



Art Schools and Place

**Geographies of Emerging
Artists and Art Scenes**

SILVIE JACOBI

Art Schools and Place

Art Schools and Place

Geographies of Emerging Artists and Art Scenes

Silvie Jacobi

ROWMAN &
LITTLEFIELD
INTERNATIONAL

London • New York

Published by Rowman & Littlefield International Ltd
6 Tinworth Street, London, SE11 5AL, UK
www.rowmaninternational.com

Rowman & Littlefield International Ltd is an affiliate of Rowman & Littlefield
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706, USA
With additional offices in Boulder, New York, Toronto (Canada), and Plymouth (UK)
www.rowman.com

Copyright © Silvie Jacobi, 2020

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: HB 978-1-78661-471-1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Jacobi, Silvie, 1989– author.

Title: Art schools and place : geographies of emerging artists and art scenes / Silvie Jacobi.

Description: London ; New York : Rowman & Littlefield International, [2020] | Revision of the author's thesis (doctoral)—King's College London, 2019, under the title: Art schools and place: an investigation of place-based learning, artistic practice and spatial relations in Manchester and Leipzig. | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: "This book is the first time the art school has been studied this way in the nascent field of art geography, lending from the tool kits of human geography and urban studies. This is timely, against the backdrop of worldwide university closes of space and cost intensive fine art courses as a triumph of managerialism and business-case over education"— Provided by publisher.


Identifiers: LCCN 2020010311 (print) | LCCN 2020010312 (ebook) | ISBN 9781786614711 (cloth) | ISBN 9781786614728 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Art schools. | Place-based education. | Artists—Psychology. | Learning, Psychology of.

Classification: LCC N325 .J33 2020 (print) | LCC N325 (ebook) | DDC 700.71—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020010311>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020010312>

 The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	Contemporary art and schools of art in a globalised art world	9
3	Theoretical framework: From place-based learning to communities of practice	31
4	Case context and methodology	49
5	Learning at the intersection between the studio and the city at Manchester School of Art	71
6	Spatial relations, emerging scenes and questions of the market in Manchester	93
7	Positions of artistic learning and diverse place-based activities in Leipzig	111
8	Artists' spatial relations and landscapes of practice in Leipzig	133
9	Comparative analysis and conclusion	151
	Bibliography	177
	Author biography	189
	Appendix	191
	Index	195

Chapter 1

Introduction

More than most other institutions, art schools are always local. No matter how large and international the city, the local art academy will always display features that one cannot find in other places, and this is probably quite natural. Who, if not the young artists studying in a city and the professors teaching them year after year, should define the local art situation? (Birbaum 2009, 239)

While much writing on the geography of the art world emphasises the formation of specialised global circuits (Sassen 2004), evidence is showing that globalisation of contemporary art production and circulation has specific under-researched local effects. These can, for example, be explained through the wealth of local Do It Yourself (DIY) initiatives emerging in different cities and regions around the world (Relyea 2013) or through trust relationship between local gallerists and artists who re-evaluate physical distance in the art world (Velthuis 2013).

Art historical and curatorial texts often emphasise on *schools of art* which are either directly linked to a specific way of teaching at an institution, for example, through distinguished teaching staff (Baldessari 2017; Gerlach 2008; Gronert 2009; Persons 2014; Stallabrass 1999), or they can relate to groups of artists practicing in a shared location whose relation to the academy or institution may not be as defined. Cases of the latter could be not only The London School which refers to artists around Lucian Freud and Francis Bacon engaging in figurative painting in the 1970s in the face of avant-garde approaches (Kitaj 1976) but also The School of Paris and the city's connection with modernism (Arnason and Mansfield 1986; Nacenta 1961) which underlines the co-location of artists around which a specific culture emerges. While there is a historical study on location choices and mobility of modern

artists in Paris and New York (Hellmanzik 2009), further qualitative research needs to investigate the contemporary art situation today from various geographical angles, starting with the emergence of scenes through the lens of art schools. Although co-location (Andersson et al. 2014; Hellmanzik 2009) and specialisation of artists in urban environments (Markusen 2006a) is particularly relevant here, Markusen highlights the mobility of artists in another one of her papers (2013) while the interaction between urban and rural (Borggren and Wahlqvist 2010) should form part of this discussion.

