

The Appropriation Cycle: Novice and Expert Consumers

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Abstract

Purpose – Recognising the value and limitations of current knowledge of the appropriation process in the consumption of aesthetic experiences, this research generates a localized account for novice and expert consumers of the varying role of cultural capital in the appropriation cycles and interpretative responses of an aesthetic experience.

Design/methodology/approach – This research employs a single case study design of Miró's blockbuster exhibition and draws on multiple sources of evidence, notably 50 in-depth visitor interviews, observation and archival records.

Findings – An evidence-based framework of the appropriation process for novice and expert consumers of aesthetic experiences is offered. This framework highlights the significance of appropriation pace and of personal versus communal interpretations – amongst other features – in distinguishing distinct versions of the appropriation process in accordance with the varied accumulation of consumer cultural capital.

Research limitations/implications – The transferability of the findings to other aesthetic or experience-based consumption contexts such as performing arts or sports is discussed, alongside the relevance of the proposed framework for researchers of aesthetic experiences.

Practical implications – The empirical investigation of the understudied connection between visitors' cultural capital and their museum experiences provides insights into curatorial and marketing practices in terms of broadening, diversifying and engaging museum audiences.

Originality/value – The research provides new theoretical insights into the literature of appropriation process and consumption of art experiences by bringing together consumers' cultural capital with the appropriation process and interpretive responses to an aesthetic experience.

Keywords: Appropriation process, appropriation cycles, cultural capital, aesthetic experience, interpretive responses.

1. Introduction

Marketers have long engaged with understanding and designing for consumption experiences that encompass a set of aesthetic qualities. Illustrations of this ongoing concern include the aestheticization of consumption (Bradshaw, 2010), the focus on advertising and spatial aesthetics (Brown and Patterson, 2000; Schroeder, 2005; Skandalis *et al.*, 2016), attention to experiential marketing (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982) and the emergence of customer experience management (Palmer, 2010). Moreover, the growing impact of arts and aesthetics on marketing and consumption practices (Bradshaw, 2010) further stresses the value of aesthetic experiences in enriching (arts) marketing theories (e.g. branding, experiential consumption) with the understanding of art contexts being essential for providing these insights (Brown and Patterson, 2000; Lee and Lee, 2017; Muñiz *et al.*, 2014).

This research concentrates on a typical consumer aesthetic experience of visiting an exhibition of paintings by a world-renowned artist. Such consumption of visual artworks (e.g. paintings) constitutes an aesthetic experience that is both context-embedded (Chen, 2009) and hermeneutical in nature (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982). Extant literature advocates that the interaction of consumers with the aesthetic context and with the aesthetic content shapes how an art exhibition is aesthetically experienced (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2010; Chen, 2009; Derbaix and Gombault, 2016). The aesthetic context involves the relationships (e.g. historical, thematic, dialogical) between the visual artworks in the experience setting (Dufrenne, 1973). Such relationships uncover the meaning and the significance of artworks and are manifested in the design of an aesthetic experience (e.g. concept development of an exhibition and its curatorial perspective). Conversely, aesthetic content captures the meaning of each piece of art as expressed in its style and narrative elements (Joy and Sherry, 2003). Viewed in this light, consumers through their encounters with aesthetic context and content grasp and create the meanings of artworks alongside the meaning of the aesthetic experience (Barrett, 2000; Preece *et al.*, 2016). This consumer-level perspective addresses Bradshaw *et al.*'s (2010) call for a shift of attention from the external to the internal value of artworks, to better account for and understand the 'experientialism in the consumption of visual art' (*ibid.* p. 5; O'Reilly, 2011). Therefore, consumers' encounters with artworks are manifested in consumption practices, which are activated by consumers' attempts to eliminate the distance between themselves and the aesthetic experience (Bradshaw, 2010; Goulding, 2000; Derbaix and Gombault, 2016).

In the arts marketing literature, the concept of distance or separation between the consumer and an aesthetic experience has been identified as a central topic in understanding and facilitating consumers' encounters with works of art (e.g. Chen, 2009; Derbaix and Gombault, 2016; Goulding, 2000; Skandalis *et al.*, 2016). Carù and Cova (2005) argue that consumers create the meaning of an aesthetic experience, and thus experience meaningful encounters with works of art, by accessing this experience through distance reduction between themselves and the experience at hand. This access, or reading of an aesthetic experience, constitutes an incremental act, labelled by Carù and Cova (2006, p. 6) as 'the appropriation process'. It captures the series of consumers' subjective actions involved in accessing aesthetic experiences. These actions are embedded in 'the appropriation cycle', envisaged as three interlocking sets of operations, namely 'nesting', 'investigating' and 'stamping' (*ibid.* p. 6).

In the operation of nesting, consumers search for familiar elements within an arts context so as to develop perceptions and sensations of being at a familiar place. Nesting leads

to investigating as consumers search for knowledge enhancement of the consumption context (e.g. investigation of the world of art with which they interact) to develop new anchorage and control points. These points facilitate consumers to integrate unfamiliar aesthetic ideas into well-known phenomena and/or contexts (anchorage points), thus helping them to develop feelings of comfort within an aesthetic milieu and ownership over the experience (control points). Finally, stamping allows consumers to attribute personal meaning to an aesthetic experience. Such operations of appropriation reveal consumers' attempts to eliminate the perceived distance between themselves as consumers and the aesthetic experience encountered. These attempts are linked to visitors' resources of cultural capital (specifically here, art related skills, and studied and embodied knowledge in art) that serve to distinguish novices from experts in the process of appropriation (Bourdieu, 1968; Carù and Cova, 2005).

To date, the literature affords fragmented insights into the appropriation process, its cycles and the role of consumers' cultural capital in accessing and interpreting an aesthetic experience. One view favours the study of expert consumers as a valuable means for understanding the appropriation process, arguing that expert consumers follow the process of appropriation to advance their art-related competencies and master the experience at hand (Bourdieu, 1986; cf. Carù and Cova, 2007). A competing perspective offered by Carù and Cova (2006) deems that an improved understanding of the appropriation process can best be served by concentrating on novices, arguing that novice consumers intensively engage in acquiring and deploying the competencies at their command to tap into the aesthetic experience. This debate questions the role of field-dependent cultural capital in shaping consumers' appropriation practices and experiences, and the interaction between appropriation practices and sense-making responses, which are inextricably linked to studying and understanding consumers' experiences and practices in consumption contexts (Lindberg and Østergaard, 2015; cf. O'Reilly, 2011; Taheri *et al.*, 2014; Tapp and Warren, 2010; cf. Woermann and Rokka, 2015).

