

**Understanding the transforming power-dynamics in the global art
field by bringing together territorial and social interaction-based
approaches**



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Researcher Declaration

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ABSTRACT

The global art field has become both more differentiated in structure and more integrated in functioning, and it also shows simultaneously signs of decentralization and centralization. While research has been predominantly focusing on either the shifting landscape of the global territorial realm *or* the dynamics of the social interaction-based emergent global networks, we lack sufficient understanding of the exact mechanisms that drive these seemingly contradictory trends. This thesis builds on insight from Network Science, sociology of art and art history to integrate the territorial and social interaction-based lines of research while investigating the global art field.

The thesis starts with a theoretical chapter comparing the territorial and social interaction-based approaches towards modeling the global art field. Following this, over three empirical chapters I bring together the two perspectives in distinct research designs.

First, applying a statistical filtering-based network method, I depict the global institutional structure into which a museum collection is embedded demonstrating that while topological space is argued to have compressed the topographical in the new global realm, the representation that core museum collections give on peripheral regions is predominantly anchored in the representation of other institutions in the territorial core.

Next, I turn towards the strategy core museums have developed to cope with the tension deriving from the dual push to expand the global scope of their collection and to find the financial means of doing so. I show that at the heart of the museums' strategy lies the construction of a supra-territorial elite network, which brings together the local elite of the peripheries and enables them to broker social, cultural and economic capital to the core museums in a sustainable way.

Finally, I directly test the assumption that global institutional networks function in relative autonomy from the global territorial realm. I introduce a novel structural position in the institutional network that is based on refracting the effect that the centrality of a location in the territorial power-structure imposes on the institutions on it. I test the functioning of this novel position through the effect it imposes on artists' likelihood of consecration in the art field. I demonstrate that considering the main assumptions of both the territorial and the social interaction-based approaches, this novel predictor is robustly the strongest among all. This novel position not only enables a model of the global art field where positions marking decentralization and centralization jointly function, but it also shows a concrete novel way in which the territorial and the social interaction-based levels jointly produce a novel spatial dimension of the contemporary global realm.

Together these results contribute to the understanding of exact ways in which dynamics towards centralization and decentralization are interconnected in the functioning of the contemporary global art field.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

When the art world emerged into a specific field of the social realm during the 19th century (Bourdieu 1996), its institutions and practices were anchored in a global system which centered on the nation states (Wallerstein 2004). Today we talk about a global art world that functions in a new global system, where novel territorial formations (transnational regions, global city network) and global networks of individual and institutional relations have also evolved into strategic sites of the global processes (Sassen 2001, 2007). Further, these territorial and social interaction-based novel layers of the global realm have gained partial independence from one another in functioning (Hannerz 1990) and have contributed to the emergence of a multilayered and multi-scalar global system (Caselli 2013).

Along these transformations, the practices of art museums and art history considerably changed by today. Art museums and art history were principally operating in national frameworks, and had been key sites of national identity building in the Western world during the 19th and much of the 20th century (Belting 2012). Further, through their focus of interest and methodologies they had also been contributing to the cultural aspects of colonialism and imperialism (Hall 1997a; Hall et al. 2001). The practices of collection building, exhibiting and research had been predominantly focusing on a few Western artistic centers, and had deemed that artistic canons naturally emerge based on universal aesthetic laws and had been nourishing the corresponding concept of the genie who creates without social constraints (Joyeux-Prunel 2017; Vlachou 2016). Today museums, biennales, art fairs, artists and exhibitions have not only been growing in number (Harris 2017; Lizé 2016b; Message 2006; Quemin 2013) but are interconnected in global networks of knowledge-sharing (Patterson 2016; Sassatelli 2017; Wóycicka 2021) with participants from all parts of the world (Marchart 2014). Further, core museums have been gradually expanding the global scope of their collection and an approach of global art history developed with the dual aim to designate prior marginalized cultures and artistic tendencies and to do so with a methodology that avoids reproducing an exclusionary western gaze while approaching them (Joyeux-Prunel 2019).

Various examples demonstrate that the peripheries became more visible, marginalized cultures and artists more involved and that specifically global issues related to the functioning of the current global system such as the environmental and humanitarian crisis are in the forefront of global art discourse. In 2022 Documenta fifteen, the upcoming edition of a most important contemporary art exhibition held every five years is organized under the artistic direction of *ruangrupa*, an Indonesian art collective jointly with 14 artistic initiatives predominantly from the Global South. The central concern of the event will be to build a sustainable, globally oriented, multidisciplinary art and culture platform as a form of counteraction against the inequalities and injustices felt in the current global system of late capitalism. Further, Tate Modern and Centre Pompidou, two of the most prominent modern and contemporary art museums have been gradually creating acquisition committees to specifically focus on collecting artists from territories that had been previously marginalized from the Middle East through Africa and Eastern Europe to Latin America, and in 2009 the Museum of Modern Art in New York launched the C-MAP project to boost focused research on these territories. The depicted approach resulted in a considerable increase in the global visibility of the non-core regions in the art world. Finally, the prestigious yearly art ranking, the ArtReview's Power100 list in 2020 awarded the top four positions to *Black Lives Matter* for “symbolizing the global reckoning of racial justice”, to *ruangrupa*, the mentioned Indonesian art collective standing as the art director of the upcoming Documenta, to *Felwine Sarr* and *Bénédicte Savoy* academics for “their work on arguing the case of decolonizing Western museum collections”, and to *#MeeToo* for “denouncing the sexual harassment and the abuse of woman”. Altogether these events and changes points to the understanding that the art world not only expanded in size and emerged into an integrated global ecosystem, but has also become much more diverse, inclusive and socially engaged.

Yet, evidence also shows that despite the depicted transformations, institutionally speaking the art world remained highly centralized and even intermingled with practices of oppression around the world. The overwhelming majority of the most powerful institutional actors (museums, biennales, galleries) are still located in a handful of core countries in Western Europe and North America (Fraiberger et al. 2018), the country coverage regarding the participating galleries of the most prestigious international contemporary art fairs are highly skewed (Quemin 2006, 2013), the main auction houses reside in and the art market profit realizes in a handful of countries (Harris 2017) and a few gallerist such Larry Gagosian emerged

into the owners of enormous gallery empires. In addition, while *#MeToo* was accredited by the Power100 list, Leon Black a member of the MoMA board of trustees was revealed to have had deep financial ties with the convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein (Bishara 2021b). Further, while counteracting global inequalities and injustices were acknowledged to have high importance, the issue of toxic museum philanthropy has been escalating. Evidence had been presented that Warren Kanders, vice chairman of the Whitney Museum in New York had been heavily implied in Sierra Bullets and Safariland, companies manufacturing and supplying tear gas and weapons used on the Mexican borders and Gaza (Small 2019), and many among the members of the board of trustee at MoMA —among them Patricia Phelps de Cisneros, Larry Fink, Steven Tanenbaum, Leon Black, and Paula Crown— have been heavily involved in various violent, imperialist, or predatory business practices (Bishara 2021c). To emphasize the issue, recently prominent artists, activists and academics from Angela Davis and Gayatri Spivak through Claire Bishop and Hito Steyerl to Forensic Architecture and Michael Rakowitz signed a postulation to raise measures and hold cultural institutions accountable and specifically to withdraw from contributing to the financing of Israeli apartheid rule against Palestinians (Bishara 2021a). These phenomena depict a rather different picture of the global art world: one that is highly centralized in structure, unequal in functioning and implied in complicity with various human rights abuse, oppression and destructions around the globe.

Besides the observable parallel functioning of forces towards decentralization and centralization, the global art world has also become both more differentiated in structure as well as more integrated in functioning. The depicted scandals at MoMA led to the *Strike MoMA* protest jointly organized by 12 activist-artist organizations from around the world, then in September 2021 *Globalize the Intifada* has been launched to connect initiatives of resistance in their struggle against colonial violence and oppression worldwide. Not only have the global networks of biennales and museums emerged, but various novel networks of interconnectedness from the *lumbung* project, through *Strike MoMA* and the *Globalize the Intifada* to the numerous board of trustees have been continuously created in the global art world and reconnect elements of the topographic space into topological structures launching ever new layers in the global art world. At the same time, practices of integration, unification and standardization have also been continuously enacted. The concepts of contemporary art and global art (Weibel et al. 2007) emerged designating to conceive art from all around the world, novel global rankings such as the Power100 compress actors from *ruangrupa* through Larry

Gagosian to Gayatri Spivak into one list, the construction of vast transnational databases such as Artfacts.Net comprises more than 500,000 artists' exhibition careers and complementary statistics, and museum collections have been entering the global data flow through their gradual online availability as well as enabling novel data driven comparisons.

In short, while in the functioning of the global art world artists and artworks of traditionally marginalized cultures are ever more involved in core institutional practices, and traditional peripheries are globally ever more visible, the overall structure prevails to be robustly centralized, and the structure and functioning is jointly more differentiated and integrated through the proliferation of ever new networks of global interconnectedness and specifically global ways of compression via artist rankings and databases.

Yet, we lack sufficient understanding of the exact mechanisms that simultaneously drive these trends amidst a joint global systemic functioning. The phenomena have often been approached as an either-or question: whether globalization made the world more centralized or more decentralized, more diverse or homogenous. Yet, it has also been argued that such contradictions are at the heart of the current phase of globalization, where capital must negotiate or even accommodate differences in order to incorporate them under a novel integrated functioning and further, the specificities of a new era is best conceived by aiming to understand the novel ways in which elements a disintegrated past form reconfigure under novel conditions (Hall 1997a). For example, the post-colonial time should not be understood as the end of colonialism but as the period when the contradictions in the way dependencies had been functioning in the old colonial societies are reconfigured in societies of both the ex-colonizers and the ex-colonized (Hall et al. 2001:11). Thus, there is theory explaining the joint functioning of contradictory forces in the contemporary global art world. Yet, we still lack sufficient understanding of the exact mechanisms driving this trend. Accordingly, what needs to be understood today regarding the art museums in artistic centers of core countries are the precise strategies they develop to maintain their central position in the post-1989 phase of globalization, in a more differentiated and more integrated global art world that imposes novel systems of constraints on them.

I argue that we face a major obstacle in better understanding how the contradictory character of the global art world is sustained and might in fact be even at the heart of its functioning. While the territorial and the social interaction-based aspect of culture partially detached through the depicted processes of the post-1989 phase of globalization (Hannerz 1990), so did the research approaches investigating the structure and functioning of the global art world. Social inquiry bisected into distinct paths focusing predominantly on either the social interaction-based global formations *or* the territorial transformations of the global landscape. While both approaches have been heavily building on the theory of the field of cultural production by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1986, 1993, 1996, 2017), probably still the most cited cultural theorist (Lizardo 2011), the social interaction-based approaches have integrated it with the tradition of Network Science while the territorial approach with world-systems theory (Wallerstein 2004) and they gradually formed into distinct research agendas. Today, they not only have a different focus of interest but also operates with ontological and epistemological assumptions that are not without tension. Yet, being located in specific places of the world and being interconnected at the same time is a basic characteristic of the contemporary condition (Harvey 2006). The members of all the examples mentioned above from the *lumbung* project, through the *Strike MoMA* and the *Globalize the Intifada* to the museums' board of trustees, and in general the museums, biennales, art fairs that connect into global networks dispose both a topological location in the abstract space of interconnectedness and a concrete territorial locality in the global realm. Further, it is to a considerable extent precisely the specificities of their position in the cultural and geopolitical world-system that brings them together into global networks of interactions. Topological and territorial space are intermingled, thus, we need to understand in what novel ways they are reconnected, and through what mechanisms they jointly produce the space of the contemporary global realm.

This thesis sets out to integrate the approach of Network Science and the world-systems theory based approach to investigate the exact mechanisms reproducing and transforming center-periphery relations in the global art world. Network Science, which targets to model and analyze the topological structure and dynamics of the emergent global networks of social and cultural relations, and the world-systems theory based approach, which targets to investigate the functioning of the power-structures of the complex global territorial realm. Doing so, the thesis brings together inputs from Network Science, sociology of art, and art history alongside relying on multiple databases. Across three empirical chapters I depict three mechanisms through

which the territorial and the social interaction-based dimensions jointly produce the space of the global art world demonstrating fine-grained mechanisms through which they jointly contribute to the reproduction and the transformation of center-periphery relations and the evolution of a gradually more differentiated and integrated system.

Thesis overview

This thesis explores different dynamics which connect the territorial and the social interaction-based dimensions of the global realm both explaining and driving the ways in which the jointly emerging differentiation and integration of the global system is linked to the reproduction and transformation of power-relations.

Firstly, in Chapter 1, I compare the two depicted approaches toward theorizing and modeling the global art world, demonstrating that they fundamentally differ in the level of autonomy deemed to the system they model. Further, I depict that this difference affects the way they conceptualize the notion of the global, the center-periphery positions, the relation of the territorial and social interaction-based layers and also the epistemological considerations based on which global databases may be used. I close this chapter with methodological decisions I follow through the empirical parts of the thesis.

Following this, over three empirical chapters I investigate three core museums of the global art world: the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Tate Modern in London and the Centre Pompidou in Paris, and I examine the way they incorporate artists into their collection from a peripheral region: Central-East Europe.

In Chapter 2, based on the understanding that representation forms in social context, I examine how the collections are embedded in the global institutional space. First, I use a statistical filtering-based network method that enables to capture the exact institutional structure into which the respective parts of each collection are embedded. Next, I project these networks on the territorial space of the cultural world-system. Results demonstrated that the representations the core collections give on the CEE region are predominantly filtered through the representation that other core country venues form on the region. Further, the three core museums depict a certain division of labor where European museum bridge the CEE region to the MoMA in a non-reciprocal situation.

In Chapter 3, I turn towards the institutional procedures and practices at Tate and Pompidou to examine the micro-level strategies through which the acquisitions are enacted. I document an

intensification of knowledge sharing both between the core and the peripheries of the cultural world-system and within the peripheries as well. I also show that this is enabled through a supra-territorial network that emerges around these core museums connecting to the local elites of the peripheries. Further, I demonstrate that while the developed institutional practice may circulate in the global museum network as a best practice, it corresponds with the possibilities and needs at the structural position of the centers where it contributes both to financial stability and the strengthening of the museums position as autonomous institutions of consecration. Yet, in the structural position of museums located in peripheral regions applying the same best practice carries high risk of increasing dependence on an art market logic and endangering their prestige as autonomous institutions of consecration.

In Chapter 4, I directly turn towards the question of how the social interaction-based and the territorial levels integrate into a relatively autonomous global systemic functioning. Doing so, I focus on the artists and their chances of consecration (being incorporated into the collections of the core museums). I analyse the trajectories of 3500 artists from the Central-East European region through more than 100,000 exhibition events in 112 countries in the changing global exhibition space between 1990 and 2018. While conventional approaches (within a territorial or network science tradition) focus on centrality, I demonstrate that the global exhibition space developed a new structural position which is about the diversity of reach rather than centrality. I show that venues occupying this position have an exceptional role in increasing the artist's likelihood of consecration within the investigated artistic centres. I also demonstrate that the relatively autonomous functioning of the global exhibition space is only possible through acknowledging the territorial reality and doing so I develop a model where forces of centralization and decentralization jointly contribute to the functioning of the global art field. These results highlight that the emergence of this novel structural position 1) is most beneficial for venues located in peripheral regions of the cultural world-system by enabling to occupy a position in the global exhibition space different than their location in the cultural world-system 2) disrupts the notion of the periphery as a unitary space by enabling venues to emerge into global relevance 3) is highly valuable for the artistic centres amidst the documented increase in uncertainty regarding artistic value in the global art world as a means of securing the global relevance of artists they acquire from the peripheries.

I close the thesis by concluding that the unitary notion of the periphery is disrupted from multiple directions. The local elite is involved in a new global network and the venues may occupy a valuable globalizer position which enacts the relative autonomy of the global exhibition space from the direct authority of the territorial macro power-structure over its functioning. This means that both a new structural layer and a new structural position emerged in the post-1989 era which both further differentiate and further integrate the structure and functioning of the global art field. Yet, while actors of peripheral regions gain new chances of success in the system, its means either ontologically derive from the logic of the core or can be harvested in the centers fruitfully. As such the novel escape routes from the peripheries also reinforce the functioning logic of the system and the position of those occupying central positions within.

CHAPTER 1

Comparison of the Network Science and the Field of Art Approach to Model the Global Art World

Introduction

The global art world shows contradictory characteristics. On the one hand it displays phenomena which point towards the dissolution of a territorial center-periphery split in the art world depicting that actors from the traditional peripheries have become more involved in museum collections, high prestige events and art rankings. On the other hand, evidence show that traditional core countries prevail to dominate the global art world and novel emergent centers (most prominently the rise of China to a central actor of the global art market since the millennia), rather supplement than substitute the double geographic nucleus (Quemin 2013) of the United States of America and a few Western European countries. Further, not only forces of centralization and decentralization jointly function, but the global art world has continuously been growing more differentiated in structure through the proliferating global networks of social interactions, while it has also been becoming continuously more integrated in functioning through the emergence of global artist rankings, vast transnational databases, the gradual online availability of museum collections and their entry into the global data flow.

As the thesis heavily relies on both the approach of Network Science and the Bourdieu's field theory of cultural production, in this first chapter, I compare their approaches toward theorizing and modeling the global art world, demonstrating that they fundamentally differ in the level of autonomy deemed to the system they model. Further, I present that this difference affects the way they conceptualize the notion of the global, the center-periphery positions, the relation of the territorial and social interaction-based levels and also the epistemological considerations based on which global databases may be used. I close this chapter with the methodological decision I follow throughout the empirical parts of the thesis.

Field Theory of Art and Network Science

Both the *theory of the field of cultural production* (for short, field theory) and *Network Science* are ways to represent the structure and functioning of complex systems, yet there is a fundamental difference in the level of closure they deem to the investigated system. In this chapter, I specifically focus on the way Bourdieusian field theory has been applied in the use of empirical research on the field of art, for a general overview and introduction to field theory in the social sciences see Martin (2003).

The concept of the field refers to distinct segments of social life, which are designated by the specific practices of its actors as well as their shared understanding of the ideology and institutions governing these practices (Bourdieu 1993). According to Bourdieu, the field is not a space of seeking accordance but that of permanent struggle between the actors. The stake of the struggle is who obtains the power to define which the legitimate practices, and who the legitimate actors of the field are (Bourdieu 1993:30) .

It is of crucial importance to understand that this internal struggle is linked to the fact that the field of art is embedded in the broader field of economics and politics (Bourdieu 1993:37). This means that it is partially dependent on the field of economics and politics, and on the externally imposed effect of their power-structure which emerges in them amidst their internal struggle. Since the art field historically emerged through the struggle to gain specificity as a field from those fields into which it has been embedded, and since this autonomy must be constantly reproduced, this struggle remains permanent (Bourdieu 1996:231). Consequently, the internal struggle within the field between the actors can in fact be rephrased as the competition for depicting who can best enact the relative autonomy of the field from these other fields: which actors and which practices are the bailees of the differentiation of the field as a whole. While the field of art remains only *relatively autonomous* in functioning from the authority of the field of external powers, the level of this autonomy can be measured in its capacity to *refract* the impact of these externally imposed powers on it (Bourdieu 1993:182). In other words, the question is how much it is capable to translate the externally imposed logic of practice, norms, ideology, and system of recognition into a logic of practice, norms, ideology and system of recognition which is *specific* to the field of art. In short, the level of relative autonomy is signaled by the extent to which the field of art is capable to detour external effects into autonomous principles of production and evaluation.

The struggle is enacted through the accumulation of various forms of capital that govern success in the field (Bourdieu 1996). The different forms of capital, such as economic, political, social, cultural capital can be converted to each other according to specific rules and on specific timescales and are consequently dependent on one another (Bourdieu 1977). Yet, hence the internal struggle is linked to the struggle of the field as a whole for the highest possible level of relative autonomy from other fields, the most important currency is its *symbolic* capital. Symbolic capital can only be gathered according to the *specific* logic of practice in the field (Bourdieu 1977:167). Since the specific logic of practice is linked to the refusal of the functioning of the economic and political logic in the field of art, the symbolic capital is linked to the disavowal of the economic and political capital in the field of art (Bourdieu 1993:75). Consequently, the level of accumulated symbolic capital of an actor refers to its level of autonomy from the external logics in its practice, therefore it informs about the given actor's power to enact the relative autonomy of the field itself. (Actors are various in type; artists, institutions, even nation states accumulate capital.) Finally, while the structure of the field forms through the struggle, it is depicted as the distribution of the specific capitals which congeals into specific positions (Bourdieu 1993:30). These positions are occupied by actors through capital accumulation and the functioning refers to the constant position-taking activity of the actors based on their dispositions, as well as on the possibilities the position they occupy enables them (Bourdieu 1993:34).

Network Science models and analyzes complex systems. The defining property of a complex system is that its functioning cannot be attained by the summation of its elements (and the interaction between the elements) since the *way* these elements connect arranges into a constellation on the systemic level that enables the emergence of such a systemic functioning which is qualitatively more than the sum of the individual functioning no matter how numerous their quantity may be (Casti 2017) . This is not only because the same number of interactions can be distributed very differently among the elements and connect them into very different structures, but also because the same amount of input can cause very different outputs in the system. Dependent on the different structures and the place where an input is given, the output ranges from causing no visible effect to systemic destruction or the emergence of a qualitatively novel phenomena (Albert, Jeong, and Barabasi 2000). Intricately connected to these characteristics of nonlinearity and the phenomenon of emergence, complex systems operate on various levels of organizations and dispose a hierarchical structure (Holland 2006). It is argued

that system complexity evolves more rapidly if there are intermediate forms and accordingly the resulting complex systems will have a hierarchical structure with interacting subsystems often of different orders of magnitude (Simon 1962). Each level of hierarchy is typically governed by its own set of rules, where higher levels must not violate the laws of the earlier levels, which in turn become building blocks of emergent properties on a higher level (Holland 2006).

Network Science models and analyses the abstract structures of connections between components based on the fundamental understanding that the pattern of the connections highly impacts the functioning of the system (Newman 2010). A network emerging this way is often called the structural backbone of a complex system. A fundamental understanding of Network Science is that the the way network structure and function share similar properties over a wide range of system from society through technology to nature and accordingly, a common set of mathematical tools can be used to analyze them (Albert and Barabasi 2002).

While the aim is to understand the rules driving the functioning of the system, these rules are seen to be intrinsically connected to the structure, and the system is modeled as *self-organizing* (i.e. global patterns emerge solely based on internal lower-level interactions) and *autonomous* in functioning (Camazine et al. 2001). The assumption of autonomy in functioning does not mean that it cannot be affected by external forces, but it does mean that the aim is to control for all external forces deriving from what is seen as the environment of the system in such a way that the internal structure can be investigated independently and compared across systems. While network analysis in the social sciences emerged to a proliferating area with various takes connecting it to competing traditions in sociological research (for an overview see Borgatti et al. 2009; Erikson 2013) and evidence shows that the global art world emerged into a multilayered global system, investigating it from a complex system perspective through the approach of network science is a straightforward choice.

The main difference between the *relative autonomy* in the way the system is modeled in Bourdieu's field theory and the *autonomy* in the way the system is modeled by Network Science is not whether external forces impact internal functioning, but rather regarding the *way*, they affect it. Network approach considers external forces by controlling for them in order to investigate the internal structure once the system is isolated to the most possible extent. Field theory, on the other hand, deems that external and internal forces cannot be disrupted in such a

clear way, and the internal structure cannot be neatly isolated since the strive for autonomy and differentiation from other fields is an ontological force constantly structuring the system and permanently affecting its internal struggle. In short, both Network Science and Field Theory enact a holistic approach and designate to reveal structural properties of the system and connect it to its functioning. Yet, the two approaches differ in the level of autonomy given to the modeled system; while the approach of Network Science investigates systems as totally autonomous to designate the structuring forces inherent to the system, the Bourdieusian field theory towards modeling the art world designates the forces structuring the system partially outside the field and deems them ontologically undetachable from the inherent structuring and functioning of the system. This difference induces further differences in the ways the two traditions approach the global art world and accordingly, in the next section, I will compare the two approaches through a point-by-point comparison.

Point-by-point comparison

In this section I will compare the two approaches as they have been used while investigating the global art world. In general, social inquiry focuses on three levels of social order: the micro-level of agentic strategies, the meso-level of relations and interactions, and on the macro-level of territorial and environmental constellations. Field theory, which was originally elaborated in a nation state framework, has been explicitly rendered to a global macro-level model. Network approach, on the other hand, predominantly operates on the meso-level social order and analyses structures irrespective of the territorial scale of their functioning. Accordingly, while network approach is often used to model global networks of interactions, it has not been theorized whether differences should be made while operating on a neighborhood, a city, a country or on the global layer within the territorial macro-level.

Consequently, while comparing the territorial and the social interaction-based approach to the global art world I focus on the differences which must be considered while integrating them in the attempt to reconnect the territorial and the social interaction-based levels of the global to raise insight regarding the functioning of a unified global system. In this section, I consider five focal points where the two approaches diverge: the notion of the global and the macro, the notion of the scale and the layers of a system, the relation the territorial and the social interaction-based approaches deem vis-à-vis one another in a systemic sense, the notion of

center and peripheral positions within, and finally, their approaches toward global databases that are fundamental in a quantitative investigation of the global art world.

The notion of the global and the macro

First, I depict the difference in the way the two approaches towards the global art world relate to the notion of the *global* and the *macro*. The main difference is that while in the territorial approaches the notion of the global and the macro has a clear territorial reference, in the social interaction-based network approach it primarily refers to the level of analysis focusing of the overall structural properties of the system without any specific territorial character.

Field theory has been rendered global as a macro-level theory. It has been done so in two main ways and both are anchored in the concept of relative autonomy. *Firstly*, it has been connected to the world-systems theory (Wallerstein 2004). World-systems theory primarily focuses on interstate relations and demonstrates that socioeconomic relations organize countries (or other territorial units such as regions or cities) into a hierarchical global system, where core, semi-peripheral and peripheral positions can be occupied by the actors. These positions, just as in field theory, determine the occupants' roles and possibilities in the system (Go 2008). While in cultural analysis mainly the simpler center-periphery split has been in use, the focal point of interest has been whether and how the power-structure of a cultural world-system differs from the power-structure of the economic and the geopolitical world-system (Crane 2009, 2014; De Swaan 1993; Heilbron 1999). It has also been of interest whether and how the dominance structure within modifies over time (Quemin 2006; Sapiro 2015).

Second, field theory has also been rendered global as a macro theory by Larissa Buchholz under the concept of the *global art field* (Buchholz 2016, 2018).¹ In this case the focal point of interest has not been whether the global art field enacts relative independence from other global fields, but to investigate whether and how a specifically global territorial layer has emerged which is relatively independent from the national art fields. Building on the seminal book of Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Casanova 2004), Buchholz disentangled the basic,

¹ Field theory has been argued to be an ideal model to integrate materialist and cultural approaches while conceptualizing global systems through a variety of aspects in social life (Brundage 2018; Go 2008; Häkli and Kallio 2014)

scale-invariant properties of field theory and demonstrated that since the 1980s specifically global institutional space of biennales and auction market, since the 1990s a specifically global art discourse and since the 2000s global art rankings emerged (Buchholz 2016). She has been arguing that together these three dimensions form a specifically global layer which functions in relative autonomy from the national art fields. In short, the global art field comprises all the national art fields but also developed a specific global layer of territoriality overarching them an enabling an integrated and unified global systemic functioning. Both the concept of the cultural world-system and the global art field renders field theory global as a macro-level theory and they primarily focus on the territorial level of the global realm as well as the shifting territorial landscape.

