Finance Report 2016* (4th edition).
Dempster, A. M. (2014). *Risk and uncertainty in the art world*. London:

Bloomsbury Publishing.
DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review*, *48* (2), 147-160.
Dyer J, & Singh H. (1998). The relational view: cooperative strategy and sources of interorganisational competitive advantage. *Academy of Management Review* 23, 660 – 679.
Emery, F. E., & Trist, E. L. (1965). The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments. *Human Relations*, *18* (1), 21-32. Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy, BMWi (2015a). Monitoring zu ausgewählten wirtschaftlichen Eckdaten der Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft 2014 [Economic data on cultural and creative industries 2014]. Munich: PRpetuum GmbH.
Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy, BMWi (2015b). Praxistips für Kreative und Kulturschaffende [Practical advice for artists and creatives). *InfoKreativ Kunstmarkt,* Berlin: PID Arbeiten für Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit GbR. Retrieved from http://www.kultur-krea-tivwirtschaft.de/KuK/Navigation/Mediathek/publikationen,did=704254.html
Felbermayr, G. J., & Toubal, F. (2010). Cultural proximity and trade. *European Economic Review*, *54* (2), 283- 323.
Findlay, M. (2014). *The value of art: Money, power, beauty* (Revised edition ed.). Munich: Prestel.
Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.
Forbes, A. (2014, April 21). The top 10 most expensive living German artists, *Artnet News*. Retrieved from https://news.artnet.com/market/artnet-news-top-10-most-expensive-living-german-artists-10145
Forbes, A. (2016, March 11). The 10 most important takeaways from the 2016 TEFAF art market report. *Artsy.* Retrieved from https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-the-10-most-important-takeaways-from-the-2016-tefaf-art-market-report
Forbes, A. & Kaplan, I. (2016, July 12). Germany's honourable new art export law, explained. *Artnet News*. Retrieved from https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-what-germany-s-strict-new-regulations-mean-for-the-international-art-market
Foss, N. J., & Nielsen, B. B. (2012). Researching Multilevel Phenomena: The Case of Collaborative Advantage in Strategic Management. *Journal Of Centrum Cathedra*, *5* (1), 11-23.
Gibbs, G. (2007). *Analysing qualitative data* (The Sage qualitative research kit; Sage qualitative research kit). L.A., CA: Sage Publications.
Godau, R. (2004). Qualitative Data Analysis Software: MAXqda and MAXdictio. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *4* (1), 66-72.
Gomes-Casseres, B. (1988). Joint venture cycles: the evolution of ownership

strategies of U.S. MNEs: 1945–1975. In Contractor, F.J. & Lorange , P. (Eds.), *Cooperative Strategies in International Business* (pp. 111-128). Lexington, MA: C.D. Heath.

Gomes-Casseres, B. (2006). How alliances reshape competition. In Shenkar, O., & Reuer, J. J., *Handbook of strategic alliances (pp. 39).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Gomes-Casseres, B. (2016). Cooperation and competition: how to get the best of both worlds. *Strategy & Leadership*, *44* (1).

Ginsburgh, V. (2003). Awards, success and aesthetic quality in the arts. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 17* (2), 99-111.

Grabher, G. (2002). Cool Projects, Boring Institutions: Temporary Collaboration in Social Context. *Regional Studies: The Journal Of The Regional Studies Association*, *36* (3), 205-214.

Grampp, W. D. (1989). *Pricing the priceless: Art, artists, and economics*. New York: Basic Books.

Gray, B. (1985). Conditions facilitating interorganisational collaboration. *Human Relations*, 38 (10), 911-936.

Gray, B. (1989). *Collaborating. Finding common ground for multiparty problems*. (Jossey-Bass social and behavioral science series). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gray, B., & Wood, D. J. (1991). Collaborative Alliances: Moving from Practice to Theory. *The Journal Of Applied Behavioral Science*, *27* (1), 139.

Gulati, R. (1998). Alliances and networks, *Strategic Management Journal*, Special Issue, 19 (4), 293–317.

Harrison, B., Kelley, M. R., & Gant, J. (1996). Innovative Firm Behaviour and Local Milieu: Exploring the Intersection of Agglomeration, Firm Effects, and Technological Change. *Economic Geography*, *72* (3), 233.

Horowitz, N. (2011). *Art of the deal: Contemporary art in a global financial market*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Hutter, M., & Shusterman, R. (2006). Value and the valuation of art in economic and aesthetic theory. *Handbooks in Economics, 25*, 169-210.

Hutter, M., & Throsby, C. D. e. (2008). *Beyond price: Value in culture, economics, and the arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huxham, C., & Vangen, S. (2000). Ambiguity, complexity and dynamics in the membership of collaboration. *Human Relations*, *53* (6), 771-806.

Hynes, N., & Mollenkopf, D. (2008). Capturing Strategic Alliance Outcomes: An Analysis Of Motives, Objectives And Outcomes. *International Journal Of Technology Management, 43* (1/2/3), 194-211.

Iyer, E. (2003). Theory of alliances: Partnership and partner characteristics. *Journal Of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing*, *11* (1), 41-57.

Jyrämä, A. (2002). Contemporary art markets — structure and actors: A study of art galleries in Finland, Sweden, France and Great Britain. *International Journal of Arts Management*, *4* (2), 50-65.

Karich, S. (2011, November 11). Zum Stand der Dinge. Wohin steuert die zeitgenössische Kunst [The stage of affairs. Where is the contemporary art going]? *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Retrieved from http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/zum-stand-der-dinge-wohin-steuert-die-zeitgenoessische-kunst-11525398-p2.html

Klamer, Arjo (2014): Without uncertainty, there is no art market. In Dempster, A. M. (Ed.), *Risk and uncertainty in the art world* (pp. 275-286). London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Kożuch, B. & *Sienkiewicz-Małyjurek*, K. (2016). Factors Of Effective Inter-Organizational Collaboration: A Framework For Public Management. *Transylvanian Review Of Administrative Sciences, 12* (47*),* 97-115.

Laberge, Y. (2010). Habitus and social capital: From Pierre Bourdieu and beyond. *Sociology, 44* (4), 770-777.

Lind, M. (2009). Complications; On collaboration, agency and contemporary art. *Public 39: New Communities, 53 – 73*. Retrieved from http://public.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/public/article/viewFile/30385/27912.

