

Power in the Field of Art School Professors.

The Role of Symbolic, Social, Cultural and Economic Capital.

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Zusammenfassung.

Deutsche Kunsthochschulen genießen in der internationalen Kunstwelt ein hohes Ansehen. Dies ist nicht verwunderlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Liste der weltweit bekanntesten und teuersten zeitgenössischen Künstler*innen regelmäßig Namen auflistet, die an deutschen Kunsthochschulen studiert und/oder gelehrt haben. In den Sozialwissenschaften wurden die Kunsthochschulen immer wieder als zentrale Reproduktionsstätten künstlerischer Eliten analysiert. Insbesondere die hochgradig selektiven Auswahlprozesse und Ausbildungspraktiken an deutschen Kunsthochschulen wurden in vielfältiger Weise diskutiert. Die Frage, inwieweit systematische Ungleichheiten in der Machtverteilung zwischen den Professor*innen an Kunsthochschulen selbst bestehen, blieb bisher jedoch in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Analyse unberücksichtigt. Obwohl es sich bei den Professor*innen an deutschen Kunsthochschulen um eine sozialstrukturell schmale und homogene Elite handelt, ist davon auszugehen, dass sie dennoch äußerst disparate Positionen im Kunstfeld einnehmen. Diese Positionen dürften mit ungleichen Chancen im Kampf der Kunsthochschulprofessor*innen um das Definitionsmonopol dessen sein, was auf dem Feld der Kunst als legitime Produktion gilt. Auf der Grundlage der Bourdieu'schen Feldtheorie wird untersucht, inwieweit systematische Ungleichheiten in der Machtverteilung zwischen den Professor*innen bestehen, welche Typen von Professor*innen über besondere Einfluss- und Machtpotenziale verfügen und auf welchen Mechanismen die Verteilung von Machtressourcen beruht. Um die Machtverteilung unter Kunsthochschulprofessor*innen zu erfassen, konzentriert sich der Artikel auf die Verteilungen, Beziehungen, Interaktionen und Hierarchien von vier Kapitalformen: soziales, kulturelles, ökonomisches und symbolisches Kapital.

Abstract.

German art schools enjoy a high level of recognition in the international art world. This is hardly surprising considering that the list of the world's most renowned and expensive contemporary artists regularly includes names who have studied and/or taught at German art schools. In the social sciences, art schools have repeatedly attracted attention as important training centres for artistic elites. In particular, the selection processes and training practices at German art schools have been discussed in various ways. However, the question of the extent to which systematic inequalities in the distribution of power exist between professors at art schools has remained unaddressed by social science analysis. Although the professors at German art schools are a socio-structurally narrow and homogeneous elite of artists, it can be assumed that they nevertheless occupy exceedingly disparate positions in the field of art. These positions should be associated with unequal opportunities in the intra and extra muros struggles of the art schools for the monopoly on a definition of what is legitimate art. Based on Bourdieu's field theory, the article investigates the extent to which systematic inequalities exist in the distribution of power between professors, which types of professors have particular potential for influence and power, and the mechanisms that the distribution of power resources are based on. In order to grasp the distribution of power among art academy professors, the article focuses on the distributions, relationships, interactions and hierarchies of four forms of capital: social, cultural, economic and symbolic.

1. Introduction.

The selection procedures and artistic training routines of German art schools have been studied repeatedly and in various ways from a sociological perspective: the social selection mechanisms of the selection procedures¹ the pronounced power asymmetries between teachers and students², the practical acquisition of an artistic habitus³ or the (necessary) indeterminacy of artistic education⁴. Unnoticed by sociological analysis so far has been the question of the extent to which systematic inequalities in the distribution of power exist between professors themselves. Although the professors at German art schools are a socio-structurally narrow and homogeneous elite of artists, it can be assumed that they occupy disparate positions in the field of art. These are not only due to horizontally differentiated artistic

¹ König. *Von wahrscheinlichen und unwahrscheinlichen Wegen.*

² Tangian. *Spielwiese Kunstakademie.*

³ Schürkmann. *Kunst in Arbeit.*

⁴ Hölscher/Zymek. *Notwendig unbestimmt?*

positioning, but also to vertically differentiated status positions.⁵ The positions that professors occupy in the field of art should be associated with unequal opportunities in the struggles taking place intra and extra muros of the art schools to gain and maintain potential power and influence.⁶

Based on Bourdieu's field theory⁷ and using representative data, the article explores the extent to which systematic inequalities exist in the distribution of power among professors, which types of professors have particular power potential and which mechanisms the distribution of power resources are based on. In order to grasp the distribution of power among art academy professors, the paper focuses on the distributions, relationships, interactions and hierarchies of four forms of capital: social, cultural, economic and symbolic. The analysis shows how German art schools, which are significant for the international art world,⁸ are shaped by complex, social structures and hierarchies and thus makes an important contribution to the discussion about the significance of power among teachers at (german) art schools.

In a first step, the concepts central to the article are introduced, Bourdieu's social theory is presented and applied to the research context. This is followed by the presentation of the data, the analytical methods and the application of Bourdieu's relational social theory by means of a factor analysis for mixed data.⁹ The article concludes with a discussion of the key findings, the theoretical implications and the identification of limitations and further research needs.

2. Definitions.

2.1 German Art Schools.

In this article, *art schools* are understood to be those that are members of the *Rektorenkonferenz der deutschen Kunsthochschulen* (RKK).¹⁰ Art schools in Germany are publicly funded institutions, mostly financed by the federal states and legally equal to state universities. They are still usually independent organisations and thus in most cases not part of university departments or institutes¹¹. The art schools grouped together in the RKK can be characterised by the fact that they mostly train artists primarily in classical

⁵ Schumacher. *Bourdieu's Kunstsoziologie*.

⁶ Lynen. *Kunsthochschulen und Kunstmarkt*.

⁷ Bourdieu. *The Rules of Art*.

⁸ Queminn. *International Fame, Success and Consecration in the Visual Arts*.

⁹ Pagès. *Multiple Factor Analysis by Example Using R*.