Network approach, on the other hand, predominantly operates on the meso-level order of social interactions, and has been argued that field theory is primarily a meso-level theory (Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo 1995).² This line of research investigating the global art world has been rarely operating directly on the global level (for exceptions see: Fraiberger et al. 2018; Schich et al. 2014; Yogev and Grund 2012) and remained in the territorial setting of core countries and metropolitan areas (for exceptions see Childress 2015; Juhász, Tóth, and Lengyel 2020). This has been partially due to the fact that fine-grained micro-, and meso-level social data on the art world had only been available until recently in sub-global (predominantly core country or global city) territorial context. Yet, while the aim is to control for the external context in such a way to investigate the autonomous functioning of the internal structure, the scale of the given territorial framework is only with secondary importance, and in principle results are implied to be generalizable for any given context. The question of territoriality is thus rarely tackled in this line of research and networks of social interactions are analyzed as abstract structures detached from territorial dimensions of the interactions.

As such, the notion of the macro brings in a novel connotation to social inquiry while approaching the investigated phenomenon from the perspective of network analysis. The notion of the *macro* refers to different aspects of the system from the perspective of traditional inquiry

² It has been debated whether network approach can be genuinely used in the context of field theory. For reference see de Nooy (2003). In short, Bourdieu did use the word network in relation with the field in several occasions. E.g: “The network of objective relations between positions subtends and orients the strategies which the occupants of the different positions implement in their struggles to defend or improve their positions (i.e. their position-takings), strategies which depend for their force and form on the position each agent occupies in the power relations” (Bourdieu 1993:30) Yet it is argued that he preferred other analytic methods since interpersonal relations and interactions according to him are rather situation within the structure of objective relation than constituents of it.

of social orders and from the perspective of network theory. Whereas in the prior approach macro in the global context has an explicitly territorial dimension, in network approach it primarily refers to a level of analysis which focuses on the overall properties of a structure, such as its level of centralization, its density, average clustering, degree distribution and so on, without any necessary reference to the territorial space. Accordingly, whereas the word *global* refers to the territorial level in the prior, in the latter it may refer to an abstract worldwide spanning network of interactions without any specific or necessary relation with territorial characteristics.

The notion of the scale and the layer

While aiming to integrate the territorial and the network approach in the modeling of the global art world, it must also be considered that the two approaches diverge in the usage of the notion of the *scales*. While in the territorial approach it refers to the relation between units of various orders of magnitude each constituting a distinct layer of the global, in the network approach it is used to designate the range over which essential properties of the actors of the system are distributed on any given layer.

According to the sociology of globalization, a key characteristic of the current phase of globalization is the *multi-scalar character* of global systems. This refers to the phenomenon that global processes today are constituted through various scales of strategic sites: the global layer is different from the interstate power-structure, and the organizations located in the territory of a country are only partially under the authority of the given country in their functioning (Caselli 2013; Sassen 2007). Accordingly, while Buchholz coined the term of the global art field, she defined it as a *multilayered and multi-scalar* global system (Buchholz 2016). The global art field not only enacts a struggle for a relative autonomous logic of practice vis-à-vis other (global) social fields, but another struggle is enacted *between* the specific layers of territorialities *within* the same realm of the field (Buchholz 2016:42).³ Buchholz refers to the prior as the struggle for relative *functional* autonomy and to the latter for relative *vertical* autonomy. While the multi-scalar character of the global systems emerged amidst the appearance of novel territorial layers of functioning to designate the phenomenon that territorial

³ Buchholz uses the term level, but since here I primarily target the relation between the different levels of social order, it would be confusing to also use the term level regarding the national and the specifically global realm of practice. Therefore, I refer to these as *layer* within the macro territorial *level* of the global field.

layers operate relatively independently from one another, they jointly form a *multilayered* and *multi-scalar* global system and both are prerequisites of the existence of the global art world.

On the other hand, in Network Science, the number of layers and the scale of functioning are independent properties of a system. A fundamental characteristic of many real-world networks is that they depict a *scale-free* degree distribution. This refers to the dynamics that due to the fact that the novel nodes through which a system grows do not connect randomly to any node in the system but *preferentially attach* to already well connected ones, the overall distribution of the connections in the system will follow a very wide and skewed, power-law distribution (Barabasi and Albert 1999).⁴ Accordingly, in the network representation of a complex system, the system may obtain any number of layers and in principle any number of them can demonstrate the property of scale-freeness.

Relation of territoriality with social interactions

Considering the way the territorial and the social interaction-based approaches relate to one another we face an interesting situation. On the one hand, they deem different levels of independence to the meso-level social order in functioning. On the other hand, they are in accordance in that they both approach their relation as a question of the level of dependence best analyzed through their separation in line with the classic division of labor. However, neither poses the question of their relation as an inquiry of the novel forms in which the territorial and the social interaction-based levels have been reconnecting to jointly produce the space of the current global realm once they had been detached into distinct layers of the global processes in the post-1989 phase of globalization.

The territorial approach demonstrates that the position a location (countries, cities, regions) occupies in the cultural world-system and the global art field imposes a certain amount of national (Bourdieu 2003; Casanova 2004), global or macro capital (Buchholz 2016, 2018) on that location. As for the actor who stands on a location, this capital of that location is inflicted upon the chances of global recognition of that actor as an independent positive or negative

⁴ the extent to which scale-free networks are empirically prevalent has been in the center of vivid debated and it is argued that strictly speaking its prevalence varies for different types of real world networks: many network rather fit a log-normal distribution than an actual power-law and strictly speaking it is rare in social network (Broido and Clauset 2019)

multiplier effect in addition to the position the actor occupies based on its individually accumulated capitals in the field (Buchholz 2016). Accordingly, while networks are used in studies following a territorial approach towards the global, they are tools to zoom-in from the global to the structure of social interactions in a given territorial setting (Sapiro 2015). While this approach embraces the notion of multi-scalarity and relative autonomy between different territorial layers of functioning and systematically elaborates it, regarding the meso-level layers of social interactions it practically remains in the paradigm of a nested hierarchical functioning between the meso-, and the macro-levels of social order.

On the other hand, the network analytic approach rarely discusses explicitly the interactions' territorial dimensions. This derives from the focus on autonomous functioning while controlling for what are seen as environmental factors. Empirically the territorial dimension is directly imputed both in the research framework as a fixed context, and/or whilst statistical modeling as control variables (Cattani, Ferriani, and Allison 2014; Juhász et al. 2020; Lutter 2015; Vedres and Cserpes 2021). While network approach generally embraces the notion of the gradual emergence of relatively autonomously functioning global structures of individual and organization interconnectedness (Robertson and Lechner 1985), it considers the depicted emergence of a specifically global layer of territoriality as any other environmental factor to be controlled for in order to retain the functioning of the social interaction-based networks in their autonomy. This consideration has been reinforced by research deeming that the topological aspect of space “shrinks” the topographical space as global networks of interactions connect actors across vast geographical distances and the dynamics of these global networks of social interactions can be better understood in topological than topographical terms (Blunt 2007 in Häkli and Kallio 2014).⁵

While the two approaches imply different levels of authority of the territorial realm over the functioning of the global networks of social interactions, they are similar in that they both address the question of their relation as an inquiry over the level of dependence. Further, they both remain in the framework of a division of labor, where different traditions investigate

⁵ There are a few studies on the global art world which directly operates on the global level and have been taking a network perspective. These research demonstrated that network distance from hubs highly predicted the position an actor occupied in the global exhibition space while their geographic distance did not matter (Fraiberger et al. 2018), nor did geographic distance impose a statistically significant effect on actors interactions (Yogev and Grund 2012). Yet, territorial approaches towards the global system measure not physical distance in the geographic space but distance in the power-structure. What matters is not the kilometers between countries, cities or institutions but the distance between their positions in the global power-structure. To my knowledge there is a lack of research in this regard.

different levels of the social order (i.e. the territorial omits to systematically include the meso-level and the social interaction-based approach controls for the territorial).

While the question regarding the level of independence remains relevant, it should also be with specific interest not how to *exclude* one from investigation while focusing on the other, but precisely to find ways that enable to *include* both to arrive at a better understanding of how they interact in novel ways while jointly producing the space of the new global realm. In other words, what is the most interesting and important question in the current context of the global realm, and what should be the focal point of interest is *how* do the territorial and the social interactional dimensions of global processes reconnect once they detached and diverged in the form we knew them in the nested relation of the prior global realm (Hannerz 1990), and *what* novel dimension(s) of the global space do they produce through the way they reconnect to *jointly* form this new global realm (Harvey 2006, 2009). This is the only way the fundamental spatial specificities of the new global realm can be conceived.

This endeavor and focus of interest resonates with the Bourdieu's concept of relative autonomy. The concept of relative autonomy is not a synonym of "both dependent and independent, depending on the direction from where we look at it" and focusing on the sufficient ways to control for one another. The gist of the concept is that it designates the struggle to *refract* that which should be controlled while perceived as external, and the *strategy* through which actors or entire levels of the system work upon this external effect in such a way that it becomes a new, constitutive element of the system, a bailee of difference, one that makes the system more complex, and to designate the strategy which --deriving from this struggle-- transforms both *which* transforms and *which is* transformed into something new, that incorporates both in a novel form. From this perspective, the concept of relative autonomy of Bourdieusian field theory and the concept of emergent phenomena of complex systems are tightly connected in the functioning of the system.

The concept of the centers and the peripheries

The question of centrality is a focal point of interest in both lines of research. The main difference considers their implication on meso-level agency. While the territorial approach applies the centrality of a location in the territorial power-structure as attribute variable on the

actors standing on that location, in the network approach centrality is a relational variable of actors emerging from their agency in social space.

The territorial approach starts from the observations of world-systems theory designating three important roles which actors (usually states) can occupy in the global system: core, semi-peripheral, peripheral, yet in cultural analysis usually the simpler center-periphery split is used based on analyses considering market shares, exhibition ratios, global ranking positions, and so on (Crane 2014; Franssen and Kuipers 2015; Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord 2008; Kuipers 2015; Quemin 2006). Positions of centrality has been recently rendered multidimensional by (Buchholz 2018). This line of research depicts a highly centralized global structure (Crane 2014; van Es and Heilbron 2015; Quemin 2006) over multiple layers of functioning (city, regional, national) and it has also been implied that the cores of these layer arrange into an approximately nested overlapping structure.

Research in the network approach also found that the depicted relational structures are generally dominated by a small number of hubs, who dispose a high proportion of the unequally distributed capitals and often form a tightly knit group functioning as the core of the system surrounded by many marginal or peripheral actors who are loosely connected both to the core and to one another on multiple levels of the social topology (Anand and Watson 2004; Anheier et al. 1995; Cattani et al. 2014; Faulkner and Anderson 1987; Giuffre 1999). In these studies, the rich repertory of Network Science is mobilized to define various centralities ((weighted) degree, eigenvector, closeness, betweenness, alpha), core-periphery and group level characteristic (open, closed triads, tensions, motifs) (Bonacich 1987; Lutter 2015; Rossman, Esparza, and Bonacich 2010; Vedres 2017; Vedres and Cserpes 2021) of the structures to predict chances of success.

Regarding the notion of centers and peripheries, the two approaches seems to be finally in accordance and both approaches agree in their findings that the global art world as a complex system is hierarchical and highly centralized in structure. The main difference is that while network approach depicts positions as a consequence of agentic activity, territorial approach imposes them on the actors based on their location in the cultural world-system. While it is a relational property in the prior, it is an attribute variable in the latter.⁶

⁶ In principle this difference could be interpreted as a traditional agency-structure debate. Yet, the current contradiction between the global network and the global territorial structures shuns from this distinction, since the fundamental understanding of network science is that agency creates structure or at least highly contributes to its construction even if it then reacts upon agentic possibilities, and alike, the territorial approach also leaves space for agency even if in the current global macro-approaches it is rarely theorized or targeted in a systemic

From the perspective of integrating the two approaches in a joint framework while investigating the unified global functioning, the existing research can build on the overlaps between the central positions in the territorial and the social interaction-based level and point towards the understanding that chances of global success, visibility or recognition are maximized by occupying central position in both levels, while occupying peripheral position on either hinders these chances. Yet again, as in the case of the relation between the territorial and the social interaction-based levels of the new global realm, there is a lack of research where centralities defined on distinct levels of the social order are brought together into inquiry specifically targeting to understand mechanisms through which they jointly contribute to global systemic power-dynamics.

Approach towards the data

A final aspect of research which must be considered is the take on how global databases can be applied in order to model and analyze the structure and functioning of the global art world. In this regard, instead of contrasting the territorial with the social interaction-based lines of research I consider more generally the epistemological foundations from which Network Science and the social sciences approach the question of the data.

Network Science considers data usage primarily as a technical question. This is due to the fact that this approach is anchored in the natural sciences, whose epistemological premises assume an observer-independent relation to their object of inquiry (Kienle 2017b). Network Science has been proliferating as an analytic tool in the present phase of globalization due to the data deluge, connected to the omnipresence of ICT technology and vast amount of data generated in each second, basically continuously through daily life (Lazer et al. 2009). It has been argued that the new availability of vast amounts of data enables to test theories with never seen breadth, depth and scale and enable to learn what the “macro” social network of society looks like (Lazer et al. 2009:722). Accordingly, from this perspective it is plausible that once *global* databases on the *global* art world are available, the system can be observed from the outside as an autonomous self-organizing system through these data and a holistic approach.

sense. The difference rather reveals as while in network approach social interactions are implied to directly scale to the global level cutting across the traditional distinction in social inquiry between the meso-, and the macro-level, in the territorial approach to the global art field the meso-, and the macro-level structures remain distinct layers and as such there is no such direct connection between the meso-level agency and the macro-level structures as depicted through the approach of Network Science.

On the other hand, from the perspective of the social sciences the ways of data usage is not only a technical but also a deeply theoretical question. This consideration derives from the fundamental understanding that not only the emergent global biennale, museum or art fair networks, and not only the constructed global art rankings, but also the available global art databases are the elements of the global art field. Accordingly, databases are just as much structured by the power-dynamics of the global art field as are all its other elements. Generating and collecting data, structuring it into relational databases, storing, sharing and maintaining them involves infrastructures comprised of people, artifacts, and institutions, storage capacities embodying various forms of capital (Gitelman and Jackson 2013). Accordingly, data do not give a natural representation of society (Wagner-Pacifci, Mohr, and Breiger 2015), macro-level features of Big Data affects lower-level features and processes (Breiger 2015) and in general, data is not given, but constructed. For this reason, while investigating the structure and functioning of the *global* art field through *global* databases, it would be an epistemological absurdity to step out of the system and look at the system in its *totality* from a detached observer position through *complete* databases which had been produced and shaped by the social structure of the system. It would be the exemplary case of pulling out one's self from the system through its own hair. Instead of taking a neutral and observer-independent perspective *outside* the system, it would only enable to take the perspective of the dominant position *within* the system. This situation makes it a delicate matter to investigate the global art field through global art databases, as is the aim of the present research.

Summary

In this chapter I compared the competing traditions of a social interaction-based and a territoriality based approach towards conceptualizing, modeling and analyzing the structure and functioning of the global art world. I have done this since I argue that they need to be jointly considered while investigating the contemporary art world as a unified global system. The territorial approach rendered global Bourdieu's theory of the art field as a *macro-level* model, and doing so often linked it with the approach of world-systems theory. The social interaction-based approach on the other hand, starting from a Network Science perspective, have been

utilizing Bourdieusian field theory as a *meso-level* theory while investigating global or sub-global level networks of interactions.

While the territorial approach has been embracing the notion of relative autonomy so central to field theory to define the relation of different territorial layers to one another in the global realm as well as the relation of the global art field vis-à-vis other global systems, the network-based meso-level approach rather focused on the autonomous internal structure and functioning of the social interaction-based layers while controlling for the territorial factors as their external environment. From this basic distinction further differences have been emerging between the two lines of research while modeling the global art world.

First, I showed that while the concept of the macro necessarily refers to the territorial dimension of the global system in the first line of research, in the network approach it refers to the overall structural properties of the investigated system without any necessary relation with the territorial realm.

Second, I demonstrated that while the notion of the scales primarily designates the territorial layers on different orders of magnitude in the first approach, it refers to the distribution of properties spanning over multiple scales within the same layer in the network approach.

Third, considering the relation between the territorial and the social interaction-based levels of social order in the global art field, both approaches focus on their level of dependence vis-à-vis one another. Yet, neither targets to investigate how the territorial and the social interaction-based layers reconnect in novel ways while producing the novel spatial character of the new, post-1989 global realm.

Fourth, while positions related to centrality are focal points of interest in both approaches, they define them on their own level of investigation and there is a lack of research on how these positions interact with one another on the unified, global systemic level.

Finally, the natural sciences based network approach and the social sciences based territorial approach stands on different epistemological grounds while considering the usage of specifically global databases when targeting to examine the global art world specifically on a systemic, overall level. While the prior implies the possibility of inspecting the global art world through global databases from the outside, the latter considers databases to be affected in structure by the power-dynamics in the art world impeding a neutral depiction of the global system through entire global databases.

These comparison reveal that while it is very important to jointly build on the two lines of research to better understand how the territorial and the social-interaction based global layers jointly construct the structure and functioning of the global art world, specific methodological considerations must be made to enable authentic research in the topic. In the last part of this chapter, I lay out the perspective as a methodological decision which I have made and which I follow across all three empirical chapters of the thesis.

Methodological Consideration: The Perspective of the Research

Throughout the thesis I aim to investigate systemic level functioning in the global art world and doing so I intend to leverage the existence of multiple datasources: both global aggregate database and institutional level datasets. Yet, as depicted in the previous section, from a sociological point of view I cannot use them to investigate the system from the outside in its totality. Consequently, I choose a perspective which focuses on the centers, and targets to investigate the way the centers relate to the peripheries through their functioning. Being the most fundamental territorial dimension of the global art world, investigating it promises to reveal fundamental aspects of global systemic functioning. This perspective is also promising from a data point of view for two important reasons. First, whilst utilizing global aggregate databases it enables to compare a big number of artistic careers yet omit to compare careers of artists originating from territories that occupy peripherhal position with those from territories that occupy central position in the cultural world-system. Second, considering institutional datasets this perspective permits to leverage the availability of high quality datasets of institutions in the core countries and involve them in the analysis. Within this basic framework, statistical methods enable to further control for additional data specificities locally in each empirical setting of the thesis.

Doing so, I focus on the emergence to global visibility of artists from peripheral regions through consecration in core institutions. As for the centers, throughout the thesis I focus on three core museums of the global art world: the Tate Modern in London, the Centre Pompidou in Paris and the Museum of Modern Art in New York. These institutions both occupy central positions in the global institutional space and are located in core countries of the cultural world-system. Researchers investigating power-structures in the global art field invariably refer to these institutions among the most influential museums of global artistic production and global art canons (Brandellero and Velthuis 2018; Buchholz 2018; Quemin 2006). Global art world

rankings, such as the UK-based ArtReview's yearly Power100 list, customarily place their directors and chief-curators in the highest positions. Recent research combining the market price of the exhibited artists and the evaluation of experts ranked these museums among the top 0.5% of the most important institutions in the examined 16 002 galleries and 7562 museums in the global art field (Fraiberger et al. 2018). Being involved into their collection is without any doubt a major event of consecration for an artist.

As for the periphery, I focus on the Central-East European (CEE) region. This region has been remaining relatively invisible in cultural analysis from a global perspective. Regarding art historical discourse, since critical geographical perspectives have been predominantly conducted in the framework of post-colonial theories, nor being ex-colonies nor colonizers this region remained relatively untouched (Joyeux-Prunel 2019). Regarding cultural analysis, since instead of the tripartite division in world-systems theory the simpler center-periphery split has been in use (Buchholz 2018), while CEE region is argue to occupy a semi-peripheral position in the world-system, again it remained relatively untouched.

The CEE region has been represented through various set of countries in existent research. Most often it is considered through the coherent territorial subgroup of the neighbouring Visegrád Group of Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia (Kopecký and Mudde 2002; Kuus 2004; Villinger 1996). Others compose a conglomerate of multiple subgroups as in the case of Bandelj (2009) who designated to a representative set the Visegrád Group, the Baltic-states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) with the addition of two states of the former Yugoslavia (Croatia, Slovenia), Bulgaria and Romania. Yet others used a group of selected countries scattered around the region (Belarus, Ukraine, Czech Republic, and Poland - Jezierska and Giusti (2021) or considered one country as a representative case (Hungary –(Makszin and Bohle 2020)). Here I follow the concept of using coherent subgroups and consider the Visegrád Group (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia), the countries of former Yugoslavia (today: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia) and in addition Romania. As neighbours, due to the 20th century history of the region these countries both have considerable minorities from one another and often born to a country that later dissolved or modified borders while after 1989 all strongly oriented towards a European reintegration. Together they are a good representative of the Central-East European region.

CHAPTER 2

A Network Method to Empirically Depict the Embeddedness of Museum Collections into the Global Institutional Space⁷

Introduction

The post-1989 phase of globalization brought about transformations that not only changed the structure and function of the global art field, but also the way art historical research is done. Archives and collections have been digitalized and made available online (Cameron and Mengler 2009) novel transnational databases and ranking algorithms have been constructed (Buckermann 2020), global institutional networks of museums, art fairs and biennales have emerged (Patterson 2016; Quemin 2013; Sassatelli 2017; Tan 2013) and novel concepts such as contemporary art and global art history have been developed to grasp a novel agenda of art historical research in a more integrated art world (Joyeux-Prunel 2019; Weibel et al. 2007). Further, novel concepts and methodological tools have been constructed to enable conceiving art in this expanded geographical and cultural framework in such a way that evades to apply a Western centric gaze as well as concepts of art and quality on cultural object globally. Finally, computational tools and novel approaches of distant, geographical, statistical reading appeared in humanities disciplines to handle the emergent novel extensive art related databases and tackle art related phenomena in single research with never seen geographical span and historical depth (Kaufmann, Dossin, and Joyeux-Prunel 2017).

Yet, in recent years critiques emerged arguing that the attempt of decolonizing art historical practices and the usage of computational tools and digital databases do not go hand in hand without tension (Bishop 2018; Kienle 2017b). Critiques have been predominantly targeting two characteristics of data driven research that potentially pushes towards reproducing prevailing power-structures and dominant perspectives. First, while telling untold stories of marginalized cultures and territories has been a key attempt of global art history, data on them is often sporadic and constructed from the perspective of the centers rendering difficult to evade the reproduction of prevailing dominant perspectives (Porrás 2017). Second, while it have been a key attempt of all critical theories to deconstruct the notion of a neutral gaze which naturalizes the perspective of the dominant position, the wide geographic and temporal span novel databases enable to embrace within a single research often have been implying to observe from

⁷ An earlier version of this chapter was published as Júlia Perczel: Is Structure Context or Content? A Data-Driven Method of Comparing Museum Collections, *Život umjetnosti*, 2019, Vol. 105, pp.76-109.

precisely such a detached meta-perspective (Kienle 2017a). In short, it is debated whether and how digital data and tools can be used in such a way that pushes further art historical research rather than driving it back to applying epistemological assumptions that had been combatted in recent decades.

While it is difficult to focus on marginalized cultures and phenomena per se, data-driven approach opens novel ways to focus on the *centers*, and while data does not allow a meta-perspective to merely *present* a phenomenon, it does give novel methods to embed its *representation* in social space to depict the way it is constructed from a certain perspective. Existent databases can be eminently used to locate *central* actors in social space and link *their* perspectives to *their* positions in order to better understand the exact ways in which *these* dominant representations are socially constructed.

In this chapter I apply a statistical method developed in network science that permits to capture the precise institutional structure into which the collection of three core museums, the Tate Modern in London, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the Centre Pompidou in Paris are each embedded. I focus on these collections as they represent the art of a peripheral region in the cultural world-system: Central-East Europe. In doing so, I gathered the artists who had been acquired into either collection between 1990 and 2016 from the CEE region, and I also collected data on their exhibition career preceding the year of their acquisition. The corresponding dataset comprises 242 artists and 12260 exhibitions in 4401 venues in 1256 cities of 82 countries. Based on this data, through the method introduced by Micciche' and Mantegna (2019) I build the institutional structure that is unique for each collection. Then, I compare the derived structures to depict their differences and similarities across collections. Finally, I map each institutional structure into the geographic space to examine the territorial power-dynamics affecting the structure that formed the museums representation on the region.

Results show that the institutional structure which characterizes each collection comprises only a fraction of the venues involved in the artistic careers. Comparing the topological and the territorial space of the networks, results points towards the understanding that while peripheral regions are represented by core museums, the way they are represented is to a high extent formed by venues located in the core countries.

Theoretical background

The way art museums and the discipline of art history changed during the post-1989 phase of globalization is intricately linked to the emergence of the global digital realm. Today digital data and methods are not only tools through which art can be investigated, but they actively form museum practices and the discourse of art history.

Originally, art museums were the core institutions of cultural production in the national art fields of Western countries, founded and funded by the state, they enacted a leading role in the formation both of national identity and the consecration of artistic quality (Belting 2012; Hall et al. 2001). After 1989, museums not only have proliferated in number (Message 2006) but have been joining into global museum networks of knowledge-sharing and best practices (Patterson 2016; Wóycicka 2021). Further, while art museums originally designated to incorporate objects of Western metropolitan societies and objects of cultures outside these metropolitan areas were designated into the discipline of ethnography (Belting 2012; Hall et al. 2001) after 1989, and specifically from around the millennia, parallel to the globalization of the art market, core museums of the globalizing art world gradually started to open up their collections and launch practices to involve artist from previously marginalized territories of the cultural world-system (Joyeux-Prunel 2019). Finally, while collections were visible only in small parts through exhibitions, today they are gradually made online available and open to the public for individual exploration (Cameron and Mengler 2009).

Art history not only has an impact on what is perceived as art, but more fundamentally it constructs the notions, concepts and categories through which art is conceived. Accordingly, not only art museums had been predominantly collecting but also art history had been predominantly researching artworks of Western societies for a long time as well as nourishing a naturalized notion of canon-formation where artistic quality emerges based on universal aesthetic values and where artists produce without social constraints (Joyeux-Prunel 2017). The main challenges of art history in the last decades has been not only to broaden the scope of research through establishing concepts of *contemporary art* and *global art* (Weibel et al. 2007), but to establish novel methodological tools that enables to conceive art in this expanded geographical and cultural framework in such a way that evades to apply a Western centric gaze and concepts of art and quality on cultural object globally.

An important line of this novel attempt has been focusing on the center-periphery notion in discourse and approaches have been designating ways to conduct global art historical research in a way that does not reproduce traditional center-periphery relations of the cultural world-system. Accordingly, novel practices have been targeting both to (re-)write stories of places traditionally on the periphery of the cultural world-system and to develop methodologies that enable to gain perspectives on artistic practices globally that are alternative to the way the world is seen from the double geographic nucleus of a few core countries of North America and Western Europe (Quemin 2006), where both the geographical and the temporal “Greenwich meridian” of the art world has been set traditionally (Casanova 2004:82–126). It has been argued to introduce multiple temporalities to avoid reproducing the narrative of constant delay and distance from these artistic centers (Casanova 2004; Vlachou 2016). It has also been argued to introduce horizontal art history (Piotrowski 2011) to enhance lateral geographic focus between traditional peripheries and the circulation of artists on the peripheries (Joyeux-Prunel 2018; Marchart 2014) as well as to modify the geographical approach in the classification of art which is predominantly used *for* artist of non-core countries (Smith 1974) and assigned *by* metropolitan art history (Bôas 2012). Approaches have also been targeting to destabilize the fixed vantage points of the center and the periphery through varying resolution and perspective (Blommaert and Van der Donckt 2002; Sørensen 2019) and to demonstrate that the same actors occupy both central and peripheral positions and can be both dominant and the dominated (Veszprémi 2019), as well as to focus on center within peripheries and peripheries within centers (Vlachou 2016).