Lind, M., & Velthuis, O. (2012). *Contemporary art and its commercial markets: A report on current conditions and future scenarios*. Berlin: Spanga Sternberg Press; Tensta Konsthall.

Lomi, A., & Harrison, J. R. (2012). *The garbage can model of organizational choice: Looking forward at forty* (1st ed.). (Research in the sociology of organizations, vol. 36). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Malewicki, D. S. (2005). Member involvement in entrepreneur network organizations: The role of commitment and trust. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship, 10* (2), 141-166.

Maskell, P., Bathelt, H., & Malmberg, A. (2006). Building global knowledge pipelines: The role of temporary clusters. *European Planning Studies*, *14* (8), 997.

Max, D.T. (2014, December 12). The art of conversation. The curator who talked his way to the top. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/12/08/art-conversation

McAndrew, C. (2012). *The international art market in 2011: Observations on the art trade over 25 years*. Helvoirt: The European Fine Art Foundation.

McAndrew, C., & The European Fine Art Fair Foundation. (2016). *TEFAF art market report 2016*. Helvoirt: The European Fine Art Foundation.

Mertens, H. (2016). *Berlin aktuell. Die Bedeutung von Kunsteinrichtungen als Image- und Wirtschaftsfaktor* [The importance of art facilities as an image and economic factor]. Investitionsbank Berlin Volkswirtschaft: Berlin. Retrieved from http://www.ibb.de/Portaldata/1/Resources/content/download/newsletter/berlin_aktuell/Kunsteinrichtungen_als_Wirtschaftsfaktur_2016.pdf

Moodysson, J., & Jonsson, O. (2007). Knowledge Collaboration and Proximity. *European Urban And Regional Studies*, *14* (2), 115-131.

Mossetto, G. (1993). *Aesthetics and economics.* Dordrecht etc.: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Moulin, R. (1987). *The French art market: A sociological view*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Moulin, R. (1997). National heritage and the international market. The dilemma facing public intervention. *Revue Francaise de Sociologie*, *38* (3), 465-496.

Moureau, N., & Sagot-Duvauroux, D. (2012). Four Business Models in Contemporary Art. *International Journal Of Arts Management*, *14* (3), 44-56.

Noël, L. (2014). Dealing with uncertainties: The art market as a social construction, In

Dempster, A.M. (Ed.), *Risk and uncertainty in the art world* (pp. 229 – 274). London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Pansiri, J. (2009). Strategic Motives for Alliance Formation in the Travel Sector of Tourism. *International Journal Of Hospitality & Tourism Administration,* , *10* (2), 143-173.

Paumgarten, N. (2013, December 2). Dealer's hand. Why are so many people paying so much money for art? Ask David Zwirner. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/12/02/dealers-hand

Peterson, K. (1997). The distribution and dynamics of uncertainty in art galleries: A case study of new dealerships in the Parisian art market, 1985–1990. *Poetics, 25* (4), 241-263.

Phillips, N., Lawrence, T. B., & Hardy, C. (2000). Inter-organizational collaboration and the dynamics of institutional fields. *The Journal Of Management Studies*, *37* (1), 23-43.

Pitsis, T. S., Kornberger, M., & Clegg, S. (2004). The Art of Managing Relationships in Interorganizational Collaboration. *M@n@gement*, *7*(3), 47-67.

Pogrebin, R. (2016, June 8). How a dealer prepares for the 'most important' art fair of the year. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/09/arts/design/how-a-dealer-prepares-for-the-most-important-art-fair-of-the-year.html?_r=0

Porter, M. E. (2000). Location, competition, and economic development: Local clusters in a global economy. *Economic Development Quarterly*, *14* (1), 15-34.

Powell, W. W., & DiMaggio, P. J. (1991). *The New Institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago, Ill., etc.: University of Chicago Press.

Prins, S. (2010). From Competition to Collaboration: Critical Challenges and Dynamics in Multiparty Collaboration. *The Journal Of Applied Behavioral Science*, *46* (3), 281.

Prinz, A., Piening, J., & Ehrmann, T. (2015). The success of art galleries: A dynamic model with competition and information effects. *Journal of Cultural Economics, 39* (2), 153-176.

Quemin, Alain (2006). Globalization and mixing in the visual arts. An empirical survey of 'high culture' and globalization. *International Sociology*, *21*, 522-550.
Rantisi, N. M. (2014). Exploring the role of industry intermediaries in the construction of 'Local Pipelines': The case of the Montreal Fur Garment Cluster and the rise of Fur-Fashion connections. *Journal Of Economic Geography*, *14* (5), 955-971.
Reichert, K. (2013, November 28). Kunstmarkt. Das fieße Geld [The Art market. The vicious money] *Die Zeit,* 49. Retrieved from http://www.zeit.de/2013/49/kunstmarkt-strukturvergleich-deutsch-international
Resch, M. (2011). Management of Art Galleries – Business Models (Doctoral dissertation). University of St. Gallen: St. Gallen. Retrieved from http://www1.unisg.ch/www/edis.nsf/SysLkpByIdentifier/3927/$FILE/dis3927.pdf
Resch, M. (2014). *Management of art galleries*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz.
Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton-Nicholls, C., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage Publications.
Roberts, T. (2009). Collaboration in contemporary artmaking. Practice and pedagogy (Doctoral dissertation). The Ohio State University: Ohio. Retrieved from https://etd.ohiolink.edu/rws_etd/document/get/osu1248880538/inline
Robertson, I. (2005). *Understanding international art markets and management*. London: Routledge.
Robertson, I. (2008). *Art business.* London: Routledge.
Saldana, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.
Santagata, W. (1995). Institutional Anomalies in the Contemporary Art Market. *Journal Of Cultural Economics*, *19* (2), 187-197.
Savage, G. (1969). *The market in art*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs.
Schmitz, H. (1999). Global competition and local cooperation: Success and failure in the Sinos Valley, Brazil. *World Development*, *27* (9), 1627-1650.
Seidman, L. (2012). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. Retrieved from http://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=OE46HtiW-asC&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq=interviewing&ots=z2thz1ANGM&sig=fiR17jnund9WSqpX57txQ03lp3Y#v=onepage&q=interviewing&f=false.
Sharfman, M.P., Gray, B. & Yan, A. (1991). The Context of Interorganizational Collaboration in the Garment Industry: An Institutional Perspective. *The Journal Of Applied Behavioral Science*, *27* (2), 181-208.
Singer, L., & Lynch, G. (1994). Public choice in the tertiary art market. *Journal*

