Critical Arts Marketing

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Introduction

"Business art is the step that comes after Art. I started as a commercial artist, and I want to finish as a business artist. After I did the thing called 'art' or whatever it's called, I went into business art. I wanted to be an Art Businessman or a Business Artist. Being good in business is the most fascinating kind of art. During the hippies era people put down the idea of business – they'd say 'Money is bad', and 'Working is bad', but making money is art and working is art and good business is the best art." (Andy Warhol, 1975, p. 92)

The intersection of the arts and the market has long been filled with tensions; where the stereotype of the bohemian artist who creates 'arts for art's sake' is often juxtaposed against the 'sell-out', who succumbs to "the base materiality of utility, commerce and profit" of the market (Davies & Sigthorsson, 2013, p. 22). As highlighted in the opening quote by the (now) critically renowned and commercially successful pop-artist, Andy Warhol, the relationship between the arts and the market is far from simple, and can in fact be intimately co-constitutive. Located at this same intersection, the discipline of arts marketing is complex, nuanced and, we argue, requires an inherently critical approach. Many of the issues of interest in arts marketing are rooted in the critiques of capitalism offered by critical social theory, particularly that of the Frankfurt School (as outlined in this chapter). Thus, not only has arts marketing facilitated functional and ethical critiques (Hackley 2009) of mainstream marketing thought, but thinking about marketing through the arts has contributed to the development of critical marketing scholarship which, as defined by Tadajewski (2010), draws upon critical theory traditions to explore marketplace power relations. While arts marketing scholarship has not always followed a critical path, this chapter argues that a critical approach to arts marketing is necessary and results in a richer and more insightful understanding of the arts/marketing relationship.

Arts marketing is a relatively young area of marketing theory and practice (O'Reilly, Rentschler, & Kirchner, 2013), originating primarily in North America in the late 1970s (Fillis, 2011). Influenced by the broadening movement in marketing initiated by Kotler and Levy (1969) which sought to transfer traditional marketing principles and practices to 'nonbusiness' organisations, much early arts marketing scholarship adheres to what O'Reilly (2011, p. 26) calls the narrow view: "a discourse about the marketing management of artistic organizations and offerings". From this perspective, arts marketing is primarily treated as another context into which general marketing principles can be transposed and adapted. A standard definition of arts marketing in this vein, is provided by Hill, O'Sullivan, and O'Sullivan (2003, p 1): "arts marketing is an integrated management process which seeks mutually satisfying exchange relationships with customers as the route to achieving organisational and artistic objectives". While this definition may read as a simple transfer of general marketing principles to an arts context, the inclusion of artistic, alongside

organisational objectives as the goal, indicates that marketing the arts is different from marketing traditional products. Hirschman (1983) argued that artists are product centered marketers who place higher value on their own internal needs and fellow artists opinions and often ignore the needs and wants of a larger audience. Thus, 'arts marketing' offered an early functional critique (Hackley, 2009) of the marketing concept approach to marketing, which Hirschman (1983) believed was not applicable to artists. In arts marketing, there is a need to reconcile the inherent tension of giving customers what they want with the artists' need to find an outlet for creative expression. The role of marketing is therefore to match the artists' creations with an appropriate audience, and this helped shift marketing thought towards a relationship marketing approach.

In recent years, there has been a move away from reductive, overly simplistic definitions that simply insert 'arts' into existing definitions of marketing, to definitions which better capture the complex character of arts marketing. This is in part due to the recognition of the wide and complex scope of the arts that goes beyond traditional distinctions of high and low art, to encompass a broad range of artistic and cultural offerings. Thus, 'the arts' reflect systems of production, dissemination, and consumption of cultural messages through their products and services (O'Reilly et al., 2013). It can also be seen as part of what Brownlie and Hewer (2007) refer to as the attempt to "foster sceptical reflexivity" (p.45) within marketing theorising which requires acknowledgement of the "status panic" (p. 50) that occupies a dual role in critical arts marketing. For arts marketing theorists, such status panic can be multifaceted. Firstly, following Brownlie and Hewer (2007), we acknowledge the positioning of marketing theory as inferior in the broader social sciences by those both within and outside of the marketing academy. Equally, marketing practice within the arts has been viewed as inferior in value in comparison to the creation, staging, or critiquing of artistic work. Therefore, theorists within arts marketing must tackle the conceptualisation of their home discipline within the broader social sciences, as one that is theoretically weak, alongside a practice of arts marketing within organisations which is seen as inferior to the creative roles of director, producer or performer. In highlighting marketing theorists' status panic, Brownlie and Hewer (2007) note that it is in the study of the consumer that the critical project is most apparent as consumers seek "social spaces in which they produce their own culture" (p.56). This brings us to the arts versus entertainment distinction which is central to drawing the (unstable, unacknowledged and ever shifting) line between arts marketing and critical arts marketing. Critical arts marketing as theorising cannot be separated from a critical treatment of the arts. Those attempting to critically engage with arts marketing have necessitated the development of definitions of arts marketing which show awareness of the wider social and political nature of the arts. In an effort to capture the dimensions of music marketing, O'Reilly, Larsen, and Kubacki (2014, p.19) offer a definition which is equally applicable to arts marketing as a whole, as we can see if we replace 'music' with 'arts': "[Arts] marketing is the set of historically situated, social, commercial, cultural, technological and [artistic] production, performance, intermediation and consumption practices and discourses which create [artistic] and other value in the [arts] exchange relationship." This is an inherently critical position, as it moves the field beyond a focus on managerial and organization-level processes, and enables a more nuanced understanding of the complex and varied relationships, practices and discourses that emerge at the intersection of arts and the market.

