Poetics 108 (2025) 101961

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Poetics

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/poetic

Careers in the global art field: Geo-capital and globalizer venues in the consecration of Central-Eastern European artists

Júlia Perczel *, Balazs Vedres

Department of Network and Data Science, Central European University, Quellenstraße 51, 1100 Wien, Austria

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Multiscalar global art field
Geo-capital
Centre-periphery
Network
Consecration
Relational territoriality

ABSTRACT

In our contemporary art field global institutional networks offer novel strategies for peripheral artists in their struggle for global recognition, bypassing the necessity of maximizing presence in the territorial core. We address the puzzle of how such novel artistic strategies bypassing core gatekeepers can succeed. In this article we analyze the way artists from Central-Eastern Europe strive for consecration via acquisition by the pinnacle museums – Tate Modern, Centre Pompidou and the MoMA – between 1990 and 2018. Our analysis is based on more than hundred thousand exhibition events of about 3500 artists, held at nearly ten thousand venues in 112 countries. We focus on network topology of co-exhibiting relations of venues and artists. We introduce two key concepts to understand success in the multiscalar global art field: geo-capital and the globalizer position. Geo-capital measures the territorial balance of a venue's topological neighbours, capturing a capacity to span boundaries, while the globalizer position marks those venues that can provide artists with global visibility against the territorial core-periphery spectrum on topological grounds. We show that a strategy built on venues in the globalizer position improves the likelihood of consecration more than any other factors. We contribute to prior research by showing the functioning of a relational form of territoriality, that relies on global networks, and provides a mechanism through which global institutional networks can function in relative vertical autonomy within the multiscalar global art field.

1. Introduction

The global art field has seen a fundamental structural transformation over the past two decades. Whereas previously relational structures of art were predominantly nested in national fields, arranged into an interstate power-structure on the global level (Sassen, 2007), we later witnessed the emergence of global networks, and a global art field that can be better understood via topological, rather than territorial geometries (Allen, 2011). With the advent of global networks in art, venues would not need to be located in the territorial core to legitimize artists, and artists would not need to be physically located in the territorial core to attain global recognition (Harris, 2017). However, there is still a contradiction between the recent emphasis on the territorial flexibility of global

* Corresponding author.
E-mail addresses: perczel.julia@gmail.com (J. Perczel), vedresb@ceu.edu (B. Vedres).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2024.101961
Received 23 December 2023; Received in revised form 30 September 2024; Accepted 24 November 2024
Available online 25 December 2024

relational structures (Knorr Cetina & Bruegger, 2002; Yogev & Grund, 2012), and the fact that the most central venues in art are still predominantly located in the *territorial core* (Fraiberger et al., 2018) .[1] Thus, both relational and territorial perspectives emphasize the role of the most central positions in legitimizing artists (Buchholz, 2018; Cattani, Ferriani & Allison, 2014), and we lack a clear understanding of the interplay between territory and topology: we lack an understanding of how global networks and territorial embedding interweave to produce artistic success.

In our attempt to fill this knowledge gap, we integrate the territorial and the relational approach to understand the global art field. In a conventional perspective of an international art world with national fields, only venues in the territorial core locations are able to provide global success to artists across the global core-periphery spectrum. We argue that in today's global art field networks enable venues to provide global visibility and success to artists even if these venues are outside the core. To capture this process, we conceptualise a novel form of capital, *geo-capital*, that captures the distribution of a venue's network neighbours by territorial categories along a core-periphery dimension. Geo-capital is high when the composition of the topological neighbours' territorial location is more diversified, rather than concentrated, when venues can span territorial boundaries. We define a venue to occupy a *globalizer position* once it accumulated a high amount of geo-capital (above a threshold). Venues in the globalizer position provide simultaneous recognition to their exhibiting artists across the territorial core-periphery spectrum (that is, provide global recognition), due to their position in the global topological realm. This happens irrespective of the territorial location of the globalizer venue itself.

Empirically, we join the growing body of research of global art from a centre-periphery framework (Aerne, 2021; Brandellero & Velthuis, 2018; van Es & Heilbron, 2015) and investigate the way artists from Central-Eastern Europe (CEE) navigate a dynamically changing global institutional space towards consecration by the Tate Modern in London, the Centre Pompidou in Paris and the Museum of Modern Art in New York.[2] We model the institutional field through a network approach based on the shared cultural choices of venues. We rely on data about 3409 CEE artists' 103 783 exhibition events held at 9241 venues in 112 countries between 1990 and 2018. As a measure of consecration, we focus on the acquisitions of the three museums – Tate, Pompidou, MoMA – between 2000 and 2018. We test our core hypothesis that the more an artist exhibits in globalizer venues, the higher their chances of consecration.

To test our hypothesis, we compare territorial and relational dimensions of artistic careers over the global institutional network with a set of multiple logistic regression models. Our findings show that the relative time spent with globalizer venues has a stronger impact on artists' likelihood of consecration than, among others, the relative time spent exhibiting in the territorial core, or that which can be provided by the relationally most central venues in a career. We show evidence that geo-capital and the globalizer position do not only function in the multiscalar global art field, but that through them global scaling institutional networks provide a qualitatively novel strategy for marginalized agents amidst the strive for global recognition. Since globalizer venues refract the direct effect imposed on them by the territorial power-structure through the attribute variable of their territorial location into a relational variable that they accumulate through their exhibition practice, this research also contributes with a concrete mechanism to prior understanding of the way "relative vertical autonomy" (Buchholz, 2016:33) functions in the multiscalar global art field.

1.1. Global art field, from nested to multiscalar

According to Pierre Bourdieu's original conception, the modern field of art emerged during the second half of the 19th century in France, in the nation-state based global formation of modernity (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996, 2017). Institutional structures were seen predominantly nested within national boundaries, while these national fields were seen to be arranged into an interstate power-structure on the macro-level, or global level (Sassen, 2007). To capture the unequal power of national art fields in their strength to render artists globally visible, researchers coined the term "national capital" (Casanova, 2004:15). Thus, since relational dimensions of culture had been predominantly nested within the territorial dimension with nation-state as the focal unit of analysis, the most dominant national art fields had the greatest power to have artists recognized. Since the "double geographic nucleus" (Quemin, 2006:542) of a few Western countries (predominantly France, the UK and the US) dominated this nested international art field for the bulk of the 20th century, emigration into their cultural capitals was a necessary career move for an artist striving for global visibility and recognition (Casanova, 2004).

Starting in the second half of the 20th century – and speeding up after the end of the Cold War in 1989 –, this nested global formation reconfigured into a multiscalar global art field. Agents of cultural production today connect into novel, specifically global scaling relational structures, and art professionals today build transnational careers from the start (Kong, 2014; Urry, 2003). Museums

[1] Research demonstrates that territorial factors still matter in the current phase of globalization (Harris 2017; van Hest 2012; Velthuis and Baia Curioni 2015a) at least in three important ways relevant for our present empirical case. First, research shows a strong bias in the practice of art institutions (museums, galleries, art fairs, auctions) towards favouring their local artists (Ciotti 2012; van Hest 2012; Quemin 2006; Renneboog and Spaenjers 2015; Velthuis 2013; Vermeylen 2015). Second, research also shows that, especially in the symbolic segment, the global art field remains highly centralized in a few Western European and North American countries (Baia Curioni, Forti, & Leone, 2015; Braden 2009; Buchholz 2018; Pénet and Lee 2014; Quemin 2006, 2013; Renneboog and Spaenjers 2015). Third, research shows that Eastern European, Latin American, Australian, African and Asian artists remain to a high extent excluded from the centres of this global art world (Baia Curioni, Forti, & Leone, 2015; Buchholz and Wuggenig 2005; Fraiberger et al. 2018; van Hest 2012; Velthuis and Baia Curioni (2015b). It is the general conclusion of research that "exhibiting in European and American museums remain, for many artists from emerging regions, an important symbolic achievement, signalling that they are globally seen as contemporary artists on their own right" (Velthuis and Baia Curioni (2015b):21). Accordingly, the term territorial core refers to these most central countries in current global artistic production, predominantly located in Western Europe and North America.

