

THE EMERGENCE OF SOUTH-AFRICAN CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS IN THE ART WORLD

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Ruth Simbao's 2012 "Performa Obscura" in collaboration with Mikhael Subotzky, photographed by Athi-Patra Ruga.

ABSTRACT

While the interest of experts for the Asian art market seems to be slowing down, scholars now seek new grounds for thoughts elsewhere. And in this otherworldliness, Africa seems to be filling the gap left behind by the Asian giants. There is now a real excitement regarding African Contemporary Art, well encapsulated in the city of Cape Town, South Africa, thanks to its thriving gallery district Woodstock, annual art fair and, from September 2017, a world-class museum: the Zeitz MOCAA. All this participates in the profound shift now undergone by South-African Contemporary Art. Yet, even though the interest in South-African Contemporary Art is growing, with an increasing presence in international art events, there is no clear evidence that South-African Contemporary Artists are performing better on the international art market.

On the model of Femke Van Hest's extensive research on the importance of territorial factors still in force in a globalising Art World, the aim of this thesis is to analyse the relevance of certain territorial factors at play in the emergence of South-African Contemporary Art on the international art scene. Moreover, the subsidiary objective of this research is to analyse a potential correlation effect that exists between international visibility of South-African artists in the Art World and better performances on the international art market. A strong hypothesis is that international visibility of South-African artists in art events increases their chances to perform better on the international art market. In addition to testing this hypothesis out, this research gives other insights regarding South-African Contemporary Art emergence in the Art World and on the international art market. Indeed, the present thesis compares the situation of already well-established South-African contemporary artists, who started producing in the Apartheid era, with that of the new generation of contemporary artists, "born free" after the Apartheid.

This research assessed the close relationship between international visibility and commercial success of South-African artists, either established or emerging. It took into account various major international art events at which these artists were present and the evolution of their price list on the market. South Africa was an interesting case study since it is globally considered as an emerging power and a leading country on the African continent, however its contemporary art scene has received very limited attention so far compared to other emerging countries such as China, India and Brazil.

KEY WORDS: CONTEMPORARY ART; SOUTH AFRICA; GLOBALISATION; ART WORLD; VISIBILITY; COMMERCIAL SUCCESS

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To the memory of Bébert

INTRODUCTION

In late September 2017 the largest contemporary art museum in Africa, the Zeitz-Mocaa, opened in Cape Town. This budding institution already aims at becoming the Temple of African Contemporary Art and was described by its executive director and chief curator Mark Coetzee, as a “platform for Africans to tell their own story”, even though geographically situated in South Africa, it aims to concern all 54 African States (Coetzee, 2017). 2017 really seems to be a pivotal year for African Contemporary Art, now considered as a new sap for a global art market in perpetual quest for novelty. The Paris Art Fair 2017 gave pride of place to Africa in March while the Fondation Louis Vuitton launched the exhibition “Art/Afrique, le nouvel atelier” in April 2017, which suggests that there is indeed a craze for African contemporary art.

The “African Spring” is coming! Yet, so far, there has been a lack of economic knowledge about the place of African contemporary art on the art market since the interest was elsewhere, turned to the Asian scene, and more specifically to China and South Korea. While we cannot speak of an emerging art because it has existed for a few decades already (Bassene, 2016), it is the Western perspective on South-African contemporary art that is now emerging. Compared to Chinese contemporary art’s remarkable accession to the global art market two decades ago, the performance of South-African contemporary art is less studied. Yet, through a long and chaotic journey, it opened up to the world and gradually managed to penetrate the Western art events to be now emerging on the global art market (Busca, 2001). This process is also associated with a back-and-forth movement, a communication between African art and the West for at least five centuries. During this long period, Reine Bassene argues that aesthetic perceptions mutually enriched each other (Bassene, 2016). Concepts and visions intertwined and brought out a so-called “African contemporary aesthetic” that tries to find itself between the authenticity of millennial cultures and customs and the modernity of a globalized world that is sometimes accused of “Westernization” according to Iba Ndiaye Djadji (2003). Ignacio Ramonet claimed in his article « Globalisation, culture et démocratie » that the global art market may introduce a cultural and even artistic standardization that contemporary artists from emerging countries have to deal with. Globalisation is creating new paradigms that artists integrate regardless of their origin, whether they are from a developed or an emerging country (Ramonet, 2000). It also creates new market challenges and opens new marketplaces with the hope for South-African artists to exploit new opportunities.

But, to what extent does globalisation affect the evolution of South-African contemporary art creation? The question deserves to be asked if we want to know and understand the issues related to the globalising art market and art institutions where South-African contemporary art is getting more and more attention. More precisely, what is at stake here is the connection between visibility and commercial success of South-African contemporary artists. To what extent does the increasing presence of South-African contemporary artists in the international art world events enhance their performance on the global art market? In this research I will thus investigate on the increasing visibility of South-African contemporary artists at international art events and its potential impact on their sales on the global art market.

Different fields of research have shown the importance of acknowledging South Africa as an emerging power, a fount of resources. The art market should not be exempt from this observation as South-African contemporary art is drawing a lot of attention these days (Smith, 2018). In this process of emergence, new media have played an important role since online visibility has become crucial for artists who long for international recognition. According to Morad Montazami, new technologies and media are therefore crucial in the accession of emerging countries to the global art market, and the challenge for South Africa is, perhaps, to be able to integrate its artists into this dynamic (Montazami, 2014). Yet, as part of their promotion, South-African artists are also increasingly gaining access to biennials and exhibitions in international gatherings that are considered as a stepping-stone to the global art market (Van Hest, 2012). Although South-African artists are now accessing the “Eldorado”, we might wonder if the international visibility they enjoy through Western art fairs, biennales and other artistic events is really increasing their chances to be sold on the global art market at higher prices.

The new era, the digital age of globalisation, has brought disruptions to the Art world of which we do not yet know all the issues and consequences. After experiencing the shock of globalisation, new issues are emerging of which the art market is not exempt. For some years now, postcolonial studies have suggested to “read” South Africa in a new way (Busca, 2001). The heritage of traditional art, primitive art, colonial art, and modern art is nowadays re-evaluated. The diversity of artistic forms that exist in the country, the phenomena of migration and the understanding of a globalised world are all elements that can now be found on the canvases of South-African contemporary artists. And, of course, their presence in former colonial States’ art events are among the elements that today constitute the components of new paradigms at stake in South-African contemporary art (Cohen, 2009). Beyond this shifting context, the South-African contemporary art world had to adapt itself to the globalising institutional sphere and art market in order to be able to assert itself and to find its place therein. If we are currently in an environment favourable to the emergence of artists who until now were excluded from the global art market, we must seize, given the current situation, the stakes that are emerging for South-African contemporary art on the African continent and beyond. As part of this exploration, I will analyse the emergence and performances of South-African contemporary artists on the global art market with regard to their accession to international art events in the postcolonial context of globalisation.

CONTEXT AND INTEREST OF THE RESEARCH

The interest of this research is to be able to glimpse, with regard to the last two decades and given the available resources, the future of South-African contemporary art within an art world characterized today by globalisation. The phrase written by Congolese artist Chéri Samba “Quel avenir pour notre art?” (“Which future for our art?”) on one of his paintings, perfectly summarizes the relative uncertainty in which African artists, and to a certain extent African Art, evolve. Some of them certainly reach interesting summits, but it seems that African contemporary art is struggling to find its place in the maelstrom of globalisation (Domino and Magnin, 2005). If today the Kassel Documenta, the Venice Biennale or the Havana Biennale host artists of African descent, it is still rare to witness, outside of Africa, the major solo exhibition of an African artist. There is thus a kind of

dichotomy between the enthusiasm raised by African contemporary art in certain spheres and the events at which it can be exposed and estimated (Bassene, 2016). Pierre Gaudibert declared in 1989, speaking of "Magiciens de la Terre" that this exhibition marked "the end of the match opposing Europe to the United States with Japan as a joker" (Gaudibert, 1989). Almost thirty years later, it remains difficult to evaluate and concretely define the place of South-African contemporary art in the global art market. Is there still a postcolonial and a post-Apartheid problem or are we nowadays going to meet certain cleavages that would make it possible to understand South-African contemporary art in a different way?

Even though not economic but rather socio-historical, the existing literature has dealt fairly broadly with the issues of contemporary art in its "African" dimension as attested by Jean-Loup Amselle's book *L'art de la friche*, (2006), the book by Sidney Kasfir *Contemporary African Art* (2000), that of Joëlle Busca *L'art contemporain africain: du colonialisme au postcolonialisme* (2000), or Pierre Gaudibert's *Art Africain contemporain* (1998). Also noteworthy are the contributions of the excellent French-language magazines "Revue Noire" and "Africultures" with the contribution of Virginie Andrianmirado, but also the English-language magazines "Nka" and "Drums". The themes mentioned in these books and journals cover quite broadly the spectrum of contemporary art as precursors on scientific works that have enriched the literature around African contemporary art. It is also fuelled by the works of artists and art professionals such as Ola Oloidi's works on Nigerian aesthetic, as well as those of Bruce Onobrakpeya, Okwui Enwezor and Uche Okeke. In addition, the contributions of curators such as Nigerian Bisi Silva, Cameroonian Koyo Kouoh, and Zimbabwean Raphael Chikukwa also enriched the reflection on African contemporary art. From a less academic perspective, the various events organized around African contemporary art have also led to the production of an important literature on issues that revolve around the place of African contemporary art in the Art world. These articles and exhibition catalogues also provide quite an extensive literature on the subject and give ground to our research about the interconnections between the institutional art sphere and the global art market at play in the particular case of South-African contemporary art.

This thesis aims to give a better understanding of the transformation of the global art market and the place of South-African artists therein as well as their prospects as emerging actors. Following the French sociologist Alain Quemin's findings on the relative internationalisation of the art field, South-African artists, as well as most artists of the twentieth century, now evolve in a new environment, sometimes de-territorialised or multicultural (Quemin, 2002). Encircled by borders that are still moving today, contemporary artists become "hybrid beings" whose identities are difficult to define since they have crossed the periods of colonization, decolonization and post-colonization (Papastergiadis, 2005). For some years now, South-African artists have gained a certain recognition in the global art world. Lately, eminent figures such as William Kentridge and Marlene Dumas have showed that South-African artists are being more and more present in major international exhibitions, catching up with their Western counterparts. Yet, does their presence at international artistic events lead them to better perform on the global art market? The establishment of a causal link between visibility in the institutional sphere of the art world and better commercial performances on the art market is not necessarily obvious, especially for performance and installation artists who do not sell their work as classic plastic artists do.

The objective of this research is to analyse the changing global art market with regards to the increasing presence of South-African contemporary art in Western international art events. How can we analyse the issues raised by the diffusion and reception

of South-African contemporary art in a so-called “globalised market”? Since the great exhibition "Magiciens de la Terre" held in 1989 at the Centre Georges Pompidou and the Grande Halle de La Villette, the art world has expanded its borders (Moulin, 2003), which has resulted in major international art events increasingly integrating South-African artists, beyond the major biennials, which now feature South-African artists almost systematically.

South-African artists, in general, are now using Western techniques in their works with great skill, which confirms to some extent the standardizing globalisation of contemporary art, at least in its technical aspect (Bassene, 2016). Yet, even if this artistic technical standardisation had truly happened, the breakthrough of South-African artists remains shy, since they do not sell as much, in both volume and value, as their Western counterparts according to international auction reports (TEFAF Art Market Report 2016 and 2017). At first glance, we might think that the reasons are mainly economic since South Africa is still developing and that the local demand for contemporary artworks is not as important yet as in developed countries. However, all the interest of this research is there, since South Africa is the leading country on the African continent in terms of sales (Africa Art Market Report 2014, 2015 and 2016) is really emerging in the contemporary art world as well as on the global art market, the gap that opens up for South-African artists should bode an exciting future for South-African contemporary art in the globalisation era.

Something that arises when we talk about globalisation is the notion of openness and availability. All or almost everything becomes more accessible thanks to globalisation, since economic articles show that most markets tend to unify themselves in the process of globalisation (Martin, 2000). A new era is in place, in which “unification” and “standardisation” are becoming the watchwords. Yet, is this actually happening on the art market, is this phenomenon even desirable for the sake of Art? Jeremy Rifkin claims that the world would eventually tend to become "uni-cultural" (Rifkin, 2005). But what is it really and is it favourable to the emergence of new players in the art world? How does it affect South-African contemporary art emergence and South-African artists’ commercial success on the global art market?

AIMS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

From the perspective of literature on African contemporary art, an important and high-quality bibliography exists already today. More and more exhibitions organized around the world, allow discovering new African artists, new approaches and curators whose critical reflections enrich the already important pool of the library of African contemporary art. Books dealing with the aesthetic relationship between Europe and Africa, art history works dealing with artistic trends and schools have made it possible to build a collective knowledge on the aesthetic question of African contemporary art. Since the 1990s, particularly, when the art world took a new turn in the West, new geographical areas started to be included along with those that until then represented the art market in its quasi totality. The majority of the literature comes from specific disciplines, mainly art history, ethnology, history and sociology.

Concerning the effects of globalisation on emerging art markets, some economic literature has been published too, but this mainly concerns Asian countries such as China

and India, while the African continent still remains rather unsullied. Khaire and Wadhvani for instance studied the case of modern Indian art and how the construction of meaning translates into valuation criteria (Khaire and Wadhvani, 2010). Lind and Velthuis investigated how the art market's globalisation reflects and propels the way art is produced, presented, and perceived nowadays (Lind and Velthuis, 2012). Alain Quemin released a report about the role of Western prescribing countries in the art world and on the global art market (Quemin, 2001), his student Femke van Hest raised evidence of the importance of territorial factors in a globalised art world and how they affect Dutch art's international visibility in contemporary art events (Van Hest, 2012). Eventually, Femke van Hest and Filip Vermeylen have gathered evidence from China and India in order to state if the art market has become truly global yet (Vermeylen and Van Hest, 2015). In dealing with the emergence of South-African contemporary art focusing on the effect of international visibility on commercial performances, I wish to contribute to the existing literature with a different perspective that integrates various theories elaborated by the authors previously mentioned and help to consider the future of South-African contemporary art, given the changes brought about by globalisation.

The subject of this study results from the observation according to which the different evolutions of the art world, leading to the emergence of new dynamics (Quemin, 2002, 2012), augur a definite turning point for South-African contemporary art, and more precisely its place in the institutional sphere and on the art market. For almost thirty years, many initiatives have made it possible to broaden the spectrum of representations of the South-African artistic creation, presented to the rest of the world under new perspectives, no longer those of the so-called "primitive" or "naïve" arts. A new literature has emerged, which breaks free from the codes previously mentioned and relies on new assumptions. Reading the concepts that allow a better understanding of the new dynamics set up in the South-African contemporary art world, lies in a broad but very precise framework largely elaborated by Femke van Hest. It concerns the ideas that have emerged around the concepts of globalisation, identity, modernity, place, networks, territorial factors and, to a certain extent, economic development. The main objective of this research is to verify the existence of exciting issues for South-African contemporary art in the institutional sphere of the art world and on the global art market. What is the place of South-African artists in international art events and in the global art market? Does the presence of African artists in major events, that we often greet, positively affect their performances on the art market?

For a few years now, the literature concerning the end of the match between Europe-USA-Japan on different markets has been increasingly important. Initially mainly directed towards the North, that is to say towards the former colonies, exchanges now also tend to occur towards the South and even within the South, which leads to the development of new dynamics that may invalidate certain theses previously in force in the art world. This concerns the conceptions of art, the way in which the South-African artist is defined today, the environment in which (s)he evolves, the reasons for which (s)he moves or not, the way (s)he penetrates both the international institutional sphere and the global art market. Throughout this work, I will add to the economic literature background some authors working with the postcolonial approach, in order to have a different perspective from the usual economic approaches. By reading their work and confronting them with economic observations and the information collected, I will try to identify in a concrete way the real issues and perspectives that seem to be decisive for South-African contemporary art in a global context.

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The two principal notions that this thesis aims at tackling, those of *emerging contemporary art* and *globalisation* are dynamic and constantly evolving as much as sensitive and complex. These two concepts both involve the notion of expansion to new territories. Consequently, this research leads us to question the persistence of borders and boundaries in the contemporary “Art World” as understood by Howard Becker as the cooperation of artists, suppliers of materials, distributors of artworks, art critics, theorists, and audiences. These contributing individuals and organisations together constitute an “Art World”, which gives artists the opportunity and means to make art (Becker, 1982). Thus, it will also be a matter of reflecting on which criteria now determine inclusion and exclusion in the Art World and to what extent this influences the international art market (Quemin, 2002). First it will be necessary to describe the ins and outs of the contemporary art world. For instance we will address questions about the valuation of South-African artists and their artworks and more precisely look for the key elements in the development of an international artistic career. Later we will focus on the globalisation of culture, based on existing theories and will try to apply them to the Art World. The objective is to see to what extent such literature is applicable to the globalisation of contemporary art in order to give substance to the methodology of this thesis.

The complex and systemic approach of this research forces us to turn to other disciplines to understand the phenomenon of globalisation in the Art World. To do this, we refer to numerous authors in cultural anthropology, sociology, management science, economics, political economy, aesthetics and history. We, for instance, call upon the theories of the sociology of culture with the works of Emile Durkheim, and structural anthropology, with reference to the works of Lévi-Strauss. Concerning questions of identity and what it encompasses, we refer to the work of cultural studies and postcolonial studies to anchor our research in a precise temporal and spatial dimension, in which the works of Arjun Appadurai and Rasheed Araeen take their place. The work of Stuart Hall will help us to better understand the concept of the diaspora and what it implies for non-Western populations, or those of what might be called the historical Diasporas. The works of the sociologist and economist Saskia Sassen will help us to understand the process of globalisation in different ways and especially the economic and geopolitical consequences of population displacement. The French sociologists Raymonde Moulin and Alain Quemin who extensively worked on the globalisation of the art world will be of prime interest since they give ground to further research on the territorial factors still in force in the Art World. Femke Van Hest’s extensive research on the relevance of such territorial factors with a focus on the Netherlands will also be extremely helpful to this thesis since the methodology of this thesis is largely inspired by hers. The works of Jean-Loup Amselle and Sidney Kasfir on the other hand will help shed light on the place of African contemporary art in the world from a historical, anthropological, philosophical and sociological point of view.

1. CONTEMPORARY ART: TO BE INTERNATIONAL OR NOT TO BE

What is in “to be international”? For a field such as contemporary art, it would be extremely reductive to consider the international contemporary art world merely as a sum of various countries’ contemporary art productions. Indeed, international contemporary art is more complex than that, in the sense that it has its own dynamics as explained by the Dutch sociologist Giseline Kuipers in her article “Globalization as the Emergence of a Transnational Cultural Field” (Kuipers, 2011). At the national level, artists struggle to reach a recognition that is even more difficult to achieve at the international level since the competition is constant and way more intense as French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu explained (Bourdieu, 1991; 1993). This recognition is granted to artists by either experts in the art field or art institutions. The decision on the quality of an artist’s works is made according to the conventions that are shared in the international contemporary art world (Becker, 1982). This process is a key element in the shaping of the art world as it determines the success of artists and thus the position of countries. As this thesis aims at questioning the impact of South-African artists’ international visibility on their performance on the art market, it will be important to use these decision-makers’ power and the conventions they follow in order to assess those South-African artists who have received international recognition in the visual arts’ world.

Prior to addressing the leading cultural globalisation theories, it is necessary to first conceptualise the notion of “contemporary art” in order to later assess to what extent the contemporary visual art world has become international. To this end, we will describe how the international contemporary art world is organised, with an explanation of the crucial role played by gatekeepers as well as the interdependence of artistic and economic valuation as theorised by Raymonde Moulin (Moulin, 1997; 2003), which will help us to explain the relationship between international visibility and economic performance on the art market also with regards to Velthuis’s research about the symbolic meanings of prices on the contemporary art market (Velthuis, 2013). The major role of biennials and fairs will also be considered in this chapter since they are symptoms of the globalisation of the visual arts’ world (Moulin 2003; Quemin, 2012; Van Hest, 2012).

1.1 A definition of “contemporary art” revealing shifting boundaries

Both artistic and geographical boundaries seem to disappear in the context of contemporary art as it is defined as a crossover between elite and popular cultures as well as a cultural field in which regional boundaries fade (Crane, 2009; Heinich, 1998; Moulin, 1997, 2003). Twin brothers Hasan and Husain Essop’s performances are as much contemporary art as paintings by internationally renowned Marlene Dumas.