Another line of the endeavor has started to develop what is called distant, geographical, statistical, and network approach, hence novel tools and materials of the new digital realm have been understood to enable setting multiple perspectives and thus de-centering the dominant, western gaze. An important line of research have been building on the tradition of the Annales school to enact geographical mapping of the circulation of artist, artefact, ideas (Joyeux-Prunel 2018; Kaufmann et al. 2017; Pravdenko 2019).⁸ Further, utilization of computational tools spread in humanities disciplines enabling to handle the emergent novel extensive art related databases and to investigate cultural phenomena in single research with never seen geographical span and historical depth (Manovich 2015; Schich et al. 2014). The emergence of novel

⁸ While the Annales School in history designated to investigate transnational circulations and some scholars such as Aby Warburg built his oeuvre with specifically rejecting the national frameworks, opening to a more global orientation only appeared in mainstream academic discourse in art history after the 1990s (Joyeux-Prunel 2019).

approaches in art history building on digital datasets and using computational tools have become an integral part of the post-1989 transformations of the discipline of art history and raised high hopes of opening novel perspectives in cultural analysis.

Yet, amidst these promising endeavors, harsh critiques have also emerged. While global art history has been both accommodating considerations of critical theories as well as novel computational tools and digitized-digital databases while investigating the art of the world in an extended cultural and territorial scope, the two aspects revealed to be in tension in multiple points. First of all, it has been argued that research may easily end up reproducing the prevailing status quo rather than introducing novel perspectives while aiming to examine marginalized cultures, tendencies and regions, since what is preserved and stored as information has always been embedded in the historical power-structures deciding upon what is to be documented (Bearman 2015) and data on marginalized phenomena, cultures and territories is often hazy and discontinuous and that which exists is often structured from the current dominant perspective (Porras 2017). Further, building, storing and maintaining databases are in need of professional and financial capital not only in historical but also in contemporary setting (Gitelman and Jackson 2013) and accordingly, data that is with sufficient quality for research have been produced by and on countries occupying central positions in the cultural and geopolitical world-system reinforcing further knowledge production on artistic centers. In other words, artistic centers are most often also political or economic centers, and they maintain to be so partially due to the infrastructure that enables them to disseminate their culture (Castelnuovo and Ginzburg 1981). As such, while both telling untold stories and focusing on the peripheries instead of the centers have been key attempt of art history in the last decades, it has been deemed difficult to use data-driven and computational approaches in a way that brings further these endeavors.

Another key point of debate has been targeting the problem of the perspective and the position of the observer while utilizing digital tools and data sources. While it is a fundamental understanding of humanities that data is not given but socially constructed, information is always subject to interpretation (Kienle 2017b) and that the concept of a-, or pre-theoretical data analysis is impossible (Gitelman and Jackson 2013), due to the vast geographical and temporal span embraced, novel techniques have often been passing themselves as presentations instead of representations and have been implying a neutral, objective gaze of the observer outside and above the vast system of inspection (Kienle 2017a). As such, the basic attempt of

all critical theories to deconstruct the notion of a neutral gaze and to embed actors in social space linking perspectives to positions has been often in contradiction with the way data-driven research of culture has been conducted.

A cozy meeting point

While targeting to deconstruct the naturalized notion of canon-formation, the eminent question in global art history targets not only *whether* peripheral cultures, territories and tendencies are involved in, for example, core collections but to understand *how* these artists are incorporated and represented (Vlachou 2016). Alike, it is a crucial attempt of any critical inquiry not only to point out that deeming a neutral presentation of a phenomenon is a privilege of the prevailing dominant position, but to actually demonstrate *how* representations are constructed in social space, even from a dominant position.

Institutional theories arguing for the socially constructed character of art highlighted that the institutions not only present artists and artworks, but are intricately part of the formation of the meaning and value those artists and artworks carry (Becker 1982; Bourdieu 1993, 1996; White 1993; White and White 1993). Eminent events of this formation are the *exhibitions* where artworks and artists are presented. Bourdieu approaches from the perspective of accumulating symbolic capital, the capital which is specific to the autonomous logic of the field and through which certain artistic and institutional positions can be reached. Exhibitions connect artists and venues into an interdependent relation since the symbolic capital and aesthetic-political stance of a venue at a given point in time is signaled through the artists it both chooses and can afford to exhibit and alike, the symbolic capital of an artist is signaled through the venues where it chooses and has the opportunity to exhibit (Bourdieu 1996:273).

Thus, while a collection represents artistic tendencies, epoch or geographic regions through the artists and artworks it acquired, it is anchored to the global institutional space through the institutions that participated in the formation of the meaning and value of those acquired. Empirically mapping the specific institutional structures into which a collection, and the representation a collection gives is embedded enables both to analyze the characteristics of its social embeddedness and to compare such structures across multiple collections. While cultural and sociological analysis gives the theoretical background to map the institutional space into which a collection is embedded, novel data and statistical and network tools gives the practical means to empirically do so.

Core museums' collections are eminent subjects of such a data-driven research, hence they are in the forefront of digitalization and as such, their collection is online *available, comparable* with other core collections, and the data sources can be *integrated* with further databases in the global data flow. Accordingly, digital data and tools enable to better understand the exact ways in which the representations dominant collections give on a subject matter are socially constructed.

Accordingly, the purpose of the next section is to introduce a method that enables to capture the precise institutional structure into which the collection of three core museum, the Tate Modern in London, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the Centre Pompidou in Paris are each embedded. I focus on these collections as they represent the art of a peripheral region in the cultural world-system: Central-East Europe. The value of depicting this institutional structure is that it informs about the sites (and the constellation of these sites) that function as the scaffold of the representation the museum gives on the region. First, I empirically depict the global institutional structure into which the collection of each core museums is embedded. Then, I compare the derived structures to depict their concrete differences and similarities across collections. Finally, I map each institutional structure into the geographic space to examine the way the global territorial power-structure of the art field intermingles with the topological space of the networks.

Data

First, the artists from the CEE region are to be gathered from each collection, and second, their exhibition career preceding their time of acquisition. In this chapter, I focus on the collection of each museum until 2016. All three museums made their collection available online.⁹ After cleaning the databases (harmonizing name spellings, eliminating duplicates and matching nationalities) showed that the collection of the Centre Pompidou comprised 326, the MoMA 337 and the Tate 120 artists with nationality or origin in the Central-East European region until 2016. There were a total of 1461 acquisition events since their founding until 2016. Considering all acquired artists in the collections these added up to a proportion of 4.7%, 3.1% and 2.2% respectively (*Table 1*).

⁹ MoMA Collection metadata: <https://github.com/MuseumofModernArt/collection>. Tate Collection metadata: <https://github.com/tategallery/collection> until 2013, from then on as "Tate Reports" online available in PDF format. Centre Pompidou Collection: <https://collection.centrepompidou.fr/#/artworks>

<i>Collection</i>	<i>No of artists in the collection</i>	<i>No. of CEE artists in the collection</i>	<i>% of CEE artists</i>	<i>No. of acquisition event of CEE artists</i>
<i>Centre Pompidou</i>	6927	326	4.7	687
<i>Tate Modern</i>	3871	120	3.1	195
<i>MoMA</i>	15091	337	2.2	579

Table 1. Descriptive data on the museum collections.

The overlap among the set of CEE artists within the collections was between 12.4-41%. *Table 2.* depicts the percentage to which the collection in the row is present in the collection of the column. This result demonstrates that the collections represent the region with considerably different artists.

	<i>Centre Pompidou</i>	<i>Tate Collection</i>	<i>MoMA</i>
<i>Centre Pompidou</i>	100	41	19
<i>Tate Collection</i>	15	100	12
<i>MoMA</i>	19	35	100

Table 2. The overlap among each pair of collections, applied to the number of CEE artists within each collection proportionally, displayed in percentage (%). In raw numbers, the intersection between Tate and Pompidou comprises 49 artists, between Tate and MoMA 42, and between Centre Pompidou and MoMA 63 artists.

In line with the general framework of the thesis, I considered in the analysis only the acquisitions after 1989 resulting in 242 artists: 57 from Tate Collection, 124 from Centre Pompidou and 122 from MoMA (adding up to 303 in total due to overlaps).

Considering the artists exhibition careers I gathered data from Artfacts.Net. This data source is arguably the most comprehensive on artistic presence in the global exhibition space. Beyond being an authoritative resource for art professionals, this data source had also frequently been used by researchers of art (Brandellero and Velthuis 2018; Buchholz 2018; Yogev and Grund 2012). Even if Artfacts.Net is the most comprehensive data source, its coverage is not even across all dimensions. Most notably, it underrepresents artists and venues from peripheral regions, compared with more central parts of the art world (Buchholz 2018). This is controlled in this research in two ways. Firstly, in line with the general focus of the research by collecting data on artists from within the same (semi-)peripheral region of Central-East Europe (CEE) and not mixing them with artist from core countries. Second, given the specific focus of this

research (i.e. the focus on depicting the institutional structures into which each collection is embedded), the venues needs also to be controlled against skewedness, which will be dealt with through the filtering method presented in the next section. Gathering the exhibition histories resulted in a database comprising 242 artists and 12260 exhibitions in 4401 venues in 1256 cities of 82 countries.

Method

To map the institutional structures into which each collection is uniquely embedded, I follow a statistical filtering-based network presented by Micciche' and Mantegna (2019). Each resulting network is based on the concrete historical set of the artists in each collection and their exhibition careers preceding the time of their acquisition into the given museum collection.

To map the institutional structure in which a collection is grounded, I follow a network approach. Each collections is represented by a weighted, undirected co-exhibition network. The nodes of this network are the venues, located wherever globally, who exhibited an artist of the collection prior to its acquisition.¹⁰ A pair of venues is connected in this network if both exhibited the same artists during its pre-acquisition period. The more such artists, the stronger the tie among the venues in the emerging weighted undirected network. The focus is on co-occurrence in a career, not causality.

Next, considering each tie in the network, to capture the venues on which the representation specifically relies, only those are retained that has a higher weight than it could be simply derived from the number of the artists both venues exhibited from the collection, and the number of artists within the collection. This increased prevalence means a specific importance of these venues within the careers from the museum's perspective and signals that the way they represent the region is with especial importance in the way the focal museum conceives the region. Technically, a filtering is used that is presented by Micciche' and Mantegna (2019). Statistically speaking, I conduct a hypergeometric test on each tie in the network applying a

¹⁰ The sequences are heterogeneous in several ways. *First*, there is a heterogeneity in the venues; they can be museums, non-profit project spaces, commercial galleries, events such as art fairs or biennales, etc. *Second*, due to the different acquisition dates, different external calendar terminus is considered per artist (if an artist was acquired in 2004, his/her exhibition history is considered until 2003, whereas if they were acquired in 2010, it is regarded until 2009). *Third*, the sequences are of different length; some artists had a lot, and some only a few documented exhibitions. As a result of the *second* and *third* point, the sequences bridge different calendar-year spans. *Fourth*, the internal time pace between the exhibitions within a sequence also differs; some artist had several each year, others only once in every two years. The first point marks heterogeneity on the node level, the others mark it on the edge level. Consequently, the weight connecting two venues add up in various ways. Allowing both organizational variety and procedural diversity while depicting the exhibition sequences is important to keep historical-social validity.

Bonferroni correction for the multiple hypotheses test correction (for the exact method, see Appendix S1.).

This method is with exceptional fit with my needs. It has three main advantages. First, it filters out all the venues where artists did exhibit, but given the overall structure of the collection it is not embedded to the co-exhibition network with exceptionally high prevalence to any other venues. Second, hence the filtering is done based on the internal structure of the collection, it enables to retain those venues that had only lower weighted ties but these ties had been present with high significance. These venues would be lost in a method that takes a given weight-threshold as the base of filtering. Third, it also enacts an assurance against the possibility that venues be present in the structure just because venues from the core countries might be better documented in the global database, hence it will be filtered out if through the many exhibition it presented it did not connect to any other venues in the careers with high significance.

Results

Results show that the filtering is severe. Less than 5% of all ties are significant resulting more than 60% of all the venues to drop out from the pool that comprised all the venues in the careers (for details see Appendix S2). This means that while all the venues formed the meaning and value of the artists who they exhibited, the overall representation that the collection as an autonomous entity gives on the region can be characterized through the representation of only a fraction of these venues.

Comparing the three networks, results showed they overlap in approximately 50% of their venues. Networks are markedly centralized (for details of the macro measures see Appendix S3) and among the 10% most central nodes the overlap among the three networks is even higher than in total: it is between 75% and 79% (*Table 3.*). This means, that while the central venues in the topological structure are with very high importance considering the representation each collection forms on the region, at the same time these are predominantly not specific to any of the museums. This implies rather necessity than specific choices and that omitting to consider them would endanger the validity of the the representation that the museum gives in the global art field. On the other hand, results in *Table 3.* also show that between 25-30% of the venues are unique to each collection, yet this ratio decreases towards the high end of the most central venues in each network. These are those venues that fine-tune each representation vis-à-vis the other museums.

Further, mapping the institutional structures in the territorial realm *Table 3.* depicts that approximately 70% of the venues which significantly contributed to the representation that the collection forms is located in Western Europe and North America. This somewhat decreases in favor of local CEE venues in the top 10% most central venues in case of Tate and the Pompidou while further increased in case of MoMA.

Collection	Range	3 Networks	2 Networks	1 Network	In Wena	In Cee	In Elsewhere
POMPIDOU	Total	49	26	25	67	27	6
POMPIDOU	Top_10%	75	20	5	63	36	1
TATE	Total	49	28	23	68	24	8
TATE	Top_10%	79	12	9	52	40	8
MOMA	Total	44	26	30	69	25	6
MOMA	Top_10%	70	11	19	72	22	6

Table 3. Regionality and level of overlap of the venues (%) in the three networks

To conceive these results through visualizing the networks, *Table 4.* depicts them through the network layouts. All layout is done using Force Atlas algorithm (Jacomy et al. 2014). Networks in the first column are coloured to depict the modularity structure of each network. The second column in *Table 4.* shows the networks based on the same layout as used in column 1, but the coloring marks the venues' geographical location instead of community belonging, and column 3 shows the level of overlap between the three networks regarding each venues. The basic idea of all community detection method is to identify groups of nodes that have relatively more connections within the group than outside, with the rest of the network. This research uses the Louvain method to define community structure (Blondel et al. 2008). Visualizations highlight that the institutional structure characteristic of MoMA is the least modular, dominated by a huge central module comprising more than half (52%) of all venues. Visualizations of the structure characterizing Tate depicts a central part which comprises the two biggest modules (27% and 20%), showing that it is more disperse than the central unit of MoMA and the differences in the centrality of the nodes are less accentuated. Visualization on Pompidou depicts the most accentuated modularity structure across collections with small yet well-defined central module (comprising 21% of all venues) and with the proportionally biggest and most additional communities.

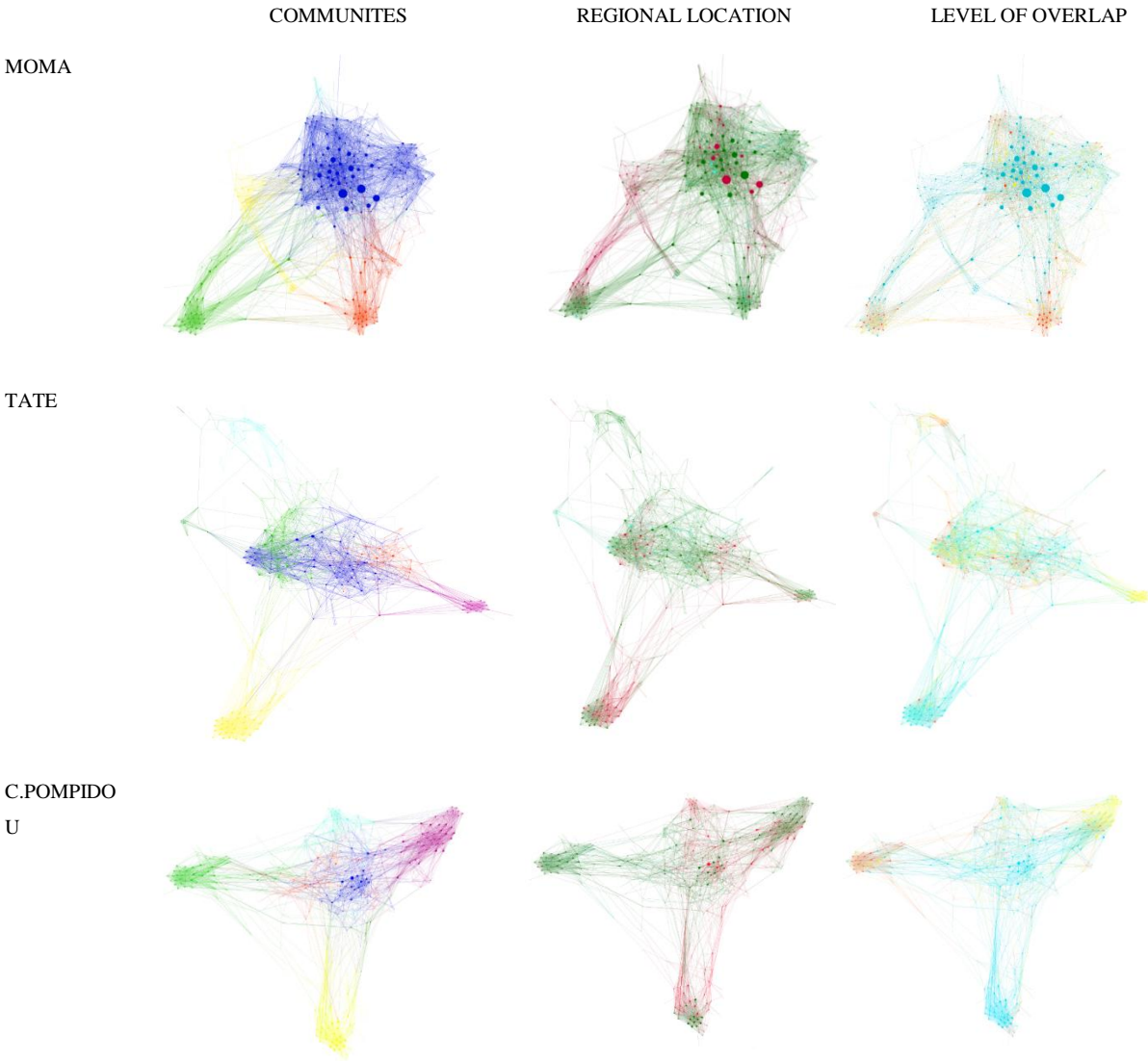


Table 4. This table displays the institutional network of the MoMA (1st row), the Tate Collection (2nd row) and the Centre Pompidou (3rd row), coloured in three versions. The displays in all three versions are in Force Atlas algorithm. The first column shows the networks coloured according to the community structure conceived through Louvain algorithm. In the second column, the venues are coloured according to their geographical location; the venues located in the CEE region are pink, those located in the WENA region are dark green, and those located elsewhere are marked in light-blue. The third column colours the venues according to the number of collections which comprise its fingerprint. Those venues that are shared by all three networks are coloured with light-blue, those by two are in yellow, and those that are present in only one are in red.

Finally, I consider the most central ten venues in each institutional structure. Results show that the two European museums rely on flagship CEE venues to a higher extent than the North American museum, who, rather keeps the European flagship venues as its most central venues of reference while conceiving the CEE region.

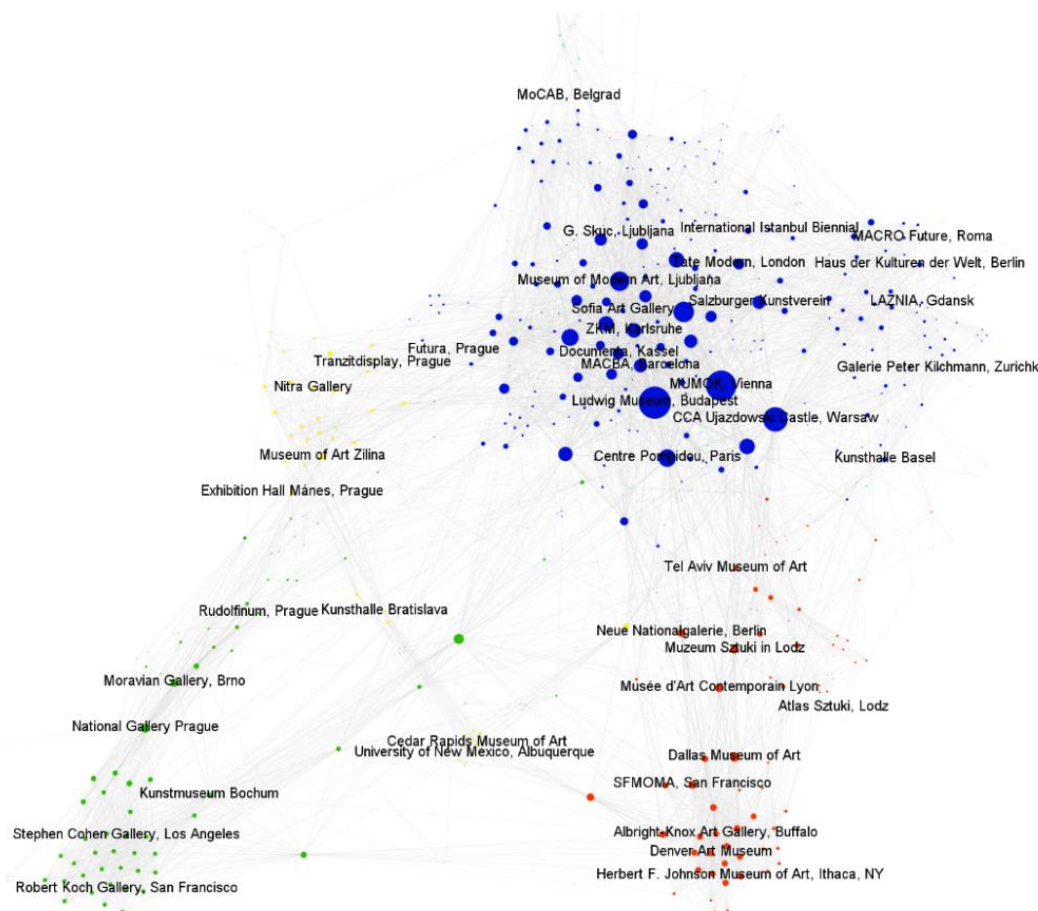


Figure 1. Institutional structure of MoMA regarding the CEE region in 2016.

Six of the ten most central nodes in case of MoMA are from Western Europe: the Centre Pompidou in Paris, the Tate Modern in London and the Documenta in Kassel, and further the Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo in Turin, the Museum für moderne Kunst in Bremen and the CAPC - Musée d'Art Contemporain in Bordeaux. Three Polish institutions represent the CEE region: the Centre for Contemporary Art Ujazdowski Castle in Warsaw; the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw and the Muzeum Sztuki in Lodz. Finally, interestingly, the Hokkaido Museum of Modern Art in Japan also seems to be with specific importance.

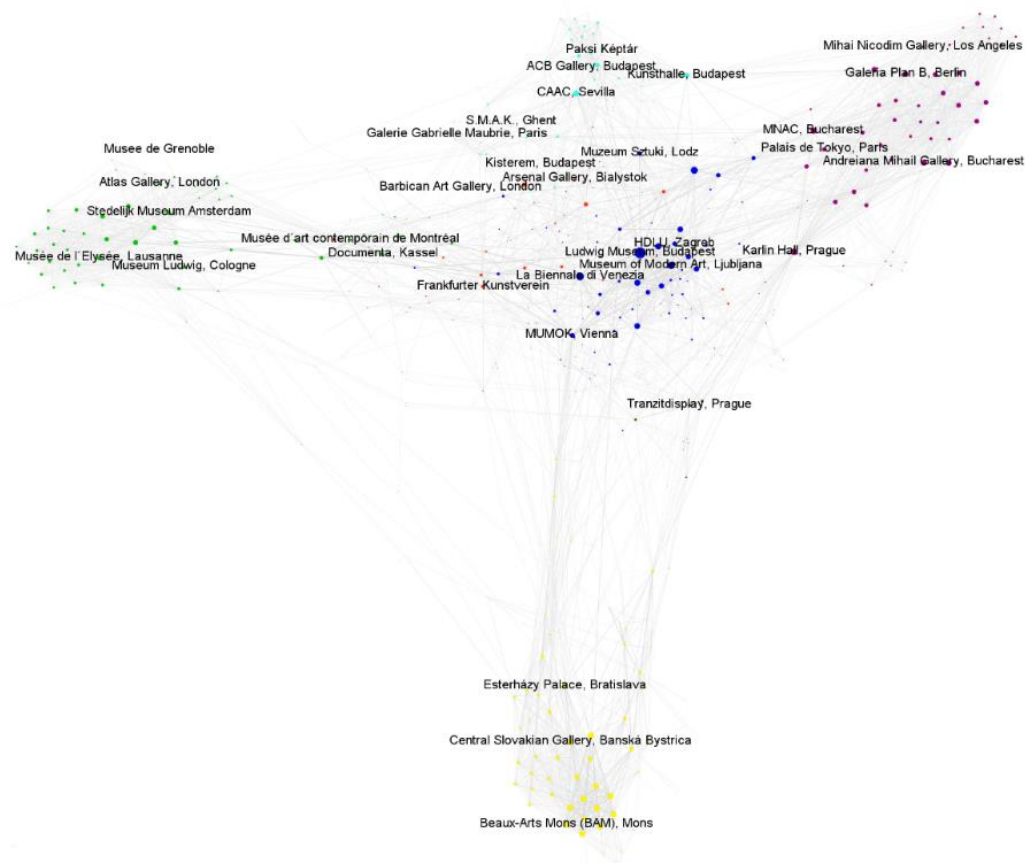


Figure 2. Institutional structure of Centre Pompidou regarding the CEE region in 2016.

In case of Centre Pompidou, an inverse situation is observable: six out of the ten most central venues are located in the CEE region: the HDLU in Zagreb, the Muzeum Sztuki in Lodz, the National Gallery of Macedonia in Skopje, the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana, the Galeria Noua in Bucharest and the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw. Further two are located in Central Europe, Austria: the Kunsthau of Graz and the Generali Foundation in Vienna. Further, instead of national flagship venues, the progressive Württembergischer Kunstverein in Stuttgart and the Exit Art in New York City are present.