Our research is informed by this conflict and investigates the appropriation process of both groups of consumers (novice and expert) to provide a deeper and more relevant understanding of the appropriation practices and consumers' sense-making activities (Lindberg and Østergaard, 2015). It concentrates on the role of consumers' cultural capital in accessing and interpreting the aesthetic context and content using an exhibition of Miró artworks as the vehicle of study. To this end, the article addresses two key research questions: 1) how do consumers with different cultural capital (i.e. expert and novice art consumers) move in the appropriation cycles? 2) how do the appropriation cycles and degree of cultural capital shape the interpretive responses of consumers to an aesthetic experience?

We propose an evidence-based framework of the appropriation process for novice and expert consumers of aesthetic experiences. This framework extends and enriches previous studies on the appropriation process and consumption of art experiences in two key ways. First, it provides insights into the role of consumers' field-dependent cultural capital in shaping appropriation practices and experiences by illuminating variations in appropriation sequences emerging from novice and expert consumers access to the Miró experience (Chen, 2009; Lindberg and Østergaard, 2015; Poncin and Garnier, 2012). Second, the framework extends the conceptualization of the appropriation process by demonstrating consumers' distinctive interpretive responses to the Miró experience evolving from differences in the appropriation

pace or speed and cultural capital (Carù and Cova, 2005; Hansen and Mossberg, 2013; Poncin and Garnier, 2012).

The structure of the article proceeds to a review of the appropriation process, followed by a discussion of the methodology used in the study. We then present the case study evidence and propose an evidence-based framework of the appropriation process for novice and expert consumers of aesthetic experiences. We conclude by summarizing our main contributions, study limitations and by proposing suggestions for further research.

2. The appropriation process in existing literature on consumption experiences

2.1 Aesthetic experiences, cultural capital and appropriation

The distinctive qualities of visual artworks have been identified as subjectivity, abstractness, non utilitarianism and holisticity (Hirschman, 1983) and correspondingly render the consumption of visual artworks as experiential, self-oriented, symbolic and intrinsically unique (Colbert and St. James, 2014). The distinctive nature and consumption process of visual artworks highlight not only the complex nature of value creation in art contexts (e.g. subjective, symbolic, and situational, Preece *et al.*, 2016) but also the core role of art consumers in experiencing the attributes of the pieces and in making sense of an aesthetic experience (Joy and Sherry, 2003). For instance, Preece *et al.*'s (2016) conceptual model of value creation in art contexts suggests that value and meanings ascribed to artworks emerge from a complex network of co-creation actors (e.g. artists, curators, critics). Viewed in this light, consumers in art contexts serve as both the recipients and co-creators of immersive and memorable aesthetic experiences (Bradshaw, 2010; Bradshaw *et al.*, 2010; Chen, 2009; Minkiewicz *et al.*, 2014). Thus, the skills, competencies, and past experiences of art visitors are central to understanding the practices by which consumers interact with the artworks and thus shape and appreciate their aesthetic experiences (Derbaix and Gombault, 2016). This critical role played by the consumer to partake and interpret an aesthetic experience underscores the theory of consumers' cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Cultural capital relates to an individuals' unique stock of skills, knowledge and practices that constitute a 'way' of knowing how to consume or perform (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital exists in three forms, namely the embodied state, relating to inherent competencies and dispositions; the objectified state, in the form of possessing or engaging with cultural goods (e.g. paintings, books); and in the institutionalized state that relates to official degrees and specialized knowledge (Bourdieu, 1986). These cultural resources (e.g. attitudes, skills, knowledge and manifested preferences) are acquired mainly through social learning and after being internalized in a tacit system of reproducible dispositions (i.e. habitus) constitute 'predisposed ways of thinking, acting and moving in and through' social fields (Bourdieu, 1984; Sweetman, 2009, p. 493). The notion of field refers to specific social arenas, such as particular consumption fields, in which the practices undertaken by consumers are influenced by their habitus and compete for particular values specific to that field, such as successful mastery of an artwork in an arts consumption field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This connection between habitus and field acknowledges the field-dependent versions of capital and of cultural capital in our study, with the latter referring to how consumers enact their cultural capital in the field of visual arts which in turn informs their consumption practices (Tapp and Warren, 2010). In the arts context, cultural capital is appreciated as the art viewers' aesthetic dispositions (e.g.

knowledge and competencies) that allow them to move beyond a 'naïve gaze' of artworks to gain an informed understanding of artworks and aesthetic practices. This understanding is intrinsically experienced and its incremental development contributes to the accumulation of cultural capital in this field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1968; Hanquinet *et al.*, 2014).

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is highly relevant to consumption of aesthetic experiences as related to consumption practices (Arsel and Thompson, 2010; Holt, 1998; Skandalis *et al.*, 2016; Tapp and Warren, 2010), the appropriation process and sense-making activities (Derbaix and Gombault, 2016; Ellway and Dean, 2016; Hanquinet *et al.*, 2014). Within this literature, Bourdieu's theory has been used to provide field-dependent understandings of practices that lead to appropriation and/or value creation of aesthetic experiences. For instance, Skandalis *et al.* (2016) consider the habitation (i.e. 'the continuous re-enactment of habitus within a diversity of places', p. 4) undertaken by consumers for appreciating experiences in the music context. Hanquinet *et al.* (2014) stress the role of cultural capital and resources in appropriating and making sense of the aesthetic codes of visual artworks, whereas Derbaix and Gombault (2016) conceive appropriation as an imaginative process leading consumers to create authentic aesthetic experiences accentuated by cultural knowledge. Thus, consumers' competencies or skills are used by consumers to navigate and explore exhibitions in order to reduce the distance between themselves and the respective experience (Carù and Cova 2005, 2007). This notion of distance reduction by consumers for accessing and interpreting an aesthetic experience is reflected in the process of appropriation.

2.2 Consumption experiences and the stages of the appropriation process

With its roots in environmental psychology, the concept of appropriation was introduced under the term 'appropriation of space' (Benages-Albert *et al.*, 2015). In its original form, appropriation was conceptualized as a process through which individuals formed feelings of spatio-temporal control over a specific space. Appropriation has since been investigated in diverse areas, such as new digital technologies (e.g. Kirk *et al.*, 2015), art perception (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986) and marketing and Consumer Culture Theory studies (CCT) (e.g. Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2013; Mifsud *et al.*, 2015). In marketing and CCT studies, appropriation is conceived as a praxeological process (i.e. a process of practices) facilitating consumers to personalize and edify the meanings of possessions, services or experiences in (re)creating their personal life stories.

In the context of consumption experiences, the notion of appropriation is expressed through 'the exercise of authority, control and physical or psychological power over an object or place' (Carù and Cova, 2005, p. 42). It is approached as a sense-making activity evolving from the interplay between consumers' actions (i.e. appropriation movements or practices) and interpretations (i.e. appropriation representations) (Aubert-Gamet, 1997). Here, appropriation is defined either as a consumption situation within which consumers project their inner properties onto the consumption object to develop feelings of possession and ownership (Ostergaard *et al.*, 1999) or as a subjective process through which consumers gradually immerse themselves in an experiential setting (Carù and Cova, 2003, 2005; Derbaix and Gombault, 2016). This psychological ownership over a place, object or experience emphasizes the subjective practices that consumers employ to (co)create a relationship with a place, object or experience.