[2] Tate Modern, MoMA and Centre Pompidou are referenced in cultural analysis as elite and often as the symbolically most powerful institutions in the global art field, see for example Braden 2021; Quemin 2006; Zamora-Kapoor, Godart, and Zhao 2020.

started to develop cosmopolitan practices (Levitt, 2015), and the global art field is being built at art fairs, biennales, and globally connected galleries (Gardner & Green, 2016; Sassatelli, 2017). Just as in other global processes, in the globalization of art new territorial actors appeared besides the nation-state, such as global cities and transnational regions (Alderson, Beckfield & Sprague-Jones, 2010; Boon, Wubs & Klemann, 2019). Along these developments, global cultural fields transformed from a nested into a multiscalar formation that today functions through multiple layers of relational structures over multiple levels of territorial scale from the local to the global (Buchholz, 2016; Çağlar, 2021; Molho et al., 2020) in "relative vertical autonomy" (Buchholz, 2016:33) from one another.

The concept of relative vertical autonomy applies the original notion of relative autonomy to the context of the multiscalar global art field. In the original Bourdieusian theory, the relative autonomy of the field of art (in a national context) can be measured in its "refraction capacity" (Bourdieu, 1993:182): the extent to which the field of art as a whole is capable of detouring the logic of production of other (e.g. economic, political, religious) fields from structuring its internal logic of production and its corresponding discourses and hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1993). Thus, from a systemic perspective – since the internal and the external struggle of the field of art is a coupled process –, the most prestigious agents (who accrue the highest amount of symbolic capital) are those who are most able to enact and secure the relative autonomy of the field as a whole vis-à-vis the other fields. Under the notion of relative vertical autonomy, Larissa Buchholz transposed the concept of relative autonomy from between-fields to different field-*levels* within the *same* field (Buchholz, 2016). Buchholz showed that in the multiscalar global art field a novel, specifically global field-level functioning emerged through three main developments: the emergence of global scaling institutional networks, a field-specific global art discourse, and global hierarchies. These ensure a relative vertical autonomy for the global art field vis-à-vis national art fields (Buchholz, 2016).

A key characteristic of these global scaling networks in today's global art field is their increased territorial flexibility on the dyadic level of agentic relations. Researchers found that territorial distance lost its impact on the likelihood of galleries' co-presence at art fairs (Yogev & Grund, 2012), and that network distance from hubs is a better predictor of a venue's position in this global institutional field than geographical distance (Fraiberger et al., 2018). In general, research shows that today the similarity and synchronicity in practices is what creates mutual awareness between agents, rather than their topographic proximity and co-location (Grabher et al., 2018; Knorr Cetina & Bruegger, 2002). This means that similar cultural choices of artists, curators, museums and galleries can lead to their mutual awareness even across potentially vast territorial distances in today's art field: global networks are better described through topological than territorial geometries. For both institutional and individual agents of marginalized territories, this structural transformation carries the promise of recognition in the global field even without emigration to the territorial core, through strategic agency in the topological space of the global.

While the macro-structure of global networks is generally shown to be highly centralized, researchers emphasize the strategic role of relational centrality. This literature predominantly focuses on topology while also controlling for territorial factors, and it shows that on the macro-level networks are highly centralized with a handful of agents occupying overly dominant positions (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995; Cattani et al., 2014; Juhász, Tóth & Lengyel, 2020; Rossman, Esparza & Bonacich, 2010). For us this means that while a few hub-venues are recognized throughout the field, the majority of venues are scarcely known. Recent research found that artists who exhibited in the relationally most central venues of the global institutional network early in their careers had a longer lasting career, a higher chance of exhibiting in other high-prestige venues, and saw an increasing market price for their works over time (Fraiberger et al., 2018). Thus, according to this relational line of research, all other factors being equal, it is the centrality of a venue in the global topological realm that best predicts marginalized artists attaining global visibility and recognition.

However, the literature shows that territorial factors also deeply affect global processes of cultural production in today's multiscalar global fields. This territorial line of research shows that global cultural fields demonstrate territorially centralized macro-structures, with ample evidence from the cases of film, art journalism, book translations, or the visual arts (Buchholz & Wuggenig, 2005; Crane, 2014; Heilbron, 1999; Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord, 2008; Quemin, 2006, 2013). Taking the example of the global field of book translations – with English as the dominant language –, researchers found that a book from a peripheral (or semi-peripheral) language is only translated to another peripheral language once it had already been translated to English. Even then, the book would be translated from English instead of the source language, and it is critically acclaimed among the target audience only if it has already been published in English (Heilbron, 1999). Formally, this often yields a core-periphery structure where the most central territorial agents form a tightly knit core, while those outside this core connect to each other only through this core (White, Boorman & Breiger, 1976).

Correspondingly, only institutions in the territorial core can provide simultaneous global visibility to their exhibits both in the territorial centre(s) and the peripheries. Accordingly, recent research coined the term "specific institutional macro-capital of consecration" (Buchholz, 2018:22) (for short, hereafter *macro-capital*) to capture this location-specific consecrating power of agents on whichever territorial scale of functioning from the local to the global (Buchholz, 2018). It yields a territorially accumulated form of symbolic capital which is then imposed as an attribute variable on the agents located within its borders (Buchholz, 2018). Macro-capital is similar to social capital in that it functions as a form of meta-capital: through a multiplier effect that negatively or positively boosts the power of a given agent's other forms of accumulated capitals (Eloire, 2018). In practice, this means that all other things being equal, the higher a venue's macro-capital, the stronger its power to render its exhibits globally visible across the territorial core-periphery spectrum. Thus, according to the territorial line of research, in order to maximize the chances of global recognition an artist ought to maximize presence in the territorial core.

1.2. Geo-capital and the globalizer position

The problem is that putting together the findings of the relational and the territorial lines of research described above, we are still left with a nested global formation at the centre of the multiscalar global art field. Both lines of research give an account of highly

centralized topological and territorial macro-structures and emphasize the role of their respective central positions. Recent large-scale research that modelled the global institutional field based on close to a million exhibitions of half a million artists at tens of thousands of venues in 143 countries between 1980 and 2016 (as comprehensive as research on the art field can possible get) found that the relationally most central venues are venues within a few Western European and North American countries (Fraiberger et al., 2018). These are the countries that are considered to be the symbolic territorial core (Quemin, 2006, 2013). In other words, the dyadic level territorial flexibility in global networks that researchers in the relational tradition identify do not seem to scale onto the macro-level, that remains highly centralized to the territorial core. Consequently, while research shows that the relational and territorial dimensions of cultural production has been in a process of detachment, it also shows that in its centre, the multiscalar global art field remains nested.

While research provides mounting evidence for the emergence of global networks, that structure through increased territorial flexibility, it remains unclear how they enable qualitatively novel strategies for marginalized artists to gain global recognition. As we have seen, the nested global system made it necessary for artists to emigrate into the territorial core and exhibit in its most prestigious venues to gain global recognition. Today, in the multiscalar global art field, even if global relational and territorial structures are somewhat detached, in their core, they remain nested. The most effective strategy for marginalized artists *still* seems to be aiming for exhibitions in the most prestigious institutions of the territorial core. This is the central puzzle we aim to solve, as we would not be able to demonstrate the relative vertical autonomy of global fields without identifying a novel strategy through which artists can achieve global recognition without having to exhibit in the territorial core. Furthermore, we cannot talk about a systemic transformation without a functional transformation even amidst the structural reconfiguration from a nested into a multiscalar global formation.

To contribute to solving this puzzle, we integrate territoriality into topological analysis. From a territorial perspective, in a core-periphery structure it is the privilege of venues in the territorial core to render artists simultaneously visible across the territorial core and the peripheries. We argue that, due to the emergence of global networks, today a venue can also provide this simultaneous global visibility on a topological basis, irrespective of its own location in the territorial power-structure. Imagine a case where a focal venue has shared cultural choices (i.e. exhibited artists) with some venues located in the territorial core and other venues in the peripheries, due to which they are aware of-, and follow one another's practice. In such a case, the focal venue itself can be located either inside, or outside of the territorial core, and can still provide simultaneous global territorial visibility to its exhibits and artists. In other words, we argue that novel global networks enable venues to *strategize* their topological neighbours' territorial location.