¹⁰ Rektorenkonferenz der deutschen Kunsthochschulen.

¹¹ Lynen. *Kunsthochschulen und Kunstmarkt*.

disciplines (painting, sculpture, graphic art) but also, to varying degrees, in newer disciplines (film, video, media installation, performance, sound, mixed media). Due to the low level of codification of the knowledge elements of the artistic profession, the development of an independent body of work and a unique artistic personality is at the centre of artistic training, which is based on artistic work that are more or less self-organised by the students and usually take place within the framework of studio classes. The low level of codification of the knowledge elements of artistic education also forms the legitimising basis for the art schools' resistance to the higher education policy reforms of the Bologna Process. Thus, at least some of the art schools were able to save their »[...] special forms of teaching and the openness of artistic curricula (e.g. studio studies and assignment to artist classes), to counteract tendencies towards schooling and to ensure that the unity of artistic studies is not fragmented into modules and examined within narrowly defined courses with credit points«¹².

2.2 Professors at German Art Schools.

The reputation of professors at art schools is based – among other criteria¹³ – primarily on the fact that at the time of their appointment they could show a body of work with a symbolically high value, i.e. an oeuvre that was classified by an appointment committee at the time of appointment as artistically outstanding and as (internationally) recognised.¹⁴ Thus, the ability to teach excellently is attributed to artists less on the basis of their pedagogical skills than on the basis of their special reputation in the field of art, which is of great importance not least for the higher education policy interests of the art schools, i.e. gaining reputation, excellent promotion of young talent, etc..¹⁵

In addition to self-administration and conducting examinations, the primary responsibility of professors at art colleges is to independently teach, practise art, research and provide further education. Since the specific design of these tasks can only be planned and programmed to a very limited extent due to the low codification of artistic knowledge elements, the form and function of teaching varies considerably between art schools and teaching staff.¹⁶ »The heterotope academy thus endows the professor with a power whose sphere of action knows hardly any analogies in today's educational enterprise:

¹² ¹² Lynen. *Kunsthochschulen und Kunstmarkt*, S. 120.

¹³ Kleimann et al. *Qualitätssicherung von Berufungsverfahren an deutschen Kunsthochschulen*.

¹⁴ Hölscher/Zymek. *Notwendig unbestimmt?*.

¹⁵ ebd.

¹⁶ Kleimann et al. *Qualitätssicherung von Berufungsverfahren an deutschen Kunsthochschulen*.

within their class, the professor independently determines the most important forms of discourse ritualisation, such as the frequency and locations of meetings, topics of conversation and perspectives¹⁷. While professors are generally equipped with disproportionately greater power resources than their students, they encounter each other as serious competitors who compete in two ways for important power resources: on the one hand, they struggle for artistic legitimacy and influence in the field of art with the help of the capital resources available to them. Relatively independently of the struggles in the field of art, they continue to compete for the recruitment and training of excellent young artists whose recruitment can not only enhance their reputation, but also secure the future legitimacy of their own artistic position among younger generations and counteract the threat of devaluation by those moving up.¹⁸

3. Theory.

Pierre Bourdieu's relationally conceived field theory lends itself to a detailed investigation of the social stratification of art school professors. It makes it possible to examine the power structures in the art school professors' field on the basis of their varying power to exploit different capital resources and thus to understand why certain art school professors have more power and influence potential than others, as well as how the different power relations shape the art school professors' opportunities for action. In this way, field theory makes it possible to understand the field of art school professors as a complicated interplay between the individual level of action and the structural level specific to the art field.

Since Bourdieu's theory fragments are constructed relationally and interdependently, and their specific meaning only unfolds through their mutual reference, it is thereby essential to unfold each theory fragment in relation to the sum of the respective other theory fragments. In the following, therefore, a more or less arbitrary aspect of Bourdieu's thinking is chosen as an entry point – the concept of capital – in order to successively develop from there a complete picture of what Bourdieu sees as constitutive for the emergence of power imbalances in social fields. Since the basic meanings of Bourdieu's theoretical fragments can be assumed to be known, an extensive presentation of fundamental definitions will be dispensed with.

3.1 Capital.

¹⁷ Tangian. *Spielwiese Kunstakademie*, S. 9.

¹⁸ Bourdieu. *The Rules of Art*.

In Pierre Bourdieu's social theory, any substance that can be accumulated, transformed and profitably used to maintain or improve social position appears in principle as capital. Depending on the social field or social spatial region, being able to deploy the respectively required capital resembles more or less profitable »trumps in a deck of cards«¹⁹ which maximise or minimise a social actor's profit opportunities. Bourdieu differentiates between social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital.²⁰

3.1.1 Cultural Capital.

Two of the three sub-forms of cultural capital differentiated by Bourdieu²¹ are highly relevant for this paper: Incorporated (habitualised, cultural skills) and institutionalised (certified, cultural skills) cultural capital. Most of the professors considered here have a degree in art, but all have a full professorship at a state art school. In this respect, the professors are similar in terms of the amount of their incorporated cultural capital and the extent and structure of their institutionalised cultural capital.²²

However, the structure of the incorporated cultural capital that professors have acquired in the course of their artistic education varies considerably depending on the temporal and regional location of their educational situation. The value of a specifically structured, incorporated cultural capital thereby results from the degree of fit between the internal structures of an artist's habitus and the external structures of the art field at a given historical point in time.²³ In this respect, the distribution of the structure of incorporated cultural capital is of great importance for the stratification of the field of art school professors: The better the fit between field structure and habitus, the more likely is a successful accumulation of e.g. symbolic and economic capital.²⁴

3.1.2 Social Capital.

Bourdieu understands social capital as the »totality of actual and potential resources associated with the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual knowledge or recognition«²⁵. The level and structure of art school professors' social capital is crucial to their

¹⁹ Bourdieu. *Sozialer Raum und „Klassen“*, S. 10.

²⁰ Ebd.

²¹ Bourdieu. *The Rules of Art*.

²² Lynen. *Kunsthochschulen und Kunstmarkt*.