In ground breaking work, Carù and Cova (2003, 2005, 2006) stressed the importance of appropriation in accessing aesthetic experiences. They theorized appropriation as a process explained in the form of a cycle (i.e. the appropriation cycle) through which the consumer progresses during an aesthetic experience. They envisaged the appropriation cycle as comprising three major operations or practices, respectively nesting, investigating and stamping. The practice of nesting connects to the physical and intellectual sensations that consumers acquire whilst searching for familiar elements within the experiential context (Aubert-Gamet, 1997). During this first operation, consumers are able to build their own place of safety or ‘nest’ within the experience and consequently to identify with it. Nesting reinforces the second practice of investigating, where consumers seek to enhance their own knowledge and mastery over the experience in order to develop anchorage points and mental and physical control (Mifsud *et al.*, 2015). This operation of investigating allows consumers to explore further the experience and extend their own territory over it. Nesting and investigating lead to the final practice of stamping. Stamping is an imaginative and intellectual activity that involves the consumer in the personal attribution of meaning during consumption of the aesthetic experience and consequently, immersion in the experience (Derbaix and Gombault, 2016). Once individuals achieve stamping, they are able to access and personalize the experience (Carù and Cova, 2005; Minkiewicz *et al.*, 2014). This appropriation cycle implies a circular pattern of movement from nesting to investigating to stamping with integrated intervals of preparation for the next phase, before returning to nesting. Therefore, an aesthetic experience is formed by the exercise of sequential practices that serve to shape its meaning.

2.3 Themes for investigation: Appropriation practices, cultural capital and sense-making activities

The strength of the appropriation cycle lies with its understanding of how consumers access a consumption experience as an incremental act that ‘counterbalances the figure of an inert consumer who dives into an experiential context’ (Carù and Cova, 2007, p. 37). It is conceived as a repertoire of consumers’ subjective operations that reveal their interpretative frameworks employed to control contextual stimuli and that create rather than accept the meaning of their experiences. Nonetheless, the appropriation cycle may be disrupted. For instance, the absence of familiar points at the start of the appropriation process may generate various negative sensations for novice consumers, serving to increase the feeling of distance and uncertainty with the aesthetic content and context.

The appropriation process and appropriation cycle are concepts of significance in marketing and consumer studies since they illustrate consumers’ psychological ownership over possessions, services and experiences (Mifsud *et al.*, 2015), consumers’ consumption practices in relation to their cultural capital (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2013), and imaginative responses leading to the creation of authentic and nostalgic experiences (Derbaix and Gombault, 2016; Jafari and Taheri, 2014). However, it is argued that the appropriation cycle is more complex and diverse than received theory elucidates (Hansen and Mossberg, 2013; Poncin and Garnier, 2012). The appropriation cycle might not only vary across different experiential contexts but also a variety of appropriation sequences might occur within a single lived experience. Moreover, existing studies appear to neglect the connections between appropriation practices and sense-making activities (Aubert-Gamet, 1997; Ellway and Dean, 2016).

We argue that the aforementioned limitations and omissions are due to the inattention to the process of appropriation and to the fragmented insights about the appropriation process, its cycles and the role of consumers' cultural capital in accessing and interpreting a consumption experience. We argue for a more dynamic viewpoint of the appropriation cycle to consider change in appropriation practices and to approach the appropriation cycle both as a praxeological and sense-making cycle. By doing so, we bring the concept of appropriation practices, as undertaken by consumers with different cultural capitals, together with the notion of temporal experience with an end result of slow and fast appropriation cycles. Our approach not only accounts for and illustrates variations in appropriation sequences but also demonstrates how these (temporal) sequences shape distinctive sense-making experiences in the field (cf. Woermann and Rokka, 2015). Thus, this research provides dynamic and nuanced insights into the nature of the appropriation process plus an understanding of the appropriation practices and how these shape consumers' sense-making activities and experiences in the consumption context of the Miró exhibition.

Before explaining the methodology, we briefly iterate our conceptualization of aesthetic experiences that guides this study. The case study adopts the phenomenological approach to aesthetic experience, conceiving it as a consumption experience that emerges from consumers' dialogical interaction with artworks (Chen, 2009). We follow this conceptualization since it assumes that consumers' interaction with an aesthetic experience (Ellway and Dean, 2016) is central to the sense-making dimension of aesthetic consumption (Yakhlef, 2015).

3. Methodology

To address the research questions, we conducted a single deep case study (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991) of Joan Miró's collection of artworks. We approach case study research as a 'research strategy that examines a phenomenon in its naturalistic context, with the purpose of confronting theory with the empirical world' (Piekkari *et al.*, 2009, p. 569). As such, the single case study design was chosen because of its theory building aim (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Welch *et al.*, 2011) originating from its focus on understanding consumers' subjective experiences and meanings (Siggelkow, 2007; Stake, 1995). Our theory building efforts are demonstrated in enriching the appropriation process and its cycles (e.g. Carù and Cova, 2006; Lindberg and Østergaard, 2015) through the integration of the role of consumers' cultural capital in shaping their appropriation practices and sense-making responses (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The context of the study was a major exhibition of Joan Miró's collection of artworks hosted in Greece. The exhibition titled 'Miró of Majorca' included over 400 significant Miró works of all themes and forms (paintings, sculptures, etchings, drawings, sketches for sculptures and public art) and attracted 70,000 visitors over its six-month duration. The research sought understanding through this single instrumental case study (Stake, 1995, 2005). An instrumental case study is a detailed examination of a specific case, which serves as an instance of understanding for a wider phenomenon of interest (Stake 1995). Instrumental case studies investigate specific theory and lead to theory development by generating rich insights of 'how the context imbues human action with meaning' (Welch *et al.*, 2011, p. 747).