To capture the territorial span of a venue's topological neighbours, we coin the term *geo-capital*. Higher geo-capital means that a venue's topological neighbours are more equally distributed along the territorial core-periphery spectrum, therefore it provides a more balanced simultaneous visibility to its exhibits. Prior research have already used a similar network approach in measuring globalization to focus on countries' and firms' embeddedness in a whole web of trade relations (Lombaerde et al., 2018:497). We borrow from this line of research, with three specifications. First, we focus on the venues' shared choices, rather than their direct cooperations (e.g. jointly organized exhibitions). We do so, since in a Bourdieusian sense, the fact that two venues both have the power to exhibit the same artist and choose to exhibit this same artist yields their similar position in the field (Bourdieu, 1996). While this similarity in the venues' practice leads to their mutual recognition, their interactions emerge based on this objective relation (Eloire, 2018). Second, in conceptualizing territoriality to develop our metric, we consider a venue's location in the territorial power-structure of the cultural world-system (De Swaan, 1993; Sapiro, 2010) rather than its topographic location in geographical space. Third, to capture a venue's territorial reach, we utilize an entropy-based measure of diversity. For our purpose entropy is a measure of the evenness of a distribution, rather than its concentration. Thinking in terms of network topology, entropy metrics have been used to investigate various network mechanisms from information spreading to community detection (Bereziński, Jasiul & Szpyrka, 2015; Nikolaev, Razib & Kucheriya, 2015). The territorial approach also used entropy and other diversity metrics to capture the internationality of organizational practices on non-network basis (Fisch & Oesterle, 2003; Janssen et al., 2008; Ruettimann, 2011; Stirling, 2007). We now connect these two approaches to measure the territorial balance of network links as a form of capital: geo-capital.

A venue with high geo-capital, according to our definition, occupies a *globalizer position*, which lends a venue the capacity to provide global territorial visibility to its exhibits, but it does so on topological rather than territorial grounds. Thus, when considering a venue's territorial visibility, we shift the focus from its own territorial location to the territorial location of those in its topological neighbourhood. In short, we argue that novel global relational structures enable venues to turn territoriality from an attribute into a relational variable: from a multiplier effect that is simply imposed on them to an effect they reach through their exhibition practice. In doing so, geo-capital and the globalizer position mark a case of a relational form of territoriality that can form the base of a novel strategy that enables marginalized artists to gain global territorial recognition without going to the territorial core. Our hypothesis in this article is that, holding all other factors constant, the higher the ratio of globalizer venues in an artistic career, the higher the artist's odds of getting consecrated by the core institutions of the global art field.

1.3. The case

We measure artistic success in gaining global recognition through events of consecration. Consecration is the field-level phenomenon of assigning the symbolic value of global relevance to artists (Accominotti, 2021; Sapiro, 2016). In this systemic process, artists struggle towards visibility and recognition, while institutions compete for the capacity to provide them with this visibility, striving to occupy powerful positions themselves (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996). Thus, while consecration is enacted by the most powerful agents of the field, it also informs analysts about the internal struggles of the field (Bourdieu, 1996): Ultimately, consecration is the process through which the dominant cultural meaning of being a global artist, and the structure of the system co-evolve (Rule & Bearman, 2015).

We measure consecration via acquisition into the key collections of the Tate in the UK, Centre Pompidou in France or the Museum of Modern Art in the US. These three museums are widely considered to be dominant institutions of the global art field, exerting profound influence through their operations, collecting practices, exhibitions, and even through the design of their architecture (Brandellero & Velthuis, 2018; Davidts, 2006; Patterson, 2016). Global rankings, such as the ArtReview's yearly Power100,[3] customarily place their directors and chief-curators in the most influential positions. Research combining expert evaluation and market price of the exhibited artists ranked these three institutions among the top 0.5 % most important institutions in the examined twenty-five-thousand venues globally (Fraiberger et al., 2018). These museums are among the relationally most central agents, and are also located in the territorial core. Being incorporated into either collection is without any doubt a major, if not ultimate, event of consecration for any artist.

To investigate cases of artistic careers, striving towards global recognition, and also originating from outside the territorial core, we focus on artists from within the Central-Eastern European region. Topographically speaking, we follow prior research on the "coherent subgroups approach" (Kopecký & Mudde, 2002; Kuus, 2004) and consider the Visegrád Group (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia), the former Yugoslavia (today: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia) and in addition Romania to represent the region. While this region is often considered as occupying a semi-peripheral position in world-systems analysis (Lloyd, Mahutga & Leeuw, 2009), cultural research predominantly sticks with the simpler centre-periphery split (Buchholz, 2018), not least because empirically agents of the semi-periphery and the periphery are understood to face very similar constraints in their global struggle for recognition vis-à-vis the territorial core (Heilbron, 1999). Thus, while the CEE has never been considered as part of the territorial core in studies on global cultural production, as a member of the global transperiphery it is a relevant, yet often neglected case for our present endeavour.

Temporally speaking, the end of the Cold War marks the start not only of a new phase of globalization but also of the symbolic (re) start in the relation between the artists of the Central-Eastern European region and Western artistic centres. Thus, we investigate artistic careers from 1990 until 2018.

1.4. Data

We collected data on the artistic careers from Artfacts.Net, arguably the most comprehensive data source on artistic presence in the global exhibition space considered by both art professionals and researchers of art (Brandellero & Velthuis, 2018; Buchholz, 2016, 2018; Yogev & Grund, 2012). Artfacts is a prominent source of data for analysts of cultural processes, with works aiming to uncover the macro-capital of countries in the global art field (Buchholz, 2018), works aiming to understand the reception of peripheral artists (Brandellero & Velthuis, 2018), works on the institutional logics of core museum collections of Tate, MoMA, and Pompidou (Zamora-Kapoor, Godart & Zhao, 2020), works on the strategies of peripheral artists (Ertug et al., 2016; Yogev & Ertug, 2015), and work on the importance of biennales in the global art field (Velthuis & Baia Curioni, 2015a).

We found 3426 artists from CEE among the first 100 000 artists according to the site's internal ranking system. Keeping only the artists who had exhibitions in the post-1989 period by the time of our data collection in 2019, our dataset comprises the exhibition careers of 3409 artists, through 103 783 exhibition events, and 39 513 unique exhibitions held at 9241 venues in 2159 cities and 112 countries.

We focus on the three museums' acquisition history from 2000 onwards, as this was the year of Tate Modern's foundation. Our data sources were the acquisition records available online for all three collections. To assign nationality of origin to artists from the CEE region, we used an emic approach, as we 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. Tate acquired 76, Pompidou 123, and MoMA 220 distinct artists from the CEE region from 2000 onwards.[4]

We account for the fact that the three core museums closely observe one another, and acquisition by one bestows considerable credence on an artist. To control for the possibility that a museum acquired work from an artist because either of the other museums had already done so before, we focus only on the *first* entry of each artist into *either* of the three collections, arriving at a set of 235 artists from the initial list of 310. Finally, since a typical acquisition procedure can take as much as a year, to maintain temporal ordering, we consider an artist's exhibitions up until one year prior to the acquisition event. In the end this means that the dataset contains 210 acquired artists between 2000 and 2018 from the CEE region of the total 3409 CEE artists.

As an illustration, consider the careers of two artists: Piotr Wyrzykowski, and Zsigmond Károlyi (for specifications of measures mentioned see our methods and measures section below).

Piotr Wyrzykowski (born in 1968, Gdansk) had only a few exhibitions between 1993 and 2002; the two venues where his seven documented exhibitions took place were two centres for contemporary art in Warsaw and Gdansk. Wyrzykowski has not even exhibited in the territorial core, and these two venues in Poland did not have a particularly high network centrality during that time either. Yet, both institutions were among the first public institutions dedicated to contemporary art after the transformations of 1989

[3] Please see https://artreview.com/power-100/ for rankings of influential personalities in the global art field by year. In 2019, the year of our data collection Glenn D. Lowry, the director of MoMA was number one, Maria Balshaw, the director of Tate was number nine, and Bernard Blistène and Christine Macel, director and chief curator of Pompidou were number 41. In 2020, MoMA director was number 7, Tate director was number 22 along Tate Modern director Frances Morris, while Pompidou director and chief curator were number 21.

[4] Artfacts.Net contained data on the careers' 74% in total: data was available on 95% (72 artists) of the artists at Tate, on 87 % (107 artists) at Pompidou and on 60% (131 artists) at MoMA, considering the first 100 000 ranked artists in Artfacts.Net until the data-gathering in 2019.

with devoted and innovative curators and directors. Their activism translated into ties via co-exhibiting that connected with other galleries far and wide, resulting in a high geo-capital: both venues occupied a globalizer position based on their exhibitions between 1993 and 2002, the most likely career dimension that could explain the fact that Piotr Wyrzykowski had been acquired by MoMA in 2003. MoMA purchased his video work "Beta Nassau" (colour, sound, 9 min, 1993), that shows the entry of a huge cargo ship into the port from a fix camera set up in such a way that the side of the ship evolves into a material like abstraction. We believe that it was the track record of exhibiting in two globalizer venues in Gdansk and Warsaw that alerted curators about the global relevance of Wyrzykowski's art.