On another note, it is now common to consider contemporary art as an international field. Indeed, we have seen the fading of geographical boundaries in this field starting in the 1960s with the progressive globalisation of the contemporary art market. Moulin and Quemin underline in this sense that “The 1960s mark a radical rupture in recent art history and coincide with the internationalisation of the artistic field” (Moulin & Quemin, 1993). Progressively, regional boundaries started to fade as contemporary art was expanding worldwide. Today, the contemporary art genre includes artists from the centre (namely the Western part of the world) as well as artists from emerging countries also referred as the

“peripheral zone” (namely Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa). These geographic matters are very relevant to the study of the effects of international visibility of artists coming from emerging countries. Yet, it seems crucial to first address the definition of “contemporary art” as it is the first notion that needs to be understood for the sake of this thesis.

Although it seems to be an essential notion, defining “contemporary art” may not be the easiest task since it actually encompasses “everything” (Crane, 2009). While the classical substantive “art” normally only gathers plastic disciplines such as painting, sculpture and drawing, we notice that as soon as the adjective “contemporary” is appended to it, the expression “contemporary art” includes practices such as performance art, conceptual installation, digital art or even photography that would not be regrouped in the visual art field otherwise (Moulin, 1997, 2003). It could then be argued that the expression “contemporary art” is a rather catchall term that gathers together the so-called “high” and “low” forms of art (Quemin, 2006). In a nutshell this implies that anyone could actually be able to produce works in one’s basement and give them the “contemporary art” tag. The fact that contemporary art has been massively referring to the popular culture up to now, is a proof that “high arts” are being vulgarised and tend to merge with what has long been considered as “low arts”. To illustrate this phenomenon we can take the example of the famous American pop artist Andy Warhol who worked with popular culture icons and even made a famous series with the Campbell’s tomato soup can, which used to be an ordinary grocery in the American daily life of this time. In addition to this intermix of “high” and “low” arts, contemporary art also enables artists to combine many different fields of work instead of being restrained to a single discipline. The French plastic artist / photograph / sculptor / filmmaker Christian Boltanski is an example of such a multidisciplinary artist, and is recognised in each domain.

Contemporary art is an extremely open and welcoming field, yet it seems complicated to confirm the previous assumption stating that anything could potentially be labelled “contemporary art”. A question that instantly emerges is about the criteria granting the contemporary art label to an artwork, these being both chronological and aesthetical (Heinich, 1998; Moulin, 1997). According to the chronological criterion, contemporary art is the one that is created in present time, which most laws confirm. For instance, the French legislation defines contemporary art as the one created by living artists or in case the artist is deceased, refers to the artworks produced in the past twenty years (Quemin, 2002). According to the French sociologist Alain Quemin, this chronological benchmark implies that the whole of today’s aesthetical production is labelled as contemporary art. Even painted in the impressionist style, a painting that has been created by a living artist would still be considered as a contemporary artwork. Nevertheless, this example brings up a new concern. Indeed, according to Nathalie Heinich the contemporary art genre is defined by strong aesthetical criteria that such a painting would absolutely not meet (Heinich, 1998). Howard Becker revealed more than thirty years ago the existence of an “art world” within which protagonists set aesthetic standards that rule the contemporary art genre (Becker, 1982). Here the chronological criterion conflicts with the aesthetical one since a contemporary artwork could be contemporary in the chronological sense but not necessarily in the aesthetical one. The best way to define contemporary art would therefore be a combination of both chronological and aesthetical criteria, avoiding taking each one separately.

Another way to define contemporary artworks is to relate them to artistic innovations. However, this new parameter opens a new debate about the starting point of

the contemporary art era. Art historians argue for instance that the contemporary art period started right after the Second World War, while art curators, usually refer to a more narrow definition, considering the 1960s to be a transitional period from modern art towards a new artistic era (Crane, 1987; Moulin, 1997, 2003). This thesis particularly relies on the judgement of such protagonists of the art world in the process I used to select “artists of interest”. By “artists of interest” I mean South-African creators whose artworks have been selected by the leading galleries, art fairs, biennales, auctions, museums and art centres. This implies that this study will try to only include the artworks that have been granted the contemporary art label by the system, hence excluding all classical and modern artworks. Although this decision might seem radical, we must not forget that contemporary art events are not always one hundred per cent contemporary since they may include artworks from before. For instance, we might think of the 2007 edition of Documenta, in which artworks from the Middle Ages were included (Documenta, 2007). However, according to the idea that both artistic and geographical boundaries started to shift from the end of the 1960s onwards, this thesis will consider 1970 as the starting point of the contemporary era in order to avoid any confusion about which artworks belong to the contemporary category.

1.2 The internationalisation of Contemporary Art

Since we mentioned a change of standards in the contemporary art world, it seems relevant as well to acknowledge the geographical shifting of boundaries that started in the late 1960s. Indeed, the contemporary art world started to globalise then and has been fully developing itself since the 1980s onwards. French sociologists Raymonde Moulin (1997, 2003) and Alain Quemin (2002) have designed several indicators that exhibit a growing, and still on-going, globalisation of the contemporary art field. The Centre Pompidou launching the trend in 1989 with the exhibition “Magiciens de la Terre” gives the first interesting indicator that is about the rise of contemporary art exhibitions displaying the works of artists from the peripheral zone. The second indicator deals with the so-called “artistic nomadism” according to which artists tend to migrate more around the world hence fostering intercultural exchanges. The growing number of artists residences and biennales since the late 1980s is an evidence of the globalisation of contemporary art while the booming of art fairs and contemporary art galleries’ venues blossoming worldwide attest of the internationalisation of the art market.

Although we have seen a strong acceleration in the process of globalisation, there is no consensus on the starting point of this phenomenon in the art field. It is commonly accepted that visual artists have been travelling and working in different countries for a long time, yet “long” remains quite vague. If we think about Dutch Masters such as Rembrandt and Vermeer it is evident that they have not only worked in the Netherlands but have been commissioned by the leading courts of the 17th century (van Hest, 2012). Two to three centuries later, while it became the art centre of the world, Paris was the place where the most successful artists had to be, ranging from the Spanish Cubist Pablo Picasso to the Dutch Neo-Plasticism (and De Stijl artistic movement) pioneer Piet Mondriaan. Moreover, artistic movements such as Cubism, Neo-Plasticism and Futurism also facilitated the globalisation of artistic innovations (Galenson, 2008). In addition to the worldwide propagation of cultural and artistic movements we can also refer to the influence of other cultures such as Japonism in Van Gogh’s works, while his great friend Paul Gauguin took his trips to French Polynesia as

great sources of inspiration for his paintings. Another indicator of the early internationalisation of the art world is the development of the so-called “World Exhibitions” that displayed international artists’ works side by side (Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2006). On the other hand, art galleries have been known for working with artists of various nationalities for at least a century with the French group Goupil, opening galleries in the most powerful European capitals before it went across the Atlantic to settle a gallery in New York in the late 19th century. Although the art world has started to internationalise itself earlier than the 1960s, this phenomenon has been quite limited if compared with the globalisation of contemporary art today (Quemin, 2006). International artistic events have dramatically increased in the last three decades, inviting international artists enabled to travel the world easier than ever before. According to the American philosopher Noël Carroll, the art world has been mainly dealing with Western artists for a long time, while paying a very limited attention to non-Western art (Carroll, 2007). Today, this setup has evolved with international artists invited at international events. Non-Western artists who were once seen as the new blood of the art world are now becoming an integrated part of the contemporary art scene. This gives all its tangibility to the internationality of the contemporary art world.

1.3 Selection Criteria of Internationally recognised contemporary artists

In this research, the criteria for selecting “successful” artists are based on their international visibility, thus their presence at major contemporary art events is an achievement reflecting the decision of gatekeepers to let such artists in the art world. The key actors of the field, who have different positions in the art world, assert the aesthetic quality of artworks according to a certain number of parameters and standards (Becker, 1982). These parameters become shared conventions amongst the art world’s gatekeepers and constitute a framework that Howard Becker referred to as the *art world*. This means that the aesthetic value is not intrinsic to the artwork but socially constructed by key actors who decide consensually to give the “sesame” or not (Becker, 1982). Far from Becker’s ideal consensus, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who referred to a “field” instead of a “world” (Bourdieu, 1991, 1993) emphasised the high competition that happens between its protagonists who struggle to achieve different levels of power. The leaders want to defend their dominant positions, while newcomers try to upset the field and take over control. Granted to artists by galleries, curators and art experts, international recognition gives artists a guarantee of artistic success. The “secondary” actors who are in charge of taking such decisions fight for legitimation and the ability to rule the art field by setting up their artistic standards.

Recently, the phenomenon of cultural globalisation has tended to internationalise the art field. Consequently, geographical factors are also to be taken into account since they obviously affect the position of countries in the international ranking (Velthuis, 2013). Considering the notion of struggle for power that is involved here, Bourdieu’s conception is quite relevant in a study of contemporary art taken in the spiral of globalisation. Although Becker’s *art world* differs from Bourdieu’s *art field*, they both include the notion of a socially constructed artistic value based on selection criteria established by key actors. This thesis will thus use both concepts, *world* and *field*, in order to refer to the social structures that grant recognition to artists and their work. Yet, the way recognition is granted to artists remains a bit blurred according to these theories that reject the concept of intrinsic value. For the sake of this thesis it is important to demonstrate how artists become successful. To

this end, we can refer to a few models recently developed in order to understand the different steps in the construction of an artistic career. The British art historian Alan Bowness presented a model showing that the reputation of the modern artist was gradual. He used the idea of concentric circles of recognition, from a small circle that is gradually integrated into larger circles. The smaller circle only includes the artist's peers while the second circle emphasises recognition by dealers and collectors and the last circle acknowledges the broad recognition of the artist by the public at large (Bowness, 1989). However, Nathalie Heinich argued that this model missed the recognition by the market, a step that according to her precedes the recognition by art experts and the surge of public's attention (Heinich, 2009). Thus another important circle could be added to this model: the recognition by the art market, following the recognition by the artist's peers and preceding the recognition by dealers and collectors (Galenson, 2008). Another model explaining the artistic career has been imagined by the strategic research consultancy Morris Hargreaves McIntyre. This Art-Eco System Model displays the actors involved in the path that artists take to reach artistic fame. The art gallery is given a central role in this ecosystem since it works as an unavoidable intermediary, which largely contributes to the artist's recognition through sales and exhibitions (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2004). These two models are complementary in the sense that they show the crucial role of various actors in the path to a successful artist's career, all these key actors playing a specific role but highly related to each other. These models also emphasise the major importance of being included in the distribution networks of the art world. This thesis aims at seizing the level of distribution of South-African artists, as it also echoes their visibility in prominent contemporary art events and impacts their performance on the art market.

1.4 Aesthetics in concert with Economics

In her book *L'artiste, l'institution et le marché* published in 1997, Raymonde Moulin states that the art world revolves around two main spheres: the art institutions and the art market (Moulin, 1997). In my thesis I have chosen to use the expression *art institutions* in order to refer to organisations and events, such as museums, art centres and biennials, which purpose is more aesthetic and social than financial. Their directors or equivalent's main goal is to promote the aesthetic value of art by exhibiting artworks and increasing artists' visibility, hence they are primarily concerned with displaying Art for the sake of Art in a social dimension. On the other hand, I use the term *art market* in order to refer to commercial organisations and events, such as art galleries, auction houses or fairs, and all the persons who gravitate around these commercial activities. Yet, in the reality these two spheres are not isolated, but work in concert (Quemin, 2002). I have chosen to see them as two distinct entities because it will give me a better understanding of South-African artists' success with the differences and similarities that exist between the two spheres. Therefore, it is relevant to describe how these two domains work, coexist but also how they intertwine with each other. Howard Becker, Diana Crane and Raymonde Moulin have already emphasised the crucial role of institutions in artists' career (Becker, 1982; Crane, 1987; Moulin, 1997, 2003). The art market is in the same way a key area that grants recognition to artists. Moulin states that visibility in both the institutional sphere and the art market is essential for artists who want to develop an international career. While visibility in art institutions requires for artists to be part of museums' and art centres' collections or to be

displayed at biennials, the presence on the art market is essentially linked to commercial organisations, such as galleries, which represent artists at fairs and enable them to be potentially purchased by a prominent collector. Therefore, in order to be eligible to an international career, artists must be visible in both art institutions and the market (Velthuis, 2013).

Since it is understood that both sphere are prominently important and sustain each other by being highly interconnected, the aesthetic value of an artwork cannot be excluded from its economic value (Moulin, 1997; Moulin and Quemin, 1993; Quemin, 2002). Indeed, according to Moulin an artist who is granted recognition in one sphere has greater chances to be successful in the other. For instance, galleries essentially look for artists whose works have a great economic-value potential, which is partly determined by the artist's reputation in the institutional sphere (Moulin, 1997). The reverse situation works exactly the same since artists represented by leading galleries may arouse the interest of the institutional sphere (Quemin, 2002). It is thus important to recall that in the reality aesthetic and economic values are extremely interconnected since both the institutional and the market spheres influence both the aesthetic and economic values of an artist's works. To illustrate this statement it is interesting to consider museums that, via exhibitions, have a natural influence on artworks' aesthetic value, but also impact their economic value when they buy them. On the other hand, galleries exhibit artworks prior to selling them, which has for consequence to arouse the interest of potential buyers and increase their willingness to pay for the works. Such a scenario impacts the economic value of an artwork, but also contributes to artists' visibility and hence influences the aesthetic value of their works. In a nutshell, the institutional and the market spheres are closer to each other than secluded. Indeed another piece of evidence is that biennales and art fairs are now displaying analogous characteristics while actors of the institutional and the market sphere, like museum curators and gallery owners, are often playing the game of musical chairs (Velthuis and Baia Curioni, 2015). Artists navigating in the art world are also present in both spheres where their works are both aesthetically and economically valued.

Albeit the interdependence of aesthetic and economic values have noticeably increased in the so-called "global era", the Russian sociologist Liah Greenfeld, amongst others, reminds us that an artist being successful in the institutional sphere is not guaranteed to better perform on the market, and vice versa (Greenfeld, 1989; Joy & Sherry, 2003). Excelling at auctions and arousing the interest of private collectors does not necessarily imply that the artist will be glorified with a solo exhibition in a renowned art institution. An artist such as Damien Hirst for example does not provoke the same passion within art institutions than he does in the art market. And alternatively some artworks, more specifically performances and installations, receive a high plebiscite in the institutional sphere while their creators' achievements on the market do not mirror their social recognition (Velthuis, 2013). Therefore, since this thesis aims to analyse the international visibility of South-African artists alongside their performances on the global art market, it seems more manageable to distinguish art institutions from the art market prior to analyse the relationship between South-African artists visibility and their economic performances. In order to make a clear separation between the two art spheres, I regroup museums, art centres and biennales under the label "art institutions" which grant aesthetic value to artworks and social recognition to artists, while the art market, giving the economic value to artworks, encompasses art galleries and art fairs. This approach will help me to discern the similarities and differences between the visibility and economic performances of South-African artists under two different perspectives: the global contemporary art world as a

whole and the market and institutional spheres taken separately on a framework similar to Femke van Hest's dissertation.

1.5 The surge of biennales and art fairs: evidence of a globalising art world

As big auction sales and the openings of major exhibitions, attending and being seen at contemporary art fairs and biennials has recently become imperative. Such events punctuate indeed the contemporary art world's agenda (Crane 2009; Quemin, 2002) and are characterised by their transnational aspect to the extent that they manifest single-handedly the internationalisation of the contemporary art world.

First of all, biennales are synonymous with ephemerality while institutions such as museums and art centres are permanent. As it is suggested by its denomination, a biennale happens every two years, this event usually lasts about three months. Moreover, generally every biennale edition has a different artistic director or new curators making every edition unique and special. These characteristics may incentivise the public to attend biennales since they are scarcer than classic exhibition. Since the 1980s and 1990s, there has been a growing interest in biennales, which lead to a new trend and new model. The growing number of biennales scattered around the globe gives credit to the theory stating that the art world internationalises itself (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2002 and 2013) and goes together with the emergence at the international level of large-scale events. According to Moulin, more than a hundred biennials are organised across the world yearly (Moulin, 2003). This is on average two biennales opening every week. Such events and more particularly their opening have become impossible to miss for the key actors of the art sector. Biennales thus represent the place where every actor of the art world and more broadly every art lover must go and exchange his/her ideas. Biennales are intellectual stimuli and largely contribute to improve artists' visibility and hence grant them with social recognition.

Similarly, the most prominent art fairs are not to be missed by the key players of the contemporary art world. The surge of art fairs, alongside with that of biennales, is evidence of the internationalisation of the art field (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Moulin, 2003). Today around 40 international contemporary art fairs happen every year and usually last about three to five days (Quemin, 2013) with *Art Basel*, founded in 1969, as the most prominent art fair in the world so far. The international art world's key players meet at the art fairs opening ceremonies, where they have the opportunity to see an impressive variety of galleries representing an immense portfolio of artists and a huge collection of artworks (Moulin, 1997, 2003; Quemin, 2002). Similarly, artists who are represented at contemporary art fairs have more chances to develop an international career because these events provide a very short but way more intense visibility to a broader public than galleries usually do (Crane, 2009). No matter its marketing strategy, a gallery displaying an exhibition for several weeks will never get as many visitors as an art fair would drag. Yet, the difference between biennales and art fairs lays in the fact that artists need to be part of a gallery selected by the art fair if they want to be seen there, while biennales invite directly the artists.

Biennials and art fairs exhibit similar characteristics since they provide artists with an unavoidable platform within which they are able to display their work for a short but intense

period to a larger audience (Moulin, 2003). Moreover, such events are meeting places of higher importance for the art world key actors, who are then able to follow artists and enlarge their address book. Since the 1980s biennales and art fairs have been emerging all around the world, and have been growing significantly. To conclude this first section, on the one hand the surge of biennials worldwide gives credit to the theory of globalisation of the institutional sphere of the art world, while on the other hand the rising number of art fairs confirms the internationalisation of the art market. Yet, the major events of the art world still happen in the west, which confirms the remaining geographical imbalance in the field between the Northwest and the “rest” (Velthuis, 2013).

2. GLOBALISATION THEORIES APPLIED TO THE CULTURE

2.1 A global approach to the globalisation phenomenon

The existing literature on globalisation offers a wealth of varied definitions. In order to conceptualize globalisation, authors such as Held and McGrew refer to “*effects of actions over distances*”, but also to concepts such as time, space compression, global integration and accelerated interdependence (Held and McGrew, 2000). Encompassing both temporal and spatial aspects, globalisation seems to deepen and accelerate boundary-shifting and boundary-crossing transactions involving simultaneous spatial expansion.

Yet, globalisation is also a matter of reciprocal interdependencies as evoked in the tradition of differentiation theories developed by the father of economics Adam Smith, as well as philosopher Herbert Spencer and sociologist Emile Durkheim. Globalisation involves processes that make the world increasingly interdependently integrated (Roberts and Hite, 2000). Considering this global interdependency involved in the concept of globalisation, Lechner’s definition goes further as according to him this phenomenon is that of a worldwide diffusion of practices, as well as an expansion of relations across continents, where the world citizens organise their social life on a global scale, and grow a shared global consciousness (Lechner, 2005).

Globalisation theories tend to emphasize integration rather than focusing on social polarisation. They also highlight reciprocal interdependencies instead of considering only one-sided dependencies that result in asymmetrical relationships between social units. For instance, Giddens concentrates his definition of globalisation on the concept of interdependency, referring to globalisation as the fact that people tend to live a single world where every action has consequences and where the world’s problems have consequences over every one, reminding us of the butterfly effect theory (Giddens, 2001).

However, the other side of the coin is well emphasized by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who denounced globalisation as being both a myth and an imposed discourse. He criticised the concept of globalisation as a myth in the strongest sense of the word (Bourdieu, 1998). He later added that globalisation was a pseudo-concept progressively replacing the notion of modernisation (Bourdieu, 2003). Moreover, Negri and Hardt expressed their concern about the globalisation phenomenon, describing its effects on the economic and cultural exchange processes as inexorable and irreversible. They also state that such a form of power invokes a decentralised and de-territorialised apparatus of domination where territorial centres of power no longer exist in contrast to imperialism fixed boundaries (Negri and Hardt, 2000). Eventually, regarding the de-territorialising character of globalisation, Waters demonstrates that a peculiarity of globalisation lies in the fact that it implies greater connectedness aside from de-territorialisation (Waters, 1995).