In line with Stake's (1994, 1995) arguments for employing a single case study design and Flyvbjerg's (2006, p. 228) 'force of example', the exhibition of Miró served as an instrumental case for understanding how consumers' cultural capital affects access and

interpretation of an aesthetic experience through the lens of the appropriation process (i.e. the wider phenomenon). The Miró exhibition, as a modernism exhibition that challenges the classical vision of art (e.g. beauty, harmony, traditional skills of drawing), strongly relates to ‘the aesthetic elements of Bourdieu’s thinking’ (Hanquinet *et al.*, 2014, p. 113) regarding the notion of field-dependent cultural capital and consequently to art viewers’ practices to enact this capital. Moreover, according to art critics, the artwork of Miró evokes personally unique responses as it blends cognitive and intuitive elements, emotions and symbols ‘in a manner both imaginative and inventive’ (Prat *et al.*, 2002, p. 11). To summarize, the Miró blockbuster exhibition was chosen as: 1) it invited a large number of both novice and expert consumers (Preece *et al.*, 2016) and thus, distinctive acts for accessing and interpreting its aesthetic context and content (Prat *et al.*, 2002) and 2) that it offered a rich, deep and complex real-life context and revelatory potential (Gioia *et al.*, 2012) in the realm of aesthetic experiences (Hanquinet *et al.*, 2014) with the opportunity for multiple sources of evidence. These sources of evidence included 50 in-depth on-site visitor interviews (Kvale, 1996), participant and systematic observation within the exhibition setting (Baker, 2006) and 25 archival records of the Miró exhibition. The visitor informants were 21 expert and 29 novice art consumers (Table 1).

As our research goal was to unveil different consumer voices and acts of appropriation according to their novice or expert status as consumers of art, the participants of this study were purposefully selected (Polkinghorne, 2005). Guided by our research purpose, and consistent with previous research (e.g. Joy and Sherry, 2003; Holt, 1997) the informants’ distinction between the expert and novice categories was based on visitors’ annual frequency of visiting exhibitions of modern and contemporary art coupled with their knowledge of Miró’s art. The distinction between novices and experts relates to our participants’ field-dependent cultural capital and our participants’ consumption experiences and practices in the Miró exhibition (e.g. Hanquinet *et al.*, 2014).

[Table 1 Here]

Sensitized by the literature, the interview guide was flexibly designed to yield information on: 1) the informant’s cycle of appropriation in accessing the aesthetic context and aesthetic content; 2) the influence of the informant’s cultural capital in the appropriation process; 3) the informant’s interpretive responses. Each informant was invited to narrate their personal stories associated with their attempts to access and interpret their aesthetic experience of the Miró exhibition. The interviews were conducted on-site in the exhibition setting and after the visitor had completed their exhibition visit. The language used was Greek and the interviews ranged between 40 minutes and one hour in duration. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and subsequently translated to English.

Participant observation using pre-planned observation guides was also conducted throughout the duration of the study to learn what life was like for an ‘insider’ (i.e. a novice or expert consumer of Miró) whilst remaining, as researchers, ‘outsiders’. This dual state allowed us to get close access to the milieu, ensuring that relevant lived experiences would not be excluded and also safeguarded that this intimate knowledge of the setting would not result in bypassing ‘unmarked’ phenomena (e.g. ordinary actions and events) during both the observations and the interviews (Adler and Adler, 1994; Labaree, 2002). This approach served several purposes. First, it developed researcher familiarity with the exhibition’s aesthetic context and content prior to the collection of data through interviews, granting a nuanced and

sensitized understanding of exhibition context derived from personal experience. Second, participant observation facilitated the recruitment of interview informants as the researchers approached participants in their own environment rather than having the participants come to the researchers. Researchers approached participants following specific criteria, such as the time visitors spent within the exhibition and the behaviour that they exhibited in the exhibition, for example how they navigated themselves in the exhibition context, asking for directions, following the tour guide, reading the labels and ‘bypassing’ or ‘immersing’ themselves in artworks (Belfiore and Bennett, 2007). Third, observing visitors was integral to understanding the complexities of the consumption experience – an overarching research endeavour of the study (Carù *et al.*, 2014).

Archival data, such as exhibition documents, books, press releases, magazine and newspaper articles, covering the exhibition were systematically investigated following the process discussed by Welch (2000). This process of discovery, access, assessment, sifting and cross-checking of archival data granted an in-depth understanding of the exhibition context and content relevant to the appropriation process. Thus, the findings from the archival data process (Welch, 2000) contributed to the in-depth analysis of the data collected from the interviews and observation.

The analysis of the qualitative accounts was conducted in three intersecting and iterative phases (Spiggle, 1994). To commence an elemental method of *in vivo* coding was employed to organize the data that emerged from interviews, observation and archival records and to facilitate the identification of patterns across sources of data (Saldaña, 2009). Use was also made of intra-textual and inter-textual cycles of interpretation (Thompson, 1997) to further analyse the emerging patterns in the dataset and to unveil similar thematic aspects across data sources. In the second phase of data analysis, the most significant patterns (e.g. actions, feelings and interpretive acts) were linked into broader categories (Spiggle, 1994) that reflected the characteristics of the three operations of appropriation (Carù and Cova, 2005). Finally, the researchers re-connected the empirical findings with existing theory. Of note in this third phase was the examination of the emergent themes and concepts in light of the literature so as to illuminate the ‘empty spaces’ (Pratt, 2008, p. 498) of the appropriation process that have not been the subject of prior theorizing (Colquitt and Zapata-Phelan, 2007).

To ensure the trustworthiness of our evidence, we adopted practices recommended in the literature (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). The purposeful selection of our informants along with the presentation of informants’ characteristics and the process adopted to recruit our participants enhances the credibility and the quality of our evidence (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). To safeguard the consistency of our interpretations and the articulation of the ‘heteroglossic’ perspectives emerged from the analysis (Johnson *et al.*, 2006; Stake, 1995), we used multiple sources of evidence and we discussed the interpretations of the case study evidence on multiple occasions. Similarly, to warrant the credibility of our interpretations, we provide direct quotations from different informants (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). Additional steps taken to enhance the quality of our interpretations included use of theory to structure the interview topics, the utilization of reflective practices (e.g. iterative discussions of the interpretations of the findings) during the process of analysis (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988) and data and investigator triangulation, which contributed to further enriching knowledge on the

appropriation process and interpretive responses for novice and expert consumers (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

4. Findings

4.1 Different cycles of appropriation: Novice consumers

With respect to the first research question of how consumers with different cultural capital move in the appropriation cycles, the case study evidence indicated that both novice and expert consumers in the aesthetic context and content engaged in the gradual process of appropriation. However, novice and expert consumers followed different moves within their respective appropriation cycles and by doing so, they physically, emotionally and cognitively, mapped their museum journeys differently.

Novice consumers accessed their aesthetic experience by employing all three appropriation operations, which activated their knowledge, skills and actions in the Miró exhibition. From our field notes and the interviews, it emerged that through nesting practice, novice consumers actively searched for external anchorage points that would enhance their familiarity with the exhibition's context and content. As illustrated below, anchorage points such as reception staff, the exhibition's labels and especially the tour guides served as mental and emotional 'hooks' that locked consumers into the experience:

Well, I don't visit museums very often, because I find it extremely difficult to interpret artworks, especially in the case of the "puzzling" abstract art. You know, when you can't find something meaningful in an exhibition, there is no reason to visit exhibitions. You just feel that you don't fit in that world. However, I have to confess that my visit to Miró's exhibition was very different because of the guide...She made the difficult and abstract world of Miró world easy to grasp. She offered insights and familiar pictures that I could identify with. I was able to see Miró's world as something that related to me. Something that I could manage [Helen, novice consumer].

