

Homes on the Move for Artists from the Baltic States:
Artistic Practices, Mobilities, and Homes

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Philosophy.**

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Declaration

I, Emma Duester, do hereby declare that this work entitled ‘Homes on the Move for Artists from the Baltic States: Artistic Practices, Mobilities, and Homes’ is original research of the undersigned candidate. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature of any other degree.

Signed..... (Candidate)

Date.....4th July 2017.....

Abstract

The British news media often describes Eastern European nationals coming to work in the UK as unskilled economic migrants, framed as ‘unwanted’ and as jeopardising British culture and economy. Often overlooked in news media and scholarship are alternative examples of human geographic mobilities out of and into Eastern Europe, such as individuals who are working in the cultural sector, namely, visual artists. Many artists from the Baltic States must go abroad in order to get onto the global art market; although, they stay connected or return to their homelands, shaping these art scenes through their cultural remittances and transnational networks. It is important to investigate the Baltic States, as it has been 26 years since their independence from the Soviet Union and 12 years since their accession into the EU. The Baltic States are now established members of the EU, after becoming members of the Eurozone and part of the Schengen Area.

Visual artists from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are crisscrossing the EU, taking part in multi-directional routes and multi-cross-cultural connections for work. Often having multiple bases either at once or throughout their career, a lot of respondents’ feeling of home is spatial and mobile. The feelings of home are a mosaic, constituted by these factors of cross-border communications, regular travel, and having several bases for work. The meaning of home, then, is associated with their artistic practice and about relations to people rather than associated with a fixed, physical place. They are not an ethnic diaspora, as what holds them together is their art - it is about what they all ‘do’ in common. This provides a different understanding of the meaning of diaspora, as not defined only by ethnicity.

Together, this study explores individuals who move regularly, working and communicating across territorial borders and across ethnic ‘borders’. In a multi-sited study across Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius and other EU cities, this research uses an ethnographic methodology in order to devise a multi-sited and multi-temporal approach for studying travelling individuals. This research uses in-depth interviews with artists and semi-structured interviews with arts professionals; participant observation with an artist in Vienna, at an art institution in Vilnius, and through communication with three artists online over three months; and a visual analysis of artworks.

Keywords: visual artists; mobility; home; diaspora; migration; the Baltic States

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Chapter 1: Introduction: Geographies of Artistic Practice

1.1 The Problematic and Research Question: Researching Artist Diasporas

This research explores how visual artists move out of their homelands and make new homes across the European Union (EU) when they come from outside the main art centers. This research assesses how far there is a 'culture of mobility' with artists moving out of (and back into) the Baltic States. This is due to the 'glass ceiling' in the Baltic States due to lack of local art markets and few people buying art or providing funding for projects. This is a result of only having had 26 years to develop as independent capitalist art scenes, which is relatively young compared to other art scenes in the EU such as Paris or Vienna. This means these artists can only develop so far in their homelands; they must travel or move abroad in order to establish themselves and earn a living.

It investigates how those from the Baltic States - Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia - use particular EU cities strategically, that are just east of the west, in order to get onto the global art market. The study is about how these artists make their way onto the global art market, but who are from relatively newly independent EU member-states that are re-emerging art hubs. It shows how these artists must move out of these local art scenes in order to get onto the global art market, although, they can then choose to stay connected or return to the Baltic States once established. This is helping to develop the local art scenes: they are becoming increasingly professional with high caliber international exhibitions, increasingly competitive as a result of art development centers training those in-charge of art galleries, and increasingly connected internationally due to some of the artists who have returned and are using their transnational networks (of curators and dealers for example) to work. The histories and current situations of the Baltic States are germane to how these artists now live and carry out their artistic practice.

Many of these artists are scattered across the EU and have transnational mobilities, homes, and artworks. However, this study does not view these artists as part of an ethnic diaspora (Ojo, 2017; Koh and Malecki, 2014), a political diaspora (Tsagarousianou, 2004) or as a sexual minority (Mole et al, 2013). It argues that diaspora can be discussed and explored in a different sense, as these artists are a diaspora by circumstance. Artists do not work as part of ethnic diasporas, but work and form communities based on commonalities in their

practice. The cities they move to initially for work then become their homes, after attachments are made and after spending time doing their practice on a daily basis. This research moves away from essentialist ideas of home, arguing that it is not only associated with ethnicity or (mother)land. These artists are constructing their own meanings of home; this can be seen most vividly in their artworks that express their cross-cultural construction of and feelings of home. Their feelings of home are also influenced by the art market that determines where they feel at home and how long this takes to form attachments in a new place, as well as how the art scenes in their homelands cannot be home for many who want to establish themselves as ‘international artists’.

This study assesses the different spaces and places of artistic practice in order to investigate the impact of cross-border mobilities on these artists’ feelings of home. This includes looking at artists’ personal life histories, the different types of movements artists take part in, artists’ contributions to and experiences in host and home cities, cultural comparisons in artworks, the multiple flows in and out of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, and the workings of the global art market within which these artists are operating. This research can be divided into four main inquiries. 1) It looks at artists who are from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia but who are now living abroad across the EU or who have returned - those who are abroad are living in strategic cities that allow them to travel and work across that region and those who have returned can still work transnationally. 2) It is about the ways that particular types of onward migrations and regular mobilities mean they often have more than two residences they call home, and the effects of this on these artists’ feelings of home. 3) It is about how these artists connect to art communities in order to form their transnational network (of curators and dealers for example), forming an artist diaspora through practice rather than ethnicity. 4) It is about transition in the Baltic States due to these increasing connections and mobilities, which subsequently develops flows of people, art and money into Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes. In order to explore these lines of inquiry, there is one main research and three sub-questions:

1) How do the artistic practices of artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which include cross-border mobilities, multiple homes and transnational connections, have effects on their feelings of home?

- a) How do onward migrations and regular mobilities change artists' understandings of home and how does this have an effect on what they illustrate in artworks?
- b) How are Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes in transition due to artists' regular out and return mobilities, becoming increasingly connected hubs due to artists' transnational networks?
- c) How does the global art market determine where artists make homes and the Baltic States' position in this mean that artists from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia face barriers in forming homes both in the Baltic States as well as elsewhere in the EU?

In this dissertation, I argue that these artists' mobile, transborder everyday lives and practices have an effect on their placing of homes in the EU, their conceptions of home as well as having an impact on the transformation of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes. The main arguments are that it is possible to have more than two homes after multiple migrations; the notion of home is not only fixed, while the notion of mobility is not only about being uprooted; even after multiple travels, these individuals still have 'homing desires' but not only to homeland; and that travel heightens their understanding on what the notion of home means to them. The two main theoretical interventions into the literature are that the notion of home can be reconceptualised and that artists can be used to re-examine the concepts of mobility, diaspora and home. This can be achieved through using artists as an example of a transnational diaspora, demonstrating how the notion of home is not only associated with homeland and showing how their connections are not based purely on ethnicity or fixed geographies of belonging.

Mobility has to do with short-term travel that can be for work or leisure. This can be the case for people as well as objects or communications. Mobility tends to become a concept that encompasses the movement itself, everything that precedes it, accompanies it and prolongs it (Kaufman 2002, Urry 2005, Kesselring 2006). It also includes the idea that the individuals or places involved also become mobile entities themselves, as mobilities have distinct effects on each respectively. The concept of mobility is used as the overarching term in this study in order to convey how these artists travel; however, the notion of home and the conceptualisation of artists as a transnational diaspora - examined as the problematic - are used to anchor this research. This research argues that it is important to

understand mobility not simply as a form of disconnectedness and uprootedness but, rather, inclusive of interaction and connectedness. Mobility has become a container term within social sciences (Holden, 2007; Labiod and Badra, 2007)¹, but this inquiry aims to more firmly ground the term by looking at particular artists and anchor the term by exploring the effects it has on feelings of home.

Why is the term mobility important here, rather than travel or movement? While the term travel connotes more to do with travelling cultures and people exploring new lands, movement is a more open-ended term that is not restricted in terms of distance or time. However, the term movement is devoid of any associated meaning or power. Even though the term mobility can become a container term, this research avoids this by aligning more with the work by Cresswell (2006) who links mobility to place. Similarly to people's experiences of and relationship to place, people also experience and become attached to mobility. Places are activated through meaningful sets or webs of spaces, which in turn, provides the place with meaning and power. "Mobility is just as spatial - as geographical - and just as central to the human experience of the world, as place" (Cresswell, 2006: 3). Taking from what Cresswell (2006) argues, mobility is more than simply movement. Instead, as Adey (2010) argues, mobilities change space and have implications on people: "our mobilities make waves" (Adey, 2010: 19). Geographic mobilities are distinct from permanent migration, where migrants are often seen as being caught in a 'dual bind' between 'home' and 'host' countries (Ossman, 2013). Artists' mobilities are also distinct from shuttle or circular migration, as many travel from A to B to C without necessarily returning to their homeland or, alternatively, return and travel out of their homeland regularly. In addition, artists' mobilities are ambivalent experiences and there is a high frequency of relocation due to competition and employment unpredictability, which allows for a more differentiated understanding of the challenges for those who move regularly (Lipphardt, 2012).

¹This is the case because the term mobility is used to describe both global movements of people across borders as well as local transport infrastructure or movements of people through city streets. "From SARS to avian influenza to train crashes, from airport expansion controversies to controlling global warming, from urban congestion charging to network global terrorism, from emergency management of tsunamis and hurricanes to oil wars in the Middle East, issues of 'mobility' are center-stage." (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 1). As the findings underscore, there are a lot of interpretations of this term and it can seem as though one specific meaning is hard to define or pinpoint.

Ultimately, I show how cultural practices and cross-cultural exchanges take place by exploring these artists' varying degrees of mobility and home-making. Even though this is happening in the EU with the associated rights on the freedom of movement and right to work in any member-state, this is positioned against the current backdrop of the changing constitutional nature of the EU due to the migration crisis. As well as the news coverage of the migratory patterns of Eastern Europeans going West as unskilled economic migrants, since early 2015 this has been subsumed by news on the migration across Europe of Syrian nationals fleeing civil war. Moreover, since mid-2015 borders have been erected in order to keep people from moving across the (what was) open borders of the Schengen Area, jeopardising the constitution of the EU and its policy on the freedom of movement. This research has come full-circle over five years, as it was initially a reaction to increasingly potent narratives on anti-immigration and anti-free movement of EU citizens in the UK; this has now, in 2017, resurfaced in the wake of Britain's decision to leave the EU after the referendum on 28th June 2016. This research counters these deep-seated stereotypes. As such, the changing nature of contemporary EU migration - along with the breaking down of (and more recently erecting of) borders that is associated with this - frames the wider inquiry.

The fieldwork included extensive interviews over two years with visual artists and arts professionals such as curators, policymakers and gallerists, close-up observation of artists at work and in curatorial galleries, long-term collating of their movements through personal correspondence, and analysis of selected artworks. This has resulted in four main findings:

- 1) For these artist diasporas, their routes include making additional homes that can be more significant emotionally and artistically than their countries of origin. Their cross-cultural connections are defined by transnational networks that are developed over time, which are not ethnic or cultural communities and so are not a pre-given or based on birthplace.
- 2) Mobilities are multi-directional, in that travel routes come out of the Baltic States and into many other cities across the EU. Often, these movements are not final and there is not one Estonian artist diaspora for instance; rather, they are scattered all over and integrate into art communities comprising many different ethnicities, other artist diasporas or non-migrants.

3) These routes are less obviously cultural in the ethnic or linguistic sense but are defined by their artistic ambitions and resources, which also change over time as they become more established. In this case, they avoid the traditional art centres like Berlin and London for reasons to do with competitiveness and infiltrating the global art market. Vienna or Brussels are gateways to Western Europe and getting onto the global art market, as they are not so competitive and it is easier to integrate into the art community and market. Making their transnational networks is their 'route' to getting onto the global art market and making it as an international artist.

4) The notion of home is a theme in their work on several dimensions - physical dwelling, emotions, families, where their friends and professional communities are based, as well as where they make their art (studios) which is also another sort of 'home', i.e where they have their materials, tools, outputs form a certain set of roots. Homes, roots and attachments to places, practices and people are plural, yet not equal; the feelings of home are felt both in the near and far, of which also have spatial and temporal factors. These feelings of home are often heightened when abroad due to the distance gained, which provides some with clarity in terms of the cultural situation in their homelands.

At the outset of this study, I understood the notion of home as a feeling and as a set of attachments to family and memories that were associated with a particular fixed place. I realise now that this was too much of a simplified understanding. Researching artists for this amount of time and up this close has shown how it is possible to have multiple homes - maintained through multiple connections and repeated return visits. I found they have 'homing desires' to many places and this is also shown in their artwork that draws upon different cultural influences. With this, their understanding of the meaning of home becomes uprooted from just one homeland. Their feeling of home and home-making practices such as making art, exhibiting, and socialising must be re-made in each new location - but the level of attachments and feelings of home are not necessarily the same in each place. In order investigate how the meaning of home becomes disassociated from one singular place, it is important to explore the meaning of home for a population that is travelling regularly, for whom the meaning of home is associated with movement and fluidity.

As this research draws an interconnection between literatures on transnationalism, diaspora studies, mobility, and the art world, it is important to be explicit in what this research does not do: I am not trying to re-write the entire understanding of home but, rather, highlight its complexities, tensions, and contradictions from experiential findings. Even though it focuses on individual artists, it does not look at identity because it focuses on regular cross-border travel and subsequent feelings of home; I did not aim to repeat existing studies on migration and identity (Gilmartin, 2008; Delanty, Wodak and Jones, 2011; Rand and Felty, 2013), such as Rand and Felty (2013) who look at nomadic artists and their changing identities. Instead, I decided to look at their interconnections, dwellings and movements as a transnational diaspora (Tsagarousinou, 2004; Bauböck and Faist, 2010; Ojo, 2017) and their resultant feelings of home. Also, I understand there is the need to analyse this population's connections and communications online (that effects and constitutes their mobilities), such as Morley (2000) and Franklin (2004) who explores both virtual and physical travel. Yet, this is worthy of an entire separate research project. Whilst I do point out that artists use digital communications to connect out from their base(s), the issue pertaining to artists' use of the web is not my focal point. This is because the study explores the material mobilities of these artists.

I also understand that my fieldwork and themes link to cities - where Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius are becoming part of a "transnational network of cities" (Sassen, 2005: 29) across the EU but that there are also periods of stasis and non-movement (Donald and Lindner, 2014) in cities such as when artists work in their studios. However, this was not the theoretical focus because I focus on the concepts of mobilities and homes rather than on cities. In this respect, this study conceives transnational to mean connections and movements that cross multiple borders, progressing its definition of crossing a border between two countries. While this links to the field of transnationalism (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998; Vertovec, 2009; Lee and Francis, 2009; Salih, 2013), this study does not use transnationalism as a focal point. This is because it is not about these artists' feelings of being both Estonian and Latvian, for instance.

The next two sections of the introduction provide a rationale for the research and the particular focus I took, in terms of why I chose to use the term mobility in order to conceptualise the way artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are moving across and

around the EU (2012-2015), why I thought artists were important to research, how they provide new insight into discussions on transnational diasporas, and why I chose to look at the Baltic States as a region.

1.2 Rationale: Why Study Artists?

The fact that artists migrate and travel regularly for work is not a new phenomenon, so why is it important to look at artists in this study and at this time? Visual artists have travelled throughout history, with particular places as preferred destinations at different periods through history such as Paris or Rome.² In terms of the Baltic States, artists from this region have travelled not only west through history, but also east, south and north across the European continent. Furthermore, artists have not only travelled outwards but other Europeans have also come into the Baltic region in order to carry out their practice. During World War I, artists living in the Baltic region included Germans and Poles: German and Polish artists were living in Lithuania in World War I and just afterwards (Reklaitis, 1962). Travel has been a part of artists' lives for centuries (Severis, 2000; Kim, 2014); the distinction today is that cheaper transport and the Schengen Agreement are making travel easier and more frequent, as well as communications technologies that are enabling connections to continue during and after travel so that individuals can be 'present' simultaneously across multiple locations and maintain their multiple homes. Yet, the effects of physical artistic mobilities have not been fully researched, except for in policy documents (ERICarts, 2008). Even though it may be obvious that artists travel, the motives, rhythms, routes and effects require investigation as they are less understood. These material, corporeal mobilities are necessary to research as they are happening even with the presence of the web and digital communications.

These artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia face challenges and barriers, in terms of precariousness, language, misrepresentation and integration, even though they often have a transnational network that connects them 'here', 'there' and elsewhere. There needs to be more analysis on the reasons and motives behind these types of movements. While

² Nochlin and Suleiman (1996: 37) argue "artists traditionally have been obliged to travel, to leave their native land, in order to learn their trade. At one time, the trip to Rome was required, or a study-voyage to Italy; at other times it might be Munich or Spain or Holland or even North Africa; more recently, Paris was where one went to learn how to be an artist...and afterwards New York stole the heart of the art world from Paris".

Cresswell (2010: 17) explores a “politics of mobility”, which has to do with the “rhythm, route, speed” of how people move, this research looks at how political-cultural geography plays a part in determining artistic geographies of everyday life in their work and over their careers. This connection constitutes a renewed ‘mobilities paradigm’, that has until now not adequately assessed the power relations behind these types of movements. There are controls within these flows of people, which have to do with the global art market that somewhat dictates the flows of people, art and money. It is not only about who moves, but also about the hidden power relations behind the factors of: how geography and economics have effects on why people move, where they go and how often. To take from Massey’s (1994) argument, while some artists are in a position of control in relation to it, there are others who are doing a lot of physical moving, but who are not in charge of the process. This makes it important to see how artists today get onto the global art market amidst these barriers, especially for artists who come from a region where migration, mobilities, and cross-cultural exchanges were not freely available during the Soviet Union and whose local art scenes are (for many) too precarious to work in as a full-time establishing artist.

It is theorised in art history literature (Durrant and Lord, 2007; Bal, 2006; Boullata, 2008) that visual art, by its very nature, is migratory; visual art is a perpetual migrant that appears to seamlessly cross physical and cultural borders. However, the population from which this artwork comes - the artists - has not been as concretely researched. Within the field of visual cultures literature (Meskimmon, 2011; Merewether and Potts, 2010; Smith, 2009), there is discussion on the cross-cultural nature of artwork (Leuthold, 2011; Morphy, 2007; Otten, 1971). Most within this field, though, explore the idea of migration through art rather than exploring the artists themselves. The artists themselves also need to be researched from an ethnographical perspective, in order to understand the lived experiences and career paths of artists and use this to make claims about the artwork - rather than the other way around or leaving out the artists as producers altogether. This research has been able to interview artists, follow artists through participant observation, keep in contact via email over three months, as well as analyse their artwork; this provided a multi-perspectival analysis that enabled me to hear what they said, discover what was happening through being there, and seeing how this was illustrated in artworks.

Researching artists allows for the combination of scholarship in visual cultures and social sciences, where analysis of artwork has real life context by combining it with interviews with artists where they discuss family, roots, and daily life. Even with the proliferation of images and using visual elements in research, more research could be carried out that draws on both fields. As Spencer (2011: 1) argues, through this combination there is “the potential of visual methods to provide a deeper and more subtle exploration of social contexts and relations.” I argue that qualitative methods, such as interviews and participant observation, coupled with visual analysis, can more adequately help answer research questions. For instance, I could link what respondents told me about their mobilities and physical bases (in interviews and observations) with artworks that visually convey how having multiple physical homes effects how they feel about the meaning of home.

1.2.1 Why Study the Baltic States?

The Baltic States have historically been multifarious, multicultural places and international hubs of trade. Even though flows of people, art and ideas were restricted during the Soviet Union, today this region is becoming international once again. The Baltic region is by no means ‘local’, as Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia play important roles in the EU with being part of many deterritorialised practices from these locations as well as the practices of their artists who are dispersed across the EU.³ This means these cities are hubs of connections and are activated as places through global, transnational processes and flows. The Baltic States have arguably had a special position geographically through history, having many flows of trade passing though in 14th and 15th Century due to being the geographic center of Europe and, more recently, being on the western edge of the Soviet Union between 1922 and 1991.

Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius are exemplars of the revival of older cultural centers that now look westwards and are up-coming EU cities. Artists from the Baltic States are important to research, in this regard, as they exemplify the transition and internationalisation of the cities and the region through their artistic practices. These cross-cultural movements and

³ As Recchi (2015) argues, Europe is “a supranational area in which the traditional power of the nation states to control individuals’ choices of travel and settlement has been curbed, creating a sort of ‘natural experiment’ of a borderless world region.” Recchi (2015) goes on to say that Europe is formed upon a “human mobility system” as “it is not so much migration but human mobility writ large that has been growing tremendously, shaping a major trend of our age boosted by technological and cultural developments.”

exchanges that are going out of and into Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius are of importance as they are cities that, 26 years ago, were part of the Soviet Union. Today, the artists who have returned (who are a part of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes) are not solely linked to the other Baltic States or Eastern Europe and, similarly, are not just connecting to Western cities like London. Due to these developments, they are now up-and-coming art cities within the EU - aided by their accession in 2004 and having recently been European Capitals of Culture.⁴

Cross-border mobilities, onward migrations, return migrations, and cultural remittances have enabled these developments. The Baltic States may not, as yet, be equally sending and receiving countries as seen by migration literature (OECD, 2013; Jurado and Brochmann, 2013), but they are both importing and exporting ideas, influences, artworks, as well as artists and arts professionals.⁵ It is mobilities, where many artists are travelling but also staying connected or returning, that are allowing these local art scenes to become more closely aligned with the global art world. This is taking place through the development of art institutions, training for art galleries (in order to become competitive internationally), implementation of new government policies (mobility programs and grants for projects abroad) and through increasing cross-cultural relations.

As well as looking at the linkages binding these cities to places across the EU (as Sassen argues, 2001), it is vital to also explore these global spaces that are 'activating' these places. This is why this inquiry is interested not only in linkages going outwards, but linkages coming into the three cities from elsewhere, in order to ascertain how they are in transition. Increasing connections coming into these cities are a result of the increasing and diversifying flows of people, artwork and communications going out of and then returning

⁴The European Capital of Culture was awarded to Tallinn in 2011; Riga in 2014; Vilnius in 2009. Please visit www.riga2014.org, www.tallinn.info or culturelive.vilnius.lt/en for more information.

⁵This goes against assertions from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2013) and British News Media (*the Guardian*, 2015) that there are only permanent out migrations and few flows going into the Baltic States. "The Baltic countries, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, are a prime example of countries where recent emigration has drawn the attention of policy makers looking to mitigate potential negative impacts of the departure of young and skilled emigrants as well as to support economic development. The latter two countries in particular saw outflows rise after accession to the European Union and peak during the severe recession in which began in 2008. These outflows, which have disproportionately involved young people, exacerbate a demographic situation in which Baltic countries face a rapidly ageing population and receive few immigrants themselves." (OECD, 2013).

or staying connected to the Baltic States.⁶ These physical homes are not fixed places, as they are changing and going through transition. The physical home changes over time, and is altered as a space and place through particular connections and actions that happen there. This subsequently also changes these artists' attachments to homeland, either making them feel more or less 'at home'.

1.3 Historical Background

Artist mobilities across the European Union (EU) have changed dramatically since the end of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the EU-27 accession in 2004, which included Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Short-term, regular mobilities are ever more prevalent across the EU (European Migration Network, 2011) and this demonstrates the changing nature of how people are moving and working in this region.⁷ One of the reasons for this is the prevalence of temporary work contracts across the EU that has reduced the amount of permanent migration (EMCC, 2014; Haug and Diehl, 2004) while increasing the need for other movements, such as onward migration and more regular mobilities. This is reflected in how Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian governments and EU funding are also increasingly providing short-term grants which incentivise artists to travel out and return regularly.⁸

The nature of the EU - in terms of its freedom of movement and its single market with tax-free export of goods - means that continual mobilities, working in several locations and making homes elsewhere is possible. Also, due to the freedom of movement and unrestricted border controls across the Schengen Area, mobilities can be "a life-long process" rather than "a single event" (Castles, 2000: 15-16). Even if these artists return to their homeland, this is not a 'backwards' movement as they can use their transnational network to move regularly and be digitally mobile as well. These types of movements are distinct from shuttle, circular or permanent migration patterns as these types of

⁶ As this study shows, through sustained connections across EU cities, artists are also important in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes' social, cultural and economic transformation. This is not to say, though, that artists do not also impact host cities. As the work and output of artists is impacting on the host cities they are participating or exhibiting in - in a more mutual (though, not necessarily entirely equal) circulation of ideas.

⁷ A European Migration Network Study was conducted between 2004 and 2010 (published in 2011). This looked into the temporary and circular migration of EU member states, regarding further exploration and development of circular migration as an integral part of EU migration policy.

⁸ For instance, in Lithuania "[m]obility funding opportunities open to Lithuanian nationals and residents in most artistic and cultural disciplines" include "ad hoc or short-term funding" (Anon, 2014).

movements include many onward movements and relocations; this means there are more complex webs of attachments and connections rather than only bilateral ones between one 'host' and one 'home' country.

This inquiry sets out to provide a counter argument to news stories on unskilled migrants moving from Eastern to Western Europe due to economic disparities between member-states. Such examples in the British press include the “new wave of east Europeans” migrating to Western Europe (*The Guardian*, 2015), framed as unwanted and jeopardising culture or economics in host countries.⁹ This research highlights alternative types of movements, which go out of and into the Baltic States, which are both positive for home and host countries as well as the EU more broadly. This pushes against news media that discusses Eastern European migrants in a negative light.

These tensions and animosities within the EU have led to a 'go home' rhetoric that these findings contradict.¹⁰ This increase in re-territorialisation and anti-immigration sentiment has impacted on the reactions to Eastern Europeans moving and living across the EU and whether they feel at home abroad. This research dislodges the 'go home' narratives in the British press, which understands the meaning of home as being associated with an ancestral homeland. That said, migrants from the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa who are fleeing war cannot simply 'go home', and this home is associated with homeland and is essentialised in this way. Making a new home for those fleeing war is different to mobile skilled professionals, such as artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia who are, relatively speaking, privileged, as they are able to 'go home'. However, this does not mean that these artists can easily move without facing different types of struggles, barriers and restrictions. As many of these artists also face language and economic barriers as well as issues of misrepresentation in other EU cities, which can prevent them from feeling at home.

⁹ More recently, there have also been stories on Eastern European migration in the news. For instance, the *Express* (January 28 2016) reported on the 'New Wave of Migrants from Africa, Asia and east Europe exploiting the Syrian Crisis', *The Daily Mail* (16 November 2015) reported on '69,000 more East Europeans working in the UK than in 2014' and *The Telegraph* (7 May 2016) reported on 'Migration Pressure on Schools Revealed'.

¹⁰ This triggers issues of racism in the British media as well as government and the public: “politicians and the media made us hate immigrants...31% of headlines and 53% of text about asylum across all newspapers has negative connotations. Language used to describe immigration is highly hostile across all newspaper types, with 'illegal' and 'bogus' the most commonly used terms to describe immigrants and asylum seekers” (Nagarajan, 2013).

1.3.1 The Necessity of Moving Abroad

On one hand, the removal of borders within the EU has facilitated an intensification of travel across member-states.¹¹ On the other hand, the juxtaposition of countries with economic, political or cultural disparities creates new reasons for travel and a politics of mobility where there is pressure to go to certain places and where flows are centered in some places, yet, bypass others. Travel within the EU has to do with economic disparities (Thompson, 2013), but these artists' travel patterns also have to do with the vagaries of the global art market. This research shows that the direction and pace of routes, the destination cities of their movements and where they are making homes also have to do with the global art market. Such political and economic factors determine where many of these artists place their homes in the EU vis-à-vis maintaining their emotional roots, which can produce multiple meanings of the notion of home and can often produce contradictions and tensions in their understandings of the meaning of home.

There are specific economic, career-related, networking-related rationales behind the direction and duration of their movements and bases. There is also pressure to be highly mobile in one particular sense, to be international, and to follow the global art market that is located in multiple cities and that moves to different places at different times of the year. Spearheaded by auctions, art fairs, and the people involved, it is the global art market that determines where art centers vis-à-vis art peripheries are located and where flows of money, people and artwork go to or bypass. Nevertheless, this ability to feel at home across the EU influences their understanding of the meaning of home. The EU is a space that is conducive to a multi-local and multi-spatial practice. However, the barriers they face in their homelands create difficulties with keeping it as their home and misrepresentation they face abroad provides barriers to making elsewhere feel like home. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Even within the seemingly free flows of artists and artworks, who are often seen as a 'highly skilled' privileged elite (Marche, 2015; Burton, 2007), there are elements of control and restriction. Mobility can be forced: this is not for economic reasons or due to persecution in their homeland but, rather, due to pressures of the global art market.

¹¹ As the European Commission states (2014: 1), "[o]ne of the fundamental objectives of the European Union (EU) is to create an area without internal borders where people may move, live and work freely, knowing that their rights are fully respected and their security ensured."

Furthermore, the global art market has an impact ensuring that some movements are not optional but rather a must, and some EU cities become more important destinations or strategic locations. These varying trajectories have an impact on the status of the artist. As a local artist is not as highly regarded and is seen as unambitious, whereas an artist who works across different cities and has several bases or studios is seen as successful (Thornton, 2014). This broader system of the global art market affects individual lifeworlds, to draw upon Marcus' (1995) work, in terms of how and where they find and place homes. Certain places are more desirable and some artists will overcome financial or language barriers in order to make that place their base if, for instance, they know it will be beneficial for their career. This adds to mobility and home literatures (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Blunt and Dowling, 2006), by showing that homes are not always sites of pleasure or comfort and that there is often a politics and economics behind their placements in the EU.

For many of the visual artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, who form the central focus of this study, they feel that they must move out of the Baltic States, as it is difficult for some to feel 'at home' and to carry out their practice there. They can work in the Baltic States, though, if they have spent time abroad developing their transnational network and then decide to return. For these artists, in particular, success is a result of their mobilities, as through this they can create transnational networks and form multi-cross-cultural connections. Connections made through exhibitions, studies or residencies are maintained even after making onward migrations or return migrations. By 'multi-cross-cultural' I mean more than simply communicating across borders with other Estonians or only communicating between two places such as their current home and ancestral homeland for instance, as many of the artists I interviewed are part of different transnational communities - only one of which might be associated with their homeland and family. It also demonstrates how transborder communities of practice form across physical territorial borders and across 'borders' of ethnic groups. These transnational artist diasporas present different ways of not only travelling and dwelling, but also different ways of working, integrating, changing their art style versus keeping it the same, and each artist presents different kinds and amounts of roots and routes.

1.4 Objectives: Understanding Artists as a Transnational Diaspora

This research shows these artists as working with transnational art communities (that transcend territorial borders and ethnic ‘borders’), rather than as ethnic communities that are presented within transnationalism and diaspora studies; many of these individual artists are part of communities that are not formed along ethnic lines alone. Their transnationality and mobility depends on whom they associate with as part of being an artist (curators, dealers, collectors for example) throughout their professional careers. There is a more detailed discussion on this in Chapter 6. These connections do have a Baltic-based starting point: for example, through artworks that are taken out by Lithuanian, Latvian or Estonian curators (who work internationally) that launch an artist’s international career, from where the artist is then invited to subsequent shows elsewhere across the EU. Alternatively, this may happen through Erasmus programs set up by Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian art academies where students study abroad before they graduate and then, after graduating, return there due to the transnational network they have made.

These transnational networks and social relations differ from the sorts of diasporas that are studied by, for instance, Rouse (1991), Tsagarousianou (2004), Brah (1996), and differ to those who live as nominally ethnic groups in migration and transnationalism debates.¹² Instead, artists are defined significantly by their professional and artistic work that takes them across the EU. Rather, each artist has multidirectional routes and subsequently multi-cultural connections. Once community is detached from ethnicity and nationality, or the national, it becomes about practice and the commonality of doing art. Also, feelings of home become associated with where one can carry out their practice.

Based on long-term participant observation and conversations with establishing and established artists trying to get onto or remain on the global art market (or at least EU art market), this thesis shows that their connections, mobilities and networks are not only between them and their ‘homeland’. The notion of home is not only fixed in their homeland as additional ones can be formed. They are still connected to where they are

¹² However, ‘Eastern European’ can also be considered an ethnic term in some contexts (Wright and Kelly, 1994; Stroschein, 2012). Stroschein (2012) argues that this ethnicity was of great political importance in the early 1990s. Whereas, Wright and Kelly (1994) discuss how the term can be seen in geographical terms, meaning Russia and other countries from the former Soviet Union. In this research, I refer to the artists as coming from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. However, this is not to say that they are part of this diaspora once they travel abroad, although, this does have effects on their practice as these are the artists’ homelands.

from but they are not necessarily looking back, nor are they consumed by loss or displacement. They are not only defined by their ethnicity and connections with homeland but by their multi-cross-cultural contacts, which they have as part of their self-orchestrated transnational network. At the time of conducting this research - between 2012 and 2015 - the Baltic States were just starting to self-consciously develop international cultural strategies, in terms of funding artists to do projects abroad, funding those who want to visit Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, helping curators who were opening art spaces, or through opening art development centers in order to develop commercial galleries.

So for some, in this sense, there are elements of longing or intending to go back 'home' and a sense of responsibility to help these art scenes develop, which they can do with the contacts they have gained whilst abroad or skills acquired after studying abroad. This study of artists shows how, for some of those who return, they are at a different stage in their careers and bring back their transnational contacts and ways of doing things, so the return is not a backwards movement. Returning to 'home' means more than going back to their origins. For some of those who return, they are more highly mobile, using their transnational network that they created whilst abroad to travel out from the Baltic States. This is also helping to change these home cultures, in terms of having more international exhibitions and events. That said, these dynamics and geographies are not the same for everybody, as the portraits of particular artists will show some who are hyper-mobile, some who migrate and then are more mobile and those who have returned to their homeland but who are now digitally mobile.

1.4.1 Reconceptualising 'Home'

Research and theory on the notion of home has come a long way in past two decades. In the past, the meaning of home was associated with something fixed, physical, and related to ethnic roots. As Shurmer-Smith and Hannam (1994: 30) argue, the meaning of home is associated with "bricks and mortar, kinship, tradition, contentment, regional loyalty, duty, community, nationality, return, aspiration". These ideas of home are too static, fixed, singular and connected to one's nationality. As the theoretical contribution of this study, I reconsider arguments that movement is disorientating to a sense of home (Agnew, 2005; Bhabha, 2012; Massey, 2013), as travel can in fact heighten understandings of roots and attachments. More analysis is needed on the physical and figurative aspects of artists' feelings of home and how this affects where or whether they place attachments in a

particular place. Rather than only arguing that the meaning of home has both literal and figurative elements as Andits (2015) argues, I argue more needs to be explored on how the two elements are co-determinous and how one affects the other. As due to having to make multiple routes, artists can have multiple attachments and so form multiple homes across the EU. Subsequently, the meaning of home can be associated with movement and fluidity.

The notion of home, as something that is not fixed or bounded, has been written about in literature on transnational homes and diasporic lives (Nowicka, 2007; Al-Ali and Koser, 2002; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Tsagarousianou, 2004). More recently, scholarship within transnationalism and diaspora studies investigates the webs of connections transnational communities form and how diasporas link between more places than one 'home' and 'host' location. This research furthers the notion of spatial and multiple attachments, as it is not only that it is spatial and not fixed to a singular location. Instead, it has to do with the combination of roots and routes, where feelings of home are formed through their social relations in their everyday practices. This develops Rapport and Dawson's (1998: 27) argument that the notion of home can be "a routine set of practices" and Nowicka's (2007: 6) argument that the notion of home is about "social relations that are arranged around a focal point".

Within these debates, this project highlights contradictions and tensions in its meaning for people. It is also not saying these artists are confused about the meaning of home in continual travel and their multi-local lives, but that one person's homes and their spatiality or scales of attachment cannot be compared or equivalent to the next. I realise each person has a different conception of the meaning of home as well as different travel patterns, attachments and varying reasons for these. Some artists are hypermobile, yet, they may feel rooted to homeland; while, others feel elsewhere is more of a home and do not want to return to the Baltic States. While some have multiple roots, others think they can only have one set of roots. Some change their art style with each new location and work as an 'Austrian artist', while others think they have a 'Latvian light' and this can never be changed regardless of how much they travel or live elsewhere. These attachments are also formed in different ways: through everyday practices of art-making, through being part of a community and the social relations associated with this, or through time spent in a particular place. Both the meaning of home and placing physical dwellings have a temporal

quality. This is because it takes time to form attachments, to integrate into an art community and takes time for a place to feel like home. Also, physical homes or places can change over time; also, the feeling of home relates to aspects of the past, present and future. Whilst the set of theorists outlined above look at the spatiality of home in terms of multi-local homes and transnational homes respectively, less is known and discussed about the temporalities of home. This has to do with how feelings of home are related to how long a person lives there, but how these feelings can change over time due to societal changes or changes in a person's career that leads them to spend more time elsewhere, for instance.

The concept of home is considered in both its abstract and concrete sense within this study, in order to see how having multiple physical homes has an effect on the way artists feel about the meaning of home. The findings show that their understanding of home changes due to their transborder practice and that, as a result, their relationship to place has changed: one place for them is at once connected to multiple other places. Their ideas of home then are reflective of their lives that are constituted by travel. The meaning of home is not fixed, stationary or about physical place to them necessarily. It is relevant to explore how multiple relocations and lives across borders do not mean being uprooted and disorientated. Even highly mobile people are not detached from place and attachments necessarily; transnational lives are not all about transcendence.

1.4.2 Grounding Mobility, Uprooting Home

There are two main overarching aspects to this study: artists' mobilities and transnational networks that seem to be about fluidity and that transcend borders, cultures and ethnicities, yet, the other aspect is that of their attachments, dwellings, bases to where they feel attached and store materials, tools, and artworks. This research shows how both stability and mobility are present in their lives. The two are linked and come together rather than being dichotomous - at least, this was the case with many of the artists I interviewed. This is why the feelings of home have to do with both fixed and mobile elements. The two aspects are often researched separately, but one has an effect on the other and, plus, one can find home in travel or alternative movements can be felt in places. Also, artistic practice is about both roots and routes - with studios and them working to create artworks that will then allow them to travel to exhibitions and show this work. This is why this dual-

aspect needs to be investigated together with regards to researching artists as a transnational diaspora.

This means that one of the focuses in this research is on the nexus of the notions of home and mobility, showing how people do not lose a sense of place or feel uprooted necessarily due to travelling at a high intensity or taking part in regular onward migrations. Feelings of home are multi-local, spatial and fluid and this is reflected in the fact that they have multiple dwellings and form transnational connections, which shows how homes are in themselves sites of mobility. That said, a lot of artists also want elements of stability or require bases in order to partake in routes; artists need a studio or workspace in order to produce work and centre their travels. However, this does not mean that mobility and place are contradictory. Places change over time but people's relation to these places then changes; places also change due to the increasingly transnational practices in which individuals or communities take part. Places can become home through the practices one carries out there. This relates to de Certeau's (1984) argument that "space is a practiced place" (de Certeau, 1984: 117); the place is activated with meaning, memories, and is about the past, present and future due to the practices someone does there. However, this often happens on a transnational level within the art world, so the place is activated through global spaces and interconnections as well as local ones.

This thesis aligns with debates on the notions of mobility and home, which have more recently emerged in the field of transnationalism and diaspora studies (Nowicka, 2007; Brah, 1996; Rouse, 1991; Rapport and Dawson, 1998), whilst adding to these literatures on transnationalism and diaspora studies by focusing on artists as an example of a transnational diaspora who have a deterritorialised practice. It also adds to this field by showing ways of moving and placing multiple roots and connections, and how artists often illustrate this in their artwork. It will highlight that being mobile is not a state of uprootedness or disorientation, while home is also then not only about being stable and fixed. This is the position I assume and one of the main arguments I propose; with this, this research uproots the notion of home (from being something associated with being rooted only in homeland) while grounding the notion of mobility (from being associated with dislocation). People can "dwell in travel" (Clifford, 1997) and the feeling of home can be about a journey and the trajectories through life. From this position, I offer a

reconsideration of some narratives found in migration theory to do with movements to and from nation-states and the binaries used to describe and investigate such movements (Cohen, 1995; Castles, Haas and Miller, 2013; King, 2001; Wright, 2012). By situating this research in transnational and diaspora literature, this research moves away from seeing movements and connections as bilateral and between nation-states and between people of the same nationality. As Nowicka (2007) argues, this perspective can help to break up bi-local or multi-local approaches to migration that view these locations as fixed and that sees movements as going between nation-states.

Due to the nature of transborder communities of artistic practice, where working in multiple places is a sign of success, artworks become sites of negotiation of comparisons between cultures, how homeland has changed or parts that still persist that they would like to change, and are a working through of what home means to them. This is another contribution of this research to the literature and reason for looking at artists in particular: to show a population of regular travellers and who move for a living whose practice and making of art objects shows their feelings on their transnational position and the meanings of home for them, which are conveyed visually. What is important to ascertain is how artists represent and negotiate these issues in their artwork. After all, their artworks are representations of their feelings and experiences, as documentations of their feelings of homeland when abroad, or provide cross-cultural viewpoints. Using a leitmotif of a 'homing aesthetics' as I term it, whereby artworks evoke transnational spaces and illustrate comparisons between cultures either directly in the artwork or using their time abroad to see more clearly the issues that are pertinent to discuss in their artwork about their homeland. As Leuthold (2011: 64) argues, these "oppositions between different cultures" in fact "reveal connections". In this research, I found that such connections are made between different cultures or how comparisons can provide clarity on what home means, where home is, and how they feel about their homeland.

1.5 Chapter Outline

This thesis is organised as follows. Before describing each chapter in turn, I will first provide an overview of the overarching structure to the thesis. In Part One, I provide a theoretical framework that explores issues of space and place, migration and mobility, home and routes in order to reconsider existing literature and to show why this research is necessary. Overall, this shows the mobilities that are changing the dynamics of and these artists' varying attachments to places, which subsequently has an effect on how and where they feel at home. It then moves onto an evaluation of how a multi-sited and multi-temporal ethnographic approach can be used to understand the individual lifeworlds of artists on the move as well as the larger structures of the global art market. In Part Two, I then move on to look more at the macro-level in terms of, firstly, the histories and current situation of the Baltic art worlds by exploring how the mobilities and return migrations of some artists is having an impact on the development of these art scenes. This leads onto the following chapter that take a meso- and then micro-level approach, by turning to look at artists' understanding of the meaning of home in their own words and through an analysis of their artwork. After this, the global art market is assessed in terms of artists' precariousness and how the Baltic States have a precarious position.

Throughout Part Two, I introduce several artists. Individual sections address themes through looking at particular artists because, this way, it shows all the different levels they work on as well as showing all their different understandings of home and how they have varying ways of placing homes. In Chapter 4, I focus on Sigita and Žygimantas, as two artists who have lived abroad but have moved back to Riga and Vilnius respectively. Nevertheless, they are both still working internationally. Here, I also look at Kostas who uses his art in order to discuss his relationship with his father, who was a Soviet artist, and the differences between the generations of artists from the Baltic States. In Chapter 5, I focus on Laura whose work directly addresses the meaning of home whereby she looks at how her own feelings of home have changed since arriving in Linz, Kriss who feels more attached to his homeland each time he goes abroad and I explore his artwork which relates to the nature of Latvia, and Egle who feels more at home abroad and does not want to return to her homeland, yet, her artwork explores the issues of neo-nationalism still present in Lithuania. In Chapter 6, I focus on Laura due to her struggles in making a new home in Vienna and Kris due to her hypermobility and membership to many different communities

in different places. See Appendix A on pp.267-272 for more information on these artists. I now outline the chapters in order of appearance:

Chapter 2, 'Reconceptualising Mobility, Diaspora, and Home by Studying Artists' addresses the three main lines of theoretical inquiry - the nature of artists' mobilities, how artists can be seen as a transnational diaspora, and the spaces and places of their multi-cross-cultural connections. In order to do this, it will focus on the spaces and places, fluidities and fixities as well as the routes and roots associated with both the physical locations of and multi-cross-cultural connections made in artistic practice, which will provide a nexus between the concepts of mobility and home. Overall, this contributes to understandings of mobilities, by asserting that they are more than just movement, as they have effects on the ways people form communities across spaces and in places as well as how they feel and form attachments in certain places.

Chapter 3, 'Research Design and Methodology: A Mobile Field and Researcher', discusses the multi-sited methodology for the research. It looks at how the empirical research links to the aims and objectives of this research. It will go through what I did and a rationale for this, a history of research and the competing philosophies of research. It explains each methodology, the overall design that these speak to and the limitations within this research. It details why a multi-sited approach was useful for this research topic and how visual cultures and social sciences need to be more closely connected.

Chapter 4, 'Historic and Policy Transitions in the Baltic States', explores the historical context of the Baltic States and brings this up to the current situation in Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius art scenes. This provides the context surrounding the Baltic art worlds, as their current situation cannot thoroughly be assessed without an understanding of their histories. It focuses, in particular, on artists who have studied or lived abroad and have returned to develop the local art scenes, which is possible due to their acquired expertise and international contacts. The main themes here are that they are not only 'sending countries' as flows go both ways. Moreover, these multiple flows are created through mobilities of artists, of their person, communications and artwork; they are instigating transformations in Tallinn Riga and Vilnius art scenes.

Chapter 5, 'Artists at Home', deals with issues of the meaning of home as well as how this is illustrated in artworks. Their artworks reflect their feelings of home – either through working through their transnational position or through discussing issues that are happening in their homeland. This relates to interviews with artists and participant observation with artists, who also talk about such issues. It couples what artists say about their experiences of migration or regular mobilities and how this affects their understanding of home; their artworks present another dimension to cross-cultural creations of meanings of home, whereby artists combine aspects of different cultural influences. This refers to Leuthold's (2010) concept of how oppositions in artwork create new meaning, and for artists this allows clearer understanding on the meaning of home.

Chapter 6, 'Getting into the Global Art Market', explores ideas to do with the geoeconomics of the global art market from the artist's perspective. This chapter will investigate the overarching system of structures within which artists are working. It is important to not only explore artists' mobilities but also address the people and structures that are in control of where and how they move. It assesses global market forces and how these pressure artists to be mobile and sell artwork to certain places. This chapter refers to Ossman's (2013) conception of serial migrators who are masters of resettlement as well as to what Cresswell (2010) terms a 'politics of mobility' as there are particular routes, paces, and motives in terms of where and how these artists move. There is also a personal observation account of Estonian artist Laura in Vienna, where these power relations and restrictions of the art market play out in her everyday life.

The conclusion is divided into four main sections that reflect the key contributions to knowledge of the research. Firstly, the way artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia patterns of movement include different types and directions, resulting in them being scattered all across the EU, and how many have an on-going pattern of mobilities and onward migrations that are used throughout their career. Secondly, how they communicate and connect as part of EU artist communities, which are based on art style and commonality of interest rather than ethnicity. Thirdly, the ways in which this type of combination of mobility and migration has particular effects on these artists' physical placing of homes as well as effects on their understanding of the meaning of home. Finally, how transborder artistic practices such as these, that are multi-sited and multi-local, are

changing the dynamics of people's relations to place. The main conclusions are that many artists from Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius must move out of their homeland in order to progress their career and become an international artist. Homeland cannot be their permanent home due to lack of market and collectors as well as the global art market determining it as an art periphery. So the art market also influences where these artists can feel and work at home. Their type of regular onward migrations and mobilities influences their feelings of home. They are connecting to people in many different people to help them work, such as curators and dealers, in many different countries - this means artists are part of an artist diaspora who connect based on practice.

PART ONE

Chapter 2: Reconceptualising Mobility, Diaspora, and Home by Studying Artists

2.1 Introduction

This chapter situates the project within transnationalism and diaspora studies literatures in order to open out the concepts of home and mobility. It engages debates on the meaning of transnational diasporas, how the notion of home might be conceived in regular mobilities, and how literature on a 'new mobilities paradigm' can be reassessed through artists' mobilities out of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia across the EU which have to do with a politics of the global art market. The main arguments in this chapter are that transnational diasporas do not only connect between home and host countries or only based on ethnicity. Instead, many connect across space and form transnational diasporic communities based on what they do, which in this case is their artistic practice. It argues that attachments are important for those who travel or migrate regularly. In fact, feelings of home are heightened after moving abroad, showing that mobile lifestyles are not about uprootedness necessarily. It argues that the notion of home includes both sedentary and fluid elements: it is about roots and routes. Taken together, it shows how artists form attachments and roots with increasing amounts of transnational digital and material mobilities. The aim is to unsettle the concept of home as associated with one fixed, grounded origin or singular place as well as to ground the notion of mobility by looking at its effects on visual artists. An understanding of this can be generated through combining distinct bodies of research from different disciplines, including art theory, sociology, geography and cultural studies.

Reflecting the main aims and themes of the research, this theoretical framework will help to substantiate an understanding towards the nature of artists' mobilities, how artists can be seen as a transnational diaspora, and the spaces and places of their multi-cross-cultural connections. This approach was chosen because artistic practice encompasses both routes and roots, in that digital communications and transnational networks are stretched-out across local, national and international spaces while physical dwellings can be formed in many places. This theoretical framework is used to address the main research question, which is: How do the artistic practices of artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, that include cross-border mobilities, multiple homes and transnational connections, have effects

on their feelings of home? The debates discussed here can be used to substantiate the research hypotheses. These are as follows. These artists' routes are multi-directional and connections are multi-cross-cultural; they live and form communities that can be related to transnational diasporas, but who connect due to being an artist rather than due to being 'Estonian' for instance; many of these artists do not only look back to homeland, yet, distance heightens their understandings of what home means and provides them with clarity on the situation in their homeland.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. First, it investigates the concept as well as formation of transnational diasporas, which addresses how artists are scattered across the EU, yet, connect back to their homeland, connect across multiple different spaces and have bases in several places. Connections in this sense are truly transnational because they are not based on a singular ethnicity. By situating this research in these debates highlights the binaries of a set of migration literature. Second, it looks at the concept of home and mobilities by exploring the politics and geoeconomics of artists' mobilities across the EU. In particular, it investigates regimes of inclusion and exclusion, inequalities between regions such as West and East EU due to the art market designating centers vis-a-vis peripheries, and how these issues can be added to the 'mobilities paradigm' introduced in 2006 by Sheller and Urry. Third, it looks at transnational communications, networks and communities, which explores the connections artists create and their self-orchestrated networks that include curators and dealers. Such transnational communities are in physical spaces such as exhibition rooms as well as online whereby artists keep in touch with gallerists to see if they have sold any work. This is discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6. Fourth, it looks at the concepts of spaces and places, showing how place is not only fixed and exploring the interrelation of space and place by focusing on de Certeau's (1984) discussion on the interrelation between space and place. The overarching purpose of this - bringing these lines of enquiry together - is to investigate people's changing relationship to place in the EU, whereby freedom of movement and right to work in any member-state is coming under question within the era of a post-Brexit Britain and Europe's refugee crisis. Broadly speaking, these types of movements are changing the dynamics, borders and state of the EU - altering it as a space and place.

2.2 Moving Beyond the Binaries in Migration Literature

This research reconsiders some of the arguments presented on unskilled economic migrants from Eastern Europe that forms part of the literature on East-West migration across Europe (Dietz, 2002; Kussbach, 1992; Manfrass, 1992). This research (Dietz, 2002; Kussbach, 1992; Manfrass, 1992; Kalter, 2011) demonstrates the predominance of theory in this section of literature that conceives migration as one-way, final and portrays Eastern Europe as inclusive of only sending countries. One alternative example that breaks with this archetype of East-West migration research is Baganha and Fonseca's (2004: 7) study on migration from Eastern to Southern Europe, which they conceived at the time to be a "new migration flow". However, this is approached from the perspective of one sending or one receiving country. Furthermore, in response to theory on the so-called sending countries of Eastern Europe today (Robila, 2009; Hunter, 2012; Ziemer, 2012), this research has uncovered multi-directional movements whereby artists not only take part in permanent, one-way or Western migrations, as is too often documented in research (White, 2010; Passerini et al, 2010; Shulvass, 1971), but multi-directional and repeated movements across Europe.

This research acknowledges that there is a set of literature on the push and pulls created by the demands or shortages of labour markets and associated economic migrants (King 2002; Kahanec and Zimmerman, 2009). This is reconsidered in light of more recent research within transnational and diaspora studies, which moves away from this in order to argue that diasporas have multiple connections and many potentials in host countries.

Nevertheless, it is an important debate to acknowledge. What is required is a deconstruction of the binaries of migration as there are new types of movement - of which this study is an exemplary example. These movements are not as linear and are more multi-directional compared with the ways migration is theorised in this particular set of literature. As well as seeing migration as one-way and binary, this set of migration literature (King, 2000; Dietz, 2002) discusses migration between countries, territories or regions: for example, the migration patterns between Turkey and Germany (Klasen, 2015; Ceasar, 2013). These examples focus on the nation-state and the idea of crossing the border between these two countries. However, visual artists are travelling more specifically; many artists travel (and describe their travel patterns as) from city-to-city. For example, they might move from Vilnius to Oslo or from Berlin to Vienna to Ljubljana, returning to some

or all of these regularly or living in one and making trips to the others. Furthermore, there is a great deal of research on Eastern Europe, but which usually shows them as only sending countries (Romocea in Ziemer and Roberts, 2013; Przaszłowicz in Ziemer and Roberts, 2013), for example, the Polish diaspora in Germany or Romanian migrants in the UK. Instead, there are widespread reciprocal flows to and from many European nation-states and, more importantly, into Eastern Europe which is transforming Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius into hubs of connections.

Literature on other types of movement can dislodge the binaries in this set of migration literature. These include looking at shuttle, circular, return, short-term and trans-migration. As King (2002) argues, “seasonal and shuttle migration of a to-and-fro kind (weekly, monthly, occasional) must also fit into the continuum, blurring the distinction between migration and other forms of spatial mobility which, although they may not be regarded as ‘conventional’ migration, nevertheless carry similar sorts of motivation (for instance, economic) and intentionality.” While this deals with labour mobility where movements are based on economic push/pull factors, it is useful here in order to highlight the need for research that falls between migration and mobility literature, and the need for research that can overcome the disconnections between the two (often) distinct sets of ideas, theories and concepts.

More specifically than King’s (2002) argument on the different types of movement, there are theorists who look at this with regards to Eastern Europe. For instance, Martiniello and Rath (2010: 126) argue “since 1989 there has been a sharp rise in cross-border shuttle migration across the eastern frontier of the EU; this has tended to replace the mass East-West migrations originally feared by the West as soon as the Iron Curtain was dismantled. Although some instances of cross-border shuttle migration are long standing (e.g. of Slovenians in Trieste), others have risen with dynamic new rhythms during the 1990s, for instance the migration of Poles to Germany” (Martiniello and Rath, 2010: 126).

Morokvasic (2003: 101) looks at gender and mobility from post-soviet states, arguing that there has been a lot of shuttle migration since 1989 compared to only traditional labour migration before this. Mobilities out of Eastern Europe are about success and earning a living. As Morokvasic (2003: 102) argues, “mobility plays a part in the strategies of these migrants. Rather than trying to migrate and settle in the target country, they tend to settle

within mobility, staying mobile as long as they can in order to improve the quality of life at home...Migration thus becomes their lifestyle, their leaving home and going away, paradoxically, a strategy of staying at home and, thus, an alternative to emigration". This is what Schneider (2011) terms transmigration, though, where moving between homes in different countries is not a one-off process. These more fluid and disparate forms of transmigration are replacing traditional migration, Schneider argues (2011: 11).¹³

Since 1920s, researchers have focused on how migrants integrate into their host country (Miles and Thränhardt, 1995; Newman, 1968; Rogers, 1978). Since 2000s, research has been more focused on how migrants connect to people, networks or places outside the host country (Vertovec, 2002; Basch et al., 1994; Rouse, 1991; Tsagarousianou, 2004; Brah, 1996). Artists' mobilities - moving in and out of cities all the time - also provides new perspectives on the concept of bilateral "transnational ties" (Eade and Smith, 2011; Stewart, 2006; Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002) that has come out of this migration literature. This set of literature argues diaspora only connect with their homeland and those they have "left behind" (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002: 2). This means a lot of studies on migration patterns discuss one "home" country and one "host" country (Chaney, 1979; Gupta, 2007; Basch et al, 1994; Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer, 2013) and the bilateral communications that are made between these two locations.¹⁴ For instance, a 'new type of migrant' was announced in the 1990s - who uses networks to communicate between host and home societies. As Basch et al. (1994: 27) argue, these 'new migrants' (as was conceived then) live with duality, connecting between 'here' and 'there': "their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field".¹⁵

¹³ More broadly, Iglicka (2000) is key to these debates as she makes a distinction between shuttle migrants (who stay for less than three months), short-term migrants (who stay more than three months but less than one year), and long-term migrants (who stay for more than one year). Alongside this, there has also been research conducted into transmigrants and the transnational circuits they create (Thieme, 2008; Odem, 2006; Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995; Rouse, 1991) that link them to their homeland as well as host country, which shows they are not uprooted. Nevertheless, it is a process that results from and contributes to the global economy.

¹⁴ This relates to a section in the literature that explores migration patterns from one 'home' country and one 'host' country (Chaney, 1979; Gupta, 2007; Basch et al, 1994; Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer, 2013) and the bilateral communications that are made between these two locations. For instance, Basch et al. (1994) heralds a 'new type of migrant' who uses networks to communicate between the host and home societies (i.e. transmigrants).

¹⁵ Similarly, Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer (2013: 1) also describe only bilateral relations, in that they discuss "connections between the places of origin and destination". "It is not a matter simply of one-way movement from one country to another but of various movements intersecting borders in both directions" (Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer, 2013: 2). Even though they state it is not a linear process, they do not go as far as to say that these connections are transnational.

However, people who are travelling regularly and working in multiple cities are often connecting between multiple places. As this research shows, many artists today from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia do not necessarily only form relations with their home and host societies; instead, ties are made with multiple places.¹⁶ Artist diasporas have multi-local lives, where their lives are spread across national borders and their transnational ties link across many spaces and are fixed in several places. This research aligns more with the work by Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer (2013: 2) who argue that it is not only a one-way movement from one country to another but various movements intersecting multiple borders in many directions. Transnational ties and communications are not only about connecting bi-laterally between the home and host country, as regular transnational mobilities further deepens the web of multi-cross-cultural communications and networks.¹⁷

Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing amount of research on the impact of migration within the country of residence and the migrants themselves, rather than solely about the homeland or return migration. According to Portes (2003), a new kind of migration developed during the Nineties: international migration became more complex and advanced, whereby migrants cut across international boundaries and brought many cultures into a single (social or work) field. More recently, researchers have begun to look at the idea of transnational networks that connect individuals or groups beyond the nation, connecting diasporic communities of the same nationality across large distances with those in their homeland (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998; Vertovec and Cohen, 1999; James, 2011; Portes et al, 1999; Glick Shiller et al, 1992). This relates to this research, in terms of looking at how individual artists connect across the EU (to their past homes, residences, bases, and future exhibitions and projects).

¹⁶This will also update the definition of migration that is limited. As Sirkeci and Cohen (2011: 3) argue, “the UN definition of migration [which] is lacking” as it excludes a lot of other people with different types of movement. This is why mobility can be used in this research, as a more appropriate term. “Mobility is a term that can be used to replace [or, rather, expand the meaning of] migration. It captures the regular and irregular movements of people regardless of time and duration” (Sirkeci and Cohen, 2011: 7).

¹⁷Class also plays a role in this, in that those who are travelling repeatedly are (relatively) privileged. They are skilled professionals rather than people forced to move due to civil war. Also, class and ethnicity play a part in how individuals are received in the host country. There is a field of literature on class and migration (Anthias, 1992; Colic-Peisker, 2008; Tubtim, 2014) that argues there are certain privileged migrations, and how this has been the case though history up until today.

2.2.1 Transnationalism as Free-floating or a Tangible Part of People's Lives?

There has also been a lot of scholarship on how migrants connect and communicate in digital networks, which has in turn developed the concept of transnationalism. With this, it is possible to see how movements across EU cities (and associated borders) can be a re-orientation rather than a dis-orientation. For the purposes of this research, the term transnationalism refers to the connections made between cultures, which I propose are formed through migration and reinforced through artists' practices. These connections result in the breaking down of cultural boundaries and territorial borders and, more importantly, the formation of connections between people regardless of their physical location. I also use this literature to look at transnational lifeworlds of individuals, distinct from a sub-set of the literature assuming a macro perspective on transnational businesses or capital flows between global cities (Sassen, 2005; Moore, 2016; Kazepov, 2011). In turn, this grounds the notion of mobility by taking a micro-perspective by looking at individuals.