As an example for a career that represents local fame without global consecration, we should mention Zsigmond Károlyi (born in 1952, Budapest). He had not been acquired by any of the three pinnacle museums despite the fact that he had exhibited in venues in the core: for example he had several shows in San Francisco, presenting his geometric canvases that investigate the relationship of elementary forms and motion relations. At the same time, Károlyi was also actively present locally, with shows in Hungary and Slovakia. However, he had under average presence in globalizer venues, which likely contributed to a lack of translation of his career successes into consecration by pinnacle institutions of global art.

Since the number of acquired artists had been fluctuating over the years, we devise a sampling procedure to compare acquired artists with a proportionally similar number of non-acquired artists in each year. *First*, for each year between 2000 and 2018, we make a pool that comprises all artists who had an exhibition until one year prior to the focal year. *Second*, from each pool, we randomly discard artists until the shape of the distribution of the control trajectories over the years matches the distribution of the acquisitions. *Third*, since we sample without replacement so that each non-acquired artist is selected into the sample in only one year, we randomly select 10 percent of the trajectories from each of these adjusted pools. This 10 percent is an empirical threshold of keeping the shape of the distribution while maximizing the number of fitted non-acquired trajectories. In such a way, each resulting annual subsample has approximately 5 non-acquired careers 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 trajectories in total, 12.65 % (210) of which was acquired.

1.5. Methods and measures

To assign relational centrality as a form of social capital to a venue, we first model the global relational structure of institutions through a network approach based on the exhibitions. In order for a venue to be able to occupy varying positions in time, we construct a weighted undirected network for each year between 2000 and 2018. To do so, we use a moving window approach (Cattani et al., 2014; Juhász et al., 2020). Our historical context gives the time window for 2000, our first year of acquisitions. It demarcates a 10 year-window between 1990 and 1999, starting with the symbolic year-one of the post-Cold War era and ending in the year before the acquisitions in 2000. From that point on, this 10-year window slides with each additional year and ends with the institutional network modelling the field of 2018 through exhibitions between 2008 and 2017.

The nodes in each network window are venues. We consider all venues that exhibited artists from the CEE region within each relevant 10 year-window. To connect two venue nodes, we use weighted undirected edges. We connect two venues if they both exhibited the same CEE artist within $\pm$ 1 year in the procedural time of the career. We focus on co-exhibition, rather than, say, project collaborations or joint shows, because we focus on the venues' shared choices, rather than their direct collaborations. Again, in a Bourdieusian sense, the fact that two venues both have the power to exhibit the same artist and choose to exhibit this same artist yields their similar position in the field (Bourdieu, 1996). While this similarity in the venues' practice leads to their mutual recognition, their interactions emerge based on this objective relation (Eloire, 2018). The weight of the tie equals the number of co-exhibited artists (McMahan & McFarland, 2021). Formally, the strength (weighted centrality) s_i of each node i is given by the sum of the weight of the edges of i to its first neighbours j in the weighted adjacency matrix W_{ij}:

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

$g_i >$	*N* venues	% venues	*N* position takings	% position takings	% CEE	% Core	% Outer core	% Other peripheries
.50	6461	.72	54,623	.66	.67	.72	.61	.74
.55	6294	.70	52,170	.63	.62	.70	.58	.72
.60	6035	.67	48,544	.59	.53	.66	.54	.68
.65	5674	.63	44,212	.53	.45	.62	.49	.64
.70	5165	.57	38,854	.47	.37	.56	.43	.58
.75	4498	.50	32,404	.39	.28	.47	.35	.52
.80	3632	.40	24,274	.29	.20	.36	.26	.42
.85	2745	.30	15,554	.19	.11	.23	.16	.30
.90	1337	.15	5356	.06	.03	.08	.05	.15
.95	312	.03	879	.01	.00	.02	.01	.03

Note: total N of 82,671 position takings of 9031 venues between 1990 and 2017.

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

Qualitatively, node strength indicates the level of recognition a venue accumulates in the topological structure of the global institutional field. Node strength is a relational variable and a social capital-based proxy of a venue's power to legitimize artists in the global topological realm.

To assign macro-capital to a venue, we start from the global territorial power-structure relevant to our case. We split both territorial core and periphery into two further categories to represent the qualitatively distinctive space of the source region within the periphery and the target region within the core. Thus, while the US, UK and France are arguably the inner core of the territorial macro-structure, in the present case they are also the target region of artists: we thus assign them into the distinctive category of the *Core*.[5] We designate all other countries in Western Europe and North America into the category of the *Outer core*.[6] The Outer core yields venues that have a smaller macro-capital than those in the Core but still more than their peers located in the global periphery. We also split the periphery into two categories to demarcate the source region of CEE (*Periphery/CEE*) within the whole of the global transperiphery (*Periphery/Other*) .[7] Qualitatively, macro-capital yields the level of recognition a venue obtains in the territorial structure of the global institutional field. Macro-capital is an attribute variable and a territorial location-based proxy of a venue's power to legitimize artists in the global territorial realm.

To measure geo-capital of a venue, we integrate the topological and the territorial model of global fields. We consider the ego-network of each node in the topological structure of the networks. First, we measure the ratio *P* of each type of macro-capital contributing through the weighted edges to the node strength of the focal node. Then, we compute the balance of the four types of macro-capital based on Shannon entropy:

$$H(X) = -\sum_{i=1}^{n} P(x_i) log P(x_i) \quad (2)$$

Formally, the *geo-capital* of a focal node *i* is computed as:

$$geo-capital_i = -P_{iPeriphery/CEE} log\left(P_{iPeriphery/CEE}\right) - P_{iCore} log(P_{iCore}) - P_{iOuter\ core} log(P_{iOuter\ core}) - P_{iPeriphery/Other} log\left(P_{iPeriphery/Other}\right) \quad (3)$$

$geo-capital_i = 1$, when node strength is distributed equally among the four transnational regions and 0 if all alters are located in only one of the regions. Having all neighbours in two distinct regions maximizes the score in 0.5 (the base of the logarithm equals to the number of possible categories). Thus, a venue must have neighbours in at least three of the four transnational regions to surpass the value of 0.5. Passing a certain threshold of accumulated geo-capital qualifies a venue to occupy a *globalizer* position. Table 1 displays several levels of geo-capital above 0.5 and shows the number and percentage of venues that occupy a globalizer position considering these thresholds. Intuitively, entropy is a measure of the evenness of a distribution, rather than concentration. Entropy is highest when possible categories have a relatively equal probability to occur, and it is lowest when all observations fall into one category.

We set the baseline threshold for the globalizer position in our research to geo-capital $g_i > .75$. At this threshold, 50 % of the venues occupied a globalizer position in at least one of the years, and 39 % of all position-takings (i.e. all of the positions of all of the venues considered in the full period between 2000 and 2018) were considered as a globalizer venue. Table 1 shows that while 47 % of the venues in the core and 35 % of the venues in the outer core reached a globalizer position, 28 % of venues from the CEE region and 53 % of venues from the other peripheries can also be considered as globalizers (speaking of the CEE art). Since in all of these ranges venues have topological neighbours in at least three of the four territorial categories, these results show that in general, it is common for a venue today to have shared cultural choices with venues in different territorial clusters of the world.

The dependent variable in our models 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. We measure our dependent variable as *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.

[5] As research demonstrates that museums, galleries, art fairs and auctions strongly favour their own local national artists (Ciotti 2012; van Hest 2012; Quemin 2006; Renneboog and Spaenjers 2015; Velthuis 2013; Vermeylen 2015), we assume that museums have a distinctive focus alike on the exhibitions of their local national institutions.

[6] No clear list exists yet for specifically the symbolic institutional macro-capital of consecration, and while in general Western Europe and North America is considered the most central region (see references above), for artists from the CEE region it is definitely the primary orientation. Therefore, the *Outer core* in our operationalization involves venues located outside of UK, US, France, but within countries of Western Europe and North America. This includes all the countries in Europe that are located "West" from the CEE, involving Portugal, Spain, Italy as well as the Northern European countries that are sometimes treated as distinct categories in geopolitical discourses as well as the US and Canada from North America. In this we follow the topographical distinctions expressed by our three pinnacle institutions of consecration (clearly expressed on their websites).

[7] This split is important to differentiate between the source region and all other parts of the global transperiphery, to demarcate whether an artist is capable of stepping out from its local context (already a step of artistic globalization).