This thesis takes Birnbaum's (2009, 239) argument that 'art schools are always local' as a starting point to interrogate the evolving relationship between artists and place from the perspective of learning, which includes asking why art schools have the capacity to sustain certain activities in a location or why artists move elsewhere (Hellmanzik 2009; While 2003). Framing the relationship between art schools and place, the research asks the following questions through the lens of fine art education:

- How is learning at art school place-based?
- How does this process condition artists' *sense of place* and *spatial relations*?
- How do *art scenes* emerge through learning and what is their relationship with place?

These questions follow a hierarchy, which investigates how and what aspects of art school education could be considered within the frame of place-based education (Gruenewald 2003a). This is put into the context of artistic practices that are taught at and emerge from fine art education at two case study art schools, which provide empirical evidence on how art schools respond to developments in contemporary art relating to expanded practices with their spatial, relational and political dimensions (Bourriaud 1998; Krauss 1979; van den Berg, Jordan, and Kleinmichel 2019). This is then reviewed as part of the process of why sense of place emerges and what this means for artists' spatial relations, putting in conversation rootedness and mobility as interconnected processes. Through investigating aspects of the local, a much larger geography of the art world emerges, which artists navigate to develop their practices and careers. The art school serves as a case for understanding art scenes as source of belonging through the concept of *communities of practice* (Wenger 1998), in which learning and practice are part of understanding the geographical boundaries of art scenes as *landscapes of practice* (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2014).

The experiences of art students, graduates and staff at two art schools become the focus within a time frame between 2014 and 2017 when I undertook fieldwork. Leipzig Academy of Fine Arts is known as paradigm for establishing a controversial, yet market-hyped scene around the New Leipzig

School (Gerlach 2008), which sits in line with the other schools of art I have introduced earlier and with the opportunities in this book to interrogate the processes that led to Leipzig as prominent place for contemporary art production. A second case study was chosen in the United Kingdom with Manchester, whose art school is linked to Manchester Metropolitan University and does not signify a specific school of art. From a geographical point of view, it was important to study an art school in another regional city to avoid overlapping factors, that is, of having multiple art schools in one city, which would be the case of global or capital cities.

This research is timely and relevant because of additional research gaps: While there are art criticism texts interrogating the value of art schools to the production of contemporary art (Buckley and Conomos 2009; ElDahab 2006; Madoff 2009), none of them lay out in detail why place matters to art school education despite acknowledging their link with the 'locale' (Birnbaum 2009, 239). Also, while relational and spatial practices (Bishop 2004; Bourriaud 1998) have taken a prominent place within contemporary art production, the above texts on art schools do not provide sufficient investigation into the pedagogies around place that are employed in art school education today. These complex practices and processes will be investigated in this book, as well as understanding them in the context of the development of artists' sense of place and how this impacts on their spatial relations.

Aspects of how the art world works and its actors are described in Birnbaum and Graw (2008) and in Helguera's (2012) art scenes, which focus to a large extent on consumptive mechanisms exercised through the interaction of artists with critics and dealers. Within that the role of the artist as producer seems to have become secondary. From a geographical research perspective (Borggren and Wahlqvist 2010; Velthuis 2013; Velthuis and Curioni 2015; While 2003), there are also limited resources that account for the art world and contemporary art production, which is why I often refer to art-theoretical texts to point out some existing empirical accounts. Across all these sources, productive elements of the art world are under-researched because of a conception of the art world as the art market.

While there is increasing attention on the globalisation of the art world (Sassen 2004; Velthuis and Curioni 2015), local effects especially on the production of contemporary art are not yet well understood, although art historical and critical texts have sketched some elements of geography (e.g., Kraus 2004; Lowndes 2010; Relyea 2013). The question of location and with it the importance of place has centred in recent empirical research on retention and mobility of so-called bohemian graduates, under which art students could be classified to point out regions that are more successful than others as creative cities (Comunian and Faggian 2014). My research is primarily concerned with the art world that refers to contemporary art and artists

engaged in its production. This is different from the way we can understand location choices of other creatives and knowledge workers such as designers (Brydges and Hracz 2019), those engaged in craft and artisan practices (Price and Hawkins 2018) and software developers. This distinction is important in a field where the term artist is often used interchangeably with the term ‘creative’, which does not accurately portray the practices relevant to phenomena in each sector.