²³ Bourdieu. *The Rules of Art*.

²⁴ Ebd.

²⁵ Bourdieu. *Distinction*, S. 63.

positioning in the field of art school professorships. Because the economic valence and symbolic consecration of an artist's production is based less on an objectifiable, intrinsic value than on the (inter-)subjective attribution of value by field-internal elites, artists are highly dependent on the favour of particularly reputable gallerists, curators, critics, art dealers, collectors or professional colleagues.²⁶

3.1.3 Economic capital.

With economic capital Bourdieu refers to any kind of material possession institutionalised by property rights that is readily convertible into cash.²⁷ Although it can be assumed that the income earned by art school professors from their teaching activities varies according to their institution and location, it is still largely comparable. However, due to the fact that artists generally only have access to collectors with purchasing power or institutions such as galleries and museums in a very disparate manner, it is to be expected that they have different opportunities to transform the artworks they produce into economic capital.²⁸ Economic capital provides access to material resources such as art materials, workshops, studio space or specialised equipment. Artists can accordingly carry out and promote their production more effectively the more financial resources they have.

3.1.4 Symbolic Capital.

Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as the prestige that results from what is recognised as legitimate ownership over social, cultural and economic resources.²⁹ For art school professors, symbolic capital is highly relevant for two reasons: on the one hand, through the possession of symbolic capital, they can assert artistic ideas as legitimate, delegitimise others and enhance and devalue art styles or objects.³⁰ Through the selection and training of novices, art school professors continue to have considerable influence on the future structure of the field of art: to the extent that professors possess prestige, the number of their applicants increases and with it the chance to

²⁶ Rössel. *Der Kunstmarkt*. Salles/Santini. *The Social Capital Structure in the Contemporary Fine Arts Field*.

²⁷ Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.

²⁸ Gerber/Childress. *I Don't Make Objects, I Make Projects*.

²⁹ Bourdieu. *The Rules of Art*.

³⁰ Buckermann. *Paradigmatic Worldviews in the Quantification and Evaluation of Contemporary Art*.

temporally prolong the significance of their position in the field of art (mediated through the training of young talent).³¹

3.2 Habitus.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a central aspect of a person's social practice. It consists of three dimensions: perceptual schema for structuring the social world, thought schema for evaluating it, and action schema for individual practices.³²

The central place for the acquisition of artistic Habitus is the art school,³³ where aspirants acquire art-specific attitudes, behaviours, perceptual, thought and action schemata that are constituted in a conformist or non-conformist manner, but in any case in relation to the artistic positions and traditions represented at an art school at a specific point in time.³⁴ By virtue of somatised dispositions, artists generate more or less distinct artistic positions, »[...] that is, statements, exclamations, tracts, exhibitions, articles, and above all [...] works of art«³⁵, which in turn determine their *position* in the field of art. The spontaneity of the artistic habitus is thereby bought by its inertia, which increases with age:³⁶ Thus, for better or worse, every artist is bound to their habitus and thus to a finite system of artistic dispositions, which, depending on their positioning in the field of art, may entail more or less positive or negative sanctions. The continuous change in the art field – changing trends, schools, styles, media, views – is thus also primarily based on the opposition of old versus new: »The respective current appears as the original and contemporary, while the past, superseded artistic doctrine is [again and again] declared outdated and obsolete«³⁷.

3.3 Field.

Bourdieu understands modern, functionally differentiated societies as ensembles of social fields.³⁸ The actors in a social field share a common

³¹ Lynen. *Kunsthochschulen und Kunstmarkt*.

³² Bourdieu. *Distinction*.

³³ Tangian. *Spielwiese Kunstakademie*.

³⁴ Ebd.

³⁵ Schumacher. *Bourdieu's Kunstsoziologie*.

³⁶ Bourdieu. *Distinction*.

³⁷ Schumacher. *Bourdieu's Kunstsoziologie*.

³⁸ In this article, 'field' refers to Bourdieu's concept of social arenas where actors compete for resources and legitimacy, while 'space' is used to describe either physical locations or abstract representations, such as the geometric space constructed in the data analysis.

interest in the field-specific foundations of meaning and value. Nevertheless, Bourdieu understands social fields as arenas of struggle in which actors compete for social positions, resources, recognition and power of definition on the basis of their capital.³⁹ Like other social fields, the field of art is characterised by ongoing struggles. The struggles that take place in the field of art are directed at the internal hierarchies, positions, rules of the game and ultimately the definition of what is recognised as legitimate art: The lines of conflict in the contemporary art field run along various dimensions and reflect the conflicts of interests and values of different factions: conservative vs. progressive, economic vs. anti-economic, provincial vs. cosmopolitan, established vs. non-established, old vs. young - in the recent past also: man vs. woman, white vs. PoC, cisgender vs. transgender or digital vs. analogue. The possibilities of struggle and positioning practices of contestation in the art field do not take place in a vacuum, despite the low codification of art, but in a complex interplay between artistic habitus and the path dependency of the structure of the art field, which separates conceivable from unconceivable practices and thus opens up finite possibilities for artistic practice.⁴⁰

Bourdieu assumes that the field of art is globally differentiated according to the structural principles of autonomy - heteronomy into the subfield of pure production on the one hand and that of large-scale production on the other. In the subfield of pure production, the processes of art consecration take place according to the logic of the art field itself. Accordingly, the actors of the autonomous subfield engage in *pure* art that always aims for uniqueness, innovation and transgression of boundaries, challenges the taste of the broad public and whose reception presupposes a high degree of cultural capital.⁴¹

The actors of the subfield large-scale production are primarily oriented towards economic success or political fit.⁴² Accordingly, they orient their productions less to field-internal, artistic sets of rules and art-historically conditioned path dependencies and more to political or business parameters such as political educational power or the demand of the broadest possible audience. Accordingly, artworks in the subfield large-scale production, oriented towards political agendas or commercial marketing logics, neither block themselves from field-external logics of expectation nor are they subject to a presuppositional coding logic. Rather, artworks in the subfield large-scale production correspond to a generally accessible aesthetic and can be easily decoded on the basis of socially shared knowledge.⁴³

³⁹ Bourdieu. *The Rules of Art*.