A critical arts marketing begins with the conceptualization of arts marketing as a cultural practice located at the nexus of the arts, society and the market. As a cultural practice, the arts can, and often do, encompass radical demands for social transformation, but they are also subject to co-

optation by the very systems they seek to critique. Thus the arts can simultaneously challenge and reinforce the status-quo (see Said, 1994). Nowhere is this ideological tension more apparent than at the confluence of the arts and the market, where we observe the commercialisation and managerialisation of the arts, alongside critical reflections of such practices in the effort to rethink and rework human-social relationships. As such, this is also a position where many critical discussions of marketing theory and practice have been located, such as the longstanding debate of whether marketing should be considered as an art or a science (e.g. Sheth, Gardner, & Garrett, 1988). Brown and Patterson (2000) convincingly make the case that marketers must learn from artists or aesthetic methods in understanding and communicating marketing. In classifying marketing scholarship which has engaged with art into 'the art school', 'the aesthetics school' and the 'Avant-Garde school', they identify the breadth of research into, about, and through art that has gained purchase within the marketing community. Similarly, the consideration of art as a product, laid the foundation for the breaking down of the production-consumption nexus which has long underpinned marketing scholarship. Venkatesh and Meamber (2006) suggest that arts transcend the nexus due to the phenomenon of cultural production which involves the interaction and collaboration of cultural producers, intermediaries and consumers. As Attali (1977[1985], p. 9) argues, art simultaneously provides "joy for the creator, use-value for the consumer and exchange value for the seller". Thus, Bradshaw (2010, p.10) argues, "art can be thought of as a social model in which consumption and production co-exist and are mutually constitutive". With the arrival of digital technologies, the collapsing nexus is obvious in such activities as the scanlation of manga by fans (Lee, 2012) whereby consumers find ways around the failure of the market to give them access to cultural products, not in order overturn the market, but rather to fill the gaps in provision until the market can catch up. O'Reilly and Kerrigan (2010) call for a recognition of the different facets of the relationship between art and the market that emanate from Bradshaw's (2010) review of arts marketing: the marketing *of* art, marketing *in* art, marketing *through* art, marketing *from* art, and marketing *as* art.

In addition to providing an overview of the field in this chapter, we also tease out the role and influence of arts marketing in the conceptualization and development of critical marketing. We do this by unpacking the double helix of the 'critical in arts marketing' and the 'arts in critical marketing' throughout the chapter. What is important in any review of (critical) arts marketing, is that the foundational literature is positioned as such. Our account of the development of arts marketing will indicate the roots in political, social and cultural theory and acknowledges the debt of gratitude owed to early pioneers in marketing and consumer research concerned with art and aesthetics. Thus, the chapter proceeds with a brief historical overview of the development of arts marketing theory and practice, which highlights the key themes that have emerged with regards to this double helix. Current key areas of research that emerge from this disciplinary foundation, both building on existing themes and developing new and fruitful lines of enquiry, are then identified. An up-to-date critical review of the literature is presented, which calls attention to the following current issues: (1) the arts versus markets debate; (2) creativity at the cutting edge of marketing practice; (3) the cultural practice and theory of branding; (4) the creation and formation of alternative markets; and (5) creative methods of enquiry in marketing research. The chapter concludes with suggestions and directions for future research, which seek to build and expand upon the existing body of knowledge in arts marketing.

The Development of Arts Marketing Theory and Practice

As noted above, arts marketing as a field is a recent development, however, the arts-marketing intersection has long been of interest to social theorists. The broader and more critical conceptualization of arts marketing enables the field to reconnect with the work of Adorno, Horkheimer, and the Frankfurt School, whose early criticisms of market capitalism were concerned with the conditions governing engagement with the arts and the impact of market systems and ideologies on aesthetic taste. While Adorno and Horkheimer were by no means arts marketers, their work on the culture industry (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1944/1972) highlights key challenges faced within arts marketing. Their work critically engaged with the idea of popular culture produced through industrialised production processes and sold to the masses. Here the culture industry is seen as a way of distracting the masses and shaping consciousness. What their work points to is the important distinction between 'the arts' and 'entertainment'. Entertainment is rarely seen as anything other than a distraction, something to allay boredom, while the arts are usually treated as more rarefied passtimes. Adorno and Horkheimer (1944/1972) were reflecting a move from arts to entertainment but it is important to interrogate this distinction. For Horkheimer and Adorno (1947/1972), culture and the economy were intertwined and an art/market distinction was impossible. What this means is that making a distinction between arts and entertainment was also impossible. However, an examination of debates around the role of public support for the arts, illustrates that such an intertwining, which while evident, does not necessitate that market logic influences all artistic decisions. If this were the case, the justification of public funding for the arts would be absent.

In this regard it is interesting to consider Shukaitis (2008) who highlights the relevance of the arts in transmitting voices of resistance and inspiring resistance. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's (1986) idea of 'minor literature' and the subsequent development of the concept of 'minor politics' by Thoburn (2003), Shukaitis (2008) indicates the historical use of art (music, performance and so on) in political struggles. In doing so, he recognises that while Deleuze and Guattari's (1986) idea of deterritorialisation of language can result in the use of existing cultural artefacts to transmit politically motivated messages, such deterritorialisation can go in multiple directions. The acknowledgement that art forms are fluid and can be reconceptualised by those engaging with them, requires a critical approach to understanding arts marketing that recognises the political motivation underlying an arts marketing intervention.