This research can add a clearer understanding of why it matters to artists where they locate and what the processes are that underpin this. This also enables a better geographical reading of the production of contemporary art (While 2003) through the art school as important institution that can evolve and sustain certain activities at the local or even global level. The geography of the art world can therefore be considered as a larger frame for this research, evolving an intersubjective understanding between art and geography (Hawkins 2013). This is because this study focuses on artistic learning and practice as a source for understanding geographical relations, through which it generates geographical knowledge from art.

1.1. ROADMAP OF THE BOOK

Following this introduction, chapter 2 sets out the subject-specific context for this research with a literature review on the art world, contemporary art and art schools. The chapter introduces different actors of the art world and their roles in the process of gentrification and urban regeneration, which has been what geographical research on contemporary art has so far mostly focused. This gives an insight into how artists’ activities are place-based and fit within the framework of the expanded field (Krauss 1979), which also relates to Joseph Beuys’ expanded concept of art (Michaud and Krauss 1988; van den Berg, Jordan, and Kleinmichel 2019). I outline what constitutes an art school education and how it has changed in response to developments in contemporary art. I am drawing from historical and international examples where art schools have been influential in creating art scenes, also referred to as school of art, through the cases of Düsseldorf Academy, Glasgow School of Art and CalArts. These are linked through exploring conceptual art as well as the teachings of Beuys and reveal how artists and their ideas move. This subject-specific knowledge prepares the reader for understanding aspects of learning at art school that are presented in the empirical chapters, and positions this as the key aspect in artists’ development of a sense of place.

Chapter 3 details the theoretical framework for this research, introducing a hierarchy of concepts and theories that do not only help analyse the empirical perspectives but also frame the research questions. It first investigates

definitions of place in relation to space and gives a definition to sense of place and spatial relations. It introduces a global sense of place (Massey 1991) and multisited ethnography (Marcus 1995), to accommodate for an understanding of a globalised art world in which place needs to be understood as a system of places. Following from this, the concept of place-based education is detailed, which will later on be applied to how art schools use place as expanded learning environment. To conceptualise learning at art school as process that evolves art scenes, I am introducing the communities of practice (Wenger 1998) concept, which combines learning with the emergence of social and symbolic capacities. This is crucial to understanding learning and with it practice as boundary of the community, more so than location. The chapter also provides important art-theoretical knowledge to enable an in-depth understanding of contemporary art practice and how this contributes to our understanding of art as urban engagements and geographical knowledge (Hawkins 2013).

In chapter 4 the urban and cultural policy contexts of the two cases are presented, which are Manchester School of Art (UK) and Leipzig Academy of Fine Arts (Germany). The two fundamentally different art school systems are illustrated, which are on the one hand the traditional continental European academy and on the other the Anglo-Saxon art school. The way these are differently organised influences the curriculum structure and with it spatial manifestations through different student experiences of place, which is further analysed in chapter 9 in connection with empirical data. The chapter continues with an outline of the epistemological approach underpinning this research through grounded theory as well as introducing the role of qualitative enquiry in conducting research on this process-led topic. Furthermore, I am detailing interviewing strategies and ethnographic aspects of data collection as well as how different data formats were analysed.

Chapters 5 to 8 present the findings of this research with references to the data collected from the two cases. This is structured into two chapters for each case and follows two key themes. The first theme focuses on how art school education is place based and how this is part of the process of meaning making of place. The second theme illustrates how this impacts artists' sense of place in close reading with how spatial relations of place are operationalised for their practice. I am enquiring here how this has an impact on artists' spatial relations (i.e., rootedness and mobility) and their belonging to an art scene. The chapters contain some theoretical analysis that were relevant in understanding the significance of a specific finding, which is expanded on in the concluding chapter 9.