By looking at transnational practices 'on the ground' and from individuals' perspectives provides a more nuanced understanding of the concept of transnationalism, as it is not only something that is 'up in the air' and only about deterritorialisation or transcendence. Transnationalism is not free-floating but is, in fact, tied to local processes and practices that are and need to be fixed to local or trans-local settings. Guanizo and Smith (2006) ground the concept of transnationalism by choosing to take a perspective 'from below' - looking at individuals - because it is the everyday practices of diasporas that provide 'a structure of meaning' to the ways of crossing borders, living in bi-national households, and maintaining transnational social relations.¹⁸ Guanizo and Smith (2006) make the point that these transnational practices are enacted at a local level and made and maintained through tangible exchanges between people, i.e people on the ground in particular local places who create local-to-local connections. There is not only transnational capital and flows from above, but also local or familial networks operating in transnational social spaces that Guanizo and Smith (2006) call 'trans-localities', as local-to-local connections that still retain some semblance of the 'local'.¹⁹ The same goes for the individual artists I interviewed: it

¹⁸ Literature on transnationalism portrays the liberation potential of transnational practices, in terms of how having multi-positional lives allows individuals to overcome control 'from above', as Guanizo and Smith (2006) argue, or how practices provide a form of resistance as Portes (1996) argues.

¹⁹ This relates to what Faist (2006: 3) conceives as the "transnational social space", a relational space with continual (re)connection between migrants within a community. Castles and Miller (2008) conceive the 'transnational social space', although, not only in terms of social factors but also economic and political relations across borders. All these fields within the 'transnational social space' are, by and large, created through networks. Such networks generate, as they argue, "regional cooperation" (ibid.). Castles and Miller

does not mean they are free-floating agents who are neither here nor there and does not mean they are disorientated or have not integrated because they are connected to elsewhere or are travelling regularly. They also show how not all migrants from the same country will take part in the same form of transnational connections; it is more heterogeneous than this and there may be regional differences that determine their circumstances for migrating and their transnationality when abroad. Transnational migration does not erase local identifications, Guanizo and Smith (2006) argue, yet they also note that receiving countries still portray the rhetoric of assimilate or 'go home' which does not help the case for transmigrants whose premise is multi-positionality and cultural hybridity.

There is a tension, though, between transnational social spaces that connect artists regardless of status or birthplace and having to cross the physical spaces and geographies of nations and borders. While Berezin and Schain (2003) argue there are many collective and social spaces where people come together for political reasons or in terms of shared memories, I argue people can come together across large geographic distance in terms of practice - what they do in everyday life. Berezin and Schain (2003) argue the EU is a space without borders, where spatiality is key in discourses on territory, nation, and community, and I argue this is especially the case when discussing the breaking down and repeated crossing of borders. Nevertheless, Berezin and Schain (2003) make it clear that 'territory' does still continue to exist, and that this space has the power to "include and exclude". Territory is important in discussions of transnationalism because there cannot be trans without nationalism. The power of the nation to include and exclude certain people exists alongside community formation at a transnational level, in terms of connecting across different places and borders and connecting across different ethnicities. This is also played out in some of these artists' lives, as they face barriers and restrictions in physical locations but then also find inclusiveness and openness in their transnational networks (on the whole) and due to the geopolitical changes in their countries of origin (see Chapter 6).

Transborder communities of practice actively work in interstitial positions. This means many artists, as part of mobile populations, inhabit place in a certain way, in a relational

(*ibid.*) argue that the contrast between sending and receiving countries is increasingly being eroded. While many countries encompass both immigration and emigration, Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) are mostly known for their emigration. However, what is now happening is an increase in patterns of immigration, in particular, say Castles and Miller (*ibid.*), in Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic. This has changed these countries, and Eastern Europe can now be seen as developing into a 'transnational social space'.

way, whereby they are operating with both or multiple places in mind; this is important for creating meaning that is neither nation-bound nor ethnocentric. This is important for creating diasporic communities that are not based on ethnicity as well as diaspora art is not always particularly 'Estonian' for instance. In fact, each culture can be defined by representations produced in these in-between spaces and these can come to define the culture, especially as some artists who have returned to Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius are seen as superstars or ambassadors (see Chapter 4). Artist diasporas arguably have a more objective viewpoint on home and host cultures due to this interstitial position; defining or commenting on those places and cultures with a clarity that distance provides them with. As Bhabha (1994: 2) argues, "it is in the emergence of the interstices - the overlap and displacement of domains of difference - that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated". People in this position have distance with which to redefine the center, through their interpretations, cultural connections and new spaces. This negotiation and continual re-defining of culture or 'nationness' can be seen in diaspora art. It is found in diaspora art because, as Bhabha (ibid.) argues, it is due to 'aesthetic distance' that provides the image with a double meaning, or 'double edge' Bhabha (ibid.) says, due to these artist diasporas being able to see inwards from the outside.

This research shows that this in-between position is not necessarily disorientating, as research subjects said that it could be illuminating and allow them to gain knowledge on each culture more clearly. However, Bhabha (1994: 2) sees it instead as disorientating, stating that "there is a sense of disorientation; a disturbance of direction, in the 'beyond': an exploratory, restless movement caught so well in the French rendition of the words *au-delà* - here and there, on all sides." He is saying that diasporas are simultaneously in all places and in none of these places properly because they are here, there and in-between. However, it is not necessarily disorientating as transborder communities of artistic practice can use their artwork to understand and comprehend their transnational context. There is a combination of cultural references illustrated in artwork, used to work through issues of: where homes are located, what is happening in their homeland that they can now see more clearly, or how does this culture and environment compare to others? In this respect, art itself can be a home-making practice, as a working through of issues, to make some artists feel more comfortable and rooted in places or enable them to accept that they have

multiple homes. Overall, this means their artworks illustrate both their routes to different places and roots in certain places.

This position also allows more clarity on what is happening in an original homeland and what needs to be developed. Such transnational, trans-local processes carried out by diasporas are having an impact on homelands. Even though earlier in the chapter I said we need to move on from migration literature that looks at migrants' views back to and connections only with homeland, these homelands do need to be part of the discussion as they are changing as a result of what diasporas are doing. Their transnational connections include homelands as well as multiple other locations. While human geographic mobilities have been increasingly explored over the past decade (Cresswell, 2010; King and Wood, 2013; Jordan and Düvell, 2002; Smith and Favell, 2006), as well as connection of diaspora to the meaning of home (Nowicka, 2007; Rapport and Dawson, 1998; Tsagarousianou, 2004) their connection also to the effects on physical homes and transition in home cities has not been fully conceptualised. Further, this has not been assessed through looking at artists. Whilst there is a set of literature on migration and urban development (Pumar, 2012; Thomas, 2012; Naerssen et al, 2008; Murphy, 2008; Bilsborrow, 1998; Jackson, 1997), there is only a small amount of literature on mobility and city change (Meurs and Verheijen, 2003; Roberts, 2012) and rarely are connections made between the physicalities of placing of homes and effects on people's understandings of home or how returnees bring back cultural remittances and then take part in transnational networks from homeland. Yet, mobilities and the subsequently increased amount of transnational connections are changing the dynamics of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes.²⁰ Literature hints at this connection, such as Cohen (2011), who argues "transnational migration reorganises sending communities" or Robertson et al. (1994: 4) who argue "the home we return to is never the home we left, and the baggage we bring back with us will - eventually - alter it forever." More analysis is required on how people who move regularly back and forth, or from A to B to C whilst maintaining connections with homeland, can in fact have impacts on the art scenes within their homelands.

²⁰ While Sassen (2001) looks at the global city in general, others take Eastern European cities as their focus. Gentile et al. (2012) argue that the cities within Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) can now be described as being in the process of "heteropolitanization", transforming from the homopolis of Socialist times to the new heteropolis, where difference and culture are celebrated. Heteropolitanization is argued by Gentile et al. (2012) to be the trend in the ongoing processes of transformation in CEE. Gentile et al. (2012) state that cities have changed from "industry-based production spaces to modern hubs".

In terms of connections back to and return migration to Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, this links to a set of literature on remittances (Mansoor and Quillin, 2006; Crush and Dodson, 2010; Hoang and Yeoh, 2015). Origin countries have increased dependence on foreign investment through remittances, and this is a diaspora's main point of connection to homeland (Guanizo and Smith, 2006). However, what about cultural remittances, through skills and contacts? With artist diasporas, it is also contacts and skills they 'send' or bring back, i.e cultural capital, as well as money. These types of cultural remittances should be assessed in more depth as well as economic remittances, as it has lead to transition to these art cultures that now have global interconnections. Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes want to incorporate their diasporas into exhibition programs and teaching - as part of recent Baltic cultural strategies for developing the local art scenes, and by making them "honorary ambassadors" as Goldring (1998: 165) argues.²¹ Due to these diasporas and their connections made between multiple locations, these once 'sending counties' are witnessing an increasing amount of flows coming in with arts professionals, artworks, and artists.²²

These cultural impacts of diasporas on homelands I argue are equally as important as economic remittances. These are taking place alongside economic remittances that the literature in this area focuses on (Ratha and Shaw, 2007; Mansoor and Quillin, 2006; Vasco, 2011). It is the different types of mobilities, which have also been termed as shuttle migration and transmigration short-term by theorists who were discussed in the previous section, that are altering the homelands in terms of their increased competitiveness, international orientation, and economic prosperity. Various types of 'investment' come from transnational diasporas, whereby the global effects the local. This is far from a one-way process, though, as the local is revolved around and related to what is happening

²¹ For example, Estonian artist Laura Põld was awarded the Addo Vabbe award for her contribution to the Estonian art world, even though, living mainly in Vienna. Baltic governments now realise that by helping their artist diasporas abroad, through funding and keeping them part of the art scene in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, they are also helping themselves to develop and hopefully keep artists coming back rather than living abroad indefinitely.

²² This links to a set of literature on migration and development in the home country (Ahsan, Abella and Beath, 2014; Kelegama, 2011), which concentrates on economic remittances, and related economic developments, rather than cultural impacts. For instance, as Kuznetsov (2013) argues, the Lithuanian diaspora living outside their home country have a desire to be a part of a larger 'national' project, whereby they want to get involved and change the home country. Members of the diaspora have "strong motivation to advance [institutions] professionally and economically" in the home country (ibid.). This does not need to be done through remittances only, but through transnational connections and willingness to use their contacts to make changes in or help start initiatives.

elsewhere.²³ As a result, Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes become more globally connected, where transnationally organised circuits of capital, labour, and communications intersect with one another and with local ways of life.

2.3 Mobilities across the EU: A Space of Free or Restricted Movement?

Alongside these ideas about shuttle migration, circular migration and transmigration, I argue that the concept of mobility should also be a part of this discussion. Since the end of the Soviet Union, population movements across the EU have increased (King, 2002; Rhode, 2002; Ardittis, 1994).²⁴ Geographic mobilities have been more feasible for artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia since the accession of the EU-27 countries in 2004, due to cheaper airfares, improved currency exchange rates and not requiring a visa to travel.²⁵ As EU citizens, they have the rights to access and work across the EU, making it possible - politically and legally - to travel and make repeated movements across internal EU borders. The movement of skilled professionals is of central importance in order to integrate EU member-states through the free movement of people, goods, services and capital (King, 2002: 98). At least, this was the case; today, the situation is more complex in the wake of Britain's EU Referendum and the migration crisis. Nevertheless, this overarching integration, interconnections and free movement is due to the founding principles of the EU, which include the freedom of movement²⁶ and the ability to work in any EU member-state for EU citizens and residents: this is key for establishing a 'European community' without internal borders. This is most clearly evident with passport- and border-free movement for EU citizens and residents within the Schengen Area, of which the Baltic

²³ Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes are more part of the global art world, due to both those away who stay connected or those who return but who are connecting out and changing these places' position on the global art world – which means the Baltic States are no longer 'peripheral' in relation to the art world. These types of 'movements' or transitions in these places depend on and are a result of globalisation and its effect on local communities (Rouse, cited in Gutiérrez, 1996: 247).

²⁴ Europe has seen a change in migration patterns due to the social, economic and political transformations in the Baltic States (and Eastern Europe in general) after the collapse of the Soviet Union. New migration flows have been established from Eastern Europe since 1989 (Rhode, 1993). Also, Ardittis (1994) says this has happened (an increase in East-West population movements) due to economic and political liberalisation in Central and Eastern Europe.

²⁵ For instance, the OECD (OECD, 2013) looks at the Baltic States and Eastern European case, documenting how intra-EU mobility increased after the EU-27 accession in 2004 and again with the economic crisis between 2008 and 2010. The OECD report found that these flows have not reduced in number since the economic crisis. Net emigration over the 2000s was equivalent to almost 6% of the population in Estonia, 9% in Latvia and 13% in Lithuania.

²⁶ This is stated in Article 39 of the Treaty establishing the European Community. These include rights of EU citizens and residents of the: freedom of movement for workers is secure within the community. Also, such freedom of movement shall entail the ending of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards to employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment.

States are a part. Additionally, there are also policies on cooperation between member states and for work that takes place across borders, such as The Interreg program that encourages cross-cultural collaborations, travel and work.²⁷

However, there are still barriers and restrictions for some EU citizens or residents that make relocation a necessity within cultural sectors. This includes a politics of inclusion and exclusion in the EU, in terms of who gets to travel and who does not, how certain artists are received in host countries, and why those from the Baltic States feel they must leave their homeland in order to succeed as an ‘international artist’. In particular, artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are, on one hand, able to benefit from a transnational EU space but, on the other hand, they also have to contend with restrictions and barriers due to economic, cultural and political factors felt in the Baltic States and when integrating elsewhere in the EU. These factors such as establishing art markets in the Baltic States, economic situation there, language barriers, mis-representation encountered has effects on the position of the Baltic art worlds vis-à-vis the global art world. Also, there is a politics of inclusion and exclusion that has to do with representations that have been generated through history and in news media, which also serve to make some feel included yet others excluded in host cities. This is the case for some East European artists who, for instance, feel they are too often labeled as post-soviet artists.

There are varying borders and barriers between different regions across the EU. These pressures inherent in artistic practices can be related to Massey’s (1994: 149) concept of “power geometries”, where there are power relations behind reasons for and ways of moving. This highlights how there are other factors or controls dictating why people travel, showing the need to understand who gets to travel, who does not and the power relations behind mobilities. On the whole, the definition of traveller or mobile professional is someone who has the “security and privilege” to travel without restrictions (Clifford, 1997: 35), but I argue there are motives and economic drivers for these movements that are not only about privilege. Many artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia move out of necessity, due to the pressure to be mobile which means they must make routes to and

²⁷ “The INTERREG program provides funding for interregional cooperation across Europe. It is implemented under the European Community’s territorial co-operation objective and financed through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)” (Anon, 2015). The Commission advocates better organised mobility based on cooperation and on new technologies.

subsequently have bases in different places. These movements across the EU are, as Ahmed (2003) argues, coerced and enforced by border controls policing who does and does not belong. This links to a set of literature on the borders across the EU and the power of nation-states that argues there is a contradictory logic that internally divides the EU's Schengen Space (Verstraete, 2010; Vertreate, cited in Ahmed et al., 2003; Lindseth, 2010; Richardson, 2006). Assessing this "contradictory logic", Verstraete (2010: 93) argues that while it may feel the EU is a transnational space and a united 'European community', it is still in part dependent on decisions made by individual nation-states and is still mired by economic disparities between East and West that generate power relations between those who dictate where flows go and those who must follow these flows. As Massey (1994: 149) argues, "some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it." Different groups within the art world have distinct relationships to mobility; for instance, the geographic mobilities of dealers can be very different to that of an establishing artist.

"Mobility within Europe is without internal frontiers only to the extent that this limitless travel is firmly grounded in national territory and national identity. It is the nation state that grants or withholds the citizenship that allows the individual to go/live/work elsewhere in the EU" (Verstraete, cited in Ahmed et al., 2003: 233).

Due to it being a space that both includes and excludes, the EU limits the availability of mobility to a relatively small group of people.²⁸ Mobilities are privileged and comfortable for only a small number of people, as for others there are barriers, struggles and certain amounts or feelings of exclusion, whether to do with language barriers or misrepresentations. Also, due to the nature of the EU - and its policies on integration, free movement, cross-border collaborations and interconnections between cities - artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia must move 'in tune' to art markets in terms of where events

²⁸While there is freedom of movement for some EU citizens and residents, Verstraete (cited in Ahmed et al., 2003: 229) argues, this is only possible due to the organised exclusion of others forced to move around as illegal 'aliens', migrants, or refugees. EU citizens are made to feel that the EU is their home through this othering and by, as Verstraete argues, "expanding national sovereignty to the external borders of the EU" (Verstraete, cited in Ahmed et al., 2003: 227). However, citizenship is not only about passports but also about duties and rights of being a citizen. While there is a whole field of literature on citizenship (Brubaker, 1992; Magnette, 2005; Faulks, 2000; Bellamy, 2008), this research does not focus on this because the respondents are talking about other issues.

are, where collectors are and so on; this creates tensions between where these artists feel emotionally attached to and where they need to be in terms of economic sense.

Due to these factors, artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia show a particular type of “flexible citizenship” (Ong, 1999: 1). In particular, for those artists who are travelling regularly or have migrated several times, they are inclined to re-examine their roots or attachments to their original homeland. This is not necessarily a flexible citizenship in quite the same sense as Ong intends, but it is used here to show how regular travel or onward migration can change or clarify understandings of roots. This also means artist diasporas are always on the move both physically or figuratively because of their re-examining of roots and due to having an intercultural positionality. These often take place across one or many political borders. As Ong (1999: 3) says with regards to hypermobile Chinese businessman, they have “transnational practices and imaginings”. Transnational communities that form due to their common transnational practices have effects on the mindset of those involved, acquiring a transnational outlook on aspects such as home and roots. For the business(wo)men Ong (1999) discusses, political borders become insignificant in their physical travelling. This is even more so the case in the EU and this also then becomes ingrained for some on a figurative level too. Even though artists are also skilled mobile professionals, the literature favours explorations of business(wo)men (Ong, 1999; Vertovec, 2004; Chiswick, 2011; Florida, 2002). Even though artists also do business, by contrast, they are working independently where there are pressures driving their mobilities, which is different to business(wo)men who are associated with a company, as artists must orchestrate their own transnational network across borders.

Artists’ mobilities across the EU and their transnational communications as an artist diaspora are parts of their cultural practice. It is important to explore these communities, rather than skilled professionals such as business(wo)men, as apart from policy-orientated reports and studies (ERICarts, 2008; OECD, 2015)²⁹, there is little empirical scholarship on the mobility of artists and how they work. There is little known about the long-term impact mobility programs have on the lives, creativity and careers of artists (Lipphardt, 2012). Furthermore, understanding is also required into the extent, forms and motives of artists’

²⁹ERICarts (2008) foregrounds the fact that ‘mobility matters’ for artists and arts professionals from the Baltic States. It charts the support schemes available for this cultural sector to enable artists to travel abroad.

mobilities (Lipphardt, 2012). This confirms research is required into the reasons for and the effects of artists' mobilities. Yet, for visual artists, this way of travelling and having a 'moving job' (Eva Vevere, interview, 6th April 2014) is not a new phenomenon, as mobility has always played a decisive role for artistic careers and is not only something felt and carried out by artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia – though I argue it is more acute in the Baltic States due to the economic situations and establishing art markets, which is discussed in the next section.

“The most favorable space for mobile artists (or those who want to become mobile) is Europe, or more accurately, the EU...based on the principle of free movement, the European Union since WWII has evolved from one of the most fragmented and divided areas in the world into the most integrated transnational space. On top of that, the EU has taken comprehensive measures to increase the mobility of artists by integrating this issue prominently into its cultural policy agenda (notably the framework of its Work Plan for Culture 2008–2010 and 2011–2014).” (Lipphardt, 2012: 112).

With the accession of Eastern European countries in 2004 into the EU, coupled with policies on EU integration and cooperation³⁰ and, in particular, policies on cross-border collaborations and artists' mobilities, the EU is a transnational space - conducive for artists wanting to work in different locations and enter multiple markets.³¹ However, there are power dynamics in mobilities, with people travelling in certain directions. These routes follow highly determined circuits, which are controlled by global relations (Clifford, 1997: 35). Artists face borders and restrictions in their practice and there are still geoeconomic inequalities across the EU. As well as a politics of inclusion and exclusion in the EU, as was mentioned earlier in this section, artists also face pressures to move due to the global art market and inequalities between different places that the art market either designates as

³⁰ EU Member States have been working together on the issue of artists' mobility since 2008 with the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), a framework of cooperation in the field of culture, facilitating the exchange of good practices and peer learning. The role of the European Commission is to support and progress the actions of the Member States in order to reduce barriers to mobility, provide the right environment for it, and ensure that information and advice on mobility-related issues is easy to obtain, as well as being accurate, and comprehensive (European Commission, 2016).

³¹ The notion of Europe as a transnational space is analysed by a set of theorists (Ferbrache, 2011; Hyman, 2006; Rumford, 2003) who look at European integration and post-national citizenship. They explore how far the EU can be considered a unified and cohesive society.

central or peripheral. Instead, this research uses the concept of geoeconomics³² to show how political and economic geography, rather than physical geography, influences the flows and movements within the global art market and how cities are not all connected equally (see Chapter 6). Even though the global art market may be more geographically diverse, there is not an even distribution of flows of money, art and people geographically. This is in contrast to Zabel (2012), Robertson (2011) and Belting and Buddersieg (2009) whose works state there has been a geographical expansion of the art world and that presumes all cities are interconnected equally. This has impacts on artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, as many feel that they have to travel abroad in order to get noticed and survive as a fulltime artist. The nature of geoeconomics also determines where these artists move to and where they make homes, as they need to be based in certain places where there are opportunities for them or where there will be a market for their artwork. This means geography and economics become key to this politics of mobility.

Artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia use strategic gateway cities in order to progress their career. For some, their migrations out of the Baltic States is for the purpose of becoming more mobile. For instance, a popular gateway city for many these artists is Vienna, from where they are then able to work across the larger region of Austria, Germany, France, and Belgium. These can be seen as the new power centers appearing that also act as an interface, or interstitial locations, between the local scene and the global market (Thornton, 2014). It is expected that many of these establishing artists will be based in many cities and move with the 'art calendar' to exhibit at international art fairs and biennales. Multiple mobilities and bases are a necessity because the art market is not located in just one place. Thornton (2014: xiv) argues that, due to these pressures of the art market, local artist has become synonymous with unambitious artist; travel fosters a sophisticated, globalised artist who is familiar with a broad range of venues and audiences, and collaborating with curators and dealers in cities across several countries. The artist profession is a skilled craft; though, it comes with the added pressures of having to be widely connected and being part of several different artist communities and markets, as Thornton's point makes clear.

³² Geoeconomics refers to the study of spatial, temporal and political aspects of economies (Soilen, 2012; Cohen, 1990; Essex, 2013). For the purposes of this study, it refers to how Baltic art communities' motives and routes are determined both by geography and economics.

Due to the circulation of arts professionals, communications, artworks and money, cities across the EU seem to be interconnected with no one particular stand-alone art center. Yet, certain regions attract more flows, money and arts professionals. This is demonstrated with global art fairs that take place in different cities throughout the year; although, they are more concentrated in Western Europe. Instead, respective cities have a particular role, function or are centers for a particular niche market. These connections between cities are vital in sustaining the global art market, whereby each city has a combination of local and global relations. As Zabel (2012: 283) argues, this means that travelling across Europe feels like you are going from province to province. No EU city “feels like a self-sufficient center...the exhibition program is a reflection of other centers” (Zabel, 2012: 283). The artist communities within these cities do not work in isolation from each other; rather, they influence and collaborate with each other. As a result, the global art world is no longer entirely dominated by a few major cities like London or Berlin. This can be seen through leading EU art fairs, such as Art Basel, Documenta, Manifesta, and Venice Biennale. This enables a range of cities to take a role in the art world. This has been noted by Belting and Buddersieg (2009: 1), who suggest there is a new geography of art with biennales in many new art cities like Basel and Tallinn.³³

Even though the fast-flowing, commercial environment breeds underlying dimensions of power and precariousness, it is important to note that this is nothing new. Throughout history, artists have operated within the vagaries of the art world: for instance, moving to wherever would make good ‘career-sense’. This relates to the earlier discussion on Massey’s (1994: 149) concept of ‘power geometries’ that can be related to the art world, whereby dealers and collectors are more in control and somewhat dictating artists’ mobilities. Once again, this is nothing new, as artists have worked at the whims of arts professionals, such as collectors, for many centuries. Due to this, the artistic profession is precarious because of this reliance upon arts professionals, such as collectors, dealers and curators who are in control of the artists’ and artworks’ mobilities and, ultimately, their sales and exposure. For instance, visual artist Burn (in Degen, 2013: 151) says “once my work of art enters the art market, it takes on a power independent of me and this strikes me as a form of

³³ The geographic expansion of art markets is often documented on a worldwide scale, with discussion on emerging Asian markets for instance (Robertson, 2011). However, focus on Europe and (re)emerging art cities or regions has not been as widely explored. This is especially the case in terms of the transformations of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius through internationalisation cultural strategies implemented by governments or artists who have lived abroad and then since returned with skills and contacts, i.e cultural remittances.

estrangement from what I had produced”. It is the job of curators, or ‘strategic agents’ (Sassen, 2001), to choose artists for exhibitions, to take their artwork to international art fairs and to generate hype around an artist. Curators are gatekeepers to the international market for artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.³⁴ Freelance curator, Inga (interview, 24th July 2014), says:

“the curator changes artworks, not directly though. I can bring in light from a different side, or add something, some context. You say [to the viewer] - think of this artist in the context of this and this. You can’t escape from the power or being a gatekeeper. You pick some and not others. But I have a concept. I build concepts. So I chose based on this, so I have a reason.” (Inga, interview, 24th July 2014).

The role of curators as ‘strategic agents’ is nothing new though. For instance, Hamilton (2014) discusses artists during the Nineteenth Century and how their success was dependent not only on their talent. At this time, the Royal Academy was the “barometer” in painting, sculpture and architecture in Britain - with its curators and gallerists deciding whose to display (or not) (Hamilton, 2014). Also, by the mid-Nineteenth Century there was a sophisticated relationship between art and business: this was due to social and technological developments taking place in society that elevated the importance of money and influence within institutions and markets (Hamilton, 2014). There is a set of literature on the position and function of curators, which explores the work of the curator and what it entails (Balzer, 2014; Murray, 1996; Thea, 2001) or viewing curating as a cultural practice (Rugg and Sedgwick, 2006; Harding, 1996). What is lacking from this is an argument on the power of curators and how they can become gatekeepers for the community and the gatekeepers to artists’ travel. This links to Crane (2009) who argues “the importance of an artwork is determined less by aesthetic elements than by the publicity and the notoriety that results from the work.” Such publicity and notoriety can also be produced through the work of collectors. The role of the private collector is (or should be) as intermediary

³⁴ This is also shown by Zabel (2014: 38) who argues “a curator never works in a clear and neutral space; his or her activity is therefore a response to particular determining conditions.” For artists from the Baltic States, their success depends on whether or not (and if enough) curators go out of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius to promote the art and develop the visibility of these art scenes. There are some curators who travel internationally. For instance, Virginija Januškevičiūtė who also works at the Contemporary Art Center in Vilnius, but is involved with projects such as Independent Curators International (*CiMAM*, New York).

between artist and the public.³⁵ This is distinct from public or state institutions and provides another avenue of funding for the Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes. By contrast to when the state funded artists and art institutions in the Baltic Soviet Republics during the Soviet Union, the private sector is now developing and this means that there are an increasing number of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian collectors and banks buying and collecting artworks.

The global art market dictates artists' movements as well as a broader politics of inclusion and exclusion in the EU and politics of (mis)representation that these artists often face. These struggles or barriers provide reasons for their specific types of mobilities, which in turn determine and influence how they feel about work homes, roots and homeland. This is why the global art market is important in determining artists' mobilities, migrations and homes; this is discussed further in Chapter 6.

2.3.1 A Renewed 'Mobilities Paradigm'

Distinct from transport mobilities (Wilkie, 2014; Banister, 2000) or social mobility (Fitzpatrick, 2002; Cooley, 2008), literature on human geographical mobility began in 2006 (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Adey et al, 2010; Morley, 2000; Moores, 2012; Cresswell, 2006; Cross, 2013; Smith and Hetherington, 2013).³⁶ Since then, it has been also acknowledged as a social practice associated with particular individuals or communities who move regularly for short periods, which this study underscores. However, there is a tension here, as the geographic mobilities that each person takes part in are not equal and the same applies when comparing amounts of mobilities coming in and out of different places, as some places incorporate more flows and mobilities than others. Adey (2006: 75) problematises mobility by stating that "if mobility is everything then it is nothing" and,

³⁵The role of the collector can be, as Gay (2007: 87-88) argues, "middle[wo]men of culture, intervening in the making of taste, trying to entice lovers of art, music, and literature, many of them new to the culture market, to rise above easy entertainments and learn to appreciate the sophisticated, difficult, and unconventional." There is a set of literature on art as a business, which is also outlined in Chapter 2 (Robertson, 2008; Findlay, 2012; Velthuis, 2013). These middle(wo)men are not so much teaching us about 'high art' but, rather, developing it as a business. By the mid-nineteenth century, Gay (2007: 88) argues, these "middlemen were amassing enough influence to channel – and create – demand."

³⁶Prior to this, mobility was also conceived as social mobility and tied to issues of class (Lipset and Bendix, 1959; McKee and McClendon, 1977; Beller and Hout, 2006; Sengupta and Ghosh, 2010). Scholarship on mobility has also been carried out within the field of transport facilities and public policy (OECD, 2001; Vigar, 2002; Godard and Fatonzoun, 2002; Starkey, 2002).

through this, highlights a relational politics of (im)mobility.³⁷ One needs roots in order to understand mobilities. Adey (2006) perceives mobility as a term that helps to explore processes like globalization, migration, and tourism but I also add that it helps to understand artistic practices, in terms of how artists move across multiple borders, connect between more locations than just the host society and homeland, and that roots or attachments are still important even in continual travel and regular onward migration. This is why mobility is an apt term for describing the way artists travel and migrate along their career, as it encompasses all levels of movement, from frenzied travel every four days to onward migration once every six months to a year as well as how it refers to the politics of inclusion and exclusion or power relations between different actors in the art world that were outlined in the previous section.

More investigation is needed on the effects of these repeated movements on artists but also how their careers are dictated and determined by the kind of mobilities they take part in. Such types of movement in the cultural sector are made due to pressures making them leave and, hence, dictating their routes and pace. While there is a lot of literature on the meaning of permanent migration and its affects on the individual (Crawford and Campbell, 2012; Hildebrandt and McKenzie, 2005; Fitzpatrick, 1987) there is little on this within mobilities literature to do with repeated and multiple movements. What has not been explored enough is the question of: “what social and physical ramifications does such [continuous, short-term, multi-directional] movement have” (Urry, 2007: 4)? Sheller and Urry (2006: 207) state there is a “new mobilities paradigm” and Hannam et al. (2006: 1) describe a ‘mobilities turn’ in literature. Sheller and Urry (2006) propose that those on the move include international students, holidaymakers and asylum seekers (to name but a few). By looking at the aspects of, firstly, the reasons for mobility to certain places and, secondly, their effects on the artists themselves, also helps to ground the concept of mobility. This research contributes to a ‘renewed mobilities paradigm’ by relating these theories and analyses to individual artists and their everyday lives. This way, an understanding of this term can be grounded through exploring a specific community in their everyday lives and practices.

³⁷In order to show this, Adey takes the examples of a website and an airport; he (2006: 75) argues that in the airport there exists the same “lack of permanence” as on the website. Whilst the airport does not move, Adey (ibid.) argues, it acts as a “node” with flows of people and objects coming in and out.

The scholarship on mobilities is interdisciplinary, bringing together the disciplines of geography, anthropology, communication and cultural studies. The concept of mobility has to do with short-term travel that can be for work or leisure. Why is the term mobility important here, rather than travel or movement? While the term travel connotes more to do with travelling cultures and people exploring new lands, movement is a more open-ended term that is not restricted in terms of distance or time. However, the term movement is void of any associated meaning or power. Even though the term mobility can become a container term, this research avoids this by aligning more with Cresswell (2006) who links mobility to place. Similarly to people's experiences of and relationship to place, people also experience, are included or excluded from and become attached to mobility. Places are activated through meaningful sets or webs of spaces, which in turn, provides the place with meaning and power. "Mobility is just as spatial - as geographic - and just as central to the human experience of the world, as place" (Cresswell, 2006: 3). This research argues that it is important to understand mobility not simply as a form of disconnectedness and uprootedness but, rather, inclusive of interaction and connectedness. Taking from what Cresswell (2006) says, mobility is more than simply movement. Instead, "our mobilities make waves" (Adey, 2010: 19). They have an effect on cities due to flows coming in and out, they effect the spatial relations made between these cities, and have effects on the individuals involved.

With some artists who travel between places every week, there also needs to be some discussion about the notion of hypermobility. This has been theorised in literature to do with mobilities generally (Endres, Manderscheid and Mincke, 2016; Fielding 2012; Khisty and Zeitler, 2001), which argues this state of hypermobility is found in many aspects of life and work, but that this does not necessarily mean people lose their attachments to place. Endres, Manderscheid and Mincke (2016) reconsider the 'mobilities paradigm' and describe the developments that have been made in this field since 2006; they also show how it can be developed further by conceptualising mobility as a lifestyle that also requires aspects of fixity in order to be sustainable. They (2016: 115) argue that, for frequent travellers, their practices of mobility do not simply reflect fluidity, detachment and social escapism but, rather, have place attachments and durable personal relationships: "issues of fixity and permanency act as significant conditions for leading hypermobile lives."

Through exploring the effects of mobilities on artists' placing of dwellings, their networks or community formations, and how it subsequently affects their understandings of home, this research contributes to the "new mobilities paradigm" (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 1). Furthermore, transborder communities of practice do not only have one type of mobility as there are mobilities of people, objects and communications, inclusive of both material mobilities and digital mobilities.³⁸ Different types have been written about (Heller and Feher, 1988; Mauss, 1969; Zolberg, 1983) but they are not taken together often or thoroughly enough. That said, this research focuses on the material, corporeal mobilities of artists whilst at the same time acknowledging that they take part in other types of mobilities alongside their physical travelling in order to maintain their transnational networks. Looking at these differing types of mobilities - material and digital movements of individuals, artworks and communications - it is important to explore the ways one person can take part in multiple different types of mobilities and the interrelations between them in order to show that, just as with mobilities, people have different layers and levels of both movement and attachment. This combination of routes and roots for artist diasporas is explored in a later section, while here I explore why these artists can be seen to take part in mobilities rather than being termed cultural travellers, sojourners, nomads or permanent migrators.

Artists' mobilities are different to cultural travellers, nomads, or permanent migrators. However, it is important to explore these types of movements alongside literature on mobility in order to show how artists' mobilities are different and, with this, can update the mobilities paradigm. While Ossman (2013) explores serial migrators and Clifford (1997) explores cultural travellers for instance, artists do both and make movements that are in-between that of travelling or serial migration. Also, these artists' movements are different to the more privileged migrators Ossman (2013) discusses or cultural travellers who move to explore new lands. This leads to the question of: how do artists locate - root/route - themselves in their travels or root/route themselves across cities? Are roots or routes formed in their travel or both? Different circumstances have an effect on the type of roots or routes people form. However, this does not mean there is one set of rules on how type of travel and migration affects one's understanding of roots, as there are many other

³⁸ Most previous accounts focus on one type of mobility (Larsen, Hasberg and Schmid, 2011; Gerger, 1984), but this research takes a range of mobilities. This is in order to show how individuals use different types of mobilities and how these cannot be researched alone.

determining factors such as upbringing, experiences, and cultural background that influence both roots and routes. For those who are constantly travelling and seem to be 'global natives' - able to work and move across cultures with relative ease and can adjust easily - might in fact feel strongly rooted to their homeland. Andits (2015) argues that, through media, diaspora feel either more or less disorientated from their homeland. These regular travellers will inevitably become experts at living in transnational positions. This is what Clifford (1997: 22, 19) calls "intercultural situations", that are often experienced by the "hybrid native" who is hypermobile, seemingly native to that culture but in fact have a mixture of different cultures. Whereas, someone living in their homeland might feel disconnected from this place due to working transnationally through their digital network or who wants to leave but cannot due to family or work commitments. Together, this complicates the binary of roots as fixed, whilst routes as relatively mobile, or whether as Clifford argues - "roots always precede routes" (Clifford, 1997: 3).

Regular onward migrators - who migrate onto a new EU city every year or two - are also accustomed to the processes of resettlement and living across several places, able to make new homes in each new place to which they migrate. This is what Ossman terms the serial migrator who is a master of resettlement (Ossman, 2013).³⁹ More importantly, many theorists discuss and explore experiences and communications after one or the first migration or the home and host country and migrants' experiences in both, but not about the subsequent places that people move on to - i.e. second or third migrations. This relates to a set of literature on onward migration (Nekby, 2006; Kelly, 2013; Newbold and Bell, 2001) or secondary migration (Tatenaka, 2007; Edin, LaLonde and Olof, 2000). These subsequent movements are important to explore here because artists often do not just make one final migration: these subsequent movements are important because they allow them to detach themselves from the feeling of 'in-betweenness' - between the duality of living between the host and home country. After multiple migrations, many gain a transnational connections, rather than bilateral cross-cultural connections between 'here' and 'there'. Ossman argues that people feel liberated after settling in a third country, i.e. liberated from the double bind of immigration (2013: 4).

³⁹The serial migrants are those who themselves choose to repeat the experience of movement, but who are not attached to an institution. Rather than having to repeatedly move with their company, it is their own 'choice'. This is important as when talking about skilled migrants in this chapter, theory tends to focus on business(wo)men (Ong, 1999; Vertovec, 2009).

Ossman (ibid.) argues that regular onward migrators struggle with the accumulation of all these different cultural influences and the hybridized or multi-faceted identities this can produce. However, I argue that moving multiple times can provide a clearer perspective on what home means and clarity on issues pertaining to homeland through being able to make comparisons. These issues are worked through in regular travel or onward migration because it raises questions such as: where shall I place my roots or where will my main home be vis-à-vis my other base(s)?⁴⁰ These issues are heightened after relocating and, for artists, these issues can then be illustrated in their artwork. Rather than only having a second homeland as Ossman (ibid.) investigates, this research argues that artist diasporas have several roots and many attachments to different places.⁴¹ Furthermore, the time spent in different locations does not necessarily constitute different 'life chapters' as Ossman (ibid.) suggests. Instead, I argue these attachments can be seen as interlinked - different homes are connected through the routes one makes regularly across these, either physically, digitally or mentally. Together, they provide a holistic feeling of home.

How then is nomadic travel different to those who take part in short-term travel or onward migration, and what can an analysis of this bring to the discussion here? Literature on nomadic travel looks at issues of travel and how the notion of home for nomads takes on mobile qualities, as it is something that is carried with them on their journeys across the land (Stillwell, 2010; Richter, Ruspini, Mihailov, 2016; Click Shiller and Faist, 2010). When considering nomadic travel, the concept of home becomes more fluid and attachments become associated with the land. This can be related to artistic practice in the EU, as artists may feel attached to this 'land' because they have or have had dwellings, studios, contacts and collaborations in many cities (regularly traversing this 'land'). As a result of moving across this space, Ahmed et al. (2003) argue that this whole expanse is 'internalized'. The EU becomes a place where Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian artists feel comfortable to scatter multiple dwellings and studios and move between these on a regular basis. While nomadic travellers may not have a singular physical home that is permanent, they can have internal or figural feelings of 'being at home' that are felt across a large geographic expanse.

⁴⁰ This choice is also restricted by residency and citizenship criteria that differ. A few artists told me that they would think twice about working in London after the UK leaves the EU, because their would be higher taxes to send/transport artwork and they would need a visa to travel and stay in London.

⁴¹ Even though Ossman (2013) presents the fact that some people can build two homelands, she does not discuss how this affects their understanding of their home. Moreover, serial is not an appropriate word as it has negative connotations such as serial killers but it also suggests they are following predictable behavior patterns.

Relinquishing attachments to one place enables individuals to gain a clarity on 'home'; in particular, with artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, this can provide a clearer understanding of their homeland and the aspects of their 'home' culture they want to depict in artworks. As Ahmed et al. (2003) argue, "the very detachment from a particular home grants the nomadic subject the ability to see the world, an ability that becomes the basis for a new global identity and community" (Ahmed et al., 2003: 86).

However, this discussion makes it seem as though everyone is able to be mobile. This is far from the case. Movement is not a given and is not comfortable for or accessible to everyone. It is important to note that not everybody is physically moving necessarily. As Morley (2011: 41) argues, in the UK "the matter is that more than 50 per cent of the UK population still live within 5 miles of where they were born - i.e. for many people, it's still a very sedentarist culture."⁴² One can be physically immobile or only travel within their country but still be digitally mobile, connecting through transnational networks. Some Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian artists have returned after having saturated travel, after having created their transnational network, or remain here due to family or work commitments. After return migration, artists can communicate from this base with a dispersed art community across the EU in order to keep in touch with their gallery representatives, organise particular international events, or to organise travelling exhibitions for artworks. This shows how it is possible for some to assume that mobilities create a sense of disorientation, and how this means the ideas of home become associated with stasis, fixity and boundedness - a meaning of home which the findings from this study refute. This research disagrees with this, as fixities to places and making roots are still important even for people who are continually travelling. Furthermore, these individuals are not necessarily displaced or uprooted. Even for those who do not move, this does not mean these people are not mobile in other respects. This means the return is not a regression into a 'local' or 'immobile' lifestyle, but that it can also be about combinations of local and global affiliations. Even though having returned, they are intent on building transnational imaginations, connections and homelands. This links to Tsagarousianou's (2004) point, discussed in the next section, that diaspora have the potential to create a

⁴² It cannot be simply assumed that everyone or the world is on the move. Sirkeci and Cohen (2013) state that "[o]nly a tiny fraction, that is 3% of people live in a country other than the one in which they were born." They also argue "although we are often focused on the migrant and mobility, we must remember the majority of people worldwide never move[...]. This point highlights an important aspect of moving: Only those who are able, capable and resourceful move" (Sirkeci and Cohen, 2013).

transnational imagination and are about connections, though, I argue that after they return to their homeland (if they do) they can still maintain these same connections and transnational imaginations.

2.4 Can Artists be seen as a Transnational Diaspora?

Researching visual artists can contribute to literature on transnational diasporas because many connect with each other in transnational networks due to commonalities in their practice or due to their circumstances of having to move regularly and subsequently having attachments to people in multiple places. It shows how a diaspora can be about these links, rather than solely about their links to a singular ethnic diaspora or homeland. Artists are rarely explored as a transnational diaspora, yet, it is important to do so in order to dispel the myth that they are only necessarily sojourners who freely explore new cultures. Instead, they are embedding themselves in strategic EU cities for specific reasons to do with career progression and market potential.

Artist diasporas have been studied in terms of their movements out of their homeland and their experiences in a host country (Herrera, 2011; Braziel, 2008; Mirzoeff, 2000). There is also a set of literature on diasporic art (Dumas, 2012; Lewthwaite, 2013; Haynes, 2014) that discusses how art provides artists with an outlet in order to explore their lives that are lived across different places and their experiences within new cultures. For instance, O'Reilly Herrera (2011) looks at the Cuban artist diaspora in terms of their art-making practices and, in particular, how these artists use cultural influences from both home and host cultures. Their art then becomes a way to process their experiences of movement and to integrate into a new place.⁴³ Artistic practice can help in their engagement in the host society but also still stay connected to homeland through taking part in exhibitions. Often, art is mentioned only briefly as part of explorations of diaspora in terms of their outputs, but exceptions to this are O'Reilly Herrera (2011). Diaspora art provides combinations but also aspects that are often contradictory or in tension. Yet, O'Reilly Herrera (2011) demonstrates how the Cafeteros' art-making involves a process of re-rooting, absorption, translation, and synthesis that simultaneously conserves a series of identifiable Cuban

⁴³ Along with O'Reilly Herrera, Mirzoeff (2000) also looks at Jewish and African diasporas and their visual culture, in terms of implications of having multiple viewpoints. This also addresses the development in the term 'diaspora', which was seen as a disruption to the nation-state in the 19th Century while, since late 20th Century, diaspora has been seen as a condition that is felt globally and part of a postnational world.

cultural elements while re-inscribing and transforming them in new contexts.⁴⁴ O'Reilly Herrera (2011: 2) argues that these artists' artworks have to do with "absorption, translation, transformation, and synthesis" but also simultaneous retention of "Cuban cultural elements". Artists are influenced by their new surroundings and cultures abroad; subsequently, their art is about cultural translation and mixture. She (2011: 4) focuses on how artists produce alternative geographies that reimagine space, and this shows the particular way artistic diasporas can create new spaces. Importantly, new spaces and cross-cultural meanings can be created through both cultural combinations and oppositions.⁴⁵

While O'Reilly Herrera (2011) stresses that a lot of discourse on the Cuban artist diaspora relates to displacement, and tends to portray homeland as an unchanging and fixed physical place of origin, I instead foreground connections and positive developments that can come from mobilities and diaspora formations abroad. This is based on interviews that looked into these artists' experiences after moving abroad. With this, I show how artist diasporas, and especially with many of the artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, are not longing to return to their homeland and are not overwhelmed by nostalgia. In fact, they are actively building transnational imaginations through their connections and in the transnational spaces illustrated in artworks. However, some artists still maintain their transnational position on returning to their homelands. Relating to the idea of "spiral return", O'Reilly Herrera (2011: 5) emphasises that people are permanently altered through travel and they are not in the same emotional or psychological state when they return to their homeland. As a result, they are producing art that illustrates homeland in new ways, reimagining it as a space and culture, whether still abroad or after returning. This also shows how place is not a fixed geographical, cultural or political region. O'Reilly Herrera (*ibid.*) says that Cuba has always seen processes of "absorption, translation, transformation, and synthesis that has occurred in the context of movement" and this is due to, I argue, diasporas and their sustained connections to homeland or those who have returned and remain connected to people abroad.

⁴⁴ O'Reilly Herrera (2011: 2) makes the point that Cuba has been in motion and in transition for centuries, both physically and culturally. Rather than focusing on the exodus since 1959 revolution that is common in discourse, she shows or highlights migration patterns out and in to this country through history.

⁴⁵ Through looking at the interlinked communities in and away from the physical geography of Cuba itself, O'Reilly Herrera (2011) explores both 'migratory stability' and 'stable mobility' that are inherent in the Cuban artist diaspora. This once again complicates the binary of mobility as about disorientation and uprooted while home is fixed. In other words, these artists' lives are about both trans-localism and settlement.

These notions of transnationalism and diaspora have been widely used as ways of conceptualising what happens to people after migration (Bauböck and Faist, 2010). Both terms relate to cross-cultural processes, but diaspora often denotes religious, political or ethnic groups living outside their homeland while transnationalism is often used to describe migrants' ties across borders and to describe different types of social formations such as networks, groups and organisations (Bauböck and Faist, 2010). This research reconsiders literature that looks at the scattering of ethnic groups and their subsequent social formation across borders between people of the same nationality (Okamura, 2013; James, 2011; Robins and Aksoy, 2001; Phan, 2006; Passura, 2014). A lot of literature on migration, transnationalism and diaspora studies views and researches diasporas along ethnic lines (Valenta and Ramet, 2011; Ma and Cartier, 2003; Silk, 1999). However, as discussed in the previous section, artists form transnational communities across borders - both in terms of physical territorial borders and ethnic 'borders' - connecting in terms of their practice and what they 'do'.

One example of research on ethnic diasporas is Valenta and Ramet (2011) who look at the nature of ethnicity in Bosnian immigrant communities. Bosnian migrants take part in transnational practices, Valenta and Ramet (2011) argue, and these ties link the diaspora with non-migrants in their homeland as well as Bosnian diaspora residing in other countries. Due to these ties to homeland, they argue that they "dream of returning home" (2011: 5). They also investigate how non-migrants become involved with the transnational community abroad; this links to what I argue, as it is not only those in a diaspora who connect 'here' and 'there' but also those living in their homeland who communicate outwards. Their point is that, through these outward connections with newspapers or social media, they are then instigated to migrate themselves. This research by Valenta and Ramet (2011) focuses on how the Bosnian diaspora connect with other Bosnian nationals. However, I argue a transnational community or transnational diaspora can be more diverse and heterogeneous than this, as surely some connections lie outside the Bosnian ethnic group that may play a central role in their everyday lives.

Also taking a perspective on ethnicity, Ma and Cartier (2010) look at the Chinese diaspora living in the US and UK. Ma and Cartier (2010) argue that these communities are formed through spatial processes, where there is at least one main or central location where a significant number of this diaspora has settled. However, with artist diasporas, there may

not be this one main place, and this is especially the case in the EU where the art world is multi-sited. There are hotbeds such as Vienna and Brussels for artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia but, on the whole, they are dispersed all across the EU. That said, Ma and Cartier (2010) acknowledge the development in diasporic communications and connections since 1960s, in that there are now more complex webs of connections as well as the creation of new transnational circulations of people and capital. Ma and Cartier are saying that their digital lives are more multi-directional and include multiple spatial connections – but this can also be the case offline and in people’s physical lives. As Ma and Cartier (2010: 19) argue, “[i]nstead of a simple connection between a sending place in Guangdong or Fujian and a paired destination place in Southeast Asia before the 1960s, the patterns of spatial interaction today are multidirectional, based on multiple centers of origin and destination.” Whilst this acknowledges movements beyond bilateral connections, it does not mention the fact that they might connect with members of the Japanese diaspora or non-migrants living in Southeast Asia for that matter. Instead, all mention of connections and flows are to and from Chinese nationals. However, is this truly transnational and do analyses on diaspora only have to be about connections between one ethnic group?

The ways in which diasporas have multiple connections are, though, reflected in some of the recent scholarship that emphasises the transnational character of diasporas (Tsagarousianou, 2004; Brah, 1996; Baubock and Faist, 2010; Bonnerjee, 2010). This set of literature complicates the ‘location’ of people by exploring how diasporas are both embedded in the host society at same time as stretched out across space.⁴⁶ Importantly, diasporas form new creative identities and cultures rather than looking towards the past or only being identified by their homeland (Tsagarousianou, 2004). In fact, their identities have less to do with their migration process and re-settlement and more to do with their conscious re-making of home in their new location. Tsagarousianou (2004) argues that diasporas have a lot of potential to create new spaces. This research takes this further to propose that these ‘new spaces’ not only include people of the same ethnicity; this is important because people are not only migrating and then connecting with those of the same ethnic group – it is more multicultural and heterogeneous than this. Furthermore, artist diasporas create their own spaces not only through transnational networks but also

⁴⁶This is why Tsagarousianou (2004) proposes Safran’s conception of diaspora can be opened out, as she is wary of definitions and lists of what diaspora is, which do not take into account diasporas’ fluid and dynamic nature.

through their artwork; with researching artist diasporas, another layer of (relatively more metaphorical) transnational spaces can be assessed alongside their transnational networks, communications and movements across borders. Cross-cultural spaces in art are mentioned later in this chapter.

I argue there has been an over-emphasis on diaspora's place of origin rather than their potentials in the host country (Ahmed, 2001; Gal, Leoussi and Smith, 2010; Ryang and Lie, 2009), which Tsagarousianou (2004) sees as their creative possibilities. For instance, Ahmed (2001) looks at diasporas and memory in terms of how diasporas are orientated towards their home culture, while others view this experience as negative and about dislocation and uprooting (Moghissi, 1999; Branche, 2010). Diasporas are too often seen as displaced, yet, they should be seen in terms of connection (Tsagarousianou, 2004). Even though the term diaspora often relates to issues to do with traumas of separation and dislocation, I argue diasporas can also be related to rerooting, home-making and their creative experiences and outputs. This aligns with theory that addresses diasporas in terms of hope and new beginnings (Brah, 1996: 193) or in terms of creating new spaces, identities and connection (Tsagarousianou, 2004). This research stands in opposition to the idea that diasporas are consumed by nostalgia and wanting to return to an unchanging mythic, romanticised homeland. In fact, for many, their transnational communications enable them to be in or feel attached to multiple places, or feel embedded both in the immediate place as well as distant places. This is not only either making them feel disassociated from homeland or more integrated to the host culture through transnational communications, but allowing them to maintain all of these homes and attachments. However, these multiple homes may not all be equal, and these cannot be equated across different artists.

Those artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia who are living and working abroad can be seen as a transnational diaspora, as they are dispersed across the EU yet still maintain links to the Baltic region. As Tsagarousianou and Fazal (2002) argue, a transnational diaspora is a particular sense of belonging to both local and global spheres and about imaginations or practices that reach beyond the boundaries of a singular place. For many, their everyday practices include working towards exhibitions in their studio as well as making connections globally with their transnational network they have generated, which includes curators, collectors and gallerists working across the EU or in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. These practices are in accordance with a diaspora's position across and connecting places, or as

Tsagarousianou (2004) argues, their “readiness and willingness to engage themselves with the building of a transnational imagination and connections that constitutes the ‘threshold’ from ethnic to diasporic identification” (Tsagarousianou, 2004: 64). While diasporic identification has been outlined in the previous two pages, Tsagarousianou makes the distinction with ethnic identification so that diasporas are not only linked to and identified through their homeland. This can also be linked to artist diasporas, in particular, who create a particular type of consciousness where they extend themselves beyond the national, they create cultural texts that combine cultural influences, and many of whom are instrumental in changing home and host cultures through these new spaces created in their artwork, where new connections are generated and new ways of looking at home culture are presented.⁴⁷

2.4.1 Mobility is not only Uprooted; Home is not only Fixed

The meaning of home is a contested issue (Agnew 2000; Jonker 2012; Pireddu 2015; Harris 2003) in terms of whether it means a temporary home, homeland, a physical place or a feeling. Must it be associated with only homeland or an ethnic group? This research examines the notion of home in both its abstract and concrete sense, in terms of physical dwellings and feelings. It argues that the meaning of home might not only be related to a location or a physical place, but rather a community that spans across territorial borders or home might be found in everyday practice (and the people and places associated with this) rather than only in their homeland that they may not have lived in for a while. This meaning of home can also be associated with a number of aspects that are not associated with the physical elements of place, such as friends, family, memories and it has to do with feelings and attachments. It can also be about the past and future – where someone grew up or where they feel an innate connection to and know that place will be a ‘home-coming’ when they migrate there. These are some of the spatial and temporal aspects of the notion

⁴⁷These different possibilities of artist diasporas for re-imagining and then re-forming ‘home’ and ‘host’ (and additional) cultures, or the potentials of a diaspora as Tsagarousianou (2004) argues, can be divided into four aspects. We can refer to the work by Vertovec to further develop this concept and provide a valorization of what a transnational diaspora is. (1) It is a type of consciousness, whereby a diaspora has multiple identifications within and beyond one nation, (2) it is a mode of cultural reproduction that blends different cultures, (3) a (re)construction of place, in terms of the creation of trans-local understandings, and (4) a social morphology, where social formations and spatial relations are formed across borders (Vertovec, 1999: 3-9). Looking at migrant transnationalism in terms of breaking down cultural boundaries, Vertovec looks at the people as well as their institutions in order to understand the types, differences, and effects of migration. As Tsagarousianou (2004) and Vertovec (1999) look at the multiple ties, interactions, and exchanges of diaspora in terms of building transnational identities and communications.

of home, which provide reason for exploring both its physical and metaphorical sides and the connections between the two in this research.

Artists can feel at home in their art community due to their membership to an art community or feel at home through doing their art, which do not necessarily have a historic link to a particular place. “The assumption of a fit between culture, a people, and a place has governed modern concepts of the national and culture. Western projects of nation-building and colonialism emerged from the association of these elements.” (Jerad, in Ossman, 2007: 47). We need to look past these boundaries and confines today. People can be attached through transnational communications, rather than fixed to a place in the traditional sense. For instance, I found that some artists can feel more at home in a different culture to their place of birth, which means people and culture do not always ‘fit’. This means that feelings of home or aspects of it, such as ‘doing art’ and communicating with family, friends, and colleagues in a transnational network, can be taken to wherever or however often one travels or migrates. Moving to a new place and adjusting is not about forming a whole new feeling of home, as some elements of attachments come from phenomena that are not fixed in one physical place – such as people who form their transnational network and their practice.

Even though Morley is from a particular school of thought (The Birmingham School) during the 1990s, Morley’s work is still relevant because his work shows how many aspects of the meaning of home in hypermobility are still unknown. Even for travelling populations and diasporas, Morley (Morley, 2000; Morley, cited in Jansson and Christensen, 2011) argues that the notion of home still has importance and that material connections and mobilities need researching as there has been a predominance of research on virtual communications. Homeland continues to be the location from where people ‘measure’ (compare/contrast with) their travels. Travel has impacts on individuals in relation or based on their cultural background, which reflects what I found in artworks; this is discussed in Chapter 5. Morley (2000) argues this also connects to issues about nationhood, as these people still communicate and associate with a shared community of common language and culture.⁴⁸ However, they can connect due to commonality of

⁴⁸ This also links to Massey (1995) who notes, even in mobile lives, these people often have a particular home or settled form of localism. This is an elite movement, as restricted for those with the power to make sure

interest and common language of art. Nevertheless, Morley examines how traditional understandings of home, as associated with nation, territory and homeland, have been reconsidered since transnational mobilities and communications burgeoned at the turn of the 21st Century. For Morley (*ibid.*), home is about inclusion and exclusion. He also talks about the important role of media in keeping that connection to one's home territory - i.e. homeland. He also poses the question of whether new technologies can, in turn, create new kinds of 'home territories' and he also questions how we can feel at home in a globalized hypermobile world.

Morley (2000) shows how the notion of home relates to that of ethnic origins or a racial identification when referring to the notion of 'Heimat'. "Territoriality is often seen as a prerequisite for the formation of a 'community', whether in a small locality such as a rural area or an urban neighbourhood, or for communities that exist on a larger scale such as the nation or an ethnocultural diaspora" (Silk, 1999: 8). However, I want to break through this discourse on community, practice and belonging as nation-bound and tied to ethnicity or place (of birth). Rather, I align with conceptions of community and connections as not place-bound (Massey, 1991; Silk, 1999; Anderson, 1983; Weber, 1964). Importantly, Morley (2000: 3) notes that the concept of home often remains uninterrogated amongst more commonly researched topics of globalization, flows and mobilities. This is why this research combines both sides of the spectrum in order to show how mobilities have effects on the concept of home.

In 1980s and 1990s, the literature on home discussed how physical homes were made and how people came to feel at home (Davidoff and Hall, 1987; Allan and Crow, 1989; Chapman and Hockey, 1999) as well as those who explored how home was experienced and felt in or after migration (Hage, 1997; Rapport and Dawson, 1998). For those who view migration or mobility as a dislocation or loss of home (Agnew, 2005; Flusser, 2003; Said, 2006), this means the concept of home becomes associated with stasis, origin, roots and birthplace. This is a viewpoint that the current research has reconceptualised, by showing the nexus between travel and roots in how one affects the other as well as by grounding the notion of mobility while uprooting the notion of home. However, recent literature goes beyond this binary (Nowicka, 2007; Rapport and Dawson, 1998; Blunt and

they have a place they can all their own (Massey, 1995). This is different to refugees or exiles who cannot return to their homeland, so are severed from this privilege.

Dowling, 2006) in order to explore how people have transnational homes rather than viewing 'home' as only associated with homeland.

This set of literature moves beyond theories of home as static - not only associated with the physical house and attachments to this place, but it is more often seen through the concept of 'transnational homes' that are formed across borders and beyond a geographical sense of national belonging (Ahmed et al., 2003; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). For example, Andits (2015) argues that the concept of home is neither only fixed nor fluctuating. Andits (2015) says that with the case of Australian Hungarians, they struggle between wanting order as well as flexibility with regards to belonging. Importantly, she sees their homeland as not something left behind but as something that defines them now. While Andits (2015) wants to emphasise the role of affect and emotion in home-making, in this research this is made through communicating with family, friends and contacts in their network or through 'doing art'. From this, it is evident to see that 'being at home' and these associated feelings and emotions are not necessarily fixed in a place in its physical sense. This is often confused with 'having a home', which has more to do with a physical house as the concept of home is too often seen as having four walls.

Artist diasporas offer ways to critique existing discourses on literature that predicated the necessity of having to have fixed origins. Yet, that is not to say that there are many artists who do want to feel rooted to some degree, whether that is to a fixed place, through their practice, or through their social relations. This relates to Brah (1996) who discusses the innate feeling of a homing desire, which is arguably intensified after migration. However, this need for home is not one of returning necessarily to homeland as not everybody wants to return. Rather than being uprooted, diaspora have multiple roots, places of attachment and many bases. Mobilities, repeated migrations or short trips do not prevent the feeling of a 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996: 193), as one needs to feel somewhere or something is 'home'. This relates to Chapter 5 where I use the notion of a 'homing aesthetics' in order to analyse selected artworks; often, issues pertaining to 'home' are heightened after moving abroad and so artwork is used as a working through of these issues. It is not as simple as a homing desire that is about wanting to go back to homeland, though, as the notion of home for some also has to do with other places that now feel more like 'home'. Also, a homing desire cannot necessarily be to anywhere due to a politics of inclusion and

exclusion. These physical homes are often made in certain places – with artists due to where they need to be in order to show work or sell work, or, some might have a homing desire to be mobile. The notion of home is multilayered and multifaceted to do with roots, routes, emotion, affect and also has to do with politics and economics of feeling included or excluded.