For the Situationists such as Debord and Vaneigem, this fluidity also connects to the art/market interface. Debord (1973/2005: 7) notes the increase in prominence of 'the spectacle' over unified presentations of society, where the spectacle "is not a collection of images; it is a social relation between people that is mediated by images". As the arts can be viewed both as central to processes of image production as well as sites for the consumption of the image, a critical approach to arts marketing is crucial in order to understand the significance of the arts in society more broadly. Linked to ideas of the spectacle is Walter Benjamin's work on art in the age of mechanical reproduction, where Benjamin (1968/1999: 215) notes (among other things) the removal of a work of art from its "domain of tradition". Here Benjamin (1968/1999) means that the context within which the work was produced may not be that within which it is consumed. This echoes Shukaitis (2008) point on fluidity of meanings and Deleuze and Guattari's (1986) on deterritorialisation. A critical approach to arts marketing requires both an acknowledgement of the historical context from which the art work derives, as well as recognition that meaning attached to art through production and consumption is fluid.

While, in theory, it is possible to make a distinction between art and entertainment, positioning practices of production or consumption along a continuum from entertainment to art would be very challenging in practice. While Bourdieu's (1979/1984) work was based on very specific classifications of high and low art, many contemporary theorists accept a convergence has occurred, not least in terms of audiences (Hand, 2011). Holbrook (1980) highlighted that consumers have aesthetic responses to both high and low arts. However, this move away from a more elitist view of the arts may be seen as coinciding with the move to viewing audiences as consumers, which is more than a semantic labeling. Similar to the Frankfurt School's critiques, the emerging field of cultural studies also pointed to the consumerist turn in the arts. As Kotler and Levy (1969) were busy broadening the field of marketing, in the UK, Williams (1976) and his colleagues in the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies, were challenging the extension of consumerism into what were previously seen as non-commercial fields such as the arts. The traditional art versus market debate rests on assumptions about the need to satisfy consumer desires (Major, 2014) which implies that market logic leads artistic decision making. This point requires a critical reflection among arts marketing scholars, many of whose work seeks to liberate arts marketing from a straitjacket of market logic. The art world combines both public and private sector rules of engagement, where many arts are funded and validated through a range of activities by public (museums, public universities and art schools, national art prizes) and private sector organistions (private collectors, private galleries) (see Rodner and Thomson, 2013). This public/private interplay has to some degree protected the arts from fully embracing market logic and by extension, allowing (some) arts marketing scholars to challenge the application of the logic of the market and consumer centric marketing practices to the arts on the basis of the claim that art is for the social good and thus should be publically provided. This is reflected in O'Sullivan's (2014: 30) statement that "arts marketers, like the artists whose work they promote, tend to be driven by a sense of mission".

The work of Pierre Bourdieu has also been foundational for those researching arts marketing and consumption. Bourdieu's (1979/1984) concepts of social, cultural, and symbolic capital shed light on the tensions in arts marketing. Social capital from a Bourdieuean perspective can be defined as the network of those whom you are connected to, with a distinction made between types of people known on the basis of social power and position. Social capital is developed though family links as well as links made in education and career. Cultural capital relates to what you know, which for Bourdieu, was transmitted through the family and supported by education, and manifested in passtimes, interests and other types of consumption. Bourdieu was particularly interested in how cultural capital located people within a particular social class. These forms of capital lead to symbolic capital, where certain types of knowledge are valued with a certain social group. Finally, economic capital unsurprisingly relates to access to material wealth and property. For Bourdieu, social, cultural and symbolic capital are closely related to possession of and access to economic capital. Bourdieu's work, based on data from the 1960s, illustrated that cultural consumption is closely linked to social class and the possession of social and economic capital. This work has underpinned much of the subsequent study of arts consumption. Hand (2011) among others has shown how such distinctions between social classes regarding their consumption of specific arts has broken down in contemporary society, thus we should interpret arts policy and practice through a critical social lens. The traditionally conceived 'high arts' such as opera, ballet and classical European music have been positioned as arts for the privileged classes, while popular music, cinema and forms of street art and dance are seen as being for the masses. This polarization necessitates both a critical interrogation in terms of both the cyclical nature of such assumptions

and the contemporary convergence between art forms. Fraser and Fraser (2014) look at the history of opera as an art form and the connection to the nobility and royalty which came from the persistent need to gain financial subsidy in order to mount the extravagant performances. In keeping with Bourdieu's work, they note the importance of education in exposing younger audiences to opera and facilitating the development of the required cultural capital to engage with it. This reliance on learned cultural codes in order to engage with art was a central element of Bourdieu's (1979/1984) work and challenged the dominance of Kantian views of cultural consumption.