of Cultural Economics: Published in Cooperation with the Association for Cultural Economics International, 18 (3), 199-216.
Sooudi, O. K. (2012). Art patron as 'taste scapegoat'? complicity and disavowal in Mumbai's contemporary art world. *Etnofoor, 24* (2), 123-143.
Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Stuart, TE. (2000). Interorganizational alliances and the performance of firms: a study of growth and innovation. *Strategic Management Journal* 21 (8), 791–811.
Taylor-Powell, E., & Renner, M. (2003). Analyzing qualitative data. Retrieved from http://learningstore.uwex.edu/assets/pdfs/g3658-12.pdf
Thompson, D. (2008). *The curious economics of contemporary art and auction houses*. London: Aurum Press.
Throsby, D. (1994). The production and consumption of the arts: A view of cultural economics. *Journal of Economic Literature, 32* (1), 1.
Throsby, D. (2001). Creative Industries: Contracts Between Art and Commerce. *Journal Of Economic Literature*, *39* (3), 956-957.
Throsby, D. (2011). Cultural capital. In Towse, R. (Ed.), *A handbook of cultural economics* (2nd edition, pp. 142-146). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Todeva, E., & Knoke, D. (2005). Strategic alliances and models of collaboration. *Management Decision*, *43* (1), 123-148.
Towse, R. (2003). Farewell Editorial. *Journal Of Cultural Economics: Published In Cooperation With The Association For Cultural Economics International*, *27* (1), 3-7. Retrieved from doi:10.1023/A:1021507210922
Towse, R. (2010). Creativity, copyright and the creative industries paradigm. *Kyklos*, *63* (3), 461-478. Retrieved from doi:10.1111/j.1467-6435.2010.00483.x
Trimarchi, M. (2011). Principal-agent analysis. In Towse, R. (Ed.), *A handbook of cultural economics* (2nd edition, pp. 356-361). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Vangen, S. & Huxham, C. (2010). Introducing the theory of collaborative advantage. In Osborne, S.P. (Ed.), *The new public governance? Emerging perspectives on the theory and practice of public governance* (pp.163-184). London, New York: Routledge.
Van Tuijl E., & Carvalho L. (2014). Knowledge sourcing, knowledge bases, and the spatial organisation of car design. *Environment And Planning A*, *46* (8), 1966-1982.
Van Tuijl, E., Dittrich, K., & van der Borg, J. (2016). Upgrading of Symbolic and Synthetic Knowledge Bases: Evidence from the Chinese Automotive and Construction Industries. *Industry And Innovation*, *23* (3), 276-293.

Velthuis, O. (2005). *Talking prices: Symbolic meanings of prices on the market for contemporary art*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
Velthuis, O. (2011). Art dealers and Art markets. In Towse, R. (Ed.), *A handbook of cultural economics* (2nd edition, pp. 28-42). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
Velthuis, O. (2013). Globalization of markets for contemporary art. *European Societies, 15* (2), 290-308.
Velthuis, O., & Baia Curioni, S. (2015). *Cosmopolitan canvases: The globalization of markets for contemporary art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Westley, F., & Vredenburg, H. (1991). Strategic Bridging: The Collaboration Between Environmentalists and Business in the Marketing of Green Products. *The Journal Of Applied Behavioral Science*, *27* (1), 65-90.
Winkleman, E. (2009). *How to start and run a commercial art gallery*. New York, NY: Allworth Press.
Winkleman, E. (2014) The position of the mid-market gallery in today's environment. Strategies for navigating the evolving market*. Talking Galleries.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZaixF3pT0R8
Winkleman, E. (2015). *Selling contemporary art: How to navigate the evolving market*. New York: Allworth Press.
Wittenbrink, B. (2005, February 21). Kooperation und Wettbewerb. Analyse des deutschen Kunstmarkts mit Blick auf Nordrhein-Westfalen [Co-operation and competition. Analysing the German art market with a view to NRW]. Speech on occasion of the 5th day of cultural industries in NRW. Retrieved from http://www.bvdg.de/sites/default/files/Wittenbrink_AnalyseKunstmarkt_21052005.pdf
Wöbken, H. (2013). Galerienstudie 2013. Eine Positionsbestimmung [German contemporary fine art galleries 2013]. Berlin: Institut für Strategieent-wicklung.
Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Yogev, T. (2010). The social construction of quality: Status dynamics in the market for contemporary art. *Socio-Economic Review, 8* (3), 511-536.
Yoshino, M. Y., & Rangan, U. S. (1995). *Strategic Alliances: An Entrepreneurial Approach to Globalization*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press Book.
Young, N. (2010). Business networks, collaboration and embeddedness in local and extra-local spaces: The case of Port Hardy, Canada. *Sociologia Ruralis, 50* (4), 392-408.
Zorloni, A. (2013). *The economics of contemporary art markets, strategies and stardom*. Berlin: Springer

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Survey (Abandoned)

Research question: *How are collaborative ties among Berlin-based contemporary art galleries constituted and how are these structures related to the individual gallery's reputation?*

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">I. Your Gallery</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">1. Name of your gallery</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">2. Year of foundation</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">3. Gallery location in Berlin. Please indicate the district</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">4. Main genre represented</td></tr>
<tr><td>Drawing ☐</td><td>Installation ☐</td><td>Painting ☐</td><td>Photography ☐</td><td>Sculpture ☐</td><td>Video ☐</td><td>Other:……... ☐</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">5. Artists represented</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">5a. Your gallery mainly represents</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">☐ Newcomers</td><td colspan="3">☐ Mid-career artists</td><td colspan="2">☐ Established artists</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">5b. Does your gallery additionally represent artists outside of your primary category?</td><td>☐ Yes</td><td>☐ No</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">5c. If yes, Please specify which additional artists you represent</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">☐ Newcomers</td><td colspan="2">☐ Mid-career artists</td><td colspan="2">☐ Established artists</td><td>☐ Other: …………..</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">6. Ownership</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">6a. Your gallery is owned by how many people?</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">6b. Please specify the gender for each owner</td><td>Male: …</td><td>Female:….</td></tr>
</table>

6c. Is there a couple among your group?	☐ Yes	☐ No

6d. Please specify the nationality for each owner	☐ Germany	☐ Abroad:……………..
6e. How many of your German owners were born in Berlin?		