⁴⁰ Zahner, Nina Tessa. 2022. *Art Perception and Power*.

⁴¹ Ebd.

⁴² Schumacher. *Bourdieu's Kunstsoziologie*.

⁴³ Zahner. *Die neuen Regeln der Kunst*.

In addition to the subfields pure production and large-scale *production* diagnosed by Bourdieu, Zahner⁴⁴ identifies the field of extended production, which has been expanding since the 1950s as a result of the increasing democratisation of art. This third subfield combines the previously antagonistic logics of the subfields pure production and large-scale production: actors in the subfield expanded production are oriented towards the rules and historically conditioned path dependencies of the subfield pure production, but at the same time they also orient their production towards economic principles. In this way, the contradiction between the short-term commercial success of art from the subfield pure production and that of the long-term symbolic increase in the value of art from the subfield limited production is increasingly levelled out by the subfield extended production.⁴⁵

The professors at German art schools have successfully passed not only the status passage to artist but also the disproportionately more preconditioned one to outstanding artist and thus clearly stand out from the reserve army⁴⁶ of unsuccessful artists.⁴⁷ Consequently, the field of German art school professors must be located in the higher stratification layers of the art field, in which the rare privileges of success – more or less valuable social contacts, market value, awards of prizes or scholarships, reputation among peers and relevant critics, collectors or gallery owners – are a natural part of belonging to the field. The following analysis aims to quantitatively model this thoroughly privileged subfield in terms of the distribution of capital and power differences among field actors. It will not examine the causes of the power differences. Rather, the analysis aims to understand the extent to which systematic inequalities exist in the distribution of power among professors, which types of professors have particular power potential and which characteristic distributions the possible power differences are based on.

4. Methods.

Because some of the central variables in the data are metric and thus orderly scaled, their categorisation in a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA)⁴⁸ resulted in an Guttman effect, which makes valid analysis of the data with an MCA impossible.⁴⁹ Therefore, in order to construct a stable geometric space,

⁴⁴ Zahner. *Die neuen Regeln der Kunst*.

⁴⁵ Ebd.

⁴⁶ Schultheis et al.. *Kunst und Kapital*, S. 193.

⁴⁷ Beckert/Rössel. *The price of art*.

⁴⁸ Blasius. *Korrespondenzanalyse*.

⁴⁹ Atkinson. *Charting Fields and Spaces Quantitatively*.

the data were submitted to a factor analysis for mixed data (FAMD):⁵⁰ In general, an FAMD can be understood as a mixture of principal component analysis (PCA) and MCA thus, in the context of an FAMD, PCA is performed for quantitative variables and MCA for qualitative variables. »More precisely, the continuous variables are scaled to unit variance and the categorical variables are transformed into a disjunctive data table (crisp coding) and then scaled using the specific scaling of MCA. This ensures to balance the influence of both continuous and categorical variables in the analysis. It means that both variables are on an equal foot to determine the dimensions of variability.⁵¹ Like PCA and MCA, FAMD constructs a global optimal subspace of a multidimensional hyperspace that describes a possible maximum of the variance of the qualitative and quantitative variables fed into it.⁵² In the context of the global analysis of FAMD, two multidimensional spaces are primarily spanned: on the one hand, the space of the features, on the other hand, the space of the individuals. Both spaces can be superimposed within the framework of an FAMD and interpreted together. In constructing these spaces, FAMD takes into account all first-order interaction effects of all those variables that have found their way into the FAMD. Within the framework of the spatial topologies constructed by the FAMD, the characteristics that are strongly or less strongly associated with each other are visualised;⁵³ the more frequently the characteristic values of a variable occur together, the more strongly they move towards each other in the correspondence space of the FAMD. Vice versa: the less often the characteristics of the variables are associated with each other, the further they move apart in the correspondence space of the FAMD. Furthermore, the less frequently characteristic values are mentioned overall, the more they move to the edges of the correspondence space. The more frequently a characteristic is mentioned, however, the closer it reaches the centroid of the geometric space, which at the same time depicts the average profile of the FAMD. The same applies to the individuals: the more similar the response patterns of two individuals are, the closer they are in the correspondence space of the FAMD and vice versa. The more the response pattern of an individual deviates from the average profile, the more they move to the periphery of the correspondence space of the FAMD. Conversely, the more an individual's response pattern corresponds to the average profile, the more they are attracted to the centroid of the FAMD's correspondence space.⁵⁴ In addition to dimension reduction, FAMD thus makes it possible to analyse

⁵⁰ Pagès. *Multiple Factor Analysis by Example Using R*.

⁵¹ Lê et al.. *FactoMineR: A package for multivariate analysis*.

⁵² Pagès. *Multiple Factor Analysis by Example Using R*.

⁵³ Lê et al.. *FactoMineR: A package for multivariate analysis*.

⁵⁴ Le Roux/Rouanet. *Multiple Correspondence Analysis*.

similarities and reciprocal relationships between quantitative and qualitative variables on the one hand, and units of enquiry on the other.

FAMD can be fed variables either actively or supplementary (simultaneously to MCA and PCA): with the help of the active variables, the geometric space constructed by the FAMD is spanned, whereas the supplementary variables are projected a posteriori into this same space. The supplementary variables can nevertheless be interpreted together with the active variables.⁵⁵

5. Data.

The data for the following analysis are derived from $n = 257$ holders of full professorships at the $n = 22$ German art schools that are grouped together in the RKK.⁵⁶ Since the article aims to examine the distribution of power resources of art school professors, cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital were collected for them:

1. Cultural capital: two forms of cultural capital are considered in the following: certified cultural capital (**LEARN20**), which captures evidence of having completed a degree at an art school. The existence of certified, cultural capital is an important indicator of whether the incorporated capital corresponds to the current standards of the art world and is thus perceived in the field as (il-)legitimate, incorporated cultural capital. Furthermore – in the case of a completed art degree – the structure of the incorporated, cultural capital is surveyed via the recording of the place of study (**LEARN1-LEARN19/LEARN21-LEARN125**). The data source was the database *Artists of the World*⁵⁷ as well as – in case of missing data – additional desk research.
2. Social capital: the better the art school professors are interconnected with renowned artists or gallery owners, the higher the extent to which they have access to rare resources such as reputation, information, exhibition opportunities, publics or artist collaborations. The art school professors' social capital was accordingly recorded in the form of relationships that the professors regularly maintain with various reputable peers and gallery owners. As indicators of the volume of social capital of the art school professors, (1) the ranking positions of the three most frequent co-exhibitors of a professor (**MSW1-MSW6**) as well as (2) the ranking

⁵⁵ Le Roux/Rouanet. *Multiple Correspondence Analysis*.