Kant's *Critique of Judgement* presented a view of arts appreciation where artists were seen to possess a natural genius, which translated itself into the creation of universally agreed works of art. Kant's work is seen as popularizing the phrase 'art for arts sake', with the focus on aesthetic appreciation of art work, in and of itself. Kant's philosophy is interrogated by O'Sullivan (2014) in terms of the role of the arts marketer in broadening arts consumption. As O'Sullivan (2014, p. 44) says; "Audience development ...is not just about growing numbers of gallery visitors or concert goers at a particular venue or for a certain art form." For him, it is about equipping the audience to engage with the arts in a way that benefits them. Again, this brings us back to consideration of what is being marketed when we speak of arts marketing. On the one hand, we see the assertion from members of the Frankfurt School, the Situationists and the Birmingham School that the arts are capable of influencing political and social reality. On the other hand is the Kantian consideration of the arts which assumes a 'disinterestedness', or a neutral political or ideological position for the arts, where aesthetic judgement is based on a universal set of aesthetic principles. It is this distinction between art as disinterested and inherently political that distinguishes arts marketing from what can be termed critical arts marketing.

Current Areas of Research

Current research emerges from this disciplinary foundation, both building on existing themes and developing new and fruitful lines of enquiry. An up-to-date critical review of the literature in each of the following, current areas is presented: (1) the arts versus the market debate; (2) creativity at the cutting edge of marketing practice; (3) the cultural practice and theory of branding; (4) the creation and formation of alternative markets; and (5) creative methods of enquiry in marketing research.

<u>The Arts Versus Markets Debate</u>

The arts versus the market, or arts versus commerce debate as it is also known, is rooted in the idea that artistic and commercial practices have very different, and seemingly incompatible agendas and that therefore art and products are valued in divergent ways. Hirschman (1983, p. 46) argued that because art is valued for its expressive qualities and utilitarian products are valued for functional utility or technical competence, then the "marketing concept, as a normative framework, is not applicable to [artists] because of the personal values and social norms that characterise the production process". Holbrook (2005) argued that 'art for art's sake' as opposed to 'art for mart's sake', has been a theme of great importance, and remains one of the most vexed issues, particularly in macromarketing. For example, Dholakia, Duan and Dholakia (2015) examine the evolution of the Wushipu art agglomeration in China, specifically highlighting the interplay of macro-level tensions and transitions that construct, characterize and maintain this art market. These artists copy significant works of art which are then sold (as high quality copies) within the

local art market. They are not seen as forgers, but rather skilled reproducers who make otherwise restricted art available in the mass market. Dholakia et. al (2015) find that the tension between mass-produced popular art and high art remains; but also, that other tensions have emerged which are more specific to the particular market, such as fostering the continued development of indigenous creativity and the protection of Chinese art motifs in the face of a growing market for Western art.

While this debate persists, we suggest that it is currently characterized by a more nuanced understanding and recognition of the interactive, rather than antagonistic, relationship between art and commerce. As suggested by Bradshaw, McDonagh and Marshall (2006, p. 81) the art versus market tension "is useful in as-much as it begins a process of unpacking and learning about the complex and dialectical relationship [the relationship between two opposing, but interacting concepts] between the two". Several interesting areas of research emerge out of such efforts. Firstly, we see the blurring of the boundaries between art and the market. Bradshaw (2010) highlights two categories of arts marketing that underpin a critically driven understanding of the arts versus commerce debate: marketing *as* art, and art *as* marketing.

At the simplest level, 'marketing as art' facilitates an acknowledgement of the symbolic and aesthetic nature of products and brands. There is a long line of anthropological thinking which acknowledges that "the things with which people interact are not simply tools for survival" (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p. 1) but that, as Dittmar (1992) argues, they have psychological, social and cultural significance that transcends their instrumental and utilitarian functions. However, it is only relatively recently, and partly through broadening the domain of marketing to encompass the arts, that marketers began to pay attention to the experiential, aesthetic and symbolic domains of products and consumption (Belk 1988; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Levy, 1959). The role of aesthetics in everyday life in a consumer society is such that consumers are produced as aesthetic subjects (Venkatesh & Meamber, 2008), who judge not only art objects, but also everyday objects, such as clothing and kitchen appliances, aesthetically i.e. as as sensory experience of beauty. Thus the line between art and the market is blurred.
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Further underpinning the understanding of 'marketing as art' is the acknolwdgement that the practice of marketing is culturally embedded (e.g. Holt, 2003). For example, advertising and marketing communications have become a rich, intertextual blend of cultural references, where meaning is drawn in part from, and in relation to other cultural texts (O'Donohoe, 1997). Bradshaw (2010) argues that rather than limit our understanding of marketers to that of astute readers of culture, we should acknowledge marketing practice as inherently creative in and of itself. For example, both Brown (2001) and Waksman (2011) show how some contemporary marketing practices, such as the use of promotional techniques to manage crowds, emerged from the carnivalesque aesthetics of PT Barnum. Both historical and future-oriented analyses see an aesthetically driven market, defined by creative intent and the pursuit of beauty (e.g. Bradshaw, 2010; Brown, 2001; Holt, 2004; Schroeder, 2002).