2.2 The Globalisation of Culture

Nevertheless, for all that interesting these approaches may be, the ideas they develop are not specific to the very process of cultural globalisation in the narrow sense of

culture that this thesis focuses on. Indeed, the social spheres of the economy, politics, popular culture, and art all exhibit distinct and autonomous development patterns. Theories based on social differentiation are insightful in the range of questions analysing the globalisation of culture and art (Appadurai, 2003).

In his studies about globalisation, the Indian sociologist Arjun Appadurai makes distinctions between what he calls “*mediascapes*” (images, histories and information flows), “*ideoscapes*” (cultural and political ideologies flows), “*finanscapes*” (financial flows), and “*ethnoscapes*” (migrants, tourists and refugees flows). In Appadurai’s belief, every one of these “disjunctive” flows proceeds according to its “own restrictions and incentives” (Appadurai, 1996). Appadurai later introduced the term “*artscape*” (Appadurai, 2003), which fits better to the purposes of this thesis. Yet this notion of “*artscape*” seems to belittle the relations of power that it implies as well as all the processes of asymmetric exchange involved. Regarding, the concept of “cultural globalisation” that we are interested in, it is also important to mention the relevant work of Diana Crane and more specifically her meta-typology of models describing this phenomenon. She also underestimates somehow the notions of power that are however at stake, while paying closer attention to positive externalities involved by globalisation processes. Crane indeed states that cultural globalisation generates relatively symmetrical interactions within cultural flows or networks. Hence, cultural globalization conceptualised as the combination of cultural flows and networks is a polymorphous process with cultural influences going back and forth in many directions, while cultural imperialism recalls a process that is more unilateral. Arjun Appadurai refers to four main cultural flows consisting of ethnicities, ideologies, media and technologies, which effects on recipient Nations do not tend to cultural homogenisation but rather to hybridisation (Crane, 2002). Most reception theories, to which Crane also refers, mainly focus on consumers’ sovereignty while they receive and appropriate cultural goods that are globally distributed. These theories also state how much reception processes imply that the culture should be embedded (Wu, 2005). Yet, since the focus of this thesis is about globalisation processes at play with regards to the South-African Contemporary Art scene we might be willing to know to what extent are fine arts embedded in the process of cultural globalisation. According to Kramer fine arts exhibit the most intense shrinking of North and South, East and West (Kramer, 2001).

About globalisation, there might be another important question at stake that we should envisage before we go on investigations: when did globalisation actually begin and what are its decisive historical breaks. Appadurai refers to an “age of globalisation” that he describes as an historical break that started in the second half of the 20th century and accelerated in the last twenty years (Appadurai, 2003). Victoria Alexander adds to Appadurai’s statement, that this phenomenon is not new even though she admits an unprecedented increase of global flows (Alexander, 2003). Hall, for his part suggests that, globalisation started at the end of the 15th century when Western Europe finally broke out of its confinement, with the year 1492 launching indeed an era of exploration and conquest of the non-European world. Yet, Hall also states that the process of globalisation has been accelerating in recent time and consequently elaborates on decisive historical breaks that lead him to four main periods dating back to the late 1400s. The period we are mostly interested in for the purpose of this research on contemporary art is the fourth one, beginning in in the mid-1970s. Within this fourth period Hall explains that it is impossible to seclude the movement of power from the movements of images, capital and information as he sees the culture and the economy closely related.

2.3 The Globalisation of the Art World

There have been a few quarrels between scientists regarding the internationalisation of contemporary art. One of them, Rasheed Araeen, castigated this theory that he considered to be a myth. According to the scholar, the problem with Western art is that it expresses only the peculiarities of the transatlantic world, that is to say Europe and North America. Araeen excoriates the current 'Internationalism' of Western art, which according to him is simply supporting the political and economic power of the West enforced over the rest of the world. He eventually claims that the word "international" should not be restricted to a few Western countries but include the whole world instead (Araeen, 2001).

Since then, the Art World has undoubtedly experienced a certain number of changes. New dynamics at play in concomitance with the emergence of a new global art space, have deeply challenged the predominance of North-Western art on the international scene. In the context of the exhibition "*Global Art*" that he had curated, Marc Scheps affirmed that a strong globalisation had taken place over the two previous decades, stating that art entered a global area in the 1980s with the intense mobility of international artists, the exhibitions in the West of non-Western artists and the dissemination of Western art institutions in non-Western countries. Eventually, Scheps concludes that non-Western art has been progressively more integrated into the worldwide cultural network of connections in a symmetrical way. The year 1989 has allegorised art as a global dialogue, fostered by innovative visual languages, new media and artistic practices such as video, computer or installation art (Scheps, 1999). The late 1980s have really challenged the World as well as the Art World since it has been increasingly including non-Western contemporary art as states Christian Kravagna, a major European art critic with a specific focus on non-Western contemporary art. He conceded that non-Western artists have long been invisible on the international art scene but have started to receive an increasing visibility in international exhibitions alongside Western art displayed "under the sign of 'global art'" (Kravagna, 2004).

In this regard, Hubert Martin's notorious exhibition "*Magiciens de la Terre*" at the Centre Pompidou in Paris is considered as a major turning point in the year 1989. From the 1990s onwards, this watershed led to a greater inclusion of non-Western artists in large mainstream exhibitions such as international art fairs for instance the *Venice Biennial* and *Documenta* in Kassel. A capstone was then reached when the diaspora Nigerian curator Okwui Enwezor was selected to run the Documenta11 in 2002. This, according to Kravagna, marked a fundamental change in the setup of the Art World since choosing a Nigerian curator as the leader of the Documenta11 was a clear step ahead in favour of an opening to non-Western perspectives. While questioning the Western representation and reception of African art this choice held great significance especially when we remember that it took almost fifty years of Documenta history to finally invite two African artists at the Documenta9 in 1992 (Kravagna, 2002). In that sense, the notorious art-market journal *Artforum* revealed proof of the emergence of global exhibitions with the advent of contemporary art biennales such as the notorious Documenta and Venice Biennale as well as some "peripheral biennales" happening in Sao Paulo, Havana, Dakar, Cairo, Johannesburg, etc... (Bydler 2004). These art events are global not only in the sense that they invite non-Western artists and experts but also because they take place all over the world. For instance, even the Documenta has international platforms in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbeans. The globalisation of the Art World is well emphasised with the international spread of biennales.

The “biennialization of the art world” (Buchholz, 2005) began in the midst of the 1980s. Since then, the number of biennales has increased in the West as well as in the “rest” (Hall, 1992). As a matter of fact, in 1980 there were only three contemporary art biennales in the West, and three in the non-Western part of the world. By 2005, the total number of biennales soared from six to forty-nine, including nineteen in the West, and thirty outside of this region. This is actually a good indicator of the fast globalising process at stake in the Art World. In a nutshell, the international spread of art biennales has intensified the transnational engagement of artists, curators, museums and cities (Sassen, 2004).

However, cultural globalisation does not solely involve the rise of international art events and the facilitation of artworks circulation but also refer to the artistic mobility. Indeed, Bydler pinpoints the emergence of an international job market for artists and experts (Bydler, 2004). Yet, the usually highly restrictive immigration legislation can be a break to this artistic mobility and reminds us that the worldwide circulation of people is put under pressure because of a more severe legal regulation compared to capital flows and movement of goods. Regarding artistic mobility and artworks circulation on the international market, the French sociologist Raymonde Moulin principally focused on the art market also touches upon the globalisation of the Art World in her research. She indeed describes the last thirty years as a trend involving more interdependencies between nation and regions, as well as encouraging the circulation of people and artefacts beyond national boundaries to an extent that borders almost vanish (Moulin, 2003). Nonetheless, we might wonder whether the aforementioned tendencies actually verify that the Art World has indeed entered the age of globalisation. This new era made former centre-periphery structures obsolete hence questioning the validity of unilateral exchange flows between the West and the non-West. According to Marc Scheps, the former structure “centre/periphery” vanishes in favour of an emerging network composed of cultural and artistic centres able to communicate with each other at any time with no hierarchy (Scheps, 1999). Scheps’s conception goes in the same direction as Dziewior’s stating that there is indeed “a slow, but continual dissolving of the traditional division of centre and periphery” that is at play in the Art World (Dziewior, 1999).

Yet, Scheps’s and Dziewior’s reasoning is strongly called into question by international experts and diaspora intellectuals involved in the Art World. The editor of the Austrian art magazine Springerin Georg Schoellhammer, for instance, concedes that the peripheral art scene that used to be unexposed in the West has been made available to the world thanks to international exhibitions and trade transports. Nonetheless, he also states that inclusion and exclusion relationships are not per se altered by this current trend. It is actually quite the opposite according to him as it rather participates in obfuscating the persistence of such dividing mechanisms (Schoellhammer, 1999). This wide-spread scepticism towards the theory of an inclusive globalisation of the Art World is also shared amongst diaspora art experts. The Tanzania-born artist and critic Everlyn Nicodemus found these inclusion tendencies of the Third-Art-World into the established Western Art World quite utopian and unrealistic. She is not very enthusiastic about the internationalisation of the art world, which according to her counteracts an opening up to a new inter-cultural internationalism instead of facilitating it (Nicodemus, 1995).

Other critical minds such as the Pakistani artist Rashed Araeen revealed the danger of being obsessed with representation and symbolic politics, arguing that the emphasis should be made on the fundamental structures of the Art World. Indeed, the consideration of non-Western artists on the international scene has notably grown over the last decades. Post-colonial African artists do not undergo the segregation from their white/European

counterparts anymore according to Araeen since they both develop in the exact same space and market, while being recognised and legitimated by similar institutions. Moreover, celebrating the differences between Western and non-Western Art involves the building of “thick walls of multiculturalism” that protect the existing structures of the Art World (Araeen, 2001). As an extension of Araeen’s thought, the Nigerian artist and writer Olu Oguibe goes as far as conceding that a decisive change has occurred in the structure of the Art World with an increasing amount of non-Western artists present in the dominant artistic institutions. According to his notion of “culture game” that relies on Bourdieu’s field theory (1993, 1996), Oguibe presents a “global cultural game” although it did not lead to equal visibility amongst Western and non-Western artists and similar access to the art market. Indeed, the hegemony between Western and non-Western artists still seems to be at play and has not been yet proven untrue. Selection of non-Western artists still seems to be based on ethnic and regional background while Western artists are not selected on these criteria. This selection process, that Oguibe calls the cultural game, enclose the art field and support the recurrence of inclusion tendencies as cited by Scheps, Araeen and others, although they take the problem from various different perspectives. In Oguibe’s culture game, there are various levels on which key actors operate. There is for instance the structural level perpetuated by the institutions through acquisitions, programming, criticism, and general discourse. At such level, minimal exhibitions of art coming from a particular province or country are organised on an average ratio of one exhibition of this kind every ten years, which is rather weak. Moreover, talking about ratios, biennales nowadays tend to make pride of their internationalism by brandishing the numbers of non-Western artists they have on display, which turns out to be absurd, to say the least (Oguibe, 2004). Oguibe’s theory is rather well supported by a statement made by Stuart Hall about the Documenta 11 platform in Santa Lucia, which he thought might not upset the history of exhibitions, but rather be a mere interlude of cultural diversity. Hall conceded that there has been a certain ‘globalisation’ of the art world although this phenomenon is rather ambivalent since it is a very limited process in which gaps keep emerging. He added that overall the projects of inclusion are mainly short-term with quite a limited scope (Hall, 2003). Consequently, such new “global exhibitions” do not confirm the dawn of a global art world free from old structuring and inequalities between Western and non-Western artists, but simply proves to be one of the bigger “rationed slots” in the culture game.

Taking Nicodemus’s and Araeen’s perspectives into account, the co-founder of the Havana Biennale, Gerardo Mosquera, assessed that the situation of “peripheral” artists exhibiting worldwide should not be overestimated since they remain quite few and have not been massively visible and competitive enough. Thus, they cannot be rewarded yet with the necessary amount of symbolic capital and power to be considered as key-players in the truly relevant moves of the art game. According to Mosquera, there has been a dramatic expansion of regional and international art circulation through multiple spaces, events and networks of all kinds. However the few non-Western artists who are now exhibiting worldwide invokes solely a relative internationalisation of the art world (Mosquera, 2003). Anyhow, it seems like the higher presence of “peripheral” artists did not affect yet the power structure of the Art World. Indeed, the West still owns the symbolic power in the global Art World, for all that it is global, and this characterises non-occidental art as a merely “exotic” art. Curator of the exhibition *Seven Stories about Modern Art in Africa* displayed in London, Elsbeth Court raised an interesting point explaining that since the 1990s, Western interest in the so-called “primitivism” have enhanced the visibility of African modern and contemporary art that were previously ignored (Court, 1999). On a different note, the

increasing visibility of non-Western art relies on other factors than the mere post-colonial discourses of deconstruction. One of these relevant factors is the “ethno boom” and fashion trend for exoticism.

Looking at the dynamics of symbolic capital distribution among Western and non-Western artists is one of the ways to estimate the effect of globalisation forces on the structure of the art field (Wuggenig, 2005). The German business magazine *Capital* has annually published an “artist-ranking” for almost fifty years now under the name of “Kunstkompass”, since 1970 it has offered empirical indicators of artists performances. This “art-compass” consists in a list of the worldwide top 100 artists, establishing a ranking that registers the symbolic capital of international artists by focusing on their presence and visibility in the global exhibition circuit. Considering the representation of artists in both individual and group exhibition at major art institutions according to the establishment, the results also take credits on assessing artists’ presence in leading art journals. Expert ratings first rank the art institutions and group exhibitions with the highest reputation, then a ranking of the artists who display in these renowned institutions and international exhibitions at the highest frequency is set up. The scores artists obtain exhibit their symbolic capital used to measure their international visibility. This way of estimating artists’ performances was first developed and applied by Willy Bongard, a German economist who was also involved in the art field as an art dealer. So far, the *Kunstkompass* has been the best available tool to make a clear distinction between the core and the peripheral artists in the art world, the core artists being those approved and consecrated by the “art establishment”, the peripheral artists being those deprived of symbolic capital and power unable to take part relevantly in the “cultural game” as Oguibe defines it.

The *Kunstkompass* remains widely used in the economics of art by economists such as Bruno Frey and Werner Pommerehne, and has proven efficiency in establishing artists’ performances. Indeed, assessing the symbolic capital of artists seems valid and reliable for the purpose of this research that aims to compare the visibility and international recognition of South-African artists with their economic performances on the international art market. Consequently, we aim to assess the extent to which the Art World has succumbed to the broadly assumed globalisation in the last decades considering how reputation and power are distributed amongst international artists. The evaluation of such dominant artists by professional art critics and curators helps us assessing a distinction between them and peripheral artists without reputation in the insiders’ circles and who have a short-lived success based on the vicissitudes of trends. Gathering empirical evidence on artistic recognition it is understandable that lack of international recognition by peers implies for an artist that he will never become part of the international history of art (Heinich, 1991). Moreover, this means that the higher symbolic capital in the visual arts converts in the higher economic capital in the long run (Abbing, 2004).

The *Kunstkompass* also has the advantage to display the artist’s country of origin. This might be very helpful in the process of this research in order to tackle questions of inclusion and exclusion based on origin and territorial factors. Regarding territorial factors, Johan Galtung developed a model that assesses geographical concentration and the changes it has undergone over time, by drafting a dichotomous cartography that separates the world into four main regions, which he calls the “four corners of the world”. This simplified world map presents the “Northwest” as gathering together Anglo-Saxon North America and Western Europe; the “Northeast” as the vast region encompassing Eastern Europe and Turkey, the former Soviet Union and Soviet republics with a Muslim majority, Pakistan and

Iran. On the southern side, the “Southwest” area covers a wide surface from Latin America, Mexico, the Caribbean to Africa, the Arab world, and even West and South Asia and India; eventually, the “Southeast” region includes East and Southeast Asia, the Pacific Islands, China and Japan (Galtung, 2001). According to Galtung, these four regions should eventually merge: “At the end of the globalisation process there will be a single state world, formed by a population considering itself as one nation (or a world nation)” (Galtung, 2003). Hence, territorial factors should no longer play the major role we confer them in the art world. No one from the leading global “Northwest” region should have an advantage per se before the three remaining areas.

A new model could thus emerge and demonstrate the progressive irrelevance of territorial factors in the Art World. Empirically, we should thus find successful artists originating from each of the four corners of the planet on a balanced basis, contrarily to what Araeen stated in the 1970s, with triumphant artists only coming “from a select few Western countries”. Focusing on the emergence of South-African artists on the international art scene, we also aim at demonstrating that the number of artists who are not from the Northwest is of essential help while trying to assess the implications globalisation has had in the art field lately.

However, according to available data, Galtung’s “Northwest” largely dominates the art world. Looking at the country of residence of successful non-Northwest artists this statement becomes even more evident as the majority of these artists live and work in North-Western metropolises, such as London, Paris, Berlin and New York. These territorially demarcated capitals, which are major epicentres of the art world are the places to be to reach success and recognition in the international field of contemporary art (Giuffrè 1999, Janssen 2001, Heinich 2004). One of the main reasons for such a strong territorial concentration of art metropolises in the Northwest is the ineligible dependence of the art market on the financial market: “The art market displays the two characteristics of being both internationalised and simultaneously centralised in a few world metropolis similar to the financial market network as both universes are interdependent” (Moulin, 2003). Saskia Sassen had also stated that the concentration that is at play in the financial industry involves territorial concentration in the Art World (Sassen, 2000).

Thus, according to globalisation theoreticians that defend the thesis of de-territorialisation and discard centre-periphery models such as Michael Hardt and Toni Negri, the cultural hubs represented by these Northwest capitals represent “anomalies” of the whole system, as Thomas Kuhn would call them (Hardt and Negri, 2000). However, these theories ignore the major importance of the networks that interconnect the art world’s stakeholders as new means and media for extremely asymmetric forms of exchange (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005). Saskia Sassen even used theories of regional concentration displayed in “global cities” in order to reinterpret cultural clusters as indicators for increasing globalisation (Sassen, 2000).

Such models, in addition to helping us to understand the process of regional concentration, also emphasise the fact that the ability to benefit from emerging global art flows is highly unequally distributed according to the territories where artists are situated. The fact that art experts and artists have largely emigrated from the peripheries and semi-peripheries to the metropolises of the Northwest, shows for instance that the classical “brain-drain” pattern is also at stake in the Art World. Galtung affirmed some forty years ago that this phenomenon has undoubtedly benefited the “centres of the centres” more than

the “peripheries of the peripheries” (Galtung, 1980).

On the other hand, the propagation of art biennales, fairs and international institutions such as major galleries and auction houses across the world is not per se a sign of globalisation that should be celebrated as the supporters of globalisation would let us believe. Alternatively, we ought better wondering to what extent globalisation supports a certain cultural imperialism of the Northwest, which involves bridgeheads to be established in the centres of semi-peripheries and peripheries by an indigenous elite that has already integrated the dominant culture of the Art World leaders from the Northwest.

While curating the French Pavillon of the Venice Biennale in 1999, Chinese curator Hou Hanru claimed that such northwest cultural enclaves served the cultural development of counter-power in the semi-periphery and periphery such as China at this time (Hou Hanru, 1999). However, we could wonder whether the local elites of the periphery lose influence and power due to globalisation instead of being empowered by the establishment of international institutions. According to Galtung, this would become a major threat to the elite of the periphery especially with the increasing use of new technologies of information and communication, which would make such actors superfluous (Galtung, 2000). However, considering the limited importance of e-commerce in the art field and the remaining ‘digital gap’ that exists between the four areas mentioned by Galtung, such a scenario would only describe implications for the future.

2.4 A picture of contemporary art on the African continent

« Dans le paysage de l’art global, l’art contemporain africain, ce syntagme figé, constitue une espèce en voie d’apparition. »

“In the landscape of global art, African contemporary art, this fixed syntactic unit, constitutes an emerging species.”