⁵⁶ For a detailed overview of the input data of the FAMD, see Appendix.

⁵⁷ De Gruyter. *Artists of the World*.

position of the gallery most frequently representing them (**REPGAL1-REPGAL5**) were recorded via the platform ArtFacts⁵⁸.

3. Economic capital: the volume of the art school professors' economic capital is captured by the price of a hypothetical work of 1m x 1m (**PRICE**), which is calculated by the database Limna⁵⁹ based on sales and auction data from the database Artnet. The Art Fair Presence (**ARTFAIR**), also recorded by the database Limna, further shows the market demand for an artist's works based on their presence at leading art fairs. A value of 1 means none, a value of 100 means maximum Art Fair Presence and market demand.
4. Symbolic capital: symbolic capital is captured on the one hand by Cultural Recognition (**CULTREC**), recorded in the database Limna, which indicates an artist's reputation within the art field. The variable Cultural Recognition is based on the number, type, locations and co-exhibitors of an artist's exhibitions. An artist with a Cultural Recognition of 0 can be classified as undiscovered, an artist with a Cultural Recognition of 100 as an established superstar⁶⁰. In addition to Cultural Recognition, the Global Presence of an artist, also provided by Limna, was recorded as a further indicator of a professor's symbolic capital (**GLOBAL**). It indicates whether a professor's reputation is local, national, international or global, i.e. intercontinental in scope. An artist with a Global Presence of 1 can only exhibit in the local context, an artist with a Global Presence of 100 can exhibit all over the world.⁶¹

To capture the current trend in a professor's capital accumulation opportunities, the variable Momentum (**MOMENT1-MOMENT5**) is further fed to the FAMD. The variable Momentum provided by Limna captures the fluctuations in career development in terms of the professor's exhibition activity over the past three years. Momentum thus makes it possible to determine the extent to which professors can be classified as ascending novices, stagnating or descending arrivistes. In order to be able to interpret the geometric space of the FAMD in more detail, the variables age (**AGE**), career age (**CAREER**), disciplinary affiliation (**DISP1-DISP19**),

⁵⁸ ArtFacts. *Home of the Artist Ranking*.

⁵⁹ Limna. *Frequently Asked Questions on How to Buy Contemporary Art*.

⁶⁰ Ebd.

⁶¹ The interpretation and operationalisation of the forms of capital are based on Bourdieu's conceptualisations, but were adapted to the specifics of the field of art school professors. A conscious decision was made not to directly transfer the general model of social spaces in order to adequately capture the specifics of the artistic field. Nevertheless, we recognise that this adaptation can lead to blurring, particularly with regard to the clear delineation of the capital dimensions, their significance for the field positions and their relationship to one another.

origin (**NATIO**) and affiliation (**TEACH1-TEACH22**) are fed into the FAMD in addition to the indicators mentioned.

The variables representing social, economic and symbolic capital are specified as active variables, as long as these – in the case of categorical scaling – do not fall below the 5% criterion of the outlier-sensitive FAMD.⁶² In order to directly consider the differentiation in the field of art school professors based on age and career-related differences (novices vs. established, heresy vs. orthodoxy) in the modelling of the FAMD, the variables momentum, age and career age were further specified as active variables. Due to the fact that only 5 of the 26 dummy-coded variables for cultural capital could meet the 5% criterion, all variables for cultural capital as well as disciplinary affiliation, origin and affiliation were added to the FAMD as supplementary variables (Table 1).⁶³

6. Findings.

To identify the number of dimensions that determine the field of art school professors, a scree plot was specified (Figure 1A). This shows that the field of art schools professors is largely determined by two dimensions. The dimensions of the FAMD extracted in the following jointly explain about 35% of the total variance.

⁶² *Le Roux/Rouanet. Multiple Correspondence Analysis.*

⁶³ For a detailed overview of the distributions of the input variables see the Appendix