“The question of home, therefore, is intrinsically linked with the way in which processes of inclusion and exclusion operate and are subjectively experienced under given circumstances. It is centrally about our political and personal struggles over the social regulation of ‘belonging’.” (Brah, 1996: 192)

As the artists in Chapters 5 and 6 reveal, if they are not made to feel welcome, the place, community and culture is unlikely to feel like home. I argue that other factors also have an impact, such as economic issues or language barriers, on such ‘homing desires’. For artist diasporas, this relates to the way some homes are placed due to politics of the global art market. Artist diasporas must be flexible on locations they want to vis-à-vis need to be located, and in some cases they will overcome language and economic barriers in order to make it home.⁴⁹ A politics of mobility also has to do with the situation in homeland, i.e the push factors for moving out. For some, whilst they have roots and are emotionally attached there, they do not feel at home in their homeland due to lack of opportunities. This has impacts on a person’s feeling of ‘being at home’. The concept of home and one’s feeling of ‘being at home’ is not necessarily automatic and it cannot be assumed that homeland feels like home; homes can be made and unmade, as well as become places that signify instability, precariousness and struggles. This also links to the distinction Brah (1996: 197) makes between “feeling at home and declaring a place as home.” While someone can have many homes they may not have the feeling of being ‘at home’ in every place. I also add that being mobile is not always associated with freedom, but can be about pressure, struggle, barriers to making home ‘at home and away’ and home is not necessarily a comfortable place. As well as there being different aspects to the understandings of home, there are also different levels of attachment ranging from short-term attachments to deep emotional attachments.

⁴⁹ Even though Ong (1999) looks at Chinese businessmen and citizenship, it also relates to issues in this research of the rising importance (to artists) of EU citizenship and the ability to work across multiple places. However, by contrast to Chinese businessmen, these artists are moving independently rather than as part of a company or organisation.

These attachments are different in each place and the levels of attachments can change over time. While for some transnational communications are a way of placing home in the 'host' country or 'second homeland', for others it produces a feeling of disorientation. These varying degrees of attachments or disorientation, Andits (2015) argues, are due to the transnational media they use and the communications they make between the two places.⁵⁰ Having transnational connections, everyday lives and practices affects the placement of roots. But this can change, not only due to the amount of transnational connections one has but also the situation in the homeland. They can place roots elsewhere because homeland in good state and can return – they want to connect and develop homeland because it is now post-soviet times – so allowed a markedly different situation compared with prior to 1991. They can keep updated with what is going on in their homeland through Skype, Whatsapp and other news media.

Feelings about homeland and attachments to the host society can change through history, as transitions take place in both cultures. For instance, Andits (2015) considers changes after 1989 in Hungary and how this affected those in living in Australia, in terms of their attachments to and feelings towards their homeland of Hungary. Relating to discussion on home earlier in the chapter, feelings of home are not fixed necessarily, in that they can change over time. People can gain, loose and then regain the feeling of home in a certain place due to historical events happening there which would have changed for instance before and after the Baltic States' independence. Andits (2015) found this happened after 1989 for Australian Hungarians living in Australia, where some felt wither more or less attached to this 'new' homeland. This means that the temporalities of home, i.e the making of home over time can also be seen in reverse – as such feelings can also be lost. For instance, people can feel detached from their homeland if there is a decline in the economic situation or if the political system changes for the worse. As well as economic and political situation in home countries, which can either make those living in the diaspora want to return or alternatively delay their return; alternatively, for those in the Baltic States the economic situation can make them feel homeland can no longer be a home and they must move.

⁵⁰ Andits (2015) looks at people whose sense of home has remained unchanged, where home is exclusively in their current location in Australia. Others have two homes in both Australia and Hungary, which are maintained through transnational media or communications between the two places. However, for others who have transnational communications they feel more uprooted and more disassociated from their homeland of Hungary. Yet, these connections can also make some feel disconnected from host culture of Australia.

As well as having political, economic and emotional reasons for particular placements of physical homes, the metaphoric notion of ‘feeling at home’ in a place or across space can be formed through everyday practices or community membership,⁵¹ neither of which operate within the physical geographical confines of one culture, place or nation.

“an image of home as a site of everyday lived experiences. It is a discourse of locality, the place where feelings of rootedness ensue from the mundane and unexpected of daily practice. Home here connotes our networks of family, kin, friends, colleagues and various significant others. It signifies the social and psychic geography of space that is experienced in terms of a neighbourhood or a home town. That is, a community ‘imagined’ in most part through daily encounter...the idea of belonging to ‘a people’...‘my people’ is constituted and mobilized in and through economic, political and cultural practices.” (Brah, 1996: 4)

However, feelings of home are not only made through ‘the mundane and unexpected’, as these research subjects confirm they consciously try to make home in strategic locations and take part in particular practices with the intension of integrating into a new art market or art community. As well as communities being formed through daily face-to-face encounters, a lot of these encounters are now happening on the web. It is through both the interactions and shared practices of these art communities online and offline that helps them to come together. Practicing as an artist, working on producing art on a daily basis, and communicating across multiple borders is part of the job. But it is also more than a job: it is a way of life, a profession and lifestyle they often feel they were born to do, a practice that some were surrounded by at home when growing up. This way, artistic practice is part of their roots; these roots are inside them and taken with them wherever they move.

Must diasporas be seen as distinct and separate somehow to the ‘host’ and ‘home’ society or propped against members of the ‘established culture’? Or is it possible to consider the

⁵¹ Being able to be transnationally connected affects individuals, both changing their relation with the immediate locale and allowing them to still be elsewhere. How does this local and global, rooted and routed way of life feel? For instance, James’ (2011: 3) research on ‘Vietnamese Londoners’ explores the Vietnamese diaspora in terms of their transnational activities, identities, community networks and the trajectories of these activities across borders. James looks into whether they remain the ‘other’ or ‘stranger’, and perhaps this changes what it means to them to be “transnationally active” (ibid.). Whilst he looks at what it means to them, it does not explore the effects of this transnational activity on their idea of what home means.

whole of society as somehow diasporic? This links to Brah's (1996: 209) notion of "diaspora space", which is a concept that refers to spaces that are not only occupied by those who have migrated but also by those who are seen by Brah as indigenous. 'Diaspora space' is about all the people who are residing in one location; diaspora space includes those who have 'dispersed' and those who have 'stayed put' in one location, including natives and non-natives. Brah emphasises that the concept of diaspora is not limited to a historical experience. Rather, this idea is a theoretical concept; it is a complicated and imagined space of relations, and is used by Brah as an analytical tool. With diaspora space, Brah takes this set of literature on diaspora away from minority-focused discussions and refutes the 'native-centred' aspect to diaspora discourse. This is why I see artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia not as distinct ethnic diasporas carrying out one route across the EU, but as part of larger processes and flows of continual movements that are common in the art world. But what about diaspora space in these homelands, in terms of how this changes the Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, as was mentioned in the previous section. For those who are living in their homeland, it does not necessarily mean they are non-migrants and not communicating across borders. This means the distinction here between 'migrant' and 'non-migrant' is not a simple binary as some of those in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius have lived abroad previously. Also, being a 'non-migrant' does not mean they are not digitally mobile, as many take part in transnational communications that extend beyond their homeland. Both homelands and diasporas are changing concurrently - creating new spaces with continually new connections to different places abroad. As well as discussing diasporas away from homeland, it is also important to examine the transnational lives of those who have returned to their homeland and the impact of this on transition in these 'local' art scenes.

This research argues that feelings of home are not necessarily attached to a physical place but to a set of practices or social relations. This is not to say place as a physical notion is not important to individual artists. While some might be used to adjusting and adapting quickly because they do it regularly, for others it takes time to form attachments regardless of how many times they have migrated. Yet, Nowicka (2007) points out that, and I agree, that it can be difficult to move onto a new location regardless of how many times a person has migrated. This can be overcome by forming attachments to possessions for those who change location regularly. Nowicka (ibid.) found that mobile professionals are attached to

and develop emotional relations to objects. For some artists, attachments are formed through having a studio with tools and materials or through making art. Yet, this is not the case for all, as some “travel lightly” (Kris, interview, 30th August 2013) or “live in their suitcase” (Edith, interview, 29th July 2016). In such cases, travel itself becomes home. Movement is a human and emotional experience, Clifford (1997) argues, which means roots can form in this along the way or unexpectedly and one can dwell in travel. Artist diasporas often are “both rooted and routed in particular landscapes” (ibid.) due to their everyday lives and habitual artistic practices in that place art-making, exhibiting, meeting curators/collectors as well as their connections out from there via transnational networks.

Gilroy (1993: 133) argues there is a tension between ‘roots’ and ‘routes’, observing that a focus on roots, the authentic origins of peoples and cultures, obscures the routes through which encounters with other cultures, identities, experiences occur and identities are altered. Gilroy (1993) argues the conceptual frameworks of motion, encounter, and identity shifts are useful for understanding how cultural forms and expressions develop through routes of communication across borders; this is how the local and the transnational are interlinked through processes of production and consumption. This can also be complicated further, as the notion of home also involves mobility. Ideas about ‘home’ are often about a journey through life and time, not staying the same and gradually being formed, reformed and evolving. Nevertheless, artists often have at least one base where they keep their tools and materials, centering their mobilities around this location. Nowicka (2007) argues mobile professionals need a focal point to calibrate their trajectories and to maintain stability within their multiplex flows. However, it is not the same for all, as some will move out from one central base while some will have no one place as a main locus.⁵² However, with those who have a central node but who are mobile, Nowicka argues that a person’s feelings and attachments to place do not span across borders. However, I found that artist diasporas often draw a mental space between multiple homes, binding them with people or other attachments they have in different locations. I agree, though, with Nowicka’s (2007) point that this makes feelings of home socially defined rather than territorially defined. This relates to how the notion of home is also about social relations, community membership, and the feelings that arise from these connections across space. This shows that even though it may seem that diasporic lives are about transcendences and

⁵² Kesselring (2006) also makes this distinction by terming the former centered mobilities while the latter decentered mobilities in what he calls mobility regimes.

communications that allow them to be elsewhere or many places all at once, they are to differing extents rooted to certain places via work, friends and practices. They can also be rooted and attached to one or multiple places at the same time as moving between them. Members of artist diasporas are often involved in very local practices as well as global flows, processes and communications. However, that said, this is not clear cut as there are very different configurations of temporary bases, homes or roots in and after travel or relocation: what is a stable way of life for one is disorientating for another.

The concept of home – for these highly mobile people who are part of many transnational spaces and networks often – becomes something associated with both place and space. It is both fixed and mobile, about the near and far. It is felt in the immediate location and connects out to distant places. Home is not a singular place, and this is especially the case for transborder communities who work in multiple places. Their mobilities do not necessarily mean they are uprooted and disorientated as, rather, their understandings of home become associated with community: artists' home is the art community, with which they have formed attachments to across the EU. Also, because home is made over time, it is also something that is temporal - it is about where home was and is now, and how home has changes over time (in the case here of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes).

2.5 The Spaces and Places of Artistic Practices

Transborder communities of practice activate place on a transnational scale, making place relational and ever connected to more places. The chapter also looked at how the travel patterns of artists, arts professionals and artworks are changing spatial relations between EU cities, making their different studios/dwellings more interconnected - made possible also through ease of communications. Connections go between cities and bypass the nation. This is important as meaning and representations are formed in these in-between spaces – between cities, cultures and nations. Artists show how places can be activated through the spaces they create or the transcultural spaces that are illustrated in artworks. This means place becomes activated through trans-local connections that go out and come into that physical place; this is how transborder communities of practice are activating place.

This research adds that space and place – as well as their relationship for individuals and communities - can also be altered through transborder practices, which include geographic mobilities and cross-cultural connections rather than only a practice that happens within one particular physical place. Literature on space and spatiality (Thrift, 2008; de Certeau, 1984; Massey, 1994; Tally, 2013) discusses how society has entered ‘the spatial turn’, whereby space is altered through people’s social relations. Cultural theorists and sociologists have explored the concepts of space and place (de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1996; Massey, 1994; Marcus, 1995), in particular, by looking at the interrelation between the two concepts, how people can produce space and how space itself can be fluid. An exploration of space and place is important due to the fact that artists’ mobilities span large distances and, subsequently, their feelings of and physical homes become multi-local. This section will focus on Michel de Certeau (1984) who looks at differences between the concepts of space and place but also their interrelation; this is important because many artists work in various spaces which, in turn, activate the place in a certain way. De Certeau’s (1984) work will be assessed in relation to Harvey (1996) and Lefebvre (1991), in order to examine how spaces and places are produced as well as to further understand the different conceptualisations of space and how it activates places. De Certeau’s (1984) conception of the interrelation between space and place is the focus as it goes away from the romanticism and structuralist approaches of Augé (1995) and Lefebvre (1991). This links to discussion on the spatialities of artists’ mobilities and how this is related to the places where they have bases for work, as discussed in Chapter 6; it also relates to the discussion on the spatialities and temporalities of ‘home’ in Chapter 5.

This links back to discussions earlier that explored how diasporas’ everyday lives are made up of both transnational mobilities, in the physical and digital sense, as well as fixities to places, where bases are and where they set down roots. It is not the case that place is simply stable and space is only mobile: this position is similarly reflected in the previous section entitled ‘grounding mobility, uprooting home’. This previous section also showed how looking at the idea of diasporic practices enables a departure from viewing place as static and bounded. As Massey (1994: 3) argues, these concepts of space and place are not absolute independent dimensions, but are constructed out of social relations. In other words, space and place are continuously produced and reproduced through social relations that are ever changing and evolving. When discussing individuals who travel regularly and work in multiple places, their social relations are also not bound to one locality. Hence, it is

their social relations that span across nations and produce a series of interweaving spaces. As Massey (1994: 2-4) argues, these social relations are “stretched-out” and “reach” like “tentacles” across differing spatial scales. The important aspect with this is that these stretched-out social relations can increase with cross-border travel or onward migration. Communities of practice are important in demonstrating the interrelation between space and place, and especially artists, as they are spatialising and breathing life into places (like the gallery) through their transborder practices.

The interrelation between space and place - in experiential as much as theoretical terms - is germane to this inquiry because these artists are working in both physical places but they are activating these places through their practice; they also work simultaneously in the local physical place and global spaces of communities they have been part of past and present. The interrelation between space and place can be demonstrated through the example of an art gallery that is a physical place - it is a building located in a city center - but on any particular day it is a space. It becomes a space once people occupy it; it is comprised of gallery staff and artists displaying their artwork or artists talking to arts professionals. Space is created in that place through people being there according to de Certeau if we relate this to his work on the street coming alive through the act of people walking. Although, with gallery artworks can also make the gallery come alive. As for artists taking part in the exhibition, they also bring with them their own spaces; the gallery holds events such as international art festivals, inviting people from different countries who each bring their own international network of contacts. While it is possible to define a place, such as a gallery with four rooms, one office, it is difficult to determine what actions or events will happen here.⁵³ For instance, *Ulrike Hrobsky Gallery* was ‘activated’ once artists Sigita and Laura were there installing their artworks and Ulrike and Maria (gallerist and curator) were there advising the artists on pricing and installation. The gallery felt deserted before entering and looking from outside - its main features were the walls and the light in the rooms. This is not to say that the place is dead when they are not there because artworks are living artifacts, creating their own space; also, the space changes depending on the arrangement of artworks. Furthermore, place is activated by practices not only happening

⁵³ De Certeau (1984) uses the example of people walking on the street; pedestrians transform the street from a place into a living space: from something that is “geometrically defined by urban planning” into a space that is useful or pleasurable for them (1984: 117). This also links to the body of research on psycho-geography (Debord, 1955; Baudelaire, 1854). Exponents of this include Debord (1955) who explores the effects of the geographical environment on the emotions and behavior of individuals.

in that physical place but is also activated by global connections. This bears influence on how they activate the place. For instance, Laura brought with her connections to Bayreuth and Tallinn whilst Sigita brought with her connections to Koblenz, Salzburg and Riga. Sigita and Laura's connections and activities in the immediate place and out to global spaces activated the place in a particular way. The larger argument here is that place is activated by people and their practices; yet, these are not necessarily in the same one physical location. Artworks, as well as people, can activate places - as the artworks are creating their own spaces and artworks 'define' this space, making it a practiced place.

Space and place are co-determinous and alter each other. As the research findings show, some of these artists' relation to place is both fixed (where they may be using a studio in preparation for an exhibition) and also about interconnections to other places where they have worked previously. De Certeau (1984: 117) comes to the crux of the interrelation between space and place when stating "space is a practiced place", as space occurs or is activated by "operations that orient it, situate it, temporalise it". These actions, and spaces they create, are what make a place 'living'. Space and place are distinguished by describing how "a place is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence"; a place is "an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability" (de Certeau, 1984: 117). Linking to earlier, a place can change over time in terms of, firstly, how diaspora connect and impact homeland and, secondly, place also changes in their minds as the homeland goes through changes. Furthermore, the feeling and conception of place is different from person to person. As mentioned earlier, different people activate places in different ways – so it is always changing, evolving, and mobile. This relates back to discussion on Andits (2015) and changes in homeland and feeling of increasing disorientation (or not). By contrast to place in de Certeau's (1984: 117) conception, "space is composed of intersections of mobile elements". However, is it really the case that: while place is a locus or location, space is rather a geography made of mobile parts and relationships that intersect, unite and crossover (de Certeau's, 1984: 117)? The understanding that space is changing and evolving, yet, place is stable and moored derives from a generation of theorists, such as de Certeau (1984) as well as Augé (1995), Lefebvre (1992) and Bourdieu (1984). Instead, space is mobile and fluid but so is place; place can change and be altered through the spaces that inhabit and activate it in certain ways. Also, place is not only physical but also associated

with emotion and attachments, in a more figurative way, and this is how it relates to earlier discussion on feelings of roots.

Ways of creating new spaces for working and living or for changing places can happen when an existing place becomes 'vacant' and then is used for a different purpose, as Lefebvre (1991: 31) argues. This is the way in which 'the production of space' happens. This relates to de Certeau (1984) who says space is a practiced place, which tells us how the production of space happens. One such example is the KGB building in Riga which was transformed into an art exhibition, '(Re)construction of Friendship' (2014), whereby a new space was formed where the previous one lay dormant. This place is activated through spaces made by Latvian artists as well as artists from Ukraine, Germany, Kosovo, Iceland, Sweden, Lithuania and Estonia.

“An existing space [or place] may outlive its original purpose and the *raison d'être* which determines its forms, functions, and structures; it may thus in a sense become vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, reappropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one.” (Lefebvre, 1991: 31).

Different activities and actions are happening in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, creating different places to the ones before. This event in Riga marked the end of the KGB building laying dormant since the Soviet Union and the beginning of a transnational era for this place; due to the stretched out spaces, linking it to Iceland for instance, it becomes a (transnationally) practiced place. This exhibition and reopening of the building signaled a transition in culture, through the repurposing of a Soviet building. This exhibition also shows the international strategy in Riga art scene and government and the resultant flows of artists and art coming into the city. Yet, these global spaces are not destroying the place but just activating it in different ways. This relates to Lefebvre, as he (in Wilson and Dissinayake, 1996: 3) notices how “the worldwide does not abolish the local”, as no space disappears with its development but, rather, the different scales interrelate. Harvey (cited in Lefebvre, 1991: 425) describes a 'production of space' that binds together the global and local, the center and the periphery in new creative ways.

If space is a practiced place, then the nature of the place is dependent on what practices happen there and their scale. This relates to the second volume by de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, as home-making practices like cooking in the home - feelings of home - are different for each person because they carry out different practices in order to make it home. What happens when these practices take place across borders? Place is activated by global interconnections and so place is practiced on this more transnational scale. As a result, people's relationship to place becomes relational and about interconnections between places. This shows how cultural practices and transborder communities of practice help to produce place through practices and our relation to it. As Harvey (1996: 310) argues, people "shape the land through their activities", but these activities and practices I argue happen on a transnational scale, and so place evolves and changes in this way. Home is a sort of place, as well as a feeling that I discussed earlier in the chapter.

2.5.1 Cross-Cultural Aesthetics

Art is a spatial practice (Boullata, 2008; Elkins, Valiavicharska and Kim, 2010; Papastergiadis, 2003; Harris, 2011), whereby artists (re)produce space and connections between places through their artworks - on both a metaphoric and physical level. Artworks can evoke certain transcultural spaces. As was mentioned earlier in regards to diasporas, transnational social spaces or community's connections across borders in multiple directions can be seen here to also link to artworks that metaphorically illustrate these connections across space. This is what is called a "spatial aesthetics" (Papastergiadis, 2006: 8).⁵⁴ This is part of a field to do with migration, art and cross-cultural aesthetics (Leuthold, 2011; Markiewicz; Bal and Hernandez-Navarro, 2011; Durrant and Lord, 2007; Demos, 2013; Bennett, 2011), which connects aesthetics and migration.⁵⁵ Papastergiadis' (2006: 8) notion of "spatial aesthetics" focuses on new forms of engagement with place, politics and the everyday in contemporary art. My findings show how some artists represent the

⁵⁴Theorists (Papastergiadis, 2010; Sanga, 2005; Etlin, 1998) bring together ideas of how the local cannot be represented without reference to global issues as well as exploring art and place due to the fact that artistic practice includes both mobility and settlement. "Contemporary art practices are increasingly defined by the dual desire for mobility and attachment to place" (Papastergiadis, 2010: 8).

⁵⁵The themes presented here link to literature on cross-cultural aesthetics (Leuthold 2011; Van den Braembussche et al. 2008) and migratory aesthetics (Demos 2013; Durrant 2007). Art is not only about the relation between art and society but also about the relations between cultures. Van den Braembussche et al. (2008, 2) discusses the "cross-fertilisation and interpenetration" of cultures which links to and is seen in 'diaspora art'. They (ibid.) argue that national characteristics in artwork are being contested through many forms of cross-cultural citizenship, which leads to the creation of art with "hybrid worldviews". Art does not reflect a singular view but, instead, a combination of elements selected from artists' travels.

relation between people and place (and how this changes over time) through their artwork, such as with Ieva's photography discussed in Chapter 5. Papastergiadis (ibid.) argues that artists have always had a strong interest in representing the experience of being in a specific place. However, I would argue that they are now representing relations to that place as well as relations between places, reflecting the ways in which they work. Papastergiadis (ibid.) also says that globalisation has changed this, as the idea of representing a local place can no longer occur in isolation from global concerns. Papastergiadis (ibid.) argues that "while they are often very protective and committed to these places they are also deeply aware of their links to global debates and part of transnational dialogues on the meaning of their practice and its relevance to others." In the same way as diasporas are conceived, these artists' artworks show how they are both embedded in their immediate location as well as to the global scale of current concerns and processes.

Artworks are frequently formed across borders, as some artists conceive of an idea whilst on the move or, alternatively, artworks are produced in the artist's current home but depict issues that are pertinent in their homeland. Cross-cultural issues are vital for the understanding of art (Leuthold, 2011). This movement and exchange of ideas influences depictions and representations in artworks and, as a result, art can combine cultural influences and provide 'cross-cultural creations of meaning'. Diapora art is central to the cross-cultural creation of meaning; oppositions propped up against each other in artworks can in fact highlight connections, where oppositions provide a way that leads to new knowledge (Leuthold, 2011: 64). This is the theoretical approach I used to analyse the selected artworks in Chapter 5. These artworks are not necessarily only about the relation between art and society as Bourriard (2002) proclaims, but also about the relations between different cultural influences. Artworks created by diasporas do not reflect a singular view and are not artefacts or cultural texts that can be determined wholly by birthplace. Instead, the artworks are a combination of elements from these artists' travels and time spent living in several different places. Nevertheless, this is not a new phenomenon. The visual arts have, as Leuthold (2011: XI) argues, "conveyed core cultural values across the boundaries of temporal, linguistic and geographic differences for centuries". However, interview material from conversations with artists alongside an analysis of their artwork is rarely studied together; this is explored in Chapter 5 through combining artists' words and analysis of their artworks. This is also not unique to the Baltic States, though, as the increasing cross-pollination of cultures, movement and interweaving of ideas and

connections between people across cultures is breaking down the national character in art across the globe.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, it does show these artists' changing views on their homelands as a result of the changes to culture and society after the Soviet Union, which is specific to these three nations.

Artistic practice, in terms of art-making, can be a way of negotiating what and where home or roots are, especially after multiple migrations and mobilities. This is because these questions are heightened and this is often subsequently illustrated in the art pieces themselves. In artworks, discussions take place to do with what or where home and roots are, as making art can allow a working through of their transnational position, a documenting of how home(land) has changed, or the experiences of differences between cultures, or can document their passage and emotions across different places in artwork.⁵⁷ This way, artworks can show the effects of movement on the artists and how it affects their production. Leuthold (ibid.) argues that an intercultural theory in art is not developed; this is why it is important to look at this, especially in terms of artists' transnational understandings of home that are represented in their artworks. As artist diasporas are positioned in-between or across cultures, their artwork can show what is distinct about each respective culture or, especially, expose problems or highlight what needs to be addressed in their homeland.⁵⁸

⁵⁶These arguments are discussed in more depth in literature on art and globalisation (Elkins, Valiavicharska and Kim, 2010; Harris, 2011; Papastergiadis, 2003; Smiers, 2003).

⁵⁷ Artist diasporas can gain a double perspective and occupy a 'third space' or 'third culture' (Bhabha, 1994) from where they can bridge two or multiple places. I argue that this is a result of multiple mobilities and having several bases. This also links to Lefebvre (1980) who describes 'thirdspace', as 'spaces of representation that can also be seen as lived space'.

⁵⁸It is useful here to provide an example of an artist who works from this position. Exploring how digital technologies have changed relations across borders, Ursula Biemann (2003) looks into migration and mobility of Spanish-Moroccan population and argues that location is spatially produced "as subjects are no longer bound to one place" and so places are constituted through these transitory movements. Biemann argues that the circulation of people, objects and communications have produced new types of social and political landscapes. In the film 'Contained Mobility', Biemann looks into the changes happening due to restrictions on movement to Europe and the enhanced technologies that have developed on both sides of the border. It focuses on the "trans-local existences and the politics of mobility and containment" (ibid.). As with other theorists, she is also positioning mobility against its opposite of containment (so freedom against restraint), in order to emphasise what it is and how it happens.

2.6 Summary

The arguments put forward here were, firstly, that transnational diasporas do not only necessarily connect between home and host countries or only based on ethnicity. Instead, many connect across space and form transnational diasporic communities based on what they do, which in this case is their artistic practice. Secondly, it argued that roots and attachments are important for those who travel or move regularly: these notions are heightened after travel or regular migration, rather than being disorientated or uprooted in such movements. Thirdly, it argued that the notion of home includes both sedentary and fluid elements: it is fixed and fluid as well as being about roots and routes. Taken together, it has shown how artists form attachments and roots with increasing amounts of transnational digital and material mobilities; with this, it has provided a mobilisation of the notion of home, yet, a grounding of the notion of mobility. The aim was to unsettle the concept of home as associated with one fixed, grounded origin or singular place as well as to ground the notion of mobility by looking at its effects on a particular community of visual artists.

Even with multi-placedness and multiple journeys, it does not mean that highly mobile individual are not settled or rooted; place is still of importance to them. Transnational lives involve both fluidity and fixity. For instance, while many artists have a stable and fixed studio, house and gallery in their immediate locale, they also take part in transnational connections that bind together multiple spaces or networks. In other words, many members of artist diasporas have a combination of roots that are located and fixed as well as aspects of their lives that are about routes and being mobile, with deterritorialised interconnections across space and time.

This has shown that those who do not move are not necessarily immobile, while those who are moving are not necessarily rootless or dislocated. With this, it is possible to upend the dichotomy of mobility and home, by stating that the meaning of home is not about origin and being fixed while the understanding of mobility is not only about travel and disorientation. From this perspective, it is important to examine the ways in which mobile populations continue to 'ground' their lives across different places and to consider how the meaning of home is both mobile and about attachments. The notion of home is both fixed to the immediate place and is mobile as it connects across space, being connected to 'here',

'there' and elsewhere. The challenge then for those studying migration today is to conceptualise together this tension between home's mobile and sedentary aspects (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011: 2) as the notion of home has both mobile and sedentary elements (Easthope, 2009; Flynn, 2007; Lamb, 2002; Walsh 2006). As this chapter has argued, there is not only one set of aspects pertaining to the meaning of home. This is why the term is reconceptualised in this research in order to move away from its essentialist connotations.

The next chapter discusses the multi-sited methodology that I develop for the research. It looks at how the empirical research links to the aims and objectives of this research. It will go through what I did and a rationale for this, a history of research and the competing philosophies of research. It explains each methodology, the overall design that these speak to and the limitations within this research. It details why a multi-sited approach was useful for this research topic and how visual cultures and social sciences need to be more closely connected.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology: A Mobile Field and Researcher

3.1 Introduction: Why this Approach and What does it Offer?

This chapter outlines the methodology and epistemological position underpinning this study, the methods used to reflect this position as well as explaining how these methods help answer the research question, aims and objectives of the study. This chapter will firstly outline 'the project' and the accompanying research design, going through what I did and the rationale for these decisions. It will refer to the research design and parameters, the methods used and the reason for choosing these, ethical considerations as well as, finally, the limitations of the research. The key questions that were taken into consideration included: which sort of research design would be appropriate and why, what methods would allow me to get close enough to the population, how would I balance breadth and depth in the research, and how would I go about overcoming limitations?

The main objective of this study is to show the nexus between mobility and home, through exploring how artists travel, how they connect in particular types of communities (distinct from other types of diasporas) in terms of how this has effects on the way they place homes across the EU and how this changes their understandings of the meaning of home. In order to do this, its aims are threefold. 1. The research aims to show how artists can be seen as a transnational diaspora, and within this, how the notion of home is not only about a singular physical place or that is homeland necessarily. 2. It aims to combine visual cultures and social sciences in the methodology, theoretical framework and dissemination of findings. 3. It aims to connect notions of mobility and home, complicating both further by grounding the concept of mobility while uprooting the concept of home and, in this, ask about people's changing relationship to place. Investigation is required in the Baltic region, in particular, to see how transition is happening as a direct result of increasing mobilities of people, communications, artworks and skills in and out of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. Investigation is also required into artists' differing practices, ways of moving and placing dwellings as well as cultural comparisons in artworks as a result of their particular type of combination of onward migration and regular mobilities, the multiple flows in and out of the home cities and the workings of the global art market within which these artists are operating.

These lines of inquiry are explored through the main research question, which is: How do the artistic practices of artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, that include cross-border mobilities, multiple homes and transnational connections, have effects on their feelings of home? Through this multi-perspectival analysis, notions of home can be complicated further; this can be achieved through using visual artists as my population - as an example of a transnational diaspora who feel at home in their practice and at home through their social relations that span across the EU. The methodological approach I used reflected these aims, objectives and research questions. I devised a multi-sited and interdisciplinary approach, which went beyond a singular method and singular field site.

This methodology reconsiders de Certeau, Giard and Mayol's (1998) way of rendering practices visible 'in the home' and neighbourhood, through investigating artists whereby their practices happen on a transnational level. As a result, home-making practices for an artist diaspora not only take place 'in the home' but also across transnational networks and through 'doing art' across multiple locations that are detached from a singular, fixed place. I was only able to make these transnational practices visible by also being mobile, including travelling to different cities as well as interviewing and observing artists in galleries, in cafes, at their houses and studios across the EU. This study emphasises and demonstrates the "power of fieldwork" (Marcus, 1995: 95), as opposed to a quantitative paradigm that provides proscribed or pre-determined answers in the search for 'truth'. It uses a multi-sited ethnographic approach to fieldwork, using multiple sites of observation and participation. Importance lies in crosscutting dichotomies such as the 'local' and the 'global', the 'lifeworld' and the 'system' (Marcus, 1995: 95). This allows the research to be conducted across multiple locations, but also allows an understanding of individuals' everyday lives - the artists - as well as links between field sites in order to ascertain how the larger system - the art world - operates.

By having breadth and depth (with the amount and range of interviews as well as close-up observations) I can see how respondents feel about home and how they work as part of transnational networks. These different levels reflect the hypothesis that artistic practice is about both roots and routes, i.e the local fixities like studios and the global flows and movements. It looks both at private spaces - of dwelling, artmaking and homemaking - out to public spaces - with the experience of living in and working in the art world, in artists'

public exhibitions with artworks that illustrate these experiences and feelings of home. This transition from private to public space allowed me, as the researcher, to understand their artistic practices. With this, I was able to perceive the activity of those who practice the ordinary (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998: xxxviii).⁵⁹ It is a given that artists produce artwork in their studios and display these artworks in exhibitions, but what is more difficult to render visible are their feelings about travel, home, their artwork and the art market. It would have been also difficult to verbalise how they travelled, so observation was necessary in order to understand these patterns, flows and trajectories.

3.2 How to Characterise this Project: Research Parameters

This research draws upon different academic disciplines, due to its interdisciplinarity and overarching aim to combine the fields of visual cultures and social sciences. The methodology draws upon: 1) a sociological approach in the exploration of artists' mobilities, 2) a more geographic approach in plotting artists' mobilities as well as the movements of their artworks and transnational networks with visualisations, and 3) an anthropological approach, using ethnographic methods (with extended periods of participant observation) for following and observing particular artists.

The primary fieldwork was conducted over two years, between May 2013 and December 2014, consisting of in-depth and semi-structured interviews, participant observation as well as visual analysis. I also connect these methods, by combining visual analysis and interview material in Chapter 5 as well as secondary sources and interview material in Chapter 4. This allowed further development and investigation of the findings and delved into more depth than a singular method could achieve. The interviewees comprised 47 visual artists, who were living in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius or elsewhere in the EU. No particular art style was chosen, which meant the sample included painters, sculptors, performance artists, installation artists and photographers. I am not interested in a particular art style as this would limit the research scope. Rather, the research has more to do with how artists travel and issues of changing understandings of home, which are not necessarily only dependent on if an artist is a sculptor or painter. They were aged between 25 and 48. In addition, 35

⁵⁹De Certeau, Giard and Mayol's (1998) approach was to carry out a series of interviews which allowed them to follow the subjects' individual routines, composed of the habits and strategies through which they make sense of their everyday lives.

arts professionals were also interviewed across Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius and the EU, including curators, gallery directors, art academy directors, policy makers from the Ministries of Culture, magazine editors, and art historians. Please refer to Appendix B on pp.273-277 for an exhaustive list of interviewee names and interview questions. These interviewees were not chosen on a set of similarities; instead, they were taken from three different countries, all different types of visual artists, who were working in different places, and who were at different stages in their career.⁶⁰ This is because it is not a comparative study between the Baltic States; I wanted to show and see how artists travelled regardless of place, career point or type of artist.

The populations chosen for the research were the artist communities of Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius and, within this, my sample was visual artists as well as arts professionals. As Bryman (2012) argues, a factor likely to have an effect on sample size is the heterogeneity of the population. Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian artist communities - including artists and arts professionals - across three cities of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius is a relatively small sample (in number) but heterogeneous; it was not, for example, as expansive as 'female artists living in London' or, alternatively, it was not a design with tight parameters on age and art style.⁶¹ I had planned to overcome any difficulties accessing enough visual artists by

⁶⁰ I initially wanted to look at the next generation of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian artists who had recently graduated from the Art Academies (18-30 years old). However, after talking to artists of many different ages I realised that by only talking to the young generation I would only gain part of the story, as the differential mobilities artists take part in can be different at various stages in their career. More importantly, the artists who had just begun their career - a few months after graduating - did not have that many connections or were not travelling regularly because they had to stay in their studio to produce artwork first. As Lithuanian artist Arnas (interview, 29th August 2013) says, "the work you do becomes an opportunity". For example, Lithuanian artist Vytautas had been working since April (2013) on an exhibition for October (2013) in France; he was working in his studio six days a week in order to prepare for this exhibition. As Bamberger (2014) says, galleries and collectors are interested to know whether "most importantly, do you have a significant body of current work that is complete, fresh, original and hasn't been shown or exhibited elsewhere...or if not, are you capable of creating one by a to-be determined date." After this realisation, I decided to interview artists who graduated after 1991 to allow for a wider age range. This also reflects the fact that this research focuses on the transition of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes after independence and coming into the EU, with particular focus on the past ten years to see how mobilities have led to transition in the art scenes today.

⁶¹ These parameters brought up another set of questions that needed addressing before beginning the fieldwork. These were: 'what constitutes a visual artist in this research', how much do they have to be exhibiting and travelling, must they be professional and full-time artists? Can I include those who used to travel but do not anymore? There are different ways of defining the sample size and various sample strategies: "Questions which the researcher should ask themselves at the outset, and which will inform the design of the sampling strategy are: what are the research objectives? What is the target population? Who should be excluded from the sample? Who should be included in the sample? What should be used as the sampling frame?" (Wilmot, Office of National Statistics ONS, 2005).

using snowball sampling.⁶² It was important to keep relationships with contacts, as they often also recommended other artists to interview. As Davis argues, some respondents can be sources of other information or interview contacts (Davis, cited in Pickering, 2008: 61).

Furthermore, artworks and art markets are often analysed in art theory literature but the creators of artwork are rarely assessed (in light of their experiences abroad and in homeland, of home-making, and why they move in certain ways), and if they are, it is often in relation to an analysis of their artwork. A lot of literature on artists (Vasari, 1991; Gooseneck and Becker, 2001) is comprised of interviews with established artists, such as Ai Weiwei, Jeff Koons and Gabriel Orozco. Some, though, develop this formula by comparing the practices of different artists. However, as Thornton (2004: xvii) argues, “[m]ost of the literature on artists focuses on them individually in discrete monographs” or in catalogues with essays that compare the works, not their makers. In order to address these issues, particular methods were chosen. Below is a breakdown of methods used and then reasons for this mixture:

1. 47 in-depth interviews with visual artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia living in the Baltic States and across the EU. July 2013 - February 2014
2. 24 semi-structured interviews with arts professionals from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia living in the Baltic States and across the EU. April 2013 – January 2014
3. Participant observation of Estonian artist Laura Põld for one week, leading up to an exhibition with Latvian artist Sigita Daugule entitled ‘Sigita Daugule/Laura Põld’ at *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky* in Vienna. September 2013
4. Participant observation at the Contemporary Art Centre (CAC) in Vilnius. August 2013
5. Email conversations/diaries of three artists over three months. November 2013 – January 2014
6. A visual analysis of artworks. June – December 2014

⁶² Snowball sampling (Babbie, 2016; Bailey, 2008; Tardy, 1988; Bernard, 2008) is where the researcher locates and interviews people within their population and then asks these people for the information needed to locate other members of that population. In this study, I firstly interviewed people who I thought were the gatekeepers of the communities, who would then tell me which artists might want to be interviewed.

7. A series of maps to visualise the way artists were travelling and the spatialities they were making. January – October 2014

The reason for this mixture is as follows. Firstly, I wanted to interview both artists as well as arts professionals in order to find out about the current situation of the Baltic art worlds, in terms of how Erasmus programs worked, the history of art and travel in the Soviet Union and an outside opinion on why and how artists from the Baltic States travel. Artworks were analysed so that their words could be related to the themes and emotions conveyed in artwork and see if there was a transformation in ways of thinking about home in artwork. As well as interviews and visual analysis, I used different types of ethnographic design; 1) direct participant observation as well as 2) email conversations online via weekly diary updates from artists. This provided insight into both sides of the art world - the individuals and the system - in order to show how they worked with or in tension with each other. The reason for doing this was that an understanding on Baltic artistic practices would be limited without knowing about the art world and how arts professionals work to promote certain artists abroad and how there are government policies in place to encourage artists to travel abroad. This angle is also important to research as it illuminates the reasons why many of these artists must travel, why they travel to certain places, how it is about being in the right place and making this place home even if a struggle.

3.2.1 Rationale Behind Choosing the Baltic States

The three Baltic capital cities - Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius - are taken together in this research because, collectively, the three countries are seen as a geographic region.⁶³ I deal with the three Baltic cities equally rather than focusing more on one individually.⁶⁴ My intention is not to compare the three countries, but this is not to say that I assume they are similar. I have taken them together because they are seen as a Baltic region, and so it is due to historic and geographic factors that all three are analysed alongside one another in this

⁶³The Baltic States are taken together (O'Connor, 2003; Kasekamp, 2010; Mole, 2012) in order to discuss issues on their histories, transition to independence after the Soviet Union and their accession into the European Union. The Baltic States are researched using comparative studies, focusing on migration and its effects on homelands as well as host countries (Mole, 2012; Åberg and Peterso, 1997; Smith, 2005; Galbreath, Lašas and Lamoreaux, 2008).

⁶⁴This has resulted in chapters that alternate between discussion about all three cities and art scenes or of artists from either of the cities. I have chosen to do this because there is something to be gained from 'propping' them up against each other - to compare certain issues and then create new knowledge through this approach.

research. Rather than a comparative study, the aim is to understand transitions happening in all three places and see how mobilities have affected people and their motivations to change these 'homes'. It is about changes in understandings of home, which cannot be divisible down ethnic boundaries as well as pressures of the global art market that make mobilities and having multiple homes a necessity, which is especially acute in the case of artists from the Baltic States due to their economic situation and re-establishing local art markets. It also sheds light on flows going into this region, contrary to their 'image' and reputation as only out-migration countries (Sakkeus in Ardittis, 2016; OECD, 2013; Galgóczi and Leschke, 2016).

A lot has been written about the re-emergence of the Baltic States after the 1989 'Singing Revolution' and 'The Baltic Chain' in 1991, often to do with politics and economics (Mole, 2010; Jacobsson, 2009; Berglund, 2013; Lane, Pabriks and Purs, 2013; Galbreath, Lašas and Lamoreaux, 2008). When talking about politics, many forget to talk about the context in terms of the cultural systems from which this political life came from (Mole, 2010) and art scenes are part of these cultural systems. Another important aspect to emphasise is that these are restored states rather than new ones, which have long independent histories spanning centuries.⁶⁵ While this research documents the transitions after 1991 in terms of the art scenes and the related politics and economic situation, Mole (2010) explores the transitions these states had to go through from being part of the USSR to becoming members of the EU. Assessing change in the Baltic States, and especially that of the post-communist experience, Mole (2010) explores how identity can be a source of political power. In particular, through the ways in which discourse on identity has shaped economic, political and social change but also how external relations have influenced the Baltic States. Taking a different angle, this research highlights how, after rebuilding governments and economies, they were once again hubs of connections and have since played a pivotal role in the EU for over a decade now. For example, their role on the EU Council of Ministers, where they lead discussions on integration and market development, especially in terms of the Baltic sea region in relation to the rest of the EU.⁶⁶ However, the economic and market

⁶⁵Through history, the Baltic States have had a prominent position as geographic center of Europe. Lithuania was the largest territory in the European region, as the Grand Duchy from the 13th Century up until 18th Century. During the 20th Century, the Baltic States had a special position within the Soviet Union on the western edge, which meant there were links and communications with Europe across the border.

⁶⁶Lithuania was the first of the Baltic States to hold the Presidency of the Council of the European Union. It took place in Lithuania in the second half of 2013, while the Latvian Presidency took place in the first half of 2015 and the Estonian Presidency will be in the first half of 2018. Audronius Ažubalis, Chairman of the Cooperation Council of the Baltic Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs, highlighted that

situations in the Baltic States relative to elsewhere in the EU means moving is a necessity for many artists.⁶⁷ These factors are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

This perspective is distinct from studies that look at the three Baltic States as their case study that make comparisons along the lines of migration patterns, in terms of comparative reasons for migration, demographics of those migrating and impacts on the country of origin (Mole, 2012; Ardittis, 1994; OECD, 2013). Even though these aspects are important, this research does not focus on comparisons between the three countries. For instance, there have been studies on out migration carried out in 1990s just after independence (Sakkeus, cited in Ardittis, 1994) and policy research into the effects these transitions are having on the Baltic States (OECD, 2013). For instance, Sakkeus (1994) compares migration trends between natives and non-natives living in the Baltic States. Sakkeus carried out research in 1994; Sakkeus compared natives with immigrants who were living in Estonia, using the hypothesis that they would have different migration patterns and that this would show who was migrating.⁶⁸ This research was conducted because the Baltic governments were anticipating an outflow, which would have resulted in a decline in population number: these countries were losing 20-30 per cent of their population number to out-migration (Sakkeus, in Ardittis, 1994). This is proven by net migration rates from 1991 and 1992, which were negative in all three Baltic States.⁶⁹

“[f]or the Baltic region, as well as for the entire EU, we will try to...create an internal market that promotes competition...We would also like to see our eastern neighbours fostering European values and coming closer to the EU. By seeking for a more effective implementation of the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region, we will constantly underline the importance of [a] more integrated Baltic Sea Region during the Presidency” (Ažubalis, 2012).

⁶⁷ As Hewitt (2015) argues, “Vienna traditionally rolls out the red carpet to East European galleries.” For example, just over one-third of exhibitors at ViennaContemporary 2015 were from Eastern Europe - 34 out of 99. Vienna has also historically been the ‘gateway’ for Eastern European artists to Western European art markets, due to its geographic location half-way and due to being not an art center like London with competition but not as ‘provincial’ as Eastern Europe art scenes.

⁶⁸ Sakkeus (in Ardittis, 2016) discusses intra-union movements during the Soviet Union, where cities in the Baltic Soviet Republics had a high number of immigrants. Economic issues after the fall of the Soviet Union meant return migration was expensive and undesirable, subsequently making the ‘real west’ like Germany and the USA more appealing. For 90% of natives she spoke to, they wanted to migrate elsewhere in Estonia. Yet, 60% of immigrants she spoke to wanted to move elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. With migration to the West, only 3% of natives said they were considering it, compared with 28% of non-natives. She says that natives would be inclined to take up temporary work in the West, rather than migrate permanently.

⁶⁹ Figures on net migration of the Baltic States taken from national statistics (Eurostat, 2015): in 1990 net migration in the Baltic States was -27.6 thousand, while in 1992 it was -120.3 thousand. However, net migration was -7.5 thousand in 2000 and -11.0 thousand in 2008. Sakkeus (in Ardittis, 2016) also clarifies that net migration in all three Baltic States was negative in 1991 and 1992.

Due to factors and events mentioned above, the demographics of the Baltic States are historically determined, for example, with large Russian populations in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.⁷⁰ “It is important to underline that the differentiation of these countries did not result from ethnic but from historically different demographic development in the Baltic States” (Sakkeus, cited in Ardittis, 1994). Due to their histories, the make-up of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius is also not only along ethnic lines: for instance, the Russian population in Estonia accounts for 24.8 per cent of the total population. This also means that, as the OECD (2013) says, the diasporas of each of the Baltic States are not homogenous. Rather, there are people with varying emigration histories, skills, degrees of attachment to country of origin and degree of integration in the destination country. Even though they are now independent states after having ‘fought’ for independence, these states face another challenge - emigration.

This is why it is important to carry out research on mobilities, in order to show how some are going out but also have a vested interest in the development of Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius art scenes, so will either stay connected or return either on a temporary or permanent basis. “Even when emigrants do not return to start businesses or put their knowledge to work in their origin country, there are still other means to keep them engaged, financially, scientifically or in entrepreneurial networks.” (OECD, 2013: 4). ‘Coping with Emigration in the Baltic States’ (OECD, 2012)⁷¹ addresses how emigrants have impacts on their homelands in terms of economic growth. Importantly, OECD (2012) says that there has been not only development of home countries through economic remittances, but also through cultural exchange and the intensification of networks. They say this is especially the case for the three Baltic States where there is high emigration, whereby policy makers are trying to mitigate the potential negatives of emigration. For instance, the Ministries of Culture have policies in place in order to avoid mass permanent out migration by only sponsoring ‘short-term’ trips abroad; this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

⁷⁰ In Estonia, it is estimated that there are 330,206 ethnic Russians (24.8%) - with a total population of 1,315,635 (Statistics Estonia, 2017). In Latvia, it is estimated that there are 495,528 ethnic Russians (25.4%) - with a total population of 1,950,100 (Central Statistics Office of Latvia, 2017). In Lithuania, it is estimated that there are 5.8% ethnic Russians - with a total population of 2,830,708 (World Population Review, 2017).

⁷¹ According to OECD (2012), in Lithuania remittances accounted for USD 3 billion - 5% of Lithuania’s GDP. While in Estonia and Latvia they account to 2% and 3% respectively of the GDP. OECD (2012) say it is the responsibility of the governments to make sure this money goes towards national development.

3.2.2 Combining Visual Cultures and Social Science

I take an interpretivist stance from social sciences that is about subjective knowledge and findings: it is about clarifying meaning through understanding how and why things happen, and it allows for complexity and to understand the context of situations where clear patterns do not always appear. The methods chosen reflect this position. Epistemology is about “how we know what we know” (Crotty, 1998: 8) or “the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known” (Guba and Lincoln, 2004: 21). Epistemology is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we ensure it is adequate and legitimate (Maynard, 1994). An epistemological position describes the way I, as a researcher see the world. How I think knowledge is created and shared and how I believe truth is defined. Describing my epistemological position helped me to realise what views I held on these topics and consequently, how I interpreted research. In my opinion, choosing – or better realising – one’s epistemological position helps to explicate views and opinions on truth, knowledge, and reality.

Qualitative research is interested, in particular, in the way in which the world is “understood, experimented, or produced” (Mason, 1996: 4) in people's lives, behavior, and interactions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 17) and people’s “perspectives on their own worlds” (Marshall and Rossman, 1999: 7). Furthermore, qualitative research is interested in meanings, in personal life stories, in forms of social interactions, as well as viewpoints and practices. Qualitative research is a research strategy, as Sandelowski (2004: 893) argues, “aimed at discovering how human beings understand, experience, interpret, and produce the social world”. For this research, I used smaller but more diverse samples as I was not looking to gain figures in order to make percentages or to test a hypothesis in order to generate statistics. Rather, I was more interested in what the respondent had to say, and how this linked in to the larger theories and ideas. This was in-depth and close-up, which is why the term ‘ethnographic’ makes sense in this case. This section provides an overview of my philosophical stance that informs the methodology, providing context for its logic and criteria. This relates to epistemology as I, as the researcher, assume a particular theory of knowledge and view of reality that underpins my theoretical perspective and methodology. These are markers of the researcher’s own particular perspective and way of looking at the world. This would have inevitably steered the choices of methods chosen and the

overarching methodological approach guiding the individual methods that were used in this research.⁷² While it is important to state my position, in order to help explain my views and opinions on knowledge, reality and truth, I disagree with the commonly held opinion that researchers are bound to a set of research methods once they select an epistemological position.

Before going out to the field, one decision had to do with choosing the ‘right’ methods. However, can this choice ever be objective? All methods are a matter of personal choice and bias, or “a matter of taste?” as Searle (1998: 2) questions. A researcher cannot avoid values and prejudices but can only strive for as much neutrality as possible.⁷³ My research aligns with qualitative research as I am asking how and why artists are mobile, how this has effects on their understandings of home and how mobilities are having effects on home cities. This way, I knew I had made a rational decision as to why I had chosen this and not the other ‘camp’. An understanding of research perspective, philosophy, and competing paradigms allowed me a certain amount of reflexivity.

Regardless of the seemingly distinct ‘camps’ of qualitative and quantitative research, an increasing amount of researchers seem to be using mixed method approaches - of which the current research is an example (Bergman, 2008; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010). The introduction of mixed methods has also brought up issues to do with neutrality, objectivity, whether research needs to be evidence-based and what ultimately constitutes ‘scientific’ research.⁷⁴ A mixed methods approach enabled the combination of visual cultures and

⁷² All methodological approaches are contestable; it is a matter of whether they are suited for the individual project rather than being ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. This is why it is advantageous, in some cases, to use a set of methods as this can provide extra reliability through triangulation or a mixed method approach, where one method can validate the findings of another. For instance, visual analysis validated what artists were telling me in interviews.

⁷³ Every researcher brings prejudices to their research. As Searle (1998: 18) states, what stands between the researcher and the reality they are trying to understand is a range of “assumptions, preconceptions, ideologies and beliefs” and this is true for natural science and even more so for social science. Weber (in Searle, 1998: 19) argues that aspects of society should be researched through interpretive methods, moving away from scientific methods and empiricism where emphasis is placed on evidence from experiments or testing a hypothesis. As Searle (1998: 20) mentions, the relativist position states “there are only truths and no universal truth.” This means that everything perceivable comes from a particular perspective. These perspectives, though, can be divided into two main ‘camps’ of qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative researchers want to explore human behaviour and the ‘why’ and ‘how’ of this behaviour, rather than just ‘what’, ‘where’, and ‘how many’ as with quantitative researchers.

⁷⁴ This debate is still going on today amongst universities, institutions and researchers. The mixed-method approach is criticized by researchers (Bazeley, 2002; Caracelli and Greene, 1997; Symonds and Gorard, 2010). They argue that this type of research is neither necessary nor feasible and additional problems arise from

social sciences fields and allowed me to triangulate.⁷⁵ This makes the overall findings more reliable and provides a progression through the methods, from less focused to more focused or from breadth to depth. This way, I was able to get ‘closer’ to the community with each method - from interviews, to participant observation and then email diaries over three months. This made it more natural in terms of how much detail they would provide me with and to what extent they would let me into their lives; simultaneously, there was a gradual development in the knowledge and understanding of these communities.

The epistemological position I assume is social constructivism from a social sciences paradigm. This philosophy of science is relevant for this research, due to being grounded in the need for 1) taking a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge, 2) using historical and cultural specificity, and 3) knowledge that is sustained by social processes (Burr, 1995).⁷⁶ Social constructivism can be applied to this research in three ways. Firstly, by generating an alternative account on social phenomena, as this research takes something that is a given - artistic practice - and re-examines this in terms of exposing the ways they work in order to get into the global art market and the underlying reasons for moving across borders or EU cities in the many different ways they do. Secondly, I have carried out this research with the founding idea that the Baltic States’ histories influence their social, political and economic situations today. Thirdly, I am also of the belief that our knowledge of the world is constructed, in that social relations influence our knowledge. The everyday lives and practices of artists are central to this research and this reflects social constructivists’ founding assumptions.

As well as taking a position in social sciences with social constructivism, I also couple this with a visual methodology. Since the 1970s there has been a dramatic change in how social science theorists have altered their understanding of social life; this has been called the

doing this. One issue is that the different methodological positions and procedures require different epistemological positions that are not possible to combine.

⁷⁵Triangulation is when two or more methods are used in the research process in order to validate the results of each one. It can increase credibility and reliability. This approach allows the researcher to bring out the strengths and to minimise weaknesses of both paradigms (respectively) of methodology, either qualitative or quantitative.

⁷⁶This is in contrast to positivism and empiricism, whereby the assumption is that the nature of the world can be revealed through observation and what exists is what we perceive to exist (Burr, 1995). With constructivism, it is believed that the social world is in a constant state of revision, in that nothing is fixed in the world and it does not develop in a linear way. This is pertinent for this research because I am trying to assess the transition of particular art scenes.

'cultural turn' (Geertz, 1973; Nash, 2001; Best, 2007). More recently, theorists have realised the importance of the visual in understanding cultural and social life. The literature on visual methodology foregrounds these changes (Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001; Margolis and Pauwels, 2011; Banks, 2001; Spencer, 2010; Rose, 2007). For example, Spencer (2010: 1) argues "social sciences have undervalued the visual, or relegated its use to mere subsidiary illustrations to written text. However, in the last two decades, the interest in the visual dimension of social life has rapidly increased." Spencer explores this intersection between visual cultures and social sciences, arguing that visual methods can provide a deeper and subtler exploration of the research context. Society is becoming increasingly concerned with the visual recording of everyday life (Spencer, *ibid.*), rather than only being an 'interview society' (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997). Hence, research should reflect this cultural shift. In particular, Spencer looks at how such methods can provide a visual representation of 'place'. In my research, artworks can show the artist's relationship to that place, their feelings towards it, or can tell a story about the history of that place and its potential future. Moreover, it is necessary to analyse images when researching artistic communities, as these 'artifacts' are visualisations of their emotions and feelings. Rose (2007) also develops a critical approach to analysing visuals and highlights how 'photo-documentation' or the charting of the 'life' of artworks can be part of a visual methodology guiding a research project, as well as the more 'conventional' analysis of artworks. Even though neither neutral or transparent, it is important to conduct research on 'the visual' and using 'visuals' because they are interpretations of the world, ways of understanding the world and people's perspectives on this. A visual methodology is also suitable because 'the visual' is such an integral part of my respondents' lives.

3.3 A Multi-Sited and Multi-Temporal Design

A multi-sited ethnographic design was used throughout the research process, from the methodology, to the methods used, to the fieldwork. Multi-sited ethnography uses traditional methods but across multiple locations; through this methodology, greater insight could be gained when examining travelling individuals and their cross-cultural connections. This design allowed me to take an interdisciplinary approach to the fieldwork, bringing in methods from disciplines such as anthropology and sociology. As the phrase 'ethnographic

approach' denotes, I was writing about the people, but across multiple sites.⁷⁷ This meant I could research across nationalities or, rather, not let ethnicity become the defining factor in the findings and outcomes. This approach helped to get away from methodological nationalism, whereby studies are still framed by essentialism due to using exclusively ethnic or national groups as their starting point (Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer, 2013: 25). A multi-sited ethnographic design allowed me to document the breadth of artists' trajectories and connections across the EU by going to and researching in different EU cities but also allowed me to gain a deep insight into these artistic practices. It also included a multi-temporal element, as I returned to field sites several times: I visited Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius in 2013 and again in 2014 as well as visiting Vienna in 2013. This temporal element was also important when conversing with artists online over a three month period, when observing one artist for a week whilst in Vienna, and when returning to Vilnius to carry out participant observation at the *Contemporary Art Centre (CAC)* for one week. This meant I followed several artists across spatial and temporal boundaries, which showed more than just what they could say in one interview. This has resulted in rich material, as I got to know artists at a more in-depth level. And visa versa, as they got to know me: I had time to build a rapport and for them to feel comfortable talking about more personal topics. Nevertheless, I was lead by my respondents, in terms of the artists that curators recommended me to get in contact with and then other respondents who recommended further artists to speak to. This study highlights the importance of research that is not only multi-sited but also multi-temporal in order to understand practices, lives and, especially, the transitions of places and communities across space and time. This relates to discussion in Chapter 5 where the temporalities of home are examined, in terms of how it takes differing amounts of time to adjust to new places, how feelings of being 'at home' can be lost and regained over time, and how their homelands have changed due to changing historical factors.

I was somewhat guided by this information and this involved negotiating, organising and carrying out interviews and participant observation over several sites. As Marcus (1995: 35) states "mobile ethnography takes unexpected trajectories in tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity". By positioning myself within the locations of

⁷⁷ Quantitative surveys, for example, would not have been appropriate for this research as they would not have provided enough depth. Furthermore, respondents would not have given enough detailed information in surveys about personal experiences and feelings of how they felt about their artistic practice, their new homes and their travel patterns.

the members of the artist communities, I could show how global practices are in fact located in and across multiple local settings. This is how I aimed to ground my research that had an overarching cross-cultural element. The design also draws upon Burawoy's (2000: 1) idea of "global ethnography", a type of research design which looks into the global forces within local settings and shows how ethnography can have a global span rather than just being in one enclosed location.⁷⁸ This is the point that Marcus (1995) is also trying to make when saying research can no longer be restricted to one location or field site. This methodological design - with this way of following them and letting it be dictated by them in part - allowed me to look at this community within their own setting. It showed how these communities of practice made sense of their worlds (Burawoy et al., 2000: 25). While Burawoy's (2000) concept of 'global ethnography' is important to consider, Marcus' (1995) idea of 'mobile ethnography' is most suitable in this research because it is about following participants in their journeys and in many different locations in order to understand their multiple homes and places of work.