The second of Bradshaw's (2010, p. 12) categories of arts marketing rests on the notion that "if marketing contains aspects of artistic endeavour, then the opposite holds that artistic practice contains elements of marketing". Many artists, such as Andy Warhol, Damien Hirst, the Rolling Stones, work, and even thrive, within the commercial infrastructures of the marketplace, although the adoption of a bohemian ideology leads many artists to discursively abandon commerciality. But

this is contradictory, as even the most bohemian of artists need to survive and very many adopt marketing practices to ensure they do. Artists often develop a brand i.e. a recognizable look, name and style (Schroeder, 2005) and artists who do this well, such as Andy Warhol can be labelled as 'culturepreneurs' (O'Reilly, 2005). This is however, not a new phenomenon. Fillis' (2011) examination of the artist as marketer and entrepreneur explains that as early as 1550, when Vasari published 'Lives of Artists', a clear picture began to emerge of how artists operated in the marketplace. Similarly, Brown's (2015) insightful exploration of the historically unacknowledged marketing capabilities of modernist authors Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, and James Joyce problematizes the tension between art and commerce that is said to characterize modernism's break with classical and traditional forms of art and the self-conscious and ironic experimentation with the new. He argues that these authors used marketing to "not so much bridge the great divide [between high art and popular culture] but tunnel beneath it" (p. 18), by for example, propounding the Imagism poetry movement effectively as a promotional campaign for Pound's own literary brand. Contemporary marketers can learn from such artists and their practices.

A critical understanding of the arts versus the market debate also facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the different kinds of value that co-exist in the marketplace and how they interact with each other. For example, Holbrook (1999) identifies eight major types of value that co-exist in any consumption (market) experience (efficiency, excellence, status, esteem, beauty, fun, ethics, and spirituality), which can be streamlined into four major categories: economic, social, hedonic, and altruistic. While the arts versus commerce debate historically pits aesthetic value against economic value, there has been a notable amount of work recently on understanding the value of the arts for a range of audiences (e.g. Halliday & Astafyeva, 2014; Henderson, 2013, Tyrie & Ferguson, 2013) and the creation of value in art markets (Preece, Kerrigan, & O'Reilly, 2016). Rodner & Thomson (2013) present the 'art machine' as the process of dynamic and interlocking mechanisms through which symbolic and economic value are combined to generate value for contemporary art. The key point of this stream of work being, that aesthetic and economic value are not at odds with each other, but are in fact co-constitutive. What this research argues, is for a broader understanding of value when it comes to art. This more sophisticated and multifaceted perspective on value is at odds with economic notions of value which dominate policy incentives that often aim at understanding the economic value of the arts, over and above wider benefits or values. This dominance of the economic rationale in understanding the value of art then leads artists to be deemed 'successful' based on their economic performance rather than their wider cultural or social impact.

Creativity in Marketing Practice

Following on from the prior discussion on value in arts, we turn to examining the idea of creativity. The arts have been reconceptualised as part of the 'cultural industries' (DeFillippi, Grabher, & Jones, 2007; Davies & Sigthorsson, 2013; Pratt, 2005), a sector which has been acknowledged due to the importance of arts and culture in generating value in the economy and in shaping perceptions of people and places (Lash & Lury, 2007). Creativity is clearly central to the arts sector and we can see how wider marketing practice often looks to the arts in order to gain insight and inspiration. Marketing, as well as being data lead and behavioural, is reliant on the visual in understanding culture and in communicating. Here we see that the arts have been used, implicitly and explicitly in marketing mainstream products, services, places and ideologies e.g. the use of popular music in advertisting, fashion brands collaborating with visual artists and developments such as branded entertainment where the lines between art film and advertisement are being

blurred. As such, the arts are fundamental to creative marketing practice. Fluency in visual arts, music and so on are required in order to develop compelling creative communications and to design functional and esthetically pleasing products. Reflecting on the arts versus market debate discussed above, such a tension plays out in the creative elements of marketing practice i.e. between the creatives and the suits (Kelly, Lawlor & O'Donohoe, 2008). If such battles occur in non-arts marketing, they are further complicated by the centrality of creativity in the product of the arts. While Kelly et al., (2008) could identify the creative within advertising, in the realm of arts marketing, the creatives are those originators of the central product; the visual artist, the composer, the dramatist and so on, with little space often given to the marketers to illustrate their creativity. This has often resulted in dull, procedural, and tactical marketing practices coming from these industries. .

Creativity intersects with market hegemony in arts marketing practice, and it is this that interested Kerrigan (2017) when considering creative practices in film marketing. Frustrated with industrial structures which can exclude non-mainstream film or make assumptions about market preferences, film maker/markets such as MdotStrange have engaged in creative practices which bring their fans into the creative process. As well as being asked to be extras in his films, fans are given the tools and materials to create their own film and then invited to share their finished products with him; developing a form of 'new marketing' where fans preferences for story, character and overall aesthetics are apparent. What is interesting from a critical arts marketing perspective is that this is presented as a challenge to market hegemony where his offbeat style of animated film may not have mass appeal. However, MdotStrange draws on market logic, in order to develop his own creative practice, while at the same time, working to break down the producer/ consumer divide in order to provide others with the tools of production through sharing techniques and materials . These co-creative relationships that blur the boundaries between production and consumption can be viewed as the cutting edge of marketing practice, but also indicate the inevitable circle of the hegemony of market logic. Creative marketing practices aimed at opening up the market, increasing recognition for underrepresented groups, and increasing physical, financial, and cultural accessibility require critical interrogation.

Turning to the visual arts, we can see other examples of creative arts marketers, again, those who embrace marketing practice in their artistic work. As mentioned earlier, Andy Warhol, initially excluded from the art world, developed creative practices both in his art work and, notably, in his efforts to draw attention to his work, thus amassing the necessary cultural and social capital required to gain access to the art world while benefitting to some degree from his outsider status (see Fillis, 2000; Kerrigan, Brownlie, Hewer & Daza-LeTouze, 2011; Schroeder, 2005). Fillis' (2000; 2003; 2014) body of work on the intersection of arts, marketing, and entrepreneurship illustrates the multiple junctions between creativity and marketing.