7. Size of your gallery in m^2		
8. Employees		
8a. Number of employees		
8b. Type of employment	☐ Full-time	☐ Part-time/Freelance/Trainee
II. Gallery's Network Practices		

9. Your gallery's network is fundamental for the recognition of the artists you represent.				
I strongly disagree ☐	I disagree ☐	I neither agree nor disagree ☐	I agree ☐	I strongly agree ☐
10. You engage in activities with galleries or other stakeholders whom you don't know or have not been recommended by someone you trust.				
I strongly disagree ☐	I disagree ☐	I neither agree nor disagree ☐	I agree ☐	I strongly agree ☐

11. You have experienced the following benefits through your gallery's networking.
1 = "I strongly disagree" ; 3 = I neither agree nor disagree ; 5 = "I strongly agree"

a. Selecting new artists to support in the future b. Reduced time costs c. Gathering information on current market trends d. Status enhancement e. Identifying new opportunities to develop joint projects f. Identifying paths of mutual support g. Attracting new buyers segments h. Sense of belonging to the local art system	1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4

i. Lower monetary costs j. Learning by exchanging experiences k. Gathering information on other stakeholders l. Contributing to the local art system m. Other. Please specify: ……………………………………	5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

12. Please consider all the situations in **2015** in which you **collaborated** with other **Berlin-based contemporary art galleries**. Collaboration includes: Organising joint exhibitions, organising joint attendance to art fairs, co-operating directly in other joint events such as gallery open night or gallery weekends, or jointly coordinating other collaborative projects. Single, inconsequential meeting, or occasional advice would not constitute this type of collaboration.		
Did you collaborate in any of these ways in 2015?	◻ Yes	◻ No
12a. If yes, please list the names of the galleries here. With every name of your individual network you can provide, you significantly contribute to the identification of the overall network existing between the galleries in Berlin.		
The following questions (12b. – j.) refer to your collaboration with #12a#		
12b. Please indicate the type of collaboration		
◻ Organisation of joint art fair participation ◻ Organisation of joint exhibition ◻ Direct collaboration in joint events ◻ Other collaborative projects. Please specify: ……………………………		
12c. Please indicate the number of the collaborative projects you worked on together with in 2015		

◻ 1	◻ 2	◻ 3	◻ 4	◻ 5	◻ More than 5: ….

12d. On average how often did you correspond within each project in 2015?						
On a daily basis ☐	2-3 times a week ☐	Once a week ☐	2-3 times a month ☐	Once a month ☐	2-3 times that year ☐	Once that year ☐

12e. Were the collaborative ties developed in 2015 based on previous collaborations?	☐ Yes	☐ No

12f. If yes, these collaborative ties reach back to			
1-2 years of collaboration ☐	3-5 years of collaboration ☐	6-9 years of collaboration ☐	More than 10 years of collaboration ☐

12g. If yes, this relationship originates from			
☐ Professional contact	☐ Friendship or other close relationship	☐ Family ties	☐ Other. Please specify: ……………..

12h. Was this relationship built on a similar taste of art?	☐ Yes	☐ No
12i. Have you ever exchanged recommendations regarding new artists to be promoted in your galleries?	☐ Yes	☐ No
12j. Have you ever represented an artist one of your galleries promoted at the same time, before or later on?	☐ Yes	☐ No
13. Did you collaborate with galleries outside Berlin in 2015?	☐ Yes	☐ No

13a+b. If yes, these galleries were located in	
☐ Germany (not Berlin)	☐ Abroad. Please specify: …………………
German cities:………………………………..	Foreign cities: …………………………………

14. Please consider all the situations in **2015** in which you were in **personal contact** with **other stakeholders in Berlin**. Personal contact includes: Formal correspondence, meetings and collaboration, and informal but regular contact on friendship basis. Single and inconsequential contact would not be included in this type of personal contact.

Were you in personal contact in any of these ways in 2015?	☐ Yes	☐ No

14a. If yes, which of the following groups were you in personal contact with?

☐ Art schools	☐ Private schools	☐ Art associations	☐ Art advisors
☐ Institutional collectors	☐ Artists	☐ Art critics	☐ Other:…………

The following questions refer to your personal contact you were in with #14a#

14b. Please indicate the type of personal contact in 2015

Formal correspondence
Formal meetings
Collaboration in projects
Informal, but regular contact
Other. Please specify: ………………………………

14c. On average how often were you in contact in 2015?

On a daily basis ☐	2-3 times a week ☐	Once a week ☐	2-3 times a month ☐	Once a month ☐	2-3 times that year ☐	Once that year ☐

II. General Gallery Activities

15. Does your gallery have any other gallery branches or subsidiaries?	☐ Yes	☐ No
15a. If yes, how many additional branches do you have?		

15b. These other gallery branches is located in

☐ Berlin	☐ Germany: …………………	☐ Abroad: ……………………

16. Is your gallery business your main activity?	☐ Yes	☐ No
16a. If no, Is your gallery activity interconnected with your main business?	☐ Yes	☐ No