Jean-Loup Amselle,

2005

Previous research has dealt fairly broadly with the problematic of contemporary art in its "African" dimension through the writings of Jean-Loup Amselle, with his book *L’Art de la friche*, the book by Sidney Kasfir *Contemporary African Art*; that of Joëlle Busca, *L’art contemporain Africain; du colonialisme au post-colonialisme*; or that of Pierre Gaudibert, *Art Africain Contemporain*.

Contemporary African art has, from an aesthetic point of view, been debated for thirty years now, but more and more in its relationship to the world in general and to the art world in a specific way. The themes mentioned in the books and articles cited above cover quite broadly the spectrum of contemporary art as precursors on scientific works that have enriched the literature around African contemporary art. Thus, the works of Erika Nimis, on contemporary African photography, those of Iolanda Pensa on the Dakar biennale in particular and on artistic events in a more global way, the work of Joanna Grabski, Amina Diaw Cisse, Yacouba Konaté and Iba Ndiaye Djadji, on African aesthetics, are reference works. The very dense English production is, in turn, fueled by the work of artists and professionals in the art field in greater proportions, with for instance the works of Bruce

Onobrakpeya, Okwui Enwezor and Uche Okeke. In addition, the contributions of curators such as Nigerian Bisi Silva, Cameroonian Koyo Kouoh, Zimbabwean Raphael Chikukwa and South-African Brett Bailey also enrich the reflection on African contemporary art. From a less academic point of view, the various events organized around African contemporary plastic creation have also led to the production of an important literature on issues that revolve around the contemporary artistic expression in Africa. The articles accompanying the exhibition catalogues provide indeed quite a lot of literature.

The events are becoming more numerous on the African ground and try to compete with those organized in the "Northwest" as called by Galtung, in terms of the quality of artists invited. Thus, more and more biennials and triennales are organized on the African continent (Africa Art Market Report 2014, 2015, 2016). Although some may have sometimes suffered the pangs of economy or criticism, most of them remain and grow. As an example, we can cite the biennales of Dakar (visual art), Bamako (photography), Cairo, Cape Town and Maputo (Muvrart) but also the triennial of Luanda, the Center for Contemporary Art of Lagos in Nigeria, the Zinsou Foundation in Benin, etc. For some years now, the work on conceptions, place, aesthetics, art criticism, social and cultural dynamics concerning African contemporary art, are therefore more important and of high interest. This thesis proposes to understand the new dynamics at work in the universe of African contemporary art by focusing on South-African contemporary art in order to identify its issues and perspectives. This approach is part of a literature focused on the phenomena related to the environment and evolutions of African contemporary art in both the institutional sphere and the art market.

The emergence of a new type of artists in Africa during this period requires a great deal of precision. Indeed, it is necessary to explain that if, as Amselle says, "For there to be art, there must be an 'artistic field' in the sense of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1992), an 'art world' in the sense of Becker (Becker, 1982) or a 'value scheme' in the sense of Myers (Myers 2002)" (Amselle, 2005). In short, a network of galleries, exhibitions, biennials, reviews and magazines that certify, accredit and value the participating works to the space of interlocution that we call art in the aesthetic sense of the term." It is obvious that these conditions were for a long time not reunited so that we could speak of "Art" on the African continent. This conception that is now emerging is done through the introduction of techniques but also a Western-style aesthetic. Although the works retain a certain authenticity, an authentic exoticism, they are marked by religious influences or modernism, as affirms Sidney Kasfir. The author states that this is how the introduction of syncretic masks "representing Jesus alongside Mami Warta, or chief stools in the form of the first motor vehicles" (Kasfir, 2000). Artistic production during the colonial period in Africa has been transformed by the introduction of new tools and new values. New objects have appeared and aroused the interest of African artists and artisans. The colonial period also led to the introduction of colours into the uses of many peoples. Although, some people already used pigments when making their masks, it should be noted that they were quite limited in terms of tones (Bassene, 2016).

Regarding contemporary art, it is largely agreed that it has started to manifest itself in Africa after the period of independences that took place in the course of the 1960s (Busca, 2001). African contemporary art would therefore be fairly clear-cut: postcolonial. However, contemporary artistic plastic expression in Africa began in the inter-war period and was first made public to the world with the first World Festival of Negro Arts in 1966 in Dakar. Indeed, the Angolan art critic and historian Adriano Mixinge, based on the writings of the Nigerian

philosopher specialised in art history N'kiru Nzegwu, says that African contemporary art "has known with the first World Festival of Negro Arts in 1966 in Dakar (Senegal), one of the highlights of the beginnings of its emancipation." (Mixinge, 2009).

By breaking free from the colonial yoke, African countries began to consider themselves as the equals of Western countries, which, in some cases, had colonised them for centuries. This quest for equality has gone through many channels including those of culture and the arts (Domino and Magnin, 2005). Artistic movements emerged, manifesting artistic creativity and a certain euphoria, this is especially true in countries where cultural policy remains in its infancy. As we shall see, in the case of South Africa, in the aftermath of independence, it was necessary to reflect on a real cultural policy that would enable South African people to consider themselves as a united and indivisible people. Indeed, this people is made up of various ethnic groups that are culturally very distinct, which incurred the need to build an identity common to a whole newly born Nation. This euphoria was also manifested intellectually and led to the development of many theories that had to describe what should be and represent the art of South-Africa. Actually it is three levels of South-African contemporary art that confront one to another: a so-called "exotic expression" intertwines with one of "popular order" and one that would be more intellectually oriented towards the broader field of African contemporary creation. As embodied by the exhibition *"Magiciens de la Terre"*, organized by Jean-Hubert Martin in 1989 at the Centre Pompidou and the Grande Halle de la Villette, the emergence of the African continent in the globalized art market and more specifically in Western art networks has really been effective in the last decade of the 20th century. In any case, from this exhibition there was indeed an opening in the Northwest to non-Western art that finally reached the global art network (Moulin, 2003; Velthuis and Baia Curioni, 2015). Artists from the periphery, in general, were thus able to enter the Northwest institutional art world and market; the ones by which artists are most likely to see their work recognized internationally (Quemin, 2002).

According to available data from art market reports (Tefaf Art Market Report 2016, 2017) non-Western artists are gradually integrating the global art world and the international art market. According to Laurent Wolf in his article "L'art contemporain à l'heure de la mondialisation", although artists of European and North American origins are still the most recognized by the system, it seems that gradually the circuit opens to Asians, South Americans, Oceanians and Africans. Wolf adds that this opening is also due to the fact that artists from five continents have integrated Western techniques (Wolf, 2007). It is likely that for some years now we have been moving towards the establishment of a single market for the visual and plastic arts. However, the question of the difficulties encountered by the artists of the periphery still remains thorny, as displayed by the reception and diffusion of their works (Quemin, 2002). To tackle this research about the potential interconnection between international visibility and economic performances of South-African contemporary artists, it also seems necessary to dwell on the history of this postcolonial art, with the different artistic movements that represent South-African contemporary art today.

2.5 A focus on the South-African contemporary art scene

South Africa is in every way a country of challenges, and as part of the BRICS it presents many opportunities. As a land of intermixes, it integrates many different ethnicities amongst which eleven languages are spoken. The population is 80% black, 9% coloured, 8%

white, and 3% Asian/Indian (populationdata.net, 2018). Although it is the 33rd biggest economy in the world, South Africa is still highly unequal with 60% of its population living under the poverty threshold (diplomatie.gouv.fr, 2018). Presenting a heavy historical background, with long periods of colonialism followed by the racial segregation unfortunately famous under the Dutch name of “Apartheid”, which generated a lot of protests, South African art is to be understood in its unique social context, that of the apartheid and the post-apartheid political structures. The South-African contemporary art scene emerged and flourished over the past three decades on this particular background. It started with creative artists declaring their opposition to the segregating policies imposed by the Government in the Apartheid era. And today, South-African contemporary artists repeat this subversive tradition and share the social concerns of their predecessors whilst pursuing an innovative and more experimental approach (Scott-Berning, 2018).

Although South Africa has had quite a difficult landscape both socially and economically, especially for its artists to survive easily, a contemporary art scene has nevertheless managed to emerge and presents a particularly interesting dynamism. Indeed, according to artifacts.net data from March 2018, the country has 193 registered art institutions within which there has been 2,593 exhibitions so far (artifacts.net, 2018). South Africa has currently 863 artists registered as such, amongst which we find worldly famous names and top-100 artists such as William Kentridge and Marlene Dumas (Quemin, 2013; artifacts.net, 2018). In addition to this contemporary-art-friendly environment and actors, the art curator Brett Bailey also originates from South Africa and is representative of the South-African institutional sphere, the one that is also serving as gatekeeping the art world.

South African contemporary art in all its forms, ranging from fine art to mural art and posters has started to be bold, challenging and fighting for personal and social freedom as early as in the 1980s when the Apartheid was still in full swing (Scott-Berning, 2018). Contemporary art in South Africa has a particular dimension since it has developed a capacity to address and question rather than completely get rid of the immense force of the political manipulations, characteristic of the Apartheid era. Everywhere, from the streets to art schools, galleries and museums, a critical and freeing perspective of South Africa has emerged although it had to circumvent many complex forms of repression, denial and co-option that were involved by Apartheid policies of “civilized standards”, “racial purity” and “corporate identity” (Mdanda, 2005). In these policies, art was defined as an “own affair”, involving that each ethnic group was required by law to develop its own culture in its own racially segregated institutions and with different degrees of state support or restriction according to the ethnic group status. That is how the Government carefully monitored cultural flows during the Apartheid era and proceeded to a selection of available contents in order to segregate the people into several secluded ethnic groups unable to unify with each other and see them as one single people.

However, a vibrant group of artists and cultural activists independent from any racial selection raised their alternative vision through art and culture against such policies. They organised themselves in private venues such as community centres and art centres and significantly contributed to the development of a critical visual culture (Berman, 1983). Contemporary art has consistently been used to reflect the socio-political environment, in order to develop a new political organization. Yet, the only fly in the ointment was that such activist artists have been forced to go into exile to keep on producing subversive art. In South Africa, more than anywhere else, art lost its innocence and most of its artists working during the 1980s created pieces that reflected the harsh political realities that were daily

experienced by the population and which became more repressive in the 1970s and 1980s (Williamson, 1989). Illustrating what South-African contemporary art looked like three decades ago, the bestseller “Resistance Art in South Africa” written by the artist Sue Williamson, has become a classic account of the visual art against the Apartheid. It was first published in 1989 and presented what made the South-African contemporary art scene at the time: an artistic genre of expression directed towards the white elite’s oppressive exercise of power (Williamson, 1989) The works of the painter and graphic artist Paul Stopforth for instance unveiled the police torture harms while the painter Robert Hodgins satirised the emblems of the power in place during the Apartheid into sinister but laughable echoes of Alfred Jarry’s mad king Ubu. As for William Kentridge, the highest ranked South-African artist according to artifacts.net, he used expressionist drawings to develop personal metaphors that revealed the hypocrisy and irony of a being white in South Africa. Recently, his powerful drawing technique has been animated in films and installations.

On the other hand, the mid 1990s welcomed new democratic circumstances, which enabled the country and its people to acknowledge a certain individuality. This phenomenon created a new energy on the artistic stage known as “Conceptual art” since the Apartheid policies no longer define the South-African society and its art (Williamson, 1999). Following these political events, the international art world increasingly opened its doors to South Africa and the 1993 edition of the Biennale di Venezia eventually included a South-African Pavillion for the first time. Two years later, in 1995, happened for the first time the Johannesburg Biennale, which embraced the international artistic community and managed to bring the art world to the country. Such events fostered a new dialogue between local artists and artistic movements from other countries (Williamson and Jamal, 1997). New media such as video, performance and installation progressively replaced the more classical painting canvases. In order to represent borders and boundaries, the visual artist Jeremy Wafer used photography, earth, and fibreglass sculpture, while Sue Williamson recycled materials in her complex installations about memory and history. But contemporary art remains an efficient tool to tackle societal problems. In this regard, Steven Cohen dealt with identity and marginality with his innovative expression combining sculpture and performance, while Kendell Geers questioned the very process of making art. Hentie van der Merwe, for his part chose to tackle a virus that has been plaguing Africa for decades within photographs he took and/or found to present the body in an age of HIV/Aids.

The Apartheid era was responsible for the cultural isolation of South Africa, and although today such policies are no longer in place, the country still faces the reality of social change and economic challenges (Cohen, 2009). South-African artists wonder how to face their past but also question their future (Williamson, 1999), whether it should be in their country or abroad, whether their visibility will boost their performance on the market or not. The present thesis aims at analysing the various factors that are at play in the development of an artistic career with a special focus on the international visibility of artists. To this end, I have chosen to focus on two categories of artists originating from South Africa, which I will compare to each other relying on various factors. While the first category encompasses artists who started to create in the 1980s, while the Apartheid was still in force, and now own a confirmed international recognition and perform outstandingly on the market such as William Kentridge or Marlene Dumas, the second category will display the “future” of South-African contemporary art, that is to say the “born free” artists, born after the Apartheid, who are not yet internationally renowned but start to hit the art market.

3. A GLOBALISING ART WORLD THROUGH THE SCOPE OF SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Data collection, research questions and hypotheses

The theories of globalisation I have previously emphasised give an overview of the debate that currently affects the phenomenon of cultural globalisation. In the second part of this section I made a progressive presentation of the dominant globalisation theories, aiming at applying them specifically to the South-African artists' evolution in the contemporary art world, supporting the purpose of this thesis. In order to carry this research properly I needed to have access to essential data to justify my findings. I collected most of these data on the websites *artfacts.net*, *artprice.com* and *artnet.com* in the year 2018, since they provide an extensive international database and precious knowledge about the ins and outs of South-African contemporary art. In addition to these, I used the websites of South-African artists, of the art institutions of interest and the catalogues of artistic events that will be further detailed in the following. Moreover, I used data provided by the three reports of Africa Art Market published for the years 2014, 2015 and 2016 alongside with the last five Tefaf Art Market annual reports. These data are the most reliable in order to draw a comparison between the visibility of South-African contemporary artists and their commercial success on the art market.

Since my ultimate goal here is to present with clarity the effects of globalisation on the South-African contemporary art production, visibility and performance on the market, I have formulated three main research questions:

1. Are contemporary art events actually internationally orientated and including South-African artists?
2. How and to what extent have globalisation processes affected the position of South-African artists at these contemporary art events and on the art market?
3. How and to what extent are territorial factors still relevant in the internationalisation of the art world and hence impact the career of South-African artists?

In order to answer these questions, this research project will test several hypotheses stemming from theories about the internationalisation of the art world previously mentioned. In order to clarify my point, I have chosen to study the art world at different levels: the art world in general, the institutional sphere and the art market, the countries that host art events and those that are represented at these events.

1. The same countries dominate the international art events studied.
2. Artists originating from central countries are relatively more visible than those from semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.
3. Globalisation increases the diversity of artists and countries, including peripheral areas, which reflects the recognition of non-Western contemporary art such as South-African.
4. Indeed, international art events have progressively become more diverse in terms of the participating countries.
5. Central countries' influence on the art world has decreased while that of the

- peripheries has increased.
6. The country of origin of gatekeepers and decision-makers involved in art events influences the diversity of artists and countries.
 7. Artists who benefit most from these key actors are likely to be those who are from the same geographical zones, or working in the same area or living there.
 8. Representing artists who have a limited international visibility, biennials organised in the periphery are relatively more diverse than those in the centre.

3.2 Method

The contemporary art field has entered a globalisation process for three decades now. It sees an increasingly international competition amongst its actors who originate from, work or live in various geographical areas (van Hest, 2012). Since they are active at a very international level, these protagonists, particularly those working at the top level of the field, have a singular importance in this research. Indeed, they are those who decide whether light will be shed on artists from a particular geographical zone or not. Thus, according to its high decision power, the top segment of the art world will be particularly emphasised in this thesis. I have also decided to seclude the art world into two categories on the model of Femke van Hest's doctoral dissertation framework, namely the institutional sphere on the one hand and the art market on the other hand. While the institutional category includes three types of events, I have chosen to focus on only two types of events to represent the art market. This gives a total of five events under study in this research. On the one hand, the institutional sphere gathers museums' permanent collection exhibitions, art centres' temporary exhibitions and biennales. On the other hand, gallery stables and art fairs represent the art market. All these five events will be used in order to assess the visibility of South-African art in the art world and the potential effect this can have on South-African artists' performances on the art market.

This research is quantitative in the sense that it carries out a content analysis of the performances of South-African artists in the five types of event previously mentioned, which taken as an ensemble constitute the most important and influential network of distribution for contemporary art. This method, which is largely inspired by Femke van Hest's research, and the choice of such specific events enable me to state the degree of internationalisation of the art world and how South Africa positions itself in it. Furthermore, I will be able to analyse how the orientation of the art world has changed over time.

To this end, it seems necessary to give a few precisions about the concepts that will be used in this research. First, it is essential to take into account the country of birth of artists as it gives accurate information on artists' geographical background and since it is the most available data. I will thus not make a difference between country of birth and nationality in order to state an artist's origin. Although some artists' country of birth and nationality may differ, this phenomenon affects a very tiny portion of the sample that should not affect the outcome of this research. Yet, as mentioned in the first part of this section, artists' international mobility is a factor that increases the globalisation of the art world. International mobility implies that artists now barely live in the country where they were born. It is thus relevant to pay as much attention to artists' country of residence as to their country of birth (van Hest, 2012). A comparison between these two parameters should enable us to reveal the position of South Africa in the international art world. There are five

central variables in this research: the artist's country of birth, his/her country of residence, the art event to which he/she participated, the year of participation, the evolution of the price at which his/her works were sold prior to being visible at the event and after he/she participated to the event.

3.3 An emphasis on the traditional epicentres of the Art World

Emphasising the top segment of the art field, this research takes into account the structures located in the leading cities of the art world, namely New York, Berlin, London, and Paris (Crane, 2009) since the USA and Germany are the most prominent countries in terms of visibility of artists, followed by the United Kingdom and France to a lesser degree (Quemin, 2002). These global metropolises gather single-handedly the top contemporary art centres and museums, as well as the leading galleries and auction houses, which attract artists as well as key protagonists of the art world and big artistic events (Moulin, 2003). While New York and London appear as the most influential cities in both the institutional sphere and the art market. Paris, on the other hand used to be the "one and only" capital of the art world until the Second World War, and although Paris lost this title it is still a relevant Western global capital provided with leading galleries and major contemporary art centres and museums. Eventually, Berlin works as a hub attracting artists who meet and exchange. The choice of these four cities is relevant in the sense that each of them gives a different perspective of the current state of the art world. Therefore, studying the presence of South-African artists in these capitals of the art world should be representative of their international visibility. In what follows, I present the selected event of both the institutional sphere and the art market that take place in these four global metropolises.

To study the presence of South-African artists in the first institution of the art establishment (museums) I have chosen to focus on the permanent collections of one main contemporary art museum in every city previously mentioned. Namely these museums are New York Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), London Tate Modern, the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin and the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris. These internationally renowned institutions should give a relevant insight about the geographical orientation of museums and the visibility of South-African artists therein. While in this selection of museums only the Hamburger Bahnhof is entirely devoted to contemporary art, the other three institutions gather modern and contemporary art. Thus, in order to take into account only contemporary art productions I have decided to select those produced from 1970 onwards. Moreover, although I have chosen to limit myself to these very few uncontested leading museums since only one was selected per city, I chose to enlarge my selection to two art centres per capital city in the following.

Art centres are other relevant institutions part of the establishment (van Hest, 2012). In this research I chose to emphasise two art centres per city and looked at the presence of South-African artists therein. All these eight art centres present different characteristics that will help me to present the diversity of the institutional sphere of the art world in another context than leading museums. The institutions I chose to represent the field in New York are the New Museum and the White Box. For London, the focus was put on the Whitechapel Gallery and the Institute of Contemporary Art. C/O Berlin and Kunst-Werke in Berlin were the institutions chosen to represent the city. And finally, for the case of Paris I have chosen

to study a public structure along with a private one. The institutions I chose are the Palais de Tokyo (public), and the Fondation Louis Vuitton (private) which launched in 2017 its exhibition “Art/Afrique, le Nouvel Atelier” uniting two different shows. The first was entitled “Les Initiés” (“The Insiders”) and was a selection of works (1989-2009) from the Jean Pigozzi collection of African contemporary art, while the second show had a particular interest regarding this research project since it was particularly focused on South-Africa, displaying the South-African contemporary art scene under the name “Être là” (“Being There”). The collection of data about the artists’ participation was done through exhibition catalogues and the art centres’ websites with regards to the artists’ personal websites.