Our main predictor is the *ratio of globalizer venues* in each artistic career *c*. To obtain it, we divide the number of exhibitions held at globalizer venues with the total number of exhibitions in the career.

$$Globalizer_c = \frac{N_{exh.\ in\ globalizers}}{\sum_{exhibitions}} \tag{4}$$

We account for alternative territorial, topological and other dimensions of a career that we expect to affect an artist's chances of both acquisition and exhibiting in globalizer venues through a set of control variables. First, we control for purely territorial dimensions of a career. We separately control for the ratio of exhibitions held in venues located in the core and in the outer core. While we assume both to be in a positive relation with artists likelihood of consecration, we expect the effect of the *core ratio* to be even stronger than the effect of the *outer core ratio*. We also assume both dimensions to be in a positive relation with the globalizer ratio of the career signalled by the higher prevalence of globalizer venues in the core and the outer core than in the CEE region (Table 1). As a third territorial predictor, we consider the level of inter-regionality of an exhibition career. This dimension yields the distribution of the venues' territorial location in a career. We operationalize the inter-regionality of a career *c* through measuring first the ratio *P* of the exhibitions held at each of the four regions and second, computing their balance through Shannon entropy:

$$\begin{aligned} Inter-regionality_{\ c} = & -P_{c\,Periphery/CEE} log\left(P_{c\,Peiphery/CEE}\right) - P_{c\,\mathrm{Core}} log\left(P_{c\,\mathrm{Core}}\right) - P_{c\,Outer\ \ core} log\left(P_{c\,Outer\ \ core}\right) \\ & - P_{c\,Periphery/Other} log\left(P_{c\,Periphery/Other}\right) \end{aligned} \tag{5}$$

Since inter-regionality has become an important feature of artistic careers (Kong, 2014; Urry, 2003), we assume it to be in a positive relation with an artist's likelihood of consecration by top venues. As the 0.35 correlation coefficient in Table 3 yields, we must also consider career inter-regionality as being in a positive relation with the globalizer ratio. Thus, to avoid the possibility that the effect of the globalizer ratio is only a by-product of a highly inter-regional career, we control for the inter-regionality of the career.

We also intend to distinguish the effect of globalizer venues from the purely topological effect of venues with high centrality (node strength) in a career. Venues can provide visibility to artists in the global institutional network because they have many connections, and not because they have diversified connections in the territorial dimension. According to the relational line of research, exhibiting in venues with high centrality (node strength) increases an artist's likelihood of consecration, and higher strength nodes can also build a more balanced territorial portfolio, increasing the chances of turning into a globalizer venue. Thus, to avoid the possibility that the effect of our main predictor is only a by-product of high network visibility of an artist, we control for the *strongest venue in the career*. We control for maximum node strength, instead of average node strength, since due to the broad degree distribution characterizing global networks the average node strength in a career would dampen the observable effect of the most central venues impact on an artist's visibility in the topological realm.

Finally, there are non-territorial and non-topological aspects of a career which must be considered. Such is the length of a career (Giuffre, 1999), since longer careers have both a better chance to be seen and acknowledged by pinnacle institutions through a flourishing exhibition practice and also more time to exhibit in globalizers. To test the assumption of the main predictor against this alternative explanation, we control for the *length of the career* (i.e. the sum of the exhibitions). Ultimately, the artist's *nationality of origin* and the *acquisition years* are controlled for unobserved effects of the two attributes. Descriptive statistics for all variables are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Descriptive statistics for all variables used in this study.

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.	12
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	−0.01	.10	.10						
8. Nationality of Origin: (ex-)Czech/Slovakia	−0.06	−0.49	.10	−0.05	−0.20	.24	−0.10	−0.10					
9. Nationality of Origin: Hungary	.05	.05	−0.02	.04	.04	.00	.01	.01	−0.29				
10. Nationality of Origin: Poland	.04	.16	−0.02	.03	.07	.03	.03	.06	−0.38	−0.24			
11. Nationality of Origin: Romania	.03	.14	.00	.13	.13	−0.11	.07	.02	−0.20	−0.13	−0.17		
12. Nationality of Origin: (ex-)Yugoslavia	−0.03	.24	−0.08	−0.09	.04	−0.23	.03	.03	−0.35	−0.22	−0.29	−0.16	…

2. Results

We fit maximum likelihood models with a logistic link 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. A series of multiple regression models is conducted to test the hypothesis. Results are shown in Table 4.

First, in the Covariate Baseline Model (1) we introduce all controls to compare their effects on artists' likelihood of consecration. Results show that all the purely territorial and topological dimensions, as well as career-length have significant positive effects on the artist's likelihood of acquisitions, as expected. Results show that the strongest effect among them is imposed by the level of inter-regionality of the career. This dimension shows a coefficient of 0.620 ($p < .0001$) that corresponds with an odds ratio of 1.86 and means that an artist who built a career that is one standard deviation more transnational than an average career, meets an 86 % increase in the likelihood of being acquired. Following a similar logic, the core ratio, the centrality of the strongest venue and the outer core ratio dimensions of the career yields an increase of 53 %, 34 % and 25 % respectively in the likelihood of acquisition. Comparing purely territorial and topological dimensions, we see that a venue's macro-capital has a stronger effect on artistic careers than their

Table 4
Logistic regression models.

	(1) Covariate Baseline Model All Collections	(2) Full Model All Collections	(3) Full Model MoMA	(4) Full Model C. Pompidou	(5) Full Model Tate
Globalizer ratio (z-score)		.663***	.688***	.744***	.696*
		(.116)	(.153)	(.193)	(.274)
Career length (z-score)	.370***	.408***	.393***	.293*	.603***
	(.084)	(.088)	(.114)	(.121)	(.163)
Core ratio (z-score)	.427***	.363***	.152	.518***	.457**
	(.076)	(.078)	(.120)	(.111)	(.156)
Outer core ratio (z-score)	.224*	.232*	.257	.117	.399
	(.102)	(.102)	(.132)	(.182)	(.227)
Highest strength venue (z-score)	.289**	.242*	.077	.464**	.271
	(.097)	(.101)	(.138)	(.154)	(.206)
Inter-regionality (z-score)	.620***	.468***	.407**	.695***	.485
	(.104)	(.106)	(.142)	(.170)	(.248)
Year (5-years)	.059	.093	.040	.111	.219
	(.081)	(.083)	(.113)	(.123)	(.184)
Nationality of Origin (dummies)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Constant	-2.580***	-3.052***	-3.359***	-4.641***	-5.818***
	(.256)	(.280)	(.359)	(.482)	(.760)
N of careers	1,660	1,660	1,543	1,529	1,488
N of acquired artists	210	210	93	79	38
pseudo-R2	.220	.246	.166	.276	.326
Adjusted pseudo-R2	.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)

topological centrality.

Next, in the Full Model (2) we introduce our main predictor, to test how the relative time spent exhibiting in globalizer venues impacts an artist's odds of consecration. Results show a highly significant positive coefficient of 0.663 ($p < .0001$), and a corresponding odds ratio of 1.94. This means that – all other variables kept constant – an artist who spent one standard deviation more time exhibiting in globalizer venues would see a 94 % increase in their odds of consecration. While the coefficients of our control variables retain their significance, Model (2) indicates that the effect of the globalizers on a career is a stronger predictor of success than any other dimension tested here, including both purely territorial and topological factors.

We ran various specifications to test the robustness of our main finding. First, in Models (3), (4) and (5) we ran the multiple regression of Model (2) for each individual collection: in each case we dropped the first acquisitions assigned to the other two collections. Results show that the ratio of globalizers 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 0.688 ($p< .0001$); 0.744 ($p< .0001$) and 0.696 ($p = .011$) respectively). Furthermore, these models not only show that the effect of the globalizers prevails but also that purely territorial and topological predictors lose their robustness; besides the effect of globalizers only career length remains a significant predictor in all three cases.

Second, the effect of our main predictor is 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).

Third, we ran the models while modifying thresholds of becoming a globalizer venue from the original $geo - capital_i > 0.75$ to 0.55, 0.65 and 0.85. We considered the collections both together and separately. Fig. 1 shows that at levels of 0.55, 0.65 and 0.75 the ratio of the globalizer is the strongest among all independent variables. Only above the 0.85 threshold – which is so strict that less than 20 % of all position takings succeeded in occupying a globalizer position – takes inter-regionality the lead. Yet, the globalizer ratio remains significantly the second strongest even in this case. These findings also show that while the globalizer ratio of a career is the key factor of evaluation in all three museums, it is complemented with a more individual set of additional dimensions with career length, core ratio and inter-regionality being the most important additional factors. Results are depicted on Fig. 1., see models in Table S3. of the Supplement.

Fourth, we constructed an alternative scenario to measure the effect of geo-capital on career success. In this scenario instead of using the globalizer venues, we directly computed the average geo-capital in the career. Results show that the average geo-capital of a career continues to be the strongest predictor of consecration (see Table S4. in Supplement).