16b. Please indicate the sector of your main business

☐ Tourism	☐ Industry
☐ Cultural and creative industries	☐ Health care

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">□ Trade and skilled crafts
□ Media an communication
□ Building and real estate</td><td colspan="4">□ Service
□ Other. Please specify:
…………………………………........</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">17. How many sales did you have per month on average in 2015?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">18. Your annual gallery turnover in 2015 was between</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">□ 0 – 17.500 €
□ 17.501 – 50.000 €
□ 50.001 – 100.000 €
□ 100.001 – 150.000 €
□ 150.001 – 200.000 €
□ 200.001 – 250.000 €
□ More than 250.000€</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">19. Artists represented in 2015</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">19a. How many of your artists were</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Male: ……………..</td><td colspan="4">Female: …………….</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">19b. How many of these artists were born in</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Berlin: ……….</td><td colspan="2">German (not Berlin): ……….</td><td colspan="3">Abroad: …………….</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">19c. How many of your artists represented in 2015 were also promoted by another gallery at the same time?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">19d. How many artists you represented in 2015 have sold their artwork to museums or national galleries in the past?</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">20. Number of exhibitions your gallery set up in 2015</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">20a. Number of works exhibited in 2015</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">20b. Average number of artists exhibiting per exhibition in 2015</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">20c. Did you publish a catalogue per each exhibition in 2015</td><td>□ Yes</td><td>□ No</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">20d. If yes, how many catalogue copies did you publish on average in 2015?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">□ 1 - 200</td><td colspan="2">□ 201 - 500</td><td colspan="2">□ 501 - 1000</td><td colspan="2">□ More than 1000</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">20e. Which of the following promotion channels did you use in 2015?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">□ Social network platforms
□ Personal gallery website</td><td colspan="4">□ Other sector specific platforms (journals)</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td colspan="5">□ Direct mailing & Newsletters</td><td colspan="5">□ Other. Please specify:
□ None of the above</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">21. Art fairs you attended in 2015</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9">21a. Number of national art fairs attended in 2015 no opportunity to attend</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">21b. Please specify which national art fairs you attended:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9">21c. Number of international art fairs attended in 2015 no opportunity to attend</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">21d. Please specify which international art fairs you attended</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">22. Buyers in 2015</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">22a. Frequency of your buyers in 2015
1 = “low” ; 2 = “below average”; 3 = average ; 4 = “above average” ; 5 = “high”</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">

Occasional buyers
Artists
Art lovers
Investors
Art dealers/Gallerists
Corporations</td><td colspan="3">1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9">22b. National buyers in 2015 in %</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9">International buyers in 2015 in %</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">22c. Average age of your buyers in 2015</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">□ 18 - 25</td><td colspan="2">□ 26 - 35</td><td colspan="2">□ 36 - 45</td><td colspan="2">□ 46 - 55</td><td colspan="2">□ 55 +</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">23. Visitors in 2015</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="10">Frequency of your visitors in 2015
1 = “low” ; 2 = “below average”; 3 = average ; 4 = “above average” ; 5 = “high”</td></tr>
</table>

Passing public	1 2 3 4 5
Event- or vernissage- interested visitors	1 2 3 4 5
Art-interested visitors	1 2 3 4 5
Artists	1 2 3 4 5
Art dealers/Gallerists	1 2 3 4 5
Private collectors	1 2 3 4 5
Institutional collectors	1 2 3 4 5
Art advisors	1 2 3 4 5

IV. Insight

Last but not least we would like to invite you to share your opinion on the following questions of discussion.

A. In your opinion, what kind of support may be required by **the city of Berlin** to further develop and strengthen the collaboration between contemporary art galleries in Berlin?

B. How effective is the support provided by the **Berlin Gallery Association (lvbg)** and the **German Gallery Association (bvdg)** in helping to sustain the contemporary art field? What could be improved?

C. What kind of synergies may be developed with **other cultural organisations in Berlin** to support your work and the contemporary art scene?

D. In what way would you describe the networking context in Berlin as differing from other metropolitan cities in the European contemporary art scene, such as Barcelona, London or Paris?
E. Do you have any comments, questions or further suggestions regarding the matter of networking of your gallery, contemporary art galleries or the art market in general?

Thank you for your time and effort!

If you are interested in the results of this research, please do not hesitate to send a notification to the following email address:

xxx

Confidential

Prepared for the postgraduate degree Cultural Economics & Entrepreneurship
Erasmus University Rotterdam, School of History, Culture and Communication
2016

Appendix B: Interview guide

Part I. BACKGROUND INFORAMTION

1. What is your professional background?
2. How did you enter the gallery business?
3. What is your current position within the gallery?
4. Is your gallery business your main activity? If no, what is the sector of your main business? In what way is it interconnected with your gallery business?
5. How long have you been working for this gallery?

Part II. GENERAL GALLERY ACTIVITIES

Structural elements

6. What sector within the contemporary art do you operate in? (Cutting-edge/avant-garde, classic contemporary, alternative etc.)
7. What art genres do you represent? (Drawing, installation, painting, photography, sculpture, video, graphic/print etc.)
8. What are your gallery's vision, mission and goals?
9. What are the characteristics of your gallery that help you achieve your goal?

Artists

10. What kind of artists' do you represent with regard to their carrier-level? (Newcomers, mid-career artists, established artists)
11. How many artists do you represent?
12. Are there any artists you represent who are also or have been represented by another gallery at the same time?
    If yes,
    - where are these galleries? (In the same city, Germany, outside of Germany?)
    - What would it imply for the relationship if this gallery was located in your city?

Exhibitions

13. What is the number of exhibitions you usually set up per year?
14. Do you publish catalogues for each exhibition? If yes, how many?
15. What are the promotion channels you use to advertise upcoming exhibitions? Have there been any changes over the last years?

Art fairs

16. Which art fairs do you usually attend? Has there been any changes over the last years? Are there any art fairs you have not been able to attend yet, but would like to in the future? (National, international)

Visitors

17. How is your visitor group constituted (Passing public, event-or vernissage interested visitors, artists, art dealers/gallerists, private collectors, institutional collectors, art advisors) Can you give me an approximate relation in %?

Collectors

18. Who is your customer-target group? (Occasional buyers, artists, art lovers, investors, other gallerists, corporations etc.)
19. What is the percentage of national and international buyers?
20. What is the average age of your buyers?
21. How do you reach and attract new collectors?

Part III. EXTERNAL GALLERY ENVIRONMENT

22. Being located in Germany, what are the struggles you encounter, what are positive effects?
23. How does this situation affect your goals and the way you lead your gallery business?
24. What measures do you take to position yourself in the national market and what measures to position yourself in the international art market?
25. How do you experience recent developments in the art market for contemporary art galleries?
26. In what way would you describe the context in this city as differing from other metropolitan cities in the international European contemporary art scene, such as Barcelona, London or Paris?

Part IV. GALLERY COLLABORATION

27. Who are the primary stakeholders whose contact essentially affects your gallery business?
28. What recommendations do you exchange with other gallerists about artists who might be interesting to be represented in the future? What are the essential factors that make you follow such a recommendation?
29. Besides the gallery weekends, do you collaborate with other galleries in or outside the city? (Exhibitions, art fairs, direct collaboration in joint events or other collaborative projects)
30. What benefits or struggles would you ascribe to collaborating with another gallery?
31. How would you describe the general willingness of galleries in the city to collaborate with each other? What is different here to other German cities?
32. Galerists are said to have to be ‘lone wolfs’. What is your opinion on this statement?