Eventually, art galleries play an essential role too in the art field since they are the gatekeepers of the art market and decide which artist will be given access to the market or not (Moulin, 1997; Velthuis, 2013). Now, to give an insight about the art market structure of these four different cities and the way South-African artists perform there I have decided to study the representation of South-African artists in leading art galleries located in New York, London, Berlin and Paris. These observations were mainly done through the website *artfacts.net*, which provides extensive information about the artists and the galleries that represent them. I have thus looked at the galleries located in the capital cities of the art world in which works from the artists under study were present. Later on, I chose to refer to the list of galleries that participated to the major contemporary art fairs, namely Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair in order to select the most prominent ones. These leading galleries should have participated in a minimum of two editions of both art fairs from 2008 onwards. This was a warrantee that they remained galleries of high standing and still leaders in the field.

3.4 Beyond geographical rigours, towards a transnational art world

In comparison with the four events previously mentioned, biennales and art fairs are considered to be the most transnational (Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2002) and since both events have tended to become increasingly important in the art field, as stated in the first chapter of this section, they should receive a particular attention in this part.

Biennales, at their very beginning, used to be exhibitions displaying only the national artistic creation of the host country. An example of this model is the “Biennale di Venezia”, firstly held in 1895 it called itself “l’Esposizione Internazionale d’Arte della Città di Venezia” (International Exhibition of Art of the City of Venice). Today, biennales are mainly events inviting and exhibiting international artists. This mutation is considered as a prominent pattern of the internationalising art world (Velthuis and Baia Curioni, 2015). In this thesis, I selected six of the most internationally renowned biennales, which also exhibit the peculiarities of very diverse parts of the world. These six biennales are the “Biennale di Venezia” held in Italy, the “Documenta” held in Kassel, Germany, the Australia-based “Biennale of Sydney”, the “Istanbul Biennale” taking place in Turkey, the “Shanghai Biennale” held in China and the “Bienal de São Paulo” in Brazil. This selection gives us a broad overview of the current state of the art world since it includes biennales held in both developed and developing countries (Quemin, 2006). Raymonde Moulin and Alain Quemin seem to agree on that the Biennale di Venezia and the Documenta are currently the two leading and most internationally renowned art events (Moulin, 2003; Quemin, 2002). Each of the four other biennales are based in the so-called “peripheral zone” and some exhibit particular interests such the Bienal de São Paulo, which was the first biennale ever held in

the periphery in 1951, and Asia's most prominent art event known as the Shanghai Biennale.

Art fairs, on the other hand embody the globalisation of the art market (Quemin, 2013) in which I aim to assess the participation and performance of South-African artists. I chose to analyse the presence of South-African artists at art fairs by looking at the selected artists' list of attended art fairs on artifacts.net. This gave me an element of comparison between their visibility at biennales, embodying the institutional sphere, and their presence at art fairs, which epitomises the art market. Later, an emphasis on the internationally leading art fair known as Art Basel, being the most important in the world (Fournier & Roy-Valex, 2002) and moreover the most rigorous in terms of selecting the participating galleries (Quemin, 2010) gave me an opportunity to see if South-African artists made it to the "big stage". On top of this internationally leading art fair, a second art fair that is not as prominent as Art Basel seems relevant in order to identify whether or not the reputation of art fairs has an effect on the performances of South-African artists on the market. To this end, France-based Paris Art Fair, although it has a lesser importance at the international level, it has a singular importance within the scope of this thesis since it organised in 2017 a special event honouring African contemporary art under the name "Africa Guest of Honour". We will see how South-African contemporary art was represented therein as well, which should also give us an idea of the importance of the country at a continental level since its art was exhibited along with that of other African countries.

3.5 An "arbitrary" choice of artists under study

In this research, it was necessary to narrow down the sample of artists under study in order to only tackle artists with enough specific information available. That is why I deliberately chose to focus on fewer artists but whom I was assured they would display sufficient specific characteristics and data. I arbitrarily put them into two categories, since they belong to two different eras although all of them are still alive and producing today. The first category is the one that represents the contemporary art of the Apartheid epoch, since the artists who are included in this section have all been creating in the 1980s while the Apartheid regime was still in full swing (Williamson, 1989). The vast majority of these artists are now internationally renowned, participate in the leading international art events and perform outstandingly on the market (Smith, 2018). Most of the available data I could find were about the artists of this category that is why this research mostly refers to them as the "top-ten most successful/popular South African artists". The second category, on the other hand, only encompasses artists who were "born free" and who started to create after the Apartheid regime was abolished. Therefore, although available data were not as extensive as provided by the first category, it seemed to be a category of interest in order to test the correlation between international visibility and commercial success. Indeed, the artists of the second category represent the new generation and the future of South-African contemporary art. However, all of them have not won yet the international recognition and do not have the same commercial success that their peers from the first section. In that sense, it might be useful to compare the impact of international visibility on the commercial performances of artists amongst these two categories. This comparison should enable me to provide more insights about the past, present and future state of the South-African contemporary art scene.

I have chosen ten artists to represent each category, trying my best to apply gender

parity, eleven of the selected artists are men and nine are women. In the first category, we find famous names such as William Kentridge, ranked 24th on artifacts' international ranking of artists, Marlene Dumas, ranked 115th, Robin Rhode, Penny Siopis, David Goldblatt, Kendell Geers, Sue Williamson, Zanele Muholi, Candice Breitz but also the famous performance and lens-based artist Tracey Rose, ranked tenth South-African artist by artifacts.net. In the second category, the one including artists who have mainly started to create after the end of the Apartheid, we find Pieter Hugo ranked eighth in South-Africa by artifacts.net along with the conceptual artist Hentie van der Merwe, the trained sculptor turned photographer Mohau Modisakeng who won the 2016 prestigious Standard Bank Young Artist award, Kirsten Sims presenting works characterised by a whimsical mix of colours and textures done on a large scale, Kemang Wa Lehulere, Blessing Ngobeni and his complex work just as complex as his own life, Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi who portrays the hero of South Africa, the feminist artist Buhlebezwe Siwani, Athi-Patra Ruga whose use of many different media along with his petit point tapestries have conquered the heart of many art-lovers, and eventually Simphiwe Ndzube whose life experience in a post-Apartheid society serves as inspiration for his striking and unmistakable pieces, he was awarded the Michaelis Prize in 2015.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE ARTISTS UNDER STUDY IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT	
The Artists of the Apartheid	The Artists of the Post-Apartheid
William Kentridge (m), born in 1955 in Johannesburg (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked first South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Pieter Hugo (m), born in 1976 in Johannesburg (ZA), lives and works in Cape Town (ZA), ranked eighth South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Marlene Dumas (f), born in 1953 in Cape Town (ZA), lives and works in Amsterdam (NL), ranked second South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Mohau Modisakeng (m), born in 1986 in Soweto, Johannesburg (ZA), lives and works in Cape Town (ZA), ranked amongst the top 100 South-African artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Robin Rhode (m), born in 1976 in Cape Town (ZA), lives and works in Berlin (DE), ranked third South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Athi-Patra Ruga (m), born in 1984 in Umtata (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked amongst the top 100 South-African artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Candice Breitz (f), born in 1972 in Johannesburg (ZA), lives and works in Berlin (DE), ranked fourth South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Kemang Wa Lehulere (m), born in 1984 in Johannesburg (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked amongst the top 100 South-African artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Kendell Geers (m), born in 1968 in Johannesburg (ZA), lives and works in Brussels (BE), ranked fifth South-African	Blessing Ngobeni (m), born in 1985 in Tzaneen (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked amongst the top 1000 South-African artists by artifacts.net

THE EMERGENCE OF SOUTH-AFRICAN CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS IN THE ART WORLD

artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	(March 2018)
David Goldblatt (m), born in 1930 in Randfontein (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked sixth South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Simphiwe Ndzube (m), born in 1990 in Cape Town (ZA), lives and works in Los Angeles, CA (US) and Cape Town (ZA), ranked amongst the top 1000 South-African artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Zanele Muholi (f), born in 1972 in Umlazi (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked seventh South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Buhlebezwe Siwani (f), born in 1987 in Johannesburg (ZA), lives and works in Cape Town (ZA), ranked amongst the top 100000 global artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Tracey Rose (f), born in 1974 in Durban (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked tenth South-African artist by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi (f), born in 1980 in New York (US), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked amongst the top 100000 global artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Penny Siopis (f), born in 1953 in Vryburg (ZA), lives and works in Johannesburg (ZA), ranked amongst the top 100 South-African artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Hentie van der Merwe (m), born in 1972 in Windhoek (NA), lives and works in Darling, Western Cape (ZA), ranked amongst the top 1000 South-African artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)
Sue Williamson (f), born in 1941 in Lichfield (UK), lives and works in Cape Town (ZA), ranked amongst the top 100 South-African artists by artifacts.net (March 2018)	Kirsten Sims (f), born in 1987 in Mossel Bay (ZA), lives and works in Cape Town (ZA), is not acknowledged yet by artifacts.net but regarding the recent infatuation for her work this should not last.

4. THE VISIBILITY OF SOUTH-AFRICAN CONTEMPORARY ART IN INTERNATIONAL ART EVENTS

The international presence of South-African artists in the art world will be analysed in different types of artistic event. First we will tackle their visibility in the context of museums' permanent collections exhibitions in concert with art centres' temporary exhibitions. Then we will look at South-African artists invited at international biennials before directing our interest to their presence on the art market while represented by international galleries, displayed at international art fairs and eventually sold by looking at their economic turnover on the period 2000-2018. Following this sort of general picture of South-African international presence, we will analyse the particular international orientation of the institutional sphere of the art world before tackling the same phenomenon in the art market. We will try to assess the parameters relevant to the presence of South-African artists in these different events taking place in various locations, whether South-African artists are more visible at certain events in comparison with others and try to figure out why it is so.

4.1 South-African contemporary art in museums' permanent collections and art centres' temporary exhibitions.

Being exhibited within the permanent collection of an internationally renowned museum is still synonymous with a great achievement in terms of artistic recognition, although the commercial success of an artist on the art market has also become a reliable indicator of an artist's achievement in the art world (Crane, 2009; Heinich, 2009; Moulin, 1997, 2003). Four internationally leading museums located in the four main capitals of the art world will be used in this section as part of my analysis. These are the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, the Tate Modern in London, the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin and the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris. While most of these museums contain both modern and contemporary art, the twenty South-African contemporary artists I have chosen to focus on are classified amongst "contemporary art".

The study of the visibility of South-African contemporary artists in these four museums revealed that amongst a total of 256 featured artists, only nine were by South-African amongst whom we found the famous names of Kentridge, Dumas and Goldblatt, equating to 3,5% of the total. Each of the studied institutions displayed at least one South-African artist but the MoMA was the one that exhibited the most with a total of six.

Table 4.1.1 South-African art in exhibitions of international contemporary art museums' permanent collections 1990-2018

MUSEUMS	Total Representation	South-African Representation
MoMA (NYC)	101	6
Tate Modern (LONDON)	46	2
Hamburger Bahnhof (BERLIN)	20	1
Centre Georges Pompidou (PARIS)	89	1
TOTAL	256	9

Data extracted from the museums' websites and exhibitions catalogues from 1990 to 2018

After assessing the visibility of South-African artists in leading museums, it is now time to emphasise their presence at temporary exhibitions of prominent art centres. Indeed, art centres are other relevant institutions part of the art world establishment. In this research I chose two art centres located in the same cities as the museums previously studied. All these eight art centres present different characteristics that prove the diversity of the institutional sphere of the art world. The institutions I chose to represent the field in New York are the New Museum and the White Box. For London, the focus was put on the Whitechapel Gallery and the Institute of Contemporary Art. C/O Berlin and Kunst-Werke were the institutions chosen to represent the city of Berlin. And finally, for the case of Paris I have chosen to study a public structure along with a private one. The institutions I chose are the Palais de Tokyo (public) and the Fondation Louis Vuitton (private). The analysis of South-African artists exhibited in such art centres revealed that amongst 950 shows, only twenty displayed South-African artists which equates to 2,1% of the total. Although this figure might seem pretty low, we should bear in mind that South-African contemporary art is still considered to be at its emerging phase, thus it leaves room for improvement. Moreover comparing these data on an international basis, it seems that European art centres did better at representing South-African contemporary art in comparison with their American neighbour. This also gives us an insight about the selection criteria of countries exhibited in art centres' temporary shows. Indeed, it seems that South Africa may have historically more bonds with European countries than the United States which implies that South-African artists may have more visibility in Europe than in the US.

Table 4.1.2 South-African artists in exhibitions of international contemporary art centres' temporary exhibitions 1990-2018

ART CENTRES	Total Temporary shows	Shows including South-African artists
New Museum (NYC)	181	2
White Box (NYC)	85	1
Whitechapel Gallery (LONDON)	122	3
Institute of Contemporary Art (LONDON)	151	2
C/O Berlin (BERLIN)	48	2
Kunst-Werke (BERLIN)	228	5
Palais de Tokyo (PARIS)	124	4
Fondation Louis Vuitton (PARIS)	11	1
TOTAL	950	20

Data extracted from the art centres' websites and exhibitions catalogues from 1990 to 2018

4.2 South-African contemporary Artists invited at international Biennales

As previously emphasised, the number of international has been soaring over the past three decades. Raymonde Moulin stated that this worldwide proliferation is symptomatic of the internationalisation of the contemporary art world (Moulin, 2003). Biennales differ from museums and art centres in the sense that they are ephemeral and

event-like while the latter are physically embedded and represent durability (van Hest, 2012). Biennales also play their cards right in the sense that they are not only located in the classical centres of the art world but proliferate in the peripheries as well while the leading museums and art centres are usually clustered in the capitals of the art world (Velthuis and Baia Curioni, 2015).

In the following table I present the number of participation to international biennales by the top-ten South-African artists.

Table 4.2.1 Top-ten South-African artists invited at international contemporary art biennales, 1990-2018

Top-ten South-African artists ranked from top 1 to 10	Number of participation to international biennales	Top-ten South-African artists ranked from the highest biennale participation rate to the lowest
W. Kentridge	45	Kentridge
M. Dumas	17	Geers
R. Rhodes	16	Breitz
C. Breitz	18	Dumas
K. Geers	19	Rhodes
D. Goldblatt	7	Rose
Z. Muholi	6	Goldblatt
P. Hugo	7	Hugo
G. Tillim	5	Muholi
T. Rose	15	Tillim
TOTAL	155	

Data extracted from artifacts.net from 1980 to 2018

Table 4.2.2 Selection of ten emerging South-African artists invited at international contemporary art biennales, 2000-2018

The ten emerging South-African artists	Number of participation to international biennales	Artists ranked from the highest biennale participation rate to the lowest
P. Hugo	7	K. Wa Lehlere
M. Modisakeng	5	P. Hugo
A.-P. Ruga	3	M. Modisakeng
K. Wa Lehlere	9	A.-P. Ruga
B. Ngobeni	0	B. Siwani
S. Ndzube	0	H. van der Merwe
B. Siwani	1	B. Ngobeni
T. N. Nkosi	0	S. Ndzube
H. van der Merwe	1	T. N. Nkosi
K. Sims	0	K. Sims
TOTAL	26	

Data extracted from artifacts.net from 2000 to 2018

According to these figure, we can state that the visibility of South-African artists does not only rely on their popularity rate since the third column of the two tables let us identify changes in the ranking of artists based on their participation rate. Indeed, although William Kentridge remains the inveterate leader of both rankings in the table of the top-ten South-

African artists with a participation rate equal to 45, an artist like Tracey Rose goes from the tenth spot to the sixth one with a number of participation to international biennales equal to 15. As a matter of comparison, Rose's participation rate almost equals that of Marlene Dumas, 17, who is ranked as the second most successful South-African artist but only fourth on the ranking based on biennale participation rate. Another important information is available in the second table that displays the emerging scene of South-African contemporary art. Indeed, we can see a serious difference between the visibility of young South-African contemporary artists and that of artists who have been long established on the international scene since all together the emerging artists only total 26 participations to international biennales that is almost six times less than the top-ten South-African artists who total 155 participations. As I have previously stated, the visibility of South-African artists in contemporary art centres located in the capitals of the art world deeply relies on the willingness of curators to be immersed in the South-African art scene and to open their door to its artists, so does it work in biennials too. For instance in 2000, the curatorial team of Documenta 11 was directed by the Nigerian art curator Okwui Enwezor, which was a serious step towards more inclusion of African contemporary art within the art world and which confirms the hypothesis number six stated in the third section of this research. Based on invitations sent to international artists, the current biennial exhibition model highly represents the globalisation of the art world. However, we can see that the geographical factor still plays a significant role in the accession of artists to such events since all international artists are not equally represented at biennales yet (Quemin, 2002). Although the top-ten South-African artists' biennale participation rate is not totally homogeneous, it still gives an insight on the good visibility of leading South-African artists in international biennales since all of them were displayed at five biennales at least.

Today, participating to a biennale has become absolutely essential in the development of a global artistic career, just as it is relevant to be represented by an internationally renowned and well-interconnected gallery or to exhibited by a leading art institution (van Hest, 2012). Each biennial is an international art event, international in the sense that it invites international artists to display their work, hire international curators to curate the shows and welcomes international speakers as well as an international public. The international dimension of such events must not be neglected that is why it seems reductive to take a country such as South Africa out of the international scope of biennales. Thus, while focusing in particular on the presence of South Africa, it seems important to compare its position with that of other participating countries since this gives substance to the international dimension of biennales. In the following table, which includes a total of 3,909 artists representations at the 42 editions of the six previously chosen biennials held between 1992 and 2008, I present the ranking of the first 25 countries in terms of artists' representations at international biennales. South Africa occupies the 22nd spot in this ranking, which confirms the international visibility of the country.

Table 4.2.3 Represented countries at international contemporary art biennials, 1992-2008

COUNTRY	Total Representation of artists	Representation of artists born in the country	Representation of artists living in the country
USA	758	421	337
Germany	473	270	203
UK	289	192	97
France	266	137	129
China	226	224	2
Italy	208	185	23
Australia	162	130	32
Brazil	141	127	14
Japan	128	120	8
Netherlands	120	51	69
Turkey	119	115	4
Belgium	109	74	35
South Korea	101	100	1
Switzerland	100	84	16
Canada	95	76	19
Austria	82	68	14
Spain	78	61	17
Mexico	63	45	18
Israel	63	54	9
Russia	63	54	9
Sweden	60	51	9
South Africa	59	56	3
Argentina	55	51	4
Denmark	47	45	2
Cuba	44	44	-
TOTAL	3,909	2,835	1,074

Data extracted from Femke van Hest's PhD dissertation (2012)

While the world counts 192 states, two thirds of them were represented at the selected biennales editions, which confirms the diversity of such events even though the remaining third of absent countries suggests that biennales are not entirely global yet. This latter assertion is particularly accurate when we pay attention to the very few countries that have together produced 50% of the whole artists representations. Indeed, in this example the top-five countries already account for more than the half of the artists' representations at biennales. This means that the other half of the representations at biennials was divided between the remaining 20 different countries of this ranking. From this evidence we can argue that although biennales try to defend diversity and their openness towards peripheral zones, such events are still dominated by a relatively small group of countries, namely the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, in other words these are the four countries that I chose to represent while I decided to focus on the four cities of New York, London, Berlin and Paris to select specific art institutions. Considering that amongst these four countries only Germany organises a prominent biennale, Documenta, hosting such an event does not seem to be as significant here than what was hypothesised at the beginning of this research. On the other hand this spectacularly high concentration confirms that this

powerful quartet includes the most central countries, which substantiates the hypothesis number one.

4.3 South-African contemporary art in the stables of international galleries

Being the leading capitals of the Art World, the megalopolises of New York, London, Berlin and Paris do not merely host the most important museums and art centres, but are also the cradle of the leading art galleries (Crane, 2009; While, 2003), hence my will to assess the representation of South-African artists therein. Based on their presence at Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair, some galleries are more prominent than others. In this part I have chosen to present the galleries in which the top ten South-African artists are represented in order to assess whether or not South-African contemporary art is well represented in the art world's four main capitals. Most of these galleries have largely participated to the two art fairs previously mentioned and enable its artists to enjoy an increased visibility in the art world.