With this approach, I was able to follow the person (one artist in Vienna as well as following four artists through email diaries over three months) and, as a result, I was able to understand the type, extent of, and affect of travel on their understanding of home. I linked this to the impact on the Baltic art worlds by interviewing and observing arts professionals in three different cities to see how the art scenes have changed over the past 5-10 years and how mobilities are a factor in this transition. Even though I focused on a broad area geographically for my research, I used methods that allowed me to gain depth into specific places, communities, groups and events within these art communities. Depth was also required in order to understand the intricacies and nuances of these artists' lives, achievable though following and keeping contacts for subsequent interviews or observations as mentioned earlier. However, I gained breadth through gathering contextual information and knowledge of the current situation in the Baltic art worlds and through plotting the geographies of artists' mobilities. However, the pitfall of this approach is the possibility of losing depth in the research. Nevertheless, I prevented loss of depth by

⁷⁸ A research design is a series of steps that are taken to address the aims, objectives and research questions of the study, but this also influences the theoretical framework and how the researcher disseminates findings in the write up. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) describe an inclusive view of research design, saying that it is "the entire process of research from conceptualising a problem to writing the narrative, not simply the methods, such as data collection, analysis, and report writing." Yin (1989: 28) backs up this argument by proposing that "the design is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research question and, ultimately, to its conclusions." The research design runs throughout the research process.

focusing on specific artists after conducting interviews; these are Sigita, Žygimantas, Kris and Laura. See Appendix A on pp.267-272 for more information on these artists. I also went from depth to breadth in terms of understanding their trajectories across the EU, as I decided to go from the local sites (Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius) and then ascertain the connections that lead out from this with the gradual plotting of their trajectories.

3.3.1 Interviewing Artists and Arts Professionals

I wanted to understand the workings of these artist communities, so I knew that interviews would be invaluable one-to-one conversations with members of these communities. This method does not contain passive observation but, rather, an encounter and mutual dialogue between the researcher and participant who, together, become co-producers of an interview. I used interviews in order to provide views into ‘the inner world’ and everyday life of each individual. As such, they are *InterViews* (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). These involved an organic development; there was a development not only in the relationship with researcher and the participant but also in the application of this method, as I could amend questions as I went along after gaining more knowledge.⁷⁹ Interviews were not generalisable or comparable between respondents, though, the issue of generalisability did not pose a problem because I was interested in micro-level analysis, including personal stories and individual career paths. In a similar way, subjectivity in interviews was also not an issue because it was about finding the complexities, contradictions and differences between respondents.

In Figure 1 (see p.117), a map is used to show where I interviewed artists and arts professionals. This demonstrates visually the geographic breadth of these interviews. This level of breadth was increased further through being able to conduct telephone interviews. The red dots show where I travelled to in order to interview artist and arts professionals, and then to carry out observations in Vienna and Vilnius. The black dots show the telephone interviews I conducted with artists in Ghent, Brussels, Amsterdam, New York,

⁷⁹I had to be aware of my own position in interviews, in order to gain a rapport and allow them to feel comfortable enough to talk about their personal lives and work. For instance, the categories of gender, class, and education play an important part in how comfortable participants feel when talking to the researcher and who is likely to refuse to take part in the research or not be as responsive during an interview. This is important in interviews, as the researcher is the main tool for collecting data as LeCompte and Shensul (1999) argue and, also, the researcher is in a position of power because they ‘represent’ them in their research. By building a rapport, I approached my relationship with participants as a research partnership. I argue this is the most equal, professional, and ethical approach.

Boston and Cambridge (Massachusetts). Interviews with artists were different to interviews with arts professionals; the former focused on the artist's background, upbringing, artwork, personal connections and travels while the latter focused on gaining an understanding of the current situation in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes. An extensive list of interview questions and interviewee names can be found in Appendix B. As well as interviewing artists in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, I also interviewed artists from the Baltic States who were living in London. This provided an outside perspective on what was happening in the Baltic art worlds. It was also interesting to understand how they were still connected to their homeland, through gallery representation and taking part in regular exhibitions. A deeper level of interview was more appropriate for artists, as it allowed them to go off on tangents and allowed a slight tailoring to each artist and to nuances in their stories. I discuss the findings from interviews with artists in terms of their transnational practices in their homelands in Chapter 4, their multiple homes, roots and feelings of home in Chapter 5 and their struggles and strategies for getting into the global art market in Chapter 6.

In-depth interviews were chosen because they are loosely structured and allow understanding on rich, descriptive data to do with people's behaviours, attitudes and perceptions. Whereas, semi-structured interviews use a list of questions and the interviewee can divert from these if they want to bring up new ideas, but not to the same extent as with in-depth interviews. These allowed more of a conversation with artists, rather than quick-fire round of questions and short answers. Interviews with artists included discussion on their background, their artwork, and whether there were any barriers in becoming an artist. This is why I disagree with Gubrium and Holstein's (2002: 3) argument that "respondents are relatively passive in their roles, which are delimited by the interviewer's coordinating activity." In fact, some of my respondents were animated in interviews, for instance, that were conducted in their studios and where they showed me their artworks and catalogues. They see this relationship as an unequal power relation - an "asymmetrical relationship" (ibid.) - while I approached this relationship as an equal relationship and a professional relationship. The interviews had clear themes: 'about you', 'about being an artist', 'about travel', 'about how you communicate, 'your opinions of the art world'. I stopped interviewing when I started to receive the same answer to questions (or the same set of answers), although, this differed according to interviewee. On one hand, artists each had different answers on their life histories and travel patterns. On the other hand, in answer to

the question on what the turning point was in becoming a professional artist, a lot either said ‘when they started to sell work/earn a living’ or ‘when they went abroad’.

I wanted to speak to full-time artists, who had trained at Lithuanian, Latvian or Estonian art academies. I chose artists based on when they graduated and those who were contemporary artist working now. But, as I mentioned earlier, I was recommended artists to speak to and this was how I gained access by saying I already knew a curator or gallerist they had worked with. I did not ask for artists who travelled or who were part of the diaspora. The fact that they all travelled and were living elsewhere in the EU was a given due to government policies funding them and travel on programs such as ERASMUS before they graduate. This was a common factor I found with Baltic artists; the majority of these artists do travel and must travel. The findings had a lot to do with artists’ initial interest in art and where this came from, which was often from the family home or having parents who were artists or friends of family who were artists. Many mentioned the barriers in being an artist and becoming an artist in Lithuania, Latvia or Estonia due to difficulties making a living and because art is not closely linked to business. This meant they felt they needed to go elsewhere to work. Even with these barriers and struggles with keeping Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius as a home, their view of the Baltic art scenes is positive, especially in terms of the future.

Interviewing only artists was not sufficient enough in order to understand how they work within a global art market, the current situation of and any transitions taking place in the Baltic art worlds. These artists are not working or operating in a vacuum, but ‘in and out of tune’ with art markets comprising art fairs, auctions and the associated flows of artworks and money. Arts professionals are vital for promoting artists and artworks abroad and then creating opportunities for artists to travel. With this, they arguably have the power and responsibility of launching or developing artists’ careers. These interviews highlight a politics and geoeconomics of mobility: why artists must move at certain paces, in certain routes and exhibit at certain galleries or art fairs. As well as those directly working in the global art market (curators, dealers), I interviewed three policy makers in order to understand how they fund artists and art institutions to travel and invite foreign artists and arts professionals to Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. I interviewed art historians to understand transition in the Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes since 1991 and understand more about

cross-cultural influences and travel opportunities during the Soviet Union. Overall, I ascertained transitions in the Baltic States happening today by asking this group about their transnational connections with other galleries across the EU, how often and where they travelled, what transitions they thought their practice and the Baltic art scenes were going through, whether flows of artwork and people were coming into Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, and what effect people's travels were having on the Baltic art scenes.

I conducted interviews initially with gallerists, curators and exhibition coordinators at the main or most well-known galleries, museums, and art centres in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius.⁸⁰ I carried out semi-structured interviews⁸¹ with members from different roles in the art world and in different institutions - both commercial art galleries and non-commercial art centres and museums - in the cities in order to get not only in-depth but also well-rounded insight into the workings of these art scenes. I wanted to get a range of views on the same sorts of issues that are pertinent to my research, to generate an in-depth understanding.⁸² The art institutions I visited are plotted below in Figures 2, 3 and 4 (see pp.118-120). This shows a map of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius and where these galleries are located. It included a range of art spaces, galleries, museums, and art development centres, which deal in traditional, modern and contemporary art. I also went to exhibitions and art spaces in more unusual spaces such as in libraries, boats as well as previously derelict factories.

⁸⁰ Each city has one main museum – *KUMU Art Museum* in Tallinn, *National Gallery of Art* in Vilnius, *Latvian National Museum of Art* in Riga; one main commercial gallery – *Gallery Vartai* in Vilnius, *Gallery Bastejs* in Riga, *Temnikova & Kasela Gallery* in Tallinn; and one main art center – *Contemporary Art Centre* in Vilnius, *Gallery Alma* in Riga, *Kunstihoone* in Tallinn. These institutions were my first points of contact.

⁸¹ As Gubrium and Holstein (2002: 4) argue, even though questioning and answering has been part of speech since its beginnings, the method of interviewing is relatively new within society - present since the mid-twentieth century. They state (2002: 4) it would have been quite strange to go up to a stranger to ask questions prior to this and, plus, individuals were not considered important sources of knowledge. This changed, they (ibid.) argue, after World War II with the introduction of the survey interview. From then on, "individuals could forthrightly add their thoughts and feelings to the mix of 'public opinion'" (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002: 4). Today, interviews have become part of everyday life; they are used in media, marketing and are, today, a popular method for gaining information about topical issues and ideas. Even though they have become ubiquitous in everyday life, interviews are still considered a useful method in research (Burnard, 1991; Bogdan and Biklen, 1982). For this study, they allowed me to gain an insight into these artists' lives and work as well as gaining information on the broader workings of the art scenes and art markets from interviews with arts professionals.

⁸² Questions asked (see Appendix for list of questions) to arts professionals were more directed than to artists, as I wanted to find out specific information about the art scenes and how these art institutions were working. These included: Do you exhibit only Lithuanian art? Does the artwork travel outside the country? Has the art practice changed since the Soviet Union? Who do you connect with internationally?

After conducting the first ten interviews, I had formed a list of main themes that were the pertinent issues within this community. These were: 1. transition, 2. open borders, 3. new geographies, 4. internationalisation, 5. new and developing art spaces (opening across the city), and 6. developing links across different levels of the art scenes (relational capital).⁸³ The questions I asked on subsequent fieldtrips were more directed towards the main themes that I had gleaned from the first fieldtrip. As well as interviewing artists ‘at home and away’, I also did the same with arts professionals. This sheds light on opinions of both migrants and non-migrants, yet, I did not want to compare these and their different experiences as this was not the focus of the research.⁸⁴ As those who are currently living in Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius have invariably worked or studied abroad earlier in their career or have returned to open a gallery for instance. Interviewing arts professionals living abroad enhanced my understanding of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes by gaining an ‘outside’ perspective, as those detached from this community had different opinions on these art scenes, in terms of how they connect with the rest of the art world, how elsewhere views the Baltic art worlds and whether they are in transition.⁸⁵ In Chapter 4, I use a particular way of organising and ‘writing’ the findings from these semi-structured interviews with arts professionals. I couple interview material with secondary sources in an interconnection in

⁸³ Here, I include an explanation of what I mean by these themes. 1. Transition: A lot spoke about the transition these art scenes went through before independence, as well as during 1990s, after EU accession and the transition happening today. 2. Open borders: A lot of this transition has to do with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia now being in the EU and so people being able to work across the Schengen Area without thinking about borders. This has allowed them to work elsewhere as well as become more commercial and competitive. 3. While just after 1991 galleries and art institutions worked more locally with Scandinavia, they then worked across Europe in 2000s, but now they work globally. They work in and connect with spaces/networks that are ever expanding in geography. 4. Policies from ministries of culture and galleries policies are to work internationally, ministries funding people going out, and galleries inviting people in and showing art from elsewhere. 5. There are a few new art spaces opening, which shows a development in art scenes. Also, initiatives (like the art development center in Tallinn) are helping galleries in Tallinn to be more competitive. 6. They are realising they need to work together across the city to improve, though, they would rather connect with EU than the person/gallery next door.

⁸⁴ There was an option to approach this topic by conducting a comparative study that looked at migrants versus non-migrants, i.e. those artists who are living abroad compared with those who have never left their country of origin. However, this was not my focus. Also, only a few had never left their country of origin. With these few instances, they had a fulltime job whilst doing their art at the weekends. I did not want to research these types of artists, who were not working fulltime. This is because they identify themselves more as graphic designers or teachers, for instance, rather than as artists.

⁸⁵ This relates to the core inquiry of understanding artistic practices of artists from the Baltic States, but this was gained through a different perspective. With this, I was able to ascertain how, for example, *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky* worked with artists from the Baltic States. Also, an art dealer of Latvian art in London discussed the situation of the Latvian art scene and its international market. In particular, she told me how it is easier for artists from Paris and New York to get into London galleries as compared to artists from Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius because “the art market loves big names and great PR” (Annette, interview, 6th January 2014).

order to discuss travel and communications during the Soviet Union, transition in the 1990s and the current situation.⁸⁶

Many visual artists living in Eastern Europe today have lived abroad earlier in their career. This is due to this being more of a possibility after 2004 and due to more opportunities for projects, residencies and greater exposure elsewhere in the EU. Whilst more research has been carried out on return migration to individual countries, less have been carried out on the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) region (Martin and Radu, 2012), or particular regions within CEE such as the Baltic region. It is important to investigate how artists impact home cultures on returning, or the consequences of their return that are not only due to failure in the host country (Conway, 2009) but can also be to do with strategy or wanting to develop their homeland. This shows how return migration can lead to regional or urban development as King (2015) argues and this is through, in part Guarnizo (1997) argues, their dense webs of transnational relations and multidirectional exchanges that they have built up whilst abroad. It is important to look at returns alongside movements out of Baltic States and of how some artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia move to additional third, fourth and fifth locations because I see these returns as just part of the mobility process, as these returns are far from a final move for most. Return migrations to the Baltic States can be permanent or temporary; regardless, individuals often build up transnational networks that they employ from their homeland.

3.3.2 Observations at Contemporary Art Centre in Vilnius and with Laura in Vienna

Alongside interviews, I required a method that would provide more depth in order to see not only where but also how artists travelled, their experiences when abroad, how they connected back to home, and how they felt when abroad. While interviews allowed respondents to describe and discuss behaviour, participant observation allowed me to directly witness and see this behaviour. Two criteria for this are as follows. I wanted to capture their experiences of moving, which necessitated an observation of these processes over time: over a week in two locations and over three months online. Participant

⁸⁶This coupling of interview material and secondary sources helps to back up the information I received from interviewees but also, on the other hand, the interview material brings this information from secondary sources 'to life'. This also has to do with time frames, as secondary sources state what was happening at these times, but I coupled this with what arts professionals are saying about their country's history and present situation from today's perspective.

observation⁸⁷ was a suitable method as I wanted to observe artists in their natural environment, carrying out their activities in a natural way - outside of the more structured nature of the interview or quantifiable methods such as surveys. “Ethnography is predicated on attention to the everyday, an intimate knowledge of face-to-face communities and groups” (Marcus, 1995: 99). Furthermore, respondents might have provided a socially desirable answer in interviews, for instance, what they thought the I wanted to hear rather than what they actually felt. This is why I argue that both of these methods - interviews and participant observation - needed to be used together in order to gain the benefits of both and balance out the negatives of either one.

I assumed the position of ‘moderate participation’ or ‘observer as participant’ where I, as the researcher, kept a balance between being ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ the action. For instance, I was both outside of the action (sitting, writing and observing) but also part of the action on occasion (when asked to help put up artwork, joining conversations at social events) whilst observing Laura at *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky* in Vienna. Findings from this observation are discussed in Chapter 6. More information on Laura can be found in Appendix A on p.267. Also, this method required some involvement in order to gain rapport with artists and to gain my own position within the team working at the *Contemporary Art Centre (CAC)*, although, I wanted to retain some distance in order to remain objective and to keep a clear position as researcher.⁸⁸ This allowed me time and distance in order to write down notes and to be able to ‘see’ what was happening. Data was collected from a range of modes, ranging from direct observation, informal conversations and making field notes. A sample from this journal can be found in Appendix C. During participant observation I asked myself: what is happening in this setting, who is engaging in what kind of activities, why are

⁸⁷ Ethnography and, within this, the method of participant observation was first used within the discipline of anthropology, but has more recently been taken over into disciplines such as sociology and cultural studies. It became a research method when researchers explored other cultures and documented this exploration in the late 19th century and early part of the Twentieth Century. Yet, the exploration of cultures has a longer history than this. Herodotus, who has been called ‘the father of history’ (Pipes, 2009) and who lived during the 5th Century B.C., wanted to go away from ethnocentrism when exploring the so-called ‘other’. Rather, Herodotus wanted to study the ‘other’ and see the ‘other’ as equal, no longer judging other cultures by the values and ideologies of their own culture. This is argued to be the birth of ethnography (Thomas, 2002; Skinner, 2012). This is similar to what Danfort (in Gubrium and Holstein, 2003: 10) argues about the ‘other’: “the gap between a familiar ‘we’ and an exotic ‘they’ is a major obstacle to a meaningful understanding of the other, an obstacle that can only be overcome through some sort of participation in the world of the other.”

⁸⁸ While some theorists state and describe how this makes research unreliable and not generalisable (LeCompte, 1982; Brewer, 2000), McCall (1984:277) argues that observation provides more reliable information about events and greater accuracy regarding their timing, duration, and frequency. Whilst conducting participant observation, I created a journal of my thoughts and feelings about artistic practice, artwork, galleries, exhibitions, and events. These were written at the time and then analysed afterwards for recurring themes or overarching debates.

they doing what they are doing? What does it mean, how do they feel? LeCompte and Schensul (1999: ix) state that gaining this basic information using these types of questions will generate knowledge about the social structure, social events, cultural patterns, and the meanings people give to these patterns, which reflects my reasons and criteria for using this method. This is germane to this study because it allowed me to gain a deeper insight than in interviews, as I could see in realtime how they felt at events or in their workplace and I could also be at these events and working environments.

Compared to traditional ethnography used in anthropological research, where a considerable amount of time is required in the one field where the researcher is immersed in the single community, I knew what I was looking for prior to conducting the research. The role enabled me to participate in the group activities, yet, respondents knew my position was to collect data and were aware of my observations. Merriam (1998) points out that, while the researcher may have access to many different people in this situation from whom he/she may obtain information, the group members control the level of information given. As Adler and Adler (1994: 380) argue, this “peripheral membership role” enables the researcher to “observe and interact closely enough with members to establish an insider’s identity without participating in those activities constituting the core of group membership.” Participant observation is the most common form of ethnographic work, where researchers write about, against, and among cultures (Clifford and Marcus, 1986: 1). However, this method is connected to interviews in that there is an importance in not only observing but also of writing and mapping. “[W]riting has emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and thereafter” (Clifford and Marcus, 1986: 1), and so the researcher has to transform what they see into words. I also turned this back into a visual form through maps and visualisations, which is discussed in the next section. They are included at the end of Chapters 4 and 6 because these depict the spatialities and temporalities of their movements, i.e where they move, the geographical expanse over which they move, how often they move, and the duration they stay in each location.

I spent a week with an Estonian artist in Vienna, in the week leading up to the exhibition opening of ‘Laura Põld/Sigita Daugule’ at *Galerie Ulrike Hrobosky*.⁸⁹ The exhibition ran from

⁸⁹ *Galerie Ulrike Hrobosky* is a commercial art gallery that shows emerging as well as established artists. It is located in the city center of Vienna, Austria. I conducted participant observation at this gallery in the week

12th September until 19th October 2013; I conducted participant observation between 9th and 13th September 2013. This period of time - where observation took place mostly in the gallery where the artist was preparing installations - was chosen in order to see how these artists prepared and set up for the exhibition, to see the artist's relationship with the gallerist, curator and fellow artists, and struggles with selling art and language barriers in the new home. I wanted to see them working in action, plus, doing this abroad, so while integrating into a new art market and community. I chose *Gallerie Ulrike Hrobsky* because Laura had mentioned she was doing an exhibition in Vienna in an interview conducted in Tallinn a few months prior. I also thought it was relevant because it would be a chance to witness an exhibition of two artists from the Baltic States in a joint exhibition.

The criteria for observation was to see: an artist's experiences of living abroad including their struggles in making a new home, language barriers and the pricing of artwork (that was lower because the gallery had to test if there was a market there for her), and both personal and professional relationships that are vital in their practice, why Laura wanted to go outside of Estonia and the effects this movement had on her career, how such exhibitions can potentially launch artists' careers outside their homeland, in terms of having more opportunities afterwards and becoming more a part of the global art market. It shows why she chose Vienna to make home, how it changes from an economic and strategic choice to becoming an emotional home with many personal attachments. Nevertheless, it also showed how Laura was still connected to Estonia and wanted to do exhibitions and teaching there. I also saw, by contrast, how the other artist - Sigita - worked and travelled. It was useful to compare the two artists as they had different practices and types of travel. This observation is discussed in Chapter Five where their experiences are addressed in a close-up account of events, conversations and observations.

Comparison was not the main focus, though, but it did allow me as a researcher to understand aspects of Laura's practice more clearly. It showed Laura had to make new roots in Vienna, because it is a good place to be for her career; this took a couple of years and was not easy: Laura (interview, 7th June 2013) says "I am now showing work in Vienna after 3 years of lurking with the community - this relation has to develop." These issues

leading up to an exhibition opening event. The exhibition was called 'Sigita Daugule / Laura Pöld', featuring the two artists of the same name. The two artists are from Latvia and Estonia, with Laura based in Vienna/Tallinn and Sigita based in Riga. Ulrike Hrobsky is the owner of the gallery and Maria Christine Holter was the curator for the exhibition and who was also commissioned to give speeches at the opening event. I observed - by sitting in the gallery to watch, listen, see - what Laura was doing throughout the week. I also attended Laura on her visits to her studio, art shop, as well as going to social events.

influence her feelings of it as home. Observation provided insight into how she was, in fact, more mobile after migrating to Vienna. In informal conversations she spoke to me about previous exhibitions in Tallinn and other future exhibitions, such as an exhibition in Wisconsin. It showed how she had adapted to living across two places and having two homes, as she switched regularly from talking about one and then the other. Discussion was about when she would travel to the other place, but how she would then miss her home and attachments in Vienna now. Another reason for doing this observation was to find out about artists' relations with arts professionals and to understand more about the politics of the art world and mobility. I saw the pressure to sell in how they spoke often about this and worries that if they did not sell then the gallerist would pay the full rent. There were also discussions on language barriers, which can be clearly seen through a discussion on artwork pricing in Chapter 6. From being there, this also meant that I could examine artworks in more detail to see if there were cross-cultural combinations, which are discussed in Chapter 5.

In order to balance the findings from following an artist I wanted to observe in an art institution. I hoped this would provide me with two sides of the story. As Marcus (1995) argues, the researcher can understand the lifeworld and the system through (multi-sited) ethnography. From these two observations, I understood the perspective of the institution who chooses (or excludes) artists' work for exhibitions and the other perspective with an artist trying to secure exhibitions and to 'make it' abroad. I spent one week at the *Contemporary Art Centre (CAC)* in Vilnius, where I saw how curators worked in their everyday life, their communication between each other, further knowledge on their relationship with artists, how the institution was run, and their links with the global art world. The reason for this observation was to gain an insider's perspective - to see how the curators worked locally and globally, with artists, but also how they were putting on exhibitions that were international. I was there between 25th and 30th August 2013.⁹⁰

I chose *CAC* because it is the largest art space in the Baltic States, because of its well-known international curators as well as its name that is established at the Venice biennale.⁹¹

⁹⁰When carrying out participant observation at *CAC*, I was aware of the construction and production of myself in the field as well as the relations between the field, other people and myself. I realised that I needed to be thinking about how I was affecting the field.

⁹¹Curator at *CAC*, Valentinas Klimašauskas, works internationally whilst being based in Vilnius and another curator at *CAC*, Virginija Januškevičiūtė, spent five years in Amsterdam at *Appel* studying Curatorial Design.

I gleaned a lot about how they worked and their relationship with artists through informal conversations with curators and the director. I realised that some curators had studied abroad and returned to change or run the institution. Observation of *CAC* showed what pressures artists have to work under and the institutions that control this. I found out how policies were working not only for artists but also galleries and arts professionals they give funding for exhibitions, travel and for supporting those who want to visit Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. The findings here were that it was important to them to work locally and globally. Its director, Kestutis, said 60 per cent of exhibitions are international and 40 per cent are local. They also spoke about an exhibition at *KIM? Contemporary Art Centre* in Riga with three Lithuanian artists. They know that they could develop local art scenes only by working abroad. They work in this place but are always connected to elsewhere.

3.3.3 Weekly Email Diaries from Artists

Due to the level of depth and understanding I gained from participant observation, I decided to conduct observations with artists online through email. I focused on 4 artists whom I had previously interviewed. This took place over 3 months from November 2013 until January 2014; communication between myself and the respondent took the form of a weekly diary from each artist, which detailed daily routines and events that took place over that week. This was another progression in the depth of the research as this was carried out over a longer duration of time. Even though I had interviewed a lot of artists, I felt I needed to focus in on particular artists in order to achieve a depth of understanding, and this would be the way to gain rich material. The aims and criteria of this method were: to look at artists' differing practices, approaches to and uses of travel, their opinion on the importance of transnational communications and collaborations, and how rooted they felt in the Baltic States.

I chose particular artists based on how much they travelled and those who were established enough in their career - at least three years after graduation - so that they would be travelling. I also chose based on those I had made a connection with, as with some respondents I had done at least one interview with them already and contact via web was regular. Artists were not chosen in terms of age, gender or art style.⁹² Weekly updates

⁹² However, I did decide on there being one artist from each city, plus Kris who is hypermobile but her communications were more sporadic. Laura and Sigita were an obvious choice because I had already created a rapport with them in Vienna. And Žygimantas because he represented one in his homeland, but he

showed who they spoke to and communicated with, where they went, which artworks they were exhibiting where. Email diaries are in the appendix. The reasons behind this choice of research are threefold: in interviews they told me what they did everyday: but this method enabled me to actually witness what they did and over time. I could not be with them in person, especially not all of them at the same time - so this is why I chose to conduct it online. This was appropriate because they communicate with many people in the same way regularly, so it was not something 'out of the ordinary' for them.

This approach exposed the nature of artists' lives, providing a more accurate understanding of times, dates of events; it showed how artists changed their feelings of home, how the meaning of home was about one thing in one place but associated with something or someone else in another place. It also showed how they communicated with others in different places, and with different communities when in different places. It provided more in-depth understanding than in interviews in terms of these details. It also highlighted the pressures they were under, reasons for and how they were travelling rather than just telling me where they had worked in interviews. It showed that regardless of amount or pace of mobilities, they still feel rooted to somewhere or something. It showed how the notion of home can also be about practice, which includes making art, social relations, and membership to the art community. The method provided insight into how artists changed their feelings of home over time and how the meaning of home could have different meanings in each of the places they have lived. A deeper understanding of all these issues was gained because I was communicating with them regularly over a period of time.

3.3.4 A Visual Analysis of Artworks

The research combines data-collection methods from social sciences and visual cultures. I also conducted a visual analysis in order to assess different illustrations and representations of homes in artwork. This combination of interviews, observations and visual analysis has the potential to show the meanings behind people's words in interviews and provides context to artworks. Chapter 5 provides an understanding of the larger inquiry through drawing on artists' words alongside selected artworks. This provided another dimension to

communicates a lot, sends art abroad, and travels within Lithuania on a regular basis. With this diversity in practices, for instance, I got to see how Žygimantas did just as much emailing as painting everyday. By contrast, I saw how rarely Sigita spoke to her gallery representatives. Yet, Laura and Kris moved a lot and these trips relate to the social network they have created; though, their trips are also to make new contacts, which means their social networks are ever evolving.

understanding respondents' thoughts and feelings of travel and home; also, their artworks provided visual clues and were connected to what they were discussing in interviews. The criteria for this method was to explore cross-cultural influences, to explore the different ways they had been combined, how living abroad made some want to discuss issues of homeland in artwork, and how the meaning of home or aspects from different homes was illustrated in their artworks.

The artworks I refer to and analyse were produced by Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian visual artists between 2004 and 2014. I chose artists who use different mediums: those who use mixed media and installation but also those who use photography, performance or sculpture. This is relevant because each links into my theme on travel and home, regardless of the medium they use. Similar to curators, I had a theme and then selected artworks based on this.⁹³ I asked artists about their themes in artwork and whether travel has an effect on their artwork in interviews, where many spoke about how travel affected their art and some discussed how they combined their different experiences of places. I have seen some of the artworks in situ, such as Laura's 'Himmelblau', which she spoke to me about in informal conversations during participant observation at *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky* in Vienna. Laura also spoke to me in the interview in Tallinn about 'A Study of Homes' and another exhibition and series of work entitled 'Attempts to Stage a Landscape'.⁹⁴

This research draws on a visual interpretation, which used particular themes that reflected my research questions and themes.⁹⁵ However, the understanding of an artwork is dependent on personal background, culture, the situation of the artwork, and additional information that is given with the artwork. Berger (1972: 3) argues that "every image embodies a way of seeing" but this also "depends on our own way of seeing". Moreover, in research, neither the artist's nor the researcher's opinion is objective but, rather, a particular way of seeing the world. The art theory I used was Bourriaud's (2002) notion of 'relational

⁹³ In other chapters, I have also selected artworks to refer to, as they demonstrate particular arguments. For example, Lithuanian artist Kostas spoke to me about his father being a famous Soviet artist and his difficulty making a name for himself in the art world, so I discuss his quadriptych of photographs that directly reflect these issues in Chapter 6. In Chapter 6 I have also used my own photographs in order to show how the artworks were arranged, placed on the floor and what type of artworks were there in the gallery.

⁹⁴ I have been granted permission to reproduce these artworks, as well as the artworks from the other artists. These are mainly discussed in Chapter 5, but also in Chapter 4.

⁹⁵ Visual analysis approaches include a Saussurian visual semiotics, Freudian psychoanalysis, or a content analysis. Ferdinand de Saussure focused on language and argued that this was the most important of all the sign systems (1983: 15). Roland Barthes is also useful to refer to here as he was a semiotician who researched the ways audiences interpreted what they saw. The idea is that the audience looks for signs in a text in order to interpret its meaning.

aesthetics', where artistic practice is about human relations and their social context. With this concept, art is seen as information provided to viewers, with which they can use to enhance their own knowledge or to change and develop aspects of culture. However, I argue that it is not only about art relating to a social context, as art can also combine social contexts to create new meaning.

I analysed the artworks in terms of my own themes, which were generated after spending time with artists. These included: travel and home, cross-cultural meanings, depicting issues from their homeland. These themes were set before selecting and analysing the artwork so that all artworks chosen to feature in Chapter 5 would relate to each other and that each would illustrate an aspect of my inquiry respectively. With this, I could assess how they combined cultural inferences and illustrated issues pertaining to the notion of 'home' along these lines. I understand that I have acted as a curator of these artworks, choosing particular ones and leaving others out due to these themes. A concern with this, though, was that certain images may have been intended to have multiple meanings and a "multilevel discourse" (Eco, 1978: 16), where I may have taken a preferred reading on one of them over another, due to my own background or based on interviews and observations. This means it is a subjective method. Yet, it is valuable to use as a method when coupled with interviews, as I could see what artists felt - at an emotional, personal level - rather than in interviews or participant observations where they may have been 'putting up a front' around me as the researcher. These artworks as well as my own visualisations can be found in mini-catalogues at the end of each chapter.

Alongside visual analysis, mapping also provided a suitable way of visualising connections across different cities, as my own 'psychogeography'. The maps clarified the spatialities of artists' routes, multiple bases, and connections across the EU.⁹⁶ These visualisations also showed whether artists only travelled to places depending on language, cultural or historical connections, whether they traveled to cities where established connections were or whether they were making new connections. It also showed they were not only travelling to neighbouring Baltic States or only West to art centers such as London or Berlin. The use of

⁹⁶ Mapping also follows certain rules. Firstly, there must be a map and additional contextual information. At least some 'marginalia' should be included – these are the legend, north arrow, location, scale, title. A title is always needed, except for rare cases where the legend clearly explains what is being mapped. A legend is also required as it explains all the symbols used in the map.

mapping also reflected my research question that has a spatial element - being about mobilities and dwellings - so this was 'answered' more effectively through using and plotting maps to show how, where and how often artists moved and where their bases were. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Rose (2007:6) argues that making images as a way towards answering a research question is relatively rare in studies of visual culture. A visual analysis revealed aspects of my research question, that other aural/written methods could not, as it showed me that respondents had different conceptions of the meaning of home, how this changed for them over time, how they were interested in transitions in their homeland (even if not living there), and how they worked through their idea of home by discussing different cultural influences in artworks. This demonstrates a requirement in research more generally, whereby visuals are created by the researcher and used to help answer the research question or support the findings.

3.4 Ethical Considerations and Limitations of the Research

There were limitations in this research, including issues of language, researcher position, access, and generalisability. I knew I had to learn at least a basic understanding of one of the languages so that the environment would be not so 'foreign' and, also, so I would not feel so much as an 'outsider'. I did not want to come across as an armchair researcher or a 'comfortable westerner' by going into the field with no prior understanding of the language or knowledge of the culture. Nevertheless, I would never be a 'native' and I understood it would be difficult to grasp the nuances of the culture. However, I believed the 'outsider' position was a positive as I did not have affiliation with one community, which meant I went in with fewer biases or preconceptions. I believe people were more open with me because I had no 'position' or allegiance.

It might seem as though I simply took the Baltic States and classified this whole region as the same - this was not my intention. Difference, transition and cross-cultural exchange were key issues in the field and in the research. I controlled the study by researching three cities in particular, where I presented the internationalisation and the mobilities into, out of, and across these cities. I wanted to be careful not to put these artist communities into one box, for example, 'post-soviet' or 'peripheral'. This could have been quite reductionist, and I wanted to see if this study showed Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes instead as diverse and re-emerging hubs of connections in the EU. Williams (1990: 300) has a valid

point when saying “there are no masses, only ways to view people as a mass.” It is the outsider who imprints these categories onto people. I was careful in what categories I used to ‘label’ the community, or when and how far to generalise what they were doing.

I was mindful, though, that I was looking from a so-called privileged ‘western’ point of view. However, I did not wish to make a comparative analysis of east versus west, but rather, to show the current situation of the art scenes in Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius. I did not want to be ethnocentric but, rather, I wanted to look at these communities from their perspective, using their own words and my observations of their everyday lives. I was aware that personal characteristics could also affect the research outcome. For instance, age, cultural class, and education determined who would be comfortable talking to me or taking part in participant observation. Also, when talking about history I had to be aware that age made a difference in views on the past as well as the present. Just as seeing research methods as ‘tools’ that give the researcher the answer or truth is not correct, the same goes for cultures: as Clifford and Marcus (1986, 18-19) argue, “cultures are not specific ‘objects’. Culture and our views of ‘it’ are produced historically, and are actively contested...It is thoroughly historicist and self-reflexive”. My exposure to a certain narrative of history determines my views on the present – so this is another factor that I took into account.

My ethical responsibility was to be self-reflexive, assessing participant’s values and conduct throughout the research process. I had to think about what values provide force in this research and what values I am against. This also provided me with some sense of why I was doing the research project. This is important because I had to be accountable for what I was doing and answering these questions allowed me to do this. Another ethical issue that I needed to account for was receiving informed consent for interviews and for participant observation.⁹⁷ Please see Appendix for these. There is also an ethics of care whereby I was aware of carrying out the research *with* participants, rather than *on* them. I made sure that I treated participants with respect, and as equal. I was giving participants and the community a voice in a sense, but I did not want the power relation to be too different, but to be more equal. The same goes with leaving the field – I asked what information should I disclose

⁹⁷ I sent the consent form to each participant via email two weeks before the interviews and observations, so they had time to read it, think about it, and then sign if they wanted to. I think this is a preferable method rather than giving it to them just before interview as they might have felt they had to sign it.

and I knew I had to keep this professional. At this time, I was asking myself - how do I close these relationships that have been formed? Or should I state when they are going to hear from you again and in what capacity? I gained permission for reproduction rights of their artworks as well as permission from all respondents to use their name in this thesis.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has presented a research design for mobile individuals who have multi-local practices, by taking aspects from visual cultures and social sciences in a multi-sited and multi-temporal methodology. It described how I, as the researcher, also had to be mobile in order to track artists' movements across the EU. I also had to gain a balance between breadth and depth in the research in order to understand these artists' ways of working; I achieved this through breadth, by interviewing many respondents from different fields, groups and cities; as well as depth, through extended participant observation of particular artists over time and through visual analysis. As a result, this provided insight into individual lifeworlds as well as overarching systems, i.e artists vis-à-vis the global art market. This is important because I could not have understood artists' ways of working fully without an understanding of the global art market in which they operate.

It was not only a multi-sited ethnographic study, as it also included a multi-temporal element, which is often overlooked in research. However, this is important when using the same respondents for interviews and then (a few months later) for participant observation. Returning to the field meant that I acquired more information and a deeper knowledge of the situation of how these artists were travelling and working. I was also able to get to know various artists on a deeper level, by returning to the same field sites several times. This is why I also argue that a progression of depth in the methods is suitable for understanding individuals on a deep level. This is why I chose to conduct interviews, then participant observation, and then visual analysis. As well as the methods being connected through their progression, I also connect methods in my writing. For instance, I connect secondary sources and interviews in Chapter 4 as well as connecting interview material and visual analysis in Chapter 5. This allows one method to inform and develop the other, as secondary sources can validate interview material and interviews can also help to contextualise the meaning of artworks.

The next chapter will address the histories and current situation of the Baltic art worlds, in terms of changes in travel and communication, funding provisions and opportunities for artists past and present. This is important to consider because the histories and current situations of the Baltic States are germane to how artists from this region live and work today. It will look at the current situation of the Baltic art worlds through the lens of artists who have returned after studying or working abroad and who are now more mobile and connected across the EU. It will assess the impacts of their practice on the Baltic art worlds.

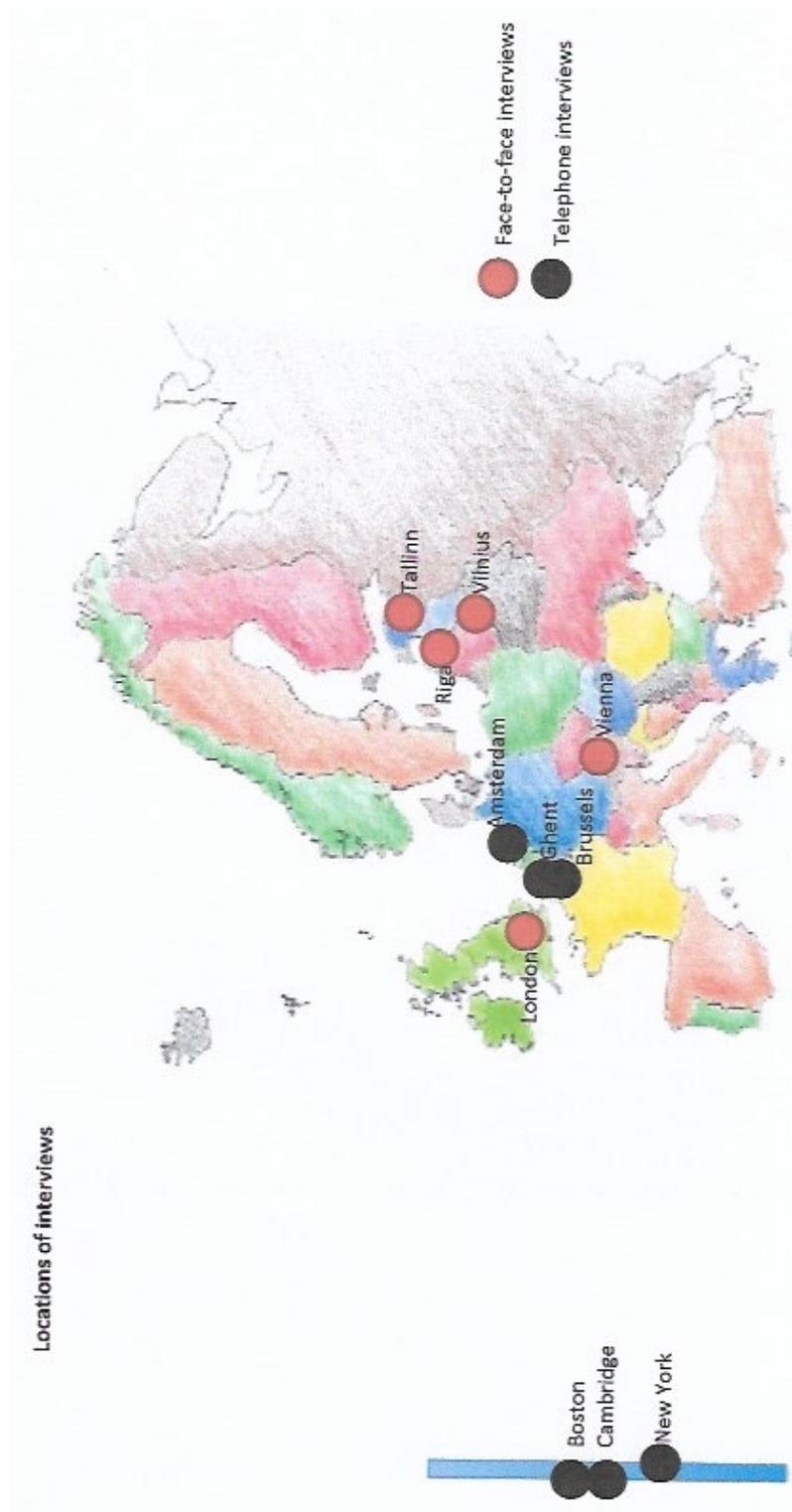


Figure 1: Map of locations of interviews⁹⁸

My own map, created on 16th June 2015.

⁹⁸ All figures are placed at the end of chapters for ease of reference.

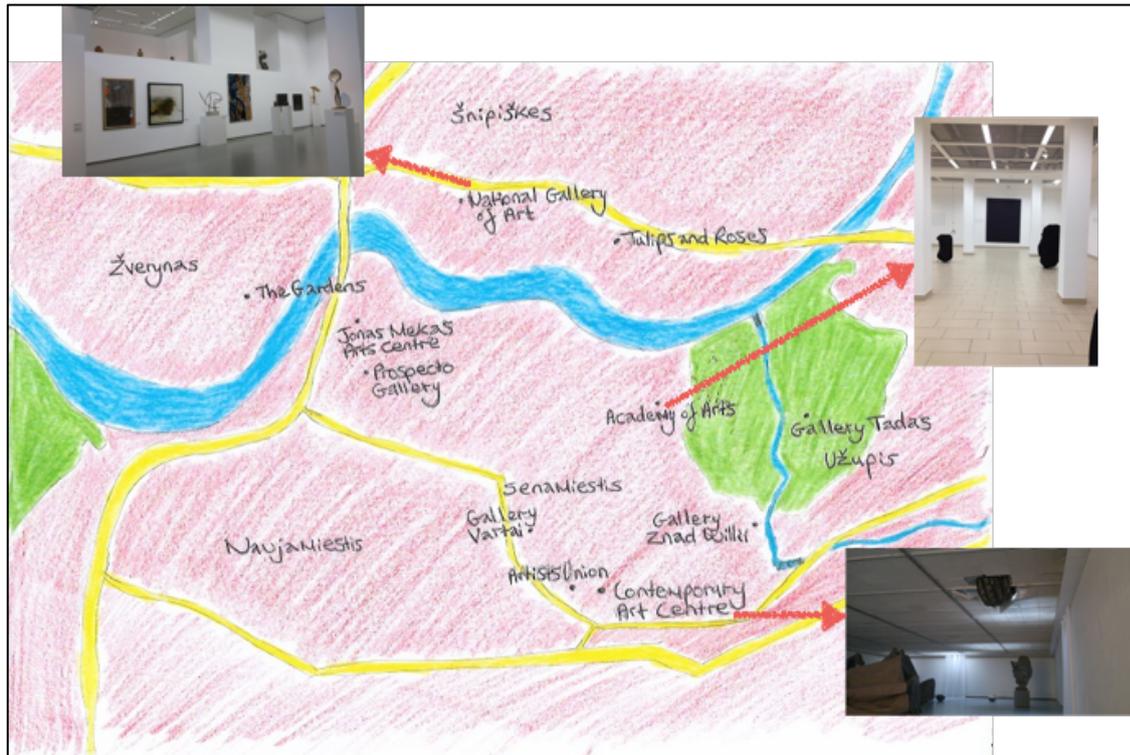


Figure 2: Locations of art institutions in Riga where I interviewed respondents

My own map, created on 18th June 2015.



Figure 3: Locations of art institutions in Vilnius where I interviewed respondents

My own map, created on 18th June 2015.



Figure 4: Locations of art institutions in Tallinn where I interviewed respondents

My own map, created on 18th June 2015.

PART TWO

Chapter 4: Historic and Policy Transitions in the Baltic States

4.1 Introduction

The Baltic States have a complex history in terms of travel and communication across the EU. By contrast to being a hub of connections and cross-border trade during the Hanseatic League during the 14th until 17th Century, the Cold war imposed restrictions on travel and communication to the EU.⁹⁹ Artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia faced barriers through a great majority of the 20th Century in terms of how international their careers could be. Nevertheless, they also had possibilities because they were on the western edge of the Soviet Union. It is important to look at artists' mobilities, feelings of home, and the development of these art scenes alongside cultural, political and economic changes in this region in order to see how some artists - through their type of mobilities - are transforming these art scenes. The transitions through history and current situation of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes cannot be fully understood without situating this within an historical context. The histories and current situations of the Baltic States are germane to how artists from this region live and work today.

This chapter focuses on the historical transitions and contemporary situations of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes.¹⁰⁰ This relates to how these artists' homelands are changing and how these places are altered through an increasing amount of global interconnections, which they themselves are helping to establish. The artist diasporas are impacting on these developments because they remain connected or return regularly for exhibitions. The chapter will also consider the historic and current barriers in making homeland home, as there were and still are many struggles faced in becoming an artist in Lithuania, Latvia or Estonia that can prevent them from feeling 'at home'. This means that the notion of home,

⁹⁹These city-to-city links are reminiscent of during the Hanseatic League between the 13th and 17th Century, when the Baltic region was a network of trade and economic exchange. The Baltic region was a hub of flows at this time, used for "transit trade" as Vareikis (in Åberg and Peterson, 1997: 98) argues. "[I]n Viking and Hansa times, the Baltic formed a united economic zone fostering commercial, political and cultural contacts between peoples dwelling around its shores" (Vareikis, in Åberg and Peterson, 1997: 97).

¹⁰⁰Transitions through history include the travel and exchanges between Eastern and Western blocs during the Cold War, which impacted on artistic practice in the Baltic Soviet Republics. After independence in 1991, there were transitions in culture, art institutions, government and the economy – which all had an effect on the development of these art scenes. An important part of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes' contemporary transitions - since 2004 - have been through the transborder work and regular EU mobilities of many of their artists. This reconsiders assertions from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2013) that there is only permanent out migration from these countries where few flows go into these countries; instead, cultural flows are going in both directions.

i.e. homeland in this case, is not necessarily a happy or comfortable place. Nevertheless, some of these artists return to their homelands, either permanently or temporarily, after having lived abroad. Many bring their multi-cross-cultural connections back with them, of which they maintain from their base in Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius. This means that Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius become increasingly part of these transnational networks, flows and connections across the EU art world. Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes are in transition due to this, which means they are now a strategic place for some artists to have a home as they can travel and communicate out across the EU using their transnational networks.

This chapter combines interview material with secondary sources. This also develops on scholarship that looks at change in the Baltic region (Åberg and Peterson, 1997; Galbreath, Lašas and Lamoreaux, 2008; Schönweitz, 2015), as change as a result of travel and international communications has not been fully explored in terms of the art worlds. For instance, Piotrowski (2012) concentrates on art after independence and how this art is a result of cultural transformations in the region; but he focuses on the topic of art and democracy in post-communist Europe. This is not to say that flows are only going one way; just as global processes are changing the Baltic States, so too are the local processes that are taken out by artists and impacting host cities, which means flows of ideas and knowledge are going both ways.

In order to investigate these issues, this chapter looks at cross-border exchanges and tourism during the Soviet Union, what transitions took place and who this was funded by during the 1990s, as well as the contemporary situation where a new generation of artists (who have studied and worked abroad) are having an impact on their art scenes. The main argument put forward in this chapter is that, even though these three cities have always had a multifarious character, whereby cross-cultural exchange and travel were also present during the Soviet Union, today's situation needs to be investigated because mobilities are now shorter, more regular and artists can stay connected across the EU after returning to Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius or stay connected to their homeland if living abroad. The main question is: how are Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes in transition due to artists' regular out and return mobilities, becoming increasingly international and connected hubs due to artists' transnational networks?

4.2 Cross-border Travel and Communication During the Soviet Union (1960-1991)

During the Cold War, there were many cross-border cultural exchanges between Western and Eastern blocs. Soviet citizens were travelling out of the Soviet Union on group tourism trips and European citizens were travelling into the Soviet Union to source out artistic talent for exhibitions in Western Europe. Between 1960 and 1991, there were influences from outside the Soviet Union coming into these art scenes, collaboration between the Baltic Soviet Republics and ‘unofficial’ or ‘semi-nonconformist’ artworks being taken out to be exhibited in Europe. Keeper of Contemporary Art at *KUMU Art Museum* in Tallinn, Liisa (interview, 5th June 2014), says the situation was more liberal between the 1960s and 1980s: the Baltic Soviet Republics had a “special position because it was a border area. The Soviet west had more freedom.” Sobolev (in Hoptman and Pospiszyl, 2002: 15) argues that, compared to the fiercely underground artists of Moscow, artists in Estonia “enjoyed a remarkable artistic freedom” and could participate in the formal state system.¹⁰¹ This special position, on the border with Europe to the West, meant there were instances of cultural exchange across Europe.¹⁰² As Richmond (2003) states, these cultural exchanges had impacts on the Soviet Union as well as the people who travelled abroad and returned with new ideas:

“over a 30-year period (1958-1988)...tens of thousands of Soviet citizens came to countries in Western Europe. They came as scholars and students, scientists and engineers, writers and journalists, government and party leaders, musicians and athletes, and they were all cleared by the KGB for foreign travel. But they came, they saw, they were conquered, and the Soviet Union would never again be the same. Those exchanges changed the Soviet Union and prepared the way for Gorbachev’s glasnost, perestroika, and the end of the Cold War.”

¹⁰¹ The state-regulated art form, Socialist Realism, was the only official art form during the Soviet Era, especially for artists in Moscow. Due to this prescriptive practice, only those artists who adhered to its rules and politics - being socialist in content and realist in form - were able to exhibit their artwork in public state-run museums and galleries. As a response to this official art, an alternative underground art scene of production and distribution formed. Whilst America and the Soviet Union each wanted to promote their system as superior to the other, a change (in terms of cultural exchanges) began after Joseph Stalin’s death in 1953. For instance, Soviet leaders began a program where Soviet artists could visit concert venues in Western Europe. The arts were one of the first areas of exchange, with exchanges of exhibitions, films, radio and TV programs. For instance, in 1962 an agreement on cultural exchanges between “Denmark and the Soviet Union was signed...this compelled the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Denmark to formulate its first policy paper on East-West cultural exchange in 1965. The policy paper argued that because means of cultural exchange in general were scarce” the ministry should target state-sponsored cultural exchanges in the eastern bloc, in order to reopen contacts and links and develop unity between east and west (Rostgaard, cited in Mikkonen and Koivunen, 2015: 45).

¹⁰² Kantor-Kasovsky (cited in Bazin, Glatigny and Piotrowski, 2016: 31) argues “the formation of the Moscow avant-garde milieu of the late 1950s and 1960s was stimulated by contacts with the West...this art induced in three major European art critics who visited Moscow in the mid and late 1960s.”

Officially, artists had the option to travel as part of tourist groups, with their Artists Union or if they were invited by close relatives living abroad.¹⁰³ Artists took inspiration from these trips and used this in their artistic practice when they returned. For example, Director of *the Estonian Academy of Arts*, Mart (interview, 7th July 2013), said that family in Sweden invited Estonian surrealist artist Ilmar Malin to stay for one month in the late 1960s. Due to the different influences he came across whilst abroad, when Malin returned to Estonia his style had changed.¹⁰⁴ Artists' time spent abroad and experiencing art movements and art styles such as post-modernism, minimalism, or conceptual art - that were present in Western Europe - had wider implications on the art styles being produced in the Baltic Soviet Republics.

Flows of art styles and ideas were going outwards as well as coming inwards, which created a multifarious art practice within the Baltic Soviet Republics. As Piotrowski (in Astahovska, 2012: 49) argues, Soviet artistic culture was “by no means monolithic”; in fact, influences coming to bear on the ‘local art’ were “heterogeneous”. There were instances of cross-border cooperation and of artworks being exhibited in international exhibitions in European countries, such as Italy. Soomre and Talvoja (in Astahovska, 2012: 149) argue some flows were coming into the Soviet Union: for example, Italian critics who frequently visited Moscow to discover artists.¹⁰⁵ This resulted in some artists having success on the European art market, due to their “active exhibitionary involvement in the West” (Soomre and Talvoja, in Astahovska, 2012: 156). Piotrowski (2012) also argues there were many

¹⁰³ There were restrictions with these trips abroad. However, as there was widespread international acclaim, distribution and reception of ‘Russian’ art, ballet and music during the Soviet Union, artists or musicians who were approved by the Soviet state were allowed to travel internationally more freely. Chandler (1998: 84) argues that “[t]he state did not allow mass travel; emigration and travel were both subject to administrative restrictions rather than guaranteed by law.” Travel to meet family/friends took place and was allowed during the 1960s and 1970s. For example, Piotrowski (2012: 72) mentions Jaroslav Kozłowski’s NET project that was an “international network of artistic exchange” (Ibid.) or the exhibition ‘Arguments’ in Warsaw 1962 which “played a key role in the development of transnational artistic exchange”. ‘Confrontations’ was an independently organised series of exhibitions in Prague (1960) and Bratislava (1961). These ‘Confrontations’ are also mentioned by Piotrowski, confirming these dates.

¹⁰⁴ As Piotrowski (2012: 72) says, for László Beke his “hitchhiking trips to Poland as one of the key components in his education as a Hungarian intellectual.” Piotrowski (2012: 72) calls this “intellectual tourism” or a kind of cultural capital obtained through travel. Golubev (2011) argues there was tourism going out to Western Europe, even crossing the East-West divide. An artist would not be allowed to travel until they were cleared by authorities, as they wanted to make sure they would return.

¹⁰⁵ These were Antonello Trombadori and Enrico Crispolti, who organised an international exhibition in L’Aquila, Italy, in 1965. Some members of the artist community had international contacts with art critics, who had become promoters of Eastern European art in Western Europe. Soomre and Talvoja (2012: 156) argue “in Moscow international contacts, especially among diplomatic circles, but also with foreign art critics and curators were quite common for the unofficial artists. It was not long before a network of collectors and dealers from the West was formed who in some cases became well informed experts and international promoters of the new Soviet art.”

“transnational confrontations” as well as “unofficial transnational artistic contacts” (2012: 70-71) during the Soviet Union. However, one difference between then and today is that, as Piotrowski (ibid.) argues, artists during Soviet times would not have identified their practice as transnational, as “it would have meant the valorisation of what was national and simultaneous depreciation of what was global or international.”

There was also the ‘smuggling’ of ideas coming into and out of the Baltic Soviet Republics, with international communication through various media portals. As Editor of Estonian magazine *KUNST.EE*, Andreas (interview, 23rd January 2014) says, the magazine was a hidden form of communication. Ideas and images of art were travelling into the societies and art scenes, subsequently changing the art scenes in terms of its ideas and perspectives.¹⁰⁶ Curator at the *Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LCCA)*, Ieva (interview, 9th June 2014), says that an artist would receive a postcard and then be inspired by this when doing their artwork or art projects. When discussing these postcards, Ieva says how some artists appropriated them then in comparison to how information is assimilated today:

“They were translated to the local situation, which is about emotion and poetics in Riga.¹⁰⁷ This level comes from the Soviet times. Something remains and something is changed when influences came from the West. They came through different channels, like a Polish Magazine. Now there is an overflow of information, so we breeze over it. Whereas, with one postcard they had ideas. So they used their imagination.” (Ieva, interview, 9th June 2014).

New ideas and inspiration would come from one postcard or a picture in a magazine. This is in contrast to today where there is a continual flow and subsequent mixture or

¹⁰⁶ Gobulev (2011) argues that tourism was important for Soviet citizens because going abroad allowed them to re-evaluate the ideological assumptions imposed by Soviet propaganda. It was a type of information exchange through the Iron Curtain - such as competition of political discourses and rhetoric, Western broadcasts, imports of Western consumer goods and influence of Western ideas.

¹⁰⁷ “Contemporary and classical Latvian poets influenced Latvian graphic artists in their romantic interpretation of life. In contrast to Estonia and Lithuania, the graphic arts of Latvia may be termed emotional” (Printnews, World Print Council, 1979: 50). “Latvian art, which has always been noted in the past for its particularly intense dramatic quality and stern, deliberate power, is now attempting to master the palette of joyful colours and bright emotions, as can be seen from such works as Iltner's New Year's Eve, ... of visual details (which has aroused unjustified suspicions of ‘abstractionism’) in a vigorous, extremely beautiful and poetic colour form.” (Zimenko, 1976: 224).

appropriation of cultural influences. Nevertheless, physical travelling across the EU today still provides artists with new inspiration and, for some, these new environments and experiences influence their artwork.¹⁰⁸ Many artists are visualising the current state of their homelands, as a response to these experiences and new environments. Mole's (2012) work on national identity in the Baltic States and the role discourse plays in this can be discussed here, as discourse (which in this case is the artwork) is influenced by different cultural influences and these artists' travels. Today, most appreciate their practice as being transnational rather than national, to link back to Piotrowski's (2012) point earlier. An analysis of selected artworks is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.3 Transition since 1991: National and International Funding Provisions

There was a marked difference between travel during the Soviet Union compared with the 1990s. After gaining independence in 1991, travel was expensive due to the requirement of visas and the high currency exchange rates; there was also a large exodus of people who permanently migrated to Western Europe or USA. While prior to 1991 travel was restricted, what came afterwards were many new types of cross-border movements.¹⁰⁹ At this point, due to the Baltic States starting from the same point in 1991, they were more interested in connecting with Western Europe rather than each other. Piotrowski (2012: 74) argues "local artists were less interested in transnational exchanges with the Eastern bloc countries than in international ones with the west." However, this was also because the West was interested in art from a newly independent 'post-Soviet' Eastern Europe. As Jaukkuri (in Astahovska, 2010: 202-203) argues:

"There was a real interest and curiosity about our neighbouring countries which finally opened up and allowed people to travel there and to start getting to know

¹⁰⁸ However, in saying this I do not want to fall into the trap of suggesting a 'developed' West is somehow influencing a 'developing' East. This study has found that flows go out but also increasingly come into Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes. This was also the case during the Soviet Union as there were not only bi-lateral, one-way directions of influence, where the West was influencing the East. As Piotrowski (2012: 27) describes, "modern art [during 1930s] produced within peripheral regions clearly developed by taking up models provided by the centre" but, on closer inspection, it "goes well beyond mere adoption and imitation". Moreover, surely if artworks of Soviet artists were taken out and exhibited across Europe, then the West was also influenced by the East. Piotrowski describes diversity in Eastern Europe due to these cultural exchanges and how artists were "engaged actors" (Piotrowski, 2012: 28) rather than passive takers of western influences.

¹⁰⁹ As Salt (2005: 3) argues: "New economic flows developed, between East and West and within Central and Eastern Europe. Some were permanent, many were short-term and a new lexicon grew up to describe them – labour tourism, pendular migration, petty trading and transit migration."

what was going on. Art was one of the focal points of this interest as it was easy to see it and to show it in other countries... One interesting line was also the way the Baltic artists often seemed to address wider social and human issues, rather than just their personalities. And this seemed fresh in the Western art scenes of the time.” (Jaukkuri, cited in Astahovska, 2010: 202-203).

After 1991, there were also broader changes in culture and art institutions; while some say there was a gradual shift, others say there was a total break.¹¹⁰ This relates to discussion on the current situation of these local art scenes vis-à-vis the global art market, which is considered in Chapter 6. Astahovska (2010: 27) argues there was a gradual transition in culture: “In Latvia, where the 1990s were a period of transition, a bridge from one era to another, a time when the narrow horizons of socialism were abandoned in favour of opening up to the world, this interaction of local and global processes was especially significant.” Even though there were some before, there were increasing amounts of global interconnections coming to bear on these ‘local’ art scenes in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius at this time. Alongside this, art institutions and museums received funding from newly appointed or reorganised government departments.¹¹¹ Freelance curator working in Riga, Inga, says “the economic situation collapsed. Before 1991 there was the artists union and the museum, and every artist was part of the union... Galleries started after 1991, but then they disappeared because of the lack of market.” (Inga, interview, 1st September 2014).