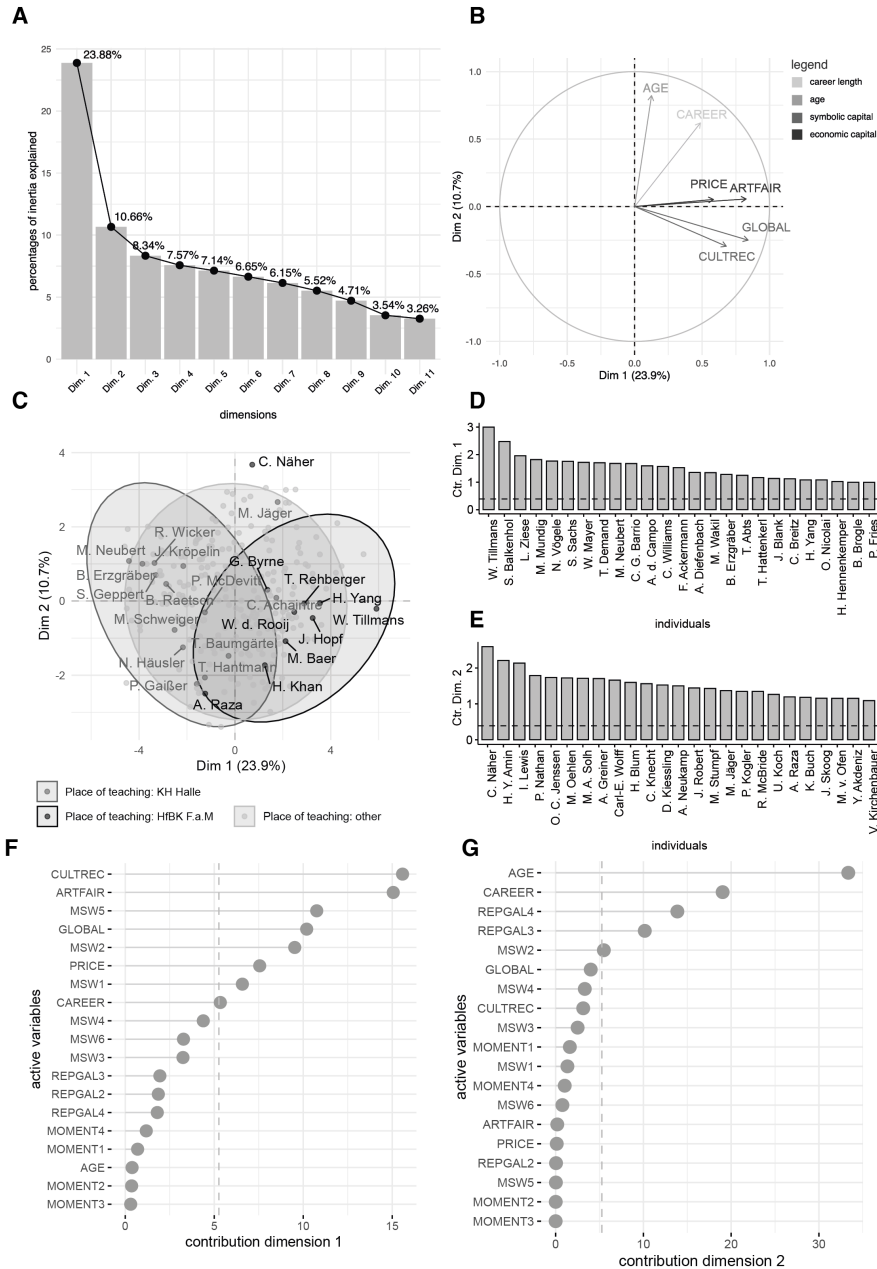


Figure 1. **A:** Explained Variance of the FAMD; **B:** Correlation circle of the quantitative variables; **C:** Concentration Ellipse: UoAaD Halle Professors vs. UoAaD Halle Städelschule F.a.M. Professors; **D:** Professors' contribution to dimensions 1; **E:** Professors' contribution to dimensions 2; **F:**

Contribution of the inputvariables to dimension 1 **G:** Contribution of the inputvariables to dimension 2

6.1 Dimension 1: Capital Volume.

Which variables contribute most to the first dimension's alignment and thus to its meaning? To answer this question, a balloon plot was specified (Figure 1F). Variables with an above-average percentage contribution to the alignment of a dimension can be considered significant. In this case, those variables whose balloons are to the right of the vertical dashed line make an above-average contribution to the alignment of a dimension. Accordingly, the first dimension of the FAMD is determined to the highest degree by the extent of the art school professors' social, economic and symbolic capital. Specifically, it is Cultural Recognition (CULTREC), Art Fair Presence (ARTFAIR), Global Presence (GLOBAL), the price for a 1m x 1m work (PRICE) and the ranking position of the three most frequent co-exhibitors (MSW1, MSW2) that show the highest contributions to the alignment of the first dimension (Figure 2F).

How should the scaling of the first dimension be interpreted? The graph of quantitative variables (Figure 1B) is generally the representation of the active quantitative variables of a FAMD: The mutual proximity of the variables represented by arrows as well as the proximity of the variables to a dimension extracted by the FAMD indicates how strongly the quantitative variables are correlated with each other and with the respective extracted dimensions of a FAMD. Accordingly, the graph of the quantitative variables specified here (Figure 1B) illustrates the positive mutual correlation between economic (PRICE, ARTFAIR) and symbolic capital (GLOBAL, CULTREC) on the one hand, and their clear positive correlation with the first dimension of the FAMD on the other. Furthermore, the graph of the qualitative variables (Figure 2A) shows that the characteristics Gallery: Top 10, Gallery: Top 100, Most freq. co-exhibitor: Top 10 and Most freq. co-exhibitor: Top 100 are clearly correlated with the positive pole of the first dimension. The features Gallery: Top 1,000,000, Most freq. co-exhibitor: Top 100,000 and Most freq. co-exhibitor: Top >100,000 are associated with the negative pole of the first dimension of the FAMD. Accordingly, at the plus pole of the first dimension (right-hand, outer side of the geometric space) there are above-average numbers of professors who have the highest degree of social, economic and symbolic capital, and at the minus pole (left-hand, outer side of the geometric space) there are above-average numbers of professors who are largely devoid of these assets.

6.2 Dimension 2: Duration of Field Affiliation.

Which (active) variables contribute most to the alignment and thus to the importance of the second dimension? Looking at the specified balloon plot (Figure 1G) shows that age (AGE), career age (CAREER) and aspects of social capital (REPGAL4, REPGAL3) have an above-average influence on the orientation of the second dimension. Contrary to the first dimension, the second dimension is thus not determined by the social capital that results from proximity to reputable peers, but by trade relations with prestigious galleries. How should the scaling of the second dimension be interpreted? The specified graph of the quantitative variables (Figure 1B) shows the positive mutual correlation between age (AGE) and career age (CAREER) on the one hand, and their clear positive correlation with the second dimension of FAMD on the other. Furthermore, the graph of the qualitative variables (Figure 2A) shows that the characteristic Gallery: Top 1000 is clearly associated with the minus pole, while the characteristic Gallery: Top 10,000 is clearly associated with the plus pole of the second dimension. Accordingly, at the plus pole of the second dimension (upper, outer edge of the geometric space) are professors of higher age, with long careers and rather low gallery capital, and at the minus pole (lower, outer edge of the geometric space) are younger professors with short careers and rather high gallery capital.