Cultural Practice and Theory of Branding

Cultural capital, as noted earlier, has been seen as a central indicator of participation in the arts. Conversely, the lack of cultural capital can result in non-participation. It is for this reason that interrogation of the role of branding in the arts is necessary, as branding is seen as a technology which aids choice and understanding, thus offering shortcuts to consumers when selecting products or services. Here we see a divergence in theory between those focused on 'managing' or 'controlling' the brand, conceived of as belonging to a more managerial school of branding (see

O'Reilly and Kerrigan, 2013), and the cultural approach to branding as a more consensual practice, where brand identity is collectively agreed and evolves over time.

The relevance of applying branding theory to the arts has been recognised by scholars (see Preece & Kerrigan, 2015 for an overview;). Despite the number of papers on branding in the arts, through the arts and on art brands, O'Reilly and Kerrigan (2016) note that applying branding to the arts is a knotty theoretical issue. They start by querying, as does this chapter, what the arts are. That in itself is a complex question which is much debated in the wider literature. Secondly, O'Reilly and Kerrigan (2016), noting that branding is traditionally depicted as a way to communicate the essence of a complex phenomenon through shorthand which is primarily authored by a management team, highlight the challenge of providing a rich and thick description of a brand within the branding process. If brands are there to provide a shorthand for consumers, how can they also communicate the rich, historically located nature of cultural brands? What is evident in O'Reilly and Kerrigan's (2016) chapter, and wider work cited above, is that art brands must be historically and culturally situated, to avoid becoming merely spectacles. While mainstream managerially-driven brands, often those of products such as fast moving consumer goods, are created by a company in order to appeal to a given target market, cultural brands come with complex historical and cultural meanings attached.

One of the most significant challenges lies in the ownership of the brand and therefore the legitimacy of the branding process. In a fast-moving consumer goods context, there is a parent brand and this parent brand has the legal authority to 'brand' a product. They may decide on the pricing, the visual appearance, the brand narrative, and communicate this through a range of media. However, cultural branding approaches recognize the complexity of brands in terms of meanings located within wider cultural, social, political and historical contexts, and the more dispersed nature of brand ownership (e.g. Holt, 2003; O'Reilly, 2005; Schroeder, 2009). Moves to theories of co-creation (e.g. Cova & Pace, 2006) challenge managerial branding approaches which assume that parent brands can control brand meaning in the market, arguing instead that consumers play a significant role in co-constructing meaning. In the arts, we can see that this is not a theoretical argument, but that in fact, at a fundamental level, brand ownership is a dispersed entity. In, for example, the film industry (O'Reilly & Kerrigan 2013) and the visual arts (Preece at al., 2016), legal ownership of art brands is scattered among a number of stakeholders and non-owners of brands play a significant role in co-constructing brand meaning within the marketplace. Brand meaning is relational, relying on comparison, intersection and interrelationships between different stakeholders, meaning-makers, and brands. Brand meaning also shifts over time, as cultural codes (Bourdieu, 1979/84) gain new meanings (O'Reilly & Kerrigan, 2013; Schroeder, 2009).

The concept of cultural codes, derived from the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies is central to arts branding, and brings us back to cultural capital. If we accept Bourdieu's theorization of cultural capital (echoed in the Birmingham School), then class, race and other identity markers are influential in the process of encoding (i.e. embedding meaning) and decoding (i.e. understanding the intended message) (Hall, 1980), a process which is central to developing an understanding branding in the arts (O'Reilly & Kerrigan, 2013). This again requires arts marketing researchers to reflect on their treatment of the subject of their research, in classifying certain cultural practices as art, others as entertainment, and in making distinctions between popular and high art. Therefore, as argued by O'Reilly and Kerrigan (2016), understanding arts branding, requires an understanding of and embedding meaning in the arts themselves. O'Reilly and Kerrigan (2013; 2016) highlight the

relevance of the idea of circuits of culture where social interaction with art brands, conceptualized as sets of culturally bounded meanings, results in the production, reaffirmation, and sometimes the undermining of the plurality of meanings associated with those brands. This collective understanding of branding (Rodner & Thomson, 2013) is essential in considering how brand meaning is formulated within the arts, and such analysis is relevant for brands outside the arts, as has been recognized by thosewho argue for a culturally grounded branding theory (e.g. Holt, 2003).

Alternative Markets

The way in which the arts are created, expressed, disseminated, and understood is determined by systems of production and consumption (e.g. Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972). The cultural industries are composed of organisations that produce, manage, and sell cultural goods, and the arts market is a complex network that exists to bring artists, arts organisations, and audiences together. Hesmondhalgh (2002) explains that while theorists such as Raymond Williams and Pierre Bourdieu show the more or less permanent presence in human history of the particular kind of creativity that underpins art and culture i.e. "the manipulation of symbols for the purposes of entertainment, information and perhaps even enlightenment" (p.6), how this creativity is managed has taken radically different forms. For example, in Europe, systems of patronage gave way to the principles of the market in the 19th century, which eventually took the complex form of advanced consumer capitalism. The contemporary arts market is shaped by a constantly evolving socio-cultural and economic environment. Thus, arts markets are facing many changes not only in the way that art is produced and distributed, but also in the way that is it consumed. For example, O'Reilly et al. (2013) outline the constant evolution of the music industry that is due to changing ownership structures and fluctuations in public funding, and which has resulted in a diversification of business models and revenue streams. Most commercial artists rely on market revenue to survive, but many other artists draw upon a mix of revenue and public funding.