At this point, international funders began to subsidise and put money into the development of the art scenes and to allow artists to travel. Artistic practice in 1990s was largely determined by the funding sources available, such as the Soros Foundation and the Nordic

¹¹⁰ Culture went from being socialist to capitalist; in terms of art, entire movements and styles from the West were quickly assimilated without warning. There was a gradual shift in institutions because change took time to filter down from the top positions right the way through institutions. For instance, the founding director of the Contemporary Art Centre (CAC) in Vilnius who was appointed a new director in 1992, Kestutis Kuizinas, went onto restructure the art center in the following years. Since 1992, it has been operating as an independent institution, receiving funding from the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. After 1991, the ARS Studios for Applied Arts in Estonia were no longer economically viable and so were privatised. However, the Museum of Architecture was opened in 1992 in Tallinn, financed by the state. Also, the National Gallery of Art in Vilnius opened in 1993.

¹¹¹ Fighting for independence and breaking away from the Soviet Union meant that the Baltic States’ government situation was markedly different between 1991 and 1994, culminating in a total break from the centralized government in the Soviet Union to the independent national government after 1991. During the late 1980s and 1990s, political and societal transitions began to happen - in the Lithuanian case - with initiatives made by Sąjūdis (the Reform Movement of Lithuania). After 1991, the Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania (LDDP) came into government and began to build an independent democratic, making the transition from a centralised economy and political system to a free market economy.

Council that were funding particular institutions, initiatives and events within the Baltic art scenes at this time.¹¹² As Auers (2015: 32) argues, “[t]he Nordics supported the Baltic States through a combination of regional financial instruments such as the Baltic Investment Programs (BIPs) - institutions such as the Nordic Investment Bank and the Nordic Project Fund - as well as bilateral funding.”¹¹³ At this point, they received mostly EU funding; the connection between local and global funding processes was important in their transitions during the 1990s. The Nordic Fund was established in the 1990s in order to develop democracy and to develop these countries so that they could make their accession into the EU. As Åberg and Peterson (1997) say “this is exactly why the Baltic Sea region has become the prime object of the major foreign policy venture of the 1990s on the part of Sweden in particular and the Nordic nations in general”, which they argue was due to a democratisation process.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Baltic States still receive funding from the Nordic council, with initiatives such as the Baltic-Nordic Mobility Programme for Culture.¹¹⁵ The Soros Funds were another source of EU funding, which influenced the development of the art scenes. Tumptytė argues that Soros Funds “gathered information, supported contemporary art projects, particularly their dissemination internationally, and published art catalogues and organised annual exhibitions” (Tumptytė, 2011). With this, Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes could begin to put on international art exhibitions to local audiences.

¹¹² Soros Funds had a vital role in developing the arts scenes in the three Baltic States. In 1993, the *Soros Centre for Contemporary Art (SCCA)* was established in Vilnius, financed by the Soros Foundation. In 2000, the *Soros Centre for Contemporary Art* was reorganised into the *Contemporary Art Information Centre (CAIC)* under the Lithuanian Art Museum, and later became part of the National Gallery of Art, which opened in 2009. Also during the 1990s, the *Contemporary Art Centre (CAC)* in Vilnius received support from foreign embassies and additional funding from the Soros Foundation. “The early 90s was the time when the famous American financier, billionaire and philanthropist George Soros also started to pay attention to Latvia. Enthralled with the idea of open society...Soros supported almost every post-Soviet country as much as he could by opening a network of Soros Foundations” (Borgs, in Atahovska, 2010: 45-46).

¹¹³ Baltic Investment Programs were set up twenty years ago by *Nordic Co-operation* to give financial and technical help to the Baltic States, which involves financial assistance from Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Norway. The Nordic Project Fund was set up to strengthen international competitiveness of small and medium enterprises (Nordic Co-Operation, 2016).

¹¹⁴ Åberg and Peterson (1997) also note that EU Phare funds were (1994-2002) directed towards cross-border cooperation and “the Baltic region is defined as a strategically important and economically dynamic region, for which funds were available to reinforce development” prior to their accession into the EU in 2004.

¹¹⁵ The overall objective of the program is to enhance cultural and artistic collaboration in the Nordic and Baltic countries by supporting traveling, networking and residential activities. Mobility Funding is granted for travels and stays within the Nordic region and the Baltic States. It provides individuals and small groups with access to contacts and sources of inspiration, skills and knowledge in different parts of the region. It also provides an opportunity to present artistic and cultural productions and increase interest in Nordic and Baltic arts and culture. (Nordic Culture Point, 2016). This is not dissimilar to today where the Nordic Culture Point has a mobility program that provides funding, including support for artists’ residences and network funding. “Mobility Funding is part of the Nordic-Baltic Mobility Program for Culture. The overall objective of the program is to enhance cultural and artistic collaboration in the Nordic and Baltic countries by supporting traveling, networking and residential activities” (Barents Euro-Arctic Council, 2017).

To illustrate; Lithuanian artist, Gediminas (interview, 17th December 2013), spoke about the general situation of artists at that time:

“They would earn about \$100 a month. This was between 1990 and 1993, when the first travel happened and contracts initiated. They could not get support from the state. And a few institutions from abroad were giving money¹¹⁶....They were creating a situation for young practitioners who were not established yet. To give them an opportunity. Invest in mobility. Invest in new channels - information flows, labour flows, new co-operations. The point was democratisation...they were supporting diversity.” (Gediminas, interview, 17th December 2013).

This is in contrast to today where governments have many more provisions, with which to fund artists who are taking part in projects and events abroad. While Mole (2012: xiv) looks at the Baltic States’ foreign policies in the early 1990s, in order to show their nationalist agendas, or the “national interest driving policy” as Mole (ibid.) argues, I show here that their policies now are for internationalisation and for encouraging people to work abroad (but also to return). This shows just how much transition the Baltic States have gone through in the past two to three decades. The Ministries of Culture and State Foundations have a vested interest in artists going abroad temporarily because they know it will develop and promote Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, in terms of them returning with an international network of contacts. As Advisor on Visual Arts at the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Estonia*, Maria-Kristiina (interview, 17th December 2013) says, they realise they need to entice people to return, which they do through financing “short-term”¹¹⁷ travels, residencies or projects.¹¹⁸ This also ensures they maintain a two-way flow of art traffic, as Maria-Kristiina (ibid.) says:

¹¹⁶ These were Amsterdam APEX, Nordic Information Centre from the Nordic Council of Ministers - from here an artist “could get \$200 to travel” according to Gediminas (interview, 17th December 2013), and the Soros Foundation which began in 1993 which had a mobility program.

¹¹⁷ The Estonian State Culture Capital Foundation (SCCF) supports “short-term” travels, which means this is why many artists are travelling rather than migrating. Estonia’s SCCF has the remit of ‘creativity’ and development of creative projects in this field. The SCCF “gives financial support to short term educational, creative or scientific travels abroad” (SCCF, 2016).

¹¹⁸ It is well-documented that the Soviet Baltic Republics’ art worlds were state-sponsored (Mesch, 2013; Tepper, 2011), but today there is still an overwhelming presence of government provisions. The Ministries of Culture in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are the largest public funder of artists’ projects and travels as well as sponsor of art institutions (paying for staff and exhibitions). For instance, “the Lithuanian Art Museum is a public institution granted the national museum status by the Government of Lithuania in 1997” (Lithuanian Art Museum, 2015). Also, since 1992 the Contemporary Art Centre (CAC) has been an independent

“Our main aim is to support them going out...I have a fear that if we don’t support them they will leave the country. So doing international development - residencies and studies abroad are important. My fear is that if the state or the private field doesn't support them - it makes no sense for them to return. And there would not be two-way traffic anymore.” (Maria-Kristiina, interview, 17th December 2013).

Governments also support these multiple flows of art traffic by funding foreign artists, as well as arts professionals, to participate in the Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius art scenes. Importantly, as well as artists abroad who are making contacts which they bring back with them, arts professionals in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius are also inviting foreign artists and curators to ensure they put on international exhibitions.¹¹⁹ It is not only the case that governments are funding projects happening abroad whilst not investing in the local art scenes. As Maria-Kristiina (ibid.) says: “in the arts it’s quite international at the moment...Our goals are internationalisation. We work outwards, even if events are in Estonia.” Department Advisor (Professional Art Division) at the *Ministry of Culture of Republic of Lithuania*, Janina (interview, 29th August 2013), says they are helping flows coming into Vilnius and are actively trying to keep these connections going in both directions. Janina (ibid.) says “now we don’t just support organisations in Lithuania. We give state grants to foreign curators to stay here, for living costs etcetera.”¹²⁰ Importantly, the governments are not only supporting activities abroad but also developing international events so that these cities become hubs of connections.¹²¹

institution principally funded by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania. The Vilnius Academy of Arts is also state-sponsored. This means that Gallery Akademija and the Museum of the Academy also receive funding from government. It puts in the most amount of money and funds the most amount of galleries and art institutions.

¹¹⁹ For example, the Tallinn Print Triennial. The 16th Tallinn Print Triennial “Literacy/Illiteracy”, curated by Maria Kjaer Thomsen (Denmark), presents works of visual art that are produced using mechanical or digital reproduction or printing technologies, produced between 2011 and 2013 on the topic of “Literacy/Illiteracy”. The exhibition will take place in *Kumu Art Museum* from February until May 2014 (Biennial Foundation, 2016). The main objectives of the Triennial are: 1) To contribute to the greater visibility of contemporary European creativity in the field of the graphic arts and reproducible art practices related to printmaking. 2) To enable artists’ creation and recognition outside their home country (residencies, workshops and exhibition) (Print Triennial, 2016).

¹²⁰ The new edition of the Law on the Movable Cultural Valuables of the Republic of Lithuania (2002) and the obligation of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania concerning the applied procedure approved by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania in 2003 for the movable cultural valuables of foreign countries temporarily imported into the Republic of Lithuania allow the national and State museums to import quality foreign collections of fine arts and photography art...foreign artists invited to take part in cultural programs in Lithuania are usually provided with free accommodation, appropriate work conditions and are paid royalties. (Lithuanian National Commission for UNESCO, 2003).

¹²¹ Baltic governments are creating policies to allow provisions, in funding, for artists to go out on short-term projects. This means that whilst they are enabling cross-border movements and connections, they also want

Government budgets for culture are spent in line with the three main policies set by the Ministries of Culture: (1) the internationalisation of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, (2) funding artists going out temporarily for projects and (3) funding artists and arts professionals coming to Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. The Ministries of Culture are supporting the mobilities of artists through their policies on the internationalisation of these art scenes. In particular, governments are increasingly funding cross-cultural projects¹²² that artists are involved in and are invariably providing funding for them to carry out projects abroad. The *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia*'s priority is to take part in larger collaborations abroad and global art fairs.¹²³ One of the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Estonia*'s main priorities is for the state to support artists and arts professionals to travel abroad for exhibitions.¹²⁴ While these two Ministries of Culture are focused on supporting artists who want to work abroad and the export of art internationally, the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania* also prioritises the development of Vilnius as an international hub through policies on “intercultural programs”.¹²⁵ Janina (interview, 29th August 2013)

people to return. It is well documented that artists in the Soviet Baltic Republics' were state-sponsored (Mesch, 2013; Tepper, 2011), but today there is still an overwhelming presence of government provisions. The Ministries of Culture in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are the largest public funder of artists' projects and travels as well as sponsor of art institutions (paying for staff and exhibitions). It is important to discuss this as government provisions enable artists (alongside EU funding) to travel across the EU as well as fund projects and exhibitions in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes. To illustrate changing and instability in budgets, since 2011 the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania*'s budget has increased year on year with budgets of: “2011 - 78 million. 2012 - 71 million. 2013 - 84 million. 2014 - 102 million. 2015 - 115 million [Litas]” (Janina Krušinskaitė, interview, 29th August 2013).¹²¹ Department Advisor (Professional Art Division) at the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania*, Janina, discusses these changes to the budget from 2008: “Of course we got an increase until 2008. Then the crisis hit. A lot of money went to the 2009 Cultural Capital year. So artists didn't feel the impact this year. The main hit was in 2010. Then it increased from 2012. We launched a huge amount of support programs, 15 more. We have 50 million Litas [€11.4 Million] for the whole culture: there's no separate budget for visual art.” (Janina, interview, 29th August 2013)

¹²² In implementing international cooperation agreements, the works of Lithuanian artists are continuously being presented abroad. Lithuania takes part in the international Venice Biennale and other important international exhibitions (Lithuanian Ministry of Culture, 2012).

¹²³ This is outlined in Latvia's National Development Plan 2014-2020 (Cross-Sectoral Coordination Centre, 2012). Advisor for Arts Policy Division at the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia*, Šelda, says “one of most important tasks in this moment is output of the visual arts strategy for the next 6 years which will be worked in the policy document ‘Creative Latvia 2014-2020’. There has already been created a paragraph in the strategy document about ministries and gallery's bigger collaboration in the future, especially concerning the question of gallery participation in world art fairs.” (Šelda, interview, 7th January 2014). Their vision is for a “sustainable development of culture...preserving and developing the cultural capital and creativity of inhabitants of Latvia...international activities are a unique opportunity to attract the attention of Europe and the world, and it should be used efficiently in order to promote the visibility of the state, also competitiveness of culture and creative industries of Latvia.” (State Language Centre, 2014: 5).

¹²⁴ Artists can apply for this through the Artists Union or through Fine and Applied Arts Grants. This comes from Estonia's Mobility Funding Program that “provides opportunities for the international mobility of artists and culture professionals” (Anon, 2014). Estonia has a mobility funding program and Fine or Applied Arts Grants for “event participation grants, scholarships/postgraduate training courses, ‘go and see’ or short-term exploration grants, project and production grants, travel grants” (On The Move, 2014).

¹²⁵ “In this respect, Lithuania, along with other member states of the European Union, is committed to shape its international relations, paying particular attention to cultural dimension as a vital element of dialogue with other countries” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Lithuania, 2015).

discusses the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania's* policy and its remit, in particular, for funding “young artists” and “experimental projects”.¹²⁶ Advisor on visual arts for the *Republic of Estonia Ministry of Culture*, Maria-Kristiina (interview, 17th December 2013), says “we have €140,000 for everyone to apply for. So there is not enough to support the whole scene. But there is also the Estonian Cultural Endowment. They have independent juries, which include people from the art field. They have €1.6 Million per year.”¹²⁷ Government funding acts as a power axis within these art scenes as it is, still today, one of the most powerful players in the Baltic art scenes.

International funding sources had to step in during the early 1990s because the Baltic States had to work from scratch to reestablish governments, the economy, and the art scenes; these sources of international funding have been vital in making these art scenes what they are today. Today, both national and international funding sources are available to artists and for subsidising the art scenes: these are important in enabling artists to travel and work internationally. Some arts professionals are also reliant on government funding and EU funding. This is shown in the discussion with Director of *Temnikova and Kasela Gallery* in Tallinn, Olga, and her account of where she has received funding. It shows how Estonian art galleries require help from the EU in order to develop, i.e. to work internationally and attend global art fairs. Olga has participated in 40 art fairs – including Miami and Basel – since opening *Temnikova and Kasela Gallery* in 2000. She is able to do this due to financial support from *Enterprise Estonia* (an EU-funded body for supporting entrepreneurs) and the

¹²⁶ “There are intercultural programs that create a cultural dialogue. We’re interested in forming collaborations, and with the export of Lithuanian art...There is a separate program for young artists – 16-35 - since 10 years. We are especially interested in experimental projects – street art, punk, electric music. This is getting revised all the time. It has been three years with this scope on experimental things.” (Janina, interview, 29th August 2013. There are also other ways of securing grants through state-owned cultural foundations. Their function is to “develop international cooperation between artists and cultural workers” (Lithuanian Council for Culture, 2015). In Latvia, the purpose of the Culture Capital Foundation is to promote local culture (within Latvia) but it also funds international cultural projects. For Estonia, it is the Estonian Cultural Endowment that – unlike funding from the Republic of Estonia Ministry of Culture - is not affected by the country’s economic situation. Governments decide which type of art and which projects abroad are funded. The amount of money they have to spend on Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes also determines the display quality of exhibitions and determines which artists are invited to participate (funds permitting). This often means artists have to look for other EU funding so that they can work (for long periods) on an international level.

¹²⁷ While there are incentives to develop these local art scenes, they struggle with smaller budget compared with elsewhere in the EU. For instance, “since EU accession there has been a powerful incentive for cooperation within all levels of Latvian government and with agencies of the EU. This incentive gives regional development the highest priority – more than 600 planners and other experts were assigned by central government to work on EU programs in Latvia” (King and McNabb, 2015: 39). Government budget for Lithuania, for instance, is EUR 9.289 billion (Ministry of Finance, 2015). In the UK, total managed expenditure is expected to be around £743 billion in 2015-16 (HM Treasury Budget Report, 2015: 6).

Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Estonia. However, this funding is not given on an indefinite basis.

“It is one thing for governments to underwrite non-profit cultural initiatives – but to assist commercial entities (which is what, for all their cultural pretensions, art galleries essentially are) would appear to run counter to EU competition laws. Most Baltic (and Eastern European) galleries are, though, able to take part only in fairs where their attendance is free or heavily subsidized – as it was until 2014 at the *ViennaFair*, thanks to sponsorship from *Erste Bank*. But relying on charity is a risky and uncertain way to establish a business along sound economic principles” (Olga, cited in Hewitt, 2015)

This shows how many of these artists as well as arts professionals face barriers and restrictions in terms of working at an international level, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Travel in the EU and feeling at home is about securing enough money to live comfortably doing art. Artists rely on curators and gallerists like Olga to take their work out internationally, whereby mobilities equate to visibility. However, many artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia - especially those who are just establishing themselves - also need to be mobile in order to sell and exhibit.

4.3.1 The Past, Current and Next Generation of Artists from the Baltic States

Kostas' account shows not only precariousness of being an independent artist but also the difficulties faced by being an artist from Eastern Europe, which comes with it geopolitical and geoeconomic issues. Kostas travels regularly across the EU but his base is in Vilnius, always returning here in-between each trip abroad. As with most artists, he has a second job in Vilnius as a Lecturer at the *Vilnius Academy of Arts* and is tied to this location due to having family here. As he decided to stay in his homeland, he has had to incur compromises and restrictions, such as having to have a second job with a stable income. Kostas thinks “it’s impossible to survive as a contemporary artist in Lithuania. Survive just by a combination of scholarships, grants, producing works for teaching, teaching and selling. I teach and so do other artists to get enough money” (interview, 24th July 2013). Even though he is living in Vilnius, he travels across the EU and not only in one area but in Northern and Central-Western EU.

“I’m privileged – that I can travel a lot, like to *Documenta* and the *Venice Biennale*...I don’t have a gallery representing me. I participate in exhibitions abroad – Sweden was the last one. I went with *The Gardens* from Vilnius, with the two curators and two other artists. Yes, I went there myself. There have been other exhibitions in Austria, Poland, or they could be anywhere. I’m not exhibiting in one specific area.” (Kostas, interview, 24th July 2013).

To illustrate, we can now look at a particular artwork by Kostas (‘Identification: the Father and the Son’, 2000, Figure 5, see p.148) that highlights issues such as precariousness, what it means to be an artist and the differences between his and his father’s generation. In order to understand his identity as an artist, in this case, can produce feelings of confusion and contentment. These photographs show how his identification as an artist can be a home for him but also show a disassociation from his father and his way of working and thinking as an artist. The global art market vis-à-vis current situation of the art scene in Vilnius dictates that a successful artist needs to be international and needs to work across multiple borders – so he must work in a different way compared with his father who was a Soviet artist. This is shown in Thornton’s (2014) point that was outlined in Chapter 2, arguing that an ambitious artist should work in several places, yet, an unambitious artist will work locally.

It is important to show Kostas’ artwork here, entitled ‘Identification: The Father and the Son’ (2000), shown in Figure 5, because it highlights the precariousness he feels about the artist profession and how the name of the artist in the art world can be associated with status, power and prestige - if successful. In ‘Identification: The Father and the Son’ Kostas is questioning what it means to be an artist; he does this by working through several questions. Is he an artist if he has a sign to say he is, or is it something more than this? Also, there are family issues here that make Kostas question this - as his father was a Soviet artist. Does this mean Kostas is automatically accepted as an artist, or will he never be an artist in his own right or have his own identity due to the fame of his father? The fact that they both share the same name also compounds issues to do with his identification as an artist in his own right. Kostas (junior) says “people get confused over whether it is me or my father” (interview, 24th July 2013).

Kostas makes it seem like it is a given that this is the career he would naturally take or must have, by using the sign ‘artist’s son - artist’. This concept is then ruptured with the photograph where the signs are omitted, ripping them of their (professional) identification as artists. As if to pose the question: can the viewer still tell they are artists and what is it that really constitutes an artist? Both father and son feel comfortable in this role and position of artist as it is what they were “destined to be” (Kaido, interview, 22nd January 2014) even though it has been a difficult process for Kostas to find his place or home in the art world because people confuse him with his father. However, Kostas and Kostas junior seem happiest in the photograph when they do not have any label associated with them, as they have been liberated from these proscribed identifications as artists or just ‘artist’s son’. Kostas (interview, 24th July 2013) says:

“It was natural because my father was a well-known artist. It was quite difficult, though, to prove I’m not a stranger there [in the art world]. I wanted to be there in the scene not because someone was pushing me – I mean my father. I had to go out from the shadow.” (Kostas, interview, 24th July 2013).

While Kostas is part of the new generation of artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, who are under study here, there is a division with his father’s previous generation of Soviet artists. There has been a transition from the Soviet era artists who were supported entirely by the state, whereas today the situation is more insecure and not all artists in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius are funded by the government.¹²⁸ Art production was disassociated with money during the Soviet era because it was claimed art was about culture and that the state should look after artists’ welfare.¹²⁹ As Halbert (2014: 102) argues “[o]ne consequence of the radical changes brought about by the collapse of the Soviet Union was that previously state-funded artists were no longer sponsored and instead culture became market based. Such a transition was difficult for Soviet artists to make because formerly secure positions

¹²⁸ “One consequence of the radical changes brought about by the collapse of the Soviet Union was that previously state-funded artists were no longer sponsored and, instead, culture became market based” (Halbert, 2014: 102). *The Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania* does not have enough money to fund everyone who applies. This is where other sources of funding become important for artists, such as Culture Capital Foundations and EU funding such as the Baltic-Nordic Mobility Program.

¹²⁹ Gould (2010) argues that “in a nation of state-run galleries, where the party controlled what could be exhibited (and even restricted supplies of artists’ materials)...The party held that artists had to be ‘engineers of the soul’ and serve the cause of building utopia. Hence the art of socialist realism, which, at its most didactic, gave us nothing but happy workers and tireless farmers, and heroic portraits of Lenin.”

were gone and new rules were developed.” The geopolitics of their recent histories, in terms of being part of a socialist state that did not have an art ‘market’ as such and then having to rebuild aspects of culture, the economy, government and art institutions, provides another barrier for contemporary artists trying to survive as professional artists in the Baltic States today. This is due to the relatively newly appointed capitalist economic base and establishing local art markets. Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes have not had as much time to develop commercially and develop their local art markets. Kostas says: “when I was studying art it was seen as cool. Now it’s not so cool. Seen as freaky or something. Not respected because you are not able to make money from this” (interview, 24th July 2013).

This respect for artists and the “god-like status” (Kaido, interview, 22nd January 2014) that they were afforded during the Soviet Union, today, has to be made through being “glocal” - gaining international recognition through going abroad and then, in some cases, returning to their homeland as “superstars” (Andreas, interview, 23rd January 2014). Even though supported by the state, Soviet artists were not allowed to travel freely abroad. By contrast, artists today can overcome lack of national government support and buying power of local private collectors by working internationally – in Kostas’ case, by travelling abroad regularly.

Another difference between Kostas and his father, which cannot be visually conveyed in the artwork, is that his father was firmly rooted in Lithuania and not able to travel abroad or exhibit abroad. Even though they may look similar and have the same name, part of the same family group and have the same sign in front of them saying ‘artist’, they have experienced different types of precariousness and struggles. As Kostas (junior) says, one is a national man and the other a ‘global man’. For his father, the meaning of home was (and still is) local and, for Kostas, home is global. Even though living in Vilnius, Kostas thinks globally - he feels that he belongs globally rather than confined to one nation. This is reflected in how he works – with many different groups of artists and curators or gallerists in the EU - in Sweden, Austria, and Poland, as this is where he exhibits his work.

“I’m a global man, not national. Older generation within the Soviet times – had an enemy – they wanted to keep national – not losing roots – they were scarred that

the global culture would destroy the national and their roots. Then, everything became open and everything became available. Then they thought cosmopolitanism and globalisation was the enemy. It was black and white, now a big thing of grey.” (Kostas, interview, 24th July 2013).

Even though he resides in Lithuania, he actually thinks that he could place roots anywhere, but for him he is ‘fixed’ due to family and work. “Roots anywhere – yes. I’m fixed to one place though because of family so not so flexible. The younger generation, though, are moving a lot. They are not fixed to one place, always about how it can connect to elsewhere. Some artists live in double places, live across two locations” (ibid.). He feels that roots can be placed anywhere, suggesting that Kostas also believes that he could have multiple homes and not only in Vilnius. The younger generation has leapt into being full-time artists where they have to move around, have multiple bases and must be flexible in terms of when and where they move. “What I see now – artists are starting to be very flexible. They are traveling a lot – not fixed to any one place. Have to be flexible now” (ibid.). Whilst Kostas is travelling abroad more and thinking more ‘globally’ – thinking beyond ethnicity and the national – as compared to his father, Kostas also heralds the new generation of young artists who must be flexible and not fixed to one place in order to survive.

4.4.1 Žygimantas and Sigita: Artistic Practices after returning to Vilnius and Riga

Part of transnational mobilities is not only outward movements but also return movements back into Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. On returning, some artists remain part of a multi-cultural artist community and many identify themselves as now being ‘global’. This also links to the previous section with Kostas who feels and works like a ‘global man’.¹³⁰ This means the term diaspora can be applied to not only those living abroad but can be applied to those who have returned too, as they still have transnational imaginations and practices and are creating new spaces after returning, that connect their homeland to elsewhere. This can be seen as transnationalism from homeland, which is changing the nature of homelands through cultural remittances and, in particular, through cross-cultural social

¹³⁰ National identity is something that is constantly redefined Mole (2012) argues, and I argue this has been continually redefined due to the transitions happening in the Baltic States over the past decade.

relations, events, and collaborations. It is not only money injected from EU funding that is changing these places, though, this of course helps to put on international exhibitions and funds artists going out and coming in (as was discussed earlier in the chapter). Many of those who have returned make use of their transnational networks so they can work internationally, which then enable them to overcome barriers and struggles of working in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius.

Additionally, there are other changes to many artists' understanding of the meaning of home after returning. The meaning of home, for those who return, is now about social relations and is something that is spatial because connections and relations are formed across large distances and have been made across several years of working abroad. This links to discussion in Chapter 2 on Faist's (2006: 3) notion of "transnational social spaces" as well as to discussion in Chapter 6 on Massey's (1994: 156) conception of a "global sense of place", in relation to the Baltic States' increasing connections outwards across the EU. I found that some artists return because they become saturated from travelling too much or because they now have enough contacts that they can take advantage of living in a cheaper location. The return is part of a strategy for some, while it is a return to their emotional roots for others. They can work more comfortably by working across the EU and be based where they feel emotionally attached, but only after they have established themselves on the global art world. This is how Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes are becoming more international, through artists going out and returning with the contacts they have established. The contacts they make are long-term and, often, many will go back to places in the EU several times, taking part in exhibitions and sometimes then having reciprocal exhibitions in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. This generates two-way flows of art traffic - just as governments wanted and this would not be possible without funding (as was discussed earlier in the chapter).

Many artists working today in the Baltic States, such as Sigita and Žygimantas, see themselves as internationally connected and as working across the EU. This is in contrast to during the 1970s and 1980s when some artists would not acknowledge themselves as transnational, as was argued by Piotrowski (in Astahovska, 2012: 49) earlier in the chapter. This final section focuses on Lithuanian artist Žygimantas and Latvian artist Sigita, who have both lived elsewhere and subsequently returned to Vilnius and Riga permanently but have kept their transnational network so that they can still work internationally. Alongside

their national identity that Mole (2012) argues has been long fought for, they now seem to want to have transnational identities, imaginations and practices. While Mole (2012) looks at the Baltic States' transition from the Soviet Union to their EU membership, I look at more recent transitions due to their membership to the EU. Not viewing this from the negative side of new rules that the Baltic States have to abide by, as Mole (2012) argues, I have found that many artists want to be part of the EU as they can have the freedom of movement and ability to work anywhere within the EU. Mole (2012: xiv) charts the development of what he calls a "national consciousness among the Baltic peoples", while I chart the current facets of these artists' transcultural consciousness. As we saw in the previous section, this is what sets apart the current and next generation of artists from the previous generation of Soviet artists.

Žygimantas retold his life story and the memories of how this place, his homeland, has changed over time and how he had to remake his home within his own homeland after Lithuania regained independence. This relates to earlier in the chapter, when discussing the different generations of artists from the Baltic States with analysing Kostas' artwork entitled 'Identification: the Father and the Son' - for Žygimantas grew up in another 'time' and so his works are a reaction to changes that have taken place around him. Everyday life changed after 1991 and again after 2004, at which point he says some people were wary of the policy on the freedom of movement across the EU. As Žygimantas (interview, 30th August 2013) says "It was a complete break in culture during the 1990s. Famous Soviet artists lost their jobs, and outsiders came to government." Due to these changes and uncertainties, their home growing up was not always a happy place. Yet, he remained in Vilnius as this is where roots and home were and still are located for him. He is somewhat restricted from moving abroad due to his family here and work at the *Academy of Arts*. Žygimantas (ibid.) says "I grew up in Soviet school, once I was punished because of drawing V.I. Lenin - it was forbidden for non-professionals." This demonstrates how he incurred struggles in his home due to culture, politics, upheavals through history. However, today there are struggles on an economic level. Žygimantas (ibid.) says "Sometimes I felt very depressed because I had been able to make one year drawing teacher's income per one month working as a designer." If they choose to stay in their homeland and emotional home, they often incur compromises or restrictions.

When establishing himself as an artist earlier in his career, Žygmantas lived in New York for 5 months in 2000 and returned again to study there between 2003 and 2004. This was a turning point in his career, as it provided him with international recognition and was informative for his practice. However, returning home was an important part of this experience and understanding that he was comfortable living in Vilnius.

“My time in new York was amazing, I got so much during these 5 months that 15 years spent in Lithuania could not compete. Parties, amazing artworks, crazy artists - a guy from small country was not prepared for such things. I got to know really famous people - some movie stars - and started to think more about pros and cons of such life. Probably that was the reason why I left New York. I wanted to paint in quieter environment. I had imagined these things before going but the experience is another thing...I understood that my culture is different from American - or global - but it helped me to survive. Cultural values are important in confusing situations. My paintings and mindset had changed very much, I understood or experienced a lot of things.” (Žygmantas, interview, 30th August 2013)

This shows that going abroad and being amongst new surroundings gave Žygmantas many new ideas and knowledge that he could not have gained in Vilnius because it is too familiar. He seems surprised and overwhelmed by what he found and how he felt in New York. Ultimately, even though learning so much and progressing his career, he felt it was temporary and that, for the long-term, he was more comfortable living in a ‘quieter environment’. Žygmantas mentions he “survived” by “coming home” (ibid.) to Vilnius, which highlights how it was not an entirely comfortable experience. Nevertheless, the distance gained by going abroad enabled him to see differences between American and Lithuanian culture and, in turn, allowed him to further understand his own culture. He could only see this through travelling and being there in person, which he could not have gained through digital communications alone. Hence, going abroad and being part of a new environment was not necessarily confusing for Žygmantas; in fact, he became clearer about what he (dis)liked about his own culture and the type of practice he wanted to do.

There is a tension here because he says his art changed but also says he held onto his cultural values. “I understood that my culture is different from American, or global, but it helped me to survive. Cultural values are important in confusing situations. My paintings and mindset had changed very much, I understood or experienced a lot of things” (Interview, 30th August 2013). This is explained and seen to happen in other artist diasporas, as O’Reilly Herrera (2011) says, diaspora artists use influences from their home culture and their new location, and their art is about synthesis and translation of these different influences. Žygmantas’ roots still remain in Lithuania; in fact travelling heightened his understanding of his cultural values and the aspects that made it home for him. This attachment to Lithuania has never been broken, as travel reaffirmed these attachments. “I feel the roots. Deleuze’s idea of rhizome is not very attractive for me” (Žygmantas, Interview, 30th August 2013). By rhizome, he means to travel in multiple directions, but this is in contrast to all the other artists I interviewed who were establishing themselves as ‘international artists’ by being mobile and living in different bases across the EU, which is explored in Chapter 5. While he prefers to be rooted to one place, he does travel across Lithuania regularly; moreover, his digital communications and the orchestration of the mobilities of his artworks are rhizomatic.

Žygmantas orchestrates the international mobilities of his artworks from Vilnius; he does not travel with them. “Usually I send my works and the gallery installs them” (ibid.). Between 2012-2014, he had eight paintings showing in Viborg, Arad, Tuzla, Valladolid, Kaliningrad, Namur and Venice. “8 paintings are in the *Gallery NB* (Viborg, Denmark), 4 paintings are on show “More Real than Real” in the Complexul Muzeal Arad (Romania) until 5 January, 1 work is taking part in a project related with anniversary of Lithuanian poet K. Donelaitis, 1 drawing should come back from "XIV INTERBIFEP" *Contemporary Portrait Gallery*, Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina” (ibid.). Žygmantas also had a series of artworks that travelled across Europe between 2006 and 2013: the series “Hron- Hronir #1,3 have traveled more than other” artworks. He is also in contact with his gallery representation in Denmark, who works at *Gallery NB*. Even seemingly ‘immobile’ artists still create and are part of multi-cross-cultural communications, whether they physically travel or not. Instead of physical movement, Žygmantas takes part in remote mobilities by orchestrating the movement of his artworks from his base in Vilnius. These movements are plotted in Figure 6 (see p.149). Žygmantas also connects out from Vilnius digitally (via

the web) to connect with gallery representatives or other artists with whom he is collaborating. He writes emails once a week, as per his schedule over three months. For instance, in week 6 on Thursday he was writing e-mails after painting for 2-3 hours”; in week 7 on Wednesday he was “writing emails after painting for 3 hours, writing for 3 hours, and preparing two paintings and two drawings for a show”; in week 8 on Wednesday he was “painting for 3 hours, writing proposal for academy, and writing e-mails” (Žygmantas, email diaries, November 2013 - January 2014). These are related to the connections he made earlier in his career and now keeps up these ‘transnational ties’. He works transnationally from one base, but creates a space that extends beyond the nation.

This shows how one person can be involved in multiple types of mobilities - of their person, of the objects they make, and of the communications they use. Žygmantas says that due to the web he has been able to create his niche community that spans across different countries – where he can also feel at home due to connecting with people of common interest, who come together and share ideas. “The recognition of my works came from other countries. Internet probably was and is a main tool to keep in touch with interesting processes of art. I was able to find people abroad who are interested in what I am doing. Even some sales and gallery representations were arranged through internet. Almost all newest information became accessible” (Žygmantas, Interview, 30th August 2013). Žygmantas communicates internationally even though he lives in Vilnius; in some respects, this is similar to Latvian artist Sigita, who I shall focus on next.

In retelling her life history and her memories of changes through Latvia’s recent history, Sigita also mentions the struggles she faced growing up. This means that, for Sigita, the notion of home has been about and is connected with struggles. The notion of home is also linked with change to this place, for the worse she feels, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Her homeland and home has not always been a happy place or a comfortable and comforting place in all respects. While Andits (2015) shows how people’s relation to their homeland of Hungary improved after 1989, in this case, this shows how some became more disassociated with their homeland after 1991, regardless of whether they were living there or were abroad. Sigita (interview, 5th September 2013) says “after the academy, it was very different here. Sometimes I was thinking more about what to eat. Friends told me to go and teach; I thought this was nonsense. I then got a scholarship in Vienna.” Her move

to Vienna was a necessity; there was no other option than to become an art teacher in Riga, which she shows in her words that it was not something she wanted or was prepared to do – this would have been too great a sacrifice to her art and career in her opinion. Also, she would not have felt content and ‘at home’ in that way of life. The only option then was to find better opportunities elsewhere in the EU. However, she returned once she had established herself as an ‘international artist’. Living and working in Riga is now possible due to her having created her own transnational network, which enables her to sell and exhibit across the EU. This also means she is now more digitally mobile since returning, as well as travelling to the exhibitions she chooses to attend. Sigita (ibid.) says that due to having this transnational network “there is lots of social connections” in her practice alongside painting and says communication and exchange is so intense that the world is becoming ever smaller for her. With this, Sigita (ibid.) believes she does not have to live in global art centers in order to be there: “in the modern global world, you don’t have to be there in the global centres. You just need good galleries and managers working for you.”

Sigita lived in Vienna earlier in her career. She has since returned there for exhibitions on many occasions and now has gallery representation there. This time abroad highlighted how there are more opportunities there and the differences there are compared to Riga. Nevertheless, she still wants to now live in Riga due to its emotional pulls, due to the environment that is relaxing, and due to a less bureaucratic art scene.

“There is a very big difference between Vienna and Riga. Vienna is a high cultural place but is a province. Though, you cant compare Vienna to London or Berlin. You do though see contemporary and international artists here [in Vienna]. This type of art never comes to Riga. The best was Joseph Beuys sketches. 2nd or 3rd rate art comes here. But it is relaxing here. I like staying here. There is more beaurocracy and taxes in Vienna and Western Europe. Somehow here they let you live free. The buearocracy and taxes are senseless [in Western Europe].” (Sigita, Interview, 5th September 2013).

She seems to have become saturated with travel and says “when I was between 25-30 I was travelling a lot to museums and things. But you come to a point when you have to be strict about who you want to talk to, where you want to go etc. you have to be selective” (ibid.). Sigita now works with Latvian, Austrian, British and German art dealers and gallery

representatives. This spatiality of her connections is plotted in a map, shown in Figure 7 (see p.150). This means her artwork is “in 2 galleries in Vienna, in 1 Salzburg, 1 gallery in Germany near Koblenz, 2 galleries in Riga, 1 art investment company in London - this is where my pictures are, but for the moment not in shows or exhibitions. They are my agents or representatives where you can buy my work” (Sigita, email diaries, November 2013 – January 2013). These are important intermediaries between her in Riga and the global art world. She can be an international artist due to having these representatives in different locations, which makes up her transnational network, and who work on her behalf to sell and exhibit her artwork.

Sigita says that due to living in Vienna in 2010 and working across the EU “it’s better for me now in Riga because I’m recognized elsewhere” (Sigita, Interview, 5th September 2013). This is also discussed in more detail later on in this chapter, in terms of the perception (of those working in Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius art scenes) of them as superstars or as ambassadors on returning to their homeland. This does not mean that they then lead ‘local’ lives after return migration. Instead, as Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer (2013) argue, return migrants remain highly mobile, benefiting from local conditions such as low production costs, and make use of their transnational networks to connect with ‘business partners’ in countries where they have spent many years and also their ties to other people in other countries. It is able to feel more like home once they have been away because they are treated like “superstars” (Andreas, interview, 22nd January 2014) and because they can use their transnational networks to remain a fulltime international artist, but now with the added benefits of cheaper living and the emotional pull of this place.

4.4 Summary

Looking at these differing types of (im)mobility is important to explore and to show who moves and who does not, why and how they move. Žygimantas’ and Sigita’s relative immobility shows how movement is not a given: it does not happen for everyone and it is not without restrictions and constraints. Even though physical travel is necessary at the beginning and middle of an artist’s career in order to make contacts in and enter into markets in different places, there comes a point where they become saturated from these repeated travels. With this, it is important to consider the notion of “immobile transnationalism” (Nolin, 2004: 273) and how artists do not necessarily have to physically

travel in order to be mobile. Yet, they do have to travel in order to make initial contact with galleries and curators. This highlights that even though they may be living in one place, their “everyday life continually refers to places beyond the nation” (Ossman, 2013: 36). This is achieved through communications with curators or fellow artists, sending of artworks to shows, or selling of artworks to collectors. However, rather than ‘transnational ties’ (Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer, 2013; Eade and Smith, 2011; Deacon, Russell and Woollacott, 2008) that are seen as going between a singular home and a singular host country that are made solely through digital communications, this research proves that ties can go in multiple directions. The spatialities these create are much more diverse rather than bilateral and, additionally, it is not only digital communications but also objects that can ‘extend’ someone’s web of transnational ties.

This chapter has shown how Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes are connected hubs within the EU, both through history and today – as well as how they act as connection points through lifetimes and career paths for some artists such as Sigita and Žygimantas. It has shown that travelling was possible, although limited, during the Soviet Union, as well as there being influences and ideas ‘smuggled’ into the Soviet Baltic Republics. This demonstrates that international connections were present (if limited) in these art scenes through history. Today, there has been a growth in their transnational connections: they are putting on international exhibitions in these cities and running organisations on an international level. Together, this has shown how today these cities are reemerging art hubs, with increasing flows of people, artwork, and ideas coming into and going out of the cities.

The current nature of free movement in the EU, and especially within the Schengen Area, allows artists to study or work abroad and then return to Tallinn Riga or Vilnius. It also then allows this type of mobility where they can go out and then return on a regular basis. These mobilities mean some return to Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius and can then develop these art scenes. There would not be the same development if all artists were migrating out permanently, which may be the case if there were less short-term support grants from the Ministries of Culture. This means nowadays artists can return to Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius

compared to during early 1990s when many were migrating out permanently,¹³¹ and this research has proven that many artists today are regularly returning to (or at least staying connected to) Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius.¹³² This constitutes a paradigm shift in ways of working from the Baltic States as an artist, as they can now travel and then return. Due to artists' routes and transborder work, regardless of whether they are living abroad or have returned to their homeland, many are involved in transnational ties that connect these home cities to multiple EU cities.

The next chapter analyses responses from six artists about their feelings of home as well as how travel and having multiple homes has an effect on their artwork. It will also show how many have attachments to several places; though, for many, they have varying degrees of attachments to each place respectively. Together, it will demonstrate how many of these artists require roots to anchor or centre their mobilities. Alongside this, it will analyse their artworks within the context of what they feel about travel in terms of how it heightens their thoughts on the concept of home and on comparing across cultures. The analysis of their artwork shows how cultural influences from their homeland are combined with ideas from their new environment and how their artworks also visually illustrate their varying and changing attachments to places.

¹³¹ "The two decades since 1991 have led to...demographic decline (shrinking and aging populations)...Many ethnic Estonians and Latvians have also emigrated, more than outweighing the number who returned after the collapse of Soviet rule...Hence, the populations of all three countries have declined by at least 15-20 percent during the period of independence." (Kramer, 2012).

¹³² For instance, Laura Põld who lives in Vienna but still does exhibitions in Tallinn: in 2014 she participated in two exhibitions in Tallinn – 'The Night Your Mate Danced Like A Tree' and 'Castle'. Simona Zeimytte moved to Istanbul and then London, but also participated in two events in Vilnius in 2012: International Film Festival Kino Pavasaris and Lietuvos daile exhibition at the *Contemporary Art Centre*. Art historian, Anu Allas, moved to Berlin to study at the Free University and then came back to take up the position offered to her of curator at the *KUMU Art Museum* in Tallinn in 2014.



Figure 5: 'Identification: the Father and the Son', 2000, Kostas Bogdanas
Photographs, Quadriptych, 4x6cms

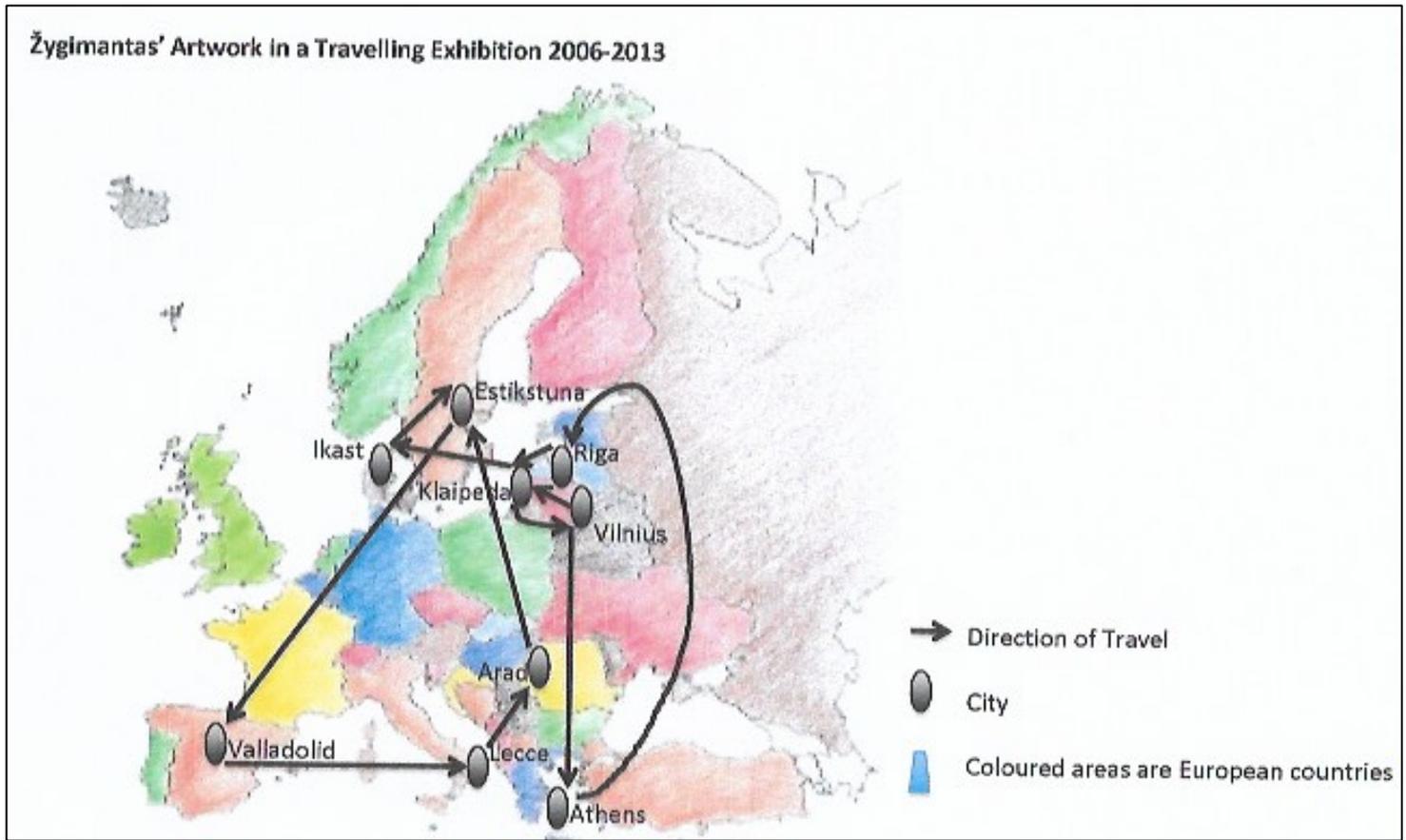


Figure 6: Map of Žygimantas' Mobile Artworks

My own map, created on 16th June 2015.



Figure 7: Sigita’s artworks in Riga, London, Koblenz, Vienna and Salzburg

My own map, created on 16th June 2015.

Chapter 5: Artists at 'Home'

5.1 Introduction

The notion of home being explored here includes both mobile and fixed aspects. It is associated with feelings of attachment to the fixed environment – to houses or particular areas of a city for instance. It can be mobile as it can 'move' in migration and attachments to places can change over time. In this chapter, I explore how these artists have different degrees of relations to different places, how an understanding of home is heightened after going abroad, how place is important even for hypermobile artists, and how feelings towards homeland can change over time. For some, new roots can form in the places to where these artists migrate and travel – but they often maintain their roots in their homeland as well. This chapter couples artists' discussions on this with these artists' artworks, by assessing how they illustrate the transnational spaces they are living in and show how their art is a way for them to work through their experiences of travel and onward migration. Going abroad emphasises certain aspects of 'home' – providing either 1) a clearer understanding of what is happening in homeland, 2) a deeper attachment to homeland or elsewhere, as through cultural comparison they know this is home for them, or 3) a clearer understanding of the meaning of home.

This visual analysis has been carried out through an investigation of a leitmotif, running through the artworks, that I have termed a 'homing aesthetics'. As with Brah's (1996: 193) notion of a 'homing desire', these artists place homes and make sense of them through their artwork and their practice – through making art, putting on exhibitions and forming social relations. This is their way of responding to both the local environment as well as their global connections to homeland or additional places in which they have lived. These artworks have in common aspects of motion, of transition, an interrogation of the meaning of home, and the combining of cultural influences. The artworks convey both spatial and temporal homes, being about homes changing over time and across time in terms of generations or about homes across space and their comparisons. It will explore the ways artists question home and roots, through their artworks, by connecting it with other cultural influences or by expressing what home was compared with what it is now. Through an analysis of these artworks, this chapter explores artists' changing understandings of home and the different manifestations of this in their artworks. The aim

of this chapter is to ascertain how far issues of home are heightened after travel and onward migrations and to show that migration and travelling affects these artists in the way they view their transnational position vis-a-vis their homeland. The main question addressed in this chapter is: how does regular travel and onward migration affect artists' understandings of home and roots?

This chapter looks at a selection of artworks from six artists, that articulate these dynamics: one artist who looks at the transition in homeland, two who use distance of being abroad to discuss issues to do with homeland in their artwork, two artists who directly compare cultural influences in their artwork, and one artist who is hypermobile and uses the concepts of space and place more generally in her artwork. Two photographs by Ieva, 'Mikrajons' and 'The Green Land', will be analysed because Ieva discusses the current problems for the next generation as well as how Latvia has been in transition since the end of the Soviet Union. I will look at Eglē's 'Choreography of the Running Male', whose performance work subtly refers to issues of masculinity and neo-nationalism in Lithuania; she feels compelled to discuss these issues even though she is living and working abroad. This is contrasted with Kriss, who feels his routes out of and back into Latvia develop his appreciation of his homeland and how this is shown in his work at the 55th Venice Biennale, entitled 'North by Northeast'.

Two pieces by Laura, 'A Study of Homes' and 'Non-Places', will be analysed in terms of her interrogation of the meaning of home and place by combining influences from homeland and her current location. I also look at Eva who continually travels and is affected by each place in a different way - I explore 'Poetic Roboticism', an installation work by Eva, which directly combines cultural influences in the artwork itself. I then discuss Vineta's artwork and practice, who feels embedded in Latvia and elsewhere after living in New York and Bremen, and how this has lead her to explore the concepts of space and place in her artwork. Individually, they show different understandings and working through of homes; they are about homes when they were growing up compared with homes now, and changes they feel are needed to these homes. Short bio-notes for all artists mentioned in this chapter can be found in Appendix A.

5.1.1 Visualising Transitions in Latvia

For some, artworks are used as a working through of whether their current location can be home, how homeland is changing, and their changing relation to these places. This section looks at two of Ieva's artworks, which are part of two series of works that were created both abroad and in Latvia. They are about the transition of places, which links to the previous chapter on historical and policy transitions – though, Ieva's work provides photographic and anecdotal evidence of the transitions Latvia has gone and is going through from a first-hand perspective.

For some artists, their artwork connects to home but uses inferences of their current environment in order to describe what is happening at home, as “distance provides clarity” (Madara, interview, 18th September 2013). For example, Ieva uses themes that reflect the cultural politics of Latvia in terms of its past, the current situation and what the future holds.¹³³ These are issues that Ieva can only see with distance, as when in Latvia it is too “busy” and there is no detachment from what is happening (interview, 21st November 2013). Distance provides the clarity she needs to be able to depict political and cultural issues in her artwork.

“Now I'm in Germany. I work with things around me. But I can do a lot in Latvia too, when I'm there. This is the paradox. When I'm away [from Latvia], I can see things more clearly. I can see Latvia from a distance.” (Ieva, interview, 21st November 2013)

By contrast, when she is in Riga everything is too close to be able to depict issues objectively in her artworks. Ieva's critiques of homeland escalate when abroad, such as being worried about the amount of people moving out of Latvia and Russians and Europeans buying property in Riga. This is why she explores the next generation – the youth – in her artwork, in order to understand what the future holds for Riga.

¹³³The positives would be economic growth, helped by joining the EU in 2014 and joining the Euro monetary union in January 2014 (Estonia), January 2015 (Latvia) and January 2016 (Lithuania). The negatives would be Europeans and Russians buying up property in Riga, a lot of people migrating out of the country, and corruption of businesses and the political system. “The influence of private interests involved in illegal political party funding undermines the efforts to combat political corruption” (Latvia Country Report 2013). “Policy actions are further detailed in the Corruption Prevention and Combating Programme 2009-13, which contains 70 tasks to be implemented by various institutions” (European Commission, 2014).

As part of a series on young adolescents, 'Mikronajons' depicts everyday life of an outer district (Pļavnieki) of Riga. The photograph in Figure 8 shows three young adolescents (see p.182).¹³⁴ Ieva uses the periphery as a motif in her work – with small towns, housing estates, and suburbs as recurring themes. It also refers to the idea of nature, as this area where the adolescents are playing was once green land, but now is a car park surrounded by housing blocks. It shows her feelings about the changing landscape of this place, because her roots are attached to the nature and environment of Latvia. She is critical of the youth today having to play surrounded by concrete roads and houses. She also had conversations with these young adults, who she believes are the future of the country and who tell the 'truth' about the culture.

“When I’m in Latvia it’s busy, with family and friends and you don’t think what’s happening there – with politics and culture. I’m afraid that people are emigrating and it’s now empty, a half empty city and only the old generation are left; the young people have gone to study abroad; I wonder what is the future; Russians and other Europeans are buying properties here. These questions are in my mind. I touch these in my art. For example, I took photos of young people and talk to them about what they want to be when they’re older...I needed to come to Belgium in order to understand what I want to do in Latvia, what ideas to realise” (Ieva, interview, 21st November 2013).

With this same theme, she explores cultural comparisons in terms of how adolescents in different cities are affected by their environment and also what they want to be when they are older. She questions whether the same is happening elsewhere in the EU. The idea for this project began whilst on a residency in Iceland, and then continued when Ieva was in Dusseldorf, as well as when she returned to Riga. With this, Ieva is documenting change and transition happening today in Latvia and other EU countries, and with this is questioning the future. This is not only a bilateral comparison as she is comparing across many cultures. This series of works brings together different communities of young adolescents, growing up in different cities but experiencing similar issues, and it was

¹³⁴Ieva Eperne has produced several previous series of photographs – 'Encounters' (in Düsseldorf) and 'I Would Like to Be' (in Hafnarfjörður, a suburb of Reykjavík). This exhibition is a continuation of these projects. The artist asked the adolescents, who were her subjects, about their future hopes and about what they hoped to become when they were older.

exhibited in different places over several years. She is suggesting that these people have similar problems and anxieties about their future even though located and living in different places and of different nationality.

Once Ieva returned to Riga, after living in Vienna and Ghent and spending time in Dusseldorf and Reykjavik for residencies, she began a project on Vainode in Latvia. This was once an important Soviet town but is now a ghost town. From questioning the future of her homeland in 'Mikronajons', she once again questions a past home and how this compares to this as home today as well as signalling to the future and asking what this place might become - in her series entitled 'The Green Land' (See Figure 9, p.183). This series of photographs also has to do with her changing association with this place through history, and how she has now had to re-form her attachments but in a new way. This was a meaningful place to her because it was where she holidayed as a child. But she questions this again as she brings her own new born baby here, triggering her own memories of family and childhood. It has become a meaningful place once more due to her walking repeatedly with her new born baby in the same place and seeing the same buildings.

For her, walking was a way of place-making, through which she reactivated her attachments to this place. This relates to de Certeau (1984: 117) and his discussion on walking - activating this place through walking there - not only to the place itself but also activating its meaning to that person. However, her relation to this place today is different compared to when she came as a child: she uses a more global perspective and influences from her time abroad to assess what is happening here in this place. She made photographs so that she could work through some of these issues to do with place, home and its transition over time after the Soviet Union as well as her changing relationship to the place. This shows how walking and spending time in this place again made it become meaningful once more. The practice of walking and then doing this art project activates place, which demonstrates how practice can also be a home-making activity – in this case, practice is both making the art and walking in the place.

“Lūcija inspires and mobilizes me. When she was born, I started working on my

work 'The Green Land'. It came about as a result of the long walks around Vainode. Visiting and revisiting the same places over and over again, I got the idea to photograph Vainode, to work with the local residents." (Ieva, interview, 21st November 2013)

In Figure 9, Ieva's photograph shows the remains of a wall that looks as if it used to be a building. The landscape around has grown up, almost covering it, giving the structure a new meaning. The place has also taken on new meaning, as it physically looks different and different types of spaces have been present here while many have ceased to exist. This means, in turn, the place has changed and her photographs show how change is embedded in the landscape. The layers of history are evident to see in the photograph, as the original bricks of this building can be seen behind the graffiti, which was added after the building became derelict, though this is now coming away at the edges, and this is being replaced with the nature that has grown up around it. The structure has subsequently become a palimpsest. This is reflected in the graffiti that is written on the wall, which translates as 'immortal'. Through each era, the building - now a ruin - has taken on new meaning and purpose, but is never destroyed. The title of the series 'The Green Land', though, suggests new life as Ieva wants this series to not be about longing for past times but, rather, about seeing the obscurities of the present - like a ruin in amongst a meadow - and a way to think about future of Latvia and for these communities who must live alongside these 'relics' of the Soviet Union. However, the past, present and future collide here in this town for Ieva, with the Soviet relics and her memories, her walking there now as well as thinking about the future of it and new life with her baby.

As well as using cultural influences from her time abroad, the combination or mixture of cultural influences runs deeper than this for Ieva. Ieva's home growing up was also mixture of cultural influences, as her mum is from Latvia while her dad is from Russia. She says she looks into issues of 'her place' due to this dual nationality and dual cultural roots, as she feels she has an influence from both cultures. Her art is a way to look for where her home or roots are but, also, how these have changed over time. Ieva documents the changes over time in Latvia and how they are visible in the physical sense - in buildings, houses or what are now ruins. In particular, it is about the comparison between her travels now and as a

child. There is a tension of Vainode's¹³⁵ change through the passage of time and her changing attachment to the place. It is now not a meaningful place instantly – this has to be remade through multiple visits – ‘revisiting the same places over and over again’ as she says. The feeling of home that is generated through creating attachments also has to do with temporal dimensions, in that it is made over time. This shows how the meaning of home and the relevance it has for her is not only spatial but also temporal, bridging and connecting past and present times.

Feelings of home as well as feelings towards homeland are not fixed necessarily, as they can change over time. Ieva's work demonstrates how she can gain, lose and then regain the feeling of home in a certain place due to historical events that have happened or are happening there - for instance, before and after the Baltic States' independence or after accession into EU. This relates to discussion in Chapter 2 on Andits' (2015) work, who found this happened for many Australian Hungarians who were living in Australia after 1989, where some felt either more or less attached to this ‘new’ homeland. A new form of belonging had been created because the Hungarian diaspora living in Australia could now return freely and could reconnect with this place of origin. This means that the temporalities of home, i.e the making of home over time can also be seen in reverse, as such feelings can also be lost or questioned. These feelings and attachments also often need to be re-rooted and re-found, as with Ieva who goes back to Vainode. However, she has a more relational and global understanding of this place, as she can see what it is now and what has happened more clearly because she has spent time abroad – so she can see its differences and its particularities. Her art shows she is continuously questioning her position in relation to homeland versus new homes elsewhere, and questioning her association with homeland due to changes in Latvia. This also shows how these artists' depictions and cultural comparisons are not only related to the past, nostalgia of what their homeland used to be.

¹³⁵ This town was once a Red Army compound with an important military airport and railway station for the Baltic region until 1997. The city used to be of strategic importance but now is more like a ghost town.

5.2 Feeling More 'At Home' Abroad

Whilst some presentations of home seem to have to do with changing attachments in terms of what homes once were compared to now, as with Ieva, there are also some who critique these homes and question the changes in their homeland and subsequently if they still feel rooted there, such as Egle. Similarly to Ieva, Egle also feels that the distance gained away from homeland provides clarity on what is happening in her homeland. She also uses the distance to realise the pertinent aspects of her home culture to discuss in her artwork. This 'distance' is beneficial in order to gain a different perspective on homeland, which makes her reassess her understanding of homeland, where her roots lie, or how her relations to different places are changing.