Table 4.3.1 The top-ten South-African artists represented by galleries located in the US, the UK, Germany and France 2018

Artists	US-based Galleries	UK-based Galleries	Germany-based Galleries	France-based Galleries	Galleries based elsewhere	TOTAL
W. Kentridge	7	2	1	1	11	22
M. Dumas	5	2	3	1	9	20
R. Rhode	3	1	0	0	3	7
C. Breitz	1	1	0	0	4	6
K. Geers	1	1	0	2	9	13
D. Goldblatt	1	0	0	1	4	6
Z. Muholi	0	0	0	0	4	4
P. Hugo	3	0	0	0	4	7
G. Tillim	0	0	1	0	3	4
T. Rose	1	0	1	0	2	4
TOTAL	22	7	6	5	53	93

Data extracted from artifacts.net 2018

Table 4.3.2 Selection of ten emerging South-African artists represented by galleries located in the US, the UK, Germany and France 2018

Artists	US-based Galleries	UK-based Galleries	Germany-based Galleries	France-based Galleries	Galleries based elsewhere	TOTAL
P. Hugo	3	0	0	0	4	7
M. Modisakeng	0	1	0	0	1	2
A.-P. Ruga	0	1	0	0	2	3
K. Wa Lehlere	0	0	0	0	2	2
B. Ngobeni	0	0	0	0	3	3
S. Ndzube	0	0	0	0	0	0
B. Siwani	0	0	0	0	0	0
T. N. Nkosi	0	0	0	0	1	1
H. van der Merwe	0	0	0	0	1	1

K. Sims	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	4	1	0	0	15	20

Data extracted from artifacts.net 2018

According to available data from artifacts.net, we understand that out of 186 galleries representing the top-ten South-African artists, the minority are based in Europe while most of them are based in the US with a total of 22 galleries representing the top-ten South-African artists against 7 in the UK, 6 in Germany and 5 in France. The US figure is particularly striking in the sense that it accounts for more than the UK, Germany and France reunited. Exactly the same outcome emerges from the second table that displays the new South-African talents. Indeed, although the figures are way lower than in the previous table, we can see that the US still leads the ranking with four galleries representing emerging South-African artists while the UK only has one gallery representing one of them and 15 galleries located elsewhere, most of them in South Africa though, represent these emerging artists. This implies that emerging artists seem to have a resisting bond with their motherland. Indeed, they are mostly represented by galleries located in South Africa while the top-ten South-African artists are more present on the international scene via international galleries located in the capital cities of the art world. This gives a relevant insight about the current state of the Art World, which is seemingly still dominated by far by the US (Quemin, 2002). Although it was not included in this table, each of these ten artists are represented by at least one South-African gallery, which confirms the idea according to which South-African contemporary art goes abroad but keeps being enrooted to its motherland.

The relationship that a gallery establishes with its artists may be very powerful. In the case of South-African artists who are part of the diaspora, being represented by a gallery based in their motherland may be an opportunity to keep a bond with their origins in addition to benefitting from the gallery's connections. Galleries' extensive networks may be particularly useful to young artists while they start their career (Abbing, 2002; Martin, 2007) as well as for already established artists who look for new opportunities. Indeed, galleries provide artists with chances to increase their visibility through their connections. Galleries work as mediators between the offer and the demand, between artists and their collectors. Galleries enable artists to mainly focus on their creative process without being bothered by business or administrative activities (Karttunen, 2008) since these structures directly provide artists with connections to the other contemporary art world actors such as curators and critics interested in their work. The previews that usually launch any exhibition gather the art microcosm and intend to attract the key actors of the art world by creating a buzz around the event, which will later attract other visitors and generate a global interest around an artist. This step is preponderant while a gallery tries to raise attention on an artist, and hence participates in the development of his/her career, insuring him/her a continual visibility through different exhibitions.

4.4 South-African contemporary art displayed at contemporary art fairs

I have previously analysed the representation of South African artists by international galleries. Here, I aim to take the logical consequence of galleries and examine the presence of South African contemporary art at art fairs since artists depend on galleries to be visible at art fairs (Quemin, 2013). Along with biennials, these events are considered to be driving the internationalisation of the art world (Moulin, 2003). Yet, in the process of accession to art fairs the difference with biennales is that artists do not only depend on the goodwill of the

curators but also depend on the galleries that represent them since an artist cannot be displayed at an art fair without being represented by an art gallery (Quemin, 2013). In that sense, international contemporary art fairs make galleries and artists highly dependent on each other. Indeed, while the selection of artists to be potentially presented at art fairs only depends on the goodwill of galleries, the quality judgement of the latter, on which they are evaluated while applying for a booth at an art fair, relies on all the choices of artists and artworks they have made in the past. In this context, internationality of a gallery is an important factor to success (van Hest, 2012).

There are different ways that confirm whether or not a gallery is indeed international. We can first look at a gallery stable and check if it includes artists from different parts of the world then it can be granted the label “international”. A second alternative is to look at the gallery’s clientele and if this one is international the gallery will consequently be so as well. Another evident option for galleries to assert their internationality is to settle different branches across the world. Yet, as soon as a gallery has taken part to a renowned art fair, its global presence is launched. As Raymonde Moulin asserted, international contemporary art fairs have become over the past half-century an unavoidable platform for both galleries and artists on a quest to international recognition (Moulin, 2003). In order to shed light on the participation of South-African contemporary artists to art fairs, I have decided to draw a table including the top-ten South-African artists and their representation at international art fairs. In this table we notice that, apart from the exception Guy Tillim who was only visible to one edition of Art Basel in 2017, the remaining nine most successful South-African artists have participated to at least ten editions of international art fairs. We also notice that some artists’ ranking drops when it is evaluated in terms of visibility at art fairs. William Kentridge and Marlene Dumas remain the most represented South-African artists at international art fairs, which assert their commercial success on the art market that mirrors their great visibility within the institutional sphere.

Table 4.4.1 The top-ten South-African artists represented by galleries at international art fairs 1990-2018

Artists	Number of representations at international art fairs	New ranking according to participation to art fairs
W. Kentridge	39	W. Kentridge
M. Dumas	35	M. Dumas
R. Rhodes	14	K. Geers
C. Breitz	17	Z. Muholi
K. Geers	31	C. Breitz
D. Goldblatt	13	P. Hugo
Z. Muholi	18	R. Rhodes
P. Hugo	15	D. Goldblatt
G. Tillim	1	T. Rose
T. Rose	10	G. Tillim
TOTAL	193	

Data extracted from artifacts.net 2018

The following table gathers the ten emerging South-African artists who have started working after the Apartheid and who promise a great future to the South-African contemporary art scene. It is relevant to assess their presence at international art fairs in

order to describe their commercial success on the art market. It will be interesting to compare their visibility rate at art fairs with that of the top-ten South-African contemporary artists in order to draw conclusions about potential similarities and differences.

Table 4.4.2 Selection of ten emerging South-African artists represented by galleries at international art fairs 2000-2018

Artists	Number of representations at international art fairs	New ranking according to participation to art fairs
P. Hugo	15	P. Hugo
M. Modisakeng	11	M. Modisakeng
A.-P. Ruga	3	A.-P. Ruga
K. Wa Lehulere	3	K. Wa Lehulere
B. Ngobeni	3	B. Ngobeni
S. Ndzube	3	S. Ndzube
B. Siwani	2	B. Siwani
T. N. Nkosi	0	K. Sims
H. van der Merwe	0	T. N. Nkosi
K. Sims	1	H. van der Merwe
TOTAL	41	

Data extracted from artifacts.net 2018

A first similarity between the two groups of artists is that they are both more visible at art fairs than at biennales. Indeed, the top-ten South-African artists total 155 participations to biennales against 193 participations to art fairs on the period 1990-2018, on the other hand, emerging South-African artists total 26 participations to biennales against 41 participations to international art fairs on the period 2000-2018. A reason for this gap is that although biennales seem to be more proliferating and numerous, they are only happening every two years while art fairs usually happen every year. A difference between the two categories of artists is that while the ranking of the top-ten South-African contemporary artists noticeably changed after ordering them according to their rate of participation to art fairs, this did not happen with the rankings of emerging South-African talents. Indeed the top emerging South-African artists remained at the top of the ranking followed by less successful artists in the exact same order. A conclusion that we can draw from this is that while the visibility of artists at international art fairs does not play a major role in the commercial success of already established South-African artists such as the top-ten ones, it does have an importance when it comes to emerging artists who are still at the beginning of their career since their international visibility affects their commercial success.

Today, it seems as essential for galleries as it is for contemporary artists aiming to the international sphere, to participate in art fairs (Quemin, 2002). However, such events also exhibit downsides such as the restricted space available in a booth that will never equate that of a gallery space. This is particularly alarming when it comes to art installations for which most art fairs provide very little or no room at all. This is particularly symptomatic of the market-oriented nature of art fairs, since “what must be seen, must be sold”, and installations hardly fill in such requirements. Moreover, we have not mentioned the high price of participation to an art fair, which pressures both the artists to produce sellable works and the galleries to organise their participation and sale.

Although art fairs may comport risks and drawbacks, they are the sesame to achieve international recognition on the market. Indeed, these events gather together the protagonists of the contemporary art world and, due to its ephemerality since it only lasts for a couple of days, these events are surrounded by a serious craze (van Hest, 2012). This excitement towards art fairs provides the galleries and their artists with an intense exposure that last for a brief period. Similarly to biennales, an artist who develops his/her career has to be displayed in international contemporary art fairs. To this end, a gallery that has access to such manifestations must represent this artist in order to boost his/her international visibility and enable him/her to perform better on the art market.

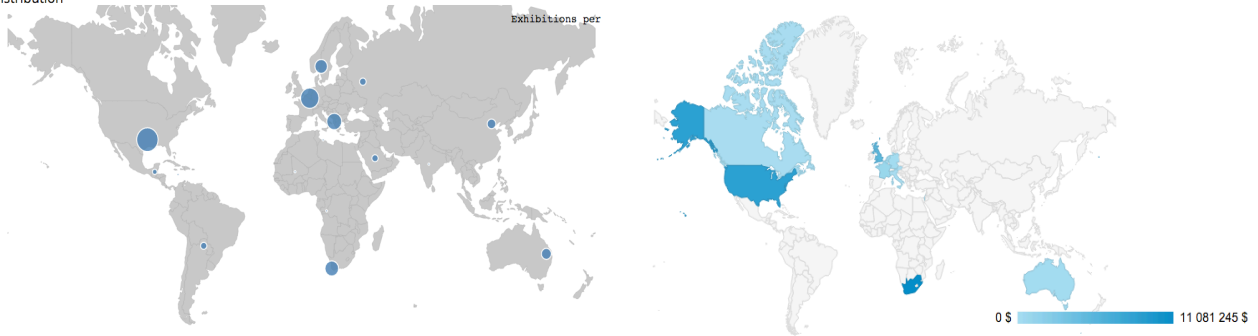
4.5 South-African contemporary art, an evolution of sale performances amongst its top-ten artists following and influencing the trends of the institutional sphere

Until now, we have extensively dealt with the notion of visibility and applied it to the South-African contemporary art scene. Yet, this thesis also reflects on the impact of international visibility on the artist's economic performance on the global art market. It is widely accepted that an increase in visibility boosts the popularity of an artist and hence makes him/her perform better on the art market (van Hest, 2012). This assertion is applicable to the plastic visual arts but not to the particular category of performance or body art since even the mode of pricing they follow is difficult to state. Indeed, a performance is a live while sculptures and paintings are tangible and easier to monetise. To elaborate on this, I will now present the evolution of the sales of some of the ten most successful South-African contemporary artists with a regard to their international visibility along with some of the emerging talents of South Africa. I will elaborate on four artists selected in the first category and one emerging artist from the second category based on available data extracted from artifacts.net and artprice.com. The fact that artprice.com does not provide as many data for emerging South-African contemporary artists as it does for the top-ten highly successful South-African artists is the reason why it was not possible to include as many emerging talents as already established South-African contemporary artists in this last subsection.

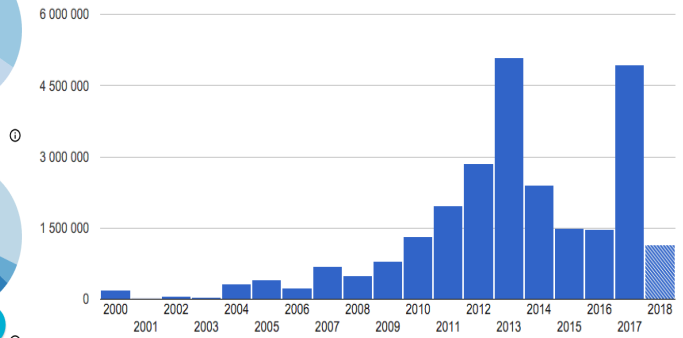
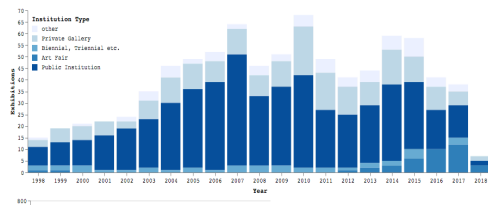
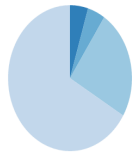
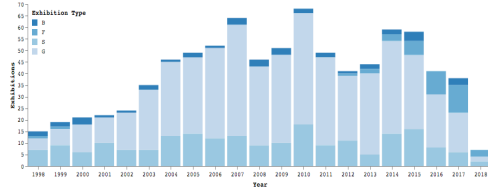
As a leader of the first category that only includes the top-ten of most successful South-African contemporary artists according to artifacts.net, William Kentridge could be an interesting first artist to study. When we look at the regional distribution of his exhibitions we notice that his works are sold in the exact same areas. Moreover, when we compare the evolution of his visibility through exhibitions with his turnover on the period 2000-2018, we notice that the trends are curiously very similar, both in shape of bell curves they both exhibit a phase of growth on the period 2000-2010 and then reach a peak after which we assist to a decrease in both visibility and turnover. This happens on approximately the same periods although the trend seems to start with the decrease of visibility of the artist then followed by a decrease in turnover. This example illustrates indeed the link that can exist between the international visibility of an artists and its commercial success on the art market.

(1) William Kentridge's visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*

Regional Distribution

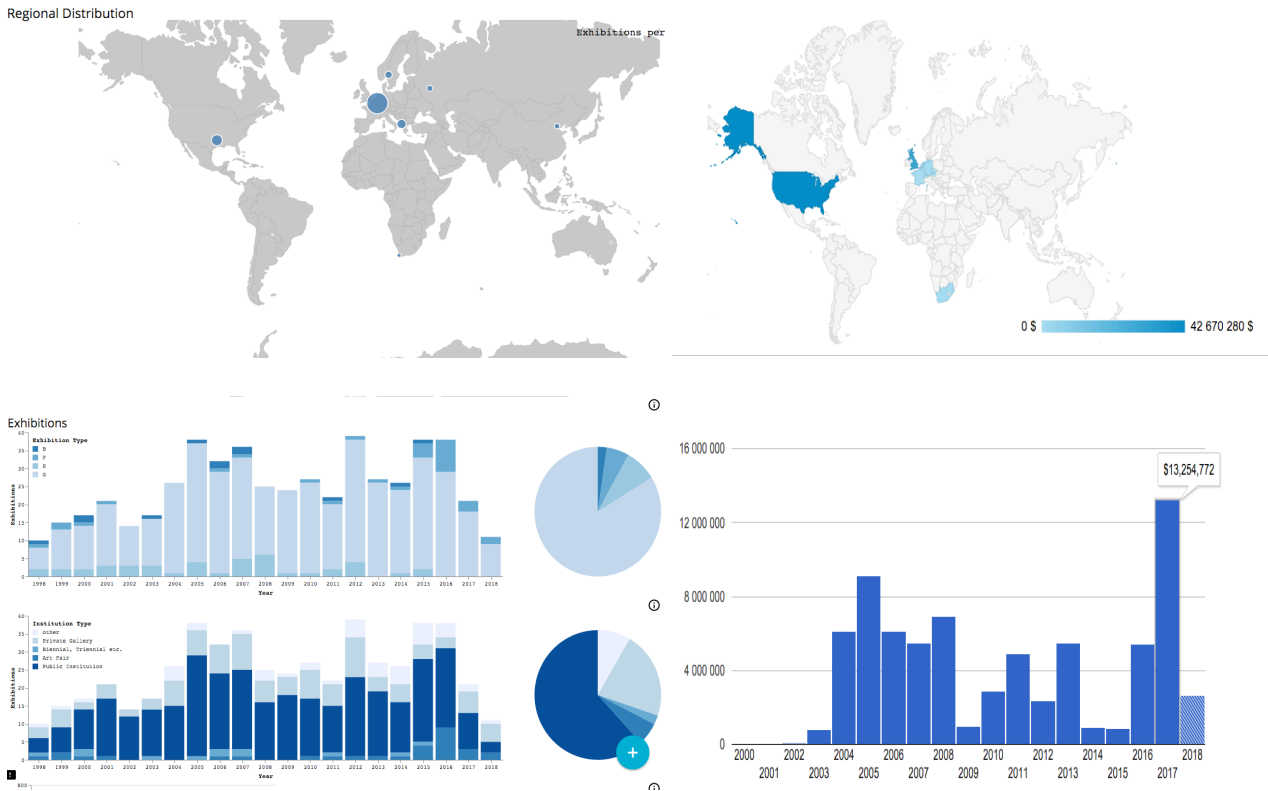


Exhibitions



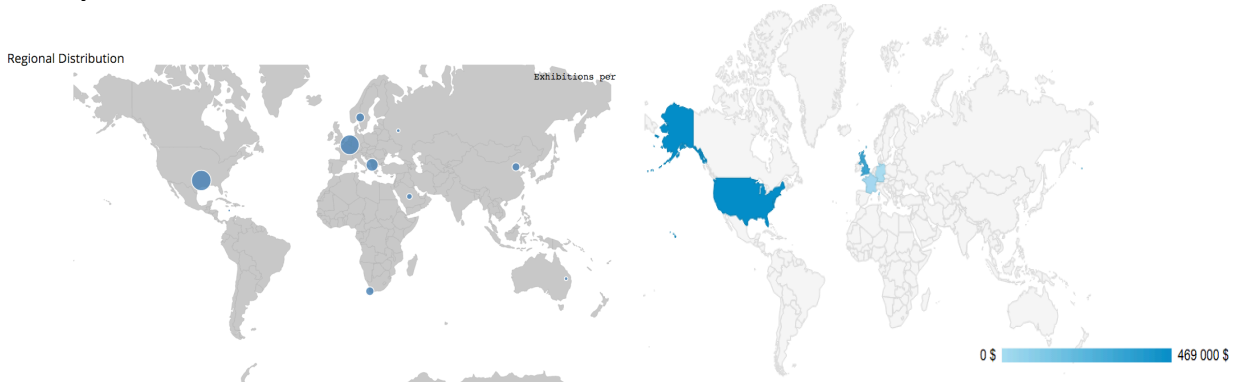
The portraitist Marlene Dumas, who is second on the top-ten ranking of the most successful South-African artists also exhibits similar features between her visibility and economic turnover. Indeed, the geographical areas where she is mostly exhibited are also those where her artworks are sold although she seems to exhibit more in Europe while her sales are more profitable in the United States. Yet, Dumas's situation is slightly different since she has been living in Amsterdam (NL) for the past decades and is sometimes assimilated to the Dutch art scene in stead of the South-African one (van Hest, 2012). While the bar chart of her exhibitions displays similarities with that of her economic performances on the market, here as well it is slightly postponed since it seems that the trend firstly appears on the visibility of the artist and affects slightly later her turnover. Anyhow this example also confirms an eventual causality between an artist's participation to art events and his/her performance on the market.