Part V. GALLERY WEEKEND X

33. What does the gallery weekend in this city stand for? What are its vision, mission and goals?
34. How has the gallery weekend become what it is today? Could you please name essential achievements and failures? (Experiences, developments)
35. Who is in charge of the organisation of the gallery weekend? In advance, as well as during the event.
36. What are the criteria for galleries to be able to participate in the event? What about participation fees? In case not all galleries are allowed to participate, what do you want to reach with the specific selection made?
37. How would you describe the atmosphere between the galleries during the event? How do galleries react who are not officially participating?
38. What does the programme look like for that weekend? Have there been any changes over the last five years?
39. What organisational difficulties do the organisers of the event meet (when deciding on the selection of galleries, designing the programme etc.?
40. What visitors do you intend to attract? Which people visit the event in addition to this target-group? (National, international)
41. How do galleries – officially and non-officially participating – collaborate in preparing the event and during?
42. What image do you intend to maintain? What are your promotional measures to achieve this appearance? Have there been any changes over the last five years?
43. What is your relationship to media and critics? Who are your media partners? (Local, national, international)
44. What value does the presence of sponsors add to the image of the event?
45. What are three factors that constitute a 'successful' event for the galleries?
46. What are the similarities and differences of the event to other events of the art scene in the city? (Art weekends, art fairs etc.)
47. How does the event differ from the gallery weekends x and y (Organisation, programme, promotion, visitors etc.)
48. The model 'Berlin Gallery Weekend' is often referred to as a 'paragon model'. What does such a statement mean to you?
49. How effective is the support provided by the local or regional gallery association and the German Gallery Association?
50. What kind of further external support by the city could be required to further develop the event?
51. What kind of synergies may be developed with other cultural institutions in the city?

Part VI. CONCLUSION

Appendix C: List of experts

Case	Name	Position	Interview length (min)
Berlin Gallery Weekend	Philip Barth Berlin face-to-face	Manager BC Gallery	53
Berlin Gallery Weekend	Walter Tammen Berlin face-to-face	Founder of Tammen + Partner gallery (mid-level) and president of Berlin Gallery Association	70
Berlin Gallery Weekend	Parwane Ehrari Berlin face-to-face	Director of Berlin-Baku gallery (emerging to mid-level)	63
Berlin Gallery Weekend	Alexander Levy Berlin face-to-face	Founder of Alexander Levy gallery	42
Berlin Gallery Weekend	B.F. Berlin Telephone	Assistant at Johann König Gallery, former project assistant at Sotheby's London and Boros Collection Berlin.	76
OPEN art	Gudrun Spielvogel Munich Face-to-face	Founder of Gudrun Spielvogel Gallery & Edition and president of Initiative for Contemporary Art Galleries in Munich	73
OPEN art	Matthias Jahn Munich Telephone	Owner Galerie Jahn, organiser of Munich Art Weekend	17
OPEN art	Florence Baur Munich Telephone and face-to -face	Manager in office and correspondence Initiative for Contemporary Art Galleries in Munich	48
DC Open	Ljlijana Radlovic Robert Danch Köln / Düsseldorf Telephone and in written form	Coordinators DC Open, Art in Düsseldorf , Düsseldorf Galleries, and Cologne Galleries	-

DC Open / Berlin Gallery Weekend	Petra Lehmkuhl Bernd Reiß Berlin/Düsseldorf/Köln face-to-face	Directors Konrad Fischer gallery, branch Berlin	44
Total			486

Appendix D: Translation of quotes

In unserem Feld der urbanen zeitgenössischen Kunst - so doof es klingt - haben wir im Endeffekt ein Monopol, weil es gibt in unserem Feld...es gibt in Berlin eine andere professionelle Galerie, wobei die sich mit ganz anderen Inhalten beschäftigt. Also innerhalb Berlins und Deutschland gibt es für uns Wettbewerb irgendwie gar nicht.	We are dealing with urban contemporary art; in Berlin there is only one other professional art gallery operating in our field, but even here, the artistic content is a different one. Within Berlin or even Germany, competition does therefore not really exist in that way for us.
Um uns zu positionieren, bauen wir unser Profil durch unsere Kuration auf […]:Also, Qualität und Professionalität, so positionieren wir uns.	We are positioning our gallery by forming our image through curation […]: thus quality and professionalism.
Also ich denke, dass diese Informationen und Erfahrungswerte das jeweilige Kapital der Galeristen sind […]. Das Niveau des Wettbewerbs ist die eine Sache so, aber das Gefühl der Wettbewerbskultur ist doch hoch. Und ja, es ist negative behaftet.	Information and experience are every gallerist's personal resources […]. The intensity of competition is one aspect, but the perception of being in a competitive field is high […]. And yes, it is fraught with negativity connotation.
Das hat kein anderes Europäisches Land, dadurch sind wir auch im internationalen Wettbewerb benachteiligt.	No other European country has this [Social insurance for artists]; this results in a further disadvantage in international competition.
Also wir reden jetzt einfach mal von den 400 Galerien in der Stadt, dann können Sie sagen, davon sind 200 prekär, das heißt, die Arbeiten im Prinzip über einen hohen Grad an Selbstausbeutung hinaus, verdienen eigentlich kein Geld damit und machen vielleicht einen Jahresumsatz von 50.000. Umsatz, das ist ja noch kein verdientes Geld.	When talking about 400 galleries in town (Berlin), you could say that 200 of these find themselves in a precarious situation. That is, these galleries are practically operating at a high degree of self-exploitation; they do not accumulate any money and generate an annual revenue of maybe 50.000 Euros. Revenue. That does not imply any profit yet.
Der Galerist geht mit seiner Generation oder die Kunst dann eben auch.	The gallerist leaves with his generation; and so does art.
Das ist ein Wirtschaftsfaktor […]; da muss man ja was dafür tun, das bleibt ja nicht automatisch und da sind wir	We are an economic factor […]; and we have got to do something about it. We are currently again putting a lot