Even though Lithuania may be the topic of her artwork, Egle has multiple roots and is more rooted elsewhere than in Lithuania. Nevertheless, even though away from Lithuania, Egle returns regularly and is conscious that she must continue to take part in the Vilnius art scene and maintain her contacts there - so she meets with people, takes part in exhibitions, and donates her art to museum collections. Egle says "I am coming back [to Vilnius] to feel more connected - talking to someone in Lithuania" (interview, 20th December 2013). She wants to keep her connections with homeland, but this has more to do with the fact that she can participate there as an artist still rather than it being about nostalgia or homesickness.

She does not want to return permanently to Lithuania as she feels more at home elsewhere and does not feel restricted to having one set of roots only where she was born. She has placed roots elsewhere, in a place where she feels more 'at home' because she can carry out her practice. "I have been out of Vilnius for ten years now. So I won't go back there yet! *The National Gallery of Art* has my works there in their archive." She has spent a long time away from Lithuania, long enough for elsewhere to become more home than homeland or for her to place roots in Amsterdam and Brussels. I argue that these are not 'second homelands' as Ossman (2013) argues, but in fact become first homelands, and the only difference is that it is not where she was born. Do homelands and roots have to be associated with birthplace or to do with nationality? As for Egle, the majority of her adult and professional life has been spent living in Brussels and Amsterdam, so these are her homelands – where she returns to after trips for exhibitions and where her social life is

centered around.

Since 2004, Egle has lived in four different EU cities; she has also returned to two of them - returning to live in Amsterdam after 6 years living elsewhere and returning to live in Brussels after 10 years. This type of multiple residence and recurrent mobilities could also be considered as a kind of cyclical migration, whereby she moves in a cycle – living across a certain set of EU cities and each one in turn. It is distinct from circular migration that is considered to be between home and host countries, as here we see the combination of repeat, onward migration but also cyclical migration between multiple locales. This is in contrast to Kriss who makes return migrations to Riga between each trip. Egle (interview, 20th December 2013) says “since 2013, I have been living in Brussels, I’ve been here one year - since last January[...]. From 2004 to 2006 I was in Amsterdam, and for the last 6 months there I went to Rotterdam. From 2011 to 2012 I was in Paris. Then I came back to Amsterdam. Then I came to Brussels.” She has varying degrees of attachments to each of these places, in that she feels some places are not as much of a home as others. This is due to reasons that have to do with nature, culture, people and the general feel of the place; in some places she adapted easily and made attachments to, while in other cities this was not the case. It is not, as Ossman (2013) argues, that experienced travellers can adapt easily to new places or regular travellers become adept at resettlement. It is more complex and nuanced than this. The individualised and place-specific process of resettlement depends on the place itself and the person’s relation to that place. Moreover, the person’s relation to each new place is different and this means that these feelings are also different.

Egle’s attachments to each of the places she has lived are important to her and these take time to develop. Her relation to each place is her way of ‘feeling at home’ in that new place and, over time, this turns into roots. In order for the city to feel like home, it is important for her to be able to do her art and to have inspiration and ideas, which requires her having the right frame of mind as well as surroundings to produce work. This process of making home is different in each new place. Egle says there is an importance of communities within cities, in terms of whether they ‘gel’, if they are cohesive and if the place creates the right feeling for her: these are all factors that determine whether Egle feels ‘at home’ (in addition to how content she is with doing her art practice there).

“I feel both - roots in Lithuania and rooted in other places too. My friends and family are there - so I am connected biologically and chemically there [to Lithuania]. Amsterdam has become more home than homeland, due to feeling more connected there and ability to do my art practice there. Paris did not become a home because it was too quick. Rotterdam was too weird to call home, as the city was depressed and fragmented with no one identity and so felt schizophrenic. There was a large Moroccan and EU community that were not really part of the city, they feel segregated, or part of a ghetto. EU on outskirts and Moroccan in centre. Not one fabric, all different realities, people living different lives.” (Egle, interview, 20th December 2013).

Egle has roots in Vilnius, Amsterdam and Brussels; Paris and Rotterdam were more of a work base where, by comparison, few lasting attachments were made. Importantly, Egle says that she is always connecting out to many additional places (regardless of where she is physically located) as well as making a relation to the immediate place because “everyone is somewhere else” (ibid.). This is similar to the positionality Vineta assumes, being both rooted to the immediate place and connected to different places elsewhere, who I discuss later in this chapter. Egle continues to discuss how making home, and then subsequently roots, has a temporal element. It “takes time to find a focus in a place. Need to have a deeper and longer relationship with a place. One year at least. Depends on the place and depends on time - the time in your life” (ibid.). There is not only a temporal element in terms of the time spent in one place, as temporality is also important in terms of the point the artist is at in their career. This links back to discussions in Chapter 2 on space and place, as these take time to be ‘activated’ for a person, in terms of forming attachments or even simply feeling secure and comfortable. Her relation to place is not the same in every location: it is dependent on time spent there as well as point in her career, and these relations and attachments are not uniform. The process of making a place feel like home is not predictable and does not become necessarily easier the more times she migrates.

Even though having multiple homes, working spaces, and feeling more attached to elsewhere, it is clear that she is still concerned about Lithuania. When abroad, Egle wants and is compelled to discuss contemporary issues in Lithuania. These issues in Lithuania are heightened because she is seeing and comparing this with other cultures. She was inspired

by the new environment and cultural influences when in Amsterdam and Paris respectively, which made her consider more about what was happening in Lithuania. The distance away from homeland allowed Egle to see more clearly what was happening in her homeland.

“Some works are connected with home - like the film [‘Psychomagic acts for the City’, 2013, in collaboration with B.Groenendaal] I made when I moved to Amsterdam... Inspired by the level of control of public spaces - an imaginary society - influenced by what was there in Amsterdam... Another one was a recent performance for the Baltic Triennial - its influence with Baltic and Eastern European problems with homophobia and neo-nationalism, and different masculinities. Like some bold militants in the streets, very aggressive... This was called ‘Core for the Running Male’. I’m going now to Sydney with this... I did this one - created the idea - in Paris... I was bothered about it when I was there, but I didn't realise how bad it was. Now I think ‘wow’, I want to now talk about this.” (Egle, interview, 20th December 2013)

Male performers in ‘Choreography for the Running Male’ (2012-2015) carry out choreographed movements and emotions.¹³⁶ This is shown in Figures 10 and 11 (see pp.184-185). ‘Choreography for the Running Male’ features a group of men who run through the city streets displaying emotions such as shame and distress. These performances took place in Vilnius in 2012, at the Sydney Biennale in March 2014, in Vilnius again and Leuven (Belgium) in 2015. Though, the piece was originally commissioned by the *Contemporary Art Centre* in Vilnius. Egle is subverting what is considered normal behavior in public places. These male performers hide their faces, sit side-by-side, hold hands as well as march in-line and wait at closed doors. As Egle said, it has to do with issues that are current in Lithuania in terms of “problems with homophobia and neo-nationalism” (ibid.). For some, this behavior in public is seen as peculiar and Egle wanted to capture this feeling of awkwardness from the viewer. The work also refers back

¹³⁶The voice-over accompanying this performance piece says: “Mindaugai, you have to keep on running. I have seen where you are. You know, the idea of pure blood is long time forgotten. Young men are practicing organic farming and urban beekeeping on the roofs of skyscrapers. Mindaugai, are you listening to me? Where are you now? People told me they saw you crossing a small street in the city center. You have to be careful. Empire is reading to suck you in any moment, anywhere.” This links to issues of nationalism and having to be of pure bloodline in order to have roots in a certain place. This also links to the notion of ‘heimat’ that is also linked to bloodlines and ties through birth and descendants.

to the Soviet Union with marching and queuing¹³⁷, but Egle brings it into the current situation by saying there are still remnants of this and there are still problems within society.

As well as gaining inspiration from different places for the work, it also travels to different locations to be 'displayed'. This shows how there is a detachment from place in the production and exhibition stages, as 'Core for the Running Male' demonstrates how artworks travel after having been produced. Egle created the idea for this whilst in Paris but then it travelled to Sydney and Vilnius to be 'displayed'. This shows how its meaning may respond to a particular environment or culture but then will travel to a new location to be exhibited. It is not only the movement of art but also the movement of ideas that is at stake here. This has an impact on the circulation of ideas and mixing of cultures, creating travelling visual cultures that show art as a spatial practice, pulling on aspects of 'home' in light of the inspiration gained from 'host' cultures. In order to reconsider de Certeau's (1984) concept of space and place, we can understand space as transborder practiced places. Place is not only activated by practiced spaces that are in that particular locale, but a place can be activated through spaces that come from outside into the city. More broadly, looking at these artist communities shows, as Clifford (1996) describes, not only how people are in motion, but how cultures themselves are in motion. It seems to be that culture is at home in motion and this creates a world ever more connected but not homogeneous. In fact, culture or art styles come to life, become visible when up against something new or different. Difference and, hence, cultural combinations and in-between spaces provides new knowledge.

This piece is also having an effect on the city space, as it is performed in the city streets of Vilnius, Sydney and Leuven. It changes these city streets momentarily as people are performing, moving, making different noises, and people are standing still and watching. It is not only having an effect in one city, though, this means the place will also have an impact on the performance; the piece will not have the same effect in all cities. It is not only practices that affect place, as place also affects practice. This links to de Certeau (1984)

¹³⁷ Queuing was a common sight in soviet times with people queuing for food. More recently, with the economic crisis in 2010, people again were queuing but this time at job centers. This has been reflected upon in other art pieces also such as Flo Kasearu who made participants queue outside *Tallinn Art Hall* (*Kunstiboone*), entitled 'Artificial Queue'.

as this art piece includes people actively doing their practice in the streets - changing the space and place of these streets with a new kind of movement and way of 'passing through' these streets. The art performance activates it in a certain way due to the practice they are carrying out. These actors have created a performance space in what were previously ordinary city streets, more often seen as a place for walking in order to get from point 'a' to 'b'. Passers-by have stopped to look and take in the new action here in this place. Space and place are intertwined here, as the spaces these performers are creating are changing and defining these places (the street) as somewhere creative, dynamic, and contemplative. These actions, and spaces they create, are what make a place 'living'. Physical buildings and streets are static but place is changing through the spaces happening there. Linking to earlier, a place can change over time in terms of, firstly, how diaspora connect and impact homeland and, secondly, place also changes in their minds as the homeland goes through changes. A place can change over time but here, with Egle's piece, we can see how place can be temporarily changed by the practices that occur in the new spaces made there.

5.2.1 Travel Heightens Attachments towards Homeland

As has become evident, after having homes elsewhere in the EU, feelings and associations towards homeland can change. This means feelings or associations to homeland can change due to travel and migration, as well as due to historical changes taking place in their homeland. While some feel more connected to their homeland, others realise that – for them – they do not need to be living in their homeland in order to keep their connections there or, alternatively, they can feel more 'like themselves' in another city, as with Egle who was discussed in the previous section. Birthplace is not necessarily where someone feels most 'at home' – some may feel more attached to another location, whereby migrating can act as a 'coming home'. This means that a homing desire, as Brah (1996: 193) describes, can be for any additional homes or to multiple residences (past and present) as well as the ancestral homeland. The artworks show how many artists are not displaced through travel as, in fact, their understandings of their place are heightened.

By contrast, though, going away for some emphasises attachments towards homeland. Kriss says his roots in Latvia are heightened each time he goes away. Kriss feels he retains a Latvian light, which is emphasised when abroad and crystallised by travelling through different cultures as well as meeting different people from different backgrounds. This is reminiscent of the way in which Sigita spoke about her unchanging Latvian light in Chapter

6, which was only emphasised through travelling and seeing other cultures. For Kriss, travel positions or locates him more firmly as having a Latvian cultural identity and having a Latvian light. Even though describing it as ‘traveling’, this can be seen as linked to the meaning of mobility.

“Every time I return home I appreciate it more. Traveling is great and highly necessary if one does not want to become rusty and narrow minded. But it is also great because it makes you aware of what good Latvia has to offer. Sometimes the things we moan about here are trifles in comparison to elsewhere. Sometimes it becomes obvious that our local discontent is misdirected.” (Kriss, interview, 23rd February 2014).

While some become more critical and questioning of their home culture after going abroad, such as Egle who questioned the neo-nationalism present in Lithuania which she is only able to understand clearly when abroad, as was discussed in the previous section. However, Kriss sees Latvia in a more positive light and every time he has an increasingly stronger appreciation of his home culture. His roots are reaffirmed and increase each time he returns. Travelling abroad heightens Kriss’ feelings of roots in Latvia and the Latvian light in his artwork. This is because he understands Latvian culture more clearly after experiencing other cultures, shown in the quote above. While Andits (2015) argues that historical changes can alter someone’s association with their homeland, this experience of Kriss shows that travelling abroad and then returning develops this association to homeland. Travel and migrating abroad either reaffirms their roots to homeland or makes them question these associations with homeland.

There are also layers to their idea of their feeling of homes and roots, which are multifaceted and sometimes conflictual. For instance, Kriss does not say how he has been affected by travel, because he says:

“I have never moved from Latvia. I spent two years at Whitgift, a year in Cologne and a reasonable amount of time on various residencies ranging from one to three months, but my home has always been here. It would be the ideal for me also in the future, and I think with the ever increasing openness and improving means of

communication it may well be possible to be based in the periphery - with its proximity to nature, lack of overpopulation, relative affordability, closeness to family and ones roots- and to operate on a global scale.” (Kriss, interview, 23rd February 2014).

His account and attitude provides an alternative to the majority of my respondents who say that travel affects them. There is a contradiction here because Kriss says he has not moved out from Latvia, though, he then says he spent two years in Whitgift and one year in Cologne as well as other periods abroad for residencies. This suggests that his home and roots have never changed or been placed in these other cities where he has lived, and this is why he says his home has always been in Latvia. He feels rooted to Latvia due to the environment, economic issues and social ties – these three conditions combine to form his roots. He wants to be close to the nature, affordability and family in Latvia. These factors are positioned in this order of importance because, firstly, nature can only be found in this location, secondly, the economic situation can change and, thirdly, people are always moving and can be contacted digitally. His feeling of home and roots - tied firstly to nature - are reflected in his art. For instance, the site-specific installation piece that was made for the 55th Venice Biennale (2013), entitled ‘North by Northeast’, that includes a moving tree suspended from the ceiling. Figure 12 (see p.186) provides a photograph from the installation at the Venice Biennale. Rather than travel as influencing his artwork, Kriss talks about his Latvian light and how this, his ‘art roots’, influences his art. Kriss (interview, 23rd February 2014) says “if you are asking about my relationship to Latvia as an artist, then even if most of the time it is not the subject of my work, my work is necessarily Latvian, because I live and work here. The fundamental attitude to life, nature, work is there, regardless of whether I use the Latvian landscape or German duct tape as material.” This is the ‘Latvian light’ that he is describing here, which is reflective of a particular perspective on ‘life, nature and work’. It is also a play on the idea of roots; he said that his roots in homeland increase each time he goes abroad, so this is why he feels the need to look at ‘roots’ in his art.

5.3 Changing Ideas of Home

These artworks are an illustration, representation and negotiation of artists' multiple homes. This is conveyed due to their double or multi perspective, which some of these artists gain after regular travel and onward migration. This links to the larger argument presented throughout the thesis thus far, which is that the notion of home is not only related to place of origin. Many of their artworks become a negotiated space that combine influences from different cultures, due to the transnational position and imagination that some of these artists acquire after travel. This is evident in the artwork by Laura in this section and Eva's artwork in the next section. This relates to the notion of a "cross-cultural creation of meaning" (Leuthold, 2011: 1), as art is central to the cross-cultural creation of meanings, whereby "oppositions actually reveal connections...and oppositions therefore provide a structure that leads to new knowledge". These oppositions or juxtapositions help to record what these artists understand as home or connections between cultures, and their place in this. This links to Leuthold (2011: 64) and his theory of a cross-cultural aesthetics where "oppositions actually reveal connections...and oppositions therefore provide a structure that leads to new knowledge". Artworks can combine influences from the home and host culture. While Laura and Ieva chose to look at this spatially, Ieva looked at it temporally. This shows how art is a spatial and temporal practice as well as how artists can (re)produce space and connections between places through their practice.

While for Ieva the notion of home is visualised through temporal comparisons between the past, present and future, for Laura the notion of home has to do with spatial comparisons between Vienna, Linz and Tallinn. She discusses how her feelings of home have changed – and then addresses this through her artworks. In Figure 13 (see p.187), 'A Study of Homes' (2012), by Laura, explores the combination of public versus private aspects that physical homes include. It is about what goes on within those walls to make it a meaningful place, but also its connections out to other people that make it feel like home. Laura portrays these ideas, with scale model objects, by showing the exterior of a house but with views and glimpses into the interior of the house. Both the private and public spheres constitute the meaning of home to Laura, as home can be in both these spheres. The meaning of home for Laura is about varying spatial relations – both micro ones within the private realm of the house itself as well as more macro relations that span beyond the walls of the house to people across the city or EU with whom she is working. There is also a more

personal level that relates to Laura, which has to do with how she feels about the meaning of home whilst living in Linz. This is shown in the title of the work - 'Tallinz' - which combines both Tallinn and Linz. She feels attached to both Tallinn and Linz, after having lived in Linz for a year on a residency. However, the artwork was a reaction to how different and more 'public' houses are where she was in Linz. In Linz she found there to be literally and physically different kinds of homes or houses, which changed her understanding of the meaning of home. As the weighting of public versus private space in Linz is different compared with in Tallinn.

When on a residency in Linz she told me (interview, 7th June 2013) the window looking out onto the courtyard reminded her of Alfred Hitchcock's "Rear Window", which included "intimate home scenes" where there was little privacy. Connected with her experiences of living in Linz, she says "while moving abroad one can have new views on the concept of home" (Laura, interview, 7th June 2013). Once she had travelled and spent time in Linz she realised the differences between the two cultures and this developed her understanding of how the meaning of home includes both private and public elements. She learnt that she needs some of the private aspects to feel 'at home'.

A year on from this series on 'A Study of Homes' (2012) in Linz, she then moved to Vienna where she made the installation called 'Non-Place' (2013). Each new place has effects on her and, subsequently, on her art as the theme changes. This change in style could also be reflective of her different relation to Linz compared with Vienna, or because different issues became pertinent for her to discuss in each location as her art is a direct response to each new environment she encounters. She describes how the theme of her work changed from when in Linz to when in Vienna: "it's strange how I was doing homes and now i'm doing the opposite with non-places" (interview, 7th June 2013). Even through exploring the idea of non-places, she is questioning where home and place are for her in Vienna vis-à-vis Tallinn. She wanted to find some element of nature around her house in Vienna but the only option was the sky. This was a way to make her feel more 'at home' through experiencing nature that she was so used to being around her when in Tallinn. This 'non-place' of sky and passing clouds, in fact, becomes her way of positioning herself in Vienna, away from homeland. This links to the work of Augé (1995) who was mentioned in Chapter 2. Again, as in the next chapter where I show how so-called in-

between or non-places like airports - or railways as Laura uses in her installation - became important and meaningful to some artists who are hypermobile and spend a lot of time in these places, here Laura is questioning these places' status as either place or non-place. With this, Laura also makes a comparison to cities in general, in that she is saying cities have these non-places on the periphery: for instance, derelict oil containers and railway tracks. She is also making them into places by focusing on them and putting them into the frame of her canvas, highlighting their existence and their details so that they become places. Also, the gallery is 'activated' through these artworks being placed in the gallery. This was discussed in Chapter 2 with regards to de Certeau's (1984) work.

As part of the installation in Vienna, 'Unörte' ('Non-Place', 2013), Laura presents a video piece, 'Himmelblau', which is shown in Figure 14 (see p.188) and shows a blue sky with passing clouds above Vienna. The view of the installation is shown in Figure 15 (see p.189). Laura told me she was interested in this because there are just "tall buildings and then sky" in Vienna (interview, 7th June 2013), whereas, in Tallinn there are more trees in-between and a greener landscape in general. She uses Vienna in the content of the video piece, but the meaning and context has to do with Tallinn. Whilst in Vienna, Laura responds to how the current surroundings are different to her homeland - by documenting what Vienna is missing in comparison to Tallinn.

In Figure 14, 'Himmelblau' acts as a moment of contemplation; the only way to find nature and tranquility near to her house in Vienna is to look up to the sky. The installation 'Unorte' (non-places) links to issues of the city, the urban, and the periphery. This theme draws similarities with Ieva who also explores the periphery, ruins and nature that grows in these places – providing its "second life" (Laura, interview, 7th June 2013). With the blue sky and slowly moving clouds, 'Himmelblau' is an attempt at taking the viewer out of the urban space and into nature. Along with the video piece, there are also paintings and sculptures that are part of the installation, which resemble common urban sites in Vienna, Tallinn or many other cities - these are gas containers, motorways and railway sleepers. In this way, they reflect the parts or spaces in everyday life that are moving and restless – as instances of where people just pass by or through places where people don't often put down roots or attachments. Exploring the opposite to home feelings or homes themselves, as with her earlier series, she can define what home is though. Laura also uses 'sky blue' as

a colour elsewhere in the installation, in canvases and wooden beams that resemble railway sleepers. This is shown in Figure 15, which shows a view of Laura's installation work entitled 'Unörte' (non-place). She used "blue and grey tones so that they would reflect the silvery light of the periphery" (ibid.). She sees the city as made up of these non-places and, furthermore, even in the city center there are pockets of non-places, meaning nobody is ever far away from the periphery. She is questioning: can home be on the periphery; can home for her be somewhere where there is no nature?

A 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996: 193) is clearly visible in their art but it is not necessarily a longing for or to return to their homeland. Rather, Ieva and Laura use a 'homing aesthetics' in order to question what home means to them, where it is, how it changes, how it is different to elsewhere. This is a desire to understand what home means to her vis-à-vis what it means to others and to understand or reflect on how this has changed since she moved to Linz. Feelings of and comparisons in feelings of home in different places can literally be combined to include two places – for instance, with Laura in terms of Tallinn and Linz in her piece entitled 'Tallinz'. This does not convey nostalgia for homeland and longing to return to their homeland. We can take from Tsagarousianou (2004) here as, importantly, diasporas form new creative identities and cultures rather than looking towards the past or only being identified by their homeland. Moreover, these artists' artworks visualise the 'transnational imagination' that Tsagarousianou (2004) talks about, as discussed in Chapter 2, which defines diasporic identification as something different to ethnic or national belonging.

5.3.1 Different Cultural Influences in Artwork

This section explores how some of these artists have particular roots in their homeland, distinct from roots and homes made elsewhere. For many, these roots are in addition to roots they have elsewhere. Roots in their homeland often remain due to factors including the environment and nature. Yet, each travel affects their art in some respect – by contrast to others who say they will always have a 'Latvian light'.

Even with travel, Eva says that Latvia will always be considered home. "I've always considered Latvia my home. I haven't seriously considered moving away and the longest time I've been abroad is three months. I really love artist's residencies and short-term

networking experiences abroad” (Eva, interview, 6th April 2014). Even though she enjoys these trips abroad, she separates this from her roots in Latvia. She then goes on to discuss the meaning of homeland by referring to an anecdote about her friend’s experience of migration: “My friend musician Maris Plume once said, ‘A sense of Motherland is created from habitual gravitation towards nuances’, when he had moved to Berlin to start a new life” (ibid.). These feelings and understandings of the details and nuances of homeland can be highlighted after going abroad. As with Kriss, going abroad emphasised Eva’s attachments to Latvia but Eva says what these attachments are to:

“In my case, these small things that make me feel at home are essential. If I sensed them somewhere else, maybe I would consider moving. When I was in Paris, which is still an exciting city for artists, I got homesick during the second month, because it was summer and I missed walking barefoot on fresh grass, missed the green and blue and the air and space of home. I felt very relieved to come home where even our capital felt green, breathing and bracing. Short-term, I like being in many places. However, until now, there’s been no place outside Latvia where I’ve felt at home or wanted to lay down roots.” (Eva, interview, 6th April 2014).

The environment makes Eva feel attached or rooted there and, in particular, the familiar green grass that she likes to be surrounded by, walk on and smell. Whilst she enjoys travel, in terms of the excitement and freedom it gives her, she is also attached to the details and specifics of particular places. Roots can be fixed to small details. The feeling of ‘being at home’ is both or a combination of the near and far, as artist diasporas are embedded in local and global spaces. Some are globally connected but also rooted to minute details, which means the feelings of home are also both felt in the detailed and the broad scales. Their lives might be transnational in some respects but some are attached to minute details and nuances present in their homeland that are not necessarily transnational.

These roots do not prevent Eva from enjoying travel and being affected by travel. Each travel affects Eva in a different way, due to the amount of time spent there, its purpose, the place and experiences there. Eva’s artwork is related to the place and issues concerning that

place. This and her artwork will be explored in the next chapter. This shows how one individual's understanding of home and roots can change, adapt, and be molded and influenced by each travel they make and each place they encounter. Yet, roots can simultaneously remain in their homeland.

“Every place and every experience works differently. A trip to Morocco unexpectedly resulted in my discovering the sense of space in relation to land art and Robert Smithson's work. In France, I was entranced by contemporary dance and performance art, which I have started to work with after my travels. An extreme residency in Polymer Culture Factory in Tallinn which resulted in 'Poetic Roboticism', Estonia took the 'beauty' out of my art and gave me power to complete large scale installations.” (Eva, interview, 6th April 2014).

While not longing for homeland, Eva is making her travels around a central point. These can also be described as centered mobilities. However, even with travelling regularly and enjoying this, it shows how she still needs a place to call home – and some element of stability where her routes are centered around. This relates back to my notion of a 'homing aesthetics', as Eva wants to return to this central point that she associates with producing her art. Also, finding home can be seen as a journey - of discovery, of entrancement, of confidence building as Eva says. This is where contradictions arise when they discuss their feelings of home, roots and travel. As people need both fixed and mobile elements in their everyday life, as one makes the other possible: having roots enables routes to be possible, and travelling heightens understandings and feelings for where home and roots are and their meaning. For some, but not all as I have shown, feel that in order to have multiple homes and feel comfortable in regular travel or onward migration, they need a fixed place to center these around – this can be their homeland or where they have migrated to purposefully so they are in a preferable region to work across.

Just as one place can illuminate certain issues about homeland, two visible cultural influences are in dialogue within her artwork, in Figure 16 (see p.190). Artworks can combine different cultural influences in juxtaposition as with Eva's work. Not only does travel and distance away from homeland affect artists, but each different location provides something specific and affects their art in a particular way: this could be a different angle, depending on the new art styles or influences they encounter. So for some, including Eva,

moving onwards every year or two will again change their perspective and so will affect their art. Not only are there artists who are only reflecting upon the home *or* host culture in the artwork itself, this shows there are also artists who represent elements of both home *and* host culture in artwork. Latvian artist Eva does this either by exploring contrasts or juxtapositions between cultures. Eva suggests that each place has a different effect on her artwork and what she produces. As Eva says, she is affected by all her travels and gains something new from each one. This suggests that layers of new knowledge are gained from each new environment they experience. Roots, home and place are reassessed and re-examined each time – these are not altered just once after initially leaving homeland. Instead, these feelings can change every time they move on, which is every year or so for Eva.

“Every place and every experience works differently. A trip to Morocco unexpectedly resulted in my discovering the sense of space in relation to land art and Robert Smithson’s work. In France, I was entranced by contemporary dance and performance art, which I have started to work with after my travels. An extreme residency in *Polymer Culture Factory* in Tallinn, Estonia took the beauty out of my art and gave me power to complete large-scale installations.” (Eva, interview, 6th April 2014).

One such large-scale installation inspired by a residency abroad is ‘Poetic Robotism’, shown in Figure 16. Eva says each place she spends time in leaves an impression on each of her artworks. For instance, her time spent at an artist residency in Tallinn made her work less romantic and poetic.¹³⁸ For example, the title of her work ‘Poetic Robotism’, which is a series of installations, process-based events and performances created in collaboration with Latvian artist Laura Prikule. This work provides a contrast between Latvian ‘poetic’ art and its supposed national character, which many art professionals also

¹³⁸ This relates back to Ieva Astahovska’s comments in Chapter 4 about the poetics and emotion of Latvian art. This is the case due to several reasons. “Contemporary and classical Latvian poets have influenced Latvian graphic artists in their romantic interpretation of life. In contrast to Estonia and Lithuania, the graphic arts of Latvia may be termed emotional” (Printnews, 1979: 50). “Latvian art, which has always been noted in the past for its particularly intense dramatic quality and stern, deliberate power, is now attempting to master the palette of joyful colours and bright emotions, as can be seen from such works as Iltner’s New Year’s Eve...of visual details...[that are] extremely beautiful and have poetic colour form.” (Zimenko, 1976: 224).

describe as being “too poetic” and which Eva also says is the case.¹³⁹ However, Eva says she has no objections in using poetics and would recognise poetics as part of her cultural identity. However, this poeticness is juxtaposed against “a Robotic counterweight, forming a sort of binary opposition” (Eva, interview, 6th April 2014). Eva was responding to the ‘poetic’ artistic influences from her homeland and contrasting this with the ‘robotic’ artistic influences that she came across on her residency in Tallinn.

She does this by locating the point between the two binary oppositions, making it into an object or a specific place. Here, she chose the cube to express this location between poeticness and roboticness. On the one hand, it is poetic with its ebbs and flows, peaks and folds across the room – resembling a musical score with high and low notes. On the other hand, this installation resembles roboticness due to the mechanical precision and similarity of each individual cube. Even though some are slightly different blues, they are all the same size and shape. These two oppositions are brought together here to show how something new can be generated, a third space – something in-between yet also different to either one. This shows how these different homes do not have to be connected; there can be a disconnect between them that they notice and then depict in their art. Propping home and away against each other, again, can show what is distinct about each. Art becomes a home-making or place-making activity – either to place them across multiple homes or places or to make them feel at home when away, or to question home on the other hand – making it an object of critique rather than one of feeling of romanticism and longing.

This piece illustrates Leuthold’s (2010) concept of how oppositions in artwork create new meaning, and for artists this allows a clearer understanding on the meaning of home. As Leuthold (2011: 64) argues, “oppositions between different cultures” in fact “reveal connections”. I have found that some of these artists reveal connections and contrasts between different cultures; oppositions between cultures can also clarify the meaning of as well as location of home. This is also due to their double or multi perspective, or ‘third space’ (Bhabha, 2012), gained through regular mobilities. This demonstrates migrant transnationalism in terms of breaking down cultural boundaries, which they do in their art and in their community formations that reach beyond ethnic boundaries. The multiple ties,

¹³⁹ In Chapter 4, Ieva Astahovska (interview, 9th June 2014) says that Latvian art is about emotion and poetics: “Latvian art abides by this notion of the poetical.”

interactions, and exchanges of these artist diasporas in their lives is then illustrated in their art. These artworks are then also moving, so hence there is movement of these multi-cultural ideas and perspectives.

5.3.2 Illustrations of Movement

Taking part in multiple, successive routes and onward migrations have led to some of these artists having multiple roots across the EU. This happens after having spent a considerable amount of time in several places and returning to these places regularly in-between trips for exhibitions or projects. It is important to note that each of my respondents had a distinct set of roots, with particular reasons for these, and different ways of forming attachments to or forming roots in places.

As with Eva who is affected by each travel, Vineta more directly explains how this affects her art. Vineta refers to her own personal experience of travel, how it affects her and how it subsequently has effects on her artwork. As Vineta is attached to different places, which is reflected in her art: Vineta (interview, 5th December 2013) says “each new painting creates a new space”. Not only do diaspora fix and embed themselves in the immediate surroundings and connect out to distant places, but artists also do this in artwork. This also relates to Tsagourousinou (2004) who argues diaspora can create new spaces: these artist communities create new multicultural and multiethnic transnational networks but also evoke transnational spaces in artworks. However, Vineta hesitates to say that travel changes her entirely as she thinks that new ideas and experiences will be appropriated by her in relation to her ‘innate light’ or perspective. Instead, she thinks a combination is generated and says of artists in general: “as well as taking inspiration and your innate ‘light’ from homeland some artists take inspiration from travel, and their production changes according to these mobilities” (ibid.). There is a combination of connections and attachments to homeland and elsewhere after going abroad. These connections and attachments go with them in their movements but are changing all the time depending on where they are and type of association they have with the place(s).

“One of most important constituents of my work is travel. I view travel as an experience of seeing and expanding knowledge, dependent on individual viewpoint and cultural context. Looking, as the first step of communication, helps to define one’s location. The distance and the time offered by the residencies and workshops

that I have been involved in are preconditions as well as key turning points in my practice. Leaving home, one sets a distance from the past, which later contributes to lessons about gaining freedom, discovering one's identity and playing with it in new contexts. Travel has also forged a new perspective on my experiences and helped to evaluate the knowledge I've gained, contributing to my growth as a person." (Vineta, interview, 5th December 2013).

Furthermore, Vineta's understanding of home is heightened after travel. Travel heightens her thoughts about home because she realises what it means for her: she says it locates her and allows her to understand more about herself. This is because, as she said in her quote above, travel locates her: this is because she can discover more and then use this in her art in new contexts as she can 'look' from a different perspective. Her time in New York, Bremen and shorter trips for international shows and residency programs to Amsterdam, Rome, Paris and Dublin clarify her position in relation to her immediate place vis-à-vis the other places she has lived in, she becomes clearer about her perspective on host cultures vis-à-vis home culture, and she is more sure of her transcultural position. Distance from her homeland provides clarity on such issues; from afar, she can be creative with issues and illustrate them in artwork in creative ways. The spaces illustrated in Figure 17 (see p.191) and Figure 18 (see p.192) represent continual movement, as limbo or non-places such as the escalator – just a way to move from one point to another.

Vineta's embeddedness in Latvia, yet, connections and attachments to elsewhere is a positionality or spatiality that is inherent in transnational diasporas - invariably integrated or integrating into the host society and still connecting back to homeland. Vineta, who has lived in New York and Bremen, feels she can be embedded in Latvia as well as elsewhere. "I believe that there is a possibility to maintain a position which allows you to feel deeply connected to different cultures and places and to have one's roots in homeland at the same time." (Vineta, interview, 5th December 2013). Vineta returned to Latvia after studying and living in New York and Bremen, so she has contacts in and attachments to both places. These contacts and attachments meant she was able to return subsequently to both places, in order to "take part in various art projects regularly" (ibid.). This shows that return migrations can be part of a larger process of travelling and regular out and return movements rather than a final or regressive movement.

However, there is not the same connection to each place and roots are not the same in all past or current places of residence. I found that many of these artists leave homeland and then make another home in the host country. But whilst Tsagourousinou (2004) talks about diaspora's potentials and how they can create new spaces and transnational connections across borders, they also have multiple and different degrees of attachments to a range of places – which then has an effect on the communications many of these artists make and the nature of the transnational spaces in which they work. This notion of having different amounts of home feelings to different places also adds another dimension to Ahmed's et al. (2003) concept of transnational homes as well as Brah's (1996) understanding of a homing desire.

It is not only place that affects Vineta, but also experiences including meeting people, collaborating and generating ideas together. Roots form in places due to relations with people, as well as due to time spent there. Vineta (ibid.) says “all the experiences and the people I met at the Triangle workshop [in New York], the synthesis of all the elements of the workshop has a long-term impact in my life” (ibid.). She has connections to people in different places and takes part in collaborations in different places past and present that connect her across spaces. She also gains new relationships through each of her trips, and this transnational network she works in everyday has an effect in her, shown by her saying it has a ‘long-term impact’. Moreover, maintaining connections with and social ties to the New York and Bremen means she can keep her roots there.

“My findings in visual art apply also to certain philosophical issues. Recent work is the result of thinking about space and the infinite extent of the borders, making it visible, and thus experienced. Space, which stops a time or on the contrary it runs in a front exciting a look up in perspective infinity. Space which creates security or appearance of it. People, finding themselves in perpetual motion, form their relationships and trajectory of movement closely in line with spatial conditions. Whereas, the perception of space varies according to the place from which it is viewed, experience, perception and countless other conditions. As M.Merlow-Ponty has stated ‘painting mix all of our categories: essence and existence, unreal and real, visible and invisible in a layer in front of our own carnal nature, producing similarity silent meaning of a dreamy world.’ The same way each

new painting creates a new spaces, so far nonexisted place where the initial impulse has served as an everyday item or photo recorded gaze.” (Vineta, interview, 5th December 2013).

Her artworks in Figure 17 and 18 reflect her thoughts on space and location as well as how she feels in a transnational, mobile position in-between all these places. Discussing the space she works and communicates across, she says that this provides her with security and borders. These are not political or territorial borders, but borders that are defined by the outer edges of her spaces she works in and residences she has or has had. She refers to artists in general when saying people are continuously travelling – who form relations and make movements that relate to their spaces. Certain spatial conditions are always at play, though, such as the politics of inclusion and exclusion across the EU or with the global art market that dictates where art centers are, where art is sold, where events happen, and where money flows. This has effects on the spaces these artists work in and how they form relations and make movements that relate to their spaces. Her ideas on space and motion are clearly visible in her artworks, including ‘Pātrinājums II’ (Acceleration II) and ‘Go with the Light’ that are shown in Figures 17 and 18.

5.3.3 Commonalities and Contrasts

In the case of these artists, their right to access this type of multi-directional travel and multi-sited homes across the EU - without need for passports or requiring working visas - determines how they form attachments to places. They are able to make multiple homes, and subsequently plant many roots, because they have the right to remain in and work for as long as they wish in any EU member-state and because they are free to return to their homeland whenever they wish.¹⁴⁰ For some, this affects their feelings of home elsewhere as well as how their feelings towards homeland can change. I found that all of those I spoke to want to feel at home somewhere – either to one place, several places or feel at home in travel. They all have a ‘homing desire’ but not all of them had this homing desire necessarily to only their ancestral homeland as Brah (1996) conceives.

¹⁴⁰ An EU national or resident is entitled to work - for an employer or as a self-employed person - in any EU member-state without needing a work permit. They have the same rights as a national of the country, notably with regards to access to employment, pay, and benefits facilitating access to work. Being able to go ‘back home’ to Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius has been made easier with cheaper transport and faster technology, that allows them to communicate with family and friends or travel back regularly.

I found that a lot feel they can keep their roots in their homeland through maintaining connections and through participating in the art scene, and they do not feel they must choose or give up their roots when moving out of the Baltic States or when moving onto the next place. Moreover, a lot feel they can maintain multiple roots to past and present homes, as their homes are sites of connection. As well as working in the immediate surroundings many are also communicating with people elsewhere, in regards to events, projects or collaborations that they are developing for the next show or with other artists who live elsewhere in the EU.

I found that going abroad in fact heightens understandings about homeland. Some artists and arts professionals I interviewed said that there are benefits of the distance from familiarity and habitual daily routines this provides. Lecturer at the Estonian Academy of Arts, Eve (interview, 5th June 2013), says “physical space gives you mental space. It shows you what is distinct about home.” Some artists learn not only about other cultures and themselves but, in turn, learn about what home means to them and what are the pertinent issues in their homeland. Laura reiterates the points made by arts professionals by describing what she gains from her mobilities, which is “confidence. It opens your eyes and allows you to see problems here in Eastern Europe.” (Laura, interview, 7th June 2013). For many, including Laura, going away and the distance this provides, in fact, heightens their understanding of what home means to them, where it is, and what is happening in their homeland. Travel affects many of the artists I interviewed; for some, “it changes them” (Tamara, interview, 5th June 2013) and they acquire “international vibes” (Inga, interview, 4th May 2013). This then has an effect on what they discuss in artworks. This is confirmed by Latvian artist Dita, who says “art is very much influenced by travel. Travel is inspiring in general, it is a way to gather impressions and my impressions appear in my art.” (Dita, interview, 10th August 2013). This shows how travel can act as a development process for artists, akin to that of learning. Owner of *Gallery Alma* in Riga, Astrida (interview, 11th May 2013), says it is “like learning, you understand your personality”.

As well as travel that is viewed and experienced differently, the meaning of home is also viewed differently amongst the artists I interviewed. As well as being about attachments to a place due to time spent there, I found that it is linked to their practice and connections with friends or coworkers. These artists have different relationships with their roots in

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, whereby some feel elsewhere is more of a home than their homeland but others who have lived abroad for over a decade but still feel rooted - and only rooted - to their homeland. Also, while some feel they can only have one set of roots to one place, others feel they can have multiple roots. In this respect, roots do not only mean the place that is associated with ancestry, bloodline, family, upbringing, or country of origin. The formation of roots also can be where they are now or where their current ties are to work or associations to friends or to a studio. As Castles (2000: 5-6) argues, it need not be a “single event” but a “life-long” process that can be repeated over many years. This is often the case with artists who make multiple onward migrations or return regularly to Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. This is because many of these artists are also seemingly rooted where they are living but they actually have many links to cities across the EU. This is what Clifford terms as the “hybrid natives” (Clifford, 1997: 19). They are part of a transborder community because they want to find people who have similar interests as them, or who will help them progress their career and become part of their network. This means that home is not only in the physical place, i.e the immediate surroundings and buildings where artists live, and their affiliation and attachment to place is not tied to one singular location.

5.4 Summary

This visual analysis of a selection of artworks has considered a leitmotif that can be described as a ‘homing aesthetics’. This can be seen as a particular approach, whereby artwork and the process of art making is used to work through issues pertaining to the meaning and location of home for each artist. This has included an exploration of how artworks create transnational spaces by combining cultural influences or using the distance of living abroad in order to depict issues about their homeland. This leitmotif shows that travelling artists do respond to new places and document their experiences and highlight comparisons between cultures in artwork. Furthermore, these artists’ travels and migrations enhance their thoughts and understandings of the meaning of home and they can understand their relationship to homeland more clearly due to distance gained.

Due to their multiple travels and migrations rather than singular permanent migration, they move beyond the dual bind of being between ‘here’ and ‘there’. This is because, as Ossman (2013) argues, individuals are no longer in a double bind between ‘here’ and ‘there’ after second migrations and, as I argue, they must consciously decide where their roots and

homes are in order to make sense of their position and their varying associations and levels of relationships with these places. Some of these artists make sense of 'their place' - that is not necessarily fixed to one location - through their practice, by creating artworks that reflect the intercultural situations in which they live and work.

This is a position from where these artists can combine many cultural influences in their artwork. This is how artist diasporas create new spaces, to take from Tsagarousianou's (2004) point about diaspora's potentials in the host society, as their cultural texts can provide new perspectives on each culture respectively. Rather than non-places, these so-called in-between spaces are connecting spaces that connect an artist's multiple residences, homes and attachments across space and time. A key theme in artworks came out of what they told me in interviews and what I saw in their artworks; I found that many artists visualise experiences and new information from the current place they are in but also combine this with their own knowledge or influences from homeland as well as additional places that have influenced their artwork along their career. Bringing these influences together is creative, as this evokes a transnational space. Importantly, with the representations formed through these varying spatialities - and forming cross-cultural meanings - artists are creating new meanings of home and new more globally-situated depictions of their homeland.

Both routes and roots are important in artistic practice. Many of these artists are not uprooted or detached from place entirely, yet, are not rooted only in one place necessarily. As with many of these artists, they are still rooted in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia but also have roots elsewhere. This is often the case due to their type of routes that they take part in over many years in order to progress in their career, as a way to keep up with and stay on the global art market. While roots do precede routes (Clifford, 1997) in the traditional sense, where for some Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius will be used as their main base that they make their mobilities out from, others use other places as their central node and from where they travel out from regularly.

The next chapter explores ideas to do with the geoeconomics of the global art market from these artists' perspectives. It is important to not only explore artists' mobilities but also address the people and structures that are in control of where and how they move. It assesses global market forces and how these pressure artists to be mobile and make homes in certain places. This chapter refers to what Cresswell (2010) terms a 'politics of mobility' as there are particular routes, paces, and motives in terms of where and how many of these artists move.



Figure 8: Ieva Epnere, 'Mikrorajons', 2007

Photograph. 595x595cms.



Figure 9: Ieva Epnere, 'The Green Land', 2010

Photograph, 600x494cms.



Figure 10: Egle Budvytyte, 'Choreography for the Running Male', Vilnius, 2012

Performance for Mindaugas Triennial, the 11th Baltic Triennial of International Art, 2012

Photography by Ieva Budžeikaitė.



Figure 11: Egle Budvytyte, 'Choreography for the Running Male', Sydney, 2014

Performance in public space, for the Sydney Biennale, 2014

Photography by Rasa Juškevičiūtė.



Figure 12: Kriss Salmanis, 'North by Northeast', 2013

Installation in the Latvian Pavilion for the 55th Venice Biennale.

Installation by Kriss Salmanis and photographs by Kaspars Podnieks. Curated by Anne Barlow, Courtenay Finn, Alice Tifentale.

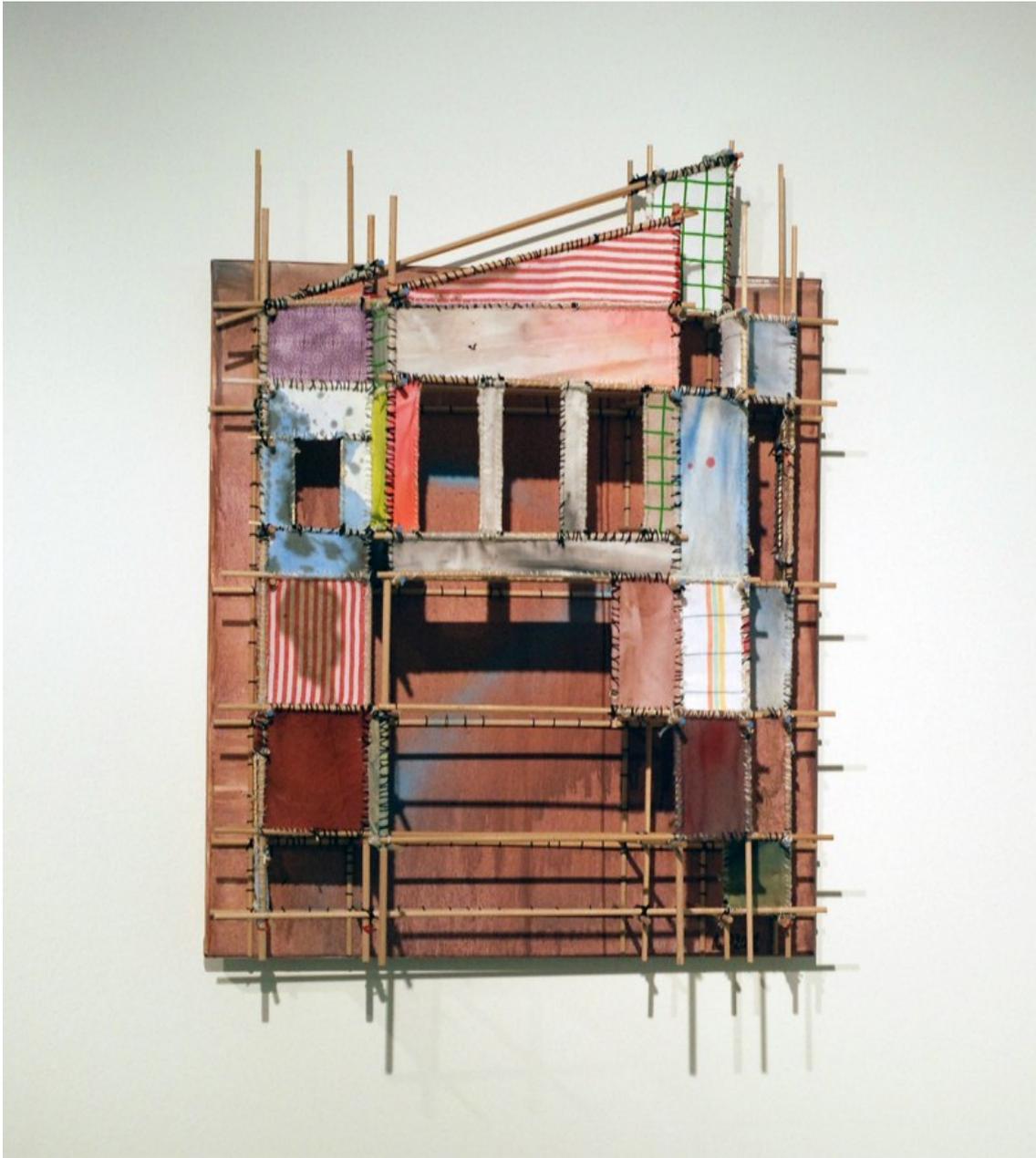


Figure 13: Laura Pöld, 'A Study of Homes', 2012

Scale model object, including wood, stretchers, canvas, acrylic, sewing, wires, 285x285cms.



Figure 14: Laura Pöld, 'Himmelblau', 2013

Video still, part of the installation exhibition entitled 'Unörte'.



Figure 15: Laura Pöld, 'Unörte', 2013

My own photograph, taken on 11th September 2013.

View of the installation entitled 'Unörte', from the exhibition 'Laura Pöld/Sigita Daugula' at *Galerie Ulrike Hrobsky*, Vienna.



Figure 16: Eva Vevere, 'Poetic Robotism', 2009

Interactive installation at *KIM? Contemporary Art Centre* in Riga.

Light and dark blue moveable boxes.



Figure 17: Vineta Kaulaca, 'Pātrinājums II' (Acceleration II), 2010

Painting, Acrylic, 120x150cms.



Figure 18: Vineta Kaulaca, 'Go With the Light', 2011

Painting, Oil on Canvas, 150x120cms

Chapter 6: Getting into the Global Art Market

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the broader context and situation in which these artists are working, providing analysis on the broader structures within which they must work and influencing how and where they feel 'at home'. This chapter investigates how the global art market has effects on artists' travel patterns and their placement of homes across the EU, coercing them to make economic homes whilst having to leave - what is for some - their emotional home. Artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia face geoeconomic barriers in their homelands as well as barriers in language, in getting onto the global art market, and in making themselves feel at home abroad. The global art market is where artists sell artworks and is how they can become visible internationally through participating in biennales and art fairs. The global art market makes these artists' mobilities strategic and purposeful, designating certain cities as either art centers or peripheries. Their ways of moving across the EU are linked to a geoeconomics that determines their routes, speeds, and motives. Many artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia must make transnational mobilities and multi-cross-cultural networks due to the global art market that is multi-sited, with flows of money as well as circuits of biennales and global art fairs. But what effect does the global art market have on these artists' feelings of being 'at home' or struggles in making new homes abroad?

Whilst Chapter 4 explored the transnational practices of artists on returning to their homelands and artist diasporas' connections with their homeland in terms of and how this is transforming Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, Chapter 5 assessed artists' experiences and resultant understandings of home in their words and artworks, this penultimate chapter looks at how artists' transnational mobilities and networks are structured and largely determined by the global art market, having to make multiple homes and multi-cross-cultural networks that span beyond territorial borders as well as ethnic boundaries. Drawing on topics already discussed in the two previous chapters, this chapter assesses both transnational mobilities and subsequent multi-cross-cultural networks by focusing on: Estonian artist Kris' hypermobilities, subsequent multiple bases, and her resultant understandings of the meaning of home; Estonian artist Laura's process of integration and the struggles she faces after migrating to Vienna but also the subsequent increase in mobilities she is able to take part in across the region; and Vineta

and Margus who say how it is common to work abroad due to economic and government situation in the Baltic States. This means I start and finish Part Two of this thesis by talking about the transition during and since the Soviet Union and effects on artists who are from this region. These three artists show why many artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are moving and the restrictions they encounter. Also, they are exemplars of those artists who are either (1) continually travelling from A to B to C, (2) those who have migrated in order to increase the region in which they can work, and (3) those who are based in Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius and connect out digitally and send art out from here.

Overall, this chapter explores both sides of the art world - the global art market and individual artists in order to understand how much influence the global art market has on those artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, in terms of how they move, how they place physical homes, and how they then feel about the meaning of home. By using these two perspectives, it fills the gap in existing literature on art markets (Degen, 2013; Robertson, 2005; Adam, 2014; Codell, 2008) by coupling the broad, macro-level of discussion on global art markets with the close-up, micro-level that is presented here through semi-structured interviews and participant observation with individual artists. Before discussing the three artists in turn, in terms of their transnational mobilities, networks and struggles in getting onto the global art market, there first needs to be an assessment of the cultural and economic geographies of the global art market, which designates certain places as 'art centers' and makes artists go to these places if they want to 'be seen'.

6.2 Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius Art Scenes vis-à-vis the Global Art Market

The global art market itself is not fixed to any one place, as it includes a form of production and trade that is detached from a singular place. Exhibitions, art fairs and biennales happen successively across EU cities and arts professionals (who are moving between these events) orchestrate these events. The money that is generated at these events is exchanged across borders, creating transnational flows and global circuits of capital, which many artists must follow.¹⁴¹ This provides reasons for why many of these

¹⁴¹ The increase of biennials has made it a global phenomenon. Artists, arts professionals and artworks move between these locations, creating an art circuit. For the Baltic States, connections are made with the

artists travel in the way they do and shows how this is determined by the geoeconomics of the global art market. I found there to be flows of money, capital, power and influence with which these artists have to contend, in terms of sales, how long they can spend in one place, and where they rent studios. This affects their understanding of and feeling of 'being at home', as they often must have multiple homes and be a part of many different transnational communities.

The visualisation in Figure 19 (see p.231) demonstrates how there are multiple global art fairs at different times of the year (in 2014), which means artists and artworks need to move 'in tune' to this art calendar. For instance, there are art fairs in Lisbon in May; Amsterdam, Basel and Vilnius in June; Copenhagen in August; Berlin in September; London, Paris and Budapest in October. Alongside this, I spoke to many arts professionals who said they must travel in these directions to make artists, artworks and the local art scenes visible on an international level. The map also shows how the majority of EU art fairs located in Western Europe, although, some are being established in Central and Eastern Europe such as *Art Market Budapest* (established in 2011) and *ArtVilnius* (established in 2009). This asymmetry in amount, size, and caliber of events across the EU means that migration out, or at least regular mobilities, are a necessity for the majority of artists from Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. The global art market is expanding geographically, namely eastwards, but are the Baltic art worlds included and is it possible to live in the Baltic States and be an international artist? What I found was that establishing artists need to move out in order to get onto the global art market as well as form their transnational network; once this has been established, they can return and be based in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, as was discussed in Chapter 4 with the examples of Sigita and Žygimantas.

On the one hand, it can be argued that today there is a more geographically dispersed art market.¹⁴² This is backed up by Degen (2013) who states the art market's infrastructure has proliferated globally. This would suggest that more artists can come from or be based

Venice Biennial, Manifesta, and Documenta. Alongside this, other important connections are to Brussels, Bremen, Ghent and Vienna. Communications between curators and directors of galleries pass between these cities in order to organize events. Artworks also travel between these cities in order to be exhibited in the shows.

¹⁴²Quemin (2006) confirms this, stating that in both 2000s and 2010s the 100 artists enjoying the greatest international recognition were concentrated in 22 countries, but they represented only 14 countries in 1979 and even 1997.

in different cities that are not necessarily ‘art centers’ and still be successful ‘international artists’. This demonstrates a movement towards giving power back to (re)establishing art scenes outside art centers, where cities like Tallinn evoke “a global sense of place” (Massey, 1994: 156) where they are interconnected with other cities across the EU. This is reaffirmed by Zabel’s (2013: 286) point, mentioned in Chapter 2, that no EU city feels like a self-sufficient center, for example, as the exhibition program is a reflection of what is happening in other cities. However, not all agree that the global art market is becoming more geographically dispersed; Kocur (2011: 2) argues that globalization and increased circulation of members in the global economy has a “negligible” impact on these upcoming regions. This is because, as Kocur (2011: 5) argues, flows in the global art market still take the same routes as previously, reaffirming the “historical inequalities” or power relations in relationships in the art world. As a result, regions outside the established hubs struggle and remain what Mosquera (1994: 105) terms “zones of silence”.

Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes are affected by money, geography as well as the power relations of the global art market, which shows there are barriers and disparities within a seemingly global(izing) field of flows.¹⁴³ Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius can be considered as outside the ‘center’ in terms of the global art market and, as such, there are relatively lower budgets for exhibition displays, not as many flows coming into Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius and relatively fewer international shows than in art centers.¹⁴⁴ The Baltic States’ geographic position, namely a political and economic geography set by the global art market, means the events they put on must have impact in order to get noticed by the art centers. “We have to make loud statements that matter” Kestutis says (interview, 30th

¹⁴³ Discussions to do with growth and expansion in the art market are often on a global scale. This expansion is allowing places including China, India, Argentina, and Mexico to be recognized as the new emerging art worlds. With regards to Asia, Robertson (2011: 1) argues these are the “emerging markets” of contemporary art, sprouting up in Asia in particular.

¹⁴⁴ During the four days of ArtVilnius’15, held at the exhibition and congress centre LITEXPO with 18.5 thousand visitors, 100 artworks were sold for €200,000. The art fair was also visited by foreign collectors. French collectors were invited by Eric Schlosser, French art advisor to ArtVilnius’15, and who bought several artworks. By contrast, at Art Basel *Pave Gallery* sold seven Robert Rauschenberg pieces for prices between \$450,000 - \$1 million to US buyers and a Russian collector. In the Baltic States, “galleries necessarily have limited budget and ambition. Promotion is flimsy, exhibition catalogues the exception not rule. Prices, by common consent, are at least 30% less than they would be in Western Europe for works of similar quality. Works offered by *Temnikova & Kasela Gallery* can reach €50,000, but are often nearer €5,000. Rooster Gallery in Vilnius shows work of some outstanding young talent, but seldom sell for over €3,000. It is understandably tough for galleries to generate the finance needed to take part in international fairs and boost the value of their artists. And foreign buyers are important – accounting for between 30% and 75% of most galleries’ clientele.” (Hewitt, 2015).

August 2013), that reverberate and are taken note of internationally. Sigita also discusses these issues of art centers versus peripheries using a comparison between Vienna and Riga:

“Vienna is a high cultural place but is a province. Though, you can’t compare Vienna to London or Berlin. You do though see contemporary and international artists here [in Vienna]...This type of art never comes to Riga. The best was Joseph Beuys sketches. 2nd or 3rd rate art comes here. So artists here need to go out and see what happens elsewhere.” (Sigita, interview, 5th September 2013).

The artist profession is innately precarious, but for artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia there is the added precariousness of politico-economic geography determined by the global art market that says it is not an art center.¹⁴⁵ Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes have less collectors or dealers who are buying artwork, relatively less international curators or funding available, government budgets are lower than in Western Europe, and the pricing of artwork is lower than in Western Europe. Even though there are initiatives, such as the *Estonian Art Development Centre*, who are trying to develop commercial galleries in Tallinn and initiating international art fairs such as *ARTVILNIUS*, money flows are nevertheless still not equal and are more concentrated in Western Europe.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a politics of mobility in terms of the reason behind why these artists from outside the art centers are going to certain places at particular points in their career. Disparities between Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes compared with art centers has to do with their establishing art markets. There has been development in competitiveness of galleries that are seeing art more as business, due to international strategies of governments and the private sector. The development of art as

¹⁴⁵ There is a set of literature on precariousness (Dempster, 2014; Spyridakis, 2013; Denstedt, 2008; Goldring and Landolt, 2013; Costello and Freedland, 2014; Thornley et al., 2010). For instance, Dempster (2014) argues that the art world is created upon layers of uncertainty, Spyridakis (2013) and Denstedt (2008) observe a precarity in particular types of work, and there are those theorists (Goldring and Landolt, 2013; Costello and Freedland, 2014; Thornley et al., 2010) who look at the precarious lives of migrants. For instance, I found those who must travel due to being part of their installations or performances added another layer of precarity as well as the fact that with such work, it is not for sale. This influences where homes are and how they feel about home. My conceptualising of home also became more to do with politics, economics, barriers and struggles.

a business has been gradual for the Baltic States as, through history, art was state-sponsored as still is (relatively speaking) not seen as being closely linked to business. As editor of Estonian magazine *Kunst.ee*, Andreas (interview, 23rd January 2014), says “this type of person is yet to come - the one that’s like ‘I sold a piece at Frieze for £30,000 and fuck you’”. However, the increasing power of private proprietors, in Eastern Europe in particular, is noticed by Grzinić (in Kocur, 2011: 27), who argues “we can see art projects and exhibitions today that have several owners who establish contemporary art and artists as brands” and how this creates increasingly privatised ownership in places of previously public, state-run art worlds.¹⁴⁶ Even though there have been developments in art as a business in the Baltic States - from Sigita’s point-of-view, this is still different to Western Europe and some aspects still need developing. Sigita says “it’s a money thing, as they don’t have as much money as collectors in USA, Britain, and Germany, so they don’t have enough money to buy artwork of quality and money...Some are hiding their collections, which is idiocy because you have to promote your collection to raise it’s value” (Sigita, interview, 5th September 2013).¹⁴⁷ Generally speaking, there are disparities in earnings between East and West Europe¹⁴⁸, which means collectors in Latvia will not have as much (relatively) to spend on artworks and making exhibitions. If they do not raise the value of the art by displaying it, then value of artists will not increase either - which does not help the fact that art prices are lower in Eastern Europe.¹⁴⁹ Their

¹⁴⁶ As well as the government funding for projects abroad (this is outlined in the next chapter), there is also private funding coming from different sources, such as local collectors/businessmen and banks as well as EU funding. Such as Latvian businessman turned collector, Janis Zuzans, who owns his own art gallery in Riga as well as sponsoring the annual Purvitis Prize. The Purvitis Prize, which awards 28,500 Euros to the winner, is supported by the SIA Alfor company. The members of the Purvitis Prize 2011 international jury were: Mara Lace, Director of Latvian National Museum of Art; Janis Zuzans, Chairman of the Board of SIA Alfor. For his collection, Janis acquires artworks by “a certain kind of detective work, with a certain number of ‘agents’ involved. It is the creation of lucrative contacts that provide useful information” (Janis, 2011). For example, Janis bought Sigita’s work entitled ‘A Grey Elephant’ in 2016, after being exhibited in a solo show at *Gallery Bastejs* in Riga. He has also previously bought six pieces of Sigita’s work, she told me.