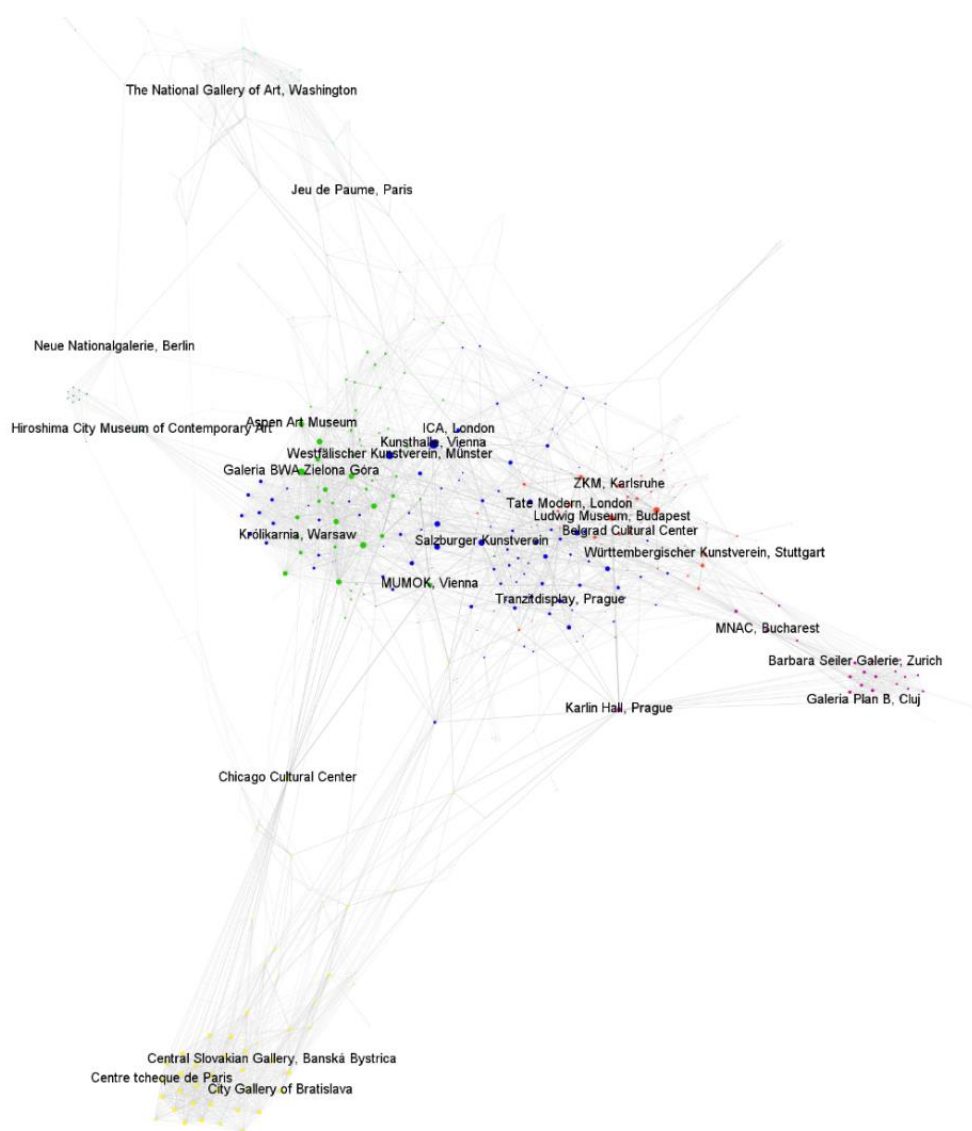


Figure 3. Institutional structure of Centre Pompidou regarding the CEE region in 2016.

Finally, in case of Tate, also six out of ten are located in Central-East Europe, yet are all different than those of Pompidou. These are the Wyspa Institute of Art in Gdansk, the Królikarnia in Warsaw; the Zacheta - National Gallery of Art in Warsaw; the Galeria BWA in Zielona Gora, the Arsenal Gallery in Bialystok and the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana. Further, the Kunsthalle – MuseumsQuartier in Vienna, the Stadt Fellbach – Kulturstadt in Fellbach, the Westfälischer Kunstverein in Münster and finally the Sala Rekalde in Bilbao are those which are with the highest centrality in the institutional structure scaffolding the representation the Tate gives on the region.

These results depict that whereas the Centre Pompidou and the Tate Modern are among the most important references for MoMA while perceiving the Central-East European region, it is not only non-reciprocal, but the two European museums demonstrate a more direct focus toward the region than the American institution. While it is deemed that topographical space have been ‘shrinking’ in the global realm (Blunt 2007), these results show that cultural and topographic distance are still connected and facilitates a division of labor among the core institutions, where Centre Pompidou and Tate conceive the art of the Central-East European region to a higher extent through the local venues of the region and broker it to MoMA.

Interpretation and conclusion

In this chapter, I applied a method established in statistics and used on data integrated from multiple data sources through a network approach. This method enabled to empirically contribute to a key attempt in art historical discourse: to embed collections in social space. Doing so, I mapped the institutional structure that serve as pillars of the representation that the Tate, the MoMA and the Centre Pompidou give on the Central-East European region based on their corresponding collection built between 1990 and 2016.

This institutional structure has several important properties. First, it is unique to each collection, since it is embedded not only in the concrete set of artists it comprises but also dependent on the time of their acquisition. Second, it is linked to time; it depicts the structure based on the activities in the system; the concrete artists and their time of acquisition. As such, it is not static, but shapes with each new acquisition; each new exhibition sequence modifies the structure. Third, it is not under the direct effect of any museum to modify it; it can only be modified through the acquired artists. As such, its informational value lies in the fact that it informs about the structure of a gaze while that gaze is not conscious about it. The depicted method uniquely enables to capture the social embeddedness of this gaze. Forth, this method makes collections comparable in a novel way. Finally, this method demonstrates that while a global institutional space emerged it should be conceived as a space which is continuously restructuring through the way individual actors (in this case the core museum) arrange it through the way they rely on this institutional space regarding the certain topical areas which they aim to represent.

Comparing the derived institutional network of the three core collections I found that there is high overlap between the venues on which the representation relies and it further increases towards the most central nodes of the networks. As for territorial location, Western European and North American venues dominate all three structures meaning that the way core collections

represent a peripheral region still to a high extent relies on the way other venues in Western Europe and North America represents that peripheral region. Yet, results also depicted that core museums not only incorporate artists from peripheral regions into their collection but also consider the flagship venues of the peripheral region while forming their representation on that region, and even in an accentuated way among the most important venues on which they rely. This result highlights the trend of globalization and points to a more integrated art world through the overlapping venues, those — let them be located wherever globally— that must be considered by core museums in order to give a valid representation on the given peripheral region.

Considering the simultaneous functioning towards centralization and decentralization in the global art field, these findings demonstrate that while the peripheral region of Central-East Europe is indeed represented by core museums and thus made globally visible, this representation is grounded predominantly in the representation of other venues from the core countries on the peripheral region. In other words, while the utilized statistical method filtered the global institutional space to retain only those venues which significantly contributed to the representation the collection gives on the region, this representations in turn proves to be filtered through the representation of other venues in core countries and in the broader core of Western Europe and North America.

Appendix

S1. Filtering method as it is presented by Micciche' and Mantegna (2019).

For each collection, the bipartite network base of the network is considered. A bipartite network consists of two node sets; node *set A* comprising all venues participating in the pre-acquisition exhibition histories of the artists, and node *set B* comprising all the artists in the collection. In a bipartite network nodes of node *set A* are connected with nodes of the node *set B* (i.e. venues are connected with the artist whom they exhibited), but not among themselves (i.e. no venue-venue or artist-artist connection exist). The projection on the venues (*set A*) is done by connecting each two venues based on the number of artists they both connect to in the artist node set (*set B*). To arrive at the filtered, statistically validated network, each weighted, undirected link is tested against the null hypothesis of random co-occurrence of common artists taking into account the degree heterogeneity of elements of the venue node set (*set A*). Doing so, three features of the system are considered; the number of artists in total (the total number of elements in the artist node set regarding a collection), the number of artists each venue exhibited, and the number of artists each two venue jointly exhibited (the overlap between the artist set of two venues). That is, for each element (venue) i and j in *set A* the number of common neighbors (common artists) $N_{i,j}$ is considered. N_i and N_j are the degrees of $venue_i$ and $venue_j$. The null hypothesis is that $venue_i$ and $venue_j$ randomly connect to artist in *set B*. In such a case the probability that they share X artists in common (neighbors) is very well approximated by the hypergeometric distribution:

$$H(X | N_B, N_i, N_j) = \frac{\binom{N_i}{X} \binom{N_B - N_i}{N_j - X}}{\binom{N_B}{N_j}}, \quad (1)$$

from which the probability p – value of each $N_{i,j}$ is conceived as:

$$p(N_{i,j}) = 1 - \sum_{X=0}^{N_{i,j}-1} H(X | N_B, N_i, N_j). \quad (2)$$

Consequently a p – value is associated to each weighted undirected link between each two venues. If this a p – value is below a threshold α (in the present case $\alpha = 0.01$), the random scenario null hypothesis is ruled out. Since such a test for each potential edge is conducted, in order to avoid the large-scale increase of false positives known as the multiple comparison problem, the Bonferroni-correction (multiple hypothesis test correction) is conducted. Doing so, for a given α threshold of the p – value (in the present situation; $\alpha = 0.01$), since T number

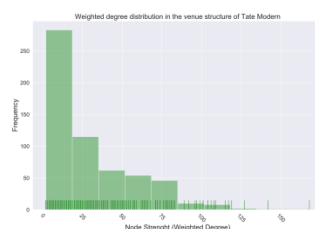
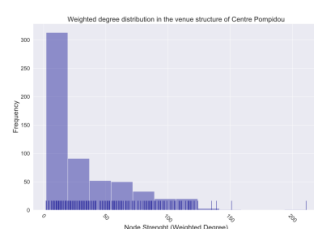
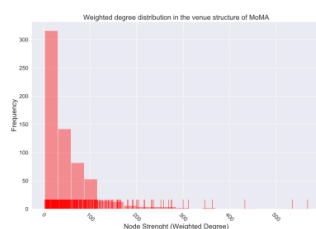
of tests are conducted, the original α is corrected to $\alpha_{\beta} = \alpha/T$ and the edges are only kept below this new α_{β} threshold.

S2. Size of the raw and the statistically validated networks

	N of venues/raw	N of venues/valid	N of edges/raw	N of edges/valid
CENTRE POMPIDOU	1568	584 (37%)	90654	3609 (4%)
TATE COLLECTION	1682	582 (34.5%)	149338	3395 (2.3%)
MOMA	1721	646 (37.5%)	154850	5881 (3.8%)

S3. Macro descriptives of the validated networks

	N of nodes	N of edges	Density	K	Kmax/weighted	Modularity
				max		
CENTRE POMPIDOU	584	3609	0.021	49	211	0.692
TATE COLLECTION	582	3395	0.020	61	168	0.657
MOMA	646	5881	0.028	97	568	0.541



CHAPTER 3

Cosmopolitans in the Museum: Brokering the Local Elite from the Peripheries into a Global Network of Art Patrons

Introduction

The global art world have become more differentiated in structure and more integrated in functioning during the post-1989 phase of globalization. Global networks of museums, biennales, art fairs have evolved as novel structural layers (Marchart 2014; Quemin 2006; Wóycicka 2021). These layers have been ever growing amidst the multiplication of venues and actors and progressively connected both on the intra-, and the inter-layer dimensions through the increasingly international careers conducted by artists (Menger 2014; Message 2006). Further, the emergent global exhibition space and global art market (Velthuis and Brandellero 2018), novel artist rankings and transcontinental databases (Buckermann 2020), as well as the transnational class of curators and nomad art professionals have been contributing to the integration in functioning (Weibel et al. 2007).

Through these transformation the role and position of the Western art museum underwent considerable changes and today it faces novel structural constraints in the global art field. While the art museum was *the* flagship institution of canon-formation in modernity, today it is only *one* site of consecration among others (Hall et al. 2001). While previously it was founded and strongly supported by the state, today it is financially dependent on private and corporate funding for which it competes with multiple other cultural actors (Urry 2002). Further, flagship museums of core countries have been under pressure to decolonize and expand the global scope of their collections and involving artists from the local art scenes of (prior) peripheral regions of the cultural world system has become a necessity to maintain their position as top consecration institutions.

The term of the *new museum* emerged to designate the institutions proliferating since the 1990s that function in the intersection of government, private donation and corporate interest (Message 2006) in need of attracting the global tourist gaze (Urry 2002) through demonstrating constantly newness, gaining a location on the cartography of star architecture buildings and as an entertainment complex (Belting 2012) fuelling urban development and the attraction of

foreign investment (Patterson 2016). In short, today museums function in a more complex structural constellation and must develop novel strategies to handle the system of constraints which increased in complexity in the new era. However, there is a lack of sufficient knowledge on the micro strategic solutions core museums have developed to deal with the dual pressure towards globalizing their collections and coping with the challenge of finding the financial means to cover the costs of collection building while striving to maintain their dominant positions in the field.

The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate what concrete institutional process and practices have core museums developed to acquire artists from peripheral regions after 1989 and how these have impacted the prevailing power-structure of the global art field. I focus on the acquisitions of Tate Modern in London, and the Centre Pompidou in Paris targeting artists from Central-East Europe. I rely on the museums' collections, their institutional history and on interviews conducted with members involved in the acquisition procedure.

Results show that collections depict a growing number of newly acquired artists from the region over time. Regarding the procedure, I document a specific logic of partitioning the global which results in an intensification of knowledge sharing both between the territorial core and the periphery and within the periphery as well. Further, I show that a novel supra-territorial network has emerged around these core museums connecting to the local elite of the periphery. I demonstrate that this emergent novel global elite network which is at the heart of the developed institutional practice contributes to the integration of the global art field, but it also contributes to the strengthening of core museums' position as autonomous institutions of consecration, while on the periphery it carries high risk of increasing the local art scene's dependence on an art market logic.

Background on Tate Modern and Centre Pompidou

Centre Pompidou opened in 1977 on the territory of the Beaubourg neighbourhood in Paris. The new building aimed at signalling ultimate institutional and spatial flexibility with its machine like exterior and totally flexible interior representing itself as the site of cultural production (Davidts 2006) and it soon became the exemplary case of successful large-scale urban policy operating through culture (Rius-Ulldemolins and Klein 2020). The museum

became a landmark on the cartography of museum architecture (architects: Renzo Piano, Richard Rogers and Gianfranco Franchini), a global tourist attraction and a best practice to be followed by other museum directors worldwide (Patterson 2016). As a new phase of institutional globalization, Pompidou recently started to build a global satellite system. In 2015 the Pompidou Malaga was founded, in 2019 the Pompidou Shanghai, and while the plan of a museum in Prague was finally dismissed, in 2023 the Pompidou Brussels – KANAL will open.

The Tate was founded in 1897 under the name of National Gallery of British art (renamed to Tate Gallery in 1932) as the national collection of modern art and British art. Tate today designates a group of four museums, Tate Britain, Tate Modern, Tate Liverpool, Tate St. Ives. Tate Britain in the former building of Tate Gallery in London comprising British art from 1500 until today. Tate Liverpool (1988), Tate St. Ives (1993), Tate Modern in London (2000) are all dedicated to collect and exhibit international modern and contemporary art from 1900 onwards. While Tate Liverpool functions on a smaller scale and Tate St. Ives focuses on corresponding artists affiliated in some way with the region. Tate Modern was launched with the aim to become a national flagship project and to locate Tate on the cartography of the global art field as a hub of international contemporary art besides the Centre Pompidou in Paris and the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Tate Modern, built more than 20 years after Pompidou also fits in the framework of urban development via large-scale cultural project. Instead of erecting a new building it is in Southwark, London at the transformed former Bankside Power Station. Based on the survey with artists the aim was to redesign the interior to evoke the industrial like ateliers of its time (Davidts 2006). While Centre Pompidou had an international focus from the beginning, Tate Modern grew out to represent it on a large scale in an institutional environment which was primarily focusing on British art before.

Acquisitions – Organizational Structure

Tate Modern predominantly has been acquiring artworks through territorially defined committees right from its foundation in 2000. It first established the North American Acquisitions Committee in 2001 (NAAC), then the Latin-American in 2002 (LAAC), the Asian and Pacific Area in 2007 (APAC), the MENAAC for the Middle East and North African region in 2009. The African (AAC) in 2010, finally the South-Asian (SAAC) and the Russia and

Eastern Europe Acquisitions Committee (REEAC) in 2012 besides a separate Photography Acquisitions Committee.¹¹

Centre Pompidou first launched art form based French speaking acquisition committees: for contemporary art (Group Acquisition Art Contemporain (GAAC) in 2002, for photography (Group d'Acquisition de la Photographie for International Photography) in 2014 and for design (Group d'Acquisition Design) in 2016. The museum founded the English-speaking International Circle (IC) only later, in 2013 and its regional branches the Central Europe, the Latin American, the Asia Pacific and the (Western) Europe group in 2017, the North America and Africa group in 2019 and the Middle East North Africa focused committee in 2021.¹²

While transnational regional partitions became prevalent, and it is argued that they have become the central territorial constellations of current global realm (Heilbron 1999, 2014; Janssen et al. 2008), their territorial boundaries are contested and subject to interpretation. The museums have been predominantly partitioning the globe into similar regions, yet regarding Central-East Europe, their interpretations differ. Tate Modern has chosen a demarcation inherited from the Cold War and concatenated the region to the whole of Russia in the framework of the Russian and Eastern European Acquisitions Committee (founded in 2012). Five years later, the Central Europe group of the International Circle at Centre Pompidou (founded 2017) defined a smaller and culturally more coherent region designating an intermediary positions between Western Europe and Russia in accordance with the post-1989 historical changes in orientation. This regional focus is more than a practical partitioning of the globe into manageable pieces, it also means that the museums set a regional focus also regarding its art historical principles. From the CEE region, this have been primarily designating the art of the 1960s-70s as a good fit with the collection representing the other side of the Iron Curtain, pieces of classical avant-garde, photography and gradually the most prominent artists of the generation born in the '70s and observing the change of the system in 1989 as young adults.

The collection data

To quantitatively compare the two collections, I gathered data on artists from these countries in the collection of Tate and Pompidou from their founding until 2019. The Tate Collection shared its metadata on GitHub until 2013 for the following period I retrieved the data from the Annual

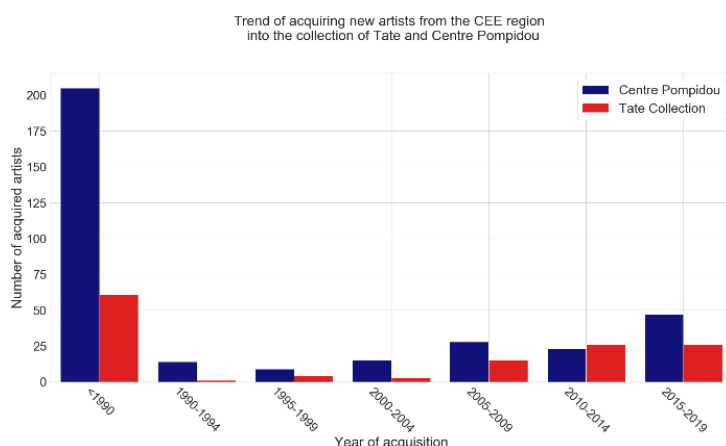
¹¹ <https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/collection/acquisitions>

¹² <https://amis.centrepompidou.fr/en/committees>

Reports. The collection of the Centre Pompidou is available online. To assign nationality of origin to artists from the CEE region I used an emic approach, as I followed the categorizations that the museums themselves applied. It is precisely the perspective of the two institutions which is of primary interest regarding the acquisitions, as they ascribe nationality. In the Tate Collection, I used the place of birth for identification of nationality until 2013 then focused on the acquisitions of the Russia and Eastern Europe Acquisitions Committee (REEAC) of the museum which is the main source of acquisition since 2012. To secure the validity of data, I cross-checked the acquisitions from 2013 onwards with a founding member of the REEAC. Centre Pompidou instead of place of birth uses multiple variations for nationality, which for example in case of the Hungarian nationality designates 16 categories, such as *hongoris, américaine (hongroise (avant 1946) à la naissance), hongroise (avant 1946), française (hongroise (avant 1946) à la naissance)*. I considered all artist who had a nationality of origin of any kind related to the CEE region as to my definition of the region.

CEE artists in the collections

Examining the collection data depicts a growing net number of newly acquired artists from the CEE region in each 5-year window in both collections. Tate Collection comprised artworks from 136 and the collection of the Centre Pompidou 341 distinct artists from the CEE region until 2019. The collection of Tate is smaller than that of Pompidou, and as such these numbers refer to approximately the same 3-4,5% proportions in the two collections. Dependent of the year, this is around 3% of all the artists in the collection at Tate and between 4-4,5% yearly at Pompidou. *Graph 1.* depicts the number of new acquisitions (i.e. first acquisition of a new artist) from the CEE region in each 5 years. Results show that while the bulk of the artist were still acquired before 1989, regarding the new acquisitions Tate depicts a constantly growing number from 2005 onwards and Pompidou a steady increase with some minor drawbacks. This result is in line with other studies depicting the slightly growing number of artists from the peripheries of the cultural world system in the post-1989 phase (Banks 2018).



Graph 1. The number of newly acquired artists from the CEE region at Tate and Pompidou until 2019.

Converging collections

Comparing the overlap between the two collections a tendency of convergence is registered over time. *Table 1.* depicts the number of overlapping artists before 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2020 and the ratio it adds up to each collection's respective part of CEE artists. In total the ratio of overlapping artists increased by 12% at the Tate Collection and by 8% at Pompidou between 1989 and 2019. In addition, while 42% of the Tate Collections respective part is present in Pompidou this is only 17% the other way around.

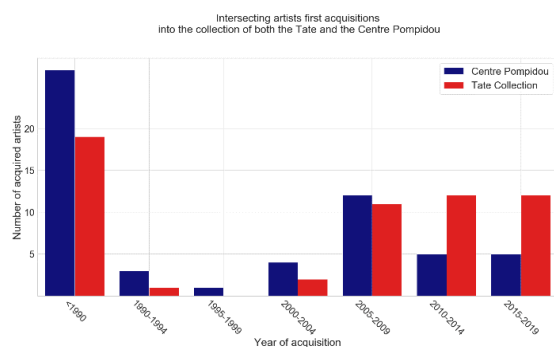
	<1990	<2000	<2010	<2020
<i>N</i>	18	19	32	57
TATE	30% (61)	29% (66)	38% (84)	42% (136)
POMPIDOU	9% (205)	8% (228)	12% (271)	17% (341)

Table 1. The ratio of overlapping artists from the CEE region in the collections of Tate and Pompidou between 1989-2019.

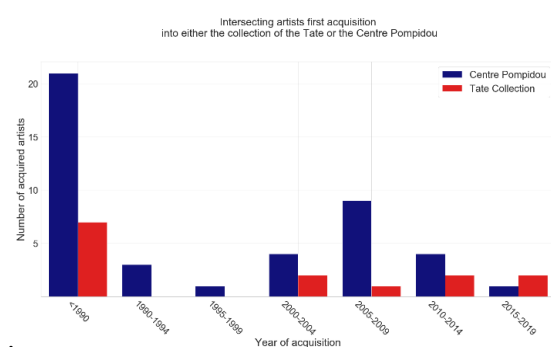
From the 57 overlapping CEE artists by 2019, 75% was acquired by Centre Pompidou first. From these results it could be concluded that Pompidou obtains the leading role. Yet, *Graph 2.* and *Graph 3.* complicate the above-mentioned interpretation and pushes towards a more nuanced one. *Graph 2.* depicts the time of acquisition of the overlapping artists into *both* collections. Results show that in the post-1989 period Tate really only acquired these artists from 2005 onwards, 5 years after the foundation of Tate Modern, but already before the launch of the REEAC in 2012, while Pompidou had a peak also between 2005-2009 nearly 10 years prior to the establishment of the CE in 2017, but since then its initiator role became more

modest.¹³ In other words, while at Tate an increasing, at Pompidou a decreasing tendency is observable.

Further, *Graph 3.* shows only the first acquisition of the overlapping artists into that museum, which first acquired it. Results show that Pompidou acquired the bulk of the overlapping artists already before the Tate Modern was founded. Next, in the post-1989 period a peak between 2005-2009 is observable in case of Pompidou, yet after that time results show a decreasing tendency while Tate demonstrates a clearly strengthening initiator role and in the last 5 years to such an extent that it even took the initiator role in the last 5 years, when Tate was the first to involve artists who would later be also acquired by Pompidou. In short, while in total the Pompidou acquired the majority of those artists who were deemed worthy of acquisition by both museums from the CEE region until 2019, looking at the temporal distribution of first acquisitions clearly demonstrates the strengthening role of Tate as initiator.



Graph 2. Trend of acquisition into both collections



Graph 3. Trend of acquisition into the first collection

Functioning

To investigate the functioning of the acquisitions groups, I conducted approximately 7 hours of interview with the two Hungarian founding members of both the Russia and Eastern Europe Acquisitions Committee (REEAC) at Tate Modern and the International Circle - Central Europe (IC-CE) group at Centre Pompidou in the Winter of 2020. Both groups are dedicated to enable

¹³ An interviewee argued that the increase in purchases from the middle of the first decade of the new millennium is due to the fact, that: "There has been considerable emigration from Romania and Poland after 1989 which reflected also on multiple institutional levels in both museums which might have matured enough to be effectuated in concrete acquisitions by 2005. In addition, by 2005 it became evident for the museums that there is more to the art of the region than the socialist gags and that should be taken seriously. Finally, by that time some Paris and London based galleries started to get involved with CEE artists, even if only the biggest by that time such as Ivekovic, Abramovic or Abakanovic, yet the opening up was clearly observable."

a focused acquisition program regarding the CEE region. In the next section, I introduce the functioning of the acquisition committees based on the conducted interviews demonstrating that the general procedure by today is similar in both museums.

The functioning of the committees

The acquisition groups connect to the museums through assigned curators in both cases. The REEAC has been working with curator of international art Juliet Bingham, who had been accompanied by Kasia Redzisz until 2014, when she was appointed senior curator at Tate Liverpool. The International Circle - Central Europe group had been led by Karolina Ziębińska-Lewandowska from the beginning in 2017 accompanied by Alicia Knock, who took the lead upon the recent leave of Lewandowska. In addition, two or three junior curators and researchers have been aiding the work on potentially acquired artists, financed by the support of the Russian V-A-C Foundation at Tate and a newly founded research grant at Pompidou.¹⁴

The committees function according to a similar procedure in both cases. Based on the preceding year's research the assigned curators assemble a list by autumn each year. This list comprises the names of the artists and the artworks from the target region who are of interest to the museums. First, this is presented to the museums' curatorial board(s) and then the resulting shorter list to the regional acquisition committees. A yearly meeting takes place during the respective national flagship art fairs: the FIAC and the Paris Photo regarding Pompidou and the Frieze in London during which, following in-depth discussion, members endorse artists from the given curatorial set through ranking them. These individual rankings are joined into a final list led by the artist with the highest cumulative rank. Before the final list is sent to the directorial board, the artworks are examined by the restauration and conservation department for approval.

The final list comprises those artists who fit into the yearly budget. Each artist is a package deal: members do not vote for the works but for the artists. In case there are multiple artworks assigned to an artist, the artworks are not competing either. The annual budgets, dependent on the actual artworks market price, enables to involve between 5-8 artists at the Tate whereas 2-3 at the Pompidou since it is both less expensive to be a member and currently there are fewer members. The final list is occasionally complemented through the board members additional

¹⁴ <https://amis.centrepompidou.fr/en/committees>,

contribution enabling to involve a few more artists from the list just below the cut. Occasionally, the budget is also extended by allocating alternative funding at disposal for the museums. These supplementary contributions during the annual meetings are especially important, since an artist can only be presented on the list to be purchased by the committee once. Later, the artist can be incorporated only as a donation. The donation procedure is similar to the acquisition: it goes through the same evaluation steps of curators as when initiated by the curators, yet its funding is independent of the acquisition board budget, and it can be initiated throughout the year. The total procedure may take up to one, one-and-a-half years.

The figure of the ideal member

From the interviews, it became clear that an ideal member who the museums invite and aim to attract, are the art collectors and philanthropists of the given target region. Quoting from the interviews:

The ideal member has a regional focus, fond of art but not necessarily a connoisseur, since from connoisseurship higher own agenda derives whereas Tate needs members, who are for the Tate, has clean money and has no business in art. [REEAC member]

Members of the committee are cosmopolitans, primarily building their own collections yet attracted by the strong brand and marketing of Tate. [REEAC member]

[The ideal member at Pompidou] speaks languages, open to understand other cultures, devoted to take the financial, physical, and psychological contingencies of traveling, capable to socialize in a multinational environment and discuss world politics and current trends as well as issues in the global art world. [CE member]

Potential members need a considerable amount of financial capital, but it is a basic rule by today in both museums that it cannot derive from business activity in the art. What slightly differs, according to the member accounts is the level of cultural capital needed by the members, but essentially in both cases the quotations describe the figure of a cosmopolitan.