The importance of anchorage points in the nesting operation of novice consumers is further illustrated in our field notes. Novice consumers accompanied by tour guides started their journeys by following the agentive action of the tour guides and directed their attention to the guides coordinating with their movements and pace during this appropriation phase. Tour guides were significant anchorage points for novice consumers, since by designing their experiences (e.g. how to navigate myself, what to look at and how to read the artworks) acted as 'gatekeepers' that helped them to feel familiarity both with the exhibition space and Miró's vocabulary of forms. However, not all novice visitors attended the guided tours. These visitors also actively searched for anchorage points, favouring less disclosing elements of the museum setting, namely the reception staff, museum's atmosphere, the labels and the curatorial arrangement. Thus, these visitors had to design their own experiences and hence, they sought advice from the reception staff about the exhibition's 'correct or proposed path', they spent more time reading the labels in their attempts to understand the artworks, and their dwell-time within the museum was shorter than those accompanying guides. According to these novice visitors' interview accounts, this curtailed viewing arose from non-participation in the guided

tour that would otherwise have enabled them to better explore the representational meanings of the artworks, gaining interesting information and increasing exhibition dwell-time.

By providing novice consumers with some degree of control, the contextual facilitators (e.g. tours, labels, thematic arrangement of the exhibition) led them to feel that they could be part of the exhibition's landscape. This let them move forward to the operational phase of investigating. Within this second practice, consumers experienced feelings of belonging and ownership (Vischer, 2008) that allowed them to produce their next moves in the aesthetic experience. These moves related to the awakening of consumers' competencies, i.e. knowledge, thoughts and personal stories, which reduced the distance between the aesthetic experience and themselves:

The guide assisted me to participate in the imaginary world of Miró. She introduced Miró to me and revealed his thoughts. She helped me to comprehend his artworks and to feel part of them. His artworks are a source of passion and energy. That's the reason why people adore Miró's artworks...because they remind us of our life histories... For me this experience was a successful one because I was able to understand and be part of Miró's world [Margarita, novice consumer.]

The quotation above demonstrates the importance of the investigating operation in developing new anchorage points that enabled novice consumers to further explore the aesthetic milieu that they encountered. Our evidence states that during this operation, novice consumers accompanied by tour guides interacted with the guides and paid attention to labels for artworks that intrigued them. This development of anchor points enabled them to temporarily deviate from the tour guide and to slow down their viewing strategies with specific artworks. For novice consumers unaccompanied by tour guides, other supporting elements (e.g. exhibition's thematic display and the playful aura of Miró's art) assisted them to gather information regarding the content of the artworks and invoked nostalgic emotions, which by enabling these visitors to create self-related cognitive information allowed understanding of the artworks (Leder *et al.*, 2004).

The investigating operation, manifested in consumers' physical moves, cognitive, and emotional responses, contributed to the development of their personal agency that led them to stamp their journeys. Their personal journeys were largely shaped by their personal life context (e.g. personal experiences and life stories) rather than the exhibition context, even though the supporting elements of the Miró exhibition assisted them to progress into the operations of investigating and stamping by developing a sense of place. Once the journey was completed, novice consumers stamped their experience as 'a feeling of personal success', which was characterized as an achievement of an individuated sense of creativity accompanied by feelings of satisfaction, happiness and nostalgia. This imaginative response emerged from these visitors' appropriation practices, being activated by the museum's anchorage points and creating a sense of improving their art related abilities in terms of actively participating in and shaping their experiences.

4.2 Different cycles of appropriation: Expert consumers

In contrast, the appropriation cycle followed by expert consumers was faster than their novice counterparts. The field-dependent cultural capital of these expert art visitors acted as an internal anchorage point. This invoked feelings of intimacy and ownership over the aesthetic milieu, leading them to downplay the operation of nesting and move directly into the operations of investigating and then stamping. Our evidence demonstrates that these expert consumers commenced their journeys approaching reception staff for information regarding the exhibition's complementary material (e.g. brochure and exhibition catalogue) whilst their tour within the museum was characterized by an exploratory behaviour (e.g. reading both the brochure and the labels, deviating from the tour guides, repeat engagement with specific artworks, moments of stillness for focused artwork contemplation).

In this investigating phase, expert consumers engaged in the act of searching for cognitive points, namely the exhibition labels and tour guides. These served as cultural intermediaries that facilitated and challenged their competencies, rather than as 'gatekeepers' that made them feel part of the aesthetic milieu as in the case of novice consumers. Expert consumers used these cognitive points to better understand the structure and narrative of the exhibition and to uncover the artistic style of the artworks. The thematic labels and arrangement of the Miró exhibition led expert consumers to a sequential viewing of the artworks which revealed unexplored trajectories of Miró's art:

I can characterize myself as passionate about art. You see, I have already seen Miró's artworks four times and this is my fifth. So, when I entered the exhibition I was focused on the design of the exhibition and on the labels so as to capture the curator's point of view into Miró's world. For me, the design of the exhibition enclosed Miró's art in the best way. So, this time I had the opportunity to mark off neglected and significant aspects of Miró's art and to create new connections. This experience was my best experience in understanding Miró's art. [Dimitris, expert consumer]

These contextual stimuli assisted expert consumers in extending both their aesthetic perspectives and art related competencies. This is manifested both in expert consumers' interview accounts and in our field notes, with the latter revealing their viewing strategies, including frequent and 'isolated' breaks from the guided tours (for those attending the guides) for reflection or further scrutiny of specific exhibits. This engagement of expert visitors was affected both by Miró's art that stimulated a particular search for meaning and cognitive orientation (Leder *et al.*, 2004) and by the synergy between the open-plan exhibition area, the thematic arrangement of the display and the narrative configurations of tour guides (when a tour guide was attended). This contextual synergy, by revealing the aesthetic relationships between the exhibited artworks, stimulated further exploration (Wineman and Peponis, 2010). Expert consumers felt intrigued by the aesthetic experience which shaped their potential next actions (Leder *et al.*, 2004). For expert consumers, these actions related both to the grasping of the aesthetic qualities and meanings of Miró's artworks, enabling them to access the aesthetic experience and to undergo feelings of mastery. During this appropriation phase, some expert

consumers returned to specific exhibits to fully appreciate Miró's personal touch and his artistic style and revisit their interpretations:

I have to admit that when I saw some of Miró's artworks, I felt like a novice visitor and that was a pleasant surprise for me since I often visit exhibitions of modern and contemporary art and since I have met Miró's artworks in the past. But, when I started my "sight-seeing" in the museum, the exhibition was so well organized and this allowed me firstly to understand the meaning of the exhibition and secondly to delve into Miró's artistic style...this challenging experience not only introduced to me unknown trajectories and meanings of Miró's art but also deepened and enhanced my artistic knowledge of Miró's artworks. [Elvira, expert consumer]

After completing my visit, I returned to the second floor, where there is a simulation of Miró's studio. I wanted to feel again the aura of Miró working in his studio, you know it feels like being there, walking in his atelier, observing him how he created the ideograms and his symbolic and political art . . . That experience transfers you to the artists' world and provides all the things you need to know and feel so as to have a genuine meeting with the artist. [Panos, expert consumer]

The personal journeys of expert consumers were shaped both by their personal life context (e.g. previous experiences and knowledge in Miró's art) and the exhibition context (e.g. curator's vision that composes an interpretation of the artworks). These expert consumers interpreted the meanings of the exhibits in their own right and re-negotiated the curator's interpretation of the artworks. Once their journey was completed, expert consumers stamped their experience as 'a feeling of challenge'. This was characterized as an intellectual travel into the imaginary world of Miró accompanied by feelings of 'being there', excitement and inspiration. This imaginative and intellectual response emerged from the enactment of expert visitors' appropriation practices, being facilitated and challenged by the museum's cognitive points and creating a sense of accumulating their field-dependent cultural capital through successful mastery of their experience.

4.3 Interpretive responses of the cycles of appropriation and consumers' cultural capital

Addressing the second research question of how the appropriation cycles and the degree of cultural capital shape consumers' interpretive responses to an aesthetic experience, the findings illustrated that consumers' cultural capital and their distinctive appropriation cycles resulted in different interpretive responses. These responses show how the contextual and visitor factors continuously mold consumers' appropriation practices, thus leading to the attribution of personalized meaning(s) to their experiences.

The interpretive responses of novice consumers to the exhibition's context and content were largely shaped by their personal life contexts, through which they understood the semantic meanings of the artworks (Parsons, 2002). The supporting elements that these visitors found in the Miró exhibition decreased their distance with the experience and awakened their interpretive skills. They converted their personal life contexts into a significant resource in their

appropriation operations, namely to a resource that influenced their emotional and cognitive evaluations of the aesthetic experience.

These novice visitors began their personal journeys using the anchorage points of the exhibition, most notably guidance, as vehicles for initiating reflections and marshalling memories. The anchorage points of the Miró exhibition, by supporting all the stages of novice consumers' appropriation cycles and by invoking emotionally authentic experiences that fuelled their imagination, led them to extract and associate the exhibition's abstract meaning with their personal life stories:

If I didn't attend the tour that the museum organized, probably I wouldn't understand the weird world of Miró. The tour guide explained to us the stories and symbols behind Miró's artworks and for me this exhibition communicated the message of being active. So, I can tell you that through this exhibition I altered my viewpoint concerning my life. I have to be active so as to confront the real face of the world. [Leonidas, novice consumer].

These responses of personal interpretation to the aesthetic experience allowed novice consumers to experience feelings of success from the ability to interpret and create their own aesthetic experiences. The fact that the personal interpretations pertain to the world of the interpreters rather than to the world of artworks allowed these novice consumers to construe and appropriate the meanings of the pieces (Barrett, 2000). This act of appropriation made the abstract artworks of Miró less intimidating and more personally meaningful and facilitated novice consumers to understand the challenging semantic associations of the artworks and as such, to better instil personal meaning to their aesthetic experiences (Leder *et al.*, 2004). Therefore, novice consumers through the construction of personal interpretations both identified with, and personalized the meaning of, their experience.

By contrast, the interpretive responses of expert consumers to the exhibition's aesthetic context and content reflected the interaction between these consumers' subjective experiences of appropriation practices and the exhibition's objective patterns of action (Ellway and Dean, 2016). In particular, the latter was manifested in the design of the exhibition including the labels, and tour guides invited expert consumers to tune into the voice of the curator about the experience at hand and to grasp insightful interpretations concerning the aesthetic qualities of Miró's artworks. This habitus-mediated experience of making sense of the abstract field of Miró's art awakened these consumers' art related skills and competencies. By doing so, this allowed them not only to grasp the semantic and aesthetic meanings of the exhibition but also to combine the curator's interpretation with their art related knowledge and to acquire a deeper understanding of Miró's artworks:

The sequential and thematic order of Miró's exhibition redefined my knowledge about his art. The way with which the curator approached and exhibited Miró's artworks goaded my mind and made me see more in Miró's artwork. For example, the content of the labels allowed me to rediscover the symbolism of Miró's artworks and to reconsider his certain way of dealing with the world. This demanding

experience reorganized the meaning that I would assign to Miró's artwork and advanced my knowledge in his art. [Stavroula, expert consumer]

This act of communal [curator-consumer] interpretation (Barrett, 2000) of the aesthetic experience established virtuous circles of artwork processing, thereby engaging expert consumers in a sense making process that encouraged them to explore further the artworks. Specifically, for expert consumers the feelings of challenge and pleasure of undergoing an aesthetic experience that questioned their previous experiences and existing knowledge extended their art related competencies (Reber *et al.*, 2004). By shedding light into the worlds of artworks and activating consumers' idiosyncratic interpretive frameworks, such communal interpretations allowed expert consumers to decipher and personalize the intrinsic narratives and artistic styles of the artworks they encountered. This act of appropriation in revealing the aesthetic qualities and the narratives of artworks allowed expert consumers to achieve a sense of mastery and expertise over the aesthetic experience. Thus, expert consumers through the construction of communal interpretations employed their accumulated cultural capital to decipher the meanings of artworks and to make sense of their aesthetic experience.

5. Discussion

This case study fulfils its aim of theory development by providing insights into the literature of appropriation process and consumption of art experiences (Carù and Cova, 2006; Chen, 2009; Lindberg and Østergaard, 2015). To this end, the evidence-based framework of the appropriation process for novice and expert consumers of aesthetic experiences depicted in Figure 1 articulates the process characteristics for the two groups of consumers bounded by their differing levels of cultural capital. Thus, the contribution of the study is twofold:

[Figure 1 Here]

First, in response to the debate regarding the relevance of the appropriation process in the consumption practices of novice or expert art consumers (Lindberg and Østergaard, 2015), the study empirically illustrates that consumers' field-dependent cultural capital plays a significant role in shaping the appropriation cycles and thus, in the process of accessing and interpreting an aesthetic experience. This contribution extends prior consumer research on the appropriation process and consumption of art experiences by directly linking the appropriation practices with consumers' cultural capital. This link elucidates field-specific consumption practices that are not fully understood in the extant literature and contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamic and temporal nature of aesthetic consumption (Carù and Cova, 2006; Derbaix and Gombault, 2016; Jafari and Taheri, 2014; Minkiewicz *et al.*, 2014). Our study demonstrates the disparate consumption practices of novice and expert consumers in a framework of the appropriation process that captures the differing treatment of phase and pace. This contribution has two important implications.