Shukaitis and Figiel (2013) caution against falling back on the argument that art and artistic practices merely reflect the underlying economic structures that determine them. As Attali (1985) so persuasively argues, modes of artistic production can precede and even forecast broader changes in economic interactions. What is important to note here, is that "politics is not separate from the relations of the art world, it cannot be relegated to the content of artistic production. For arts marketing politics is found in the articulation of the relationship between art and the market, and the forms of organization and sociality that emerge and that are sustained by that very conjunction" (Shukaitis & Figiel, 2013, p. 27). Thus, arts markets are inherently political, and it is this, combined with complexity, the economic and social precarity of living without job security, and abundant creativity, which means that the arts have often been at the forefront of the exploration and development of alternative forms of markets, and are therefore an important site of critical marketing thought and action. There is some exciting and important work which specifically explores and theorises the creation and formation of alternative markets and marketing practices.

Firstly, there is a long history of scholarship on alternative forms of production and consumption in the arts. An enduring construct within the fields of cultural studies and popular music studies is that of 'subculture' (Bennett & Kahn-Harris, 2004) which is a cultural group within a larger culture that emerges when a group of people interact and innovate new forms of living that are different, or even in opposition to mainstream culture. Foundational work highlighted the role of music (alongside fashion) in subcultural style, which, Hebdige (1979) argues, functions as a form of

protest against hegemonic power structures. There is a considerable amount of academic writing on popular music subcultures, for example punk, goth (Hodkinson, 2002), extreme metal (Kahn-Harris, 2007), and heavy metal (Walser, 1993). However, Weinzierl and Muggleton (2003) argue that there has been a move towards 'post-subcultural' theory, which maintains that subculture has become redundant as a conceptual framework for understanding style-based youth cultures because youth identities "had become more reflexive, fluid and fragmented due to an increasing flow of cultural commodities, images and texts through which more individualised identity projects and notions of self could be fashioned" (Bennett, 2011, p.493) . This, combined with a huge proliferation and diffusion of types of music, suggests that subcultures are no longer as demarcated by music as they once were. Yet, consumption communities continue to form around music. An interesting feature of the alternative forms of exchange emergent from subcultures is the 'do-it-yourself' (DiY) ethic which steps outside of the formal capitalist structures of production and consumption, thus blurring traditional marketplace roles of producer and consumer. Fans engage in artistic and material-semiotic production, by for example producing fanzines (Atton, 2001; Rau, 1994) or, as described earlier engaging as new cultural intermediaries in 'scanlation' – "translating, editing and disseminating overseas cultural products, without authorization by copyright holders, in order to make the products more accessible in a given language territory" (Lee, 2012, p. 131).

Secondly, because arts markets have often been the first to be faced with the challenges and opportunities of technological changes like the rise of digital technology, they have also been a crucial site for the development of alternative forms of pricing and distribution; such as file sharing (e.g. Belk, 2014; Giesler, 2006), and crowdfunding. As a form of alternative finance, crowdfunding is "a collective effort by people who network and pool their money together, usually via the Internet, in order to invest in and support efforts initiated by other people or organizations" (Ordanini, Miceli, Pizzetti, & Parasuraman, 2011, p. 444). Inspired by the open-source movement and facilitated by online communities, this collaborative approach to funding the arts relies on voluntary contributions and different forms of prosocial behaviour, which Cohendet and Simon (2014, p. 4) argue is motivated by the idea that the intrinsic value of the arts lies mostly in the creative process, which people wish to witness and be a part of: "people pay for the production and promotion of an idea rather than buying it in its final form". A consequence of these collaborative and sharing-based approaches to the production, dissemination, and consumption of art, is that they open up alternative market spaces and places that serve as a form of resistance to the capitalist economic model (Albinsson & Yasanthi Perara, 2012).

Creative Methods of Enquiry

Several scholars have sounded the call for more creativity in arts marketing research (e.g. Brown, 2011; Larsen & O'Reilly, 2010; Patterson, 2010). There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the aesthetic nature of the arts sets them apart from the products and services that have historically been the focus of marketing and consumer research. As outlined by Venkatesh and Meamber (2006, p. 20) the philosophical discipline of aesthetics maintains that "aesthetic experience is distinguished from the material aspects of life and privileged because of its importance in human development and metaphysical discourse". The production of art is therefore focused on aesthetic rather than utilitarian value, and the consumption of art draws on sensory, symbolic and embodied experiences (vom Lehn, 2006) that are different from those gained from the consumption of more mundane objects (Joy & Sherry, 2003). Thus, understanding the marketing and consumption of the arts requires different approaches than traditional methods of enquiry in marketing, in order to produce relevant insights. Secondly, arts marketing sits at the intersection of a number of related

and relevant disciplines and thus attracts interest from a range of scholars outside of marketing, including, arts management (Chong, 2002), cultural sociology (Spillman, 2002), the sociology of arts and culture (Tanner, 2003), cultural economy (Du Gay & Pryke, 2002), culture and consumption studies (Lury, 2004), celebrity studies (Walker, 2003), museology, performance studies (Schechner, 1993), art economics (Frey, 2003) and theoretical literatures relating to the different arts sectors, for example film, theatre, music and fine art, as well as tourism and leisure studies. This necessitates a multi-disciplinary approach to arts marketing that incorporates psychological, sociological, and anthropological perspectives and the full range of research methodologies that underlie these perspectives (Larsen & O'Reilly, 2010).