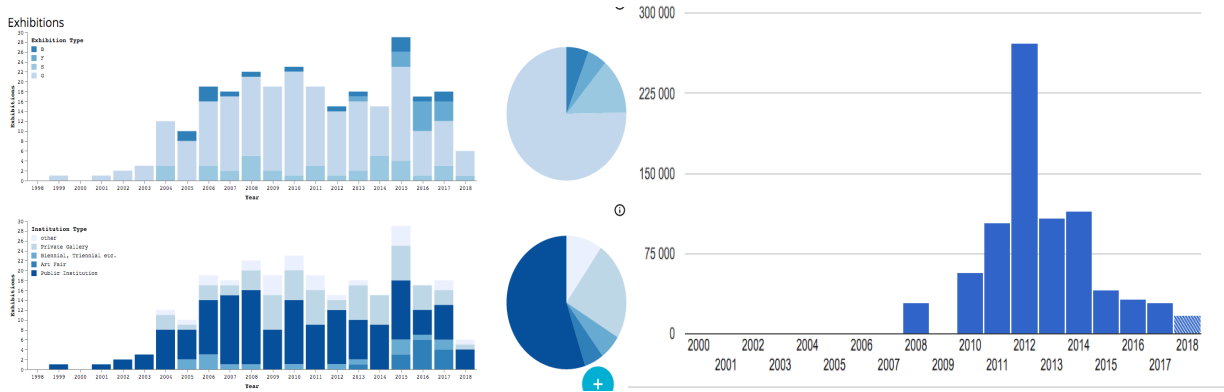
(2) Marlene Dumas’s visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*



Robin Rhode exhibits very similar features to his peers since his artworks are mainly sold where he is displayed. However, contrarily to Kentridge and Dumas he does not seem to be very active on the South-African art market. Looking at the causality between his visibility and his economic turnover, it seems that for the first time the situation is reversed and that the economic performance on the market may influence the visibility of the artist. For instance the peak he reached in 2012 on the art market with an annual turnover equating to \$271,497 was followed in 2015 by a soar in visibility with a total almost equating 30 exhibitions this year. Thanks to this example, we understand that the influence between the art market and the institutional sphere is not only one-sided but works in a reciprocal way. Hence, what happens on the art market may be influenced by the upheavals of the institutional sphere, which in turn may follow the trends dictated by the art market.

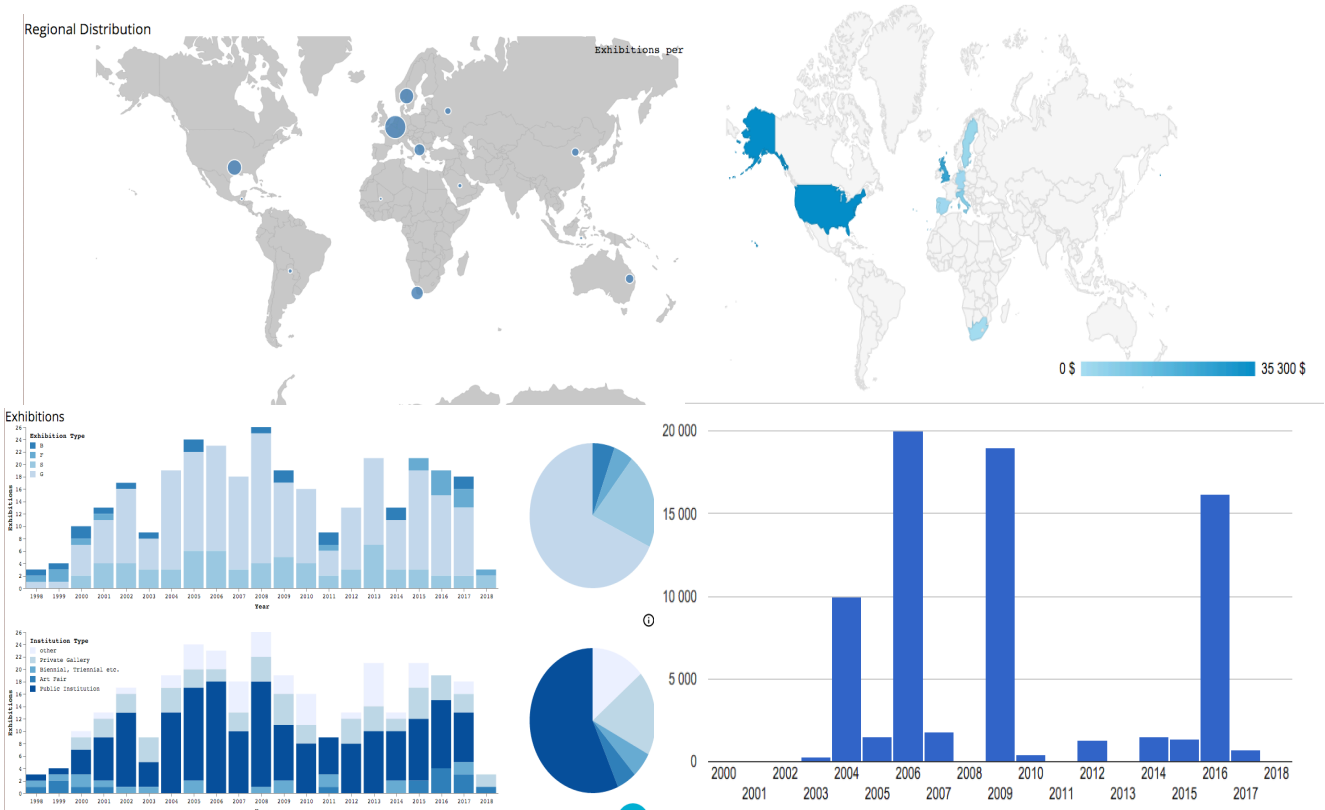
(3) Robin Rhode’s visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*





Although the first three artists taken as examples were in line the idea of an evident link between the institutional sphere and the art market, it seems that the fourth artist Candice Breitz prevent us from generalising this phenomenon to the top-ten successful South-African contemporary artists. Indeed, although her works are sold in the same locations as those where they are exhibited, it seems that the trend of her visibility on the institutional field does not mirror her performance on the art market. Indeed her exhibitions are following a very homogeneous trend while her economic turnover looks heterogeneous, uneven, sinusoidal.

(4) Candice Breitz’s visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*



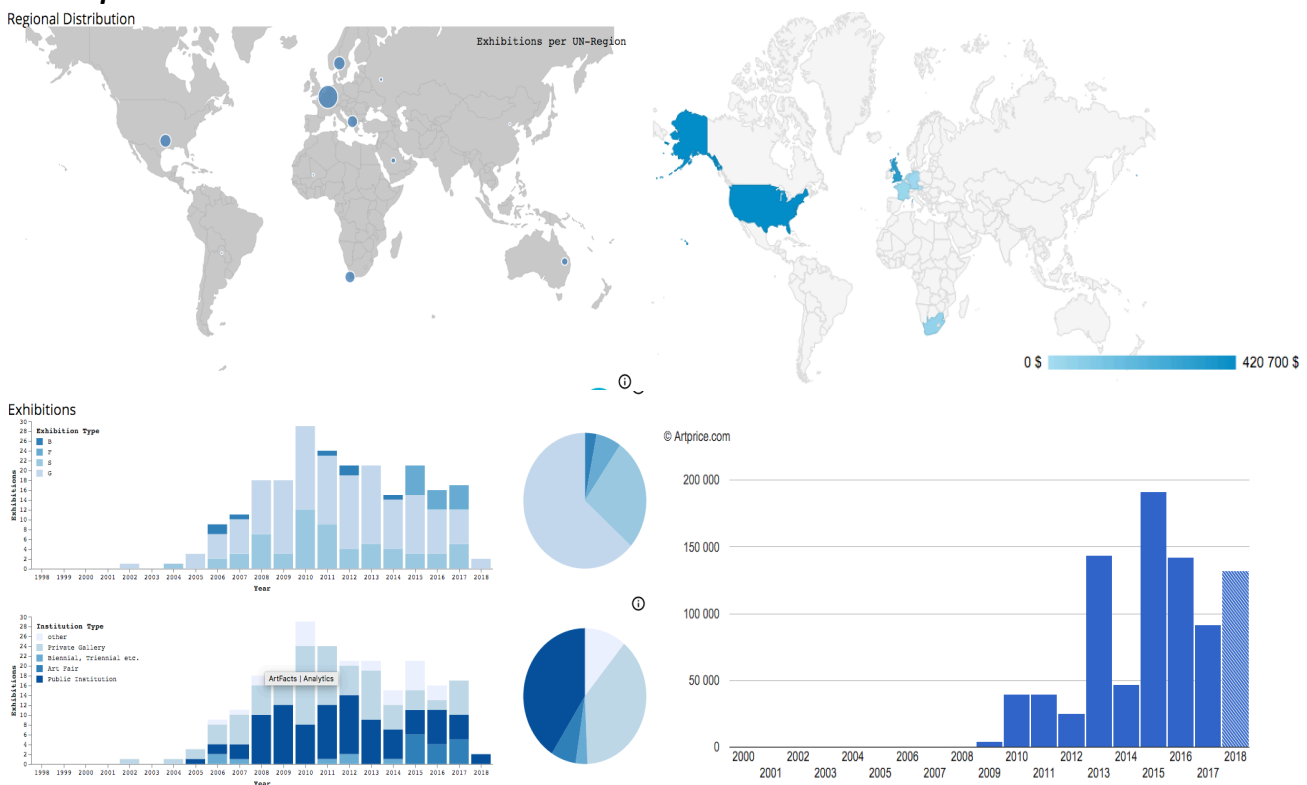
Thus, this counterexample prevents us from asserting that each of the top-ten South-African contemporary artists has a turnover that mirrors its international visibility. However, although no theory states the existence of an absolute symmetry between artists’ visibility and their economic turnover, the institutional success of the top three South-African

contemporary artists does reflect their commercial success and thus confirms the close relation that exists between the institutional sphere and the art market.

The only emerging artist who displayed enough available data on artprice.com was Pieter Hugo, he is also highly ranked by artifacts.net, which testifies of its international recognition and commercial success. While comparing the two maps, we notice that the place where he is the most visible are similar to the locations where his artworks are sold the most. This confirms the relationship that exists between an artist’s visibility and its commercial success, the more visible, the more he/she is sold on a specific market. Indeed, in Hugo’s case, the artist is particularly present in Europe, the US and South Africa. These countries are, not so accidentally, the same as the ones where his artworks are sold the best.

While looking at the exhibitions rate over time between 2000 and 2018 and the evolution of the artist’s turnover we also notice a similar trend between the institutional sphere and the market. However, this trend seems to be initiated by the institutions since the exhibitions rate of Pieter Hugo starts to grow from 2000 and reaches a peak of thirty exhibitions in 2010, while his turnover starts in 2009 with a turnover of \$4,077 and reaches a peak of \$191,337 in 2015. In this case we understand that the international visibility and recognition granted by the institutions gives the artist an easy access to the market. The more visible at international institutions’ exhibitions an artist is, the more likely he is to be commercially successful on the market. Therefore, the resistant link that relates the institutional sphere to the market is confirmed here. However, it must be stated that Pieter Hugo, born in 1976, is maybe not the most legitimate artist to be classified as an emerging talent of the South-African contemporary art scene. Indeed, in comparison with artists such as Mohau Modisakeng and Simphiwe Ndzube, respectively born in 1986 and 1990, Pieter Hugo is perhaps already “too old” to be referred as an emerging artist part of the young “born-free” generation that will make the future of South-African contemporary art.

(5) Pieter Hugo’s visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, Artfacts.net & Artprice.com



A conclusion of this section is that the market and the institutions of the art world are undoubtedly intimately related since most South-African contemporary artists who participate to the main institutional events of the art world are also praised on the art market. This becomes particularly obvious when we compare the regional distribution of art events to which artists participate and their geographical sales distribution, which usually mirrored each other. A reason for this is that the main protagonists of both the institutional sphere and the art market are themselves extremely interconnected. Since these people are seen as the gatekeepers of the art world as a whole (Becker, 1982), it seems logical that both spheres, within which these key actors develop, influence each other. However, a limit to such a statement is that all artworks cannot be valued the same way on the market by merely following the praise and recognition of their creator granted by the institutions. Indeed, contemporary art encompasses new forms of creation such as performances, installations, videos, etc.... that are not valued by the market according to the same parameters that classical plastic art disciplines such as painting and sculpture follow. In a nutshell, visibility of South-African contemporary artists within the institutional art field is indeed closely intertwined with their performances on the art market.

Yet, the preconceived idea stating that the more visible an artist is on the international stage, the better his/her works will be sold on the market might not be totally accurate. Indeed, we have faced a double-sided phenomenon that goes back and forth from the institutional sphere to the market and vice-versa. This process is a virtuous circle for every artist who is included in it since visibility and recognition by the leading institutions seem to be reciprocal with fame and prosperity on the market. This phenomenon is at least verified in the case of plastic artistic productions such as paintings and sculptures. Since this research has not included installations, performances and other new media that are now officially part of the contemporary art practices, yet more difficult to quantify and value in monetary terms, it seems difficult to generalise this correlation between the market and the institutions to the whole South-African contemporary production.

CONCLUSIONS

Globalisation has become an unavoidable concept through the last four decades to the extent that it even affected the art world. Indeed, the worldwide spread of artistic contents is easy, since it is rarely subject to physical or language barriers (van Hest, 2012). Consequently, the art world presents the perfect features to be internationalised in comparison to other cultural fields. One of the first assumption made in this context is that thanks to globalisation, international artists coming either from the centres or the peripheries are less affected by territorial factors that were in force in the art world until the advent of globalisation and hence are more equally visible on the international art scene. The French sociologist Alain Quemin (2002) studied the effect of globalisation processes in the art world and undermined this assumption, stating that the art world remains a predominantly hierarchical structure with still very powerful gatekeepers located in Northwestern countries. The present thesis started from Quemin's theories and tried to emphasise the state of South-African contemporary art in the global art world, aiming to understand the effects of globalisation on the art world and the remaining significance of territorial factors still in force therein. This research assessed the close relationship that links visibility and commercial success of South-African artists, by considering various major international art events at which they were present and the evolution of their price list on the market. South Africa was an interesting case study since it is globally accepted as an emerging power and a leading country on the African continent, however it has received very limited attention so far compared to other emerging countries such as China, India and Brazil.

My research was mainly focused on the visibility of South-African contemporary artists within the institutional art sphere and their commercial success on the art market. I chose to analyse their presence at five different types of events representing both spheres of the art world. The institutional sphere was illustrated by the exhibitions of museums' permanent collections, the temporary exhibitions of art centres and the invitations of artists to biennales. The art market on the other hand, was epitomised by gallery stables and representations at international art fairs. In comparison with biennales where artists are invited and do not rely on a third party, art fairs highly illustrate the power of galleries as gatekeepers since art fairs select the galleries instead of the artists directly, and galleries then select the artists who will be showcased in their booth (Quemin, 2013). Taking each of these five events separately and analysing the presence of South-African artists gave me insights about the way the two spheres of the art world differ and intertwine with each other and illustrate the bonds that link the institutional and commercial spheres. I have mostly analysed these events under the scope of the top-ten most successful South-African artists according to a ranking established by artifacts.net along with a selection of ten emerging South-African talents, seen as the future promises of the local contemporary art scene. I also chose to focus on four main capital of the art world, namely New York, London, Berlin and Paris since they gather the most influential institutions and events (van Hest, 2012), and regarding the regional visibility of the South-African contemporary artists selected in this research, it seemed pretty accurate that the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and France were the countries where these artists were the most visible and where their turnovers had reached summits.

The three following research questions were the starting point of this thesis:

1. Are contemporary art events actually internationally orientated and including South-African artists?
2. How and to what extent have globalisation processes affected the position of South-African artists at these contemporary art events?
3. How and to what extent are territorial factors still relevant in the internationalisation of the art world and hence impact the career of South-African artists?

While the first question challenged the internationalisation of art events and the degree of inclusion of South-African contemporary art, the second and third questions were more focused on the emergence of South-African contemporary art on the international stage, trying to gauge the effects of globalisation processes whilst maintaining the relevance of territorial factors.

Tackling these questions throughout this thesis, my answers now rule in favour of an actual diversity of countries represented in the art world although a hierarchy seems to remain between them with a group of four countries (previously mentioned) still extremely prevailing (Quemin, 2002; van Hest, 2012; Velthuis, 2013). Moreover, this research came with the finding that the countries mainly give visibility to their own national talents before foreigners. Therefore, South-African contemporary artists' degree of visibility is also intimately linked to their country of residence in case they are part of the Diaspora. For instance, top-second South-African artist Marlene Dumas has been living in the Netherlands for the past decades and has been receiving great praise in this country, and hence is highly present in the western art events. In the field, she is even sometimes referred to as a Dutch artist (van Hest, 2012) while *artfacts.net* still assesses that her nationality is South-African. Thus geographical factors still play an important role in the international career development of (South-African) contemporary artists and it seems that the beginning of an international career may only be launched in one of the four main capital cities of the art world.

Yet, the art world keeps on bragging about its (relative) expansion beyond the borders of these few dominating Western countries (Moulin, 2003). And although it is true that the contemporary art world now integrates artists originating from every part of the world, this integration is not equal since we notice that the art sphere merely refers to "international" as soon as its events integrate one (or more) artist who is not from the West. This phenomenon of "internationalisation" of the art world seems to be accelerated by the general context of globalisation (van Hest, 2012). Thus, the Western hegemony *should* tend to disappear as such and leave room to emerging countries in an art world suffused with an important diversity, although this seems not to be actually the case yet (Quemin, 2002). This research confirmed a certain opening of the art world to emerging countries such as South Africa and the increased diversity that is promoted within the field too. However, South Africa is still embedded in a resistant hierarchy that ranks the countries and keeps on making the art world quite unequal in terms of visibility opportunities for "international" artists, which also affects their commercial success on the market. The diversity of the art world is also limited in the sense that different levels of access are given to countries by the gatekeepers of the field (Moulin, 2003). This is well emphasised by the five types of events I chose to study in this thesis since they show different levels of keenness to geographical

diversity. Biennials are the most internationally oriented events while art fairs still seem to be led by the Western countries that are prominently-ranked in the tacit hierarchy. To a broader extent, this observation made through ephemeral events gives substance to the idea that the institutional sphere is relatively more open to diversity than the art market. This could also be an argument to assume that as soon as money comes into play, major changes are brought about in the art world. Additionally, biennales have tended to propagate themselves worldwide in a much faster way than international art fairs, a phenomenon that participates in the internationalisation of the art world on the surface, which still seems more evident in the institutional sphere than on the market.

While the United States remains the country with the highest representation of South African contemporary artists, when we look at their geographical distribution of exhibitions and sales, the United Kingdom, Germany and South Africa are just behind. Along with their birth country, South-African artists seem to be overrepresented in the three Western countries previously mentioned, which illustrates the resisting power of these countries as gatekeepers of the art world. This statement consequently makes such countries the most central in the art field, and the places where artists and all the key actors of the field need to be seen. In a nutshell, territorial factors still play an important role in the art world, which confirms what Femke van Hest already stated in her dissertation (van Hest, 2012).

My findings regarding South-African artists' visibility and commercial performances worldwide confirmed the predominance of a small group of Western countries, amongst which the United States is still in front, on the art market (Quemin, 2002 and 2013) and to a lesser extent in the institutional sphere. This result was not unexpected since it is in line with the outcomes of previous research carried out by Lara Bucholz and Ulf Wuggenig (2005) and Alain Quemin (2002). Key protagonists of the art world also acknowledge the United States and United Kingdom, along with France and Germany as the countries leading the art world. Although the undeniable power of the Northwest, confirmed in both the institutional sphere and the market, does not imply that the art world is restrictedly focused on artists originating from these countries, the capitals of the art world still receive more attention than other countries, thus artists originating from the peripheral zones such as South Africa tend to emigrate to these epicentres to gain international recognition and access to the art market. We call such artists, the artist of the Diaspora. This migratory phenomenon is aligned with the fact that nationality and country of residence still play an important role since territorial factors remain in force in the art world (van Hest, 2012). Artists born in the leading countries have relatively more opportunities to become internationally successful in comparison with artists born in South Africa. However, the artist's country of residence may differ from his/her country of birth. Hence, artists born in the peripheral zones, who moved to the art world epicentres in order to improve their chances of international recognition and commercial success, amplify this phenomenon of Diaspora.

For South-African artists, being visible in the leading countries of the art world is both a stepping-stone to the international art world and a consecration of their success. This research has revealed however that South-African artists still tend to be less present at international art events than their homologues originating from the centres, where most of the events are organised. A reason for this is that the art world's gatekeepers, who mainly originate from the centres as well, usually work with artists who come from the same geographical regions as them. The majority of these artists were born in the same regions or

countries as the gatekeepers, which enabled them to develop their career in the same art scene, and thus engendered relatedness between them. On the other hand, the artists living in the centres, but who were not born there, might also become part of the local gatekeepers' network. This is how we come to the conclusion that the country of residence of South-African artists is a crucial factor affecting their accession to the international stage. For their part, the art world's gatekeepers being mainly settled in the United States and a few other Western countries are, to some extent, responsible for the overrepresentation of certain nationalities in the art world.