The first implication pivots on the necessity to understand contextual variations both in the appropriation cycles and in appropriation sequences by paying attention both to consumers' cultural capital and to the temporal sequence of the appropriation cycles. This key interrelationship between 'consumer resources that are brought into the experiencescapes' (Lindberg and Østergaard, 2015, p. 258) and the temporal nature of consumption experiences (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2017) parallels previous studies on the temporal and access-based

dimensions of consumption according to which ‘consumers engaged in similar activities in similar places share very similar temporal experiences’ (Woermann and Rokka, 2015, p. 1488). By bringing together consumers’ *experiences* and *practices* enacted in a field, we provide a contextualized understanding of the appropriation practices which can be fruitfully incorporated in future studies exploring the process of value (co-)creation in (aesthetic) consumption experiences (Minkiewicz *et al.*, 2014; Preece *et al.*, 2016).

The second implication stems from the demonstration that access to an aesthetic experience is neither a universal consumption practice nor a patterned cycle taking place at a constant pace as it has been theorized in previous consumer research (Carù and Cova, 2006; Chen, 2009). Instead, cultural capital generates different appropriation processes. To illustrate, novice consumers adhered to the whole appropriation cycle in order to familiarize themselves with the aesthetic experience. In contrast, expert consumers followed a two-stage appropriation cycle in order to grasp the aesthetic qualities of Miró’s artwork and to experience feelings of mastery. This shows that the focus should be on the different versions and pace of the same practice that consumers follow to access and engage themselves in an aesthetic experience. This implication also provides insights into the investigation of nostalgic and authentic aesthetic experiences, as it reveals different appropriation practices that lead consumers to create and live such experiences (Derbaix and Gombault, 2016; Jafari and Taheri, 2014).

Second, this study extends the conceptualization of the appropriation process by illustrating consumers’ interpretive responses to Miró’s experience in terms of the appropriation cycles and accumulated cultural capital that are apparently absent in the extant literature (Carù and Cova, 2005; Ellway and Dean, 2016; Foreman Wernet and Dervin, 2016). It addresses research calls to move beyond the differences in novice and expert art consumers’ cognitive processing of artistic stimuli and preferences in artistic styles, to investigate how consumers become involved in interpretive activities. The findings revealed the importance of a full appropriation cycle in order for novice consumers to acquire the necessary resources (i.e. familiarity and knowledge) before moving forward to create personally meaningful interpretations of the Miró experience. The fast ‘pace’ in the expert visitors’ appropriation cycle indicates a decreasing number of practices to coordinate and control, compared to novice visitors, which decreased the complexity of accessing and interpreting the Miró experience. Experts’ two-stage appropriation cycles resulted in the construction of communal interpretations, which reflected the expansion of these consumers’ art related competencies through which they gained a sense of mastery over the experience (Reber *et al.*, 2004).

This contribution encompassing the role of ‘appropriation pace’ in shaping distinctive interpretive responses implies a continuous engagement of consumers in the appropriation practices in order to reduce the distance between the experience and the interpretive stage of consumption. This suggests that the sense-making activity emerging from the appropriation cycle is continuous as it is created through the enactment of the appropriation practices, rather than disruptive and episodic as some studies seem to imply (Chen, 2009; Hansen and Mossberg, 2013; Poncin and Garnier, 2012). In other words, consumers via their appropriation practices not only extract the meaning of their experiences but also interpret the meaning of their experiences. However, the habitual challenges emerging from consumers’ cultural capital can influence consumers’ access to an aesthetic experience and can disrupt the sense-making activity. For instance, the absence of, or the search for, anchorage and cognitive points in the

case of novice and expert consumers respectively can lead to a ‘waiting time’. This waiting time can force consumers to make sense of this break (e.g. how to proceed in the case that anchorage points are absent), interrupting the continuity of enacting the appropriation practices and hence the interpretation of the experience. Yet our evidence does not illuminate whether these waiting intervals were experienced negatively or positively (e.g. feelings of boredom, stress or suspense).

5.1 Managerial Implications

From a managerial perspective, the investigation of the understudied connection between visitors’ cultural capital and their appropriation of museum experiences foregrounds the curatorial challenge of ‘creating a balanced approach to the generation and dissemination of knowledge’ (Taheri *et al.*, 2014, p. 327). This encourages the creation of a mix of curatorial practices that both novice and expert consumers can relate to and which enhance social inclusivity in art contexts (MacLeod *et al.*, 2015). Our evidence suggests that visitors’ cultural capital requires a focus on how ‘museumsapes’ can condition visitors’ skills, consumption practices and experiences (Woermann and Rokka, 2015). To illustrate, for novice consumers, support elements, such as labels and tour guides, are crucial to facilitate the performance of these consumers’ appropriation practices. Facilitating access to the museum space (nesting operation) and enhancing visibility to the museum’s content and context (investigating operation, Williams, 2013), enables personal agency of these visitors (stamping operation, Jafari and Taheri, 2014). Engagement in the appropriation and co-creation of their experiences not only provides novice consumers with opportunities to live compelling and memorable experiences but also can increase their art-related competencies, thus encouraging future museum visits.

For expert consumers, providers of aesthetic experiences can support the desire of these consumers for mastery by paying close attention to an exhibition design that can convert the expert consumers’ aesthetic experience into an intriguing and challenging one. Expert visitors enjoy higher levels of engagement by leveraging their prior knowledge (investigating operation) and their imagination (stamping operation, Derbaix and Gombault, 2016; Taheri *et al.*, 2014). In terms of an exhibition’s design, curatorial practices (MacLeod *et al.*, 2015), such as the thematic organization of an exhibition and creation of ‘heterotopic spaces’, that reveal unknown trajectories of the exhibits, can lead expert visitors to experience an unmediated form of communication that allows them both to process the presented information and to experience the multiplicity of meanings and perspectives embedded in museums (Jafari and Taheri, 2014).

Overall, our findings can be used by different stakeholders including museum managers and curators to enhance visitors’ aesthetic experiences in terms of broadening, diversifying and engaging an audience (de Rooij and Bastiaansen, 2017; Evans *et al.*, 2012). This study sheds light on how exhibition design affects visitors’ appropriation practices, which enable them to actively engage in the museum experience. Therefore, museums can offer diverse engagement facilities that assist reflection and create ‘open spaces’ for dialogue, to enable and synchronize different consumption practices occurring within a single experience and undertaken by consumers with different cultural capitals.