To this end, a variety of creative methods of enquiry have been adopted and become embedded in arts marketing research. For example, Patterson (2010, p. 59) strongly advocates the use of introspection (e.g. Hart, Kerrigan, & vom Lehn, 2015; Wohlfeil & Whelan, 2011), which he argues is not just a singular method, but which encompasses several ideas "introspection as an integral component of all writing and thinking; as a meta-method much like in-depth interviews or reader response; […and] as a formal method where one researcher reflects on his/her own consumption experiences". Fillis (2011) is a champion of the use of biography and other narrative methods, in order to better understand the intangible, abstract, and creative aspects of arts marketing practices. For example, Larsen (2017) uses biographies in a rhetorical analysis of how the label 'groupie' is used as an othering practice that upholds the gendered norms of rock music. By examining these biographies as sites of struggle that offer both preferred and oppositional readings of the groupie identity, the particular discursive practices of othering that are at work could be identified.

Art has not remained solely the subject of enquiry, but is now also used as a method and form of representation in the broader field of marketing and consumer research. Given humanity's love of narrative, Brown (2011, p. 80) argues that marketing scholars should reconsider the traditional modes of research representation and instead "embrace the foregoing facts about fiction. Maybe we should alter our preferred mode of representation, replacing hard facts with neat stories. Maybe we should "fictionalise" our findings to make them more acceptable to consumers". While Brown acknowledges that this may not be welcomed by the academic marketing mainstream, his argument is driven by a desire to find a way of better engaging audiences with the interesting, and often challenging, ideas that critical marketing theorists have to offer. Brown has certainly put his money where his pen is, and rewarded us with his trilogy: *The Marketing Code* (2006), *Agents and Dealers* (2008) and *The Lost Logo* (2009). Since the first film festival of the Association for Consumer Research (ACR) in 2001, videography has become institutionalised as an additional way of presenting research, to the traditional manuscript (see for example, the forthcoming Special Issue on netnography in the Journal of Marketing Management). Petr, Belk and Decrop (2015, p. 73) define videography as "the process of producing and communicating knowledge through the collection and analysis of visual material".

Recently, we witness a growing interest and exploration of non-representational, or more-than-representational methods, which are modes of theorising that go beyond representation and meaning, to focus on the embodied, sensory, affective, precognitive experience of everyday life. These methods are inherently artistic and aesthetic. With the intention of extending the toolkit for videographers in consumer research, Hietanen (2012) outlines an innovative role for videography, in moving beyond the linguistic form inherent in representational research, to a method that

foregrounds bodies in action in relation to the movement of affect. Similarly, Patterson and Larsen (2017) begin to trace the possibilities for a sonic turn in marketing and consumer research, as another non-representational approach that acknowledges sound as a site for analysis and theory development and which encourages the researcher to 'listen to consumption'. And the role of poetry in marketing research is extended by Canniford (2012) through the concept of 'poetic witness' that enables representations of consumer life worlds as heterogeneous constellations of objects, emotions, narratives, discourse and physical forces. All such efforts open up the space for an aesthetically driven, critical understanding of marketing and consumption.

Conclusion and Future Directions for Research

The chapter concludes with suggestions and directions for future research, which seek to build and expand upon the existing body of knowledge in arts marketing. What we can see above is that the notion of 'critical arts marketing' is not something around which a clear movement is centered. There is no clear beginning or borders to the field of critical arts marketing research. However, there is a genealogy which can be linked to the broader development of critical theory, and cannot be divorced from wider debates around the role of the arts within society. The arts themselves are neither critical nor uncritical, but how we engage with them is central to any critical project. We can see the arts, as Aristotle did, as valuable in providing cathartic output, or follow Boal's more active liberatory view of the potential of theatre as a way to challenge oppression, or we can recognize the capability of the arts to distract us from the real social, cultural and political issues at play in society. All views have merit in pushing forward a critical arts marketing. Greater interrogation of the process of audience development is needed, and writing this as Donald Trump follows a Reganomic defunding of the arts, we must continue to question the value of the arts in society, the arts/market intersection, and the convergence of arts and popular culture.

In approaching the arts, class, ethnicity and gender must be acknowledged and scholars need to find new (and old) ways to bring intersectional analysis [i.e. the effort to understand how these different social identities intersect with, and constitute one another to exclude and discriminate people] to our understanding of the arts. The increasing importance of creative methods in marketing and consumer research, necessitates a critical analysis of the deployment of methods such as videography, biography, fiction, and introspection. Bringing theoretical insight from cultural studies as well as the visual arts, music, film, dance and so on can enrich methodological and theoretical enquiry into wider areas such as advertising and marketing communication, and marketing practices which increasingly rely on moving image and the combination of visual and aural communication, such as the use of social media by companies and consumers.

This whistle stop tour of the origins and current research in what can be loosely termed critical arts marketing is partial, both in terms of historical perspective, inclusion or exclusion of authors and acknowledgement of influential foundational theorists. However, it provides a starting point for further research, debate and development.

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