¹⁴⁷ However, there are a few collectors in Latvia who do display their collections. For instance, Janis Zuzans has created his own private gallery and Guntis Belevics places his pieces into exhibitions in the *Latvian National Museum of Art*. This was the first exhibition of its type for the museum. Janis’ collection is displayed in *Mūkusalas Art Salon* in Riga, which Janis opened in 2011. This gallery also puts on temporary exhibitions in order to display pieces from the family’s collection. One of these exhibitions was entitled ‘Ulmanis-period new farmers’.

¹⁴⁸ If we compare the GDP per capita in Latvia and Germany in 2014, this stands at \$47,773 in Germany and \$23,574 in Latvia (World Bank, 2016). A study carried out by Magda, Rycx and Tojerow (2013) compared the structure and determinants of inter-industry wage differentials in Eastern and Western European countries (Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Spain compared with Latvia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia). To do so, they used an employer-employee data set, from the 2002 European Structure of Earnings Survey. Findings showed substantial differences in earnings across sectors in all countries.

¹⁴⁹ As Hewitt (2015) remarks “prices, by common consent, are at least 30% less than they would be in Western Europe for works of similar quality.” This “difference is to be expected in the price of a particular product in different countries. There are many reasons for this, including differences in excise duties and

transnational connections help them to develop but at the same time highlight their disparities with rest of EU.

Moreover, due to these artists coming from Eastern Europe and the associated geopolitics with this region, it is often also at the behest of curators and gallerists to represent them in the correct way on the international stage. This relates to Grzanic (in Kocur, 2011: 27) who says “regarding artists and artwork coming from the Eastern Bloc, some works are selected and made visible, but the social and political background in most cases is cut out.” How artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are represented, or often misrepresented, can have effects on how they integrate into new art communities and in finding a market for their artwork abroad.¹⁵⁰ The artists’ background can be misrepresented due to curators’ abilities to ‘curate’ the theme of an exhibition and the relation between artworks through their arrangement. For instance, Sigita said a gallerist introduced her or ‘sold’ her as a post-soviet artist: she was not pleased with this identification that fixed and associated her with the geopolitical past of the region and felt that this type of (mis)representation would not help the new generation who want to break from this past. The history and geopolitics of this region has an effect on how these artists are received in Western Europe, and means these artists in particular come up against certain barriers when trying to get onto global or more geographically Western art markets. This will be demonstrated through an account on Laura’s integration into the Viennese art market later in the chapter. Latvian artist Dita (interview, 10th August 2013) says “in some way Eastern Europeans are not very popular among Western Europeans, so it is not easy for our artists to get recognition in the west.” They come across difficulties due to associations and representations that stem from an anti-immigration and post-Soviet rhetoric still present in Western European societies.¹⁵¹

value added tax (VAT), national production conditions (for products in which cross-border trade is not significant) and exchange rates if relevant” (Eurostat, 2016).

¹⁵⁰ The roots of these artworks that are travelling around the EU in exhibitions or from buyer to buyer is not known often, because the PR and marketing systems or a dealer to represent these artists is not present. “The situation is each country appears, to an outsider, confusing and fragmented – Vilnius alone has around 20 galleries – with no dealer associations to co-ordinate marketing and communication” (Hewitt, 2015).

¹⁵¹ This can be seen in the news media, with headlines such as ‘Number of Eastern European migrants working in the UK surges’ (*Telegraph*, 2016) and ‘Racist flyers posted in Homes of Eastern Europeans after Brexit’ (*The Express*, 2016).

These misrepresentations, barriers with getting onto the global art market, and difficulties in gaining recognition due to geopolitics of their countries of origin is not dissuading them from travelling and migrating to Western Europe. However, some economic and political factors to do with the global art market are influencing which cities they are choosing. One of the main trends of these artists' routes from Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius is that they are not limited to only one destination and do not only follow one main well-trodden route; they are not only going in the direction of established art centers like London or Berlin. Instead, each artist has their own spatialities that they create through their multi-cross-cultural connections across the EU.

Nevertheless, while their movements are not going in one direction, there are trends of artists from Lithuanian, Latvia and Estonia travelling to particular cities like Vienna, Brussels, Bremen or Basel. This is particular to artists from Eastern Europe because it is a mid-point between art peripheries and art centers and provides a launchpad for those wanting to get onto the global art market. These cities are used as gateways to the West or as access routes to more major cities and art centers; artists strategically place themselves in these particular cities that are in close proximity to other 'key' cities, but are still affordable and where there is not so much competition from a large number of artists trying to get onto the art market.¹⁵² By contrast to Ardittis (1994: xvii) who argues Austria and Germany are "transit countries" within the larger East-West migration process for economic migrants looking for better working situation in the UK, this research has found that these locations are strategic bases for those artists I interviewed. Before discussing how Laura and Kris use strategically-located EU cities to progress their career, I want to discuss Kostas' experience of living in Vilnius and working from here to see if he thinks it is possible to be an international artist from this base.

6.3 Struggles and Strategic Ways of Working

This section looks at how some artists struggle to become 'professional' and 'international' whilst living in Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius. It also looks at the difficulties working as an artist in Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius due to the current economic situations, establishing art scenes and issues with a lack of funding. This will be dealt with in terms

¹⁵² Ieva Epnere did an artist residency in Brussels and lived in Vienna; Laura Toots went to Bremen for an ERASMUS year abroad; Laura Pöld lives and exhibits in Vienna; Kris Lemsalu has a base in and exhibits in Vienna and also exhibits in Basel; Žygimantas Augustinas connects to and has exhibitions in Vienna. They did not seem to want to live in the major art centers due to high competition, number of artists, and high living costs. They thought there was the same amount of chance of having success in a slightly smaller city.

of how these factors affect them and their decisions on whether to stay or go elsewhere in the EU for work. These issues are explored with reference to and an analysis of the experiences of Latvian artist Vineta and Estonian artist Margus. The struggles associated with being an artist from Lithuania, Latvia or Estonia have impacts on how some place roots and their overall feelings of homeland 'as home'. Developments in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, and the home cultures in more general terms, can change their feelings and attachments to these places. The situation and state of these art scenes is also a key factor in making artists want and feel they need to move abroad and find a home elsewhere, i.e a home where they can work more comfortably and sustainably.

On returning to their homeland, some of my respondents said that they felt the difference in terms of budget and scope of exhibitions and overall way of living; going away only further highlighted for them the barriers and compromises present in the Baltic States. For many, home is not able to be Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius without compromise, due to the economic struggles and the establishing art scenes which means they often have to find funding sources or buyers for their works elsewhere. Latvian artist Vineta makes clear the struggles present with working as an artist in Riga, which was put into perspective through her time spent working and studying abroad. She says that her way of surviving is to "keep moving around almost permanently" and to "return back to these places in order to take part in projects regularly" (Vineta, interview, 5th December 2013). After graduating from the *Latvian Academy of Arts*, she studied in USA and Germany, and then subsequently returned to the USA to take part in *Triangle Artists Workshop* in New York and *Raid Projects* in Los Angeles and to the UK on several occasions to participate in *Braziers International Workshop*, one year in Dublin for a residency which led to a solo exhibition, and has spent time in Paris on a residency program.¹⁵³ Vineta got onto the global art world and received international exposure through winning international art competitions: "most of my projects abroad are results of international competition when my work was chosen among others by international

¹⁵³ Vineta has spent more than a year in the USA in order to study at Humboldt State University (CA) and she has since returned to the USA in order to take part in Triangle Artists Workshop (NYC) and Raid Projects (Los Angeles). Participation in the Braziers International Artists workshop in 2001 brought her to the UK. Since then she has returned regularly to the UK in order to take part in various art projects. For instance, for the Artist in Residency at *ARC* and *Art Space Portsmouth*, organized by Braziers International Artists Workshop & Arts Council England's (Portsmouth), for a group show "Stupor Mundi" at *APT Gallery* (London), and for a solo exhibition *My Eye Travels* at *Studio 1.1* gallery (London). She has also spent six months in Dublin in order to take part at Artists Work Programme at the *Irish Museum of Modern Art*, which concluded with a solo exhibition at the *Process Room* of the museum at the end of the residency. She has also travelled to Paris several times in order to complete the Artists Residency in the *Cite Internationale des Arts* and to present my work to the art circle of Paris.

jury” (ibid.). International recognition from juries and panels is important for getting onto the global art world. Also important is to maintain contacts in each place Vineta has stayed, as this has allowed her to return there on subsequent occasions. This connection is made with contacts abroad initially through the web, using email or Facebook; Vineta only meets with the curator or gallerist in person at the final stage of the project. In most cases, she stays in touch with these contacts via email and facebook afterwards. This means that, in fact, both digital and material mobilities are used. Even with the development of the web, material mobilities are still required for their work.

Vineta’s relation to art runs deeper than this though and began much earlier in her life than the time of these more recent studies, projects and residencies. Vineta illustrates the fact that there are struggles and barriers for Latvian artists trying to establish themselves. Art is part of her roots and she cannot disassociate who she is from her interest in art. Vineta says “I was interested in art, almost since I do remember myself.” Due to this, she must contend with the struggles that are associated with the artist profession and becoming an artist in Latvia. As Vineta says,

“There were a lot of funding issues but that didn't stop me from becoming an artist...I have to admit that the peculiarities of economic development of my home country actually made me experience difficulties of solving funding issues as there were very limited possibilities for the state support for artists and the art market in Latvia was developing at its own pace.” (Vineta, interview, 5th December 2013).

This is a factor that made her feel she had to leave her home country in order to progress in her career and, in particular, to find funding sources. However, this is also problematic for artists from Latvia, as Vineta (ibid.) says, as there are “opportunities designed for the artists coming from the art centres which limit access for artists coming from peripheral countries.” It seems that their origin country does have some impact on gaining access to these provisions across the EU. Vineta’s (ibid.) overall opinion on working in Riga vis-à-vis more central locations also belies another tension: “it is hard to survive as an artist in peripheral countries as there are fewer opportunities compared to the art centres. On the contrary, there is less competition and intensity compared to art centres such as New York, London, Berlin and others which might create conditions for more relaxed attitude

and lifestyle.” There is a tension here because while the web is increasingly allowing artists to live and work in the Baltic States in terms of communicating and operating as an international artist (as was shown in discussion in Chapter 4 on the practices of Sigita and Žygimantas on returning to Riga and Vilnius), physical travel earlier on in their careers is a must for participating in exhibitions and gaining funding. This is especially the case for those who are establishing themselves by working to get onto the global art market and building their network of contacts.

Vineta has not permanently returned to Latvia and, instead, makes multiple, regular return migrations. She feels she can be embedded in Latvia as well as elsewhere, a positionality or spatiality that is inherent in transnational diasporas, as it requires a transnational imagination and practices in their everyday life. “I believe that there is a possibility to maintain a position which allows me to feel deeply connected to different cultures and places and to have one’s roots in homeland at the same time” (Vineta, interview, 5th December 2013). She is connecting to different places - both before, whilst, and after she has been to these places physically. This is made on a ‘deep’ level because she is not going there and then only connecting and communicating with homeland or the Latvian diaspora. Her reason for this is to truly experience these different cultures, to gain inspiration for her work, and to appreciate the heterogeneity and cultural mixtures of these places. Also, travelling and going to different environments or cultures is about meeting new people, collaborations with artists from different cultures and developing their practice in this way. As Vineta (*ibid.*) says, “all the experiences and the people I meet...the synthesis of all the elements has a long-term impact in my life.” She is affected by experiences but also by people - people and social relations also have an impact on how attached she feels to a place. This is reminiscent of Kris who feels at home once she feels that the place needs her, through forming bonds and relationships with people or groups in a certain place, which is discussed in the final section of this chapter. I will explore Vineta’s feelings about home and her artwork in more detail in the next chapter.

There are more funding provisions and more developed art infrastructure elsewhere in the EU, due to higher art budgets from governments as well as higher number of collectors. Some artists can see this more clearly once having lived abroad. It is more difficult to source funding for projects and to sell artworks in the Baltic States. Yet,

elsewhere in EU there is relatively more projects funded, larger funding budgets for each project, art as a business is more established and more people are buying art. That said, it is also difficult elsewhere and the general standard of life is higher, which means the needs of an artist and general living costs (studio rent, materials, tools) are also higher. This is why many of the artists I spoke to went to more western EU countries rather than other Eastern European countries; however, they went to the east of the west, in order to avoid high living costs, high levels of competition, and (relative) difficulty to get into the market.¹⁵⁴

For instance, Estonian artist Margus, who lives in Tallinn, has spent one year in London studying and has been to Latvia once but never to Lithuania - he says there are generally not many connections in this way; connections go west rather than to the neighboring Baltic States. Whilst there might be bilateral connections across the Baltic States, there are many more transnational connections made out west to the rest of the EU. This is a common finding from both artists and arts professionals in how they work, connect and travel - even if they do connect or travel to the other Baltic States, this will be in addition to working elsewhere in the EU. This links to what was discussed in Chapter 4, as during the early 1990s many were interested in establishing international collaborations and connections with Western Europe rather than with each other. Margus discusses his reason for going elsewhere in the EU:

“One of local disadvantages is that the contemporary art is almost exclusively dependent from government funding, also the most prestigious galleries and museums belong to the governmental institutions. Private galleries have very limited influence and also very limited appearance in the global art market; emerging artist-lead project-spaces struggle for survival and are also dependent from government support. This means that the Estonian art world lacks the basis for artistic middle-class: there are few well-established artists and a whole lot of hardly-surviving artists without much anyone in-between...so it becomes common to study and work abroad. As with increase of overall mobility, the

¹⁵⁴ I did not speak to anyone who had moved to Eastern and Central Europe, though, some artists such as Žygimantas had exhibitions of his artwork in Arad (Romania), Tuzla (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and Kaliningrad (Kaliningrad Oblast).

authority of local art institutions will probably decrease and personal contacts in global art world will gain bigger importance.” (Margus, Interview, 26th July 2013).

Social relations (which in this case also relate to economic and business relations) are the backbone of many of these artists’ success in getting onto the global art world, regardless of their contacts’ physical locations or cultural backgrounds. In fact, an artist is deemed more successful and more ‘international’ if they have links with different places, and this was shown with Thornton’s (2014) argument in Chapter 2. Even though a lot of contacts are made initially via email or Facebook, Margus also likes to meet people in person to generate a real communication and connection – he says he would like to stress the importance of “tête-à-tête” means of communication (Margus, Interview, 26th July 2013). His contacts are always changing as he starts new projects. Unlike Vineta whose contacts last long-term and she returns to these places regularly, Margus says his contacts are more changeable. Margus (ibid.) says “it has been quite sporadic. For example, my yet biggest and most representative exhibition was in New Zealand in *Gus Fisher Gallery* – things just turned out that way. Yet – I definitely cannot say that I have an international artistic career, neither do I have any consistent contacts with galleries or art institutions abroad.” Even those such as Margus who do not consider themselves ‘international artists’, they have been abroad and have worked abroad, but it might just not be consistent. Even though essentially a non-migrant, Margus is transnational and he has lived abroad previously. For Margus, who has a niche art style of conceptual performance art, he must find a community of common interest across the EU because there would not be enough people with this particular practice with same practice in one physical place.

As well as assessing why artists themselves feel they need to travel out or communicate out of in Baltic States, it is also important to understand arts professionals’ responses on whether it is about success or survival, a must or a choice. Art Dealer at *Arte Liberalis* in London, Anette (interview, 6th January 2014), who says they “definitely need to be mobile. If not, you are out of the game.” Similarly, Lecturer at *the Estonian Academy of Arts*, Eve (interview, 5th June 2013), says “you must go outside the country to collaborate”. In order to work, they feel that artists need to physically travel to make contacts and secure projects, as this would not be possible if they stayed only in Riga or

Tallinn. Estonian art historian, Anu (interview, 21st January 2014), takes a stronger position on this, arguing that it is a must: “the only way to survive is to get out.” Anu feels there are no opportunities for work in Estonia, so going abroad is the only option. However, other arts professionals say that it is the artist’s choice and they go due to push factors present in their homeland. Keeper of Contemporary Art at *KUMU Art Museum* in Tallinn, Liisa (interview, 22nd January 2014), says they want to get out of the ‘local narrow frames’; once they have ‘done everything’ at home, they naturally look to going elsewhere.

On a broader scale, moving regularly is just a natural part of the art world or living in Europe. In Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes today, “mobility becomes standard” (Kestutis, interview, 30th August 2013). It is not about either a must or a choice, but rather an expectation. However, with expectation comes pressure: “the best of them are well connected and in contact with the art world in different countries” (Anu, interview, 21st January 2014). For many establishing artists from Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius, they must take every opportunity wherever it is located and this necessitates that they are free from ties such as family commitments or having a second job. Only once they achieve international acclaim and become an established artist can they choose which exhibitions to do, or not to do; travel only then becomes about choice.

6.4 Laura Working Abroad

Within this broader context, I am now going to look at a close-up of an artist’s trials and tribulations of making a home abroad. This account encapsulates the way Laura migrates to a strategic place from where she can be more mobile, but how she also encounters struggles in making a home abroad, yet, how it needs to be home because it is the ‘right’ decision economic-wise and for her career progression. This section also addresses issues of Laura’s, in comparison to Sigita’s, experiences and connections away from homeland, selling artworks at an exhibition, and relationships with fellow artists as well as curator and gallerist. Furthermore, it shows gallerists and curators are not only gatekeepers but can also be a support system for artists and are part of their transnational network.

The close-up observation provides a view onto the experiences and emotions Laura and Sigita went through in the week leading up to the exhibition, entitled 'Laura Pold/Sigita Daugule' at *Galerie Ulrike Hrobsky* in Vienna.¹⁵⁵ This demonstrates the power relations and money flows within the global art market, which places constraints and struggles on individual's artistic practices in terms of travelling and home-making. It shows Laura's struggles and barriers in making a home abroad, by contrast to Sigita who comes by car and stays with friends for one week.¹⁵⁶ For Laura, homeland could not be Tallinn because of the economic situation and lack of career progression, yet, migration also did not prove to be an easy solution, due to language barriers and uncertainty over whether there was a market for her artwork in Vienna. Due to these factors, it took time for her to feel at home and for her to feel part of the art community in Vienna. Gallerist Ulrike did not have a conscious intension to bring together artists from Eastern Europe or the Baltic States, but nevertheless, they were invited to exhibit their work due to commonality of interests and the themes in their artwork.

On Monday morning, Laura and Sigita arrived at the gallery with their artworks. Sigita had her own car, with a "long back" as Laura said, a car tailored so that her paintings could fit in. Laura used one smaller car and one larger car, due to the size of the artworks. "Actually the gallerist helped" her bring her artwork to the gallery; she told me this after I asked whether it was friends' cars she had used to transport her artwork from her studio (where some works were stored) to the gallery (informal conversation, 9th September 2013). Laura (ibid.) said usually "they [gallerists/curators] say it is the artist's job to get their artwork to the gallery". But when she asked the gallerist, Ulrike, which transport would be good to use, Ulrike offered to help Laura. After bringing in the

¹⁵⁵ This observation conducted between 9th and 13th September 2013 follows an Estonian and a Latvian artist, who were exhibiting at a gallery run by an Austrian gallerist and who had commissioned an Austrian curator to make an opening speech. The gallerist, Ulrike, chose these two artists due to their oeuvre of work and current themes they were working with, which could be found online. The exhibition showcases Laura's work entitled 'Unörte' and Sigita's work entitled 'Graffiti'. When asked if having two artists from the Baltic States was 'intentional', gallerist Ulrike said it was 'incidental'. Sigita previously exhibited in their other gallery for young artists three years ago and Laura exhibited in the gallery one year ago.

¹⁵⁶ By contrast to Laura who now lives in Vienna and operates as an 'Austrian artist', Sigita stayed in Vienna for one week. Sigita stayed with friends in Vienna and so could go home anytime in her car. This also shows how travelling is not necessarily only about being elite or privileged – as Tamara Luuk (interview, 5th June 2013) said "if you don't have money you still find a way if you want to go" as, more importantly, it is about not being tied to any one place. Sigita makes herself as free as possible so that when an opportunity comes up anywhere across the EU she can travel straight away and for how long she wants or needs.

artworks, gallerist Ulrike and curator Maria left the gallery.¹⁵⁷ The atmosphere in the gallery at that moment was quite informal, with just Laura there and with all the artworks on the floor or on tables. The photograph in Figure 20 (see p.232) shows the view looking through the gallery from Gallery room 1 (which is the first room after entering the building from the street) with artworks propped up against the walls.

Laura especially liked one room where Sigita's works were because she felt "the structure of the room is good, it has clean lines and walls", whereas, the back room where she had her installation piece had a temporary wall positioned a few centimetres from of the actual wall (informal conversation, 9th September 2013). This judgment was also based on the fact that the first room was preferable for taking photographs as it was possible to see the whole room in the photograph. The exhibition space was very important to Laura, not only for her artwork but also for taking photographs of the artwork in order to document digitally afterwards. These were uploaded onto her webpage, Facebook page and, through this, seen by future potential gallery representatives, collectors or curators. (All access details for artists' websites can be found in Appendix A). This is her home online, documenting all she has done and where she has been exhibiting or on residencies since the beginning of her career; as well as linking to the past, it is also her link to her wider transnational network of contacts and future work potentials or possibility of expanding her transnational network.¹⁵⁸ This is different to the transnational network Ebaugh and Chafetz (2002) discuss when arguing that migrants communicate with those they left behind in their homeland. The transnational networks of artist communities include a mixture of many cultures and people of different nationalities, rather than only communicating with people in their homeland or only 'bringing two societies into one social field' as Basch et al (1994) argue. This also can be

¹⁵⁷ The gallerist and curator stayed for one hour to oversee the artists bringing in their artworks. Laura was then left on her own with the key to the gallery, giving her the ability to get on with preparation of her installation and arrangement of works alone in the gallery. The gallerist told Laura that she would be back at 6pm and that she must finish the installation by then and sort it into a position she wanted. Laura had sent photographs of her artworks to the gallery beforehand and they had decided on which room her main installation piece would be displayed. However, this piece is now in another room. By contrast to this change and upheaval of her works in the gallery, Laura said Sigita's work "looks good and fine – sorted" (informal conversation, 10th September 2013).

¹⁵⁸ This relates to literature on how the studio becomes home for artists (Fig, 2015; Smith, 2013; Rooney and Evans, 2015), and arguably today their website also becomes part of this, as their online home and connection point to their transnational network.

related back to discussion in Chapter 5, where I looked at how artworks created a sort of transnational space that brought two or more influences into the 'frame'.

On Tuesday morning in the gallery, Laura and Sigita were talking with one another, deciding where to place their artworks in the gallery. Laura said to me that they had been "doing a lot of talking today", including deciding which rooms would be best for which particular artworks (informal conversation, 10th September 2013). Laura and Sigita were going to combine their artworks in all four rooms of the gallery; then they decided it was not possible, as they just did not look right next to each other even though the themes of non-place and graffiti seem to relate. Laura had a theme that she has stuck to throughout this project, which she began working on six months ago. "First I had homes [as a theme] and now it is at the other end – non-places. Sometimes I don't see it and so I need friends to say it. I should have a distinct theme perhaps, though, I don't have this yet" (Laura, informal conversation, 10th September 2013). This relates to how she is influenced by everything that is new around her and adapts to each new environment, working as an Austrian artist when in Austria. "Vienna is also my home. I communicate there as an Austrian artist" (Laura, interview, 7th June 2013). This is in contrast to Sigita who mentions she has an unchanging 'Latvian light'. Laura took influences for the idea and theme of this exhibition from a previous exhibition in Tallinn, entitled 'Attempts to Stage a Landscape'. She (ibid.) says "I experimented with painting. Then I had a theme of non-place."

"an influence was perhaps the sticks from the Tallinn exhibition in June. As the seed of the idea. I then chose the blue colour. From the last exhibition something always comes. Everything in life connects to me, and it influences me. Dirty apartment for example. Always these travellings. With every new exhibition, I have a new studio so this means a new approach, I'm influenced by the studio. People are curious, though, because I change my style in every exhibition." (Laura, interview, 7th June 2013).

Laura is influenced by all the places and studios she works in, and this affects her art. As well as her and her art having an impact on the gallery space, the gallery or studio or particular environment can affect her and how and what she produces. The studio space

is a practiced place due to the activities that happen there with artists working, communicating with other artists or arts professionals and with their artwork that changes the space. However, de Certeau (1984) does not mention that the place can also have effect on the individual and their practice. This process of ‘activation’ of space as a practiced place goes both ways, rather than only one way with people activating space through their practices in a place. Unlike Sigita who has the same ‘light’ wherever she travels and produces the same style of artwork, Laura changes her style and theme as she responds to each new location. Each artist is different so cannot be equated or compared. Laura’s artwork is a direct response to the place she is in, whereby her physical home and its feeling is reflected in her art.

By contrast, Sigita has a particular mode of travel, distinct from that of Laura: she drives across the EU, or used to do this more often when she was more mobile. The fact that Sigita has her own car that is tailored for transporting her artworks demonstrates how highly she values the ability to travel - on her own terms. With this, she can have one base in Riga and then can travel across Europe with her own transport. The car allows Sigita to travel at the times when she wants; she has control over this movement. Her car is also an extension of herself or her home - it is not an alien space but, rather, part of her home and belongings.

“before coming into the European Union, I drove my car around Europe. It was the cheapest way. I have heavy pictures. So it’s about 200Lts, about £200, to send one picture. It’s very expensive. There were borders. There was a fuss at the borders, they would tell me I would have to pay security money or prove they were my pictures. Guards were quite uneducated as so they had no idea about art. Now, nobody stands there (at the borders). There is a difference between before 2004 and after. Now we are in Schengen, we can just drive through borders.”
(Sigita, interview, 5th September 2013).

Sigita mentions the benefits for her of seeing the landscape whilst driving across Europe, rather than flying straight from A to B: “I could see the landscape this way [by driving] as well. This was a good thing” (ibid.). This meant she could see the ‘light’ or style in her own artwork. “Everybody is born and programmed with a particular light which they

can't get over in all their life. I have a Latvian light. Whilst I'm travelling in the car, I see this. The light changes in Vienna and in every location. I can't paint like in Vienna or Slovenia; it's difficult to change your thinking" (ibid.). Sigita understands her Latvian light more clearly because she travels in a particular way, so as to see all nuances and changes as she drives across the EU.

This is in contrast to her saying that she works in German language speaking countries¹⁵⁹ because that is where her art is popular and because her work does not fit with the conventional 'Latvian' painting - "what I'm doing is different to Latvia" (ibid.). Her discussion of her Latvian light, though, is her way of saying she cannot get away from being Latvian. Even though she has lived and been to many other countries, Sigita says she still produces 'as a Latvian' as this is where she was produced as an artist. Place (in Sigita's case, her homeland) has formed her identity and thinking, she believes. This is in contrast to Laura, who changes her practice with each new environment. Sigita's opinion on being produced as an artist in Latvia also contrasts with many other artists interviewed, who said they have a relation not only to one place but to a mixture of many places that have all helped to form them as a person.

Back to this exhibition; on Thursday, Marie and Ulrike were taking photographs of the art pieces with Sigita, and then the gallerist came to the room where I was observing and photographed two of Laura's works. Laura had asked for a camera to photograph all of her pieces as she needed photographs next to the names of the pieces in the exhibition brochure. Sigita then came in to photograph all the art pieces, Laura's as well, and then she sent these photographs to Laura once at home. She showed Laura the photographs on her camera; they are doing this on the floor, crouched down. They were then talking about problems with lighting in the photographs and how they could change this using Photoshop. Also, Sigita was telling Laura that the installation did not look good in her photographs. They will also go online and are vital in getting future work, through curators seeing these online for instance. These are important because, as I said earlier, Laura is trying to get onto the global art market through physical movements and

¹⁵⁹This is not necessarily common for Latvian artists to be popular in German speaking countries, as for instance, Vineta's work is popular in English speaking countries and Iveta's work is popular in Nordic countries.

exhibitions as well as being visible online and making sure she has a ‘digital presence’ with the displaying and curating of her work on her webpage.

Maria and Ulrike had each taken one of the artists aside to talk to them about their work, its position and how it would work altogether. Today, “we have been doing a lot of talking with the gallerist and curator” (Laura, informal conversation, 12th September 2013). They were going around the gallery with each artist (Maria was with Sigita; Ulrike was with Laura), looking at every piece, asking the title, discussing whether it is in the right place, and if it does what it should do in that layout. Maria and Ulrike were giving Laura and Sigita a lot of help. Sigita had told me that the gallerist had placed her artworks very close together, which she liked as graffiti continues, for example, across the wall. But she had not done this before with her artworks. The gallerist advised Sigita what was best and she agreed. At this point, Ulrike came into the room and was questioning Laura about one wall that has one small piece. Ulrike was telling Laura to put one piece next to another. Ulrike added two pieces to the wall. Ulrike said the artwork looked quite lonely on its own. Laura said “that’s good”. They were moving them around on the wall, led by gallerist Ulrike. Ulrike said “we can do this...or this” (informal conversation, 11th September 2013). Laura also wanted one piece on the wall on the stairs coming down to the fourth room but Ulrike said: “no, you can’t put it there, it will go next to the other one on the wall in the room” (ibid.). Ulrike then measured these pieces with a spirit level and fixed them to the wall. Laura also had some pieces on the floor (up-side-down in a pile) that she was not going to use. She showed them to Ulrike to see the ones they could also use to go on the wall – one of these was used.¹⁶⁰

Both Laura and Sigita have previously had exhibitions at *Gallerie Ulrike Hrobsky*. Laura said the gallerist Ulrike likes to increase their prices with the more exhibitions they do at the gallery. I asked whether gallerists normally help with this – Laura (ibid.) said in Estonia they do not. “I think they – the sheet of prices – might be in the back room. And people would never even consider to ask about prices”, especially with mixed-media art installations (Laura, informal conversation, 11th September 2013). Laura showed me a

¹⁶⁰This shows how Laura, an establishing artist, spoke with the gallerist – for instance, when Laura was told she should have more than just one small piece on the wall because it looked lonely – or how the gallerist told Sigita that her works could be placed closer together as graffiti itself ‘carries on’ across the wall. It shows how the gallerist’s and artists’ thought processes, as while both were thinking about aesthetics of the curation of their work, the gallerist also was thinking about sales.

leaflet of another artist's work - João Mouro from Lisbon - who is represented by the gallery. Laura said his prices were low; she then automatically thought her prices would be low as well (because she was not represented by the gallery and was still establishing herself in Vienna) and was worried about this and how Ulrike would price her art.

Sigita said she would never have a solo show in this gallery, and that the gallerist told her this, because she is 'foreign' and so it is very risky and also because they are young, establishing artists. By having Laura and Sigita in the exhibition together, though, they can share the risk. These are some of the difficulties they experienced due to being from Eastern Europe, because a market was not known for them in Vienna and because they were still establishing artists. There was uncertainty over whether Laura would sell because it was a new market for her. This had an impact on her feeling of being at home – feeling comfortable, integrated into this new environment. "I don't like projects sometimes", Laura (ibid.) complains, "in other jobs you get to go home and rest, simple. With art, however, time is precious because it equals money.¹⁶¹ Every piece is expensive to produce but you don't know what it's going to bring [in money terms]." Laura talks about being an independent artist and how difficult this is: "I am struggling alone. It was only me who wants exhibitions and I'm marketing myself" (ibid.). Uncertainty is also noticed in their anticipation (with bated breath) over selling artworks. There was nervousness when they talk about selling their artworks in this exhibition. There is pressure to sell whilst the exhibition is on as this is the most likely time to sell. Also, it will make the gallerist more at ease, as paying the rent for the building would be partly paid for.¹⁶² "I want this to be sold", Laura (ibid.) demands - but even if it sells during the exhibition (which is on for one month), 50 per cent of the revenue will go to the gallery (no art was sold).

Laura was then working out prices, and says that she has to "leave [her] heart far away" (informal conversation, 12th September 2013). Instead, she worked out the price in terms of the skill and technique involved as well as materials used. There was no guarantee of

¹⁶¹ Laura qualifies that she is a perfectionist and works morning until night; she strives for good quality rather than only being money-orientated.

¹⁶² In terms of a politics and geoeconomics of the global art market, they said (informal conversation, 12th September 2013) generally that the galleries will put prices of artwork up by 20% or 30% because the price is not fixed when people come to buy them. They thought this was quite rude, as buyers will say 'well I think this is worth only so much' or people will say 'I want this for my office and I only want to pay so much'.

sales, even after six months of work. She was using a grant from the Estonian Culture Foundation, awarded for this particular project and used for production costs and then any leftover was used to go towards living costs.¹⁶³ Laura also mentioned money flows in terms of funding more broadly, which for her is necessary to live comfortably and feel ‘at home’. She said there was a fund for Eastern European artists in Vienna, though, it was not for artists from Estonia. Laura states “they [Austrians] think we are more Nordic.” However, Laura used *the Estonian Ministry of Culture* or *Estonian Cultural Endowment* in order to receive funding for her project.

The gallerists were talking in German to Sigita and in English to Laura. There are language barriers for Laura; she chose to live and work abroad but could not speak fluent German at the outset. She is fluent in English, but she had problems in German with understanding information about prices, sales, and money – the “important things” Laura (*ibid.*) says. Ulrike was speaking to Laura in the next room to where I was sitting. Laura said a price and then Ulrike would say whether she thinks it should be higher or lower than this figure. Both Laura and Ulrike were in the other room discussing prices.¹⁶⁴ During their discussion, Laura kept running back and forth to get more small pieces to show Ulrike for the pricing. They have spent at least twenty minutes discussing prices. Ulrike says one price and then Laura says another price. It is a collaborative effort on pricing. They were talking in German but with parts in English:

Laura: “660 euros”

Laura: “no, ah, 550 euros not 660”.¹⁶⁵

Ulrike: “where is this piece?”

Laura: “it’s in Moscow”

Ulrike: “that’s a shame”.

¹⁶³ But as exhibition coordinator at *Tallinn Art Hall* Tamara Luuk (interview, 5th June 2013) told me, these grants “allow you to survive, not thrive” and you cannot keep on applying for the same grant as an artist can only receive a certain amount a year, so as to make it fair for everyone.

¹⁶⁴ The idea of non-selling also came up in the conversation between Ulrike and Laura, as non-selling can create hype around the artist and the artwork, promoting the artist and increase its value. Sigita was told to wait and not sell her work by one of her gallery representatives. Similarly, Laura was told she had sold too early to a museum by gallerist Ulrike. Before Sigita left the gallery, Ulrike and Sigita were arguing over her artwork, saying that she should not sell to anyone; Ulrike told her instead to wait. Laura said that, from this, she had learnt (though it seems to have a peculiar logic) that sometimes she should not sell.

¹⁶⁵ This is price was for the smallest (extra) piece that Laura did the night before the opening as she thought it needed something else there in the room. The series of eight small pieces (33cm 55cms) were priced at 800 Euros and the two larger pieces were priced at 5000/6000 Euros.

Ulrike: "How much is this one?"

Laura: "I sold one at the museum, a collector".

Ulrike: "Ok, so we can do that".

Laura: "I think its important "

Laura: "I thought less than this, but it's good".

Ulrike: "I do not have the rights".

Ulrike: "It's your second time in the gallery in Vienna; I don't know really I don't know if there is a market for you in Vienna".

Laura: "I think too much about how much time I spent on it".

Laura: "I thought a series of smaller ones".

Ulrike: "you can have ones that are the same size, different price".

Ulrike: "What is your feeling for these pictures".

Ulrike: "There must be a reason why some are lower and some higher [if same size], the client must know why [if they are different prices]".

Ulrike: "What price might you suggest".

Laura: "maybe 400 euros".

Ulrike: "which one?".

Ulrike: "Ok".

Ulrike: "This is 800 euros?".

[They kept switching between English to German.]

Ulrike: "What's that one called?"

Laura: "Lobby, in English".

Ulrike: “Lobby?”

Laura: “Yes”. (Laura and Ulrike, participant observation, 12th September 2013).

Ulrike advises on how Laura’s artworks can or should be priced. From this, it is evident that Laura was surprised that her artworks could be different prices and how this did not correspond with how long she had spent working on them. These larger pieces were “just side pieces”, Laura (*ibid.*) admits. However, once these pieces entered the gallery space they immediately became more valuable. This dialogue between Laura and Ulrike shows how artists also have to be multi-lingual and business-minded in order to work across the EU, which is another barrier that they must overcome. This conversation also shows the relationship between artist and arts professional, especially in terms of control over pricing. It shows how pricing depends on how established artists are in the place and whether a market is known for them; this takes time. But this has effects on how they settle into a new city after moving there. Forming the feeling of ‘being at home’ can be about external factors, such as whether they can be accepted into the art community, art market, and if they are able to sell their work.

Vienna is strategically chosen because, as Sigita says in the Chapter 4, it is still a province compared to Berlin and London (in terms of scale of the market, number of people in the art scene, amount of international exhibitions/biennales, ranking of art, artists, and curators working or showing there) but it is not compared to Riga. Laura also says “In Vienna there is a big audience, where you can do anything. Here [in Tallinn] there is a small audience so you can only do some things” and she also says that “Vienna is good because it has not so much of the western influence but, instead, has a mixture” (participant observation, 10th September 2013). This relates to earlier in this chapter when discussing how the global art market determines these artists’ routes, making Vienna a hotbed or gateway to the Western EU and a way of getting onto the global art market. Laura chose to migrate to Vienna due to its function as a gateway to the Western EU, and to be able to work in France and Germany as well as Austria. She knew she would get onto the global art market only by actually being in a more ‘central’ place - central in terms of the art market. Whilst living in Vienna, Laura was also able to take part in: an exhibition in Bayreuth, entitled ‘To Go To Bed by Day’; a collaboration in Kulmbach, entitled ‘7.1CA via Focus Europa’; an exhibition in Prigglitz, entitled ‘Kunst

in der Landschaft'; and another exhibition in Carcassonne, entitled 'Tallinn-Carcassonne'. The spatiality of these exhibitions and her mobilities across the region are plotted in Figure 21 (see p.233). She is more mobile after migration – making regular trips to surrounding Austria, France, and Germany to organise and display art for exhibitions. While return migration is not a backward movement into immobility, as shown in the previous chapter, this account from Laura demonstrates that out migration is not a permanent, final movement either.

Whilst Laura moved to Vienna to be part of a larger art market and to be more accessible to other EU cities, it has now become her main work base and personal home. Laura graduated from the University of Tartu 2010 and felt moving in 2011 would be good for her career progression. "I think living in Vienna sounds good in Estonia but also people in Estonia kind of know they can't have me there all the time and I loose contacts with many people and don't get so many invitations." After three years in Vienna, Laura is more a part of the market and community in Vienna, so there is a possibility to exhibit across this specific region (Austria, Germany, France). Laura was invited to participate in an exhibition in Carcassone (France). The invitation came in February 2014, after having done exhibitions in Bayreuth, Tallinn, and Vienna. In this exhibition in Carcassone, there will be four Etonian artists and four French artists. She said the space "looks amazing" - so it seems like with each show, Laura is moving upwards on the international scale, having larger exhibitions and ones that are more international. This is also in May as well as her other shows in Kulmbach and Tallinn, so she admits she is "pretty busy this spring". She is connecting to several different places at once, whilst living in Vienna. In fact, she is in Vienna but is not doing any project for Vienna at the moment. This shows that being in a strategically positioned city, that is in close proximity to other cities, is a good place for artists to have a base, and they make this move knowing these facts. Laura told me she is scared because her schedule is full already, so she does not know how to "pay [attention] for all the projects all at same time". She says "some say this is reality and some say it's success" (email diaries, November 2013-January 2014). This is a marked progression in her career that I witnessed over a year: receiving more and more invitations for shows.

While her placement in Vienna was strategic to begin with, she has since made an emotional attachment to this city that she did not anticipate. She says (interview, 7th June 2013) that “I am not seen as Estonian here. I work as an Austrian artist.” Nevertheless, she is also communicating and maintaining her network in Tallinn. As well as impacting on the Viennese art scene, she also has impacts on Tallinn art scene. Her attachments to Vienna were shown when she told me that she would leave again for Tallinn in five weeks, as even at that point she said she would miss Lukas (partner), the flat, and the neighbourhood. She has placed roots in terms of learning the language, she rents a flat and studio, made friends, and has met her partner in Vienna - with whom she now lives. This shows she has multiple homes and roots, with deep attachments to Vienna on a personal level rather than only a work level. This shows how, in Laura’s case, home can be disassociated from a person’s place of origin, as home is ‘where the heart is’, in being able to work on her art successfully as well as having friends and partner in this location.

6.5 Kris’s Many Communities

In order to survive and also to be successful in getting onto and remaining on the global art world, many of these artists use a combination of material and digital mobilities. I found that some of these artists have memberships to multiple transnational communities and networks. This is distinct from the formations and connections of ethnic diasporas who are often researched in one particular city (Ziemer and Roberts, 2013; Sikierski and Troebst, 2016), in terms of their integration there and their associations with two communities - either the diaspora or established community in the host city or those back in the homeland. However, these artists provide insight into how some transborder communities establish connections to other communities in addition to these two locations or ways of rooting themselves in more than one place.

Those artists who are continually travelling take part in complex patterns of movement and settlement, especially with those artists who stay in a location for one week at a time. They have a particular way of inhabiting a place that is unlike many other mobile populations. Some of these artists, such as Kris, live in the city for one week, having a

definite purpose of installing work for an exhibition or seeing a curator to discuss a future project, before travelling onto the next place after just a couple of days.¹⁶⁶

The map and travel itinerary in Figure 22 (see p.234) shows Kris' travel patterns over three months, between November 2013 and February 2014. Kris travels from one place to another, spending only a couple of days in one place. These are a combination of onward migrations and mobilities: she migrated to Berlin and then to Vienna but she also makes trips each week to various EU cities to exhibit work or talk with collaborators about future projects. She does not return to Tallinn in-between each of her onward migrations or her weekly regular mobilities. Her main two bases are in Vienna and Berlin where her studios are, but it is from these bases that she takes part in exhibitions, meetings, collaborations or residencies in many other cities as well. She migrates onwards once every year to two years but travels from these strategic bases to exhibitions and events every week. The routes and pace of this are expressed when she describes her travel itinerary for a three month period: "I just came from Berlin back to Vienna, Sunday to Berlin, Tuesday to Miami, Next Sunday to New York for a month, then Berlin, Estonia, London, Berlin, Vienna" (Kris, interview, 30th August 2013). This confirms Zabel's (2012) point that Europe has no one center; instead, it is made up of multiple "provinces". This is also another reason why many EU artists must travel, as many cities are "hotbeds" (Herwitz, 2013) in their own respect.

Saturday 20th November:	Berlin
Thursday 28th November:	Vienna
Sunday 1st December:	Berlin
Tuesday 3rd December:	Miami
Sunday 8th December:	New York
Friday 10th January:	Berlin
Wednesday 15th January:	Estonia
Friday 31st January:	London

¹⁶⁶ Kris graduated from the Estonian Academy of Arts in 2008. She funds these travels through government and private initiatives (grants and scholarships) on a local and international level.

Thursday 6th February Berlin
Tuesday 11th February Vienna

Kris relates to all these places as cities except for her homeland, Estonia. Homeland is not part of her transnational network in the same way as the other cities. For her, homeland is associated with family, friends and is non-work related. However, subnational connections and movements are made between city nodes for work. This type of movement, known as hypermobility (Endres, Manderscheid and Mincke, 2016; Khisty and Zeitler, 2001), is different to migratory patterns that are seen to go between nation-states, different to bilateral movements from homeland and one host country, and different to final migrations from A to B: this was discussed in Chapter 2. She also has a different purpose to be in each of these places, as all her projects are different. There is diversity in the routes she makes as well as the purpose of them. She traveled “for a show in Miami. Then for an art residency in New York. Then I am making costumes for an Austrian artist. I am planning this and will be there in spring...and preparing for an exhibition for Berlin” (interview, 30th August 2013). Kris continues to say she also has three exhibitions in London and Berlin where her art is showing.

It is not about simply taking the same work(s) to all these places: each place requires her to produce new work, which is mostly done in her two bases where her studios are, in Berlin and Vienna. In March of 2013 she travelled to “Berlin, Vienna and Bratislava and Zurich and then for April back to Estonia and May in NY for the NADA fair and so on” (ibid.). When in Berlin, Kris spoke with her gallerist there about her project in September in Berlin art fair *ABC*. In Vienna, she installed a commission work for a hotel. In Bratislava, she participated in a group show with four female artists, and she said she would “live there for 1 week”. Rather than just ‘visiting’ she uses the word - ‘living’ - because she dwells in travel and a groundedness in this hypermobility. In Zurich, she took photographs with a textile artist who is a friend, called Julia Heuer, for whom Kris acted as “a model and set designer” for her before (ibid.).

This diversity in projects and multi-directionality of her routes across the EU has been commonplace through her career, as later in the Spring of 2014 she had an exhibition in

Vienna and a commission in a restaurant in Berlin. In June 2014 she participated in an exhibition entitled 'I'm a Painting' for the *Contemporary Art Museum of Estonia (EKKM)*; she said she was "preparing for this" six months in advance (ibid.). She says she was doing many different projects all at the same time; Kris says "I have to finish so many things" and has limited time to actually do "new stuff", as it is difficult to find time when she is not travelling and to create artwork (ibid.). Then in September of 2014 she was showing in *ABC Art Fair* in Berlin and she had a solo show in Berlin. Kris also has gallery representatives who are located in Vienna, Berlin, Tallinn and London, who form part of her transnational network; they show and sell her work and allows her work to be in more places than she can physically be.

Kris is continually travelling, as is a defining characteristic of hypermobility. She is part of some of her artworks, which means she must travel to each location in which the installation or performance takes place.¹⁶⁷ Kris says "right now, I'm always going myself. Some of my works are complicated. I love to go there and go to the opening and meeting" (ibid.). However, it is not a comfortable feeling necessarily, as she uses words such as chaotic and essential to describe this way of life. Kris says this way of life is a "pure chaotic life and I'm in one place for about 3 or 4 days" (ibid.). This hypermobility is in contrast to Laura who spends most of her time in Vienna, but travels several times a year to neighbouring countries and Tallinn for exhibitions. These rapid and successive dwellings belie an underlying necessity of movement, which was highlighted with Kris saying that travel is essential to her life. These artists seem to be moving freely, but on closer inspection, they are moving a lot but are not necessarily in control of this. Even though Kris plans her own trips, seemingly in control, there are structures and controls dictating the route and pace of her travels. These controls come from gatekeepers, such as curators, dealers or gallery representatives, who can decide to either accept or decline her work for art shows and, secondly, government policies on funding particular types of art and having particular lengths of grants or scholarships and, thirdly, the geoeconomics of the global art market whereby working in one EU city (especially a relatively peripheral city) is not enough to earn a living as a full-time artist and does not provide enough exposure with which to collaborate or with which to establish themselves as

¹⁶⁷ For instance, she was part of her installations with 'The Birth of Venus' (Art Basel, 2010) and 'Whole Alone 2' (Frieze New York, 2015).

international artists. As well as having an effect on her physical travel patterns, this also has an effect on how she thinks about travel, borders, home and roots.

Due to being part of a transborder community of practice and due to the art market that is multi-local, Kris has a transnational art practice, and imagination, as she works physically and thinks metaphorically beyond territorial borders. As Kris told me in her email diaries over three months (November 2013 – January 2014), she is always thinking ahead; whilst working in one place, she is planning for and communicating with people in the next location where she will go. She is never entirely fixed in one place, and the one place is very much related to the next place. Kris has got used to this way of life - living out of a suitcase and having to resettle and reacquaint herself with a new or previously made community each time she moves. This links to what Ossman (2013) terms the serial migrator and who is a master or mistress of resettlement or, alternatively, a master or mistress of living in “intercultural situations” as Clifford (1997: 22) proposes. In fact, Kris seems to be able to dwell in travel, as Clifford (1997) makes clear when discussing people’s rootedness and simultaneous routes in, to or across places. This is shown with her saying that she would ‘*live*’ in one city for a week. Kris says “this is just my life and it’s been like that for a quite some time, I have many homes basically and travelling is essential to my life.” (ibid.). This shows how travel is also part of her home and is like a home to her. Travel is part of her everyday practice and, due to this, it becomes part of her understanding and feeling of home. This ability to be content in this hyper-mobile lifestyle is due to having two bases (where she keeps returning to) where she centers her mobilities around as well as where her practice of making art is located.

She connects to particular groups in different cities, such as “a group of musicians in New York, the art community in Vienna, and with a group of all female artists at the moment for a collaboration in Slovenia” (email diaries, November 2013 – January 2014). She also often uses one place to create artwork and then show it in the next place, “always thinking ahead” (ibid.). Subsequently, these places become fluid and interconnected in her mind. This shows how her relationship to place is not only to her country of origin or only to one place. Furthermore, rather than viewing these as distinct places or stages in her career, or as separate chapters of her life as Ossman (2013) describes, these movements - because they happen every week - are interlinked rhythms

of movement and non-movement that characterise her career and life. When she moves onto the next place, and again creates a home there, even when only “*living* there for a week” (Kris, participant observation, 5th December 2013) my emphasis added), these places remain connected to each other as she retains contacts there and will often return to take part in subsequent exhibitions. This relates to Ossman (2013) who argues that regular onward migrators are accustomed to the processes of resettlement and living across several places, able to easily resettle – and hence make new homes as I would argue - in each new place to which they move. With Kris living and making homes in all these places, it leads to her acquiring a transnational imagination and positionality.

Kris does not notice physical borders, especially within the EU, because she can easily move multiple times and still feel settled in this way of life. She says “I feel Europe is one soup, it is easy to move around. Borders are not existing for me” (ibid.). She sees the EU as interlinked series of spaces and places that are not divided by borders. Not acknowledging physical or political borders, her use of the word soup conveys the idea that there is mixture of people, art, and events across the EU, as well as connections that go in all different directions, and interactions or collaborations between people who may be of different nationalities. This also links to her identification or imagination as an artist, which is transnational:

“I don’t view myself as an artist from Estonia. I view myself as just an artist. I don’t think about logistics. I don’t bother with Austria, Estonia... I don’t think about this is the work of an Estonian artist.” (Kris, interview, 30th August 2013).

She does not feel part of either a national or an ethnic diaspora and does not feel particularly Estonian as an artist living in the EU. Ethnicity is not key here in the formation of these networks, or where she travels or decides to have a base. The formation of these transnational networks are based on what they ‘do’, so can link people all across EU and who are many different nationalities. This links back to previous chapter where Deimantas said artists were not thinking about the national or territory anymore and also relates to later in the chapter when I look at Kostas’ artwork entitled ‘Identification: Father and Son’ where he interrogates what his identification is as an

artist or an artist's son. Also, even though borders are not important to Kris, place in terms of people and connections are important to her.

Her idea of the notion of 'home' is about her relationships with friends, shown in her quote below where she says how important it is for her to be "always surrounded" by different people and groups (Kris, interview, 30th August 2013). The notion of home to her is about connections made with people in those multiple locations. Each home - where she has a base, where she has a group of friends, or where she grew up - is part of a connected whole. Importantly, each has its own transnational community that she is a part of rather than there being one large transnational community that she is part of. She is simultaneously involved with many transnational communities. This moves beyond literature that discusses a diaspora's links with one community, such as James (2011) whose work on the Vietnamese diaspora in London explores their connections with other Vietnamese in London or those in the homeland. It aligns more with Ahmed et al. (2003) who discuss the notion of transnational homes, which are formed across borders and beyond a geographical sense of national belonging or Blunt and Dowling (2006) also discuss transnational homes and how these types of and feelings of home are a combination of fluid and sedentary elements. Kris has physical homes and bases in Vienna and Berlin, but also has homes from the past that she keeps in contact with through her social contacts that span across many borders.

The feeling of having a transnational home (rather than restricted to one location) is developed and enhanced through being part of multiple transnational communities. This enables Kris to work and feel attachments that reach far beyond that of 'national belonging' or of needing to be part of an ethnic group in order to form a transnational community. These places, bases, and temporary and more permanent homes remain connected to one another because of the contacts, colleagues and friends Kris makes there. She says in New York she spends time with musicians while in Vienna she is part of an artist community. She believes it is through people, social relations and when she feels the place needs her that the place feels like home.

"I am always surrounded. I was hanging around film people all weekend actually. I met with Julian Assange's lawyer. When I am in Vienna I am surrounded by artists. I have just been in Budapest and Paris - I spoke to a lot of people there... 'Geletin'

– joining in projects. Very interesting. Exhibitions together with Edith Karlson, a dear friend. We have to discuss about ‘how’ we can work together, so it’s psychological. I worked in Vienna with a Danish painter. Brainstorming. Different levels of interest, different levels of what I get out of it. I learn from this. It’s different with different people...Here in New York I am talking more to musicians. They are my friends here. A different circle.” (Kris, interview, 30th August 2013).

Kris says about these levels of connections that are different in every location. These places and experiences are not comparable, yet, she can feel as if she is needed in all of these places.

More broadly speaking, Kris talks about her life as being about or working at the nexus of mobility and home, roots and routes, or fluidity and fixity. There are periods of both fixity and fluidity or movement and non-movement. Also, she is rooted in her travels and her roots are evolving as she moves location or changes bases. This shows how movements do not equate to uprootedness or transcendence necessarily but can have elements of groundedness. This reflects Ahmed et al. (2003) argument that the meaning of home has both mobile and sedentary aspects, as was mentioned in Chapter two. This duality of the meaning of home being both mobile and sedentary creates contradictions in how some artists recall their feelings about the meaning of home. A contradiction in how Kris feels is shown when she says she enjoys travelling and being a nomad, while in the next sentence she says she is still rooted to Estonia. In Kris’ case, she feels she can be both nomadic as well as rooted in her practice and life. There is a tension here because she speaks of the feelings of being at home but then how she sees herself as a nomad.

“I don’t have a particular home, I’m a nomad. Getting ready for shows in Tallinn, then Vienna, then Copenhagen (travels). I’m just a light traveller, just take my works with me. I have studios in Vienna and Berlin, where I have my tools etcetera but I am happy to go between all these cities.” (Kris, interview, 30th August 2013).

In the next sentence she goes on to say:

“I am definitely rooted in Estonia. I come back here every summer and Christmas. So my close friends are here. It’s evergreen here, it never changes. Roots grow when you have friends there. Then you feel the place needs you and I’m connected there. ‘Geletin’ – group in Vienna, another network in Vienna and friends here.” (ibid.).

Homeland as home, in this sense, has to do with the family left there and special family events like Christmas, but not to do with work. She thinks she can make additional homes because roots can form where she has friends. She feels she needs connections to people so that reciprocally, she feels the place needs her. This links to how Nowicka (2007) argues that home is socially defined rather than territorially defined. Having friends and contacts in one place can help form attachments; it is not only the case that there are automatic attachments to a place because it is one’s birthplace. Furthermore, feeling at home is not defined or reduced to spaces and places within territorial borders. The two quotes above link to Ahmed’s et al. (2003) work, presented in Chapter 2, on transnational homes and the feeling of home for nomadic travellers. It also relates back to Clifford (1997) and Gilroy’s (1993) discussions on routes and roots, discussed in Chapter 2.

There is also the temporal element to Kris’ process of home-making, as she says she has been travelling for some time and so it has become an ingrained part of her life that is both familiar and habitual. Her understanding of the meaning of home also has a spatial element due to her having multiple dwellings or bases and she feels they are all connected, as discussed earlier in this section. How her feelings of home are temporal relates to attachments, emotions and feelings take time to form in both the processes of mobility and home-making.

“I spent four years in Vienna, so it’s become a second home now. It is an important place for me, which I will contact for the rest of my life. Also, gallery

in Berlin. I travel regularly there. So I am living between Vienna and Berlin. I don't have a particular home, I'm a nomad. Getting ready for shows in Tallinn, then Vienna, then Copenhagen (travels). I'm just a light traveller, just take my works with me. I have studios in Vienna and Berlin, where I have my tools etc. but I am happy to go between all these cities." (ibid.).

This shows how the meaning of home and the making of the feeling of home has a temporal element as it takes time to establish and become part of different communities across cities, which makes her feel these places need her and so she forms attachments this way. "Roots grow when you have friends there. Then you feel the place needs you and I'm connected there" (ibid.). She also presents another contradiction in terms of this way of life and the temporal element of feeling at home, that relates to an earlier point I made, as while she says that she adapts to these new places easily by saying "somehow I adjust to places easily" she then says "I'm slowly getting used to it here" in New York. Kris equates home with the amount of time spent there. For instance, saying that Berlin is also a home, not only because she has a studio there, but because she returns there every month. Regularly returning here turns it into a home. For Kris, feeling at home is about becoming established in that place, about that place knowing Kris, and her feeling needed by that place. Kris has two second homelands – in Vienna and Berlin – which are arguably more like home than her homeland. This can provide another aspect to Ossman's (2013) work that looks at people who have only one second homeland. This is because enough time has been spent in these two cities and because both have become important places to Kris, where she will keep contacts and the place itself will remain meaningful to her. Whether she is living there or not in the future, these two places will remain homes.

Her feelings of home are also associated with her artistic practice. Berlin and Vienna have turned into homes because they were attributed with meaning and emotion – feelings that are generated through sustained everyday practices taken part in over a period of time, which cannot be formed in just a couple of days. Having a studio means she takes part in her art practice there, which links to home past, present, and future to her and, importantly, where she has her tools to do her work. Also, even though she has spent relatively less time in Berlin than in Vienna, it is still a home because she has a

studio there. Importantly, it shows how everyday practices can produce feelings of 'being at home'. Her feelings of home are made up of different levels or scales, both felt in the immediate surroundings - through everyday art practice and being with her tools and materials as well as far away - through communications with friends or colleagues.

6.6 Summary

As these interviews, and my observations of artists at work show, the artists have varying degrees of transnational mobilities. They move in all directions across the EU and use differing combinations of regular mobilities and more permanent migrations. Even for those who I interviewed whose main base is in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, they are still regularly travelling, communicating or sending their artwork across the EU and so are mobile in these ways. As a result, attachments and subsequent roots are made to different places. This provides an alternative to migration literature with discussions on the Polish diaspora in London for example, which explores one ethnic diaspora in one destination country and bilateral connections between home and host country. Also, these artists' migrations are often for the purpose of being able to be more mobile afterwards. Migration is often not a final movement for many of my respondents but, rather, part of a larger pattern of movements over their career. This was shown through Laura's patterns of movement out from Vienna, showing her increased mobilities after migration. In the case of Kris and Laura, their movements are a combination of onward migrations and regular mobilities.

Members of the artist diasporas are not formed of a particular ethnicity but, rather, formed due to commonality of interest. This is how many form their own multi-sited, trans-national and trans-cultural networks and their own niche communities. This was demonstrated with Laura and Sigita collaborating in one exhibition as well as Kris who keeps in contact with different groups. These groups and communities have commonalities and shared values – coming together due to working with similar art genres, rather than down ethnic lines or along territorial borderlines.

Referring back to Chapter 5 on the meaning of home, the experience of artists in this chapter has shown that the meaning of home is a mosaic for the artists I spoke to, as an amalgamation of different cultures, memories, experiences, and connections – and this is

always changing with travels and new experiences. The home-making process is reciprocal and a two-way process, and as Kris says, it is home when you feel the place needs you but also you must accept it too in the same regard. This is seen in these artists' multi-cross-cultural networks, especially with Kris who makes homes and the feeling of home through making friends and feeling that people need her there. This makes the meaning of home something that is spatial and temporal and about real-time social relations. Transnational diasporas can be connected across multiple borders. These artist diasporas are not restricted or formed along the lines of 'being Estonian' for instance. Even if living in Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius, they often connect to people elsewhere who are from many different cultures. These types of collaborations across physical territorial and ethnic borders become a part of artists' everyday lives.