Chapter 9 provides a comparative analysis juxtaposing the cases through the factors of time, space (urban conditions) and art school specialism, which is crucial to understand how different contexts of higher education enable artists' development in a specific place (and therefore the different spatial

relations of art scenes). Here it becomes evident how spatial conditions alone cannot explain why artists navigate to a specific place and instead how the discussion of learning, practices and different curricula matter in the development of artists' spatial relations. This is followed by a concluding section in which the research questions are answered in summary and in context of the research gaps they have filled. The project's limitations are highlighted as a source for further work on this topic.

Definition of key terms

It is important to have a clear conception of the terms introduced in this book, to understand how they are used and what meaning they evolve around. The terms are outlined in table 1.1:

Table 1.1 Key terms

<i>Term</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Artist	Refers to a person engaged in a practice of making contemporary art and within the expanded fields might occupy roles in other creative disciplines.
Artist-led space	A temporary or permanent space, which artists use to establish an exhibition practice or self-organised curatorial programme. They are in most cases non-commercial. In the German context, the term 'off-spaces' is used.
Art school	A formal higher education institution delivering art education, in particular fine art (painting, sculpture, media art), also referred to as Academy in the continental European context. In some cases, art schools can also be informal and are referred to as alternative art schools.
Art scene	A smaller part of the art world consisting of social and symbolic interaction. In this research, art scenes are understood within the frame of communities of practice (Wenger 1998; Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2014)
Art world	The social, cultural and economic environment that embodies the production and consumption of contemporary art. This is often reduced to the art market or a society engaged in art criticism and dealership. The art world however also includes the productive side through art schools and artists. This thesis highlights the art world's global dimension.
Contemporary art	Art of the present. The term is also used to refer to the fine art or visual art sector. Fine art courses, for example, focus on the production of contemporary art.
Expanded practices	Refers to the expanded field (Krauss 1979; Michaud and Krauss 1988) of artistic practice, in which I discuss relational as well as spatial (situated) practices.

<i>Term</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Practice	This is referred to as artistic practice in the narrow sense, and as cultural practice in the wider, which applies to the communities of practice (Wenger 1998) concept.
Studio	The artists' term for workplace, in which artists traditionally develop their practice. The art school building includes studio spaces for the students, while for some studio space is not necessary as their practices are developed in other place-based settings.
Sense of place	In contrast to spatial relations this means the human interaction with space- and place-based affairs, which are not measurable and in this study expressed through learning and artistic practice. It can also mean belonging to a specific community (Agnew 2011).
Spatial relations	In contrast to sense of place, this is associated with spatial and therefore abstract/measurable relations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) of a specific place, for example, distances, boundaries, density of a specific city or hierarchies in relation to other places; (b) of artists, whether they express place attachment (also understood as rootedness) or mobility.

Use of the appendix

The appendix, which can be found at the very end of this book, features links to the key organisations and institutions I have researched. It includes a list of participants from both cases with their relevant codes, alongside some basic background information including the participant's year of graduation and specification of their practice and involvement in other activities. Through this quotations in the empirical chapters can be linked to their sources, while ensuring anonymity of participants.

Relevance and readership

The research is timely and urgent on many different levels. It first provides an important qualitative contribution to the disciplines of art and geography, carrying relevance for art theorists investigating spatial practices and geographers studying art and cultural production. More broadly, it is of relevance for urban scholars and creative industries researchers interested in interrogating the creative city narrative and studying the relationship between contemporary art production and place in the context of regional development. It also has a strong relevance for the subject-specific field of art schools and the art world, with an important readership being those who participated in this project, that is, art students, artists, art school lecturers and contemporary art

organisations. The research's urgency is signalled best through its relevance for advocacy for fine art education, which has come under increasing pressure in times of accountability or financialisation of higher education. The book can show the importance of this form of education for the formation of art scenes and the cultural investment this brings to a place.