Eventually, we have seen in the last part of this thesis that although the visibility of South-African contemporary artists does not absolutely mirror their performance on the art market, both the institutional and the commercial spheres are highly intertwined and similarities emerge between both spheres. Thus, even though it is a bit presumptuous to assert that the increasing international visibility of South-African contemporary art provokes better economic performance of its artists on the market, we should nonetheless acknowledge that institutional success and commercial praise are highly connected. Consequently, it is not necessarily a single-way process according to which the international visibility of South-African contemporary artists automatically results in higher sales rate on the market. It is rather a double-way phenomenon that makes visibility and turnover highly dependent on each other, mirroring the strong bond between the institutional sphere and the market. Indeed, this virtuous circle, at least for the artists who succeed to be included in it, epitomise the reciprocal connection of visibility and recognition granted by the leading institutions with fame and prosperity on the art market.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Aiming at tackling the globalisation effects on the contemporary art world with a focus on the position of South Africa therein, this research enabled me to state the extent to which territorial factors are still crucial and influential in the structure of the art world today. Such findings, which confirm the outcomes of previous research carried out by great sociologist in the field such as Alain Quemin, give grounds to further debate and investigations. Indeed, the limitations of this study lays in the fact that only data were considered and no interviews could be organised with the protagonists who were tackled in this research, that is to say South-African contemporary artists and the major gatekeepers of the art world such as internationally renowned curators, artistic directors or prominent galleries owners. This lack of information prevented me from assessing strong conclusions at the end of this thesis. Particularly on the correlation between the visibility of South-African contemporary artists in the institutional sphere and their sales performance on the market, that the research design of this thesis did not allow me to establish. Therefore, it would be highly beneficial to this research to be able to go into the quantitative analyses in more depth, extend it and add a more qualitative approach in order to further investigate the supposedly increasing presence of South Africa in the international contemporary art world.

In this thesis, data showed that although South Africa is not amongst the leading countries of the art world, it has a relatively fair visibility at international art events. Thus South Africa is neither dominantly visible or totally absent from such events. Yet, the fact that most south-African contemporary artists live in a country that differs from their country of birth brings other questions. Indeed, this dual citizenship owned by some South-African-

born artists, has sometimes the negative effect of erasing a nationality to the advantage of the second one. For instance, the second most successful South-African-born artist Marlene Dumas has been living in the Netherlands for the past decades and thus own a dual-citizenship. However, in her case, and most artists with dual citizenship, it is her Dutch citizenship that prevails since it is the one that enabled her to integrate the international network of the art world. It would be interesting to further investigate this topic of South-African artists' dual citizenship and their relations to the country of birth when it is different from the country of residence. In a nutshell, how do the art world's key actors affiliate South-African artists to one or more national art scenes?

Indeed, since artists tend to be more nomadic particularly in the current context of globalisation, it seems that such territorial questions deserve more attention. In this thesis, the country of residence of successful South-African contemporary artists was neglected while it is clear that it played an important role in the international development of their artistic career. It would thus be relevant to change the scope of this research towards the artists' geographical assimilation and their success on the various international artistic scenes particularly emphasising their country of residence. How do artists from emerging countries face the maintenance of territorial factors in the art world that favour the better established Western countries? What incentivise these artists to leave their country of origin and become part of a diaspora? How do they chose their destinations and adopted country? Eventually, how are they integrated to the international networks of the art world? These questions bring one last interrogation regarding the potential differences of career path between artists of the diaspora and those who stayed in South Africa. How do the careers of nomadic South-African artists differ to those who decided to stay in South Africa?

Eventually, since my dissertation mainly deals with recent data originating from the extensive databases of [artfacts.net](#) and [artprice.com](#) with the aim to investigate the ins and outs of the contemporary art world in the recent past and present. My research came to the conclusion that, so far, globalisation has not engendered a more equal art world in terms of countries visibility, since the artists originating from the leading Western countries are still more present at international art events than those from emerging countries such as South Africa. This outcome calls into question the general belief according to which the art world has been increasingly more internationally oriented. However, such a change in the geographical structure of the art field may take more time to develop since both the institutional sphere and the art market are constantly evolving. It would thus be interesting to reassess my current findings with future investigations to see whether or not the art world has truly become global (Van Hest and Vermeylen, 2015).

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APPENDICES

1. Background information about South Africa's position in the art world, *artfacts.net* March 2018

COUNTRY

South Africa

EXHIBITIONS	2693
ARTISTS	863
INSTITUTIONS	193
CURATORS	1
LISTED CITIES	34

TOP 10 ARTISTS

Name	Rank	N°
William Kentridge	24	24
Marlene Dumas	115	115
Robin Rhode	302	302
Candice Breitz	416	416
Kendell Geers	457	457
David Goldblatt	493	493
Zanele Muholi	590	590
Pieter Hugo	598	598
Guy Tillim	712	712
Tracey Rose	1196	1196

[SEE LESS](#) 

TOP 10 INSTITUTIONS

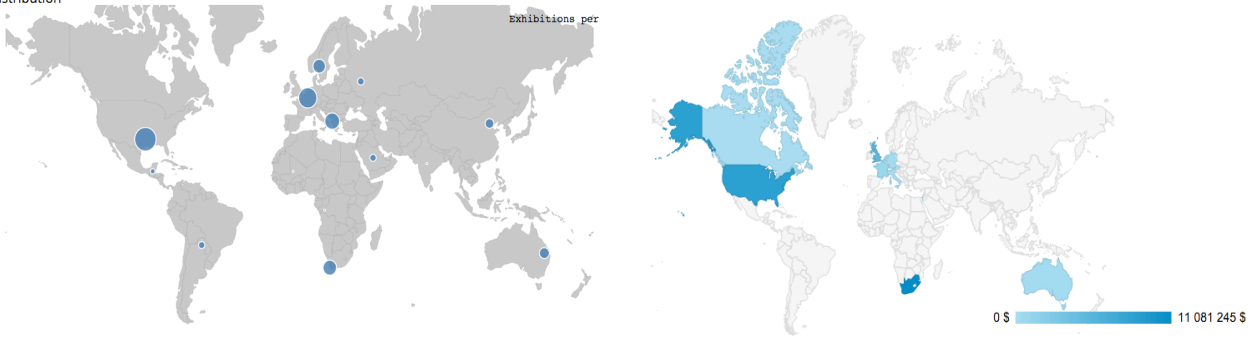
Name
South African National Art Gallery
The Goodman Gallery - Johannesburg
Stevenson - Cape Town
Goodman Gallery - Cape Town
Museum Africa
34FineArt
Johannesburg Art Gallery (JAG)
Pretoria Art Museum
Standard Bank Gallery
Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa - MOCAA

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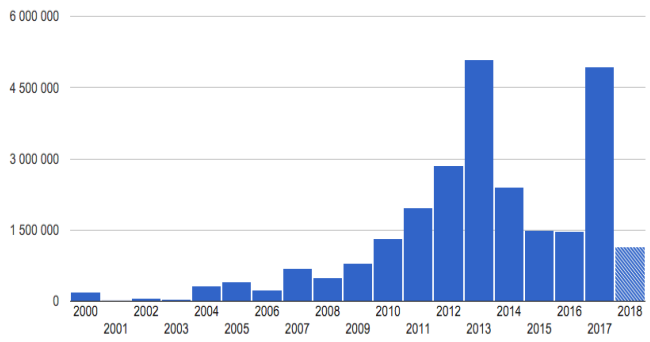
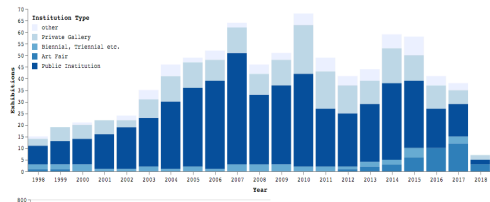
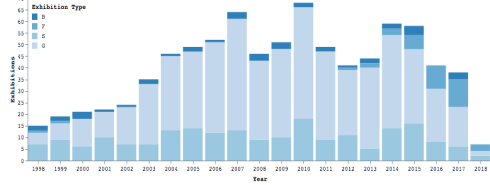


2. William Kentridge's visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*

Regional Distribution

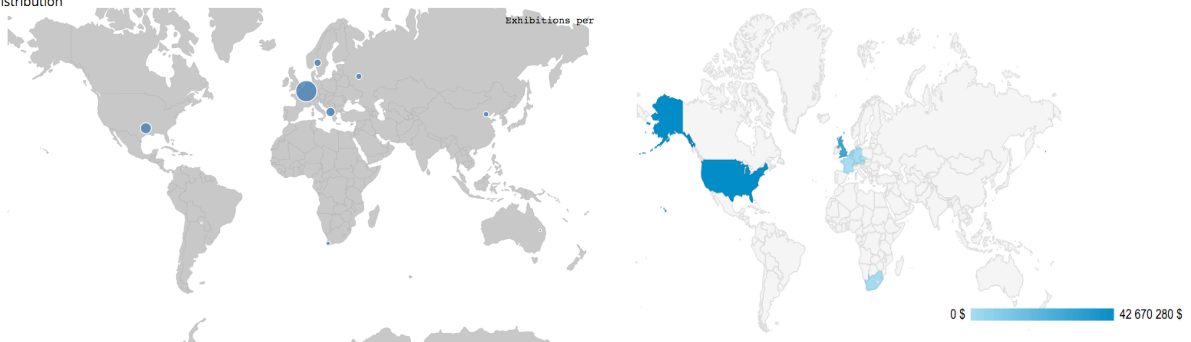


Exhibitions

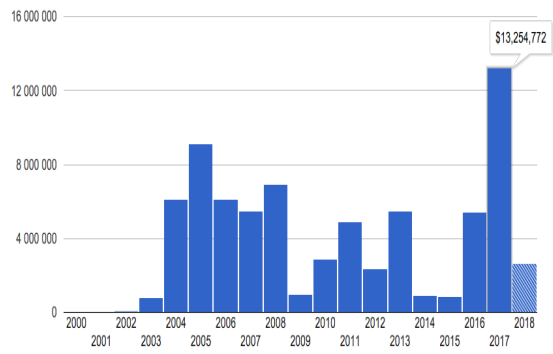
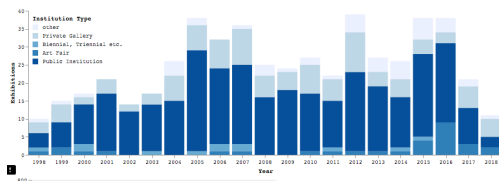
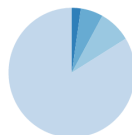
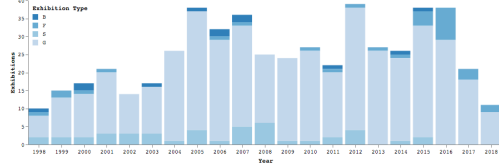


3. Marlene Dumas's visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*

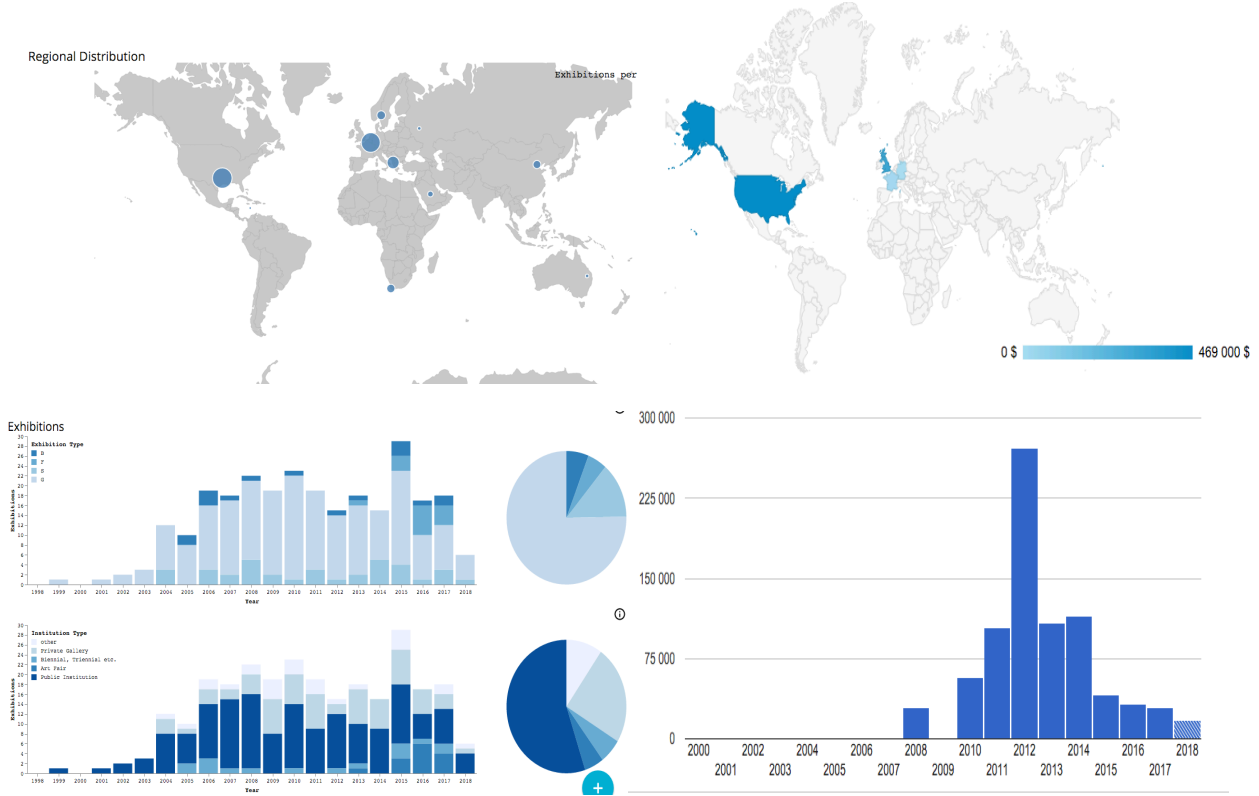
Regional Distribution



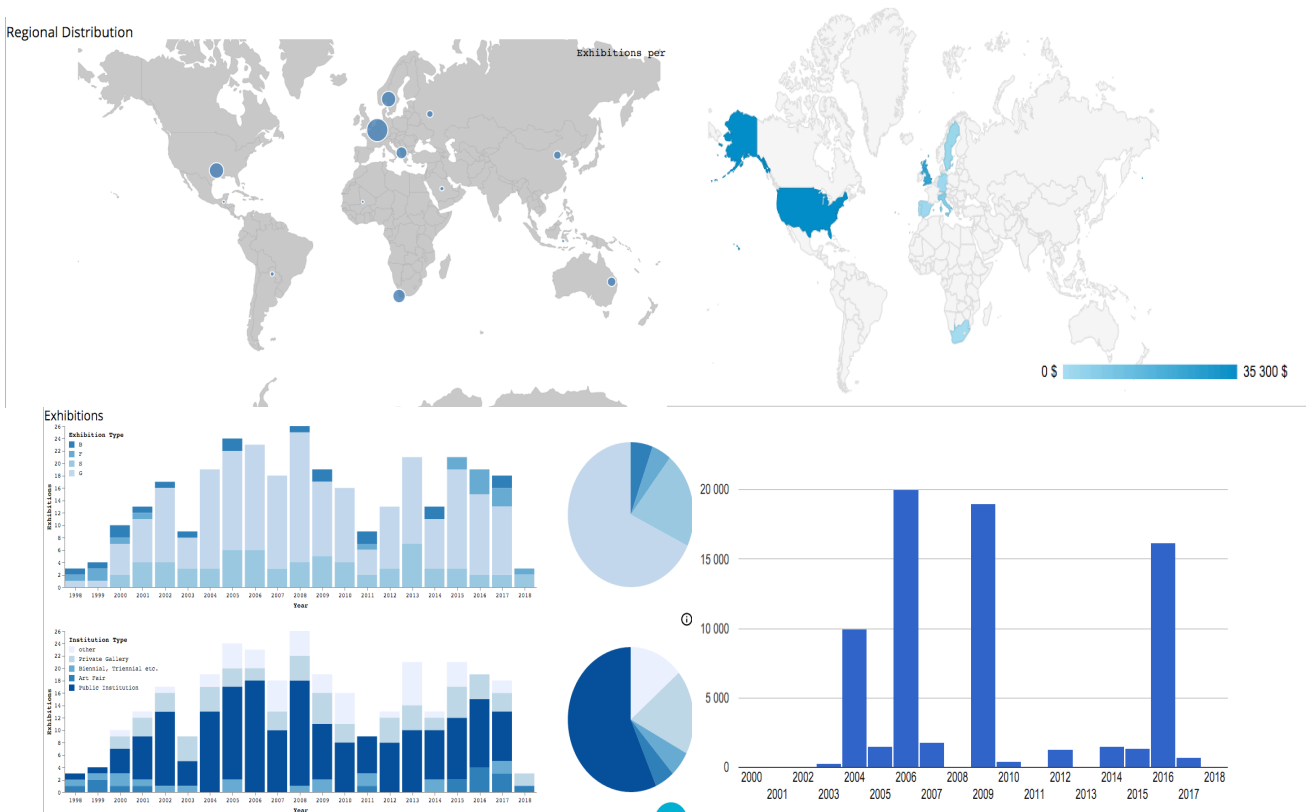
Exhibitions



4. Robin Rhode's visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*

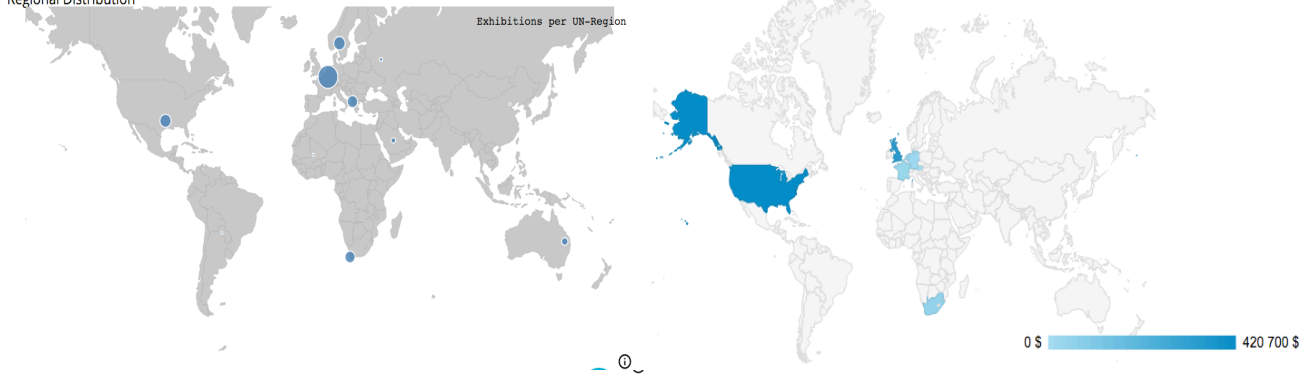


5. Candice Breitz's visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*

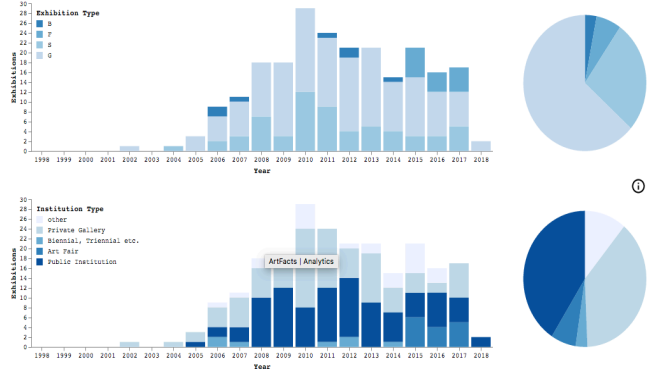


6. Pieter Hugo's visibility and turnover on the period 2000-2018, *Artfacts.net* & *Artprice.com*

Regional Distribution



Exhibitions



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