Finally, while we believe that maximum node strength is the theoretically most grounded choice for measuring the span of topological visibility, to test the robustness of our main findings, we also ran our main model with alternative topological factors substituting maximum node strength in a career with average node strength, maximum eigenvector centrality and average eigenvector centrality. These are the classic access related centrality measures of network power (Hafner-Burton & Montgomery, 2010). Results prove both that maximum node strength is the most powerful marker of topological visibility and our main predictor remains robustly the strongest in all of these alternative scenarios (see Table S5. in Supplement).

Taking together all these results, it is safe to say that our findings robustly affirm our hypothesis and prove that geo-capital and the globalizer position function in the multiscalar global art field and even show that they are stronger than any purely topological or territorial career dimensions in predicting artistic consecration.

3. Conclusions and discussion

We attempted to integrate the territorial power-structure into topological geometries to gain a systematic understanding of the way global institutional networks provide qualitatively novel strategies for artists from marginalized places amidst the strive for global recognition in the contemporary multiscalar global art field. We saw evidence for the functioning of a new form of capital, *geo-capital,* and a corresponding new position, the *globalizer* position. Geo-capital measures the territorial balance of a venue's topological neighbours, while the globalizer position marks those venues that are capable of providing artists with global recognition over the territorial core-periphery spectrum on topological grounds, irrespective of these venues' location in the territorial power-structure. Our evidence shows that geo-capital and the globalizer position do function to aid consecration, and also that an artistic strategy built on maximizing exhibitions at globalizer venues more strongly increases the artist's likelihood of consecration than any other career dimension.

Through integrating territorial into topological geometries, we extend the analytic potential of the relational approach in global field analysis. Topological research in cultural analysis predominantly controls for territorial factors in order to focus on the strength and role of topological factors. We see our findings contributing to this line of research in two ways. First, marginalized artists are better off building a strategy on exhibiting internationally, or on maximizing exhibitions in the territorial core, than maximizing the relational centrality of the venues in which they exhibit. Second, however, it is indeed more efficient to build an artistic strategy on the topological, rather than on the territorial dimension, but only if this strategy is built on the venues' geo-capital, and not on their social capital.

The difference between geo-capital and social capital is that it is not the mere amount of visibility the venue accumulates in the institutional network that matters, but rather it is the distribution of topological visibility over the territorial power-map that helps artists succeed. Therefore, findings reveal a relational form of territoriality, that is a relational property, and not an attribute of the venue, which depends on its exhibition practice, rather than its territorial location. Since the emergence of global scaling networks is a precondition of both geo-capital and the globalizer position, these cannot function in a nested global formation. However, it is also

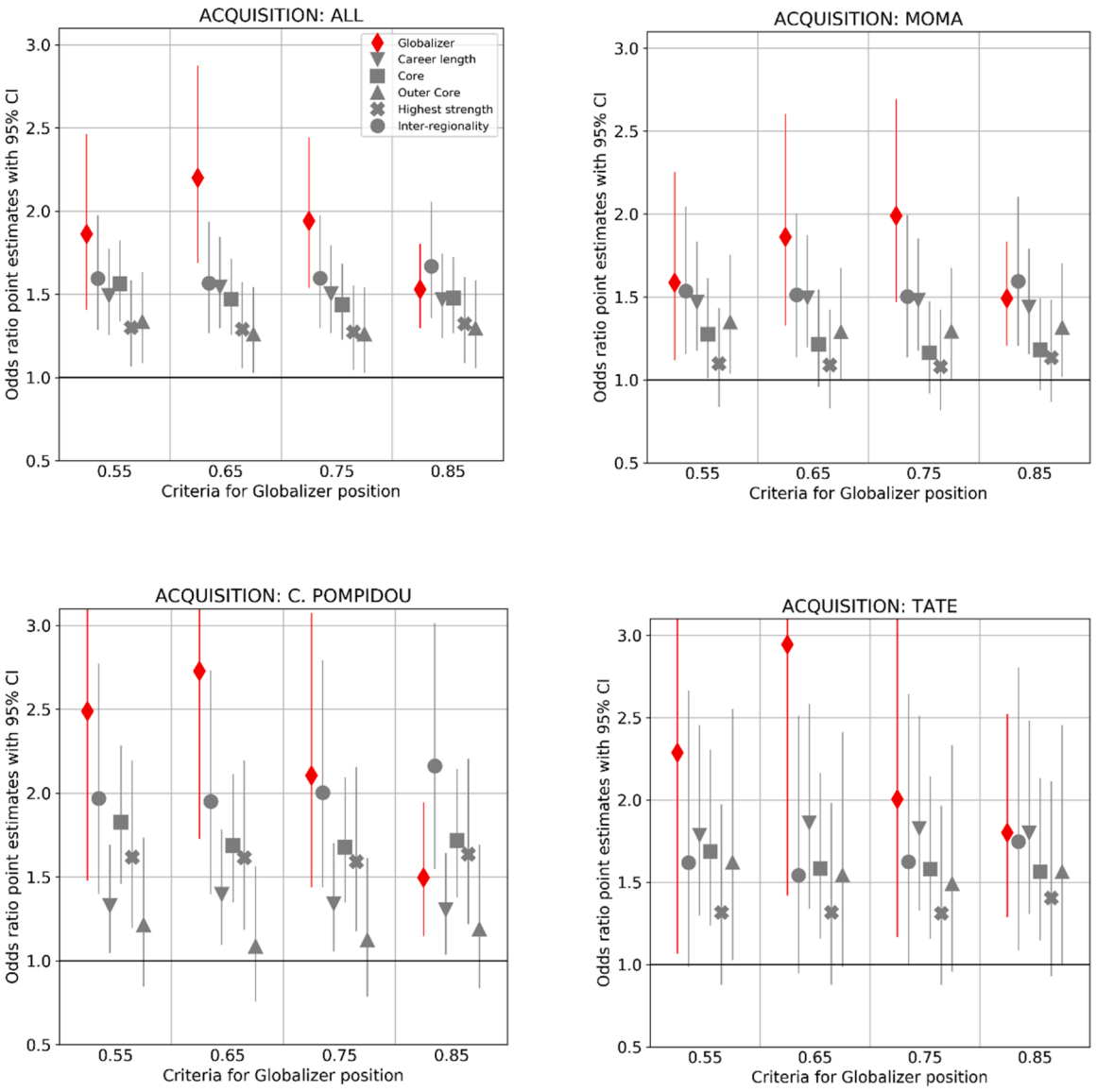

Fig. 1. Point estimates (odds ratios) showing the effect of the globalizer ratio of a career (Red) and of all control variables (Gray) from logit models with 95 % confidence interval. All variables are standardized. The four sub-figures show the results for the museums together and for each of the three separately.

true, that these dimensions cannot be revealed in the multiscalar global formation either, unless the topological and territorial dimensions of cultural production are jointly considered.

Our findings also reveal a particular agentic strategy for relative vertical autonomy in the global institutional network, and thereby contribute to the theorization of multiscalar global fields. Prior research shows structural elements that contribute to the relative autonomy of the global field-level vis-à-vis the national art fields' level in the multiscalar global art field: its specifically global institutional networks, discourses and hierarchies (Buchholz, 2016). We extend these findings by demonstrating a concrete agentic strategy through which this struggle for relative vertical autonomy is actually enacted. In transferring the Bourdieusian concept of refraction onto the multiscalar field, we show that global institutional networks best enact their autonomy not simply by functioning through a relational logic *despite* the territorial logic of territorial power-structures, but by *transforming* the external effect of the latter into an internal effect that functions through the relational logic of topological spaces.

Geo-capital is what measures the capacity of venues to transform territoriality from an attribute into a relational variable, and the globalizer position highlights those venues that are the most powerful in doing so. From a systemic perspective, globalizer venues are thus the most powerful agents to endorse artists in global art hierarchies, because they are key agents of the struggle of the global institutional network itself for relative vertical autonomy within the multiscalar art field.

While we believe that our results are robust, we must consider limitations regarding the generalizability of our findings due to

potential heterogeneities within the global transperiphery. We treated our empirical case in the territorial centre-periphery framework where the CEE region stood as a case for the global periphery while the UK, US and France as the core. Both this binary split and the two groups of candidates were justified choices based on the existent literature. However, while empirically most of the post-socialist bloc remains invisible in the current binary Global North-Global South split, recent research urges the involvement of a conceptual space for a Global East for integrating theories of postcolonialism and postsocialism to explain contemporary global processes (Müller, 2020).