Cosmopolitanism is generally depicted as the most sophisticated embodiment of humanitarian and cultural values, disposing an openness to the coexistence of divergent cultural experiences (Hannerz 1990), an corresponding identification with the transnational (Kuipers 2012), the possession of multi-perspectivity (Nohl 2011), jointly with the capacity of the internalization of the other (Bielsa 2014). Cosmopolitanism has been argued to be a most important aspect of European self-definition (Sieg 2013).

At the same, from a sociological point of view, the art patronage and the ‘aura of art and history’ (Kuipers 2012:589) as a further cosmopolitan trait is also an important means of accumulating symbolic and cultural capital for the social actors, since it signals taste and distinction of its owners (Bourdieu 1977:197). Accordingly, cosmopolitanism has been argued to be a specific form of cultural capital (Calhoun 2008; Harvey 2009; Weenink 2008) and as such, it must be examined through its functioning in the field of cultural production (Jansson 2013, 2016; Meuleman and Savage 2013). Since in the current chapter the aim is to better understand the institutional procedure through which the core museums enable to both expand the global scope of their collection, and to find ways to cover its costs, a structural analysis is needed. The notion on capital conversion in field theory provides a promising framework enabling to analyse the following questions: why are the cosmopolitans the ideal member for the museums, why it is advantageous for a cosmopolitan to become and remain member to the museums, and what broader systemic dynamics this social institution of the acquisition committees induce in the global art field.

Bourdieu defines each field as a system, where the unequal distribution of the specific capitals congeals into a structure of positions which defines the objective relations between actors occupying them while striving for recognition (Bourdieu 1993). According to him, the means of the struggle is the accumulation of various forms of capital. The main forms of capital are the economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals. In general, *economic capital* refers to the material wealth in various forms, *social capital* to various relations from friendship and acquaintances to obligation and respect, *cultural capital* refers to knowledge, skills, cultural acquisitions which can be gathered through education through patterns of social stratification and *symbolic capital*, which refers to the accumulated prestige and recognition and which is the most prestigious since it can only be accumulated through the specific logic of practices in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1986).

Museums aim to attract members obtaining high levels of both cultural and economic capital, and the fact that most members have been already art collectors and cosmopolitans signalled specifically this duality to the museum. While without economic capital, disposing high level of cultural capital is insufficient to become a member, once the necessary economic capital is obtained, cosmopolitanism is *the* form of cultural capital which distinguishes the members from the other rich people of the given peripheral region. This cosmopolitan capital is with high

importance to the museums, since it means that cosmopolitans are embedded in the local cultural art scene. Upon the foundation of the acquisition boards there was little knowledge on the local art scene in the core museums, rendering the members' role extremely important in enabling to build connections to the local art scene. While museums have been expanding the scope of their collection with artists from regions that had not been systematically researched nor acquired before, this secured to find the most rapid way to establish connections with the local regions in order to gain knowledge and decrease the uncertainty regarding the value and meaning of the artists to be acquired. As a member phrased it:

Initially, the curators and the museum in general did not have confidence in anyone from the CEE region except for the committee members; nor in the gallerist, nor in the artists, curators or museum personnel. [REEAC member].

Accordingly, the most important asset of cosmopolitanism is that it brokers structural and cultural holes in transcultural and global networks (Levy et al. 2019). While they are the cosmopolitans, who, as the richest in both types of capital first steps into the emergent novel positions in the system (Bourdieu 1996:262), as in the present case depicts, through previously acquired cultural and social capital (Kuipers 2012) acquisition board members both mediate between the periphery and the core as well as between the national and the global. This is the main work, which board members offer to the museums. To quote a member:

We can work in, and work with a system of relationships, but we cannot, would not and should not take over the tasks of the art professionals. We mediate when possible and we do have a role in that by today the museums do have a connection with certain galleries from the region, but we cannot work if the local art scene does not function properly. [CE member]

You can learn a lot from relationships. We try to be present everywhere: on vernissages, biennales, trips. This is the way we learn what is interesting for them [the museums] while suggestions and contacts can be only given based on this knowledge. To be efficient in the committees requires presence. [REEAC member]

It is thus visible, that from the perspective of the museums, it is essential to attract and keep the wealthy cosmopolitans from each peripheral target regions. They are key players in aiding the museums' process of 'globalization from within' (Janssen et al. 2008).

The structural problem that museums need to solve - and the solution

Yet, there is a problem to face. Initially, the brokering activity of the members is extremely valuable. The regional committees' cosmopolitan members both secure the financial means of the acquisition to the museums, and brokers museum personnel to members of the local target art scene through their joint cultural (knowledge on the art of the local art scene since being themselves collectors of art of the CEE region) and social capital (connections to its art historians, curators, artists, gallerists and so on). Further, they establish confidence between the local art scene and the core museum. Yet, as the territorial core and periphery becomes more integrated and a denser network of connections is constructed between the local art scene and the museum personnel, the value of the role of cosmopolitans as cultural mediators gradually decreases over time. If there is no way for board members to reproduce their cultural and social capital from novel structural resources, their role degrades from cosmopolitan brokers to sheer financiers of acquisitions, losing their dominant position in their local art field. It is crucial for museums to maintain attracting wealthy local cosmopolitans of the peripheral regions and it is also crucial for members to reproduce the cultural and social capital which they can broker and which, in its original form loses from its value while the periphery and the centres become more integrated and connected specifically due to the members original brokering activity. Accordingly, in order for cosmopolitans to remain members on the long run, museums must develop a constellation which enables the board members to reproduce their cultural, social and economic capital which they had been brokering to the museum. It is this reason for which museum need not only to attract individual patrons, but to build a network and community for them around the museum.

While financing cultural and academic institutions is an eminent form of capital conversion (Bourdieu 1977:196), this conversion must be structurally enabled by the museums. This is how the acquisition boards become a machine, so to speak, of constant capital conversion. According to Bourdieu, different forms of capital can be converted to one another according to specific logics and laws of equivalences (Bourdieu 1986). Yet, this does not mean that different forms of capital are reducible to one another and more importantly, it means that the way they are converted can produce very different effects (Bourdieu 1977:183).

The museum forms this network of cosmopolitans through establishing acquisition boards in different ways. Comparing the two museums reveals that the network structure they induce depicts different macro-constellations. Intra-regionally, within each regional acquisition board the structure is similar: the functioning of the committee facilitates intra-regional communication between members and accordingly facilitates to step out of national borders and increase intra-regional knowledge-production. Further, members must cooperate and endorse each other's artists to enable artists from their own country to be acquired by the museum through the voting. On an inter-regional level, however, the two structures differ. Whereas Tate Modern only allows regional boards to comprise members from within the region and participate on meetings only of its regional board, in Centre Pompidou in principle a patron may allocate its membership fee in the regional board of its choice and as an observer may sit in the meeting of any board. Further, besides the annual meetings members may join trips organized by the museum into the target regions and these trips are organized in cooperation with the members affiliated to those regions. Yet, whereas members are only official to the trip organized into its home-region at Tate, at Pompidou any member may attend any trip.

As such, altogether Tate builds a star-like, highly centralized network where the museum is the central hub and the regional committees connect to the core but not to one another, clustering the regions into a periphery. Consequently, the global network of patrons basically equals to the sum of the regional networks. Contrary to this, Centre Pompidou facilitates knowledge-production and exchange not only within the committees, but also across them resulting in a structure where the museum is still the hub, yet regional committees are connected to one another resulting in a less centralized network with denser horizontal connections.

Consequently, the global network which builds around the Centre Pompidou is more than the mere sum of members' regional networks and altogether it is a more advantageous structure for the members. Yet, it must be noted that a necessary decentralization is part of the procedure. While densifying lateral connections between peripheral actors decreases the overall centralization of the network, and (trans)regional knowledge-sharing is an essential practice in counteracting the dominance of the core, the present case exemplifies that it can be also induced precisely *by* the core as part of the strategy of making sustainable capital flow from the peripheries to reinforce its central position (Harvey 2006). The densification of intra-regional connections are not a side-effect but an integral part of the mechanism that enables capital conversion for actors, and as such the territorial power-dynamics and the logic of capital flow

can be harmonized. Accordingly, the acquisition groups, as a novel element of the space and as a focal terrain of capital conversion, actively transforms the relation of the territorial core and the periphery. Conceiving space as actively produced through social processes (Harvey 2006) is crucial in order to better understand the mechanisms in which the relation of the territorial center-periphery relations reproduce and transform.

The culture of the network

The culture of art patronage, of transnational connectivity and of brokerage are the essential elements anchoring the members into the network and becoming its differentiating specificity vis-à-vis other networks. The network becomes, with its shared values, practices and rituals what has been called a 'cosmopolitan tribe' (Kuipers 2012). And if culture emerges primarily through social interactions (Hannerz 1990), and if cosmopolitanism is a culture, then it is most prominently a meta-culture, a culture about (the concept of) culture, a culture of convertibility. While this novel network brings together cultural, social and economic capital through the culture of transnationality and art patronage, it also grants access to novel transnational cultural and social capital for its members. The currency of the cosmopolitan capital is connectivity. It is this capital that signals intra-regional and inter-regional connectivity which enables the conversion of cultural, social, and economic capital of the members. These novel connections reinforce members position as brokers between the transnational and the local art scene, through the constant accumulation of ever new cultural and social capital, while the accumulated novel cultural and social capital can be potentially also converted into novel business partnerships and further economic capital outside the field of art, in both the national (Bühlmann, David, and Mach 2013) and in the global business network.

As such, the deployed strategy not only makes the global art field more integrated, but doing so, it builds a network of the global wealthy cosmopolitan elite. It is this novel structural layer which enables the reproduction of cultural and social capital for the members through all the new connections they make by supporting the museum. It both enables museums to maintain their support, and members to maintain the position as prestigious cosmopolitans in the local peripheral art scene. This case demonstrates that topology not only connects people through distant geographic, geopolitical and cultural territorial locations, but in fact functions precisely through the constant conversion of capital between the topological and the topographical space of the global.

Reinforcing the robustness of the core position

Tate Modern and Centre Pompidou integrates the global art field by inducing yet another network layer to it. This novel differentiating layer reinforces the museums central position in multiple ways. Firstly, its logic of functioning is derived to suit the needs of the centers as they face the systemic constraints from their dominant position. Second, by lifting out the local elites of the peripheries into a supra-territorial network, they stabilize the position of those who are the condition of the constant reinforcement of their own position. Accordingly, the territorial center-periphery relation is complicated by the differentiation of the local art scene as a means of the integration to the global art field through connecting to the core museums. At the same time, the periphery indeed becomes globally more visible. The artists are more acquired and exhibited, the art professionals and collectors are gradually more connected both on the intra-, and the inter-regional level. Yet, this does not result in the overall decentralization of the global art field, since this enhanced visibility and lateral connectivity between the peripheries is enabled through the emergence of such a novel structural layer and the brokering activity of the cosmopolitan members within, whose own position-taking in maintaining their elite position is anchored to the patronage of the museums, ever reinforcing the museums dominant position.

The strategy as a best practice in the global museum network

It is argued that a global museum network have evolved and that it is a space of knowledge sharing (Wóycicka 2021) and of the circulation of best practices (Patterson 2016). Based on the previous section it is arguable, that the depicted strategy is the best way to cope with the need of attracting and involving private funding into the acquisition procedures worldwide.

Yet, any best practice in the field of art can only reach its goal of enabling an advantageous position-taking for the museum, if it enables to convert the obtained economic capital into symbolic capital. This is due to the fact, that prestige and authority, which is the symbolic capital in the field of art, derives from the refusal of the functioning of the economic and political logic (Bourdieu 1993:74–112). This is because, as discussed in Chapter 1, the internal struggle is linked to the struggle of the field as a whole for the highest possible level of relative autonomy from other fields. Consequently, the level of accumulated symbolic capital of an

actor refers to its level of autonomy from the external logics in its practice and therefore, it informs about the given actor's power to push the field itself towards a higher level of autonomy. Without symbolic capital, the field cannot differentiate itself from other fields. Without symbolic capital, it would simply merge into the field of political and economic power. And this is what keeps the actors who occupy peripheral positions *within* the strive to gain better position *within* the field, instead of stepping out of it. Because it is the internal strive itself that pushes the field towards differentiation. And while it is a 'reversed economic logic' that functions in the field, this is why it is 'neither the real negation nor a simple dissimulation of the mercenary aspect' (Bourdieu 1993:75).

The best practice applied in the core and in the periphery

While all actors join in the force to constantly convert the different types of capital, even the way the same amount and types of capital can be converted is dependent on the position of the actor in the system. As for the present strategy, it is a way to convert economic capital into symbolic capital developed by actors who occupy central position in both the global museum network and are located in a core country of the (cultural) world-system as well. The conversion is done through building a prestigious collection through involving previously marginalized cultures. This collection building is enabled by the provided private financial capital supplied by the local cosmopolitan elites of those cultural regions. Yet, a key condition of the strategy which makes it effective is that, both Tate and the Pompidou —due to their multi-fold centrality— dispose *both* the power to attract *and* to control the impact of the members on the museums agenda. They set the rules, members can only vote and indirectly suggest artists for acquisition. Further, over time members have been observing that the list laid before the acquisition committee has been tending to become shorter just about as long as to cover the annually available budget. The reasoning has been that since there is a rule that an artist can only appear on the list once, it would be a waste of time from the curatorial side and the waste of talent from the local art scene if many 'left-over' artist would remain after the voting of each year.

Enacted by a core museum, such set of rules induces a dual dynamic. First, it is an act of control over the usage of the financial capital obtained through the acquisition to demonstrate and enact the independence of the museums acquisition activity from all external factors including the art

market logic, which is indirectly and not so indirectly connected to the members' donated financial capital. This is the condition of capital conversion in the autonomous realm of the field. Yet, at the same time, it is also an act of control of the territorial center over the periphery, in concrete, over the impact of the members of the local art scenes on the artists to be acquired. This multivocality both reinforces the museums position as an autonomous institution of consecration, and as a central actor dominating the periphery.

The systemic tensions structure differently in the peripheries, and applying the same best practice may induce different dynamics for a museum that does not occupy a central position in the global museum network and/or is not located in the cultural territorial core. While a museum that is not located in the territorial core does not dispose the peripheral regions as does the core, and while a museum does not obtain strong enough prestige to attract wealthy cosmopolitans globally into its acquisition board, it can primarily attract the national or regional art collectors, and even doing so compete with the core museums for these local patrons.

This indicates a different situation than observed in the core. First, the potentially accumulated cultural capital deriving from the participation in such a local committee is much smaller than what patrons may attain through their participation in the global elite network. At the same time, local patrons' art market interests are more directly connected to the local museums collection than in the case of the collection of Tate and Pompidou. Furthermore, since the museums potential reach for donors is more limited than in the case of the core museums', these museums dependence on those willing to become patrons is higher than in the case of the core museums. Finally, while the Tate and the Pompidou are global top consecration institutions with the highest possible prestige in the field, essentially all other museums face a much harder time while striving to control the acquisition and the spending of the donated financial capital to such a high extent as the Tate and the Pompidou can. In short, non-core museums in either the territorial or the global museum network both are in higher need of each individual donor and in a more difficult situation to control and thus to convert the obtained economic capital into symbolic capital. Without doing so, however, a museum cannot actualize an advantageous position-taking and even runs a higher risk of deteriorating its existent level of prestige.

To summarize, while actors both occupying core and occupying peripheral positions are affected by the rules and the functioning of the system, dominant positions enables to develop such strategies, which are not only not necessarily applicable by those in peripheral positions, but applying it may indeed turn out counterproductive for the museum's prestige on the long run. This dynamic further deepens an existing core-periphery structure within the global art field from the perspective of its autonomous functioning, where the relative autonomy from the logic of the art market is a crucial means of gaining the power to consecrate. Consequently, applying the micro strategy developed in the core as a best practice on the periphery runs a high risk of failing to convert the obtained financial capital into symbolic capital and instead of enacting an advantageous position-taking activity it ends up with a symbolic capital which is rather deteriorated than increased.

CHAPTER 4

The Emergence of a New Structural Position: Globalizer Venues

Introduction

A set of transformative changes have occurred in the art world in the latest, post-1989 phase of globalization. The number of artists, venues, exhibitions have been growing in a rapid pace and novel types of art professions appeared (Lizé 2016b; Menger 2014; Velthuis and Brandellero 2018). The territoriality of the global have become differentiated: a global city network layer and a transnational regional layer have emerged. It is argued that these layers function in relative autonomy from the authority of the nation states and the interstate system (Sassen 2007). Also, while previously institutions were nested in a national framework today they form global networks of art fairs, biennales, venues and museums (Quemin 2013; Sassatelli 2017) and they are said to arrange into constellations that are distinct from the territoriality of the global. It is argued that we have been observing the emergence of a multi-scalar constellation, referring to a multi-layer structure where global processes enacted on different levels of the social order functions in relative autonomy from one another (Buchholz 2016; Caselli 2013; Sassen 2007). A key question to be answered is how the relative autonomy between the different structural layers is enacted, and how do these relatively autonomous layers arrange into a joint multi-scalar functioning.

One dominant line of research primarily considers the territorial level, builds on the tradition of world-systems theory, and focuses on changing territorial power-dynamics in the global art field (Buchholz 2016, 2018; Crane 2009, 2014; van Es and Heilbron 2015; Heilbron 1999, 2014; Sapiro 2010, 2015). The other dominant line of research considers institutional and individual levels of functioning and relies on the conceptual and analytic tools of network theory while modeling novel relational structures of worldwide interdependencies (Cattani et al. 2014; Fraiberger et al. 2018; Giuffre 1999; Juhász et al. 2020; Lutter 2015). The territorial approach pictures a constellation in which specifically transnational regional, country and city layers of operation have evolved, yet amidst the observable differentiation a core region, a handful of countries and cultural capitals dominate the structure. This line of research argues that the macro-capital a location obtains through the position it occupies in the cultural world-

system imposes an independent multiplier effect on venues and artists' chances of success while striving for recognition. The approach that focuses on worldwide networks of meso-, and micro-level interactions also shows that these layers often depict a core-periphery structure, are characterized by the unequal distribution of various capitals among the comprising actors, and that the position these actors occupy impacts their chances of consecration.

Yet, neither approaches tackle the other level of social order in a systemic sense and they depict contradicting implications regarding the relation of the territorial and the social interaction-based layers of the global. Cultural world-system approach argues for the prevailing, whereas the network approach implies a diminishing impact of territorial constellations on organizational and individual agency. Further, while the question of multi-scalarity has been examined between different *layers* within the territorial level (Buchholz 2016), we lack the understanding of multi-scalarity between different *levels* of the social order: i.e., between the territorial and the social interaction-based layers. Results emerging from the two approaches not only seem to contradict but understanding how a global system of relatively autonomous levels arranges into multi-scalar functioning remains a debt to redeem.

I argue that a novel structural position emerged which connects the territorial and the institutional level in a novel way. I call this a *globalizer* position. The force driving the emergence of this novel structural position is the strive for relative autonomy of the institutional from the territorial layers of the global. If historically the multi-scalar constellation grew out from the nested structure, it must be conceptualized as a strive of the lower-level social order to gain relative autonomy from the higher level: the venues and artists to gain freedom from their territorial location. I argue that this novel *globalizer* position emerged as a means of this strive. This position marks not the centrality of the venue's location in the territorial power-structure but the diversity of its reach between the central and the peripheral regions of the global. This reach emerges through its exhibition activity, the specific logic of practice in the global exhibition space instead of its sheer location in the territorial realm. This *globalizer* position is key in sewing the fabric of the global since it intricately connects the layers of territorial and the social interaction-based levels of the social realm, yet its functioning can only be made visible through joining forces of the two traditional approaches: it remains in hindsight from either perspective alone.

To test the plausibility of my assumption, I investigate a dominant aspect of consecration through a setting which is explicitly embedded in the territorial core-periphery macro structure. I examine the acquisition practice of three hub modern and contemporary art museums, the Tate

Modern in London, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the Centre Pompidou in Paris. Considering the years between 2000 and 2018, I inspect the artists they incorporated into their collection from Central-East Europe, a transnational region that occupies a peripheral position in the cultural world-system. First, utilizing the well-established moving-window technique, I build a dynamic model of the respective segment of the global exhibition space. Doing so, I depict its constantly changing venue-landscape through constructing co-exhibition networks of 9,241 venues in 2,159 cities and 112 countries who exhibited artists from the region through 39,513 unique exhibitions between 1990 and 2018. Next, I compare the career of 3,409 artists from the region participating in 103,783 exhibition events in the given period through a series of multivariate logistic regressions.

Results provide strong evidence for my assumption that the introduced novel *globalizer* position plays a key role in enacting the likelihood of consecration. Further, comparing its effect size with alternative predictors derived from the two main traditional approaches such as the ratio an artist spent exhibiting in core countries throughout its career and the most prestigious venue where an artist exhibited in the social interaction-based global layer, I find that while multiple dimensions of a career counts towards consecration, my main predictor is by far the most important among all.

I conclude by arguing that multi-scalarity is a powerful concept and that it is sufficient to encapsulate and integrate various important aspects of the current functioning of global art field, yet to gain its full potential, the connection of the distinctive social levels must be elaborated. This connection is enacted through the emergence of the *globalizer* position, which structurally enables the relative autonomy of the institutional from the territorial macro power-structure. Thus, I offer an empirical model for the structure of an integrated multi-layered and multi-scalar system, which intricately connects the different levels of social order into a joint systemic functioning. Further, I demonstrate that due to the constant strive for relative autonomy between different layers the constant and parallel functioning of dynamics that drives towards centralization and towards decentralization are at the heart of the operation of this system.

Roadmap: First, I elaborate the two dominant approaches toward conceptualizing and operationalizing the structure and dynamics of the global art field. Building on their strength then I present the proposition. Next, I depict the data and introduce my analytic approach. Then, I show the results that support the hypothesis with strong evidence and secure the robustness of the findings. Finally, I interpret the findings and close the chapter with concluding remarks.

The territorial approach

The first line of research systematically focuses on macro-level power-relations of the global art world. It investigates cultural geopolitical and cultural economic relations among territorial units of analysis and the global is envisaged and modeled as a cultural territorial power-structure. Doing so, it predominantly relies on the tradition of world-systems theory (Wallerstein 2004) and field theory of art (Bourdieu 1993, 1996) to organize national art fields in the global arena of interstate relations. Among competing materialist and cultural approaches of political science the relationalism and socioeconomic focus of world-systems theory makes very clear connections to the theoretical construct of the field theory of cultural production. World-systems theory deems that socioeconomic relations constitutes a global hierarchical system, in which actors (primarily states) occupy core, semi-peripheral or peripheral positions (Go 2008; Wallerstein 2004). Bourdieu also takes a relationalist approach and defines the field of cultural production as a system, where the unequal distribution of the specific capitals congeals into a structure of positions which defines the objective relations between actors occupying them while striving for recognition (Bourdieu 1993:30). The field of cultural production is embedded in the economic and political power structure of the social realm and the internal struggle of the field is enacted amidst the struggle for establishing relatively independent logic of practice, norms, ideology, and system of recognition vis-à-vis these other fields (Bourdieu 1993:115). The level of this relative autonomy is measured in the capacity to refract pressure imposed on it from the external sources of power due to its embeddedness in the political-economic fields of the social realm (Bourdieu 1993:182). Accordingly, a considerable body of empirical research and theoretical debate addressed questions regarding the relative autonomy of the field of global cultural production vis-à-vis the global geopolitical and economic field itself and discussed the role of culture in the era of globalization (Casanova 2004; De Swaan 1993; Hall 1997a; Heilbron 1999; Wallerstein 1990, 1997; Wolff 1997).

Considering the field of cultural production, recently Buchholz addressed the question of the multi-scalar character of the structure and functioning of the global art field designating a potential to different territorial layers for relative autonomy (Buchholz 2016). In this case the focal point of interest has not been whether the global art field enacts relative independence from other global fields, but to investigate whether and how a specifically global territorial layer has emerged which is relatively independent from the sum of the national art fields. Building on the seminal book of Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (1999/2004),

Buchholz disentangled the basic, scale-invariant properties of field theory and demonstrated that since the 1980s specifically global institutional circuits of biennales and auction market, since the 1990s a specifically global art discourse and since the 2000s global art rankings emerged. She has been arguing that together these three dimensions form a specifically global layer which functions in relative autonomy from the national art fields. In short, the global art field comprises all the national art fields but also developed a specific global layer of territoriality overarching them an enabling an integrated and unified global systemic functioning.

According to the sociology of globalization, a key characteristic of the current phase of globalization is the *multi-scalar character* of global systems. This refers to the phenomenon that global processes today are constituted through various scales of strategic sites: the global layer is different from the interstate power-structure, and the organizations located in the territory of a country are only partially under the authority of the given country in their functioning (Caselli 2013; Sassen 2001, 2007). Accordingly, while Buchholz coined the term of the global art field, she defined it as a *multilayered and multi-scalar* global system (Buchholz 2016). The specificity of this system compared to national art field is that it not only enacts a struggle for relative autonomous logic of practice vis-à-vis other (global) social fields, but another struggle is enacted *between* the specific layers of territorialities *within* the same realm of the field (Buchholz 2016:42).¹⁵ Buchholz refers to the prior as the struggle for relative *functional* autonomy and to the latter for relative *vertical* autonomy. While multi-scalar character of the global systems emerged amidst the appearance of novel territorial layers of functioning to designate the phenomenon that these layers operate relatively independently from one another, the different territorial layers jointly form a *multilayered and multi-scalar* global system.

Different territorial layers have been argued to function within the global art field, yet few empirical research has directly tackled the question of multi-scalarity among them. The focal interest has been rather on dimensions of the center-periphery relation and the corresponding power-structures in the global art field. As such, rather the changing dominance structure

¹⁵ Buchholz uses the term *level*, but since here I primarily target the relation between the different levels of social order, it would be confusing to also use the term *level* regarding the national and the specifically global realm of practice. Therefore, I refer to these as *layers* within the macro territorial *level* of the global field.

(Buchholz 2018; Crane 2014; Sapiro 2015) and multidimensionality of center-periphery relations (Buchholz 2018) were of interest within each layer horizontally than on vertically comparing the importance in role or the extent of independence of distinctive territorial layers. Findings showed that centrality do not necessarily overlap in production, mediation and consecration within various territorial layers, nor on the symbolic and the economic pole of the field, and whereas country level centrality modifies in a relatively slow pace in the global exhibition space, changes are more rapid in the segment of the global art market (Buchholz 2018; Casanova 2004).

Research investigating the global production and exchange of material and symbolic goods have been predominantly focusing on the *nation states*. Questions such as the country coverage of cultural content in journalism, the split of gallery participations at prominent art fairs, the ratio of artists in major collections or in the high-end of global rankings, national production and distribution of motion pictures, levels of in-, and out-translations in publishing, and so on, has been addressed (Buchholz 2018; Buckermann 2020; Crane 2014; van Es and Heilbron 2015; Heilbron 1999; Janssen et al. 2008; Quemin 2006, 2013; Sapiro 2010, 2015). Findings have been consistently picturing a center-periphery structure dominated by the US, the UK and France and dependent on the segment accompanied occasionally by other Western European countries (i.e. Germany, Switzerland, Italy), China or Russia.