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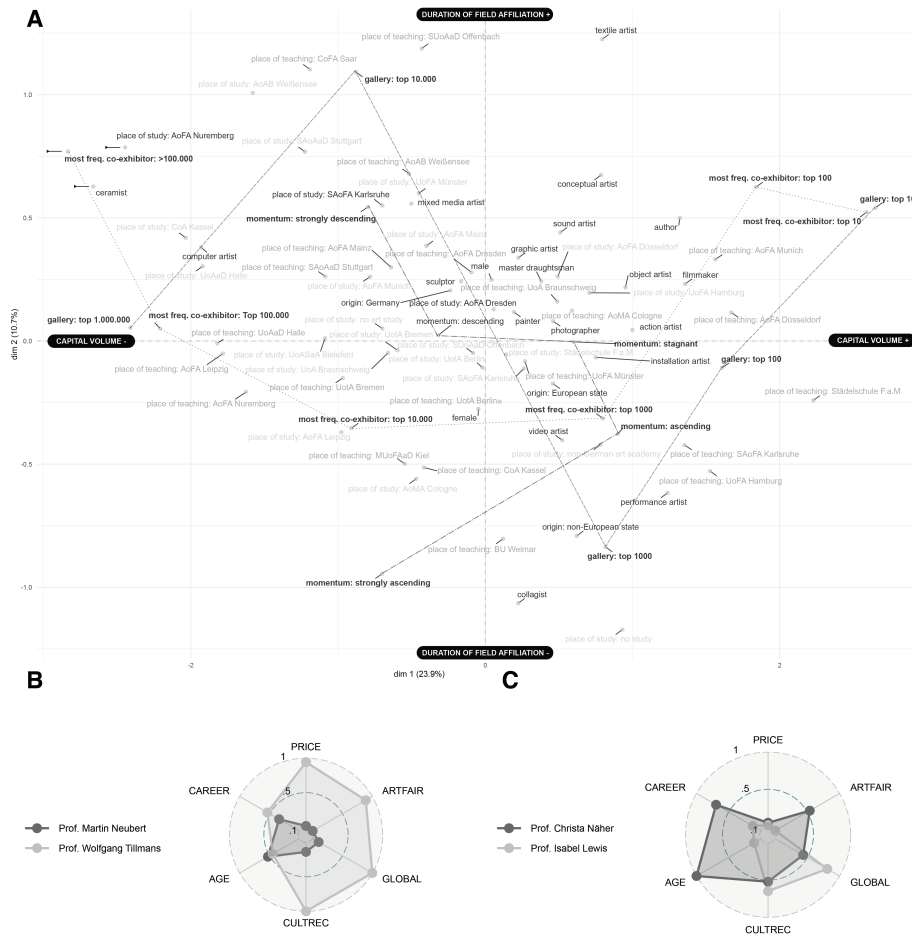


Figure 2. **A:** Geometric space of the FAMD: The field of art school professors; **B:** Spider plot⁶⁴ of ideal-typical, opposing positions of the dimension 1; **C:** Spider plot of ideal-typical, opposing positions of the dimension 2

6.3 Supplementary Variables.

The analysis can be further refined by taking the supplementary variables introduced into the FAMD into account in the further interpretation. In order to present the geometric space of the FAMD clearly, the further interpretation is carried out quadrant-wise on the basis of the above-mentioned dimensions: the lower right quadrant contains an above-average number of comparatively young, established professors with short career

⁶⁴ Spider plots use standardised scaling to ensure a comparable representation of variables. Standardisation allows metrically scaled variables with different units of measurement or ranges of values to be compared correctly in order to analyse their relative importance in the context of the whole picture.

paths and a rising career trend. They have comparatively high social, symbolic and economic capital and express themselves with above-average frequency in modern, artistic disciplines such as installation, video and performance art. Furthermore, they are more often than average of non-German and non-European origin, are self-taught or have studied at renowned national (Städelschule F.a.M., UotA Berlin) or international art schools. Diametrically opposed to this in the FAMD correspondence space are professors on the upper left quadrant with long career paths who have passed their zenith and are confronted with strongly descending career trends. Accordingly, they have only a low level of social, symbolic and economic capital. They are of German origin with above-average frequency, have studied at smaller West German or East German art schools and – in contrast to the young arriviste – make use of devalued (ceramics), classical (sculpture) or now classical (mixed media) disciplines. On the lower left quadrant are still young professors who are not yet fully established but who are associated with strongly rising career paths. They, too, have low social, symbolic and economic capital, but – in contrast to the descending arrivistes – can hope that their situation will improve in the future in view of the upward trend in their careers. They are neither disproportionately associated with a specific origin nor with specific disciplines, but – like the descending arrivistes – have also studied disproportionately at smaller West German or East German art schools. Finally, diametrically opposed to them, the upper right quadrant contains an above-average number of old, established professors with long career paths and a tendency towards stagnating career trends. They have high social, symbolic and economic capital and are associated with artistic disciplines of all stripes: as means of expression, they favour subversive (performance, textile, conceptual, sound and film art) as well as conventional disciplines (graphic art, painting) with above-average frequency. They are not associated with a specific origin, but have studied at renowned West German art schools (AoFA Düsseldorf, UoFA Hamburg), as have some of the up-and-comers associated with them in the correspondence space.

The dual separation of the positions of the art academy professors, which takes place on the basis of the first two dimensions of the FAMD, can be illustrated exemplarily as follows (Figure 2C): on the left is the concentration ellipse of the professors at the UoAaD Halle, clearly inclined towards the negative pole of capital volume, especially with increasing age. In contrast, to the right are the professors at the Städelschule F.a.M., who – in complete contrast to the professors at the UoAaD Halle – tend towards the positive pole of capital volume with increasing age. Accordingly, the contrasting characteristics (exemplified in Figure 2B/C) of Professors M. Neubert and W. Tillmann contribute most strongly to the first dimension, those of

Professors C. Näher and I. Lewis most strongly to the alignment of the second dimension (Figure 1D/E)⁶⁵.