Despite agents sharing structural dependency on the territorial core in their struggle for global recognition, the cultural, social, economic heterogeneities of the global transperiphery may affect the possible agentic strategies and the relative strength of different career dimensions. It should be a matter of further research to compare various aspects of the global transperiphery to observe possible local variations both in the functioning of geo-capital and the agentic strategies built on it.

One could also speculate about fruitful potential extensions of our analysis of geo-capital and globalizer agents beyond the scope of visual arts. Studies of academic collaboration, for example, have pointed to the importance of certain kinds of universities that can facilitate collaborations across territorial divides (Jones, Wuchty & Uzzi, 2008), and help academic knowledge production on the peripheries avoid to be relegated to area studies or case studies, locked into local languages and publication outlets. One could also think of extensions into the global field of music, where productions, artistic collaborations, and musician careers also often span territorial divides (Verboord & Brandellero, 2018), where artists from the peripheries navigate careers trying to avoid being locked into exoticizing categories like ethnic folk, or world music.

Since globalizers, as key agents of recognition are scattered across the territorial realm, they contribute to decentralization despite prevailing centralization in the purely territorial and topological dimensions of artistic production. By decreasing the overlap of strategic positions in various global layers, from a *complex-system* perspective, globalizers enhance the stability and resilience of this multilayer system (Kivelä et al., 2014; Kumar & Singh, 2020). As such, while decentralization and centralization are often imposed as an either-or question when evaluating the systemic consequences of the emergence of global networks amidst cultural globalization (Appadurai, 1990), our findings imply that territorial decentralization and centralization are possibly parallel processes of a multi-scalar formation.

The global art field – as a multilayered system – is centralized both in a purely territorial and a purely topological sense, but there is an interstitial zone that remains invisible without integrating the relational and the territorial approach. We shed light on key agents in this liminal and invisible zone, who introduce a relational form of territoriality by integrating territorial and relational logic in their strategy to render artists globally visible. All this act towards the relative vertical autonomy of global relational structures, amidst prevailing territorial power-structures, and in doing so, territorially decentralize and consequently, stabilize the system. Accordingly, the last and possibly most important implication of this article for scholars of culture and globalization should be the necessity to move beyond a detached analysis of relational and territorial dimensions, to be able to identify true functional novelties enabled by the structural reconfiguration from a nested into a multiscalar global art field.

Funding

Júlia Perczel received the Doctoral Research Support Grant from Central European University Budapest Foundation during the time of conducting the research.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Júlia Perczel: Writing – original draft, Visualization, Validation, Software, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Balazs Vedres:** Supervision, Methodology, Funding acquisition, Writing – review & editing.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Acknowledgments and credits

The authors thank Artfacts.Net for their contribution to this research by authorizing the use of their data. We would also like to thank Ágnes Diós-Tóth for proof reading the article.

Supplementary materials

Supplementary material associated with this article can be found, in the online version, at doi:10.1016/j.poetic.2024.101961.

References

Accominotti, F. (2021). Consecration as a population-level phenomenon. *American Behavioral Scientist, 65*(1), 9–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218800144

Aerne, A. (2021). The creation of a global market for colombian contemporary art through valuation and match-making. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 86*, Article 101525. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2020.101525

Alderson, AS., Beckfield, J., & Sprague-Jones, J. (2010). Intercity relations and globalisation: The evolution of the global urban hierarchy, 1981—2007. *Urban Studies, 47*(9), 1899–1923. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098010372679

Allen, J. (2011). Topological twists: Power's shifting geographies. Dialogues in Human. *Geography, 1*(3), 283–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/2043820611421546

Allison, PD. (2014). *Event history and survival analysis*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc. Second edition.

Anheier, HK., Gerhards, J., & Romo, FP. (1995). Forms of capital and social structure in cultural fields: Examining bourdieu's social topography. *American Journal of Sociology, 100*(4), 859–903. https://doi.org/10.1086/230603

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2–3), 295–310. https://doi.org/10.1177/026327690007002017

Baia Curioni, S., Forti, F., & Leone, L. 2015. 'Making visible: Artists and galleries in the global art system'. Pp. 55–77. in *Cosmopolitan canvases: The globalization of markets for contemporary art*, edited by S. Baia Curioni and O. Velthuis. Oxford University Press.

Bereziński, P., Jasiul, B., & Szpyrka, M. (2015). An entropy-based network anomaly detection method. *Entropy, 17*(4), 2367–2408. https://doi.org/10.3390/e17042367

Boon, M., Wubs, B., & Klemann, HA. M. (2019). *Transnational regions in historical perspective*. Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The rules of art: Genesis and structure of the literary field*. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2017). *Manet: A symbolic revolution* (1st edition). Malden, MA: Polity.

Braden, LEA (2021). Networks created within exhibition: The Curators' effect on historical recognition. *American Behavioral Scientist, 65*(1), 25–43.

Braden, LEA (2009). From the armory to academia: Careers and reputations of early modern artists in the United States'. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 37*(5–6), 439–455.

Brandellero, A., & Velthuis, O. (2018). Reviewing art from the periphery. A comparative analysis of reviews of brazilian art exhibitions in the press. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 71*, 55–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2018.10.006

Buchholz, L. (2016). What is a global field? Theorizing fields beyond the nation-state. *The Sociological Review, 64*(2_suppl), 31–60. https://doi.org/10.1111/2059-7932.12001

Buchholz, L. (2018). Rethinking the center-periphery model: dimensions and temporalities of macro-structure in a global field of cultural production. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 71*, 18–32. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2018.08.003

Buchholz, L., & Wuggenig, U. (2005). Cultural globalization between myth and reality: The case of the contemporary visual arts. *Artefact 4 (`Glocalogue')*, (4).

Çağlar, A. (2021). Situating the "Cultural Reach" of cities in a multiscalar field. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, 34*(4), 437–453. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-020-09394-0

Casanova, P. (2004). *The world republic of letters*. Harvard University Press.

Cattani, G., Ferriani, S., & Allison, PD. (2014). Insiders, outsiders, and the struggle for consecration in cultural fields: A core-periphery perspective. *American Sociological Review, 79*(2), 258–281. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414520960

Ciotti, M. (2012). Post-colonial renaissance: 'indianness', contemporary art and the market in the age of neoliberal capital. *Third World Quarterly, 33*(4), 633–651.

Crane, D. (2014). Cultural globalization and the dominance of the american film industry: cultural policies, national film industries, and transnational film. *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 20*(4), 365–382. https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2013.832233

Davidts, W. (2006). Art factories: Museums of contemporary art and the promise of artistic production, from centre pompidou to tate modern. *Fabrications, 16*(1), 23–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/10331867.2006.10539578

De Swaan, A. (1993). The emergent world language system: An introduction. *International Political Science Review, 14*(3), 219–226. https://doi.org/10.1177/019251219301400301

Eloire, F. (2018). The bourdieusian conception of social capital: A methodological reflection and application. *Forum for Social Economics, 47*(3–4), 322–341. https://doi.org/10.1080/07360932.2015.1028084

Ertug, G., Yogev, T., Lee, YG., & Hedström, P. (2016). The art of representation: how audience-specific reputations affect success in the contemporary art field. *Academy of Management Journal, 59*(1), 113–134. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2013.0621

van Es, N., & Heilbron, J. (2015). Fiction from the periphery: How dutch writers enter the field of english-language literature. *Cultural Sociology, 9*(3), 296–319. https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975515576940

Fisch, J., & Oesterle, M.-J. (2003). Exploring the globalization of german mncs with the complex spread and diversity measure'. *Schmalenbach Business Review (Sbr), 55*(1), 2–21. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03396663

Fraiberger, SP., Sinatra, R., Resch, M., Riedl, C., & Barabási, A.-L. (2018). Quantifying reputation and success in art. *Science (New York, N.Y.), 362*(6416), 825–829. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aau7224

Gardner, A., & Green, C. (2016). *Biennials, triennials, and documenta: The exhibitions that created contemporary art*. John Wiley & Sons.

Giuffre, K. (1999). Sandpiles of opportunity: Success in the art world. *Social Forces, 77*(3), 815–832. https://doi.org/10.2307/3005962

Grabher, G., Melchior, A., Schiemer, B., Schüßler, E., & Sydow, J. (2018). From being there to being aware: Confronting geographical and sociological imaginations of copresence. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 50*(1), 245–255. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518×17743507

Hafner-Burton, EM., & Montgomery, A. (2010). Centrality in politics: How networks confer power. *OpenSIUC*, 9.