Strategic site of global processes other than the nation states have been also emerging. On the one hand, *transnational regions* gradually seems to have been emerging into the novel reference unit of analysis; a shift aligned with the expansion of the size of the field into a unified global system.¹⁶ These regions have been designated to occupy core, semi-peripheral or peripheral positions in the cultural territorial power-structure (Heilbron 1999; Janssen et al. 2008). In regard of the regions it is important to emphasize that geographical regions and regions of the cultural world-system do not automatically overlap. Whereas the core, the so called dual geographic nucleus (Quemin 2006) of the global art world comprises a part of Western Europe and North America (most robustly the US, the UK and France), it does not designate the whole

¹⁶ Core artistic institutions such as the Tate Modern in London and the Centre Pompidou in Paris expanded and institutionalized the international scope of their collection (amidst their program to become more global) through establishing regional focused acquisition committees instead of focusing either on single countries or the global contemporary art world as a borderless whole. Further, the Museum of Modern Art in New York also established a transnational regional take regarding territories; from 2009 onwards, it runs the Contemporary and Modern Art Perspectives (C-MAP) project with the mission to systematize research on specific geographical regions.

of the transnational region. In case of regions that occupy a (semi-)peripheral position in the cultural world-system, geographical boundaries and geopolitical positions generally overlap (eg. Central-East Europe, Latin-America or South-East Asia), however research predominantly designates them into an extended category of non-core parts of the world. On the other hand, a global city network has also emerged into a specific site of the functioning of global processes (Alderson and Beckfield 2004; Alderson, Beckfield, and Sprague-Jones 2010; Carroll 2007; Sassen 2001) with major cities of the core region and novel metropolitan areas alike in its core (Buchholz 2018; Carroll 2007; Casanova 2004; Quemin 2006).

In this line of research approach the global art world through macro-level conceptualization, systemic accounts of consecration focus on territoriality. Consecration is a key functioning of the system, one which is done by highly empowered actors, yet the efficacy of which is enacted not by any individual or institution, nor even by a (central) position, but by the entire structure of the system (Bourdieu 1993:78). It is a functioning that cuts across all levels of social order and integrates them in the process of granting value to artists and artworks. From the centralized structure of the global art field it seems that its cartography can still be mapped through the distances from those places that has the highest accumulated capital to consecrate in the post-'89 era (Casanova 2004). For example, from the distance of the main art auction companies (such as the Sotheby's and Christie's), leading art fair businesses (such as the FIAC, Frieze or the Art Basel) and most powerful museums and galleries (the Tate, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Guggenheim Museum, White Cube, Gagosian, etc.) that are all located in a handful of core countries and cultural capitals (Harris 2017) .

In this cartography each location obtains a certain amount of macro-capital (Buchholz 2018) that corresponds to the fact whether it is in a core, semi-peripheral or peripheral region of the cultural world-system and which imposes an independent negative or positive multiplier effect on the chances of consecration of venues and artists located, originated from, or operating within (Buchholz 2018; Casanova 2004). Macro-capital is a conceptual tool that connect actors' location in the cultural territorial power-structure with chances of success. It is an attribute variable assigned to places and which is then imposed on actors on that territory. Accordingly it enables to depict strategies which are conducted based on the acceptance of the ruling logic of the territorial center-periphery dimension. And indeed emigrating, re-location and exhibiting

in central parts of the global art field amidst the strive for recognition is a well-documented strategy in the history of art¹⁷ (Giuffre 1999; Greenfeld 2006; Moulin 1987).

Yet from the perspective of the main question of the current research, which is to target the level of relative autonomy between the territorial and the social interaction-based levels of the the global realm, the concept of macro-capital and the associated systemic functioning has its limitations. *First*, the notion of macro-capital is insufficient to grasp specific dimension of the functioning of consecration in the *current* era of post-1989 phase of globalization, precisely since artistic emigration is probably the most well-known strategy of all time. However, given that the efficacy of consecration is embedded in structure and functional transformations are linked to structural transformations, amidst the observed fundamental changes in the field during the last three decades, some of which directly points to the appearance of new agents of consecration and new modes of cultural hierarchization (Buchholz 2016; Lizé 2016b, 2016a; Sapiro 2016), it must be assumed that novel strategies and corresponding structural characteristics must also have emerged. *The second* limitation derives from the fact that the multiplier effect theory is not linked systematically to sub-territorial level functioning. The bulk of the research that directly tackles strategies of actors while striving for recognition from peripheral parts of the art world rather presets the investigation in a cultural territorial setting and then focuses on meso-, and micro-level dimensions of consecration independent of territorial aspects (Banks 2018; Brandellero and Velthuis 2018; van Es and Heilbron 2015; Sooudi 2018) and exploring whether and how territoriality is conceived and confronted through the agency of venues and artists remains in the hindsight. As a result, the territorial dimension remains an independent level of the global art field detached from the social interaction-based level of functioning.

In other words, systemic considerations in the territorial approach essentially remains to conceptualize a nested structure of the global art field from the perspective of consecration where territorial macro-capital is imposed on artists and venues as an attribute variable whereas territorial strategies towards recognition have been exclusively highlighting the effect of proximity to artistic centers. While consecration is a key element in the functioning of the system, an event that cuts across all structural levels and connects them in a specific activity,

¹⁷ Such as Paris in the turn of the 19.-20. century, New York in the post-WW II period and London in the 1990s

this approach systematically tackles only the territorial level and its independent impact on consecration.

In summary, while this line of research complicates the understanding of multi-scalar character of the global realm within the territorial level of analysis, it implies that between the different levels of the social order a nested hierarchical structure prevails to exist. While multiple territorial layers function in a parallel and to some extent independent manner from one another, these layers are centralized: few hubs dominate the structure by obtaining unequally high levels of material and symbolic capital. These hubs considerably overlap with the traditional dominant territories and emerging novel centers in various segments of the global functioning rather supplement than substitute them. Further, whereas horizontally centers form a densely knit group organizing each layer into a core-periphery structure, vertically these cores predominantly comprise one another, forming a nested hierarchical constellation with considerably overlapping centers. In this regard, the interpretations which argued that contrary to the notion of decentralization and the decline of nation states speeding up in the post-1989 era, country level inequalities continue both to exist and to determine the structure and functioning of the art field seems to hold (Quemin 2006, 2013). Yet, if this is true, then from a complex system perspective, while such a new multilayer structure where differentiation is coupled with nested structural cores seems advantageous for those occupying a central position within, from systemic perspective it is more prone to failure due to external effects or attacks than while the layers are less centralized (Kivelä et al. 2014).

The social interaction-based approach

The other dominant approach builds on the tradition of (social) network analysis and focuses on social relations and interactions and the so emerging structures of interdependencies in the art world which position actors' vis-à-vis one another in social space. The concepts of emerging novel worldwide interdependencies (Abu Lughod et al. 1997; Robertson 1997) and the critique of methodological nationalism (Go 2008; Sassen 2007) coupled with the proliferation of ICT technology and the construction of vast, trans-continentially spanning databases on meso- and micro-level activities in the post-1989 period considerably fueled the analytic potential of this approach and contributed to its success as a research agenda. Inquiry targets the structure and functioning of sub-territorial level worldwide agency and analyzed as complex systems in

search of laws and patterns inherent to its abstract structure. Network analysis in the social sciences emerged to a proliferating area with various takes connecting it to competing traditions in sociological research (for an overview see Borgatti et al. 2009; Erikson 2013). Its analytic approach greatly affected the subfield of sociology of art and culture as well as generated vivid discourse on its connections to field theory used as a meso-level theory in this line of research (Bottero and Crossley 2011; Crossley and Bottero 2014; Fox 2014; de Nooy 2003; Uzzi and Spiro 2005; White 1993)

Considering the overall structural properties of the (global) networks of interactions in the cultural field are found to be dominated by a small number of hubs, who dispose a high proportion of the unequally distributed capitals and often form a tightly knit group functioning as the core of the system surrounded by many marginal or peripheral actors who are loosely connected both to the core and to one another on multiple levels of the social topology (Anheier et al. 1995; Cattani et al. 2014; Faulkner and Anderson 1987; Fraiberger et al. 2018; Giuffre 1999; Juhász et al. 2020). Research found that the structure is robust and that the actors' chances of recognition are highly determined by the position they occupy in the system. It has been demonstrated that cooperating with central actors during the early stages of a career imposes a positive lock-in-effect regarding future cooperation, acts as a protective factor against dropping out of business and positively correlates with market value (Fraiberger et al. 2018), just as receiving accolades and prizes which reproduces future career possibilities (Anand and Watson 2004). In general, the odds of stepping to a central position for those currently occupying peripheral positions is extremely low (Faulkner and Anderson 1987), yet structural homology between those enacting and those striving for recognition may in fact mediate and increase chances of recognition for those in the periphery: whereas peers tend to favor peers already in the core of the social topology, critics, whose own position-taking activity is linked to the endorsement of novel talents is likely to favor professionals occupying peripheral positions (Cattani et al. 2014). Research also found that within the core, actors who bridge other members of the core to peripheral actors secure such an access both to the dominant canon and the innovative ideas that it even further increases the chances of consecration among core actors (Juhász et al. 2020). Within the area of research on structural holes and brokerage in the field of cultural production findings depicted that artists who received the highest amount of critical acclaim displayed long careers in loosely knit blocks with comparatively high level of brokerage within the field (Giuffre 1999) and further, that teams with unexpectedly high ratio of open triads of strong ties (i.e. network tension) displayed the highest level of various

measures of success, including the multidimensional success measure: deep success (Vedres 2017; Vedres and Cserpes 2021). In short, this line of research have been focusing on the conditions of recognition from the perspective of positions that emerged through social actors directly observable relations and interactions and has been providing research with a complex portfolio of various center-periphery constellations, dyadic, triadic and community related features in a systematic way.

What does this line of research tell us about our main question concerning the relative autonomy in functioning of the newly emerging global networks of social interactions from the cultural territorial power-structure? To address the question, it first must be addressed, that specifically considering the global realm the understanding of the territorial and the social interaction-based network approach diverges regarding the concept of the *macro*. Whereas in world-systems approach macro refers to the territorial relations of the global and primarily designates the cultural territorial power-structure, in network approach it has a more abstract meaning, and it refers to a level of analysis which focuses on the overall structural properties of a complex system, such as its level of centralization, its density, average clustering, degree distribution, and so on, without any necessary reference to the territorial (global) realm. Accordingly, whereas the word *global* primary refers to a territorial constellation in the prior, it refers to an abstract worldwide spanning network of interactions and relations in the latter, without any particular and necessary relation with territorial dimensions.

Correspondingly, territoriality is incorporated in network approach based research in multiple ways. An important segment of research focuses on overall characteristics of specific, well-defined territorial settings, such as the Hollywood field of composers and motion picture industry, the Cologne literary field, the Hungarian film industry, or a segment of photographers in New York (Anheier et al. 1995; Cattani et al. 2014; Faulkner and Anderson 1987; Giuffre 1999; Juhász et al. 2020). In this case the territorial is used as a frame within which the networks are constructed and analyzed as a complex system: the macro-level of the network does not coincide with the global cultural territorial structure, rather with national or metropolitan fields. Another segment of research builds on vast global databases, while its focal point of interest is on group and team level aspects of cultural production, such as the structure of jazz session in the full recorded history of the genre or team characteristic of professional cooperation in the motion picture industry (Lutter 2015; Vedres 2017; Vedres and Cserpes 2021). In this case the overall structure of the field is not with primary interest; research operates on the group level

and examines their structures through a network perspective on their own macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. Accordingly, the macro does not coincide with the global territorial level in this line of research either. A third body of research also considers transnational databases and builds worldwide networks from fine-grained accounts on social interactions. Topics such as the venue structure of the global space of exhibitions or the global contemporary art fairs are analyzed from a network perspective (Fraiberger et al. 2018; Yogev and Grund 2012). It is this case, when the macro-level analysis of the constructed network model coincides with the macro-level of cultural world-systems analysis. In such settings the functioning of territorial and social interaction-based worldwide structures are directly comparable hence both operate on the global level. Thus, the two different notions of the *macro* both overlaps and competes in these cases. This branch of research directly connects the sociology of culture with the sociology of globalization.

The first depicted approach empirically remains in countries of primarily Western Europe and North America or their metropolitan cities. As such, theoretically it continuous the traditional approach in which the territorial concerns and social interactions are systematically designated in separate lines of research through a division of labor. The assumption is that while research control for the territorial dimensions that might be affecting social interactions, the autonomous structural properties can be examined and generalized over various territorial units of analysis. Accordingly, territoriality is exclusively considered in research through the empirical setting of the environmental framework and as control variables in statistical modeling (Cattani et al. 2014; Giuffrè 1999; Juhász et al. 2020). As such, this line of research does not contradict the argument of cultural world-systems theory on the nested relation of organizations and individuals to the nations on a worldwide scale, even if it implicitly assumes a scalability between the national and the global while treating the core countries and their metropolitan centers setting as referred to be standing as a model for the field itself.

In principle, the approach which directly operates on the global scale based on global databases is sufficient to tackle the focal question of relative autonomy in functioning of the social interaction-based global structures from the global territorial power-structure. The most extensive research in this area built on a worldwide co-exhibition network of venues based on the documented activity of 24,809 venues from 143 countries through 36 years of exhibitions (Fraiberger et al. 2018). According to the results, the structure of this global co-exhibition network considerably corresponded with the cultural territorial macro-structure argued for in the world-systems approach. It depicted that the core of the network structure was in high

overlap with the territorial core of a few Western European and North American countries surrounded by components comprising the venues of specific geographical regions (that occupy peripheral positions in the cultural world-system) and loosely connected to one another. These results not only supported the claim that transnational regions instead of nation state have been emerging into the focal territorial unit of the global (Heilbron 1999), but also that in large, the territorial power-structure prevails to be providing the general structural framework of worldwide social interactions. While the study found that geographical distance did not have a significant effect on galleries participation at contemporary art fairs, nor did the geographic distance from the most prestigious venues informed about the prestige of a given venue contrary to the network distance, which in turn proved to be a key factor (Fraiberger et al. 2018; Yogevev and Grund 2012), as we have seen, distance while investigating in cultural territorial relations is rarely measured in kilometers, rather in position (Buchholz 2016, 2016, 2018; Casanova 2004; De Swaan 1993; Hall 1997b; Wallerstein 1990, 1997).

At this point, there is a puzzle to face. In principle, there is an assumption of a global multi-scalar functioning, where social interactions arrange into worldwide structures of interdependencies relatively free from their territorial belongings. Yet empirical proofs do not give clear understanding neither on whether such a relative autonomy on the global level exists, nor on how it is enacted on a systemic level where different levels should be considered as functioning *jointly*, not only side-by-side.

Existent research approaches the relation as a question of dependence and focuses on the internal structure and functioning of social interaction-based networks while controlling for territoriality as an external, environmental effect. Doing so, the question of relative autonomy is conceptualized as isolating the territorial dimension of interactions and it has been demonstrated on sub-global territorial settings that such relatively autonomously functioning structures exist and positions within predicts chances of consecration for actors. Accordingly, such structures are deemed to be scalable across territorial units and targeting directly the global territorial level is a technical question. Yet, such a notion of scalability is in contradiction with the understanding of the territorial approach depicting the emergence of a specifically global level of functioning which is relatively autonomous from the interstate or the nation state system (Buchholz 2016, 2018). Accordingly, while there is a lack of empirical proof, results of the existing research specifically on the global level of social interactions does implies considerable structuring authority of the global territorial realm over the global space of interactions

(Fraiberger et al. 2018). According, the question regarding the level of independence between the territorial and the social interaction-based global levels remains relevant.

However, what should also be the target of inquiry is not only to sufficiently control permitting to *exclude* the other from investigation while focusing on either, but precisely to find ways that enable to *include* both levels into an integrated systemic approach while targeting to better understand the structure and functioning of the global art field. This is the only way to conceive the exact ways in which they *jointly* produce the space of the new global realm.

Thus, I argue, that the global multi-scalar structure and functioning may exist, but it is only visible if we identify a specific and characteristic territorial dimension of the global interaction networks which anchors them in concrete territorial space. In the next section it is this novel dimension which I introduce and doing so I build on the Bordieusian concept of relative autonomy and refraction capacity.

Geo-Capital and the Globalizer Position

The concept of the global art field refers to a system which functions through a *unified* ideology, logic, and evaluative processes on a worldwide scale (Buchholz 2016). This unified logic is enacted on each level of social order according to its specific logic of practice in the visual arts. On the territorial level it functions through the logic of cultural geopolitical and economic relations. On the organizational level it functions through the logic of exhibiting and acquiring artists. On the individual level it functions through the logic of conducting artistic careers. These global functionings enacted on different levels of the social order jointly comprise and form the global art field. The main question is how these levels connect into a coherent system. Historically, the different levels of social order related in a nested way, the territorial level functioned as the main frame of organizational and individual agency (Belting 2012; Hall 1997a; Wallerstein 1990). Lately, reference is made to a gradually emerging multi-scalar global structure in which meso-levels social processes gradually became more independent of location (Sassen 2001, 2007). Yet there is lack a sufficient empirical model which arranges both the territorial layers and the relatively independently functioning global networks of organizations and individuals in an integrated multi-scalar system.

To conceptualize a more intricate relation between the different levels to arrive at a more integrated model of the global art field, I start from the understanding that in principle the direction of dynamics is *from* the nested *towards* a multi-scalar structure. As such, their connection should be conceptualized from the perspective that lower-level social order actors strive for relative autonomy from the imposed effect of territorial constraints on them which had been characterizing the prior era. Analogously to the struggle of the field of cultural production for relative autonomy from the political-economic realm (Bourdieu 1993, 1996) and to various territorial layers to gain relative independence from one another (Buchholz 2016). According to Bourdieu, this strive is enacted through refracting the effects of external forces (Bourdieu 1993:182). While this capacity is linked to the internal struggle for domination in the field, it must be traceable as a form of the specific, symbolic capital in the field and accordingly in the structure of positions in the field (Bourdieu 1993:30, 183). Finally, the level of relative autonomy of the field, or in the present case the social interaction-based global level from the territorial power-structure can be measured as the extent to which such a struggle is successful: to which these positions secure consecration for actors (Bourdieu 1993:121).

From this perspective being relatively autonomous in functioning within the global art field means that the territorial realm is acknowledged, yet its direct effect is refracted on the meso-level in such a way that signals a specific territorial dimension of the global, one that derives through the functioning of the meso-level logic of practice. In such a model, venues do not operate in a purely abstract space of worldwide interactions, rather they build a dimension related to their exhibition practice which enables them to occupy a different position in the space of the global than their location on the center-periphery dimension of the territorial power-structure. In short, the condition of relative autonomy is the *acceptance* and *transformation* of the territorial macro-structure not its suspension. The global networks of social interactions and relations must accept the macro-level territorial constraints to detour it amidst the struggle for relatively autonomous functioning within the global art field. This attempt can be rephrased as the strive for defining a specific spatial dimension of the global.

According to my assumption, this refraction is done based on three considerations. *First*, macro-capital is imposed on venues as an attribute variable, thus it must be transformed into a relational variable. *Second*, macro-capital emerges through the territorial logic of practice, thus it must be transformed through the venues' logic of practice, their practice of exhibiting artists. *Third*,

since the effect of the macro-capital can be rephrased as the effect of centrality, it is precisely the logic stressing centrality in the territorial structure which must be detoured.

First, I start with the relational structure of venues that have been emerging through their activity conducted based on their specific logic of practice. The most fundamental aspect of meso-level agency in the global institutional space is the exhibition practice when venues present certain topics through certain artists and their artworks. In a purely abstract sense, a global exhibition space can be modelled as a relational structure in which venues connect through their exhibition practices. The more artists two venues co-exhibited in a subject matter (such as an artistic movement, a specific thematic question, or an artistic region), the stronger the connection between those venues irrespective of their actual physical location in the territorial realm. Exhibiting the same artists in a topic does not mean that two venues give the same narrative, but it does mean that they are in conversation with the same artist in that given topic (McMahan and McFarland 2021).

Next, the attribute variable of macro territorial location must be turned into a relational variable through the logic constructing the relational structures. The most informative about a venue's exhibition practice in a relational sense are those venues with whom it corresponds through its exhibition practice. Doing so, I characterize the venues based on their immediate neighborhood (its ego-network) which comprises venues who exhibited same artists in the given subject matter.

Finally, the ruling logic of the territorial power-structure signaled through the macro-capital must be detoured. The most straightforward transformation of the external effect imposed through the logic of the center-periphery dimension governing the territorial level is to put in place a dimension which is orthogonal in logic to the center-periphery dimension. That is, while examining the location of the alters' of an ego, territorially speaking instead of measuring how central or peripheral a neighborhood is, I measure the *diversity of reach* of the central and peripheral regions within the neighborhood. This measure captures a venue's characteristic which is orthogonal to the center-periphery dimension, since the less accentuated either region is among the alters, irrespective of being a central or a peripheral region, the more evenly alters are distributed along all possible regions, and the higher the diversity of the neighborhood. Doing so I join previous research in the context of cultural globalization measuring the inter-

regionality of journals art coverage through the Gibbs-Martin diversity index (Janssen et al. 2008).

I call this characteristic of a venue *geo-capital*. The logic of geo-capital imputes a logic of decentralization in the system. The higher the geo-capital of a venue, the more equally are the territorial positions distributed in the neighborhood of the venue in the topological space where the position it occupies emerges as a direct consequence of its exhibition activity. To obtain a systemic position from geo-capital, as a continuous variable, I discretize it based on the general consideration that a position emerges through the distribution of a certain type of capital over the population (Bourdieu 1996:231). Venues thus occupy a globalizer position above a given threshold of geo-capital.

Globalizers have especially important systemic roles: being venues that are highly independent of the imposed macro-capital on them and in fact posing an alternative capital referring to territoriality, they both contribute to increase the relative autonomy of both the meso-level agency and the structural level of the social interactions in the system *and* enacts the connection of different social levels into one coherent multi-scalar global structure. They are indeed key players in a multi-scalar global art field. Further, they carry the information that the artists with whom it presents a subject matter aligns them with venues in all positions in the territorial power-structure of the global on that subject matter. In other words, it signifies that the choices it makes are choices made globally across distinct territorial positions. Correspondingly, when it exhibits an artist, it is this global validity which is assigned to that artist. Geo-capital is thus a specific form of symbolic capital.

Hyptothesis

I expect, that the higher the ratio of globalizer venues in a career, the higher its odds of being consecrated. In concrete, when core museums evaluate careers for acquisition, they prefer those who are built more extensively through globalizer venues, holding all other factors constant.

Data and Methods

Data Collection

I collected data on artist careers from Artfacts.Net, arguably the most comprehensive data source on artistic presence in the global exhibition space. Beyond being an authoritative resource for art professionals, this data source had also frequently been used by researchers of art (Brandellero and Velthuis 2018; Buchholz 2016, 2018; Yogev and Grund 2012). Even if Artfacts.Net is the most comprehensive data source, its coverage is not even across all dimensions relevant to this research. Most notably, it underrepresents artists and venues from peripheral regions, compared with more central parts of the art world (Buchholz 2018). This limitation is especially of concern as it is linked to my core question of global inequalities within the art field. To avoid bias in the measures, I only collected data on artists from within the same (semi-)peripheral region of Central-East Europe (CEE), and do not compare their chances of success with artists from core regions. I considered Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary (also referred to as the Visegrád-states), Romania and the ex-Yugoslavian countries.

I collected data on artists of the CEE region from among the total number of ranked 100,000 artists by the internal evaluation system of the Artfacts.Net database. There were 3,426 artists from CEE among the top 100,000. I only considered exhibitions between 1990 and 2018, thus the final dataset comprises the exhibition careers of 3,409 artists, through 103,783 exhibition events, and 39,513 unique exhibitions held at 9,241 venues in 2,159 cities and 112 countries.

Acquisition as dependent variable

To understand how peripheral artists succeed in the global art field, I first of all need an appropriate measure of success. I compare artistic trajectories from the perspective of consecration, and accordingly, I use a widely adopted measure of consecration: acquisition into prominent museum collections. I gathered data on the acquisition history of artists from the CEE region into three key institutions of the contemporary global art field: the Museum of Modern Art in New York City (MoMA, for short), the Tate Modern in London (Tate) and the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris (Pompidou). They are widely considered as key institutions

exerting profound influence on the discourse in the global art field through their emblematic exhibitions (Belting 2012), their institutional structure and responses to changes in cultural geopolitics (Harris 2017) – and even through their emblematic buildings (Davidts 2006). Researchers investigating power-structures in the global art field invariably refer to these three institutions among the most influential museums effecting global artistic production and global art canons (Brandellero and Velthuis 2018; Buchholz 2018; Quemin 2006). Global art world rankings, such as the UK-based ArtReview’s yearly Power100 list, customarily place their directors and chief-curators in the highest positions. Recent research combining market price of the exhibited artists and evaluation of experts ranked these three museums among the top 0.5% most important institutions in the examined 16 002 galleries and 7562 museums in the global art field (Fraiberger et al. 2018). In short, these three museums are central in a triple sense: they are the *key museums* of the *artistic capitals* of *core countries* of the global cultural economy. Being incorporated into either collection is without any doubt a major, if not ultimate, event of consecration for any artist.

I focus on these three museums’ acquisition history from 2000 onwards, as this was the year of foundation of the Tate Modern. My data source is the acquisition record available online in various forms for all three collections. To assign nationality of origin to artists from the CEE region I used an emic approach, as I followed the categorizations that the three museums themselves applied. It is precisely the perspective of the three institutions which is of primary interest regarding the acquisitions, as they ascribe nationality.

Considering first acquisitions in the post-1989 period Tate had acquired 76, Pompidou 123, and MoMA 220 distinct artists from the CEE region from 2000 onwards. Artfacts.Net contained data on the career of 74% of them in total. In case of Tate data was available on 95% (72 artists), for Pompidou 87 % (107 artists) and in the case of MoMA 60% (131 artists), taking the first 100,000 ranked artists in Artfacts.Net until 2019 when the data was gathered.¹⁸

¹⁸ The CEE collection of Tate and the Pompidou is better covered by Artfacts.Net than that of the MoMA. There seems to be two reasons for this: First, MoMA acquired much more artworks assigned to multiple artists than the other two collections, who might not be deemed important enough to be stated individually in the databases, and second, related to its recent exhibition in 2018 on Yugoslavian architecture it also acquired architectural drawings, whose authors are referred primarily as architects rather than visual artists therefore not making it into the visual art focused Artfacts.Net either. It would be a theoretical option to manually impute the missing artists biographies into our exhibition dataset, however in an overall sense this would distort the internal structure of the dataset and consequently the comparability of artists within. Further, even with the relative smaller size of the available artists biographies acquired by MoMA, the net number of available artistic careers it presents is the highest among the three collections, and thus the dataset displays a balanced picture among the institutions in an overall sense. Considering the possibilities, our best theoretically grounded empirical option is to stick with the original dataset.

Next, I must account for the fact that the three core institutions closely observe one another, and acquisition by one bestows considerable credence on an artist. To control for the possibility that core institution acquisition is caused by one or two other core institutions prior purchase of the artist's work, I drop all subsequent acquisitions, and keep only the first acquisition by either of the three core institutions. Doing so, I arrive at a set of 235 artists from the initial 310. Finally, since a typical acquisition procedure can take as much as a year, to maintain temporal ordering I consider exhibitions of artists only until one year prior to the acquisition event. In the end this means that the dataset contains 210 acquired artists from the CEE region of the total 3,409 CEE artists with data between 2000 and 2018. In the present context, the dependent variable marks the decision of a particular museum, in a particular year, to grant acquisition to a particular artist based on its documented exhibition career up until the preceding year. Each decision has a choice set that includes all the artists from the CEE region who were potentially eligible for acquisition each year. Thus, the dependent variable is called *acquisition*, a binary variable which takes 1 at the time of the first acquisition of an artists into either of the three collections and 0 otherwise.