6. Conclusions, limitations and future research

In conclusion and in line with Stake's (1995) naturalistic generalization, the aim of the research was to generate a localized account for novice and expert consumers of the role of cultural capital in the appropriation process and interpretive responses of Miró's artwork. Our contribution 1) empirically demonstrates the importance of consumers' field-dependent cultural capital in shaping appropriation cycles and the process of accessing and interpreting aesthetic experiences 2) articulates the disparate practices and interpretive responses of novice and expert consumers in a framework of the appropriation process that captures the differing treatment of phase and pace.

Subsequently, by providing thick descriptions and vicarious experiential accounts which put forward how novice and expert consumers access, and make sense of, the aesthetic experiences, we invite the reader to evaluate the applicability of the results in other situations and distinctive experiences. In line with Gioia *et al.*'s (2012, p. 24) recommendation about the transferability of case study research, the findings of this study are relevant to a) art exhibitions and exhibitions of other mediums (i.e. museums and galleries, previously referred to and closest to the research case study); b) performing arts (for example, music, dance and theatre); and, c) other aesthetic experiences dependent on consumer expertise (for example, competitions, spectators of team and individual sports). From distinct consumption fields, a baseball game (Holt, 1995) or a ballet performance offer different aesthetic experiences (e.g. dynamic and ephemeral production qualities) to an art exhibition, yet such experiences are also consumed by novice and expert consumers. For example, in a ballet performance, novice consumers may need to rely on facilitators to understand the meaning of the performance, for instance to read the programme or to consume the experience with an expert or 'mentor' (Holt, 1995, p.12). In lived sport spectacles, expert and novice consumers alike cannot 'return' to the same point for renewed contemplation, though they can accumulate performances. Such variation in characteristics and complexity for aesthetic experiences provides rich opportunity for onward application and relevancy of the appropriation process and our framework differentiating the practice of novice and expert consumers.

This study also focused on the individual experience, whereas such aesthetic experiences can also be lived in social groups or dyads (e.g. family, couples). Future research might usefully consider the appropriation process as a collective phenomenon, occurring when visitors share aesthetic experiences with significant others (vom Lehn, 2006). The role of consumers as co-creators and knowledge providers for others in a shared aesthetic experience may have insightful implications about how consumers appropriate the co-created value emerging from their interaction with other people. Similarly, future research may seek to take an in-depth account of the variety in visit occasion by identifying informants according to occasion or purpose of visit as different consumption occasions may affect the appropriation cycles and visitors' meaning making responses. An expert consumer may have diverse aesthetic experiences and corresponding responses if visiting alone for personal pleasure and knowledge, if accompanying a relative or teenage offspring as a social outing, or if attending with a colleague or friend with a purpose of entertainment.

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Table 1: Participants and their relevant characteristics.

Name	Gender	Age Group	Occupation	Self-Professed Interest in Art	Frequency of visits per year	Novice / Expert
Helen	Female	23-28	PG Student	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Leonidas	Male	23-28	Mechanical Engineer	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Pavlos	Male	23-28	PG Student	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Makis	Male	29-34	Nutritionist	Passing interest in art	2	Novice
Eva	Female	29-34	Teacher	Mild interest in art	3-4	Novice
Christos	Male	29-34	Surveyor	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Chrisa	Female	23-28	-	Interest in art	3-4	Novice
Nikos	Male	23-28	-	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Tania	Female	23-28	Policewoman	Mild interest in art	2-3	Novice
Paschalia	Female	17-22	UG Student	Passing interest in art	1-2	Novice
Alexandra	Female	23-28	English Teacher	Mild interest in art	2-3	Novice
Dafni	Female	23-28	Museum Keeper	Mild interest in art	3-4	Novice
Eva	Female	17-22	Waitress	Passing interest in art	1-2	Novice
Maria	Female	23-28	Bank Employee	Mild interest in art	2	Novice
Lia	Female	23-28	Teacher	Passing interest in art	2-3	Novice
Vivi	Female	17-22	Waitress	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Rena	Female	< 17	Student	Passing interest in art	1-2	Novice
Ntina	Female	23-28	-	Mild interest in art	2-3	Novice
Georgios	Male	17-22	Farmer	Mild interest in art	2-3	Novice
Katherine	Female	23-28	-	Interest in art	3-4	Novice
Eirini	Female	17-22	-	Interest in art	2-4	Novice
Dionisia	Female	> 50	Pensioner	Interest in art	3-4	Novice
Emili	Female	17-22	-	Passing interest in art	1-2	Novice
Margarita	Female	29-34	English Teacher	Interest in art	2-4	Novice
Giannis	Female	35-40	Journalist	Mild interest in art	3-4	Novice
Chrisoula	Female	17-22	Waitress	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Efi	Female	17-22	-	Passing interest in art	1-2	Novice
Dimitra	Female	17-22	UG Student	Mild interest in art	1-2	Novice
Natassa	Female	17-22	-	Passing interest in art	1-2	Novice

Table 1 (Continued): Participants and their relevant characteristics.

Name	Gender	Age Group	Occupation	Self-Professed Interest in art	Frequency of visits per year	Novice / Expert
Elvira	Female	41-46	Academic	Strong interest in art	6-7	Expert
Hlektra	Female	>50	Architect	Strong interest in art	8-10	Expert
Dimitris	Male	41-46	Journalist	Interest in art	6-8	Expert
Chrisanthi	Female	41-46	Academic	Strong interest in art	>10	Expert
Kostas	Male	23-28	-	Passionate about art	>10	Expert
Viktor	Male	23-28	Graphic designer	Interest in art	6-7	Expert
Niki	Female	<17	Student	Interest in art	5-6	Expert
Villi	Female	23-28	Employee	Interest in art	5-6	Expert
Panos	Male	> 50	School Director	Interest in art	6-8	Expert
Evangellia	Female	29-34	Teacher	Interest in art	6-7	Expert
Kaiti	Female	41-46	Artist	Passionate about art	>10	Expert
Joanna	Female	17-22	-	Interest in art	5-7	Expert
Ariandni	Female	17-22	Jewellery Designer	Interest in art	5-6	Expert
Chara	Female	41-46	Teacher	Interest in art	8-10	Expert
Rita	Female	23-28	-	Mild interest in art	5-7	Expert
Stavroula	Female	41-46	Store Manager	Mild interest in art	5-7	Expert
Mimi	Female	> 50	Teacher	Mild interest in art	6-7	Expert
Vaso	Female	35-40	French Teacher	Interest in art	6-8	Expert
Tzenny	Female	41-46	Teacher	Mild interest in art	5	Expert
Iro	Female	29-34	Designer	Strong interest in art	7-8	Expert
Lena	Female	35-40	Librarian	Interest in art	5-6	Expert

Figure 1: Framework of the appropriation process for novice and expert consumers of aesthetic experiences.