Harris, J. (2017). *The global contemporary art world*. John Wiley & Sons.

Heilbron, J. (1999). Towards a sociology of translation: Book translations as a cultural world-system'. *European Journal of Social Theory, 2*(4), 429–444. https://doi.org/10.1177/136843199002004002

van Hest, F. 2012. 'Territorial Factors in a Globalised Art World?' Erasmus Research Centre for Media, Communication and Culture.

Janssen, S., Kuipers, G., & Verboord, M. (2008). Cultural globalization and arts journalism: the international orientation of arts and culture coverage in dutch, French, German, and U.S. Newspapers, 1955 to 2005. *American Sociological Review, 73*(5), 719–740. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300502

Jones, BF., Wuchty, S., & Uzzi, B. (2008). Multi-university research teams: shifting impact, geography, and stratification in science. *Science (New York, N.Y.), 322*(5905), 1259–1262. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1158357

Juhász, S., Tóth, G., & Lengyel, B. (2020). Brokering the core and the periphery: creative success and collaboration networks in the film industry'. *PLOS ONE, 15*(2), Article E0229436. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0229436

Kivelä, M., Arenas, A., Barthelemy, M., Gleeson, JP., Moreno, Y., & Porter, MA. (2014). Multilayer Networks. *Journal of Complex Networks, 2*(3), 203–271. https://doi.org/10.1093/comnet/cnu016

Knorr Cetina, K., & Bruegger, U. (2002). Global microstructures: The virtual societies of financial markets. *American Journal of Sociology, 107*(4), 905–950. https://doi.org/10.1086/341045

Kong, L. (2014). Transnational mobilities and the making of creative cities. *Theory, Culture & Society, 31*(7–8), 273–289. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276414549329

Kopecký, P., & Mudde, C. (2002). The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe. *European Union Politics, 3*(3), 297–326. https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116502003003002

Kumar, R., & Singh, A. (2020). Robustness in multilayer networks under strategical and random attacks. *Procedia Computer Science, 173*, 94–103. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2020.06.013

Kuus, M. (2004). Europe's eastern expansion and the reinscription of otherness in east-central europe. *Progress in Human Geography, 28*(4), 472–489. https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132504ph498oa
Levitt, P. (2015). *Artifacts and allegiances: How museums put the nation and the world on display*. Univ of California Press.
Lloyd, P., Mahutga, MC., & Leeuw, J. (2009). Looking back and forging ahead: Thirty years of social network research on the world-system'. *Journal of World-Systems Research, 15*(1), 48–85. https://doi.org/10.5195/JWSR.2009.335
Lombaerde, PDe, Iapadre, L., Mccranie, A., & Tajoli, L. (2018). Using network analysis to study globalization, regionalization, and multi-polarity—introduction to special section'. *Network Science, 6*(4), 494–516. https://doi.org/10.1017/nws.2018.25
McMahan, P., & McFarland, DA. (2021). Creative destruction: The structural consequences of scientific curation. *American Sociological Review, 86*(2), 341–376. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122421996323
Molho, J., Levitt, P., Dines, N., & Triandafyllidou, A. (2020). Cultural policies in cities of the "Global South": A multi-scalar approach. *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 26*(6), 711–721. https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2020.1811256
Müller, M. (2020). In search of the global east: thinking between north and south. *Geopolitics, 25*(3), 734–755. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1477757
Nikolaev, AG., Razib, R., & Kucheriya, A. (2015). On efficient use of entropy centrality for social network analysis and community detection. *Social Networks, 40*, 154–162. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2014.10.002
Patterson, M. (2016). The global city versus the city of neighborhoods: Spatial practice, cognitive maps, and the aesthetics of urban conflict. *City & Community, 15*, 163–183. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12181
Pénet, P., & Lee, K. (2014). Prize & price: The turner prize as a valuation device in the contemporary art market. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 43*, 149–171. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2014.01.003
Quemin, A. (2006). Globalization and mixing in the visual arts: An empirical survey of "High Culture" and Globalization. *International Sociology, 21*(4), 522–550. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580906065299
Quemin, A. (2013). International contemporary art fairs in a "Globalized" Art Market. *European Societies, 15*(2), 162–177. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2013.767927
Renneboog, L., and C. Spaenjers. 2015. 'Investment returns and economic fundamentals in international art markets'. Pp. 129–146. in *Cosmopolitan canvases. the globalization of markets for contemporary art.*, edited by O. Velthuis and S. B Curioni. Oxford University Press.
Rossman, G., Esparza, N., & Bonacich, P. (2010). I'd Like to thank the academy, team spillovers, and network centrality. *American Sociological Review, 75*(1), 31–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122409359164
Ruettimann, BG. (2011). An entropy-based inequality risk metric to measure economic globalization. *Procedia Environmental Sciences Complete*, (3), 38–43. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.proenv.2011.02.008
Rule, A., and P. Bearman. 2015. 'Networks and Culture'. in *Routledge international handbook of the sociology of art and culture*. Routledge.
Sapiro, G. (2010). Globalization and cultural diversity in the book market: The case of literary translations in the US and in France. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 38*(4), 419–439. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2010.05.001
Sapiro, G. (2016). The metamorphosis of modes of consecration in the literary field: Academies, literary prizes, festivals. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 59*(1), 5–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2016.01.003
Sassatelli, M. (2017). Symbolic production in the art biennial: Making worlds. *Theory, Culture & Society, 34*(4), 89–113. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276416667199
Sassen, S. 2007. *Sociology of Globalization*. W.W. Norton.
Stirling, A. (2007). A general framework for analysing diversity in science, technology and society. *Journal of The Royal Society Interface, 4*(15), 707–719. https://doi.org/10.1098/rsif.2007.0213
Urry, J. (2003). Social networks, travel and talk. *The British Journal of Sociology, 54*(2), 155–175. https://doi.org/10.1080/0007131032000080186
Velthuis, O. (2013). Globalization of markets for contemporary art: Why local ties remain dominant in amsterdam and berlin. *European Societies, 15*(2), 290–308.
Velthuis, O, and S B Curioni, eds. 2015a. *Cosmopolitan canvases: The globalization of markets for contemporary art*. First edition. Oxford ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Velthuis, O., and S.B. Curioni. 2015b. 'Making Markets Global'. Pp. 1–28. in *Cosmopolitan canvases: The globalization of markets for contemporary art*, edited by O. Velthuis and S. B Curioni. Oxford University Press.
Verboord, M., & Brandellero, A. (2018). The globalization of popular music, 1960-2010: A multilevel analysis of music flows. *Communication Research, 45*(4), 603–627. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650215623834
Vermeylen, F. 2015. 'The india art fair and the market for visual arts in the Global South'. Pp. 31–54. in *Cosmopolitan canvases. the globalization of markets for contemporary art.*, edited by O. Velthuis and S. B Curioni. Oxford University Press.
White, HC., Boorman, SA., & Breiger, RL. (1976). Social structure from multiple networks. I. Blockmodels of roles and positions. *American Journal of Sociology, 81*(4), 730–780.
Yogev, T., & Ertug, G. (2015). Global and local flows in the contemporary art market: The growing prevalence of asia'. *Cosmopolitan Canvases. The Globalization of Markets for Contemporary Art*, 193–212.
Yogev, T., & Grund, T. (2012). Network dynamics and market structure: The Case of art fairs. *Sociological Focus, 45*(1), 23–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2012.630846
Zamora-Kapoor, A., Godart, F., & Zhao, Y. (2020). Networks on the walls: Analyzing "Traces" of institutional logics in museums' permanent exhibitions. *Poetics (Hague, Netherlands), 79,* Article 101387. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2019.101387

Júlia Perczel earned dual degrees in art history and social science from Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest, Hungary) and a PhD in Network and Data Science from Central European University (Vienna, Austria) in 2022. Her dissertation analyses the transforming power-dynamics in the global art field. It received the Best Dissertation Award of Central European University. She was a post-doctoral researcher at the Institute of Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna and currently is a lecturer at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts and the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. She integrates qualitative and quantitative methodology in developing the understanding of global processes in contemporary artistic production.

Balázs Vedres is professor of sociology and network science at Central European University. Vedres' research furthers the agenda of developing data science and network science with social theoretical insight. His research was published in the top journals of data science, network science, and sociology, developing the pragmatist notion of structural folds: creative tensions in intersecting yet cognitively diverse communities. Vedres' recent research follows entrepreneurs, video game developers, jazz musicians, and graphic designers as they weave collaborative networks through their projects and recording sessions, analyzing questions of the sources of creativity, gender inequality, and the historical sustainability of innovation systems.