Chapter 2

Contemporary art and schools of art in a globalised art world

This chapter provides an overview of the different strands of literature that give a comprehensive view of the contexts in which art schools and contemporary art production unfold. It starts with an overview of the notions of contemporary art from perspectives of art theory and sociology of art. I am introducing the different actors in the art world and their role in creating value chains that are to some extent disjoined from economic relations. I will explore how the globalisation of the art world could be understood through a geographical lens, rather than this being restricted to explanations in cultural studies and art theory. This seeks to understand how different functions of the art world are located and how they geographically interconnect. The view of urban studies complements this with an analysis of the relationship between artists and the urban realm, through which expanded practices can be contextualised. Here in particular artists' ambiguous role in gentrification is discussed, which is considered the most established discourse of art in urban studies and human geography.

It is important in this chapter to provide a clear emphasis on what is meant by *art school education*, which is the term Madoff (2009) uses in his book *Art School (Propositions for the 21st century)*. Art education is a blurry term, often used to describe the teaching of art at primary or secondary schools (Gielen and van Heusden 2015) and in participatory art and gallery education contexts. In this research it refers to the study of art and design subjects at higher education level with a focus on fine art education. To conclude this, I introduce three international cases of art schools and academies that are closely linked with the emergence of a specific art scene or school of art. These present themselves as preliminary cases of this research topic; however, coming from an art historical angle they do not go beyond theorising within the subject of art only.

2.1. DEFINING CONTEMPORARY ART, THE ART WORLD AND ARTISTIC LABOUR

To understand what is taught at art schools and how contemporary art is produced and circulated, I am highlighting here the importance of the term *art world* in grasping contemporary art as a sector. This allows for contemporary art to be evidenced in an environment of social and symbolic interaction, which will be crucial in understanding the emergence of art scenes (Helguera 2012).

The art world in the sense of Becker's (1984) book *Art Worlds* describes the complex system through which art and culture is produced, circulated and marketed. This is often mistaken with the *art market*. Hence, Becker uses the term in separation from describing 'fashionable people associated with newsworthy objects' (xxiv) and instead builds on its more technical connotation of 'denoting the networks of people whose cooperative activity, organised via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, producing the kind of art works that their art world is noted for' (Becker 1984, xxiv). While Becker gives empirical examples of a range of art worlds including, for example, those relating to performing arts and classical music, this research focuses on contemporary art, which is also referred to as fine art or visual art to define a broad subject area.

Before articulating aspects of how the art world works, it is crucial to highlight briefly what contemporary art is. There are a variety of different understandings of art, which in German is known by the term 'Kunstverständnis' (conception of art). This is traditionally based on notions of classical, modern and contemporary art, with postmodernism allowing for these to be reinvented and existing either independently or side by side. With the emergence of digital mass media and the global expansion of the art world spreading notions of contemporary art, art critic and curator Bourriaud proclaimed a new era in art: Altermodernism (Cunningham 2010). He believed that postmodernism is dead because contemporary art is no longer an 'aftershock' of modernism. He instead located modernity through globalisation in which art 'wanders time, space and media' (Cunningham 2010, 122). This aspect will become evident in the unfolding narratives in this research of the relationships between artists and place in the face of globalisation.

But still, what is contemporary art, what makes its contemporaneity and who defines this? Contemporary art according to the website of Tate (2017), which is the major UK-based art organisation that staged Bourriaud's Altermodernism exhibition in 2009, is the 'art of the present day and of the relatively recent past, one of an innovatory or avant-garde nature'. While this attempts to give a rational answer, what defines art and more specifically the aesthetics of art of the contemporary is ambiguous – and with it how this

is born out of and connected with contemporary culture (Roelstraete 2009). What is art and what is not has instead been considered through its symbolic meaning and negotiations of autonomy, which is not measurable in the same ways economic value chains would be (Abbing 2008; Beech 2015).

For example, fine arts can be clearly distinguished from the applied arts (Abbing 2008, 13), which are considered less autonomous from commodification and less exceptional in terms of their economic function. This is one of the reasons why this research focuses on fine art, which provides dimensions that are relatively removed from markets. Through this I aim to determine relations with place that offer social and symbolic meaning more so than economic and other hard factors. Abbing (2008) notes what defines art is subjective and determined by the tastes and intrinsic qualities defined by different actors and audiences who participate in the art world.