Sample selection

To make a valid comparison in each year of our dataset among artistic trajectories that resulted in acquisition with those that did not, I devise a sampling procedure. Given the distribution of acquisitions over the years I aim to add a sample of non-acquired artistic trajectories that follows the shape of the distribution of the acquired artists over the years and at the same time maximizes the number of involved careers from non-acquired artists in each year. In other words, when more artists were incorporated into the collections, I want to compare them with proportionally higher number of trajectories of non-acquired artists than in years with a relatively smaller number of acquisitions. I sample without replacement so that each non-acquired artist is selected into the sample in only one year.

First, I construct a pool for each of the 19 years between 2000 and 2018, which comprises all available artistic trajectories until one year prior to the focal year. Second, given the year with the highest number of acquisitions, the sizes of all other yearly pools are reduced by randomly dropping trajectories from each until the shape of the distribution of the available trajectories

over the years matches that of the acquired artists. Third, from each of these adjusted pools 10 percent of the available trajectories are selected at random. The 10 percent is an empirical threshold that enables to maintain the shape of the distribution while maximizing the number of fitted non-acquired artistic trajectories via sampling without replacement. Each resulting annual subsample has approximately 5 non-acquired career for each acquired career – a one-to-five ratio recommended by the literature (Allison 2014). Due to the sampling procedure the final dataset comprises 1660 artistic trajectories in total, 12.65% (210) of which was acquired.

Network construction

The global exhibition space is represented through a network approach. A weighted undirected network is constructed for each year between 2000 and 2018. The nodes of these networks are venues, who exhibited the work of artists from the CEE region. Ties among venues represent the extent to which two venues tended to co-exhibit the same artists. For a given acquisition year t a network is constructed among venues based on exhibitions over a preceding ten-year window, years $t-10$ to $t-1$. The network corresponding to the year 2000 is thus based on the exhibitions between 1990 and 1999 that of 2001 on the years 1991 and 2000, so on so forth. This moving window technique is suitable to model the dynamically changing landscape of the field throughout the years (Cattani et al. 2014; Juhász et al. 2020). Two venues are connected in each network if they both presented the same artist in ± 1 year within the procedural time of that artistic career. In such a way, each venue has neighbors within the timespan of three years within the procedural time of each career. In general, the more two venues' exhibition portfolio coincides in time, the stronger the similarity in the artist with whom they represent the topic of the art of the CEE region, thus the stronger the tie among them in the given weighted undirected network. I use the raw count of co-exhibited artist for the weights in line with prior research (McMahan and McFarland 2021). Finally, the venues are clustered into 4 territorial regions relevant for the empirical case. The cultural territorial core is split into 2 regions designating the *Core* for venues in the countries of the target museums and to an *Outer Core* for all other Western European and North American venues. The global territorial periphery is also split into 2 regions designating a *Periphery/CEE* region for the focal source region in the present case and a *Periphery/Other* region for venues in all other parts of the world who are in structurally equivalent position with the CEE region from the perspective of the core.

To illustrate our procedure, consider two exhibition venues: the Trafó House in Budapest, Hungary, and the Jan Koniarek Gallery in Tvarna, Slovakia (both are within the CEE region). Figure 1. shows an excerpt from the network of year 2017, with ties among venues that are defined based on their exhibition practices between 2007-2016. In these 10 years the Trafó House and the Jan Koniarek Gallery presented 9 artists from the CEE region but only 4 among their exhibitions fell in the ± 1 year windows. Nemes Csaba (1966), a Hungarian artist participated with group shows “*Revolution I love you*” at Trafó House and the “*Video Reflex*” at the Jan Koniarek. Both of these exhibitions were held in 2008. Jiří Kovanda (1953), a Czech artist participated in the 2007 show “*(in)visible things*” at Trafó, and the following year in the exhibition titled “*Farby Lucky*” at Jan Koniarek. Pavla Scernaková (1980), a Slovakian artist presented at the group show “*Outpost – Critical Space*” at Trafó in 2011, and a year earlier she also had a solo exhibition at the Jan Koniarek. Finally, Zbyněk Baladrán (1973), another Czech artist also exhibited at the “*(in)visible things*” show in 2007, and at the “*Video Reflex*” in 2008. Altogether this means that the weight of the edge (right in the middle of Figure 1) between the two venues equals 4: they shared four artists exhibiting at both venues within a ± 1 year window. Figure 1. also demonstrates that analogously, Jan Koniarek had 11 and the Trafó House 7 such co-exhibitions with the Knoll Gallery in Vienna, located at the more central Outer Core region of the global art field forming a relatively strongly knit triad in the presented network excerpt, while others, such as the Pavilion in Wels, Austria or the Galerija Balen in Croatia had among each other just as with the mentioned two venues of 2008 only Nemes Csaba in common.

Independent variable

To measure the *geo-capital* of each venue and ultimately whether it occupies a *globalizer* position, the neighborhood of each node in each network is considered. First, for each node i the weighted edge-based ratio P is defined based on the ratio of the four empirical regions among the alters of each focal node. Consider a venue with a strength (i.e. total value of weighted edges to first neighbors) that equals 10. If 5/10 of the strength is assigned to alter(s) located in the Core region than $P_{i_{\text{Core}}} = .50$. If the remaining 5 units of weight is distributed along the Outer Core, the Periphery/CEE and the Periphery/Other as 1, 3, 1 respectively then $P_{i_{\text{Outer core}}} = .10$, $P_{i_{\text{Periphery/CEE}}} = .30$, $P_{i_{\text{Periphery/Other}}} = .10$.

Second, to measure the diversity of the neighbors along the 4 possible regions, the well-known diversity measure of entropy in information theory is used:

$$H(X) = -\sum_{i=1}^n P(x_i) \log P(x_i) \quad (1)$$

and to compute the geo-capital of each focal node i in our networks:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{geo-capital}_i = & \\ & -P_{i_{\text{Periphery}/\text{CEE}}} \log(P_{i_{\text{Periphery}/\text{CEE}}}) - P_{i_{\text{Core}}} \log(P_{i_{\text{Core}}}) \\ & - P_{i_{\text{Outer core}}} \log(P_{i_{\text{Outer core}}}) - P_{i_{\text{Periphery}/\text{Other}}} \log(P_{i_{\text{Periphery}/\text{Other}}}) \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

$\text{geo-capital}_i = 1$ if the first neighbors are distributed equally among the possible four regions and 0 if alters are all located in 1 specific region. Having neighbors in two distinct regions maximizes the score in 0.5 hence the base of the logarithm equals to the total number of possible categories. Thus, a venue must have neighbors in at least three of the four regions to pass 0.5. Table 1. displays the number and percentage of venues who occupied at least once a globalizer position throughout the observed years setting the threshold of geo-capital at different levels, and it also shows the number and percentage of corresponding position-takings in total and per region. Results show that 72% of the venues had neighbors in at least 3 different regions in at least one 10-year window and that the ratio decreases as the cutoff criteria is increased, as gradually more equal distribution is demanded among different regions to deem a venue a true globalizer. The turning point is .75, this is only ever crossed by half of the venues and above .85 less than 10% of all position-taking results in a globalizer position. Thus, I the .75 level is used as the default threshold of being a globalizer in the study. Table 1. also shows that 28% of the position-takings of venues located in the CEE, 47% of those in the Core, 35% in the Outer Core and 52% in the Other peripheries reaches the position at the level of .75.

Table 1. Individual venues and occupied globalizer positions at different thresholds of g_i

	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	%	%	%	%
$g_i >$	venues	venues	position takings	position takings	CEE	Core	Outer Core	Other peripheries
.50	6,461	.72	54,623	.66	.67	.72	.61	.74
.55	6,294	.70	52,170	.63	.62	.70	.58	.72
.60	6,035	.67	48,544	.59	.53	.66	.54	.68
.65	5,674	.63	44,212	.53	.45	.62	.49	.64
.70	5,165	.57	38,854	.47	.37	.56	.43	.58
.75	4,498	.50	32,404	.39	.28	.47	.35	.52
.80	3,632	.40	24,274	.29	.20	.36	.26	.42
.85	2,745	.30	15,554	.19	.11	.23	.16	.30
.90	1,337	.15	5,356	.06	.03	.08	.05	.15
.95	312	.03	879	.01	.00	.02	.01	.03

Note: total *N* of 82,671 position takings of 9,031 venues between 1990-2017

Investigating the scores of the venues on Figure 1. well demonstrates the situation. The graph displays a piece of the career of Nemes Csaba (1966) inspected in 2017, the year when he was first acquired among the three museums into the collection of the Centre Pompidou through the activity of the Central European acquisition board of its International Circle. In 2007 he participated in the group show *Rehab* at Galerija Balen, Slavonski Brod, Croatia and he also had an individual exhibition, *Remake*, at the Pavilion, Wels, Austria. Both venues obtained a geo-capital (g , for short) under 0.50 both only had neighbors in two out of the four regions and 79% and 77% of their weighted degree was shared with venues in the CEE region and the remaining 21% and 23% percent with venues in the Outer Core. All the other venues on the graph had neighbors in all four regions, however with different distributions. The already introduced Trafó House and Jan Koniarek Gallery, where he presented in group exhibitions *Revolution*, *I love you* and *Video Reflex* in 2008, demonstrates the situation well. Whereas they had very similar number of weighted degrees (2171 and 2306 respectively, resulting in a normalized strength of 0.21 and .22), their geo-capital considerably differs. Whereas Trafó had only 45% of its alters in the CEE region, 34% in the Outer Core, 15% in the Core and 6% in Other Peripheries (resulting in a geo-capital = 0.85), Jan Koniarek had 76% of its weighted degrees with venues in the CEE region and had the remaining 24% distributed among the other three (16%, 7%, 1% respectively) resulting in only a value of 0.63. Knoll Gallery, Vienna where Nemes presented at the group exhibition *Jeden tag ist 1956* in 2009 is in between Trafó House and Jan Koniarek. Finally, in 2009 he also presented at the group show *1989: The end of History or the Beginning of the Future?* in the Austrian Cultural Forum, NYC which again passes the

0.75 threshold and qualifies as a globalizer venue ($g = .90$) by disposing the most balanced portfolio of vicinal venues over the four regions with 48% in the Outer Core, 22% in the CEE, 19% in the Core and 11% in the Other Peripheries. In a nutshell, the higher the balance of the alters among the four regions, the higher the geo-capital and the corresponding globalizer-effect of the venue.

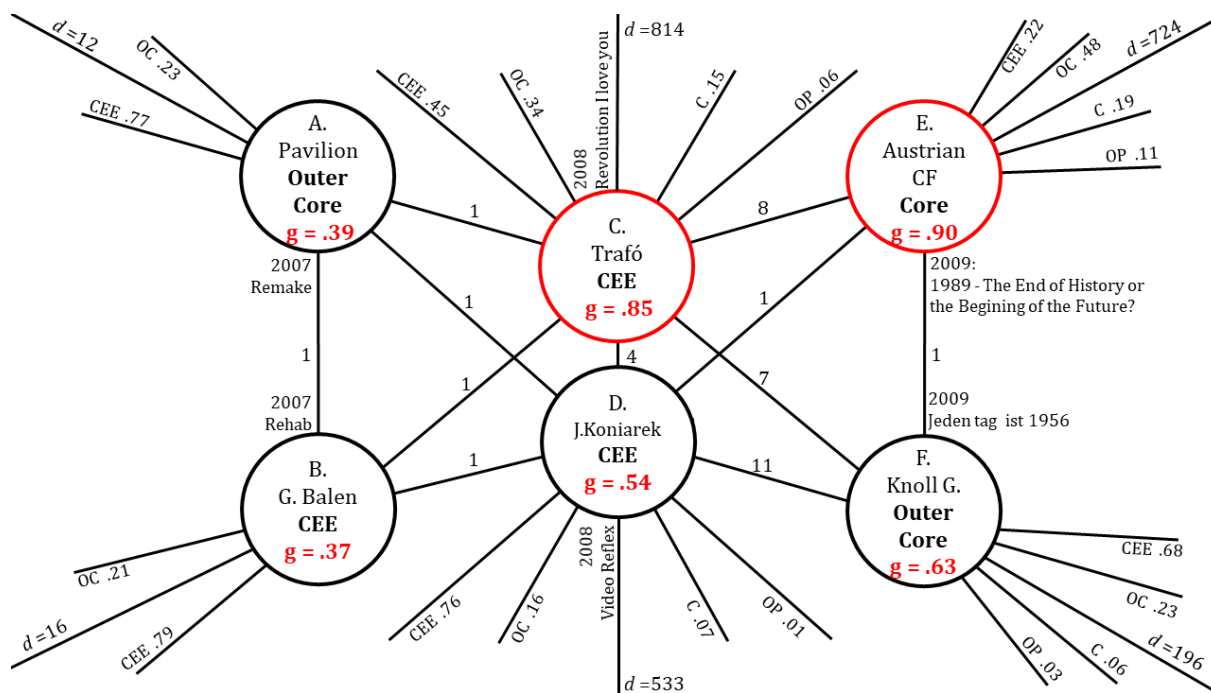


Figure 1. Part of the weighted undirected venue-network of year 2017. Nodes refer to the venues. Markers: **A.** Pavilion Gallery, Wels, Austria, Outer Core; **B.** Balen Gallery, Slavonski Brod, Croatia, Periphery/CEE; **C.** Trafó House of Contemporary Arts, Budapest, Hungary, Periphery/CEE; **D.** Jan Koniarek Gallery, Tvarna, Slovakia, Periphery/CEE; **E.** Austrian Cultural Forum, New York City, US, Core; **F.** Knoll Gallery, Vienna, Austria, Outer Core. g of each node refers to its geo-capital. d refers to the degree of each node and integers refer to the weight of the edge between two venues. Stub-edges with the initial of each region (C: Core, OC: Outer Core, CEE: CEE, OP: Other Peripheries) marks the ratio of the strength of the nodes at each region (eg. OC .23 of node A. signifies that the node had 23% of its total strength with venues located at the Outer Core region of the Global Art Field).

Finally, I compute the *Globalizer* ratio for each artistic career c by dividing the number of exhibitions held at globalizer venues with the total number of exhibitions in the career.

$$Globalizer_c = \frac{N_{exh. \text{ in globalizers}}}{\Sigma_{exhibitions}} \quad (3)$$

Controls

Other mechanism than *the effect of globalizers in an artistic career* can also explain consecration via acquisition into prestigious museum collections. To account for these possibilities a set of control variables is used. This also means to control for alternative

predictors derived from the two traditional dominant approach; the one accentuating the effect of territorial macro-capital and the other highlighting the effect of position in a relational structure built exclusively through exhibition activity.

First, I control for the main predictors that are expected by research in the tradition of world-systems analysis: the independent effect of territorial macro-capital. According to the multiplier-effect theory it is expected that the more time an artist spent in *core* and *outer core* countries exhibiting throughout its career, the higher the likelihood of acquisition. I separately control for the relative time spent exhibiting in the core and the outer core region, since even though both regions are more central in the cultural world-system than the CEE, I expect that the time spent in the core has an even higher impact on the odds of consecration than the outer core. Exhibiting extensively in either the core or the outer core increases also the chances of exhibiting in globalizer venues, since result shows that both regions contain higher percentage of globalizer venues than the source region of Central East Europe (Table 1.) and they also depict a slight positive correlation (see Table 3.). I check the robustness of my focal relationship against these alternative explanations by controlling for the relative time spent in venues located in the core and the outer core regions throughout each career. Correspondingly, for each career c the ratio R_{Core} of exhibitions in venues located in core countries is given as:

$$R_{Core\ c} = \frac{N_{exh. \text{ in the Core}}}{\Sigma_{exhibitions}} \quad (5)$$

and for each career c the ratio $R_{Outer\ Core}$ of exhibitions in venues located in outer core countries is given as:

$$R_{outer\ core\ c} = \frac{N_{exh. \text{ in the Outer Core}}}{\Sigma_{exhibitions}} \quad (6)$$

Next, I control for the expectation of research in the tradition of network analysis: the independent effect of network centrality. Research demonstrated that exhibiting at central venues had a positive effect on exhibiting at central venues later on and decreased the drop-out rate of artists (Fraiberger et al. 2018). To measure network centrality, the most straightforward centrality measure in a weighted undirected graph is used: the sum of the weight of the edges, node strength. The higher the strength of a venue, the more shared artist it had with other venues in total, and thus the more visible it is in the symbolic space of the discourse regarding the art of the CEE region. Thus, it is expected that the strength of the most central venue in a

career displays a positive relation with the likelihood of acquisition. Result shows a slightly positive correlation coefficient between the strength of the most central venue in a career and the ratio of globalizers within. To avoid the possibility that the effect of the main predictor is only a byproduct of a venue with high symbolic capital in the career, we control for the *strongest venue in each career*. In each weighted undirected network, the strength s_i of each node i is given by the sum of the weight of the edge to each of its first neighbor j in the weighted adjacency matrix W_{ij} :

$$s_i = \sum_{j=1}^N W_{ij} \quad (7)$$

For each career c the *strength of a career* S_c is given by the strength of its strongest venue:

$$Strength_c = \max(s_i) \quad (8)$$

Third, the length of a career is an important determinant to consider (Giuffre 1999). Longer careers have a better chance to be seen and acknowledged by artistic centers since it means a long and fruitful participation in the field of art, and signals that many venues choose to present the artist. A longer career also means that an artist had more time to exhibit in globalizer venues. To test the assumption of the main predictor against this alternative explanation, the *length of the career* given by the number of exhibitions it comprises is controlled. The *Length* of each career c is simply given as:

$$Length_c = \sum_{exhibitions} \quad (4)$$

Forth, exhibiting internationally became a prevalent feature of artistic careers (Menger 2014). It differs from the aspect measured based on the assumptions of cultural world-systems approach, since instead of capturing the amount of artistic activity in the core(s), it captures the diversity of the artistic activity spent across the total cultural territorial spectrum, both the cores and the peripheries. It also differs from the aspect measured based on the assumption of the network approach, since inter-regionality of a career says nothing about the position of the venues (i.e. where the artists exhibited) in the relational structure of the global exhibition space. As such in the framework of the concept of multi-scalarity, inter-regionality can be considered a micro-level strategy to refract the independently imposed effect of the macro-capital of the territorial power-structure, since just as in the case of geo-capital, the focus is diverted from centrality to diversity. *Inter-regionality* of a career c is thus given by the balance of a career based on the distribution of venues location across the four empirical regions of our research; the two core and the two peripheral regions, where P stands for the ratio of the *career* spent in venues located in each:

$$\begin{aligned}
& Inter - regionalit y_c = \\
& -P_{cPeriphery-CEE} \log(P_{cPeiphery-CEE}) - P_{cCore} \log(P_{cCore}) \\
& - P_{cOuter core} \log(P_{cOuter core}) - P_{cPeriphery-Other} \log(P_{cPeriphery-Other}) \quad (9)
\end{aligned}$$

The level of inter-regionality is expected to be positively related to the likelihood of acquisition, since it signals both the global focus of the artistic practice and the fact that it goes well with the exhibition practice of venues located in various parts of the world, two aspects which informs about the fit with the logic of a unified global art field. It is also expected to have a positive relation with the ratio of globalizers in a career, since the more an artist exhibits internationally the more likely it will present at places at each location who themselves are also embedded in the global structure via their exhibition activity. These two dimensions are interrelated, yet clearly differentiable aspects of a career, signaled by the .35 correlation between them.

Ultimately, *nationality of origin* and for the *acquisition years* is controled for unobserved effects of the two attributes.

Table 2.

Descriptive Statistics for All Variables Used in This Study at $G > .75$

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Dependent Variable					
Acquired	1660	.13	.33	0	1
Independent Variables					
Globalizer ratio	1660	.42	.35	0	1
Career length	1660	13.48	22.69	1	369
Core ratio	1660	.10	.20	0	1
Outer core ratio	1660	.26	.31	0	1
Highest strength venue	1660	.39	.33	0	1
Inter-regionality	1660	.31	.29	0	.97
Year (5-years)	1660	1.63	1.04	0	3
Nationality of Origin: (ex-)Czech/Slovakia	1660	.31	.46	0	1
Nationality of Origin: Hungary	1660	.15	.36	0	1
Nationality of Origin: Poland	1660	.24	.43	0	1
Nationality of Origin: Romania	1660	.08	.28	0	1
Nationality of Origin: ex-Yugoslavia	1660	.21	.41	0	1

Table 3. Spearman's Rank Correlation Table for All Variables Used in This Study

	I.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Dependent Variable												
I. Acquired	...											
Independent Variables												
1. Globalizer ratio	.23											
2. Career length	.28	.12										
3. Core ratio	.33	.27	.41									
4. Outer core ratio	.18	.18	.30	.18								
5. Highest strength venue	.21	.09	.61	.16	.03							
6. Inter-regionality	.33	.35	.60	.62	.53	.34						
7. Year (5-years)	.02	.22	.25	.03	-.01	.10	.10					
8. Nationality of Origin: (ex-)Czech/Slovakia	-.06	-.49	.10	-.05	-.20	.24	-.10	-.10				
9. Nationality of Origin: Hungary	.05	.05	-.02	.04	.04	.00	.01	.01	-.29			
10. Nationality of Origin: Poland	.04	.16	-.02	.03	.07	.03	.03	.06	-.38	-.24		
11. Nationality of Origin: Romania	.03	.14	.00	.13	.13	-.11	.07	.02	-.20	-.13	-.17	
12. Nationality of Origin: (ex-)Yugoslavia	-.03	.24	-.08	-.09	.04	-.23	.03	.03	-.35	-.22	-.29	-.16

Results

I fit maximum likelihood models with a logistic function to predict acquisition of artists by museum collections. All continuous variables are standardized to enable comparison among the effect sizes of the alternative predictors of acquisition.

Table 4. Logistic Regression Models

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Covariate	Full Model	Full	Model	Full Model
	Baseline Model	All Collections	MoMA	C. Pompidou	Full Model
	All Collections				Tate
Globalizer ratio (z-score)		.663*** (.116)	.688*** (.153)	.744*** (.193)	.696* (.274)
Career length (z-score)	.370*** (.084)	.408*** (.088)	.393*** (.114)	.293* (.121)	.603*** (.163)
Core ratio (z-score)	.427*** (.076)	.363*** (.078)	.152 (.120)	.518*** (.111)	.457** (.156)
Outer core ratio (z-score)	.224* (.102)	.232* (.102)	.257 (.132)	.117 (.182)	.399 (.227)
Highest strength venue (z-score)	.289** (.097)	.242* (.101)	.077 (.138)	.464** (.154)	.271 (.206)

Inter-regionality (z-score)	.620*** (.104)	.468*** (.106)	.407** (.142)	.695*** (.170)	.485 (.248)
Year (5-years)	.059 (.081)	.093 (.083)	.040 (.113)	.111 (.123)	.219 (.184)
Nationality of Origin (dummies)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Constant	-2.580*** (.256)	-3.052*** (.280)	-3.359*** (.359)	-4.641*** (.482)	-5.818*** (.760)
<i>N</i> of careers	1,660	1,660	1,543	1,529	1,488
<i>N</i> of acquired artists	210	210	93	79	38
pseudo-R ²	.220	.246	.166	.276	.326
Adjusted pseudo-R ²	.201	.225	.129	.234	.252
AIC	1005.276	974.662	609.948	474.569	262.497
BIC	1064.836	1039.637	674.046	538.557	326.159

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

A series of multiple regression models is conducted to test the hypothesis (Table 4.). First, all control variables are introduced with results shown in the Covariate Baseline Model for All Collections.

Result show, that all independent variables produce an effect on acquisition in the assumed direction. Inter-regionality of a career has the strongest effect: the highly significant coefficient .620 ($p < .0001$) and its corresponding odds ratio of 1.86 indicates that a career which is one standard deviation more inter-regional than the average careers obtains 86% increase in the likelihood of consecration. As expected by the world-system approach to the global art field, exhibiting both in the core and the outer core region also has a significantly positive impact on consecration: the ratio spent in the Core shows a strongly significant coefficient of .427 ($p < .0001$) and the ratio spent in the Outer Core displays an also significant, yet weaker effect of .224 ($p = .029$). The prior corresponds to 1.53 and the latter to 1.25 times higher odds in careers where the ratio is one standard deviation above average. Further, the expectation of the network approach proves to be valid too: succeeding to exhibit in a venue the centrality of which is above the highest strength venue of an average career by a standard deviation yields a significantly positive coefficient of .289 ($p = .003$), increasing the odds by 34%. Finally, career length also has a significantly positive effect on consecration. The coefficient of .370 ($p < .0001$) corresponding to an odds ratio of 1.45 means that if an artist had one standard deviation more exhibitions by the time of inspection than an average career among its peers, she had 45% higher odds of being acquired by the investigated museums than an artist with an average length

career. Nationality of the artist did not impact the likelihood of consecration and it did not change systematically throughout each additional five years either.

In Model 2, the main predictor is introduced; the relative time an artist spent throughout its career exhibiting in venues that functions as *globalizers*. Result shows a clear effect: the highly significant coefficient of .663 ($p < .0001$) corresponds to an odds ratio of 1.94. In other words, an artistic career where the relative prevalence of globalizer venues was above an inspected average career by one standard deviation indicated 94% higher odds of being acquired by the investigated core collections. Alternative predictors kept their statistical significance and their direction of effect, however, the ratio of globalizers in a career displays the greatest effect size among all. Model 1 and 2 proves that multiple dimensions of a career affect chances of recognition and they presents evidence that well supports my hypothesis; in fact, it proves not only that globalizer venues play an important role in the field but further, that it is the most important predictor of success among all.

A further important result depicts the order of the alternative predictors in effect size. Inter-regionality remains the second most powerful predictor in Model 2 but introducing the globalizer-ratio decreases the relative importance of exhibiting in the core. Whereas in Model 1 Core-ratio was the second most important after inter-regionality, in Model 2 it is only forth after inter-regionality and career length. The effect of the highlight-venue of the career and the Outer Core has a comparable impact and are the weakest among the predictors. This means that the multiplier-effect especially in its most powerful form, considering the macro-capital of the core is indeed an important feature of the functioning of the global art field and it is stronger than the effect of the position in the symbolic space of exhibitions. Yet, both dimensions that specifically build on transformations of the post-1989 era; inter-regionality of a career and the globalizers within proves to be more important than either of the traditional predictors; either the impact of the territorial power-structure and that of the symbolic space of exhibitions without considering territorial dimensions of agency. In other words, findings in fact captures the existence of the strive for relative autonomy on different levels of the global art field and indeed those artists that manage to incorporate these have an increased likelihood of recognition.

To examine the robustness of the results, I conducted a series of further tests. First, in Models 3, 4 and 5 the multiple regression of Model 2 is runned for each individual collection. Doing so, in each case I dropped the first acquisitions assigned to the other two collections. Results show that the ratio of globalizer venues in a career remains the strongest predictor in all cases.

Each additional standard deviation above average indicated a 99% increase at MoMA, a 110% increase at Pompidou and a 101% increase at Tate in the odds of acquisition (with a coefficient of .688 ($p < .0001$); .744 ($p < .0001$) and .696 ($p = .011$) respectively). Interestingly, the effect of the alternative predictors modifies for each unique collection. Whereas in case of MoMA only inter-regionality and career length has a significantly positive coefficient and all others do not count towards acquisition, in the case of Tate the extensivity of exhibition in the core is the only important predictor which has significant impact besides career length. Centre Pompidou displays the most multidimensional interest while evaluating careers; in case of the French collection exhibiting in the core, the symbolic highlight of the career, inter-regionality and career length are all important factors.