jetzt gerade wieder davor, sagen wir, verstärkt wieder Lobbyarbeit machen zu müssen, weil eben die Tendenz der Förderung im Moment eher richtung Start-ups geht. Und dann die Kreativwirtschaft im Prinzip so ein bisschen ins Abseits gedrängt wird, wenn wir nicht aufpassen. Das ist politische Arbei, die man dann auch über so einen Verband wieder leitsten muss und das immer wieder entsprechend öffentlich zu machen.	of effort into lobbying in order to preserve political attention. At the moment, tendencies have drifted to supporting the start-up-scene and to the creative industries in principle being slightly out-manoeuvred – if we don't pay attention. That is a political task, a task we have to accomplish, and to constantly and publicly address through the gallery association.
Das ist ja auch vor allem bei jungen Künstlern, dass man noch eine Galerie woanders findet. T: Wie funktioniert so etwas? In Berlin macht es ja gar keinen Sinn. R: Absolut nicht. L: Nein (lacht), das wäre blöd.	Especially when dealing with young artists, you are trying to find a gallery somewhere else for them. How does this work? Would it make sense in Berlin? Absolutely not. No (laughs), that but would be rather unfortunate
Entweder das Verhältnis funktioniert, also ist loyal von beiden Seiten.[…] Wenn das nicht so ist, dann funktioniert auch das System nicht, dann kann man sich gleich trennen.	The relationship must me mutually loyal […]; if this is not the case, the system doesn't work; you may as will split up right away.
man gönnt dem anderen dann auch seinen Erfolg	You grant the others their success
Das wäre ja auch ein bisschen komisch. Klar, der Austausch mit den Galerien besteht, aber glaube ich nicht in der Auswahl, also, soll ich den jetzt nehmen, weil oder so. Sondern, in erster Linie, ist es so, dass man natürlich, wenn man mit Kuratoren, Presseleuten, Sammlern befreundet ist und man lernt ja einen Künstler kennen und dann sieht man ja, was ist anderen Leuten auch wichtig.	That would be a little awkward. Of course, an exchange between the galleries exists, but I don't think regarding the selection of artists […]. Primarily it is more about the curators, art critics and collectors you know on a friendship basis; that is how you meet an artist and how you find out what matters to others.
wir sind in so einem Markt in welchem es eigentlich keine Verträge gibt und keine Exklusivverträge. Es beruht alles irgendwo auf Loyalität und Handschlag.	We are operating in a market without contractual formalities; there are no exclusive contracts. Somehow it is is all consensually resting on loyalty and handshake.

Man kennt sich halt	You know each other
also dieses Wort 'Konkurrenz' ist da immer ein wenig schwierig anzusetzten, weil ich kann keinem, also ich biete ja nicht das Gleiche an zu einem anderen Preis oder solche Sachen. […]Ich glaube es ist eher dann so eine Generationsfrage und wie die Leute schon versorgt sind von Galerien. Es hat ja dann auch viel mit Sammlerpflege, Vertrauen und einfach Beziehung über längeren Zeitraum zu tun. Aber diese Konkurrenzverhalten gibt es nicht. […] Ich habe mit vielen Galerien hier in Berlin ein gutes Verhältnis. […] Aber gerade, dass man auch Synergieeffekte nutzen kann ist auch sehr gut.	It's tricky to apply the expression 'rivalry' in this context; I am not offering the same product to a different price or anything. […] I think this whole situation is related to the generations on the one hand, and to how saturated people are through the offer in other galleries. Here, fostering relationships to collectors comes in, trust, and long-term relationships. But this expressive rivalry doesn't really exist. […] I'm in good contact with many galleries here in Berlin. […]. And especially the synergy effects are valuable.
Galerie ohne Netzwerk, das wird schwierig. Das ist das Grundinstrument, welches man haben muss und das muss man sich über die Zeit aufbauen.	A gallery without a network; that will be challenging. The network is the foundation you need to have, and you have gradually built up to over time.
es ist so, dass man sich generall ein bisschen fragt in diesem Kunstmarkt, inwiefern verkaufen Galerien denn Galerien überhaupt das selbe Produkt? […] Man kann sie kategorisieren, aber es bleibt die Frage, inwiefern Galerien in diesem Sinne im Wettbewerb, wenn sie eigentlich doch andere Künstler vertreten.	It happens that you might generally ask yourself, 'in how far do galleries even sell the same product ?` […] You can categorise, but the question remains, to what extent galleries are competing with each other in that sense, when they all represent different artists in the end.
Ich denke, die Galeristen stellen sich auch viele Fragen nur oberflächlich, weil man einfach so viel zu tun hat, das man sich keine Gedanken macht. Natürlich wollen sie immer die beste Strategie finden für ihre Galerie, aber manches ist glaube ich auch manchmal ein bisschen widersprüchlich manchmal. Es ist läuft	I assume that gallerists ask themselves many questions only superficially; you are so busy that there is barely time to bother. Needless to say, they thrive for identifying the best strategy for their gallery, yet sometimes this might turn out even a little controversial. It is eventually always so much about the contacts.

immer so viel über Kontakte.	
Also man trifft sich zu diesem einen Abendessen, aber ansonsten. Nein eigentlich nicht. Man geht eigentlich auch kaum zu den Ausstellungen der anderen, weil keine Zeit ist. […] Es werden da in diesen wenigen Tagen tausende Leute durch die Galerien geschoben. Das ist extrem anstrengend. Ich habe es an diesen Tagen nicht einmal geschafft mir die Ausstellungen hier im Haus anzuschauen, das war einfach nicht möglich. In der näheren Umgebung, nichts habe ich gesehen, nichts, gar nichts. Man hat da wirklich ganz viele Leute um die man sich kümmert. […] klar, gibt es wiederum so, dass man die anderen befreundeten Galerien trifft, bei dem Abendessen, da freut man sich und so weiter und sofort. Aber ich glaube es ist ursprünglich auch so gedacht, dass zwischen den Galerien so eine Art Partnerschaft entsteht, aber das schafft man zeitlich nicht. Es ist einfach nur...Es ist zu wenig Zeit. Man möchte schon.	You meet up for that gala dinner, but other than that…no, and you neither visit the others' exhibition; there's no time to. […] You've got thousands of people being pushed through the gallery. That is extremely exhausting. I didn't even manage to see the galleries' exhibitions here in the building; it 's simply not possible. In the closer neighbourhood, nothing, I saw nothing, simply nothing. There are really so many people you have to take care of. […] I mean, of course, on the other hand you run into some befriended galerists at that gala dinner, and you're happy about it. I think, this was somehow also part of the original intention; that galleries establish some sort of partnerships, but you just don't manage to timewise. […] You would love to, but there's no time.
das Geld steckt eigentlich nicht so in der Stadt Berlin. Was ich glaube ist, dass es hier eine tolle Stadt ist, eine Art *Showroom* zu haben.	There is not really any money within the city of Berlin. In my opinion, however, the city is a great place to have as a 'showroom'.'
Da ist viel im Vorfeld passiert. Dieses sich zusammenschließen, Networken - das ging eigentlich dem voraus.	Much had happened in the preliminary stages; it was a thorough networking that preceded all that.
Natürlich sind die Galeristen ein Haufen Individualisten	Naturally, the gallerists are a bunch of individualists
Also das war viel mehr vom künstlerischen und vom gemeinschaftlichen geprägt.	It used to be more inspired by an artistic and united notion.
OPEN art, open galleries, open doors, die Kunst zu öffnen, zu demo-	Open arts, open galleries, open doors, opening and democratising