In Helguera's (2012) *Art Scenes*, we learn how the process of value and reputation creation of artists and their work occurs through social and symbolic interaction with other artists, critics, dealers and art school lecturers, among others. Their interactions are staged in specific performative environments in which artistic value is informally and recurrently agreed and mediated. Artists take on increasingly new roles to become part of this pluralised environment, which includes becoming, for example, self-promoting agents, curators or researchers (Birnbaum and Graw 2008; Helguera 2012) as well as teachers of art (Gerber and Childress 2017). On an interdisciplinary level, artists can become urban agents and activists (Jacobi 2014; Novy and Colomb 2013) or ethnographers of the everyday through producing social situations (Bishop 2006; Johnstone 2008). They are required to be active participants in the art world, being part of the aforementioned performative environment rather than becoming the romantic isolated figure in the studio of modernity and what preceded it (Buren and Repensek 1979).

Value creation through symbolic means and through a mythicised desire for art involves disagreement, which is put onto the stage of the art scene (Helguera 2012). Economics has attempted to explain the supply and demand system for contemporary art (Ginsburgh and Throsby 2006), yet it has fallen short of illustrating how the desire and demand for art involves discussion and subjective judgement, which has an important social (Banerjee and Ingram 2018) and symbolic value (Helguera 2012). For many artists, it is important for their practices to be autonomous from the market and commercial activity (Abbing 2008; Gerber and Childress 2017; Taylor and Littleton 2008) to nourish symbolic value of their work. This symbolic value, yet again, can function as price leveller for gallerists (Velthuis 2003), which was conceptualised by Bourdieu's market for symbolic goods with restricted production (Bourdieu 1985). Autonomy of art is not just sought from the commercial but also from any field in which art fulfils a specific function beyond being

art (Haskins 1990). While art itself is not economic, Beech (2015) notes the context and environment of production incurs costs to the artist and makes art part of an economic value chain. This will become important in integrating the impacts of tuition fees and living costs on artists' sense of place and spatial relations.

Money also plays a role through its negation and the formation of alternative economies, through which artists operate outside the monetary system, also referred to as DIY or self-organised environment (Relyea 2013). Examples of this include communal forms of living such as house projects, artist-led spaces or skill exchanges (Jacobi 2014). These kinds of engagements have horizontal hierarchies, which are crucial to provide for opportunities and support networks outside of the art market, which in contrast has a vertical hierarchy (Oakley 2009a). It is widely researched how artists are pioneers of flexible work, which has become an important element in the creative industries work culture. However, it is often forgotten that freedom and emancipation come along with challenges of precariousness and self-exploitation (McRobbie 2018; Ross 2009). Galloway et al. (2002) provide a comprehensive list of precarious conditions, which include uncertain income, infrequent sales or commissions and needing to take on multiple projects as well as unpredictable locations of work.

Gill and Pratt (2008) attend to the fact that labour organisation (unionisation) is largely absent in cultural workplaces, but how emerging forms of this still need to be studied (i.e., Artist Union England). Artists are only part of a wider population effected by casualisation of work and the difficulties of the welfare state coping with such effects.

We artists should be fairly happy; we are often largely autonomous, can control what we do in our day-to-day practice and in a cultural sense have a high standing in society. The reality is that although we may be happy, we generally have very low incomes, need to have second jobs where we almost certainly lack autonomy, and we often feel powerless about the lack of control over our own futures. (Jones 2016, n/a)

This statement signals the artist's career as an investment in a personal meaningful life at the expense of security and financial stability. One could argue the access to public funding could even this out, but Abbing (2008) criticises this as a source for more inequality as access to public funding is exclusive and based on subjective judgement. According to him, income policy and tax measures can create better instruments to improve the conditions for artists who more often than other professionals rely on state employment benefits.

Conditions of precarious cultural labour are also discussed specifically in relation to higher education provision in art and design subjects. As Ashton and Noonan (2013) expose, studying for a degree involves elements such as

work placements or practice-based training in which students are prepared for a precarious labour market they enter (and are already becoming part of during their studies). The point of graduation and the first year out of education is considered the most precarious time in an artistic career (Oakley 2009a and b). This is something art schools and the contemporary art infrastructure have addressed through the provision of continued professional development (CPD) (Gordon-Nesbitt 2015) as a way to build support structures and entrepreneurial confidence.