Next, the models are run with modified thresholds of qualifying as a globalizer venue from the original $G > .75$ to .55, .65 and .85. Results show that in the first two cases the ratio of the globalizers remains the strongest among all independent variables both for all collections and both for each individually. When increasing the threshold to .85, the effect of the main predictor remains significant, however, it loses its leading role in favor of inter-regionality. Results are depicted on Figure 2, see models in Table S3. in the Supplement.

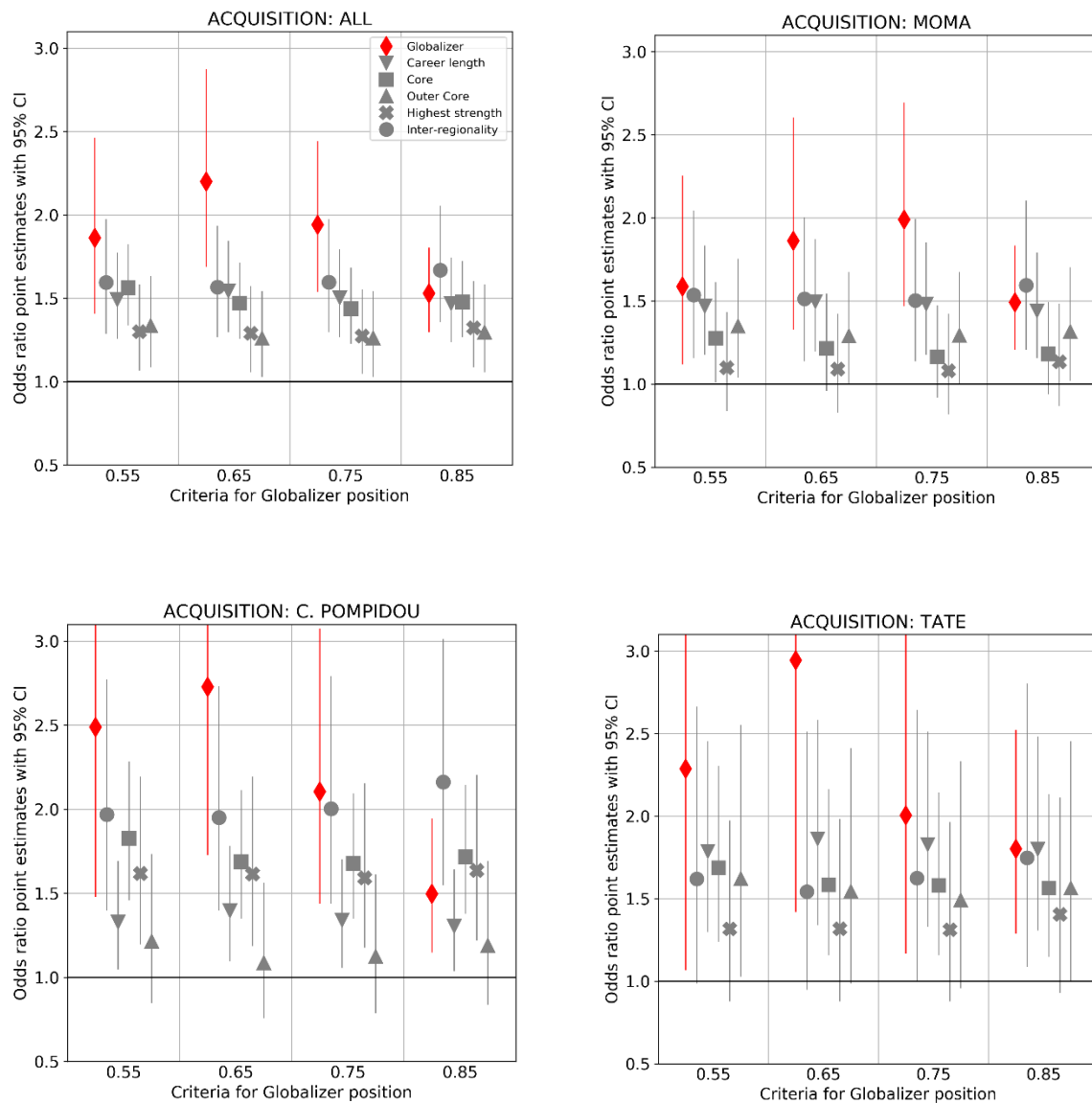


Figure 2. Point estimates (odds ratios) from logit models with 95% confidence intervals for standardized independent variables.

Further, results are found to be robust under running Ordinary Least Squares regression and while conducting 1000 rounds of permutation test against the scenario in which the value of the dependent variable is randomly assigned to each career. See Tables S1. and S2. in Supplement.

Last, but not least I constructed an alternative measure of career globalization. In this scenario instead of using a threshold which must be met by a venue to be deemed a globalizer, I computed the globalizer score G of each career c as the average of the geo-capital g of each venue i through the career. Formally:

$$G_c = \bar{g}_i \quad (10)$$

Results depicted in Table 5. shows that the average geo-capital of a career remains the strongest predictor of consecration in all the cases (i.e. both while investigating the collections jointly and separately).

Table 5. Logistic Regression Models with alternative measure of career-globalization

	(6) All	(7) MoMA	(8) C. Pompidou	(9) Tate
Average globalizer score (z-score)	.635*** (.140)	.516** (.180)	.912*** (.254)	.750* (.335)
Career length (z-score)	.395*** (.088)	.381*** (.112)	.286* (.121)	.578*** (.160)
Core ratio (z-score)	.423*** (.078)	.218 (.119)	.564*** (.113)	.493** (.156)
Outer core ratio (z-score)	.293** (.103)	.309* (.132)	.188 (.182)	.465* (.229)
Highest strength venue (z-score)	.242* (.100)	.074 (.137)	.454** (.154)	.273 (.206)
Inter-regionality (z-score)	.431*** (.110)	.396** (.147)	.622*** (.175)	.447 (.254)
Year (5-years)	.063 (.082)	.006 (.112)	.086 (.124)	.165 (.184)
Nationality of Origin (dummies)	Included	Included	Included	Included
Constant	-2.872*** (.271)	-3.080*** (.339)	-4.594*** (.479)	-5.648*** (.742)
<i>N</i> of careers	1,660	1,543	1,529	1,488
<i>N</i> of acquired artists	210	93	79	38
pseudo-R ²	.239	.151	.277	.324
Adj. Pseudo-R ²	.218	.114	.235	.250
AIC	983.455	620.933	473.891	263.176
BIC	1048.430	685.031	537.880	328.838

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Discussion and Conclusion

The results showed that venues developed a novel type of capital amidst the much-observed transformations in the post-1989 era of globalization in the art world. I named this novel dimension of agency *geo-capital*. On a structural level, sufficient amount of geo-capital enables venues to occupy a *globalizer* position. Geo-capital is a specific relational take on territoriality, one which is orthogonal to the logic of centrality. It enacts three things.

First, it defines a territorial dimension of agency and thereby anchors abstract relational structures of worldwide interactions into the space of the territorial power-structure.

Second, it enacts the strive for relative autonomy by incorporating and refracting the effect of the cultural territorial power-structure from being externally and independently imposed on actors' possibilities to an effect that derives and is inherent to venues to the meso-level logic of practice. It detours the effect of positions which are about centrality through imposing a position which is about diversity of reach instead of centrality.

Third, it imputes the missing link which enables to integrate the focal assumptions and understandings on levels of functioning of the two dominant approaches (towards conceptualizing the structure and dynamics of the global art field) into one coherent multi-scalar model of the global art field. This model offers a perspective which not only accommodates both centrality and decentrality focused positions and makes space to observe their joint functioning, but also relates them to a dynamic which is at the heart of the system, and which initiates and maintains this dual functioning. It connects to a key dynamic which explain this dual functioning and situates it in the heart of the system. It demonstrates the existence of a specific spatial dimension of the novel post-1989 era of globalization. Finally, by connecting the emergence of this novel position to the strive for relative autonomy, the functioning of forces both toward centralization and decentralization is situated in the heart of the system.

In short, the *geo-capital* and the *globalizer* position is a crucial element of the gradually emerging multi-scalar global art field, obtaining high level of the prior qualifies venues to occupy a corresponding globalizer position and the relative time spent exhibiting in such venues better predicts artists chances of being acquired by core museum collections than any other

predictor including those advised by the two main approaches towards the global art field based on world-systems theory and network theory or based on observed important contemporary phenomena as the internationality or the length of a career.

I believe the findings could contribute to multiple aspects of the sociological discourse.

To *world-systems theory* and to the territorial approach in general it contributes by empirically demonstrating that the cultural territorial macro-structure besides being imposed *on* meso and micro level social actors it also functions *through* their agency. I give an empirical approach to observe this parallel operation jointly and systematically on multiple levels of the social order.

Territorial dimensions of agency are rarely tackled in *social network analysis*. The contribution to the discourse is done by demonstrating that worldwide networks emerging through organizational and individual activities not only have a territorial dimension, but considering it is crucial in their efficient functioning in the global realm. I depict an analytic tool which measures such a dimension in a way that is in compliance with network logic.

I believe that the main contribution to the *sociology of globalization* relies in giving a coherent empirical model for the concept of multi-scalarity of global systems which accommodates the parallel functioning of forces towards centralization and decentralization. The question is often posed as an either-or version of the global art field becoming more centralized or decentralized amidst the process of cultural globalization and arguments are gathered for the support of either version. Based on the present findings however, I rather align with another line of research anchored in Marxist theories of (capital flow in) globalization, one which argues for the necessarily parallel functioning of these forces (Hall 1997a, 1997b; Harvey 2006). Yet to my knowledge there has been a lack of a model that empirically depicts this dual functioning in a fine-grained yet systemic sense one which jointly designates multiple levels of the social order. Certainly not in the realm of the global art world. It is such a model to the development of which these findings contribute.

The potential contribution to the *sociology of culture* is by demonstrating in a systemic and empirical way, how that the global art field is not equivalent to a global power-structure into which the comprising national or transnational regional fields arrange. The key to the distinction relies in the observation that multiple territorialities function in the global enabling venues and

artists to give a specific understanding of globality and enact a global career irrespective of their location in the cultural territorial macro-structure.

Finally, the contribution to the *sociology of consecration* can be designated by emphasizing the existence of both a position referring to centrality and to decentrality. From the perspective of consecration, the interesting aspect of this latter position is that it not only contributes to the inter-level strive of the organizational level as a whole for relative freedom from the cultural territorial authority, but also takes part and induces novel intra-level dynamics. *First*, it enables venues and artists who are located in peripheral parts of the territorial structure to enhance their scope of agency while striving for recognition without moving to the core, while it also means that being located in core parts means less advantage for a venue in a multi-scalar structure than it was in a nested constellation. *Second*, it is documented that with the expansion of size uncertainty of the value of an artist increased (Velthuis and Brandellero 2018). Under such circumstances, a globalizer position means an important source of information for consecrating core museums while incorporating artists from peripheral regions under the pressure for constant internationalization of their collection to maintain their central position in the new global realm regarding the value of those artists. If core museums only incorporate artists from the peripheries who are already acquired by peer core museums, on the long run they lose their prestige hence the lack of innovation and the lack of endorsement of new artists. Yet, they also lose position if they acquire new artists who turn out not to be with global relevance on a long run. Under such circumstances relying on the information artist careers encapsulate through the fact that they exhibit in globalizer venues turns out to be of crucial importance since it both secures innovation for museums and minimizes the uncertainty inherent in such an expanded global system.

In a sum, with these findings I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the complex structure and dynamics characterizing the contemporary global art field.

Appendix

Table S1. Results of permutation test (1000 rounds)

	All		MoMA		C. Pompidou		Tate	
	Original	Rank	Original	Rank	Original	Rank	Original	Rank
Globalizer ratio (z-score)	1.940	.000	1.990	.000	2.105	.000	2.005	.000
Career length (z-score)	1.503	.000	1.481	.001	1.340	.031	1.827	.000
Core ratio (z-score)	1.438	.000	1.164	.085	1.679	.000	1.580	.001
Outer core ratio (z-score)	1.262	.001	1.293	.010	1.124	.157	1.491	.005
Highest strength venue (z-score)	1.274	.004	1.080	.291	1.591	.000	1.311	.089
Inter-regionality (z-score)	1.596	.000	1.502	.004	2.003	.000	1.624	.029
Year (5-years)	1.098	.102	1.040	.382	1.117	.171	1.244	.075
Nationality of Origin : CZSK	1.659	.024	1.420	.173	2.979	.000	.858	.354
Nationality of Origin: HU	1.726	.019	1.257	.250	2.180	.023	2.899	.029
Nationality of Origin: RO	1.017	.475	.351	.032	1.684	.113	2.828	.056
Nationality of Origin: PL	1.414	.076	1.202	.295	1.314	.206	3.703	.009
Constant	.047	.000	.035	.040	.010	.000	.003	.007

The goal of conducting a permutation test is to test the extent to which the results (in odds ratio) of the logistic regression could occur in scenarios where the value of the dependent variable is randomly assigned to each career. In a permutation test first, the dependent variable is shuffled over the dataset modeling a scenario where careers randomly results in acquisition and second, the logistic regression is conducted on this new dataset. 1000 rounds of such a permutation test are run, and the resulting odds ratios of each variable are stored in a sorted list. Next, I compare the odds ratios conducted on the original dataset with those resulting from the random scenarios. The column *Original* shows the odds ratios resulting from the original dataset and the column *Rank* depicts the rank of this original odds ratio in the sorted list resulting from 1000 rounds of permutation test and the corresponding logistic regressions. Results show that the odds ratio of the variable *globalizer ratio* of the original dataset is ranked 0, which means, in other words that it was reached in 0% of the random scenarios in each of the four models.

Table S2. Ordinary Least Squares / Linear Probability Models at Globalizer threshold >.75

	All		MoMA		C. Pompidou		Tate	
	Baseline	Full	Baseline	Full	Baseline	Full	Baseline	Full
	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model	Model
Globalizer ratio (z-score)		.052*** (.009)		.033*** (.007)		.026*** (.006)		.014** (.005)
Career length (z-score)	.080*** (.009)	.081*** (.009)	.056*** (.009)	.058*** (.009)	.049*** (.008)	.052*** (.008)	.053*** (.006)	.054*** (.006)
Core ratio (z-score)	.047*** (.008)	.042*** (.008)	.014* (.007)	.011 (.007)	.031*** (.006)	.029*** (.006)	.016*** (.004)	.014*** (.004)
Outer core ratio (z-score)	.013 (.008)	.016* (.008)	.009 (.006)	.011 (.006)	.002 (.006)	.003 (.006)	.005 (.004)	.006 (.004)
Highest strength venue (z-score)	.024* (.009)	.018 (.009)	.001 (.007)	-.003 (.007)	.016* (.007)	.013 (.007)	.003 (.005)	.001 (.005)
Inter-regionality (z-score)	.046*** (.009)	.034*** (.009)	.021** (.007)	.014 (.008)	.025*** (.007)	.019** (.007)	.002 (.005)	-.001 (.005)
Year (5-years)	.003 (.007)	.006 (.007)	-.001 (.006)	.000 (.006)	.002 (.005)	.003 (.005)	.003 (.004)	.004 (.004)
Nationality of Origin (dummies)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Constant	.128*** (.021)	.096*** (.021)	.085*** (.016)	.066*** (.017)	.055*** (.015)	.041** (.015)	.025* (.011)	.017 (.011)
N of careers	1,660	1,660	1,543	1,543	1,529	1,529	1,488	1,488
N of acquired artists	210	210	93	93	79	79	38	38
R2	.188	.204	.081	.094	.123	.132	.117	.123
Adjusted R2	.183	.199	.075	.087	.117	.126	.111	.116
Residual Std. Error	.301	.298	.229	.227	.208	.207	.149	.148
F Statistic	38.219***	38.457***	13.504***	14.437***	21.334***	21.003***	19.643***	18.780***
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	10	11	10	11	10	11

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table S3. Logistic Regression Models with alternative thresholds of occupying a Globalizer position

	G > .55				G > .65			
	All	MoMA	Pompidou	Tate	All	MoMA	Pompidou	Tate
Globalizer ratio (z-score)	.622*** (.143)	.462** (.178)	.912*** (.266)	.827* (.389)	.788*** (.136)	.621*** (.171)	1.004*** (.232)	1.080** (.372)
Career length (z-score)	.400*** (.088)	.384*** (.112)	.284* (.122)	.580*** (.161)	.434*** (.090)	.402*** (.114)	.334** (.124)	.622*** (.166)
Core ratio (z-score)	.447***	.243*	.602***	.523***	.385***	.194	.524***	.459**

	(. 078)	(. 119)	(. 113)	(. 158)	(.078)	(.120)	(.113)	(.158)
Outer core ratio (z-score)	. 289**	. 299*	. 194	. 483*	.231*	.255	.084	.435
	(. 103)	(. 132)	(. 182)	(. 231)	(.103)	(.132)	(.184)	(.227)
Highest strength venue (z-score)	. 262**	. 092	. 481**	. 274	.254*	.086	.479**	.276
	(. 100)	(. 135)	(. 153)	(. 206)	(.101)	(.136)	(.155)	(.207)
Inter-regionality (z-score)	. 466***	. 429**	. 677***	. 482	.449***	.413**	.668***	.433
	(. 108)	(. 146)	(. 174)	(. 253)	(.107)	(.143)	(.171)	(.248)
Year (5-years)	. 056	-. 004	. 078	. 137	.085	.019	.101	.184
	(. 082)	(. 112)	(. 124)	(. 185)	(.083)	(.113)	(.124)	(.185)
Nationality of Origin (dummies)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Constant	-2.795***	-2.988***	-4.506***	-5.555***	-3.059***	-3.204***	-4.746***	-5.943***
	(. 266)	(. 331)	(. 473)	(. 729)	(.279)	(.347)	(.486)	(.767)
<i>N</i> of careers	1,660	1,543	1,529	1,488	1,660	1,543	1,529	1,488
<i>N</i> of acquired artists	210	93	79	38	210	93	79	38
pseudo-R2	.238	.148	.276	.324	.250	.158	.286	.336
Adjusted pseudo-R2	.217	.111	.234	.250	.229	.121	.244	.263
AIC	984.709	622.579	474.251	263.283	969.759	615.986	468.161	258.789
BIC	1049.684	686.677	538.239	326.946	1034.734	680.084	532.149	322.451

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table S3. (continued)

	G > .75				G > .85			
	All	MoMA	Pompidou	Tate	All	MoMA	Pompidou	Tate
Globalizer ratio (z-score)	.663***	.688***	.744***	.696*	.424***	.399***	.404**	.589***
	(.116)	(.153)	(.193)	(.274)	(.083)	(.105)	(.133)	(.171)
Career length (z-score)	.408***	.393***	.293*	.603***	.384***	.365**	.266*	.588***
	(.088)	(.114)	(.121)	(.163)	(.086)	(.111)	(.118)	(.163)
Core ratio (z-score)	.363***	.152	.518***	.457**	.390***	.167	.540***	.448**
	(.078)	(.120)	(.111)	(.156)	(.077)	(.119)	(.112)	(.156)
Outer core ratio (z-score)	.232*	.257	.117	.399	.259*	.275*	.173	.447
	(.102)	(.132)	(.182)	(.227)	(.102)	(.131)	(.179)	(.228)
Highest strength venue (z-score)	.242*	.077	.464**	.271	.279**	.125	.492**	.339
	(.101)	(.138)	(.154)	(.206)	(.099)	(.135)	(.152)	(.209)
Inter-regionality (z-score)	.468***	.407**	.695***	.485	.511***	.467***	.771***	.558*
	(.106)	(.142)	(.170)	(.248)	(.106)	(.141)	(.168)	(.240)
Year (5-years)	.093	.040	.111	.219	.059	.016	.071	.190
	(.083)	(.113)	(.123)	(.184)	(.082)	(.112)	(.123)	(.184)

Nationality of Origin (dummies)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Constant	-3.052*** (.280)	-3.359*** (.359)	-4.641*** (.482)	-5.818*** (.760)	-2.830*** (.268)	-3.104*** (.340)	-4.364*** (.463)	-5.827*** (.769)
<i>N</i> of careers	1,660	1,543	1,529	1,488	1,66	1,543	1,529	1,488
<i>N</i> of acquired artists	210	93	79	38	210	93	79	38
pseudo-R2	.246	.166	.276	.326	.239	.155	.265	.336
Adjusted pseudo-R2	.225	.129	.234	.252	.218	.118	.223	.262
AIC	974.662	609.948	474.569	262.497	983.664	617.956	481.270	258.937
BIC	1039.637	674.046	538.557	326.159	1048.639	682.054	545.258	322.599

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to integrate territorial and social interaction-based approaches in order to better understand the transforming power-dynamics in the global art world. The aim has been to identify the exact mechanisms that contribute to the simultaneous functioning of forces toward centralization and decentralization as well as towards differentiation and integration in the global art world. Starting from the understanding that research has been predominantly focusing on the characteristics of either the macro territorial transformations or the newly emergent networks of worldwide interactions, throughout three empirical chapters I integrated the two approaches in three distinct research designs.

As the thesis heavily relies on both the approach of Network Science and the Bourdieusian field theory of cultural production, I started with a theoretical chapter which systematically compared the way they conceptualize their system of investigation over six focal points.

Across the empirical chapters I investigated three core museums of the global art world: the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Tate Modern in London and the Centre Pompidou in Paris, and I examined the way they have been incorporating artists into their collection from a peripheral region: Central-East Europe.

In Chapter 2, I introduced a statistical filtering-based network approach recently developed by Micché and Mantegna (2019) as a tool to empirically depict the concrete institutional structure into which each museum collection is embedded. The purpose was twofold: first, to present a method which enables us to ground the museums perspective, as they represent the CEE region in the concrete social realm of the global institutional space of the art field, and second, to embed the resulting institutional network into the territorial realm of the cultural world-system. This dual embedding enabled to jointly examine the social interaction-based network with the territorial power-structure to map the concrete social space which contributed with statistical significance to the representation that each collection forms on the CEE region.

Results demonstrated that the representations the core collections give on the CEE region are predominantly filtered through the representation that other core country venues form on the

region. Approximately 70% of all venues in the networks were located in Western Europe and North America. Yet, while this ratio further increased in the case of MoMA regarding 10% of the most central venues, in the case of the Tate and the Centre Pompidou it decreased in favor of flagship venues from the CEE region. Furthermore, as for the 10 most central venues, results showed that while the collection of the MoMA heavily relies on the representation of the Tate and the Centre Pompidou, this is non-reciprocal and the two European museums rather build on local CEE institutions. This shows that while it is argued that the topological space compressed the topographical space, Western European museums seems to be functioning as institutional bridges for the MoMA towards the CEE region.

Considering the simultaneous functioning towards centralization and decentralization in the global art field, these findings demonstrate that while the peripheral region of Central-East Europe is indeed represented by core museums and thus made globally visible, this given representation is grounded predominantly in the representation of other venues from the core countries on the peripheral region. In other words, while the utilized statistical method filtered the global institutional space to retain only those venues, which significantly contributed to the representation the collection gives on the region, this representations in turn proves to be filtered through the representation of other venues in core countries.

In Chapter 3, I turned towards the strategy which the Tate and the Centre Pompidou developed to acquire artists from peripheral regions. The base of the strategy is to partition the globe into transnational regions and attract art patrons from those regions to cover the financial costs of the acquisitions. In this chapter I conducted a qualitative analysis to investigate the concrete procedure of acquisitions, the profile of the ideal donator and the structural solution developed by the museums.

Results showed that the acquisition board members are wealthy cosmopolitans who not only provide the financial means of collection building but also broker cultural and social capital to the museum from the region to connect the museum personnel with local intelligentsia and secure the prestige of the involved artists in the local art canon. Yet, the main asset of cosmopolitanism is the capacity to broker between cultural and social holes (Levy et al. 2019), and it is specifically this potential which the patrons lose in the long run by brokering the local art scene to the core museums. In order to secure the sustainability of the strategy, museums need to establish a network from these cosmopolitans to enable them to accumulate novel

transnational cultural, social, and potentially economic capital constantly reproducing their value as brokers.

This case demonstrates a case when topology not only connects people through distant geographic locations as well as cultural territorial and geopolitical positions, but in fact functions precisely through the constant conversion of capital between the topological and the territorial space of the global.

Considering the overarching theme of the thesis regarding the simultaneous functioning of differentiation and integration in the global art field, the acquisition boards are the exemplary case of the phenomenon that could be called differentiation as a means of integration. In order to secure a sustainable flow of various capitals from the peripheries to the centers of the global art field, core museums need to impute a novel network layer into the system. Doing so, the system becomes more integrated in multiple ways. Regarding core museums, results show that not only have the core museums' strategies been converging over time, but also their collections and the corresponding art canons on the region. Further, the connections between both the core and the peripheries, and within the peripheries have been densifying through the functioning of the acquisition boards.

Considering the simultaneous functioning of centralization and decentralization this case demonstrates a twofold dynamics. First, while the peripheries have been becoming globally more visible and the horizontal relations between the peripheries reinforced through the operation of the acquisition committees, besides the reinforcement of the core museums dominant position a novel supra-territorial elite emerged from the local cosmopolitans of the peripheries. Second, it has been argued that amidst the post-1989 transformation of the art world a global museum network of knowledge-sharing and best practice circulation has emerged (Patterson 2016), and the developed strategy seems to be a universal best practice to be embraced by all museums in need of private funding whilst building their collection. Yet, obtaining private economic capital does not deteriorate the actor's prestige as an autonomous institution of consecration only while it can transform it into symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1993). Accordingly, it may be an efficient strategy for Tate and Centre Pompidou which, by occupying a central position in the global museum network and being located in core countries of the territorial power-structure, reach both the peripheries to supply the financial means and obtain the necessary authority to demonstrate full control of its usage. Yet, for museums which by occupy a peripheral position in either dimension and has a harder time either attracting private funding or less authority to demonstrate full control of its usage, applying the same strategy

carries a high risk of deteriorating even its existent level of prestige, further widening the distance between the center and the periphery.

In Chapter 4, I directly tested the relative autonomy of the global institutional space from the cultural territorial power-structure. My focal point of interest has been whether the territorial and the social interaction-based levels of the novel global realm interact in novel ways to jointly produce a novel spatial dimension. Enacting relative autonomy means both to *acknowledge* externally imposed forces of power and to *refract* it into something specific according to the logic of practice of that realm onto which the external power is imposed (Bourdieu 1996). Accordingly, I demonstrate that venues developed a novel type of capital, which is based on acknowledging the effect which the territorial power-structure imposes on the venues due to the position their location occupies in the territorial realm, yet refracting it into the specific logic of practice of the social interaction-based level of the global institutional network. This novel resource of a venue marks the venues diversity of reach in the territorial realm. I coined the term *geo-capital* to name this resource and the emergent novel structural position: the *globalizer* position.

I tested the existence and functioning of this novel structural position through the effect it imposes on the artists' likelihood of consecration (i.e. being acquired by core museums). Having conducted a series of multiple regressions, I showed that while both exhibiting in territorial core countries and in venues which occupy central positions in the social interaction-based level of the global institutional space increases the artists' likelihood of consecration, exhibiting in *globalizer* venues is robustly the strongest predictor among all.

This result is of high importance, since it depicts an exact mechanism through which the territorial and the social interaction-based levels of the global art field jointly produce a novel spatial specificity of the new global system. Further, it not only captures the joint functioning of forces towards centralization and decentralization in a unified model of the global art field, but also anchors the latter to the strive of the global institutional space for gaining a relative autonomy from the realm of the cultural territorial power-structure of the global art field. Finally, the *globalizer* position, as a novel structural element both enacts the further differentiation of the global system and simultaneously integrates it through reconnecting the territorial and the social interaction-based levels in a novel way.

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