7. Conclusion.

7.1 Summary of the Findings.

The aim of the article was to map the field of German art school professors with the help of Bourdieu's field theory. Although the professors at German art schools are a socio-structurally narrow and homogeneous elite of artists, it could be shown, with the help of FAMD, that they exhibit a strong, social in-group stratification. In particular, the positions on the first dimension of the FAMD – which characterises the extent of their symbolic, social and economic capital – are associated with extremely unequal opportunities for the professors in the context of the struggles for the monopoly on the definition of legitimate art. The article shows two antagonistic ideal types at the extremes of the horizontal axis of the FAMD: on the left, there is an above-average number of artists of German origin who have studied at rather small, German art schools, who tend to orient their art production towards monodisciplinarity and who, in every respect, have a low volume of capital. On the right, on the other hand, there is an above-average number of artists of non-German origin who have studied at large German or international art schools, organise their cultural productions in a multidisciplinary way and have a high capital volume in every respect.

Furthermore, the second dimension of the FAMD concisely showed the duration of membership in the art field and the professorial elite, which is connected with the power to deploy large capital volumes, the age of the professors and a career that is either rising, stagnating or declining. A prominent mechanism for the distribution of power resources in the field of art school professors thus became clear: the dominant positions of the established artists as well as the patterns of perception, thought and action represented by them are actively or passively questioned by young artists over time. Established notions of legitimate art are thus challenged by novices, who take new or previously devalued artistic paths in order to make themselves heard and gain recognition. This process of challenging and surpassing established standards successively devalues the practices of the old established professors, resulting in a decline in their careers and, related to this, a collapse in the volume of social, economic and symbolic capital they can deploy.

⁶⁵ For a comparison of the positions of further professors or art schools in the geometric space of FAMD, see Appendix.

7.2 Theoretical Contributions.

The first dimension of the FAMD confirmed the central assumption of the field theory that the field of art school professors is clearly socially stratified. The analysis thus showed for the first time that the actors in the higher spheres of the art field can also be assigned to different social clusters, in which social, economic and symbolic capital is available in very different ways. It should be noted that the distribution pattern of (incorporated) cultural capital in the geometric space of FAMD was less clear than that of social, economic and symbolic capital.

Furthermore, the FAMD confirmed the field-theoretical assumption of the permanent changeability of fields: the second dimension of the FAMD clearly showed that the configuration of the field of art school professors is a dynamic one and thus subject to continuous processes of change. Whether professors can assert their view as legitimate is thus primarily conditioned by the capital available to them, but secondarily influenced by their age, career age and the momentum of their career. The analysis further confirms that the professors' artistic careers are based less on objective educational or competence advantages (incorporated cultural capital) than on social and symbolic power: thus, the analysis shows that (incorporated) cultural capital is only very weakly associated with social, symbolic and economic capital. Symbolic, social and economic capital, on the other hand, are highly correlated with each other. Possessing symbolic capital therefore no longer – as Bourdieu assumed – contradicts possessing economic capital.

Finally, the analysis makes clear that the subfield of large-scale production does not play a role in the structure of the field of art school professors: the representatives of the subfield large-scale production should have high economic and low symbolic capital due to the orientation of their art production towards business parameters. In fact, no professor could be found in the data where such a distribution of capital could be observed. However, it can be said that the struggles for status and power in the field of professors are largely carried out by representatives of the subfield of pure production.

7.3 Limitations and Gaps for Future Research.

The operationalizations of Bourdieu's forms of capital chosen in this work are grounded in his theoretical considerations and the available empirical data. However, the validity and robustness of the results could be enhanced by testing alternative operationalizations and subjecting the approaches used here to further validation studies. Additionally, the active variables selected for the FAMD significantly influence the configuration of the

resulting geometric space, making it advisable to check the stability of this configuration by incorporating additional variables.

It is important to note that FAMD was employed as an exploratory data analysis method, meaning that no direct causal conclusions can be drawn. Instead, only associations between the input variables of the FAMD were identified. Testing causal hypotheses, such as the acquisition conditions of symbolic, social, or economic capital, would require longitudinal data and causal analyses. This focus on potential causalities aligns with the central research gap highlighted in this article: the need for further research to examine how the power dynamics among art school professors evolve over time. Specifically, it is essential to understand how certain styles, genres, or practices are devalued or valorized, how particular artists attain the status of professor, and which groups of actors drive changes in the power structure of art academies. Such investigations would contribute significantly to a deeper understanding of the relationships between the forms of capital and their social effects, as well as the broader configuration of the field of art school professors.

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Appendix.

An interactive ShinyApp was programmed for a detailed overview of the professors' positions in the geometric space of the FAMd, the point clouds of the art schools, the distributions of the input variables and the data on which the analysis is based:

https://chernoffaces.shinyapps.io/field_of_art_professors_supp_materials/

Table.

Table 1. Input variables for the FAMd

Dimension	Operationalisation	Name	Source
CULTURAL CAPITAL			
Certified cultural capital	Studied at an art school	LEARN20	Artists of the World/ research desk
Incorporated cultural capital	Place of art degree	LEARN1-LEARN19, LEARN21-LEARN125	Artists of the World/ research desk
SOCIAL CAPITAL			
	Ranking position of the gallery that has represented a professor most often	REPGAL1-REPGAL5	ArtFacts
	Ranking position three most frequent co-exhibitors	MSW1-MSW6	ArtFacts
ECONOMIC CAPITAL			
	Price for a 1x1m work	PRICE	Limna
	Art Fair Presence	ARTFAIR	Limna
SYMBOLIC CAPITAL			
	Cultural Recognition	CULTREC	Limna
	Global Presence	GLOBAL	Limna

Dimension	Operationalisation	Name	Source
OTHER VARIABLES			
	Age	AGE	Artists of the World/ desk research
	Career age	CAREER	Artists of the World/ desk research
	Disciplinary affiliation	DISP1-DISP19	Artists of the World/ desk research