2.2. GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ON A GLOBALISED ART WORLD

The relationship between art and globalisation has been addressed primarily from the viewpoint of cultural studies, visual cultures and art theory. For example, these account for the effects globalisation has on contemporary art and how it transformed practices, which are considered as *globalised art* (J. Harris 2013) and can be read in connection with the notion of Altermodernism (Cunningham 2010). The system of production and circulation is understood as *global art world*, which includes research on art biennales and fairs, the rise of art in Asia, critics' and curators' global itineraries as well as anti-globalisation activism (J. Harris 2013, 439). To a lesser extent there are geographical accounts of the effects of globalisation on the art world, of which I will introduce existing ones here. This will provide a context for understanding the theoretical framework in chapter 3.

While the audiences of contemporary art have grown with absorption of contemporary art into mass culture, the market for art as prestige or investment good has grown alongside the globalisation of the art market, which is a likely sign of the dispersion of global wealth and wealth inequality (Velthuis and Curioni 2015). Alongside this, contemporary art infrastructures and discourses have diffused globally, and have adopted a Western system made up of dealers, critics and collectors (Birnbaum and Graw 2008). While markets emerged in regions where previously none existed, artists who are absorbing this global identity are considered to be more successful on the art market, whereas it is suggested local artists have been treated with insignificance (Relyea 2013; Velthuis and Curioni 2015).

Velthuis (2013) also contradicts this view, as his research on galleries in Amsterdam and Berlin revealed the preference of gallerists in recruiting artists with a local profile, that is, those born and/or living locally, and engaging with them in trust relationships through frequent studio visits or attending art school degree shows. This is considered as a home bias, in which art scenes and institutions can act potentially as barriers against globalisation. While

(2003, 252) notes ‘some institutions have better institutional capacities to sustain certain kinds of cultural activity’, which can be particularly local. This research will detail how art schools along with their scenes have this capacity, and what this means in a context of the global.

There are clear benefits especially for emerging artists to develop a local network first before they can branch out and develop a global artistic profile. This signals how globalisation leads to specific under-researched local effects such as local ties, which offer a ‘re-evaluation of physical distance’ (Velthuis 2013, 302). Oakley (2009a, 36), for example, found that cultural workers ‘remain bound to place despite technology making distance easier’, which supports the notion that proximity is important to build reputation and trust relationships. While (2003, 252) specifies ‘in theory art can be made anywhere’ but suggests how art’s social production in art scenes configures its spatial relations. There is a need to highlight how artistic practice and the social production of art have an important geographical dimension, both in terms of the difference place makes to the production of art and how the production of art has a geographical form (While 2003, 252).

As much as a progressive and global sense of place considers place as multidimensional and defined by external as well as internal influences (Massey 1991) (see next chapter for more theoretical detail), this notion transfers to art, which according to Biggs (2001) needs to be understood as both local and global. With this he means an understanding of how artists living and working in regions with limited access to metropolitan centres are part of the global art world system, in which connectivity remains underexplored. McRobbie (2004) considers how too much attention is being paid to the study of the cultural economy in global cities such as London, at the expense of perspectives emerging from ordinary cities (Robinson 2006). She, for example, considers the global city status as exceptional, which has limitations for generalising how the cultural economy works.

Despite the role large cities hold in art’s social production, there is a notion that global cities will lose artistic production capacity due to a looming shortage of affordable and flexible studio space (e.g., in the case of GLA 2014), which leads to the displacement of artists, which academics have not yet sufficiently shifted their attention to. Artists may move to peripheral areas outside the city or creative hub (Catungal, Leslie and Hii 2009), to other cities and regions (Markusen 2013), rural areas (Borggren and Wahlqvist 2010) or even to other countries (Hellmanzik 2009) where they have access to other artists, information, space, power channels and money. This is more and more ‘diffused around the world’ (Relyea 2013, 29). Regions are arguably becoming more important for understanding the art world, as the traditional art world nodes such as New York and London are forecast to lose their significance for production.