kratisieren, nach Außen zu tragen, das war eigentlich der Erstgedanke. […] daher auch dieser Titel, wo man nachgedacht hat, OPEN art; der Begriff ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. […] Dieses Motto gilt eigentlich bis heute	art, an outward representation; that was the seminal idea. […] This illustrates the origins of the title OPEN art; the term is copyrighted. […] We have been keeping with this motto up to today.'
Das hat sicherlich auch damit zu tun, dass in München die Mieten sehr hoch sind und es dadurch vielleicht auch weniger junge Galerien gibt, obwohl ja jetzt mit Sperling und mit Deborah Schamoni ind den letzten eineinhalb/zwei Jahren zwei Galerien dazugekommen sind.	This is certainly also due to the high rents in Munich, which contribute to the fact that there are less emerging galleries here; Sperling and Deborah Schemoni, however, have arrived on the scene over the last one and a half, two years.
Was wir Berlin ein bisschen vorausha-ben ist, dass wir hier bereits eine ganz gute Sammlerschaft haben, was in Berlin doch bekanntermaßen etwas schwierig ist.	We have the advantage of an established clientele over Berlin; in Berlin, this is a slightly complicated matter, as you know.
Aber sonst besteht da finde ich ein ziemlich guter Gemeinsinn und auch das Verständnis, dass es nichts bringt, wenn jeder nur für sich denkt, sondern dass man tatsächlich als Gemeinschaft denken muss speziell in dieser Stadt um überhaupt als Szene wahrgenommen zu werden.	I sense a fairly good community spirit; and to comprehend that you don't get anywhere if everybody thinks of nothing but oneself, instead that especially in this city it is necessary to see things as a community in order to attract notice.
Wie gesagt, wenn 65 Galerien zusammenkommen, das sind sehr unterschiedliche Persönlichkeiten, sehr unterschiedliches Galerieprofil, und es ist nicht einfach da zum Beispiel, wenn man ein Programm zu einer Veranstaltung wie OPEN art machen möchte, sich da natürlich demokratisch zu einigen, wenn es so unterschiedliche Vorstellungen sind. […] Da kommt man dann immer irgendwie auf einen Kompromiss .	If 65 galleries get together, you've got a most diverse crowd of personalities, highly different gallery profiles; organising a programme like the one for OPEN art barely goes without complications when it comes to a democratic decision-making among such a disparity of opinions. […] You have to somehow compromise.
Womit da alle kämpfen ist, dass München an sich - auch wenn man das	This is not about playing off one city against another one, but what every-

nicht ausspielen will - zum Beispiel im Gegensatz zu Berlin, im Gegensatz zu Düsseldorf und Köln, keinen Ruf als Standort zeitgenössischer Kunst etabliert hat, wie die anderen Städte. Wir haben oft das Gefühl, München häng irgendwie einfach noch im 19. Jahrhungert ein bisschen; König Ludwig.	body struggles with is, that Munich itself – as opposed to cities like Berlin for instance, or Düsseldorf and Cologne – lacks the reputation as a location for contemporary art. At times you might even assume Munich to be yet cemented in the 19th century, Ludwig II of Bavaria and so on.'
München genügt sich zu einem gewissen Grad selbst.	To a certain extent, Munich is sufficient in itself.
Die Stadt ist jetzt bereit da umzulenken und das auch mitzuplanen. Aber das sind so viele Stellen, die da koordiniert werden müssen, das ist wirklich noch eine längerfristige Arbeit	The city is finally willing to adopt another course and to support the planning. There is much do to and yet to coordinate; it's really still a long-term project.
Es ist einfach nur so, dass das wiederum dem Ort geschuldet ist. […] Der große Sammlerstock, die Sammler, die sitzten weniger in Berlin. Die sitzten im Rheinland, im Rheingebiet und so weiter und sofort. Es ist wichtig, dass es aber in Berlin gefragt ist, ein jüngeres Programm zu fahren als es jetzt in Düsseldorf der Fall ist. Es liegt einfach am Ort.	It's simply dependent on the location. […] The influential pool of collectors and collectors in general are not in Berlin. They're settles in the Rhineland area. It's important, however, to keep in mind, that in Berlin you're expected to represent a younger exhibition programme than in Düsseldorf. It's simply the location.
Und weil es hier so Sachen gibt wie das Gallery Weekend - die wichtigste Deutsche Veranstaltung, wo Sammler zusammenkommen. Doe Sammler aus Übersee anlockt.	And because there are events like the Gallery Weekend here – the most important German event attracting collectors - international collectors.
Die Region ist bekannt für ein sehr kooperatives und kollegiales Klima unter den Galerien.	The region is known for a highly cooperative and collegial atmosphere among its galleries

Die für einige Zeit wahrnehmbare Konzentration auf die Hauptstadt Berlin als globalem Kunst- und Galerienhandelsstandort ist nicht zu leugnen, das Kunst- und Kulturangebot in der Region hat Einbußen hinnehmen müssen. Gleichwohl hat das Rheinland als Standort seine starke Position immer wahren können. Und noch mehr: Aktuelle Einschätzungen sehen in den letzten Jahren die Chancen auf eine starke Rückbesinnung auf die traditionsreichen Marktkräfte mit einer reichen Sammlertradition gegeben.	The temporary notable focus on the capital Berlin as global market location for art and the gallery scene cannot be denied, neither the losses the local artistic and cultural supply suffered during that time. Nevertheless, the Rhineland was able to maintain its market position, moreover: Recent estimations are anticipating a strong return the local to traditional marketplaces with its rich tradition in collecting art.