However, there is an overarching structure underscoring all of these issues of making multiple homes and places of work, the multidirectional routes artists take, and the many different transnational communities of which they are a part. This overarching structure is the global art market, which dictates that a successful artist is one that is visible and active in several different places, while, is unsuccessful if they are 'local' and not mobile. The nature of mobilities as well as the spatialities of their communication networks are structured by the global art market. Even though it may seem they are privileged and can make homes anywhere across the EU, there are power relations in terms of who gets to move versus who does not as well as in terms of the routes and rhythms of their travels. Also, the particular cities they choose to make their home(s) in often have to do with economics and opportunities for work. The geoeconomics of the Baltic States (outlined in Chapter 4) not only provides the motive and necessity to go abroad; these factors also determine the direction and pace of artists' mobilities as well as the experiences they encounter. This has an effect on artists' ability to 'enter' into the global art market. With this, Cresswell's (2010) 'politics of mobility' can be reconsidered through adding the aspect of geoeconomics, as it highlights how the art world is made up of power relations. It is not only about who moves but also why and the power in relation to these flows.

The next chapter provides a conclusion to this research. The conclusion discusses the contribution to knowledge this research hopes to make. It concludes by presenting four main substantive contributions to knowledge: (1) the concept of migration should be

expanded to include different types of human movement such as mobility, (2) mobility literature can also include movements that are for necessity, (3) Trans-border artistic practices and changing dynamics of place, and (4) how an expansion of the concept of home is required in order to show it is not unitary nor monolithic.

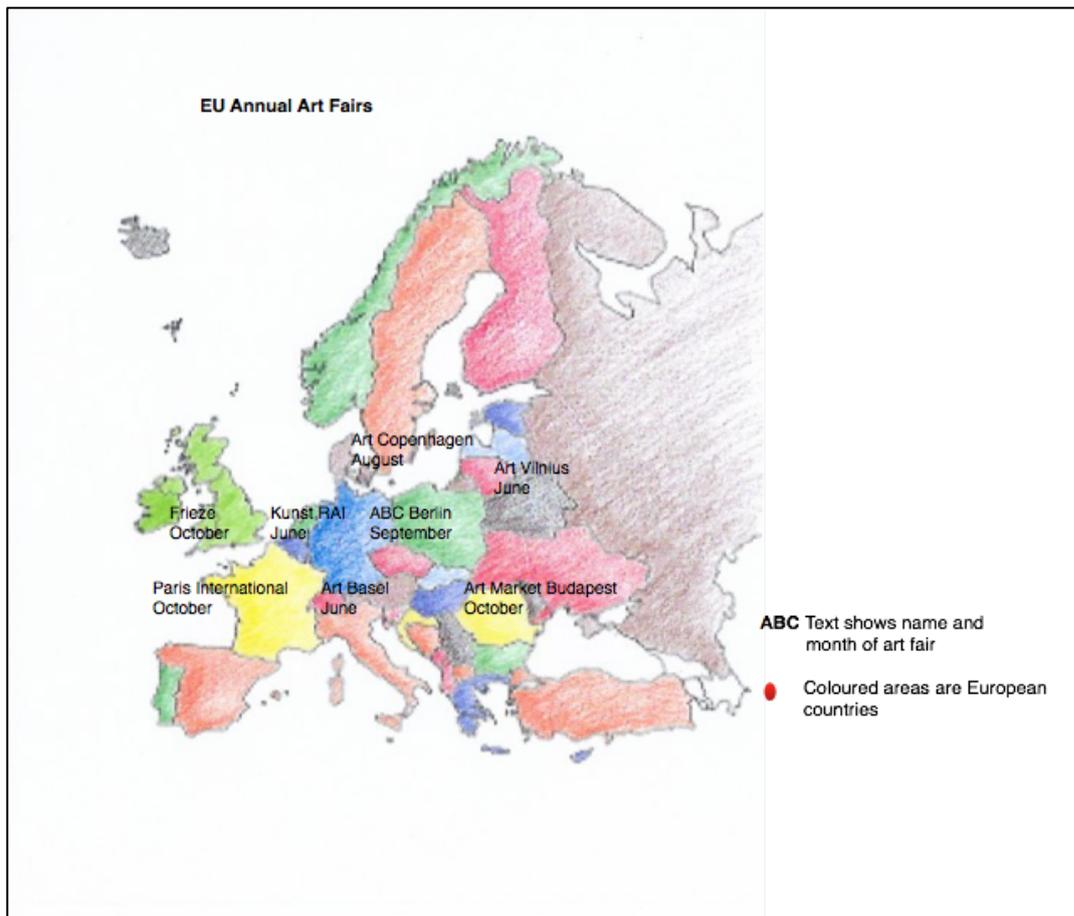


Figure 19: Location of EU art fairs

My own map, created on 16th June 2015.



Figure 20: View through the gallery space at *Galerie Ulrike Hrobsky*, Vienna

My own photograph, taken on 11th September 2013.



Figure 21: Laura's artworks in Tallinn, Moscow, Tartu, Warsaw, Leipzig, Bayreuth and Vienna

My own map, created on 16th June 2015.

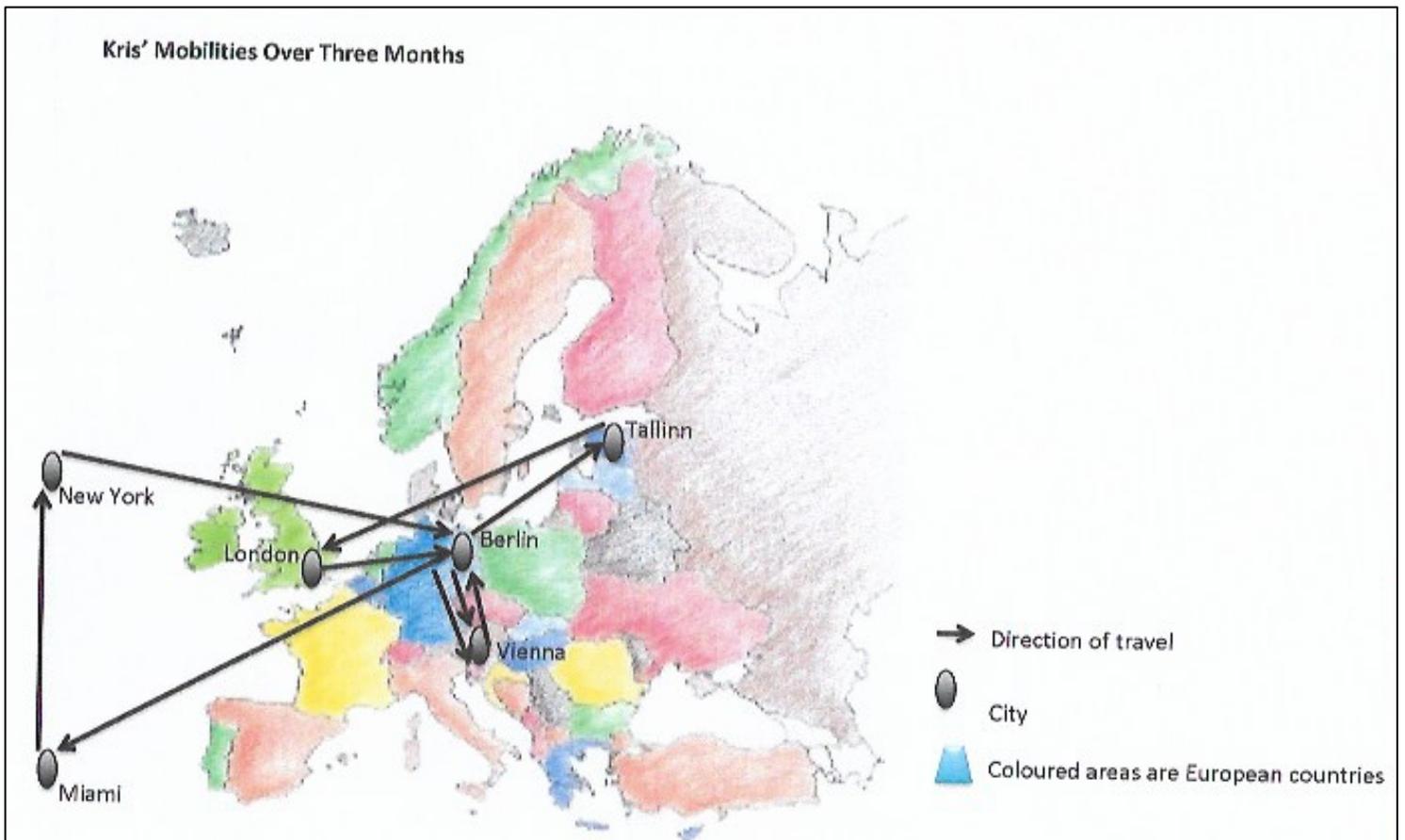


Figure 22: Map of Kris' travel patterns over three months

My own map, created on 16th June 2015.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Overview

The initial purpose of this research was to explore alternative migration patterns out of Eastern Europe, in order to counter deep-seated stereotypes of the so-called ‘unskilled migrants taking the jobs of British people’ that could be found in the British press. The research chose to look at artists, in order to see if they could shed light on alternative migration patterns across the EU, as well as to ascertain whether and in what ways they could help to reconceptualise the notions of home, mobility and diaspora. The main question was: How do the artistic practices of artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, that include cross-border mobilities, multiple homes and transnational connections, have effects on their feelings of home?

Through doing this research, I found that many of the artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had patterns of movement that were actually multi-directional, that included different types of movement, and that these amounts, types and combinations were particular to each person. A great majority of artists from the Baltic States are living all across the EU, but with a predominance in some key cities that are located east of the west (or in art world terms, just outside the art centers). I found that many have on-going patterns of mobilities and onward migrations that are used throughout their career. Many of the artists I interviewed communicate and connect as part of EU artist communities, which are based on art style and commonality of interest rather than ethnicity. This type of combination of mobilities and migration patterns - the former being regular trips to take part in exhibitions while the latter being a movement every one to two years - has effects on some of the artists I interviewed, in terms of physical placing of homes as well as having effects on their understanding of the meaning of home, in that they have multiple residences and often have more than two homes. Some will subsequently feel at home in several places, though, I found that they have varying attachments to each place respectively.

From these findings, several conclusions can be made. These in turn provide key contributions to relevant fields, as discussed in Chapter 2. These are as follows. Many

artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia move strategically, leaving their homelands that they realise cannot be a work home for them; the majority move and go to cities that are in the east of the west EU in order to make it into the global art market, becoming their gateway to working in the whole region of Western Europe. While many artists must move abroad due to the establishing art markets and lack of government provisions in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes, this is helping to develop these art scenes because a lot of those artist living abroad are staying connected, are returning regularly, and some return permanently with their acquired transnational networks. Many felt that they could work as international artists from the Baltic States only if they, firstly, had been abroad earlier in their career and, secondly, they work with their transnational network on a regular basis.

They can be seen as a diaspora, as embedded in their immediate locale and connecting digitally to multiple 'elsewheres'. Due to this position, many have transnational imaginations and so are creating new spaces, to refer back to Tsagarousianou's (2004) point that diaspora should be seen in terms of their creative potentials in host countries. Alongside their national identity that Mole (2012) argues has been long fought for, they now seem to want to have transnational identities, imaginations and practices. Not viewing this from the negative side of new rules that the Baltic States have to abide by, as Mole (2012) argues, I have found that many artists want to be part of the EU as they can have the freedom of movement and ability to work anywhere in the EU. As we saw in Chapter 4, this is what sets apart the current and next generation of artists from the previous generation of Soviet artists.

By looking at artists, it has also shown how the term diaspora does not need to refer to one ethnic group because it is not about working with only other artists from the Baltic States when abroad. The meaning of home in these cases can be taken away from the tendency towards essentialist associations, as it is not only linked to where a person was born or where family reside. Physical homes can be placed in more than two locations, but I found that in such cases there are varying attachments to each place. Their movements affect their feelings of home, in that it often heightens their understanding of what is happening in homeland or they become clearer in where home is due to comparing across different residences. Coming to these conclusions has been a process of discovery, but I also had reasons for wanting to do embark on this research.

7.2 From the Outset

When I began this study I wanted to understand the routes, rhythms, motives, and experiences of artists' mobilities within the larger inquiry above. I hoped this would provide an alternative to the somewhat binary and largely negative discourse on Eastern European migration to Western Europe. Some of those I spoke to said that the freedom of movement across the EU had provided them with the opportunity to go out of the Baltic States and find work elsewhere. Moving abroad is their 'route' to becoming a full-time artist and making a living. This is in contrast to during the Soviet Union, where flows of art, people and communications across borders were limited and restricted by government. This is what makes research on artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia distinct from other populations of, for instance, Czech or Slovenian artists. The Baltic States' geopolitical history has had effects on the situation of the local art markets in the Baltic States and on the amount of government provisions that are available today. For many establishing artists who want to get onto the global art market, Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius cannot be home, especially in terms of earning of living, meeting contacts, and participating in international juried shows or global art fairs. This then affects their understanding of the meaning of home, which becomes multi-sited and often not only fixed to homeland.

As I argue in Chapter 2, while research and scholarship has been conducted on migration experiences, diaspora communities and communications across borders, and feelings of home, there has not been an examination of these with artists as the 'objects of study'. Research was required on artists' mobilities in terms of finding out what impacts this way of working has on them, which has been demonstrated through their own words and in artworks. There was also a need to find out more about their careers and lives that unfold across many locations, in order to investigate the impacts of this through looking at changes in the way artists understood the idea of home.

7.3 Patterns of Movement: Types, Motives, Directions, and Speeds

This research has provided new insights into the EU mobilities of artists from the Baltic States, the increasing complexities in mobilities and how this highlights a different type of movement across the EU out of Eastern Europe. The patterns of movement of many artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia include onward migrations, return migrations,

and regular shorter trips in-between. I found these subjects' migrations out of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia often leads to, and is for the purpose of becoming more mobile. Thereby migration is in fact a launch pad for more regular, frequent mobilities. This creates patterns of movement or ongoing trajectories, which become more like a journey through their career rather than one final migration. This relates to Castles (2000: 15-16) who argues migration is often not a single event but rather a life-long process that has many lasting effects on the individual as well as other people around them in the host country or family in their homeland. This research has also shown how it affects individual artists in multiple ways as well as the fact that the act of moving in itself can be a lifelong process. As well as taking part in a combination of different types of movement and at varying paces, I also found that it is possible for one artist to embody different types of mobilities: of their person, of their objects, and of communications.

With these conclusions, this study has shown that there are far more and different types of movement than only bilateral permanent migrations out of Eastern Europe. This has resulted in an opening-out of migration literature, exposing movements that are multi-directional, repeated, that are for the purposes of generating cultural capital as well as being economically motivated. Substantive contributions have been achieved to a set of migration literature on push-pull factors. Artists' mobilities are not only bi-lateral from East to West Europe or to art centers like London and Berlin. Instead, the artists I spoke to from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia base themselves in EU cities that they choose for 'geographic' and economic reasons. These cities - such as Vienna, Brussels, and Basel - provide these artists with more opportunities than in the Baltic States, yet, they still do not have as much competition as in 'art centers' such as London or Berlin. These 'gateway' cities are used when establishing themselves on the global art market.

In this respect, these findings challenge literature on 'conventional' East-West migration where there is often only one destination country. This goes against Dietz (2002) who looks at East-West migration, with Germany as the immigration country, and how these one-way permanent western migrations have increased due to economic disparities between East and West Europe. This necessity of multiple movements between several EU cities - from A to B to C (and often back to A, B, C again as well as going to D and E) rather than just A to B - has 'filled a gap' that is not fully explored in migration or

mobilities literature. These artists cannot be considered as akin to serial migrators as Ossman (2013) conceives and not quite akin to cultural travellers as Clifford (1997) conceives. With this, this research has also contributed to mobilities literature that discusses mobility on a more meta-level and does not look in enough detail at individuals and how they are affected by these types of mobilities. This reconsiders the “new mobilities paradigm” (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Hannam, 2006), as this study has shown how this ‘new paradigm’ can also include artists first of all, and also issues on geoeconomics and power relations of those working within structures as well as controls of the global art market. For instance, Cresswell (2010) describes the “motive force, speed, rhythm, route, experience and friction” of people’s movements, but provides a macro-view on the concept of mobilities.

As Chapter 6 shows, these artists are not travelling between nation-states but, rather, between cities; many do not acknowledge territorial borders at a national level. Many of these artists’ movements are from city-to-city, not necessarily registering territorial borders or the countries that these cities are in, unless they have to use their passport to travel outside the EU or the Schengen Area. More broadly, this has provided understanding on cultural practices and cultural exchanges in an increasingly mobile world, which is made especially possible due to the nature of the EU. On the other hand, it has also shown the struggles and restrictions these ‘Eastern Europeans’ face due to rising anti-immigration sentiment in parts of Western Europe. Nevertheless, the cities artists go to in Western and Northern Europe for work have to do with economic situation and opportunities there; I did not find anybody who was travelling to cities in central or Eastern Europe. The artists I interviewed were travelling as part of a geoeconomic strategy, whereby they had particular motives, routes, rhythms that suited their needs and were dictated by the global art market. Mobilities literature states the motive forces and how people are mobile (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Nowicka, 2007). However, this research has shown that it may be difficult and that, for some professions, people must be mobile; I found that artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are not just cultural travellers who are moving comfortably.

These artists’ reasons for travel, the direction of their routes, the reaction to them in EU cities, the restrictions they face in their homeland, and barriers in integrating into an art

community or market abroad are somewhat influenced by their current base and country of origin. In this respect, these geographic homelands of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have an impact on their career trajectories as a professional artist. Another key finding was that many of these artists could not easily move abroad without facing different types of struggles, barriers and restrictions - as these artists also face language, economic barriers and issues of misrepresentation in other EU cities, which can prevent them from feeling at home. There are still unequal geographies vis-à-vis economies across the European art world, as it is the case that more flows, events, higher sales prices and more grants can be found in Western Europe. Whilst there is said to be a geographic expansion of the art world (Robertson, 2011; Degen, 2013), there are still disparities and this is why many travel physically. This was reflected in them feeling that it is more difficult for Eastern European artists to get into the global art market, compared with an artist who grew up and studied in an 'art center'. There are not only economic disparities but also issues with perceptions and how these artists are represented abroad on the global art world, which has an impact on them and their practice.

7.4 On Returning to Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius

The relation between people and place in the EU is being renegotiated with increasingly short-term, regular and multi-directional mobilities of people, objects and communications as well as the strategic combinations and patterns of ongoing onward and return migrations. As a result of these differing mobilities or scales of mobilities and migrations, Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes comprise reciprocal flows of communications, collaborations, artworks and people. This is developed further by transborder communities such as artists, who work across borders, and who are integral to the interconnections between EU cities.

This research has reconsidered the concept of mobilities through focusing on individuals and their physical movements across places. It shows how these processes are not only free-floating or about transcendence. Physical travel is still important for populations of cultural travellers, even with presence of the web, and it is having effects on transition of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes due to returnees who remain highly connected across the EU from these locations. All the artists I spoke to were still connected to their country of origin, but they were not necessarily looking back and I found they were not

consumed by loss or displacement. They had a vested interest in the future of these art scenes, and so I found that changes were taking place through cultural remittances rather than only through economic remittances. Literature on economic remittances does not take into account this cultural side, such as Guanizo and Smith (2006) who argue that origin countries have increased dependence on foreign investment through remittances, and that this is a diaspora's main point of connection to homeland (Guanizo and Smith, 2006). This shows how the transformations of Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes have been due to the mobilities (and returns) of artists, in terms of developing these art scenes' internationalisation and competitiveness in the global art world.

Moreover, artists are returning to or choosing to be based in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius either because living costs are lower or they have saturated travel and want to return to their emotional home. Either way, it is not a return to immobility or a backwards movement necessarily. This means the Baltic region is not only comprised of emigration countries, as there are return migrations and flows of people and art coming into Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. This has reciprocal and cumulative effects on these EU cities, becoming more connected to the global art world. Due to the EU art world where cities are ever increasingly interconnected, as events bring together people from different places, some felt they could stay connected or be based in the Baltic States and still work across the EU. However, this study of artists shows how if, and once they return they are at a different stage in their careers and bring back their transnational contacts and ways of working, so the return is not a backwards movement. Returning 'home' means more than back to origins. Those I spoke to who had returned from living abroad were often more highly mobile, using their transnational network that they had created whilst abroad in order to work on an international level.

Transnational communications, networks and circuits are not only produced and maintained by artist diasporas but are also part of the everyday practices of those artists I spoke to who had returned to Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius, who subsequently have multi-cultural connections and contacts across the EU. As a result, this is reconfiguring these art scenes, which are now constituted through trans-local connections. Even though for many of these artists who are part of artist diasporas across the EU are not only associated with their homeland, transmigrants do not 'leave behind' their country of

origin. Also, after returning, artists are often more mobile and have more international connections across the EU. These relations are maintained and developed through further mobilities and cross-border exchanges. The artist diasporas' relations to these places are changing as they make homes elsewhere and the places are changing in themselves. Due to these interconnections and transnational networks, Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius art scenes are constituted by global interconnections and are now defined by their interconnections with elsewhere. As a result, these artists' relationships to this place has changed; after returning from working or studying abroad, this place has become relational to them, as they see Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius are part of a web of links across the EU rather than stand-alone or local art scenes and their ways of working reflect this. The place has changed in their minds as well as literally through increased transnational communications and projects: changes in both mind and actuality are required in order to change these places. Transborder communities of practice are not only cultural producers (of say artworks) but also spatial producers, creating the 'shape' and 'location' of cultures and places. This shows that place is not only a fixed entity; rather, it connects global spaces and is constituted by these global spaces and this is always changing. Importantly, if place is not only fixed, this also means that both physical and metaphorical ideas of homes are neither fixed nor static.

7.5 Beyond Ethnicity

In this research, I wanted to get away from the categories that much of the literature uses to explore the movement, formation and experiences of diasporas – such as ethnic, political, or sexual minority. As has been shown through speaking to and spending time with these artists, their experiences and connections span beyond these categories. These artists have transnational connections and imaginations as a result of their multi-directional mobilities and multiple dwellings. I found many artists have transnational networks of critics, curators, gallery representatives and friends – formed across multiple borders. This means they are part of many different spaces at once – all of which connect different cities - and connect the associated groups of people, galleries, offices or studios. Also, many did not associate themselves as an 'Estonian' artist for instance but, rather, as an artist: after moving abroad it is about their practice, which provides them with community and security.

As the findings show, they not only make bilateral connections or have thoughts only of homeland. This shows how these communities are not linked just to territory; they are socially defined and connected, coming together due to commonality of interest. This proves Tsagarousianou's (2004: 64) notion of diaspora and their "readiness and willingness to engage themselves with the building of a transnational imagination and connections that constitutes the 'threshold' from ethnic to diasporic identification". For artist diasporas, it is not only homeland and current location with which they connect. Today, these artist diasporas have multiple connections that reach beyond their homeland and 'host' society – meaning work on diasporas can move away from being predominantly about their country of origin. Importantly, as Tsagarousianou (2004) argues, diasporas form new creative identities and cultures rather than looking towards the past or only being identified by their homeland. They bridge cultures and territories in a web of connections, which are reflective of their movements, rather than linear connections between A and B.

I found that these artists would take part in collaborations for projects, residencies, and would work with gallery representatives or curators to sell their work - all of which included people from multiple different places. This is different to literature on diaspora that looks at a national diaspora and their connections back to homeland and between people of that national diaspora across communication networks, such as Valenta and Ramet (2011) who look at the nature of ethnicity in Bosnian immigrant communities. Bosnian migrants take part in transnational practices, Valenta and Ramet (2011) argue, and these ties link the diaspora with non-migrants in their homeland as well as Bosnian diaspora residing in other countries. Situating this research within the particular set of literature on transnationalism and diaspora (Rouse, 1991; Tsagarousianou, 2004; Brah, 1996; Valenta and Ramet, 2011) has helped to complicate a section of migration literature that looks at migration (labour migration in particular) as binary and due to economic push-pull factors (King, 2002; Ardittis, 2016; Galgóczi and Leschke, 2016; Larsson, 2004; Joppke, 1998). This is why looking at artists was necessary to show community formations across the boundaries of ethnicity, providing a discourse on how people communicate and connect across the EU in a range of creative ways. This shows how the EU as a space and place is changing, with more supranational structures that these artists can work in which allows them to operate above national borders and beyond ethnic borders.

These artist communities form multi-cross-cultural networks and social relations that bring people together in terms of shared commitments and networks of practice. They have in common what they 'do' everyday, which is prioritised over place of birth. With artists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, I found that once they were detached from ethnicity and nationality, or the national, forming social relations and integrating into artist communities abroad became about practice and the commonality of doing art. That said, even if they had returned to Baltic States they are still part of EU artist communities and still part of and work in the same way as the transnational artist diaspora scattered across the EU. I found that a lot of these artists must be part of different communities, which is shown most strikingly with Kris who was associated to a particular community in Vienna but a different community for her work in Bratislava. This links to Bonnerjee, Blunt, McIlwaine and Pereira (2012) who conceptualise the transnational and connective communities that diasporas form across space, as they explore connections between different communities, rather than only with one transnational diasporic community and not only between 'here' and 'there'.

Through web-based and face-to-face communication networks and transborder practices, these artist diasporas' potentials are to bridge and combine cultural influences in innovative or creative ways. These different possibilities of artist diasporas for re-imagining and then re-forming 'home' and 'host' (and additional) cultures, or the potentials of a diaspora as Tsagarousianou (2004) argues, can be divided into four aspects. On the whole, though, while two artists said they kept their Latvian light, I found they have a type of imagination due to their transnational position and that is not fixed in one location, multiple attachments and associations within and beyond one nation, they have a form of cross-cultural (re)production in artworks that combine cultural influences, they also form a particular relation to place, in terms of the creation of trans-local understandings, whereby many are embedded here but also attached to several places or people elsewhere. These artist communities are not wandering as with nomadic travelling but also not making movements as with migrants and not like skilled businesspeople who are paid to travel as part of their job. The research found that they are more like a diaspora because they have transnational connections, imaginations, as well as mobilities – they create new spaces with pan-ethnic and trans-national community networks as well as in their artwork that reflects cross-cultural influences.

7.6 Reconceptualising the Notion of ‘Home’

One of the main conclusions to be drawn from this inquiry is that a person’s feelings of home can be involved with and relate to more than two places. This underscores how over a life course or career, a person can develop many attachments and accumulate many associations with groups or networks in different places. This reconsiders theory that argues diasporas live across two homes (Basch et al, 1994; Valenta and Ramet, 2011; Ma and Cartier, 2003). Furthermore, it found that it is possible to live and work in multiple places and not feel fractured. This has a direct effect on their understanding of the meaning of home. As Chapter 5 shows, for some the meaning of home becomes about a milieu of places they have lived and are living, as well as about their own self-orchestrated community across borders and about connections with people for specific projects or events that link across various places. In this way, their understandings of the meaning of home become multi-local – in this home milieu there is a homing desire to more than one place but varying degrees to different places. This has an effect on the meaning of home, which includes both mobile and sedentary aspects. In interviews, I found that many are rooted and embedded in their homeland and elsewhere where they are living or have lived; or are embedded to a city in the EU but also still connected to elsewhere as well as homeland. These transborder practices do not necessarily result in uprootedness and disorientation just because these people are not settled in one place. As mobility and attachment to place are not necessarily contradictory. For many of these artists, life and work constitute their home, but this can be in separate locales; life and work are not separate and this has an influence on how they view home. This is reflected in the fact that almost all said they had multiple homes; only a few said they had one set of roots in their homeland and that this was unchanging. As with their multi-sited and multi-local connections and travels, home is felt across this space; it is made and maintained through social relations across these spaces they are connected to.

Ideas of home then are reflective of their lives, which are constituted by travel. The notion of home is not fixed, stationary or about physical place to them necessarily. I found that, for many, they are negotiating their homes in different places; this means often they are recalibrating home constantly and negotiate their changing feeling of home. This shows how the notion of home can be experienced, and felt through practice or through social relations. I have these artists not only have place-based attachments. Due to continual movement and onward migrations, for many their attachments are to

their artistic practice and to friends or colleagues. However, they are refracting their relations across each site, and this together provides a holistic feeling of home. But it is a spectrum of different scales as, for some, their feelings of home are felt in their studio or house (in the local and physical place) and between sites (the transnational).

This shows how artist diasporas' feelings of home are not only associated with homeland still or just either that or their current location. Rather, it is more spatial than this – being felt across multiple places where friends or colleagues are and it can be found through doing their practice. That said, roots are not lost to their homeland even in regular travel and onward migration. This is obviously different to those fleeing war, who cannot go home and return to homeland – and affecting their feelings of loss and displacement. Yet, it is relevant to explore how multiple relocation and lives across borders does not mean they are uprooted and disorientated. Even highly mobile people are not detached from place and attachments necessarily. Transnational lives are not all about transcendence and operating in supraterritorial structures; transborder communities are also often attached to the local nuances of places.

The notion of home has many different associations to each artist I interviewed. This is due to their multiple and multi-local travellings, dwellings and connections. These individual homes are made in different ways and remain homes after they have left. The feelings of home are made through the amount of time spent there, whether they can comfortably do their practice, and through friends who make them feel needed in that place. I found some contradictions, though, with some artists feeling comfortable in travel but also rooted in their homeland. This shows home or roots are not singular, as one can have both homes and roots in many places. Also, homes are not all equal as I found that for those who have several homes, they are associated differently to each place. For instance, homeland remains their homeland for some and distinct from elsewhere they make home. Other homes though can also have varying levels of attachment, depending on how long they are there and whether they associate with the place. There are what I found to be different types or different degrees of 'homing desires' (Brah, 1996) to each place they live in. This relates to their relation to the place, made through friends, how they city feels to them and if they can work – then attachments are made.

The notion and placing of home is also becoming political and economic: there are rules set by the global art market as well as arts professionals that mean artists outside art centers must work (move and communicate) in a particular way. More broadly, there needs to be more discussion on this link between diasporas' understanding of home vis-à-vis the fact that migrants are seen as unwanted and that they should 'go home'. These feelings are escalating in western Europe since the migration crisis and resultant backlash against these refugees. A number of people from eastern Europe are once again receiving animosity, also being labeled largely as unwanted. Even though able to live anywhere in the EU, they face restrictions and barriers in addition to the global art market. This has effects on how they can and whether they feel at home in their 'host country'. These debates set out in chapter 2, then, are deeply political. However, these debates have not been analysed through looking at artists.

This also affects their art, as shown in Chapter 5, with the illustration of transnational spaces in their art. Meaning is created by drawing upon different cultural influences, using more than one influence from places they have been. This happens because each travel affects them in a certain way, or each travel affects them in a different way, and this influences their art. Moreover, this way of working across borders heightens artists' understandings of homeland as distance provides clarity: when 'away' these artists know what they must discuss in their artwork, as they can see what is 'missing' or 'different' in their homeland. I found that travel intensifies their understanding of the meaning of home or, for some, it heightens their feeling of being and having Latvian light for instance. Comparisons across cultures lead to new knowledge and understandings of what home means to them. These particular representations of what home means, as well as the combinations they depict in artworks, shows how these artists are comparing their different homes in order to work through what home means and where home is to them. Artworks are representations of these feelings and emotions. Making art can be a home-making activity/practice, as it can act as a way of working through their transnational position. Artists can feel at home in their practice because "space is a practiced place" (de Certeau, 1984). They activate and bring places to life and make homes through their practice. Artists in particular can find home in their practice because they participate in the host city, which means they can integrate and form roots this way - they spend a few days or months in the place and have to integrate into that particular art community to survive financially and career-wise.

This research has made three key contributions to the concept of and discourse on home: how artists place multiple homes across the EU, each with a different purpose but how all are required in order to feel ‘at home’; how art is a home-making activity; and how mobility allows artists to have a clearer view of home-land. They do have a homing desire, even for those who enjoy being hypermobile, but not necessarily to homeland – i.e Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Aspects of the notions of both home and mobility are fluid, spatial, and evolving as well as having stable elements: this becomes clear through an analysis of space and place. Throughout this thesis, the concept of home is used in order to anchor theories of space and place as well as to show how mobility is not necessarily a condition of uprootedness or disorientation. Instead, we can take more from nomadic travellers who see land as home and a vast area as the ‘place that feels like home’. People and place are interactive – it is not that place affects our identity. It is a mutual cycle – artistic practices are influenced by places (like studios) but these practices and artworks then effect and alter the place. As well as updating mobilities literature by adding an argument on geoeconomics and showing how transborder practices can activate place, this research has also added to this field by exploring the affects on meaning of home and effects on local art scenes. This research has shown that representations of home need not be so reduced to the romantic or associated with place of origin. It has reconsidered theory that states that having many homes is impossible as a person becomes home-less (Flusser, 2003) or that home is monolithic and related to place of origin (Basch et al, 1994; Eade and Smith, 2011). Though, this is not something that is new but aligns with set of literature from diaspora and home studies that shows transnationality of homes that are detached from one singular place. It has shown how people who are away from their place of origin are not necessarily longing for home and remembering how it was back ‘there’.

7.7 Final Thoughts

To conclude, this inquiry has provided new insights from close-up and in the context of global dynamics; it has advanced knowledge of the complex and diverse mobilities of individual artists and their subsequent understandings of home as well as changes to the art scenes in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. The conceptual juncture between mobility and effects on home has tended to be neglected by previous research. By engaging with these debates, a new perspective is gained which questions dominant theoretical

understandings of home and how travel affects this, in turn, widening the conceptual boundaries of the definition of migration and challenging its often taken-for-granted status as one-way and final. By fully exploring the connection (or cause and effect) of mobility and effects on (literal and figural) homes, reveals how issues of home are still important even amongst types of travel and movement that are becoming everyday practice for many people.

The larger issue at stake here - thinking beyond these findings - is how the relationship between people and place is being re-negotiated with the increasing and diversifying mobilities of people, objects, and communications. It is possible to simultaneously work at the local level as well as working with others on a global scale. Distance is not an obstacle, in the way it once was, and this is due to advancing digital communications, cheaper transportation and an EU space of free movement (especially in the Schengen Area) of which these communities take full advantage. The dynamics of space and place are altered through trans-border artistic practices.

This finding thereby disrupts conventional understandings of East to West migration across Europe from one origin country to one destination country. It goes beyond the current definition of migration as a 'discourse of loss' to include more shorter-term, regular, multi-directional movements that are going from city to city. In addition to this, it can be argued that there are different types of movement out of Eastern Europe than go largely unnoticed in research. The key findings advocate the re-evaluation of factors previously considered secondary and peripheral in migration literature, and highlight the significance of impact on home cities, pressure motives within travel practices and affects on the people mentally. Consequently, the thesis reveals how artists' mobilities are increasingly complex, dynamic and multi-sited, and argues for a broader cultural and political lens to fully capture the processes and outcomes of 'other' types and forms of human movement.

At the same time, it has shown how the current state of borders across the EU and the notion of Westphalian sovereignty is coming under increased pressure and scrutiny. EU nations have to work together to come to agreements on their policies on borders, which is reducing and putting in question their Westphalian sovereignty powers. As well,

discussions on the EU's freedom of movement and integration policies brings up questions such as whether this will last with increased pressure on border protection and controls as a response to the Syrian 'refugee crisis'. Does this mean the end of the Schengen Area and its principles of free movement, what with many countries now putting up physical borders? Will the future of the EU see more border controls and more detachment between member states, meaning that artists travel differently? Perhaps artists will travel less often, as they would acknowledge territorial borders and their restrictions? This would also jeopardise how people could work across borders, the exchange of ideas, and people's feelings of home.

Postscript: What are these artists doing now?

After conducting this research in 2013 and 2014 I thought it would be suitable to allow three of the artists to tell us what they are doing now. This is a way to show how they have progressed in their career over the past two to three years.

Laura: Since our first meeting in 2013 I have made several bigger solo exhibitions, the latest took place at *Tartu Art Museum*, but all mostly in Estonia. They have allowed me to experiment with space and my practice has moved away from mostly two-dimensional works to more ephemeral works in the gallery. I don't work with the commercial gallery in Vienna anymore. I was awarded the Köler Prize 2016 for a site-specific installation at the *Contemporary Art Museum of Estonia*. I still travel and live between Estonia and Vienna, also relations in Japan are developing after last years stay; I will return for another residency and a solo show this autumn. (Laura, email conversation, 5th September 2016).

Sigita: What is happening in the next time - January 2017 I have an exhibition in *Mark Rothko Art center* in Daugavpils (<http://www.rothkocenter.com/en/rmc>). In the autumn my gallerist possibly will take my work to the fair Contemporary Art Zurich. Ah yes, and there has been a book written about me; the publishing house want to get it ready for my exhibition in Rothko Centre. The text must be ready by the latest in August to be translated and so on. Actually for the moment I prefer to stay here in Latvia due to family issues and problems in my block of houses. (Sigita, email conversation, 5th September 2016).

Žygimantas: In the autumn of 2015, he was part of an exhibition entitled 'XVI INTERBIFEP at the *Contemporary Portrait Gallery*, Tuzla, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the end of 2015, he had a solo show entitled 'Picture Demand' at *Vilnius Academy of Art Gallery*, in Vilnius. In October, he was part of an exhibition entitled 'Drawing' at *Gdansk Academy of Art*, in Gdansk. He is now preparing for a solo show in Denmark, which will take place in September. He also has various academic jobs at the moment as well as moving into a new studio space. (Žygimantas, email conversation, 5th September 2016).

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Selected Artists



Figure 23: Laura Põld (photograph source: <http://www.delfi.ee/teemalehed/laura-pold>)

Laura Põld (b. 1984) is an Estonian artist who is based across Vienna and Tallinn. She graduated (BA) from the *Estonian Academy of Arts*, Ceramics Department, in 2007. She then graduated (MA) from the *University of Tartu*, Painting Department, in 2010. She has had solo exhibitions in *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky* in Vienna, and *Art Hall Gallery* in Tallinn. She is represented by *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky* in Vienna. She has been part of group exhibitions in Vienna, Tallinn, Moscow, Berlin, Frankfurt and Warsaw. Some of her works are also part of the video and painting collection at the *Tartu Art Museum*. Her art consists of installation, video, painting, found objects and textile works. Her art is concerned with issues of how different living environments shape perception of private space. Her exhibitions include ‘Non-Place’ (Vienna), ‘Home Sweet Home’ (Vilnius), and ‘Conversations with the Curtain’ (Tallinn). She won the Ado Vabbe award (December 2013), for the artist who has enriched the Estonian art life with his/her artwork, and she got 3rd prize in the Young Painter awards of the Baltic States in 2011. Figure 23 is a photograph taken in her studio in Tallinn. It shows how she works with lots of different mediums. Here she uses wood but later we see that she uses installations, videos and relief paintings. The studio is also a cold space with breezeblocks and concrete floor and metal stairs – as she says each studio influences her artwork.

“Being an artist is like a life-long journey...without support groups it is easy to get lost. I am three years after my graduation – I have now got a lot of exhibitions. In these three years after graduation I have also done some teaching on practical (art), for example, how to build this and that; through doing this I saw a different world. At the art academy it was all conceptual and at a different level. I did applications all the time, now not so much.” (Laura, participant observation, 8th September 2014)



Figure 24: Sigita Daugule (photograph source: <http://jauns.lv/raksts/zinas/224214-gada-gleznas-laureate-atklaj-izstadi>)

This is Sigita next to two of her paintings at *Agijas Sūnas Gallery* in Riga. Unlike Laura, she paints at home where she has a designated main room as a studio space. Sigita Daugule (b. 1971) is a Latvian artist who is based in Riga. She graduated (BA) from the *Latvian Academy of Arts*, Painting Department, in 1996. And she graduated (MA) from the *Academy of Arts* in 1998. She has had solo exhibitions in *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky* in Vienna, *ASuna Gallery* in Riga, and *Gallery Seywald* in Salzburg. She has had group shows in Moscow, Riga, Vienna, Brussels, Sangmori (Korea), Bremen and Lyon. She has gallery representation in two galleries in Riga, two galleries in Vienna, one in Salzburg, one in Koblenz and one art investment company in London. She won Painter of the Year prize in 2008. Her art consists of paintings with a textured form, and is concerned with issues to do with graffiti, facades and city scenes. She has also been a member of the Latvian Artists Union since 1998.

“As a child, I was thinking about art and drawing. I finished art academy in Riga... I went to school that specified in English language. Though, it had no use afterwards, because I spend more time abroad in German speaking countries. I got a scholarship in Vienna – and I travelled around German speaking countries. They like my art more than English speaking countries. This is not a conscious thing, just is so. I do not fit in Latvian art scene; my art is not like other Latvians. I’m told this by gallerists in Latvia. Also, got scholarship in Germany – so I went there.” (Sigita, interview, 5th September 2013)



Figure 25: Žygimantas Augustinas (photograph source: <http://kvadrienale2014.lt/q14-gruodzio-savaitgalio-master-class-zygimantas-augustinas-12-27-foto-v-z/>)

This is Žygimantas next to his work, entitled ‘Klerkas’ (2012), in an art class in Vilnius. This painting is reflective of his theme that looks at self-portraits but through imagining himself in different eras. Žygimantas Augustinas (b. 1973) is a Lithuanian artist based in Vilnius. He graduated (BA) from the *Lithuanian Academy of Arts* in 1998, and graduated with an MA in 1998, in the Printmaking and Etching Department. He has also studied in New York and is currently doing a PhD at Vilnius Academy of Arts. He has had solo exhibitions in *Juskeus Gallery* in Vilnius, *Gallery NB* in Viborg, *Fraser Gallery* in Washington, and the *Cultural Communication Centre* in Klaipeda. He has had group exhibitions in Valladolid, Kaliningrad, Vilnius, Namur, Tuzla, Ikašt, Riga, Athens, Aberdeen, New York and Tel Aviv. He has gallery representation in Vilnius and Viborg. He won best debut for professional art in 2005, which was awarded by the *Ministry of Culture of the Republic of*

Lithuania. His art consists of paintings, which are concerned with issues to do with self-portraiture and the human form.

“After graduating at the academy of arts I used to work as a designer and to paint only in the morning before going to my job. My first sales, prizes and scholarships came about 10-12 years ago but I continued to work as a designer till 2006. Although, in 2002 I decided to go for painting studies to New York. After coming back my confidence was much bigger. In 2005, I entered PhD studies at the academy of arts [in Vilnius] because I was in doubt again. Only in 2009 the first signs of professional life appeared and that feeling grows every year.” (Žygimantas, interview, 30th August 2013).

Alongside these three main artists, who are the focus of this study, there are also others who are mentioned in certain chapters in order to illustrate points. These artists are Kostas, Kris, Egle, Vineta, Eva, Ieva, and Margus.

Kris Lemsalu (b. 1985) who is an Estonian artist working across the EU with two main bases in Vienna and Berlin. She graduated from the Estonian Academy of Arts in 2008 and also studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna in 2013. Her installations include animal body parts or delicate sculptures of clothing objects made of porcelain are mixed with found natural materials - fur, leather, wool - to create staged installations. She often performs in her own installations. She mentions the reason for these themes in her work:

“I take a lot from Estonia. This is exotic in a contemporary art context. It’s a plus for me (being exotic), using foreign symbols. Strong trends and similar things being made in Europe and art centres. So people like things ‘out of this world’ – I have different childhood and things around me, which affected me.” (Kris, interview, 30th August 2013).

Ieva Epnere (b. 1977) is a photographer who is from Latvia but works in Ghent and Brussels. She graduated from the *Latvian Academy of Arts* in 2001 but has also studied at *HISK* in Belgium between 2011-2012.

“After primary and secondary school, I went to art school. It was in the third largest town in Latvia, and it’s by the sea, Liepaja. There are no artists in my family, so quite weird that I am an artist and where this came from...[From 2001 she] worked with a travelling circus. Five years travelling with them. Took photos. Applied for grant. Then I did a solo show in Ghent. Then it started. I started getting good reactions. I was then earning by doing graphic design as well at the time. I was more interested though in my artistic practice.” (Ieva, interview, 21st November 2013).

Egle Budvytyte (b. 1982) is a Lithuanian artist and works across Vilnius and Amsterdam. She graduated from the *Vilnius Academy of Arts* in 2004 with a BA in Photography but has also gained a BA in audio-visual studies from *Gerrit Rietveld Academie*, The Netherlands, in 2006.

“My parents sent me to a school, which had an art profile. There were art lessons, with drawing and sculpture. I appreciated that, already as a child... After 2000 there were waves, a massive curiosity, many people were leaving. So I went to Amsterdam.” (Egle, interview, 20th December 2013).

All artists gave permission to use their full names as well as permission to reproduce their selected artworks. One artist disagreed to take part in participant observation over three months when they found out the other artists who were involved, as they felt they were not at the same level or stage in career as the other artists. Apart from this instance, artists were excited that somebody was interested in them and their work. They wanted to be a part of anything that might improve the visibility of the Baltic art scenes, as shown in Chapter 6, only with this can the art scenes improve in the global art world.

Access details for selected artists' websites

Laura: www.laurapold.com

Sigita: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/sigita-daugule/>

Žygimantas: www.augustinas.lt

Kris: www.krislemsalu.com

Egle: www.eglebudvytyte.com

Eva: www.evavevere.com

Kostas: <http://www.ndg.lt/information-centre/artists/bogdanas-konstantinas-j.aspx>

Vineta: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/vineta-kaulaca/biography>

Ieva: www.ievaepbere.com

Margus: www.tammtamm.net

Appendix B: Interviews

List of Interviewees (including both artists and arts professionals)

Aleksandaviciute, Aurime., Interview, 16th December 2013. Telephone.

Allas, Anu., Interview, 21st January 2014. Tallinn.

Anskaitas, Arnas., Interview, 29th August 2013. Vilnius.

Augustinas, Žygimantas., Interview, 30th August 2013. Vilnius.

Astahovska, Ieva., Interview, 9th June 2014. Riga.

Bogdanas, Kostas., Interview, 24th July 2013. Telephone.

Budvytyte, Eglė., Interview, 20th December 2013. Telephone.

Bunikyte, Gedvile., Interview, 7th January 2014. Email.

Breckte, Kristians., Interview, 22nd August 2013. Email.

Daugule, Sigita., Interview, 5th September 2013. Telephone.

Epnere, Ieva., Interview, 21st November 2013. Telephone.

Estna, Merike., Interview, 13th December 2013. London.

Farkas, Denes. Interview, 11th December 2013. Email.

Grudskinskaite, Eva., Interview, 9th February 2013. Vilnius.

Grybkauskaite, Laura., Interview, 28th August 2013. Vilnius.

Gulbis, Madara., 18th September 2013. Email interview.

Ilves, Kate., Interview, 10th June 2013. Tallinn.

Januskeviciute, Virginija., Interview, 28th August 2013. Vilnius.

Jonutyte, Juste., Interview, 17th January 2014. Telephone.

Kalm, Mart., Interview, 7th June 2013. Tallinn.

Kaljule, Liisa., Interview, 8th June 2013. Tallinn.

Karlson, Edith., Interview, 29th July 2013. Telephone.

Kaulaca, Vineta., Interview, 5th December 2013. Email.

Kempinas, Zilvinas., Interview, 15th July 2013. Telephone.

Kongi, Kristi., Interview, 1st August 2013. Telephone.

Krunglevičius, Ignas., Interview, 21st February 2014. London.

Krušinskaite, Janina., Interview, 30th August 2013. Vilnius.

Kuizinas, Kestutis., Interview, 30th August 2013. Vilnius.

Kurg, Andrus., Interview, 22nd January 2014. Tallinn.

Laas, Kadri., Interview, 21st January 2014. Tallinn.

Lace, Inga., Interview, 4th May 2013. Riga.

Lemsalu, Kris., Interview, 30th August 2013. Telephone.

Luce, Dita., Interview, 10th August 2013. Skype.

Luuk, Tamara., Interview, 5th June 2013. Tallinn.

Magdalena, Interview, 11th February 2013. Vilnius.

Margus-Willems, Eve., Interview, 5th June 2013. Tallinn.

Meatamm, Marko., Interview, 23rd January 2014. Tallinn.

Michelkevicius, Vytautas., Interview, 6th January 2014. Telephone.

Mikalajune, Egle., Interview, 10th February 2013. Vilnius.

Morkame, Baiba., Interview, 6th May 2013. Riga.

Narkevicius, Deimantas., Interview, 27th August 2013. Vilnius.

Noid, Kiwa., Interview, 11th November 2013. Email.

Ole, Kaido., Interview, 22nd January 2014. Tallinn.

Pöld, Laura., Interview, 7th June 2013. Tallinn.

Poldsam, Rebeka., Interview, 23rd January 2014. Tallinn.

Pukite, Selda., Interview, 7th January 2014. Email.

Pukyte, Paulina., Interview, 11th February 2014. Email.

Rinke, Asta., Interview, 4th May 2013. Riga.

Rudusa, Laima., Interview, 5th May 2013. Riga.

Rutkute, Laura., Informal conversation, 3rd March 2013. London.

Salmanis, Kriss., Interview, 23rd February 2014. Skype.

Samma, Jaanus., Interview, 24th January 2014. Email.

Sepping, Eva., Interview, 24th January 2014. Email.

Siib, Liina., Interview, 22nd January 2014. Tallinn.

Soomre, Maria-Kristiina., Interview, 17th December 2013. Email.

Soot, Tiina., Interview, 27th August 2013. Tallinn.

Steimane, Inga., Interview, 18th July 2014. Riga.

Tamm, Margus., Interview, 26th July 2013. Tallinn.

Temnikova, Olga., Interview, 16th January 2014. Tallinn.

Toots, Laura., Interview, 24th January 2014. Tallinn.

Trossek, Andreas., Interview, 23rd January 2014. Tallinn.

Ulman, Paco., Interview, 5th June 2013. Tallinn.

Urbonas, Gediminas. and Urbonas, Nomedas., Interview, 16th December 2013. Skype.

Vevere, Eva., Interview, 6th April 2014. Email.

Vignere, Anneta., Interview, 6th January 2014. Email.

Virzbickas, Vytautas., Interview, 28th August 2013. Vilnius.

Žeivāte, Ilze., Interview, 5th May 2013. Riga.

Zemaityte, Simona., Interview, 22nd August 2013. London.

Zilgave, Kate., Interview, 3rd May 2013. Riga.

Interview Questions to Arts Professionals

1. Do you think Estonian art has a 'national character' anymore?
2. How far have the open borders affected the artwork? (in its style, influences)
3. Do you think contemporary art is overshadowing traditional art today in Tallinn?
4. Are there a lot of connections between the ministry of culture, academy, artists union, and galleries across the city, in terms of funding/collaboration/communication?
5. Would you say there is today a global art circuit, or are there some parts of the world (liminal places) that are outside of this circuit/network?
6. Do you think artists are naturally mobile people? If so, why do you think this is?
7. Do artists have to be mobile - have to move to be international - or is it out of choice?
8. What links do you have with other countries? (Baltics States or further afield)
9. Do you think the geographies/movements of galleries/artists are expanding in distance? (Or always same countries)
10. Why do you think it is important for artists and galleries to work/travel/migrate abroad?
11. Are there many foreign artists working/living/exhibiting in the city?
12. Do you think the contemporary Baltic art world is in transition, because of this?

Interview Questions to Artists

About You:

1. Can you tell me about your upbringing, schooling and initial interest in art.
2. How did your initial interest in art turn into a career – when was the turning point when you thought 'yes I can be, or, I am a professional artist'?
3. Were there any barriers that (could have) stopped you from becoming an artist?

4. Have open borders across the world (i.e. soviet union, iron curtain, internet) helped you at all - to be able to show art anywhere, or to have collaborations across different countries?

About being an Artist:

5. Is the inspiration for your artwork solely found within one culture, or many cultures, or something else apart from culture specifically?
6. Do you ever send your work to other galleries or do you have to go yourself to 'install' the work in exhibitions? How does this work?
7. How hard is it to survive as an artist? Is it even harder to survive as an artist in Eastern European or peripheral (to the art centre) countries do you think?

About travel:

8. Can you tell me more about whether you have always stayed in the country or have you moved permanently or been away temporarily anywhere? If yes, why did you move?
9. When and if you do travel, do you still feel that your roots are in the Baltic States? Or do you feel that anybody can place 'roots' anywhere and in multiple places?
10. How does travel affect your artwork?

About how you link with others:

11. What methods of communications with other people in the art world do you use – internet sites, Facebook, Twitter, iPhone...?
12. Tell me about any collaborations you have with artists/galleries abroad, and the importance of this.

Your opinions of the Art World:

13. What is your opinion of the position of the Baltic art world or Eastern Europe, in terms of the global art world? Is its position getting better/worse?
14. What does the future hold for the next generation of artists from the Baltic States? (more links to global art centres, more options for travel).

Appendix C: Participant Observations

Extract from Observation of Laura Pöld at Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky in Vienna

6th September 2013 – first day of observation at *Gallery Ulrike Hrobsky*:

When in studio she had it all worked out, and the different positions that looked good. She is trying out all the possible places. Now in gallery she doesn't know where to put everything. She's worried about the video because the blue is different. Her paintings have a 'sky blue' canvas, but the blue of the video is very light. So she might make it black and white. I am influencing. She is asking me for my opinion and I feel quite weird influencing her art and what she does because I have no authority to know what is best. In the studio she had two paintings facing each other and the installation in the middle. So she had set out what it was going to look like in her studio, and tried different versions. Earlier she had the black painting in the end room, but she realised they were too much for wall so moved them with Lucas into other room. She also wanted his advice. She's doing a lot of looking and thinking. Assessing what looks good where. All is laid out on the floor. Maybe some paintings are hung, and the others are on the floor. She is moving things around.

The theme of her work is 'non place'. The sky comes into this theme because "sky is constant. Sky because here there's no trees here in Vienna, just buildings then sky." I'm trying to be invisible!!!! Now she's changed the position of the video. She likes the slant it's on – the projector. But may move stand out of way of painting. She's changing size etc of projection of wall.

Independent artists. When you are independent, you don't have a company behind you. This way though, it is hard to go abroad. As it all depends on your personal contacts, that you have made yourself. For example, critics - who I have to reach. But sometimes nothing happens. Maybe I'm asking in the wrong way. Laura seems to do everything on her own. She tries all this out even on own. She then told me that "being an artist is like a life-long journey." And that "without support groups it is easy to get lost. I am three years after my graduation – I have now got a lot of exhibitions." In these three years after graduation I have also done some teaching on practical (art), for example, how to build this and that; through doing this I saw a different world. At the art academy it was all conceptual and at a different level. I did applications all the time, now not so much.

She still feels like an independent artist, as she is not in many group shows. Laura said that I should contact critics! Some circles of networks, professional ones – or group networks. I'm not seen as Estonian here.

Extract from Participant Observation at Contemporary Art Centre in Vilnius

25th August 2013 – First day of observation at *CAC*:

Virginija then brought me to the reading room where there is a desk and a computer. She said she was going off to ring somebody in Julija's office. So I am in the reading room which is very quiet, lots of books and magazines, modern room, light and white space. In-between the offices and the outside garden area where everyone comes to smoke. So a lot of people are going past to go outside to smoke or eat lunch. Also a lot of people are coming and going from the 'Staff Only' door into the offices. As well, I saw a man outside playing with fishing rods and them for whipping girls and women. A girl came into the room and introduced herself as Dominica, whose here as an intern for three months. From Italy, she is here as Reading Room Curator and helps with other curatorial projects and jobs. It is part of the European Community, an organisation which helps find the jobless jobs across Europe. She said that young people here speak better English than in Italy. So my main contact is Virginija Januskeviciute, and I also have met Julija Fomina. They are both curators. Very driven, very academic, and quite direct characters. However, this tone might just be to do with the difference in language. But also good though, as goes with what was said in a couple of interviews in Tallinn – that there are now a lot of young intellectuals, usually women, and they are in high positions. So I can see this happening not only in Tallinn but in Vilnius as well.

What was strange was they were going to put me up in an apartment, in their second building. Luckily it had been double booked and I said that I already had a hotel so that sorted the dilemma they had. I thought it was strange that they were going to put me up in a place but hadn't told me or arranged it with me beforehand.

I also met the director Kestutis Kuizinas and the deputy director, Diana Pakinyte. So the director is middle-aged (early to mid 40s), blonde hair and has glasses. Seems to be on more the business side rather than the quirky art side. The deputy director Diana didn't speak English, and was maybe older than the director, at about 50+ years old, looked quite conservative and old fashioned. Not who I would have expected as the deputy

director – as she is too stayed and conservative looking and in her mannnerisms. I also met Valentinas Klimasauskas, a curator in the reading room and then again the directors office, so he ws talking to different people.

Extracts from Email Dairies with Artists over Three Months

Names of the Artists who took part:

Kris, Participant Observation, 28th November 2013 - 28th February 2014.

Laura, Participant Observation, 28th November 2013 - 28th February 2014.

Žygimantas, Participant Observation, 28th November 2013 - 28th February 2014.

Sigita, Participant Observation, 28th November 2013 - 28th February 2014.

Laura Põld Week 2: 25th November – 1st December 2013

Who have you spoken to/communicated with this week? / Have you met in person with anyone this week (related to art)?

Kristel Schwede, the Editor of Chief at Estonian photo magazine Positiiv (she always includes artists who don't only work with photo in her magazine and said she was my "fan"). Also, fellow artists at openings and studio visits.

Have you spent much time in the studio?

No, was there only twice for bringing some materials and for meeting some friends (on my last days in Tallinn). Now started working from my living room in Vienna, which will last until end of December (will be a bit complicated!).

If so, are you working towards any particular project/exhibition? / Have you thought about any plans/possibilities for future collaborations/exhibitions?

The snow in Germany next summer is going to be a solo! It is going to be a perfect contrast to my previous show in Vaal gallery (in May 2014). So, I am sketching for those two at the moment and beginning with some small textile collages. Also looking for more opportunities for residencies, shows and grants for 2014-2015 online.

Where are you living at the moment?

Vienna :)

Are you involved in any other kind of activities/work at the moment (teaching/design)?

As I met the Editor of Chief from the Estonian photo magazine Positiiv Kristel Schwede, she suggested me to write my own article(s) in next year's magazine (spring and autumn). She enjoyed my written answers to her questions (interview with me in the new issue is out from today!! Looks pretty cool!) and encouraged me to write more about the process of making an exhibition. I am going to write my first story until January.

Appendix D: Consent Forms and Permissions

I have permission to use artists' names as well as permission to reproduce their artworks.

Below are examples of these forms.

Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research, which will take place between 1st October 2012 until 1st October 2015. This form details the purpose of this study, a description of your involvement required, and your rights as a participant.

This consent form is required for my PhD research entitled "Art and the City: New Social and Political Geographies of the Baltic Art World" for the department of Media and Communications at Goldsmiths College, University of London.

The purpose of the study:

- The research investigates the movements and collaborations of artists across Eastern European and, in particular, out of/into/across the Baltic States.

The benefits of this study:

- The effects of artists' movements and collaborations on the Baltic city.

The methods I will use for this study:

- I will be carrying out interviews and participant observation with artists as well as art galleries/institutions.
- Later, I will be analysing artworks coupled with in-depth interviews in order to understand more about the art.

Your responses will be treated with confidentiality; they will be anonymous unless you grant permission to be named. You have the opportunity to review or revise responses that may be cited in the final dissertation. The material will only be used for this dissertation.

No recordings will be made, although, original hand-written transcripts will be kept for the duration of the research project, ending 1st October 2015. After this, I will dispose of the original interview transcripts and field notes. Goldsmiths College, University of London, will then be the only ones who have a copy of the dissertation in document format.

Participant's Signature **Date**

L. Pöld *December 18th*

Participant's Name (printed) *2013*

LAURA PÖLD

Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research, which will take place between 1st October 2012 until 1st October 2015. This form details the purpose of this study, a description of your involvement required, and your rights as a participant.

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Participant's Signature



Date

13 December 2013

Participant's Name (printed)

Žygimantas Augustinas

Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research, which will take place between 1st October 2012 until 1st October 2015. This form details the purpose of this study, a description of your involvement required, and your rights as a participant.

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Participant's Signature



Date

05.08.2013

Participant's Name (printed)

Kris Lemsalu

Example of a Permission Letter

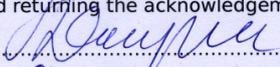
Dear Sigita,

This is a request to reproduce artwork and your name (full name once followed by first name) in a PhD manuscript, entitled 'Homes on the Move: Geopolitics of Artists' Mobilities across Europe'.

I will include an acknowledgement to the author/artist as well as the online source (artist's webpage) and I would be happy to include any specific wording, if you have a preferred form of acknowledgement.

The final manuscript will be digitized and will be in the public domain via Goldsmiths, University of London's online database.

If you agree to this use, please confirm your agreement by completing and returning the acknowledgement below.

Signature: 

Printed Name: SIGITA DAUGULE

Date: 14.05.2016

Thank you for considering this request and for supporting my research.

Warm regards,

Emma